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The Role of Polish Cities in Shaping Attitudes of Urban, Educated Youth towards European Integration

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PhD in Politics
University of Edinburgh
2017
Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Adrian Favero
Edinburgh, 29.11.2017
Abstract

Cities constitute important political, economic and cultural frameworks, playing a potentially crucial role in influencing the residents’ views and opinions about the world. In the context of Central Europe, there has been little attempt to examine the dynamics and construction of attitudes within urban societies. In this research, I explore the influence of urban spaces on citizens’ attitudes towards the city and the European Union (EU). This study investigates such citizen behaviours in the largest new EU member state - the Republic of Poland. Building on existing scholarship, I include economic factors and attachment-related approaches to assess support of EU integration among highly skilled citizens living in European cities, the so-called Eurostars.

The thesis asks to what extent perceived conditions in Polish cities shape the attitudes of young well-educated urban citizens towards the EU. How do citizens’ perceptions of the local and of the supranational space affect their choice of location and work? I assess these questions by employing a sequential mixed methods approach that combines a quantitative and a qualitative method. I devised a survey that I conducted on 923 Masters (MA) students in Polish cities to evaluate their perceptions about their cities’ performance. The survey further assessed students’ attachments to their cities and their support for the EU. This collected data is complemented by detailed semi-structured interviews with 27 MA students to investigate whether their individual views on their respective city and on the EU influence their motivations to leave or stay in their city. This study situates these students as ‘potential Eurostars’ as they still live in their hometown. I conducted the comparative investigation in five large urban spaces in Poland: the Tricity area (Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia), Poznań, Warsaw, Wrocław and Kraków.

Although not representative of every urban centre in Poland, these cities serve as a microcosm to understand the impact of local conditions and Europeanisation in Central and East Europe. (CEE) The use of cities as sites of analysis departs from the traditional and dominant nation-state framework. This thesis further underscores the attitudes of a specific social urban group, whose newly-gained access to the EU - with its opportunities for mobility - potentially offers them new perspectives. Such
conditions may influence students’ choices of future location and work. The developed methodological framework, with its focus on Polish cities, can be further applied to other countries, groups and territorial units in future research.

The quantitative and qualitative findings reveal a relatively marginal influence of urban conditions on place attachment. I further demonstrate that satisfaction with economic and cultural conditions in Polish cities relate to positive attitudes towards the EU. The perception of quality of life plays an important role for the sampled MA students in how they decide where to work and live after graduation. Although, attachment to the city does not necessarily lead to a negative opinion about the EU, it does impact students’ exit strategies and often leads to temporary migration plans. Other elements such as local patriotism, family and friends’ networks, equally shape this form of place attachment.
Lay Summary

For European integration to function effectively, it is crucial to understand what citizens think about the European Union (EU) and what influences their opinion. The urban environment, such as the city that citizens live in, can influence how they see the world. Some may compare economic benefits from EU integration to the economic situation in the city they live in. Some may feel more attached to the urban space where they live and identify less strongly with the EU. Some citizens may feel that the local government does a good job and that the city offers all the conditions they need. In this work I ask how citizens’ perceptions of their urban environment might shape their motivations to leave or to stay in their respective city and their decision as to whether or not to take advantage of the opportunities available to them to live and work elsewhere in the EU.

I focus on cities in Poland. This country is not only the biggest ‘new’ EU member state but also underwent drastic economic and political changes on the local level after the fall of communism. Joining the EU meant a big change for Poland and offered new opportunities for its citizens. This makes it an interesting case for my analysis. I used survey data from 923 MA Polish students and interviews from 27 MA students living and studying in five Polish cities: Kraków, Warsaw, Wrocław, Poznań, and the Tricity area.

My findings make an important contribution to evaluations of cities as a unit of comparative analysis and to the understanding of the motivations of young European citizens, their attachment to the city, their opinion about the EU, and their probability to move to another country or city. My results reveal a positive link between satisfaction with conditions in cities and support for EU integration. Greater attachment to the city does not lead to negative attitudes towards the EU. I also found that although many citizens want to leave their city for a while they mostly intend to come back after a few years. Job opportunities and the quality of life in cities have an influence on the students’ future plans and whether they want to leave or stay. Other, less career-related factors that influence where students plan to go after their studies include social networks, such as family and friends. I also found that women are more motivated to pursue a period of life experience abroad.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

We believe we know what a city is. We live and work in cities, we visit them, we buy things from places in cities, and we sense their density and a specific lifestyle inherent in urban spaces. Yet when we have to develop a definition, it becomes difficult to grasp what a city is and what qualities it has (Healy 2002). We know that cities are not just static entities but have the capacity to shape societies in their former role as “sites of exchanges, culture, original social relations, and the invention of techniques of government” (Le Galès 2002: 4). These relationships of urban spaces, public opinions and the mechanisms that influence these relations are important and deserve more research. How do cities influence urban residents’ view of the world and what factors impact on the influence that cities might have? In this thesis, I ask whether and how cities shape their citizens’ attitudes in relation to organisations like the European Union (EU) and whether they perform this function uniformly. Steadily improving economic and cultural conditions as well as public services and infrastructure in Polish cities may, to some extent, influence residents’ attitudes towards the EU. This may also apply to their choices and intentions regarding where to live and work.

Europe presents itself to its citizens as space for individual freedom of which free movement and the opportunity to study and work anywhere in the EU are an essential part (Recchi 2015). This interstate mobility is a crucial ingredient of a post-national political system such as the EU and illustrates that European citizens are not restricted anymore to the national or local space in pursuit of better conditions and personal benefits. The question is then if strategies regarding transnational mobility in the EU are connected to the perception of the conditions a respective city offers.

In my mixed-methods study of attitudes held by highly educated urban residents in five Polish cities, I utilise macroeconomic and utilitarian approaches and local attachment to assess the city as a frame of reference and its influence on attitudes and exit strategies. I observe a generally positive view on the local entity but an overall strategy of partial exit from the urban space and the intention of a subsequent return to the Polish city. This deserves further attention in terms of the impact of these
perceptions and strategies on both European integration and the domestic level in Poland. As well as contributing to the growing body of work on the mechanisms through which cities impact on the attitudes and behaviours of residents, this study of the role played by cities in Poland develops an analytical framework that can be applied to other countries in future comparative studies.

1.1 Cities, attitudes and potential Eurostars in Poland: the Research Question

Le Galès writes that from the mid- to late 19th century, and especially in the 20th century after the two world wars, states increased their influence on large institutions, societies and the production of collective goods (2002: 75-77). A prominent example was the establishment of the welfare state. In this context, nation-states used cities merely as local and regional centres to implement their policies. Later, accelerating Europeanisation and globalisation processes re-introduced cities as new actors that became a part of this political process and benefited from transnational networks and eroding boundaries. Today, the European Commission argues that cities “are increasingly recognised for their economic, social and environmental potential” (2016: 11). Considering the stable high urbanisation rate in Europe, it is not surprising that European cities have become important economic and political players. Urban centres generate growth and jobs and provide innovation and education.

In this study, I look at urban spaces in a specific European region that has long been dominated by communist rule and that only recently joined the EU. The dynamic social processes and rapidly changing political landscape in Central and East Europe1 (CEE) provide an interesting frame to study urban societies. Poland is an intriguing case as it became a member of the EU in 2004 and is therefore the biggest new EU member state. Moreover, comparing cities in a country with a relatively homogenous population in terms of language and religion, allowed me to focus on the local spatial entity, while controlling for intervening variables. This intra-country approach also

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1 In this paper, I utilise East and West Europe instead of Eastern/eastern and Western/western Europe. This spelling was also applied by Favell (2014)
helps avoid the potential influence of national variables such as different political systems, historical backgrounds, or economic disparities between states.

I focus on a specific group to evaluate the connection between urban performance and attitudes towards the EU. I analyse young, well-educated people living in urban areas. More precisely, I analyse Masters (MA) students that have lived and studied in their respective city for more than five years and who speak a second European language. This defined time period ensures that the students did not just move recently to the city to study at one of the local universities. The reason for evaluating this specific group is their recognised status as the most likely beneficiaries of European integration. At the same time, however, it remains unclear how the perceived urban landscape influences their decision-making process regarding transnational mobility and exit strategies. In this study, I will refer to the sampled population either as MA students or as potential Eurostars as a homage to Favell’s work. The term “Eurostars” is based on Favell’s (2008) description for the category of people who have moved to different cities in West Europe and became part of the intra-European transnational mobility movement. I use “potential Eurostars” in this study, because the sampled MA students still live in their native city and it remains to be seen what choices they make in terms of support for integration and their individual future.

Polish cities, with the potential to shape prospective Eurostars’ opportunities by promoting different urban conditions and quality of life, were chosen as the focus for this study. I selected five cities or metropolitan areas: Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław, the Tricity, and Warsaw to address the following research question in relation to the attitudes of potential Eurostars:

*To what extent do perceived conditions, public service and infrastructure in Polish cities influence the attitudes of the well-educated youth towards the European Union and what kind of impact does this have on their choice of location and work?*
1.2 Statement of the problem and significance of the study

The relationship between territorial entity and citizens often focuses on the national level. Theories of how citizens develop support for European integration usually revolve around the nation-state and its political and economic performance. Several authors (Anderson 1998, Kritzinger 2003, Ilonszki 2009, Rohrschneider and Loveless 2010) have focused on the influence of political and economic performances of nation-states and of their perception on attitudes to the EU. Other authors emphasise the important role of feelings of national identity on personal assessments of the EU (Hooghe and Marks 2001, 2004, Carey 2002, McLaren 2002). Are these theories, however, also able to capture the social and political mechanisms operating at the local level? With my research, I aim to evaluate to what extent the perception of urban conditions relates to support for European integration. These local conditions include a set of economic and cultural indicators as well as public services and urban public infrastructure that reflect the cities’ competitiveness, as well as urban authorities’ ability to improve and promote this space to residents.

Most research about citizens’ relationship with the urban space has been conducted in West Europe. After the fall of communism, Polish cities were granted more power and decision-making rights. The return of self-government, the building of local interest groups, the transformation of the economy from politically driven activities to market criteria, and the formation of new social structures, increased the cities’ abilities to improve their potential competitiveness (Węcławowicz 2005: 227). This makes cities in the former communist satellite states, and especially Polish cities, an interesting case to compare the connections between the development of urban conditions, place attachment and attitudes towards the EU.

There is, moreover, still a gap in our understanding of young, well-educated individuals' motivations, as well as their propensity to leave or stay in their place of residence. Few authors have focused on the perception of local conditions and their influence on young well-educated individuals living in CEE (White 2011). National borders traditionally played a crucial role in restricting European citizens’ mobility - be it because of language, the welfare state or different health care systems. With ongoing Europeanisation processes, these boundaries have been partially eroded,
transnational mobility has been eased, and leaving the city might become a promising option. Nevertheless, transnational mobility is not yet a mass phenomenon and it continues to be associated with relatively high personal costs. In this context, I ask to what extent place attachment and cost-benefit calculations play a role when MA students plan their future? Leaving their city and their country in search of better job opportunities, a better quality of life, or to experience a different culture might be based on push–and pull-factors on different theoretical levels of analysis and may be directly related to the city where they have grown up and study. Many authors have analysed migration, including East-West movements (Favell and Nebe 2009). However, most of these studies examine citizens that have already moved to another country within Europe. It is therefore important to evaluate how MA students on the cusp of a new chapter in their life assess their own future and what they need to achieve their personal goals. This also has implications for local authorities in the respective cities, as it is in their interest to retain the skilled labour force.

With my research I aim to contribute to current empirical research on urban institutions and societies, attitudes towards the EU and transnational mobility. Urban conditions provide a macro-level framework that potentially influences residents’ individual evaluation of future options and possible benefits. My focus on potential Eurostars living in Polish cities will shed light on social dynamics within CEE societies. By conducting a survey among Polish MA students, I empirically analyse their view on their respective city and the EU. I combined these statistical results with detailed personal information, resulting from semi-structured interviews. This fusion of quantitative and qualitative methods and paradigms provided a more comprehensive and complete assessment of the research question. Additionally, it offered a way to contextualise my quantitative findings by providing detailed qualitative knowledge. This innovative mixed-methods approach yields important new insights on potential Eurostars living in Polish cities and makes a valuable contribution to the literature of comparative European studies.

1.3 Structure of the study

The chapters that follow seek to examine the literature about urban spaces, attitudes towards the EU and migration. This specifically includes the cities’
influencing role on citizens’ attitudes, and the social and political impact of urban conditions in Poland.

In chapter 2, I first provide a short overview of how formation of attitudes towards the EU is connected to different spatial levels with a focus on sub-national entities. I then present economic and noneconomic theories commonly applied to assess citizens’ reactions to European integration. I also discuss migration practices and how they are related to European integration. This further includes an overview of multi-level theorisations of reasons for transnational movement within the EU, with a focus on East-West migration. I then present a short overview of the view on the EU and migration practices in Poland to set the national frame for this study. Subsequently, I shift the focus towards sub-national units and elaborate on ‘the European city’ as an important but somewhat neglected unit of analysis. I further outline a history of Polish cities and how they gained more power after the communist system imploded. I describe the urban conditions used to assess urban competitiveness as a macroeconomic condition that potentially influences the public view on European integration. I then introduce the social group of this study’s focus, the MA students, or winners of globalisation (Kriesi et al. 2008), and I provide a brief outline of certain characteristics pertaining to this group. This also includes an assessment of gender as an influential factor for different life choices.

In chapter 3, I outline the analytical framework of this study. I start by presenting the hypotheses drawn up from the literature review and theories in chapter 2. I define the variables and indicators used to measure the connections between urban conditions, attitudes towards the EU and migration behavior. In the same section, I also discuss the conceptualisation of urban conditions and the limitations of this approach as it pertains to the cities’ performance. I then explain the comparative framework, the research design and the type of methods I have utilised in this study. I start with the case selection and a short overview of the five cities examined for my research. I discuss the methodological approach applied in this study and elaborate on the sampling and data collection. Using a mixed methods design requires a debate about the underlying philosophical assumptions and quality criteria. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods allowed me to provide a comprehensive context of Polish cities, as dynamic sites of structural influence, from which to gauge the residents’
perception of their environment. The integration of these quantitative and qualitative methods also necessitates careful planning and is explained in this chapter.

To evaluate how the perception of local conditions relates to the actual situation in the selected cities, I measure a variety of indicators to gain an overview of these urban spaces. In chapter 4, I compare economic and cultural conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure, and quality of life in Poznań, Kraków, the Tricity, Wrocław and Warsaw. The indicators and data to compare the cities’ performance are based on official data provided by the Central Statistical Office of Poland and consider the years 2005 and 2014. The time period is defined by the earliest data available after Poland’s EU membership and the newest data obtainable by the time of the research for this study.

In chapter 5, I analyse a survey I conducted among 923 MA students who live and study in one of these five Polish cities. In the questionnaire, I inquired about their satisfaction with local conditions, their attachment to the city or the state and about their attitudes towards the EU regarding Poland’s membership and regarding their personal benefits resulting from EU accession. I conducted the survey at universities located in the five selected cities. Although, the survey results have to be treated with caution as they stem from a non-random sample and are not generalisable, they provide valuable insights into the cases studied and raise important questions for the comparative study.

The qualitative phase follows the quantitative phase and enlarges upon the preliminary data collected by the survey. In chapter 6, I analyse and discuss the results of follow-up interviews with 27 of the students that had previously completed the questionnaire and had allowed me to contact them for a semi-structured interview. Each interview revolved around the students’ views on the city, their further plans and their perception of the EU. Time was a crucial factor in gathering my data. The manifold political events within the EU during the time when I did my fieldwork in 2015 and 2016 had a potential impact on my participants and on the outcome of my study. Therefore, I collected all data between the Polish parliamentary elections in October 2015 and the Brexit vote in June 2016.

In chapter 7, I integrate the quantitative and qualitative data to provide a detailed and comprehensive discussion of my findings. The chapter is structured to address
each of the research questions and hypotheses. I present the findings related to the urban performance, attachment to the place and support for EU integration. I further debate potential push- or pull-factors that influence the potential Eurostars’ decisions to either leave or stay in their respective city. My analysis additionally includes non-economic factors, such as the domestic political situation, networks of friends and family and a certain emotional bond to the respective hometown, best described as ‘local patriotism’. I also evaluate the results against contemporary literature and relevant theoretical concepts conducted in the area of European urban studies and European integration.

In the conclusion, I provide a summary of the findings and discuss what we can learn from comparing cities, and a shift of focus towards CEE. I outline the limitations of this study, which include the quality of the city as unit of analysis, the difficulties in generating a random sample and the somewhat limited validity of urban conditions as a tool to predict the cities’ performance. I suggest areas for further research in relation to the developing attitudes towards the EU among young people in urban areas that have demonstrated to be an important aspect of understanding European integration. The influence of social networks, such as friends and family, gender-related views on the European Union and the predominant, and rather utilitarian strategy revealed to pursue partial exits and to return to Poland after spending some time abroad, are other areas that deserve further empirical research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The question of how territorial entities influence support for European Union (EU) integration and migration behavior has often been analysed with a focus on the national level (Duchesne et al.). Local entities are somewhat underrepresented in such literature about attitudes towards European integration. This study shifts the focus to the sub-national level. In doing so, I shed light on local differences to provide insights on how cities create new and diverse opportunities, which potentially influence the attitudes of urban residents towards the EU (Mumford 2003: 94).
Poland experienced dramatic changes during the last 25 years that not only affected the political system but also territorial entities and citizens. Despite the importance of these changes, most of the literature on the role of cities as crucial context for citizens that shapes views and opinions has focused on West Europe. The following literature review draws mainly from work conducted by social scientists in the field of European and Urban Studies who attempt to apprehend how the urban environment shapes the social realities of city dwellers. From this scholarship only few authors have analytically assessed public support for European integration in sub-national entities in former communist countries of which Poland was one.

As the social group of analysis to investigate attitudes and support for the EU, I introduce a society that is in the position to “create the Europe of the coming few decades” (Moes 2008: 13): the well-educated urban youth. This generation is the first in Poland that has no personal experience of living in a communist political system and, instead, is faced with the realities and changes offered by EU membership. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to cover every aspect that shapes the public opinion towards European integration. Instead, the structure of this literature review critically discusses a series of key points pertinent to the field of study.

In section 2.2, I provide a brief overview of the dominant spatial dimensions that scholars understand to shape attitudes towards the EU. I also introduce theories that are usually connected to nation-states when assessing people’s attitudes towards the EU. These theoretical approaches distinguish between economic and noneconomic explanatory models. In section 2.3, I discuss the relationship between territory and migration and classify theories about decisions to migrate based on push- and pull-factors at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of analysis. Section 2.4 is devoted to a short overview of attitudes towards the EU and migration patterns in Poland and provides the national context for my analysis. In section 2.5, I move away from the state-centered view and introduce the urban dimension. I strive to depict the complexity of cities and their important role as social, cultural and economic hubs. In section 2.6, I discuss the intertwined concepts of city competitiveness and quality of life, as they are a reflection of local urban structures. Subsequently, I establish the relationship between city competitiveness and urban conditions provided by urban governments. This discussion includes the conceptualisation of the city as social space.
for urban residents that provides a frame for the understanding of views on European integration and mobility. In section 2.7, I present the group of well-educated, young, urban citizens who potentially benefit the most from competing cities and increasing local provisions, as well as from European integration. I assess their characteristics and the implications of their EU attitudes on migration practices. In the same section, I discuss the potential influence of gender on support for European integration and on East-West migration patterns.

2.2 Territory and attitudes towards the EU

Almost from the beginning of European integration, scholars understood nation-states to play a crucial role in influencing attitudes toward the EU. Many scholars have argued that institutions on a national level are important, and they also obscure individual-level variations (Deflem and Pampel 1996, Kritzinger 2003). Supporters of the nation-state as a central player assume that support for European integration depends on personal and national cost-benefit calculations. Several researchers have presented evidence that popular perceptions of the EU are conditioned by national institutional aspects and the individual assessment of their performance (Anderson 1998, Sánchez-Cuenca 2000, Rohrschneider and Loveless 2010). More recently, research started to focus on the affective dimension (Duchesne et al. 2013) and analysed how national identity and perceived cultural threats to the national community determine variation in support for the EU (McLaren 2002). The results of these non-economic factors are often contradictory and dependent on the socio-demographic status of the group being analysed (Carey 2002, Tucker et al 2002, Duchesne et al. 2013).

Moving away from the nation-state and EU paradigm, some researchers highlight the importance of sub-national entities, especially as European integration processes reveal a shifting dynamic that challenges nation-centric assumptions (Le Galès 2002: 5). Some scholars have even argued that Europeanisation has begun to render nation-states’ policy instruments obsolete and that regional and local governments have become more impactful (Denters and Rose 2005: 4). Top-down and bottom-up perspectives have been combined and are focused on regional actors and
institutions, involved in influencing the European integration process (Le Galès 2002: 5). Some researchers have examined political processes and mobilisation as regions “are becoming increasingly relevant policy players” in the EU (Tatham 2015). A growing body of literature assesses the impact of regional governance within the EU (Hooghe and Marks 1996, Denters and Rose 2005). Other authors distance themselves from this understanding and maintain the perspective that, although regional entities have become more important, the nation-state still dominates in fomenting support for the EU (Duchesne et al. 2013).

However, within the plethora of literature and theories about national and regional spatial influences on attitudes towards the EU, the role of cities has been relatively under-researched. This scholarly gap is rather surprising, given the potential of cities to structure social and political behaviour. Cities are a culmination of social structures and institutions that guide citizens’ opportunities and potentially influence their view of the world (Le Galès 2002, Andreotti et al. 2015). In the design of future integration scenarios, it will be increasingly important to examine urban settings. According to Eurostat statistics, the EU’s population share in urban areas was more than 72.4% by 2014. Despite the lack of a clear definition as to what the term “cities” entails, they are understood as centres of knowledge, innovation and resources that influence the social, economic, political and cultural life of their residents (Clark 2009). If cities play a key role in the lives of European urban residents (European Commission 2011), could they also influence attitudes towards the EU? If so, to what extent do local entities shape public opinion about European integration?

To address such questions, it is crucial to discuss the theoretical approaches that help assess attitudes towards the EU. The theoretical overview includes approaches utilised in situating citizens’ views on European integration, while also discussing how they could be applied on sub-national territories in Central East Europe (CEE). Existing research typically applies these models at the national level; however, this study’s focus on cities also benefits from such theory.

Most of theories presented in the next two sections are low-level or middle range theories. The former are theories that explain a certain subject within a given context or under certain conditions and do not offer general explanations. The latter are theoretical approaches that deal with specific aspects of human behavior and empirical
phenomena that can be applied on different topics. They are located between abstract theories and empirical findings (Bryman and Cramer 2009).

2.2.1 Theories on attitudes towards European integration

To situate this study among existing theoretical frames, I specifically discuss understandings of citizens’ attitudes toward integration. Following this, I discuss these relationships and theoretical assumptions at the urban level in CEE.

Throughout the ongoing integration processes, the EU has become a point of reference for citizens living in its member states (McLaren 2002). As a result, scholarly interest in EU citizens’ attitudes has also increased. The relationship between integration and public opinion is reciprocal. The exposure to European integration processes raises political awareness among EU citizens, while at the same time, public opinion feeds back into EU policies. Gable states that “public attitudes, through mass political behaviour, shape and constrain the process of European integration” (1998a: 333) and that these public attitudes provide the bedrock for political integration.

To explain attitudes towards the EU, researchers have developed various theoretical approaches. Some of the most thoroughly examined involve economic and class-related considerations. Attitudes regarding EU membership have often been explained based on nation-states’ economies but also on individual benefits associated with membership in the EU (Gabel 1998b). Not surprisingly, young, well-educated citizens are significantly more supportive of European integration as they are the ones most likely to benefit from it (Szczerbiak 2007).

Although these approaches were well-suited to explain support in the 1990s, the EU has continued to expand into other policy areas (Franklin and Wlezien 1997). The 1993 Maastricht Treaty introduced European citizenship, which had consequences for how public support for integration was analysed (Duchesne et al. 2013). Political support for European integration was expected to become more disconnected from national attachment and to move towards direct identification of citizens with the EU. As Recchi argues, “being European has assumed a political meaning” (2015: xi). This understanding of a Europe then led to a wide range of literature dealing with concepts of identity, processes of European integration and the social and political construction
of boundaries with opposing interpretations at the individual level (Carey 2002, Diez Medrano 2003, McLaren 2006.)

Drawing from Garry and Tilly’s differentiation (2009), I structure the theoretical debate along the distinction between macroeconomic (territorial performance), microeconomic (individual cost-benefit calculations) and noneconomic (attachment-related) approaches. Related to these existing theories, I point to the issue of alternative socio-demographic explanations as mentioned by Gabel (1998a). Several individual competitiveness variables (measured by socio-demographic variables such as education, occupation, income or gender (Christin 2005)), need to be taken into account and controlled for in order to assess support for European integration.

2.2.1.1 Macroeconomic approaches

Several studies suggest that citizens assess the EU based on macroeconomic (national) performances (Eichenberg and Dalton 1993, Gabel and Palmer 1995). The academic literature on the relationship between national economic conditions and attitudes towards the EU provides a basis for the further analysis of economic factors and political institutions that potentially influence public support for integration. Some researchers have found evidence that support for the EU integration project is higher when the national economy is flourishing (Eichenberg and Dalton 1993, Anderson & Kaltenthaler 1996). Other scholars highlight the direct positive relationship between favourable attitudes toward EU integration and net recipients of EU funding, or existing elevated levels of trade with other EU nation-states (Anderson and Reichert 1995, Diez Medrano 2003).

In spite of these formulations, scholars disagree about the impact of economic conditions within different nation-states on attitudes towards the EU. Therefore, Christin (2005: 36) argues that the results of these macroeconomic explanations of attitudes towards European integration are not very systematic. For example, Eichenberg and Dalton (1993) show that national economic conditions are correlated with support for integration, whereas Bosch and Newton (1995) do not find a clear relationship between macroeconomic factors and support for the EU. Gabel and Whitten, looking at regional levels, argue that support for integration correlates not
necessarily with the actual economic situation but with the perception of the economic environment. They focus on the individual level and argue that it is the ‘subjective’ economy, as perceived by EU citizens, rather than the ‘objective’ economy, as measured by economic indicators, that influences support for integration (1997: 92). Related to this concept, Duch et al. (2000) argue that the perception of economic conditions is influenced by political predispositions, personal financial situations, and level of information about the political economy. More specifically, education and higher levels of information may reduce the influence of other subjective considerations.

The relationship between economic conditions and other national factors also drives attitudes toward EU integration. Looking at the national political performances and the potential welfare benefits for citizens, Kritzinger states that, according to the “national context theory” (2003: 222), the EU is evaluated based on a variety of experiences at the national level. Citing Angelucci (1993), she further argues that attitudes towards EU integration “are not formed in an abstract way but are developed in a particular economic, political, historical and cultural context” (Kritzinger 2003: 222). She finds evidence in some countries that a stable and efficient national economy leads to more support for EU integration and that a negative political performance of the national level correlates with positive attitudes towards EU integration. In contrast, Christin (2005), analysing the influence of economic and political performances on support for European integration in CEE suggests that citizens living in states with a poorly functioning economy and stable political institutions show generally more support for integration. He further specifies these findings by including individual-level variables, stating that if a country is in good economic and political shape, the beneficiaries of transitional reforms have a more positive opinion about the EU than the losers of the transformation. Ilonszki (2009), however, argues that personal, class-related characteristics (education, age, political interest) may have a certain influence on people’s view on EU integration but overall, it is the perception of the national structure and not the individual level that explains support for EU integration. She further states that countries in CEE with better national performance tend to be more Eurosceptic, which is different from previous findings in old member states (Scheuer & van der Brug 2007). These findings point towards existing differences that shape
public opinion about EU membership in old and new member states. They further underscore that the assessment for EU integration is often dominated by older member states, yet these understandings are not necessarily applicable to the new, post-communist EU members.

These findings present an interesting starting point for the analysis of the perception of macroeconomic factors and their influence on EU attitudes in CEE. However, results are not very strong and often contradictory (Christin 2005). The same is true for the influence of individual characteristics on the perception of structural factors and their influence on support for European integration. Nevertheless, these studies show that national performances play a role in shaping attitudes towards the EU. This understanding further includes, according to the national context theory, not only economic aspects, but also political and cultural institutions.

2.2.1.2 Individual utilitarian approaches

A further set of studies analyses the impact of individual-level economic benefits. Theories about economic rationality — also referred to as utilitarianism — suggest that citizens consider cost and benefits when assessing their material well-being resulting from EU membership. Gabel (1998a) argues that the strongest influence on the development of personal opinions is the utilitarian theory. He states that “citizens’ support for integration is positively related to the level of economic benefits they expect to derive from European integration” (1998a: 351). Similarly, focusing on individual economic calculations, Mau (2010) emphasizes that support for integration stems primarily from personal “cost-benefit calculations of the gains and losses associated with integration” (2015, 289). This understanding leads to the idea that actions are likely to be rational in character (Scott 2000) and that individuals calculate the potential costs and benefits before they act.

Inherent in this rational choice theory is the assumption that individuals are motivated by certain preferences and act within a variety of constraints. As a result, actors choose among alternatives within their environment, often based on incomplete information (Pollack 2006). People are assumed to be utility-seeking and their support for EU integration is influenced by perceived interests, but the attribution of certain
interests to certain individuals is a complex matter (Keulmann and Koós 2014: 86). As with the perception of national performances, for certain social groups, the impact of integration may be more beneficial than for others. Gabel and Palmer (1995) suggest that highly skilled, young people are in the best position to make use of new opportunities brought by EU accession. They argue that the liberalisation of the EU labour market is more promising for citizens with good job skills and high levels of education. They are also less dependent on national welfare and protection systems compared to groups with less skill-related resources. This approach precipitated the term of European integration’s “winners and losers” (Kriesi et al. 2008) and led to the assumption that the surveyed students in this study are likely to view European integration favourably.

However, utilitarian approaches are best analysed within the context of where they developed. Focusing on the interaction of micro-, and macro-level factors, Schlenker, points out that individual “cost-benefit calculations and concrete experiences depend to a large extent on the specific context in which they are made” (2012/3: 101). He specifically refers to the transition from communism to post-communism as a major determinant of cost-benefit analyses regarding the EU. Whereas most authors focus on public opinions in West and South Europe, Tucker et al. (2002) argue that it is important to focus on CEE countries as there is no West European equivalent to the extensive economic and social shifts taking place in CEE and therefore no equal effect on citizens living in post-communist countries. Studies that assess the determinants of individual utilitarian support for European integration among citizens in CEE have to include the political and economic impacts of the post-communist transitions.

One of the CEE-specific aspects is the relative instability of socio-demographic variables, which serve as factors for support for EU membership. Some studies find that education leads to more support (Tverdova and Anderson, 2004). Other works revealed opposite findings and dismiss the importance of socio-demographic aspects as long as individuals perceive themselves as transition winners (Tucker et al., 2002). Some scholars even argue that support for EU integration does not depend on education nor personal economic factors but is driven by party affiliation (Cichowski: 2000). However, Surwillo et al. find that generally, “utilitarian appraisal therefore
remains the best theoretical approach for explaining any shifts in support for Poland’s EU membership” (2010: 1522).

The absence of a clear influence of socio-demographic variables on support for integration, and the specific historical trajectory of CEE societies demand further investigation on the winners of the transition in CEE. Better understanding CEE citizen support for EU integration necessitates a focus on sub-national units. Previous research indicates that the favourably perceived conditions are associated with less support for EU integration. The question is, in the context of Poland’s EU membership and of what their cities offer them, what role do individual cost-benefit analyses play for potential Eurostars?

2.2.1.3 Noneconomic – attachment-related approaches

In contrast to approaches that assess the EU as an economic or political entity, some researchers apply an approach that evaluates the effect of identity and place attachment on support for integration (Noe 2016). This approach suggests that, instead of economic gains, the feeling of being part of a social group living within a specific territory drives perceptions towards EU integration. In this context, it is important to note that place or territorial attachment is difficult to define, as “there are a multitude of operationalizations of this construct” (Lewicka 2011a) and data about how place attachment compares across place levels are few. In the absence of a general definition of place attachment, I employ a definition put forward by Scannell and Gifford (2010). In their view, attachment to a local space is a form of social place bonding; it involves attachment to a built environment and to actors within this entity with whom an individual interacts. Furthermore, individuals acknowledge and recognise the symbolic importance of this place for their social group. This type of attachment is also closely aligned to the concept of place identity. In his analysis of the psychological aspects of urban-related identities, Lalli argues that “the relationship with one's physical surroundings is essentially viewed as bound up with concrete experiences” (1992: 285).

Alluding to the importance of a built environment in cities to create a feeling of belonging, several researchers point out that economic conditions (Sassen 1999,
Stanilov 2007, Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013), cultural institutions (Zukin 2003, Latusek and Ratajczak 2014), good public services and infrastructure (Healy et al. 2003) and soft factors such as quality of life (Martin-Brelot et al. 2010) play an important role for the identification with a place. In terms of social aspects and place attachment, an important contribution comes from researchers (Lalli 1992, Hay 1998, Lewicka 2010), who emphasise the importance of familiarity with a place and the social groups living in it, particularly for people who are born and bred in the same area. Lewicka further points out that socio-demographic variables also play a role in developing attachment to territory (Lewicka 2011a), with older, less educated citizens being more attached to the local place and feeling more connected to people living within the same area. A contrasting view on the role of place attachment comes from Savage et al. (2005). According to these scholars, local attachment is not an attribute of being born and bred in a certain area but is best captured by what they call ‘elective belonging’. It implies a view of local attachment that reflects individual’s ability to link the decision to move to a place to their own life history and does not depend on attachment to the immediate environment.

Looking at the literature about the relationship between place attachment and attitudes towards the EU is useful to map out the theoretical basis for sub-national feelings of belonging and support for European integration. The starting point for most studies in usually the national frame. Vázquez García, and Sojka (2010) state that territorial attachment and representation are important dimensions of attitudes towards the EU. In their study, which compares South and East European countries, as well as the opinions of political elites and masses, they concluded that “country-specific factors (historical and institutional) […] account for the attitudes of political elites and public opinion” (Vázquez García and Sojka 2010: 49). Carey and Lebo (2000) argue that feelings of national attachment have an important influence on the evaluation of European integration. They propose the theory of a ‘terminal community’ (2001: 7) as the highest level of organisation to which an individual feels a sense of belonging. This point of attachment could be the nation-state or a lower territorial level, such as a region or a city. If a citizen identifies strongly with the nation-state, they argue, it will likely decrease the support for EU integration. In a later study, Carey (2002) and McLaren (2002) similarly argue that a strong national identity and attachment to the
nation-state are likely to decrease support for the European project because of potential conflicts over sovereignty and a threat to the independence of the state. Nevertheless, Carey also suggests that a “strong national identity is not necessarily a negative predictor of support for the EU if the individual also has a strong attachment to Europe” (2002: 402). This uncertainty illustrates the complex relationship between feelings of attachment at different territorial levels and attitudes towards the EU. Overall, these studies point towards a measurable effect of strong national identity or territorial attachment on support for EU integration, either favourably or unfavourably.

This acknowledgement of the importance of place attachment leads to the notion of exclusive and inclusive national identities. Hooghe and Marks (2004, 2005) state that individuals who perceive their national identity as exclusive of other territorial identities are likely to be more eurosceptical. However, it is not unusual for a citizen to feel strongly attached to the nation-state and also support European integration. Hooghe and Marks found that national attachment and identities are often “mutually inclusive” (2001: 55). This separation means that an individual with high attachment to one territorial entity is also likely to feel highly attached to other territorial levels, although associations across sub-national territorial entities are stronger than across national and European levels (Hooghe and Marks 2001: 56). In other words, there is no fixed amount of attachment across territories in which “an increase at one level is compensated by loss of attachment at other levels” (Hooghe and Marks 2001: 55).

Diez Medrano (2003) and Mau (2010) similarly argue that citizens may feel attached to several entities. They could, for example, equally identify as being from Warsaw, Poland, and Europe. With the possibility for multiple identities the nation-state loses its hegemony as the sole frame of reference (Mau 2010). Garry and Tilly (2009) combine economic theories of attitude formation with identity theories. More specifically, and of importance for the study of CEE countries, they found that in states such as Poland that are high net recipients of EU funds, less exclusive identities are prevalent. However, their results are not statistically significant and, in the case of Poland, other factors, such as religion and domestic politics may play an important role for identity-building.

The simultaneous possibility of multiple identities based on place, is further complicated when taking into account different social groups living in sub-national
territories. Looking at inclusive and exclusive regional identities and their influence on attitudes towards the EU, Chacha (2012) finds that inclusive regional attachment leads to stronger support for European integration but exclusive regional attachment is not associated with attitude formation. This finding differs from that of Hooghe and Marks (2004, 2005) on the impact of exclusive national attachment on attitudes towards the EU.

Similar differences to Hooghe and Marks’ approach appear on the local level with regard to socio-demographic factors. Andreotti et al. (2015), analysing the educated upper middle-class in European cities, find that members of this social group do not perceive European integration as a threat to their national identity but they do not hold inclusive identities either. They support the idea of European integration but are rooted and embedded in their respective cities.

In the context of Poland, a large study from 2003 found positive correlations between urban place attachment and micro-level variables such as age, time of residence, more conservative regions, rural areas, and low education. Students living in big university cities showed the least place attachment. Lewicka further notes that young well-educated people often show a lower level of ‘traditional’ place attachment but are more ‘actively’ attached to places. She attributes the ‘active’ attachment to European identity, alongside a sense of belonging with the local space (Lewicka 2011a). Yet, Galent and Kubicki (2010) argue, based on the theory of Florida (2002), that young people appreciate the open and tolerant environments in cities and the prevalent social diversity, which in turn strengthens their place attachment. Taking these investigations one step further, Lewicka (2010) states that gender does not affect place attachment. In contrast, Anton and Lawrence (2014) argue that women show stronger place attachment than men, because it may be more common for them to create a social network within their local area that foments a sense of belonging.

For this study, these contradictory findings indicate that cities provide a potential context to assess the changing importance of places for young well-educated citizens. Cities have become sites of increasing economic activity and local governance, both which incentivise residents’ attachment. The literature points towards an influence of local conditions on attachment to a place. At the same time, a stronger sense of belonging to the local space may not necessarily lead to a negative
opinion about the EU. Therefore, I pose the question: how are perceptions of local urban conditions in Polish cities associated with attachment to the local space? Related to this first question, I also aim to investigate the extent to which attachment to the local urban territory influences potential Eurostars’ attitudes towards the EU.

2.3 Territory and migration

Aside from individual attitudes pertaining to socio-demographic factors, studying European integration and public opinion necessitates taking into consideration movement of people. The European unification process introduced free movement as an important feature for EU citizens. As Recchi (2015: 31) notes, the abolition of restriction on movement for workers and families in 1968 and the definition of free movement as part of European citizenship in 1992 were fundamental for free migration within the EU. No less important was the adoption of the Schengen system and the abolition of border control between most member states. He further points out that free movement within the EU leads to a potential disconnection between rights and territory, which may diminish the role of the nation-state and create a post-national political order with individual rights (2015: 3). Free movement in the EU became a “tangible reality” (Recchi 2015: 31) and European integration and the development of a European identity would not be feasible if Europeans could not migrate across national borders.

Yet, despite the increasing connectedness in the EU and the erosion of old boundaries, the number of free movers has never been very large. Many residents feel strongly rooted in their home countries; this may specifically apply to women, as they are reported to be more attached to their home than men (Anton and Lawrence 2014). By 2012, only around 2.7% of the whole of the European population consisted of mobile European citizens (Favell 2014, Recchi 2015). The “exit-option [still] remains relatively rare in Europe” (Andreotti et al. 2015). However after 2004, the number of intra-EU migrants has increased by almost 50% since the EU enlargement, which points towards an increased East-West migration from the new member states. Favell (2014) also highlights this point and argues that the mobility rate of movers from the CEE member states is higher than among West Europeans. To better assess the
mechanisms and motivations of migrants moving within the EU, I discuss theoretical assumptions of migration. These include theories for the micro-, the meso- and the macro-levels.

2.3.1 Theoretical levels of migration analyses

Theoretical models are helpful and offer a framework for understanding the importance of factors that influence migration behaviour. Hagen-Zanker states that, micro-, meso-, and macro-levels can be used to assess theories of migration (2008: 5). At these different levels, a variety of push- and pull-factors may influence the motives to migrate. Push-factors are those associated with the area of origin and pull-factors are those that refer to factors which attract people to migrate to a new destination.

Micro-level theories look at individual capital and resources. These include, as the human capital theory suggests, pull-factors such as education-level, age, gender, language knowledge and work-skills, a willingness to take risks, and personal goals and values (Morawska 2007). In other words, better qualifications make migrants more competitive in the enlarged labour market (Mau 2005). More economy-based theories assume that people living in poorer regions make decisions about migration based on individual cost-benefit analyses and the personal perceptions of what the job situation is at home (Morawska 2007). Potential migrants make rational calculations about their expected gains and costs from migrating to another country. Most of these micro-level models have, however, been criticised for their myopic view of people, predominately driven by rational choices and utilitarian motivations. The insufficient attention to the diversity of cultural backgrounds, historic circumstances and values poses major limitations for explaining migration behaviour.

The meso-level includes social relations and social capital, such as migrant networks and existing communities that act as a pull-factor because they facilitate migration decisions and the adaptation process. However, strong ties to the local community and family in the country of origin can also have a constraining effect for migration plans. Meso-level theories are suitable to explain both causes and continuation of transnational mobility.

Migration is likely to occur in areas of economic deprivation and high levels of inequality. This context incentivises people to move to places where conditions are
more favourable. Massey (1990) argues that continued movement becomes more common once people start to leave their territory. Exit strategies become part of the local culture once networks expand and the revenues sent back by migrants increase. Hagen-Zanker (2008) states that these networks are especially crucial for migrants coming to a foreign country. Aside from receiving aid from migrant contacts, those who decide to move receive help from those previously settled. Pioneer migrants, who are already familiar with local conditions, assist newcomers in finding jobs, reducing the risk and cost of migration for newcomers. The interaction of developing local migration cultures and facilitated access to destination countries helps to perpetuate the migration flow. For example, in the case of Poles moving to the United Kingdom (UK), a study by Trevena (2005) found that new immigrants gravitated to established migrant networks and toward low-level jobs. Trevena argues that this tendency happens for two reasons. On the one hand, Polish friends of incoming migrants often already work in low-skilled sectors and volunteer to find newcomers similar jobs in the same field. On the other hand, it is often expected that these jobs are more accessible for newcomers due to their poor language skills or strong competition in the local labour market. Similar patterns are observable for citizens from other post-communist EU member states.

In contrast, several researchers found evidence that place attachment and strong bonds between citizens and their community may have a restraining effect on residents’ migration plans. Looking at urban areas, Petrović et al. (2017) find strong correlations between migration inclinations and local place attachment. These associations are even more consistent and stronger than between migration incentives and any socio-demographic characteristic of respondents. White (2010) presents similar findings from residents living in rural areas in Poland. This attachment to the locality-based way of life and relatives is also related to Massey’s (1990) argument of continued movement. If members of a community show affection for a place that is associated with family and stability and remain living in the area, exit strategies may not become part of the local culture. One reason may be the lack of existing migrant networks abroad because most people never left. Another aspect is a sense of belonging to the local community where individuals were born and bred. Attachment to a place and a sense of belonging represent values which, for some, contrast with the
ideology of mobility (Wiborg 2004), or may result in limited migration (Favell and Nebe 2009).

Expanding beyond the meso-level, macro-level migration theories explain migration patterns as part of structural asymmetrical economic development, creating push-factors for citizens. Internal migration within a state often takes place between poor rural territories and more affluent urban spaces where labour is needed and jobs are available. Similar market-led mechanisms play a role in the East-West migration within the European context (Favell and Nebe 2009). The lack of job opportunities, a relatively high unemployment rate and lower salaries, serve as incentives for migration towards the job-abundant states in the West, such as the UK, Ireland or Norway. Trevena (2005: 4) highlights additional push- and pull-factors at the macro-level that play a role in migration behavior. Freedom of travel within the EU and knowledge of the English language constitute pull factors at a macro-level. Furthermore, this movement was paired with the promotion of higher education in the 1990s that encouraged locals to escape the difficult job situation in their home countries. Migrants coming from the East subsequently entered the labour force, particularly in Ireland and the UK.

Similarly to micro-level theories, macro-level approaches have been criticised for their exclusive focus on economic mechanisms, such as regional inequalities and the lack of inclusion of local contexts and individual human capital. These aspects translate into a general criticism noted by Morawska (2007). The main issue about level-based theories is their one-sided focus on single causal factors prevalent on a specific level of analysis. This limited perspective forgoes the inclusion of simultaneously operating factors. Ultimately, the complexity of interrelated multi-level mechanisms that shape migration flows requires the integration of micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors.

In this study, I make reference to all three levels when analysing the experiences of well-educated young residents living in urban spaces. Although rational choices may be common among well-educated, young citizens, they also live in specific communities and are influenced by their environment and social interactions. Actors are not isolated - neither in their migration behaviour nor in their attitudes towards the EU and do not make decisions in a social vacuum. Structural factors and social
surroundings potentially influence the students’ decisions. This fact is also highlighted by Van Mol and Timmerman, who state that national contexts still play a role in shaping students’ mobility motivations and that students’ individual decisions are influenced by environmental factors such as macroeconomic institutions and social networks (2014: 477). Similarly, Favell et al. (2006) emphasise the importance of personal resources and human capital, which facilitates transnational migration and integration into receiving societies. At the same time, good education and a high level of mobility does not prevent individuals from being affected by cultural norms, social networks and local rules that could constrain their mobility (Favell et al. 2006: 21).

Although all three levels are employed, I aim to analyse which level plays a more significant role for the potential Eurostars’ views on the city and the EU and to what extent these views influence their decisions in terms of living and working. Given the complex interaction of a variety of factors, I further ask: what other reasons than economic factors are relevant in influencing the MA students’ decision in terms of where to live and work.

2.4 EU attitudes and migration patterns in Poland

In this section, I first present the Polish national context that conditions migration behaviour in Poland. As Duchesne et al. (2013: 30) argue, national characteristics are important to understand citizens’ reactions to Europe. These descriptive data help to embed the impact of sub-national entities on attitudes and migration within a national framework. Using national and European surveys, the first part of this section begins by briefly outlining the attitudes towards Poland’s accession into the EU. In the second part, I present an overview of the emigration patterns from Poland; free movement is commonly described as one of the most positive advantages of Poland’s EU membership. I then describe push and pull-factors factors relevant for migration behaviour among well-educated Polish citizens.
2.4.1 Attitudes towards the EU in Poland

Since Poland’s accession into the EU in 2004, public opinion towards integration was rather favourable. Although never unequivocally positive, the majority of respondents supported EU membership ever since opinion polls began recording public views at the onset of accession. According to public opinion surveys, such as the regular Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (CBOS), most Polish citizens supported the country’s membership in the EU. The latest survey from August 2017 reveals a combined strong (52%) or moderate (36%) support for the EU of 88% of the population. These figures reveal more support for EU integration than in other countries of the Visegrád Group. The Standard Eurobarometer 88 (2017) also shows that 62% of respondents feel both Polish and European but not solely European. At the same time, only half of the Polish population has a positive image of the EU, whereas 36% have a neutral image and 12% have a predominantly negative image of the EU. These numbers suggest that Polish citizens critically observe the EU. Although Poles remain largely enthusiastic towards integration, eurosceptical tendencies cannot be overlooked. To a large extent, Polish citizens believe the EU membership is beneficial for Poland and trust European institutions, but Polish citizens do not see the EU as an indispensable entity for Poland’s future. Many Poles (39%) are rather opposed to further integration and wish for the continuation of the status quo (Balcer et al. 2017). Only 9% of the surveyed population thinks that Brussels should have more power. However, this public opinion is not based on a single criterion but has to be assessed depending on specific issues.

With reference to the national economy, scholars posit that euroscepticism appeared because economic benefits from EU membership were not immediately felt (Cichocki 2011). Poland’s EU membership was one of the main factors for economic growth but the living standard of the average Polish citizen is still far from West European standards. However, Surwillo et al. (2010) state, that in the long run positive views on Poland’s EU membership are likely to prevail precisely because European integration translates into perceived personal economic benefits. The EU is not

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2 The Visegrád Group is a cultural and political alliance of four Central European nations – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. The alliance reflects the efforts of the four countries to cooperate in a number of fields of common interest
perceived as a common home but seen as a bag of money and opportunities, which member states try to take advantage of.

Looking at social gains and losses, a report, drafted on the occasion of Poland’s 10 year anniversary in the EU argued that in 2003, many Poles did not expect personal benefits from EU membership. Most voted for EU accession to secure better opportunities for their children. A decade later, the majority of Poles acknowledged personal benefits resulting from European integration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014). Among the most important advantages were facilitated free movement within the EU due to the lifting of borders (work and travel) and better opportunities for personal development and education (e.g. access to Erasmus programmes). This shift at the national level points to expedited social benefits for Poles since 2004.

Politically, EU accession had a positive impact on Poland’s position in Europe and its international security. The CBOS survey (2014) shows that 72% of the surveyed population believe that EU membership increases Poland security and only 3% expect negative impact. A vast majority of respondents (80%) names Russia among countries causing security concerns. These numbers are similar to other CEE countries. However, 67% of Polish citizens believe that the country does not have sufficient influence on political actions and decisions made on the EU level. Furthermore, a sizeable group of respondents (36%) thinks that EU membership restricts Poland’s sovereignty, compared to 47% that think EU membership has not a strong influence on the country’s sovereignty.

In sum, the case of Poland could be seen as part of a larger frame of perspective among citizens in CEE, which is motivated not only by utilitarian reasons but also due to changing social and political circumstances (Schlenker 2012/3). Nevertheless, and as a context for this study, it is important to note that the shared common history of transition in CEE did not translate into similar public opinions in every CEE country. In the case of Poland, however, the long history of communist rule and foreign domination resulted in a preference for models of European integration.
2.4.2 Migration patterns in Poland

2.4.2.1 Polish migration in the European context

Favell (2014) describes migrants from new member states as ambitious and willing to benefit from the newly gained freedom to work in the EU. These movements symbolise a social change in the EU and have a huge cultural and economic impact on both the West and CEE. Friberg (2010) notes that after the enlargement of the EU, East-West migration became one of the most salient population movements in Europe, which affected the demographic, economic and social situation in both sending and receiving countries. Most migrants from the new member states would move to the UK, Germany and Ireland.

Looking at Polish migrants in the UK, Favell and Nebe argue that they appear to migrate based on utilitarian motives and their expected economic benefits, supplemented with personal, less economic, incentives such as having a new cultural experience (2009: 213 - 215). This motivation suggests that incentives predominantly stem at the micro-level but are not solely based on assumed economic gains. Moreover, these incentives are also fuelled by push- and pull-factors at the macro-level, such as free movement within the EU and economic disparities between the old and new member states. But although these predominantly economic theories might be true, politically, the situation can prove to be more difficult. The domestic population may perceive migrants as a threat precisely because they seek not to integrate but merely benefit economically. This perception appears despite the fact that with European integration, migrants from CEE are now free intra-European movers and not immigrants.

In contrast, White (2010) states that, in her study, she found that most Polish migrants perceived British nationals as predominantly polite and positive. Most of the Polish residents she interviewed felt at home in their local areas. There were only a few unpleasant incidents and often, the lack of confidence in speaking a language proved to be a barrier for further integration. She emphasises that language is the “most fundamental attribute of integration (White 2010: 138). Higher-educated Polish migrants were more likely to confidently speak English in the UK. As a result, this
language skill facilitated their integration through the establishment of social networks. Nevertheless, there is a potential that, despite being highly skilled and willing to integrate, these migrants will only be allowed to perform jobs that the domestic population does not want to do. Favell (2009) argues that they still seem to be exploited as a cheap labour force. Yet, how large is the number of East – West migrants? Is the fear of the Polish plumber (Favell 2009) and the reluctant acceptance of open borders and East-West migration justified?

The Central Statistical Office of Poland provides data on emigration and immigration in the years 1966 - 2014. Figure 3 shows that the net migration in Poland was constantly negative: the outflow of people was always higher than the inflow. Within two years of joining the EU, the emigration rate nearly tripled before dropping again to almost the same rate as it was before it was joining the EU. This rapid increase in the years following accession supports Favell’s (2008) statement that European integration facilitated free movement and also that Poles were willing to benefit from this new possibility. With the beginning of the global financial crisis in 2007, the situation changed. The sharp decline in emigration and the steady increase of immigration led to the lowest net migration on record. It seems that Polish citizens immediately wanted to benefit from freedom of movement after EU accession. However, due to the global economic crisis, the pace of return migration accelerated and the emigration rate slowed down after 2008 (OECD 2009). Today, with improving prospects for economic activity, the emigration rate is, again, rising.

Figure 1: Poland- emigration and immigration for permanent residence, 1966-2014

Source: Central Statistical Office of Poland (2015)
2.4.2.2 Migration of highly skilled Polish citizens

Regarding migration practices among the well-educated population, Kaczmarszczycyk writes that shortly after 1990 the number of migrants with low level education increased, whereas the level of highly educated decreased (2010: 171). This trend reversed towards the end of the 1990s and even accelerated after EU accession in 2004. Similarly, Anacka and Okólski (2010) investigated the demographic consequences of migration from Poland before and after EU membership. When looking at education as a selective factor for Polish migrants, they note that EU accession “strongly influenced migratory behaviours of the most highly educated” (Anacka and Okólski 2010: 152). Whereas the migration rate of the highly educated increased, the rate of migrants with vocational education remained stable, albeit still at a high rate. Due to liberal British migration policies and the migrants’ knowledge of the English language, the UK increasingly attracted well-educated Polish migrants.

More urban an area and less crowded the labour market, the weaker the propensity to emigrate among Polish well-educated individuals after EU accession. Nevertheless, the loss of the highly skilled population – the so-called ‘brain drain’ - is considered to be relevant for the Polish nation and its market economy. Table 1 presents the percentages of migrants by sex and education before and after Polish EU membership.

Table 1: Education structure of Polish pre-and post-EU accession migrants by sex (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Pre-accession $^3$</th>
<th>Post-accession $^4$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University degree $^5$</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary vocational</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfinished</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CMR Migrants’ Database based on Polish LFS, Table by Kaczmarszczycyk, Paweł (2010)

$^3$ Aged fifteen and over who have been abroad for at least two months in the period 1999-2003
$^4$ Aged fifteen and over who have been abroad for at least two months in the period 1 May 2004 – 31 Dec. 2006
$^5$ Including Bachelor’s, Master’s and PhD degrees
Kaczmarczyk and Tyrowicz (2015) name macroeconomic structures, such as European integration and opportunities offered by the labour markets in sending and receiving countries as crucial push- or pull-factors for decisions to migrate for well-educated young Polish citizens. On the meso-level, migrant networks can facilitate integration in receiving societies and also influence the decision to leave after studies. Furthermore, social and cultural aspects play an important role in governing attitudes towards migration. Similarly to Favell and Nebe’s (2009) analysis of pull-factors for East-West migration, Van Mol and Timmerman (2014) argue that well-educated Polish citizens move based on individual economic utilitarian motives but also to make new cultural experiences or to learn a new language, which can be equally crucial for personal enrichment or future career development. Generally, decisions among the highly skilled and well-educated to migrate are complex and cannot be sufficiently explained with economic migration theories alone. Kaczmarczyk concludes that migration of the highly skilled is an inevitable phenomenon in the era of European integration and globalisation (2010: 183). He suggests referring to terms such as ‘brain circulation’ rather than brain drain. Those who leave will not only have a better chance of finding a job, but will also gain professional and cultural experience. On the other hand, this brain drain may become an issue for Poland if highly skilled migrants do not return, which inevitably leads to a one-way migration pattern (Kaczmarczyk 2010: 183). Thus, it would be crucial for urban governments in Poland to create favourable economic, cultural and political conditions to increase the amount of inflow or return migration of highly skilled migrants and to increase attachment of the local population.

Analysing conditions in cities may help to understand important needs of educated and skilled workers and may influence urban authorities’ policy decisions. For my study, the related issues of potential brain drain and conditions in Polish cities demonstrate the importance of migration research among young, well-educated urban citizens. I aim to investigate to what extent attractive local conditions influence MA students’ migration behavior after Poland joined the EU.
2.5 Introducing the urban dimension

After discussing theories related to the formation of attitudes and migration patterns in the EU on the national level, I presented a short overview of the current situation related to these topics in Poland. In this section, I shift the focus towards the local level, which is the focal point of this study. As previously mentioned, sub-national entities in the CEE context are often neglected when assessing EU attitudes and migration. This scholarly gap requires a thorough examination of the urban space to evaluate its idiosyncrasies. I start by defining the term “city” and outlining its value in the European context, followed by a description of the political and economic changes in cities after the fall of communism.

Defining cities is a difficult task. Smith (2000: 49) argues that there is no “solid object known as the […] city”. He further states that cities are best thought of as historical constructs with different cultural mixes, economic structures and political regulations. Bruneckiene et al. (2010: 256) similarly note that since the last decade of the 20th century, “cities have become among the most complex and dynamic economic, social and political systems”. Amin and Thrift (2002: 1) even go as far as to claim that “we can no longer even agree on what counts as a city. […] The city is everywhere and in everything”. Half of the world’s population now resides in cities, which sprawl across villages and are connected by corridors of communication. In Amin and Thrift’s view, the traditional divide between the urban and the rural is fading. In contrast to their statement of the fading distinctions between the rural and the urban (2002), Pile (1999) emphasises three characteristics of a city that distinguish it from its hinterland and more rural communities; first, cities are densely concentrated by institutions and architecture; second, they are heterogeneously represented by a variety and proximity of different lifestyles and identities; and third, as nodes of different networks of communication, cities witness flows of goods, services and people across and beyond the city.

These various statements collectively demonstrate that the city as a static theoretical entity does not exist. Most contemporary urbanists acknowledge the complexity and fluidity of the city. The boundaries of modern cities are dynamic and cities are places of social heterogeneity and disjoint processes (Amin and Thrift 2002).
Furthermore, studies collectively highlight the importance of cities as powerful centres. In the introduction to his essay on ‘The World City Hypothesis’, Friedmann describes world cities as important hubs for global capital and argues that they “differ among themselves according to not only the mode of their integration with the global economy, but also their own historical past, national policies, and cultural influences” (1986: 69). In contrast to Sassen’s global city theory that describes global cities as well-connected global service centres, Friedmann’s hypotheses portrays cities as strategic centres of dominance. Holston (1999) writes that cities, despite their historically important role as social and economic spaces, are often ignored and are omitted from analyses as territorial influences on people. In his view, cities are the place “where the business of modern society gets done” (Holston 1999: 3). Cities encapsulate dynamic constructs, providing a space for producing political, economic and cultural frameworks for individual and collective actors. Urban centres dominate the landscape and influence the life of a large proportion of the population (Stevenson 2003).

Despite the fact that “the city” is an elusive and contested concept and that its important social role is often rendered irrelevant (Holston 1999), the urban space has been assessed from various analytical perspectives, resulting in controversial analyses of urban systems. American urban sociological theorists – Geddes, Mumford and Wirth among others – set out to find a general methodological description for cities at different stages in history (Amin and Thrift 2002). They portrayed cities as an organism. The city was perceived as a spatially defined entity, embodying its own internal dynamic and a particular way of life. Their sociological research was primarily focused on describing the urban place, with little relevance to the actual situation on the ground in cities. Walton and Masotti (1976) hold a different view by arguing that the fragmentation of academic approaches in analysing the city implies “that there is nothing distinctively urban to be understood or explained (Walton and Masotti 1976: 3). In their view the city is merely a setting for the study of a variety of processes. The urban entity as a historical and social form is of less interest than the variety of activities and interactions that occur there. They conclude that the analyses of the ‘urban’ are only another label for the ‘real’ and suggest the integration of various comparative analytical approaches to overcome these theoretical confusions.
In her essay *Why cities matter* (2006), Sassen writes that cities have emerged as strategic places for a wide range of dynamics. The most dominant influence stems from the economic role of cities in an increasingly globalised world. These global changes call for new innovations as “a growing number of global conditions are hitting the ground in cities” (Sassen 2006: 51). To adapt, the political structure of cities needs to account for the development of local citizenship and administration, as well as for the local allocation of economic resources. Cities, Sassen claims, are important for the integration of horizontal and vertical networks and serve as opportunity-ridden locations for their citizens. Urban spaces are not merely physical entities but also function as independent platforms for the interaction of a multitude of local actors. As Smith notes, “any given city, receiving particular transnational economic, political or cultural flows provides a specific configuration of potential opportunities” (2001: 168).

For my research, this discovery is important because it underlines the necessity to compare local conditions in different cities instead of applying broad generalisations. When looking at the character of European cities, the theoretical depiction of cities as strategic sites of dynamic economic, political and social interactions (Holston 1999, Smith 2001, Sassen 2006) becomes even more prevalent.

2.5.1 European cities and why they matter

Historically, modern-day European nation-states have largely emerged from a developing network of cities (Andreotti et al 2015). Since the Middle Ages, Europe has been one of the most urbanised continents (Clark 2009). European cities also undertook an important role for the European economy and the development of social, political and cultural life. Clark (2009) describes this process as uneven and complex. Some European cities were important centres of commerce, religion and cultures, whereas other urban communities played a less important role in the urbanisation process. Nevertheless, cities served as “pillars of European continuity and stability” (Clark 2009: 1) by reacting innovatively to political and economic challenges.

In the mid-1900s, cities increasingly lost their capacity for the exploration of major subjects concerning society and social sciences (Kazepov 2005: xvii). This
decline in interest was partly due to the fact that in the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, scholars ceased to believe that cities captured epochal transformations and that they were potential research sites for studying non-urban social processes (Sassen 2010: 3). Over time, nation-states became the more dominant form of organisation of authority and thereby of social analysis. In the face of economic and political changes within and among centralised states, European cities lost their importance as centres of trade, politics and cultures (Le Galès 2002). They became agents of the nation-state, serving as bases for putting national political processes and institutions into practice. The state, with its command over resources and the authority to enforce its rules and laws, places itself in the most influential position. This national context, in which different territorial dimensions interact, provides a set of structural constraints and possibilities for individual and collective actors (Le Galès 2002). This indicates that the state is still crucial in providing the institutional and legal framework in which cities operate (Kazepov 2005: 32). Kazepov emphasises the importance of this context, with the state as the dominant regulative institution, for academic investigations in urban studies (2005). Generally, social science maintains links between European cities and nation-states.

Despite structural constraints, cities were able to maintain a certain political and economic autonomy from nation-states. This feature might become increasingly important in a Europe where national boundaries are, at least, partially eroding (Andreotti et al 2015). This degree of independence from the nation-state finds its expression in a certain feeling of belonging to the local space. In her global city theory, Saskia Sassen (1999) argues that some cities tend to disconnect from the nation-state and become strategic sites in the global economy. These global cities, embedded in a new cross-border geography (Sassen 1999: 38), are also sites for new types of political processes and for a range of innovative cultural operations.

In contrast, the urban landscape in Europe is dominated by mid-sized cities, which limits the applicability of the global cities theory to most cities on the European continent. Another fundamental characteristic of mid-sized cities is their relatively large number and dense network. In \textit{European Cities} (2002), Le Galès comparatively analyses the role of these cities in relation to the nation-state and the transformation of West European societies. He posits that cities are becoming important actors within
Europe and the EU. Focusing mainly on political governance, Le Galès argues that the nation-state today plays a less determining role in structuring and steering societies (2002: 76). Local entities, viewed as political, economic and social constructs, are according to Le Galès (2002), likely to be influenced by processes of European integration and globalisation.

With increasing European integration, a major redistribution of authority has altered the position of European cities (Le Galès 2002, Kazepov 2005). The further increase of globalisation, the erosion of national borders, and newly emerging intergovernmental networks, have allowed local authorities to bypass the state. Europeanisation processes “provide a new structure of opportunities” (Le Galès 2002: 96) for cities and citizens and allow them to engage with other actors on a European or global scale. These new prospects, he argues, have altered the way cities have to be defined and analysed. European cities are not organised solely by the state but, increasingly, in relation to regions and cities in other countries – the horizontal dimension of European integration – and in relation to Brussels – the vertical dimension (Le Galès 2002: 75). Nevertheless, even if the national level’s dominant position has been challenged, the embeddedness of cities in a specific national setting is still important and the influence of cities as a frame of reference on social actors has to be analysed through this perspective. Therefore, when analysing cities in the EU, it is essential to understand not only the influence of EU integration but also the national frameworks within which these cities operate.

Within social urban studies, European cities are often distinguished using two different methods. On one hand, cities are analysed according to similarities between those of different countries. On the other hand, differences between cities in different countries can also be evaluated (Lehto 2000: 112). One example of the former method is the tendency, to argue that global economic transition creates various types of cities. Through this perspective, scholars rank cities hierarchically and categorised them according to their functional features and territorial influence (Dematteis 2000: 58). According to these hierarchical classifications, global cities such as Paris or London have to be distinguished from European metropoles such as Brussels or Madrid. Studies ranking European cities, however, are not consistent. They often use different indicators and place cities on different levels. Dematteis points out that these
hierarchical-functional classifications do not give better results than the simple demographic size of the cities (2000: 58).

An alternative way is to analyse differences between cities in different countries and to assume that national institutions have shaped their development. Lehto (2002) uses the welfare state as an example and argues that its impact on shaping cities and urban actors is quite significant. This allows, for example, for differentiation between Central European cities and North European cities, with the latter utilised as an example of a well-functioning social policy. In this research, I adapt a form of this latter approach by looking at cities within one nation-state, although I do not include cross-country comparisons. Instead, I focus on differences between cities located in different regions and with different historical and cultural backgrounds within one country.

2.5.2 East vs West: Cities in the new European member states

Until now, research about the importance of European cities as political, economic and cultural frameworks within the processes of European integration has focused mainly on major cities and primarily on the “West”. A wide range of scholars has written about West European cities (Dickinson 1962, McKay 1982, Cheshire and Hay 1989, Benevolo 1993), treating the former communist states in Central Europe as ‘terra incognita’. Initially, political processes in Europe after the Second World War and the associated restricted access to data constituted the main reason why authors directed their focus towards West Europe. However, even contemporary scholars often refer almost exclusively to West Europe. Le Galès predominantly mentions West Europe when he analyses the relationship between European cities and the state. His reasons are the socio-historical arguments he draws on, which underscore particular features of West Europe and limit the availability of comparative knowledge within East European countries. Yet, the peculiarities of the local spatial dimensions in CEE are important. Both the historical background and the transitions after 1990 had a dramatic impact on the way cities in CEE are governed, their economic development and their integration into a wider European framework (Bachtler et al. 2000).
With the emplacement of the “Iron Curtain”, the functional reality and the concept of a united Europe were destroyed and the continent was divided between East and West. During the socialist period, the USSR and communist satellite states, and the market economies of West Europe developed different policies, economic structures and cultural understanding. The dramatic changes which have occurred since 1989 – the collapse of communist power and the end of the Cold War – have reconfigured this region. Central Europe has re-emerged as a distinctive territory embracing the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia (Hamilton et al. 2005). The experience of being a former communist state is important. When outlining his definition of EU citizenship, Holston (1999) states that the fall of communism has to be interpreted as a critical juncture. Europeans, previously living in rivaling camps, were suddenly united and borders were shifted. Further complicating this process was the increasing globalisation force. Both the unification of disparate European states and the globalisation process tore down national boundaries. In doing so, local entities - more so than national ones - became important competitors on the global marketplace and a crucial entity for the development of identities and attitudes (Holston 1999, Hamilton et al. 2005).

These historical and political considerations further underscore the importance of assessing CEE urban residents. Such an examination serves as a fruitful contribution to the literature about European cities as social entities. For my research, this implies that the dynamic political and economic changes after the fall of communism provide a distinct urban framework that is different from West European cities and deserves in-depth analysis.

2.5.3 Polish urbanisation: a short history of transformation

Cities in Poland present interesting cases to explore how urban areas in CEE influence their residents’ attitudes towards European integration. Looking at their history and legacy, Polish cities witnessed some of the most momentous events of the last century, and in recent years, have gone through vast changes in their cultural, economic and political systems (Szczerbiak 2015). The changing relationship between
Poland, and indeed all post-communist CEE countries and the EU is also transforming urban areas and the lives of their residents (Young and Kaczmarek 2008)

To understand contemporary city development in Poland and its implications for the shape of residents’ approaches toward the EU, it is crucial to examine the nation’s urban history. Frequent wars and changing boundaries have influenced urban development due to economic instability and competing political interests. Before World War II, Poland was a predominantly agrarian country and was among the most weakly urbanised regions of Europe. Large urbanisation processes were only initiated in the second half of the 19th century when industrial technologies, originating in West Europe, diffused into CEE (Musil 2005: 25). In contrast to West Europe, the creation of new industrial cities was rather uncommon and restricted to only a few areas. The western parts of Poland close to Germany were more industrialised and urbanised than the eastern parts (Musil 2005: 26).

Shortly after the end of the World War II, all CEE countries went through a process of Sovietisation (Musil 2005: 31). A centrally planned command economy was established which entailed the nationalisation of the means of production. Economic decision-making was determined through the centralised administration and not through the market. However, politicians in the socialist satellite countries were allowed to develop their own urban planning strategies but these urbanisation processes in socialist countries differed from those in capitalist countries. Urban planning in socialist systems had the largest impact on individual cities rather than on the national or the regional level. Instead of market allocation mechanisms, political centralisation, redistribution of resources, and central planning engendered the differences between socialist and capitalist urbanisation (Musil 2005: 42).

The changes leading to the dissolution of the socialist city-model occurred in different forms across Polish cities. The outcomes were path-dependent, “determined both by the starting position of the city, and by political and economic development factors” (Tosics 2005: 71). The collapse of communism in 1989 to 1990 brought an entirely new situation in which strong external and internal forces started to exert their influence (Tosics 2005: 44). Dramatic changes occurred within Polish cities that led to their political and economic reconfiguration. These cities, which were subject to a high degree of centrally planned policies and a state-owned economy during the
socialist system, underwent transformations towards a market economy and a democratic society. This sudden change, impacting important factors of urban development, made “the transition-period one of the most turbulent and interesting phases of development in CEE cities” (Tosics 2005: 53). One of the most essential internal factors of change in CEE, compared to West European countries, was the elimination of state control in favour of urban planning, as well as propelling the decentralising shift of decision-making to the local level. In most CEE cities, political changes came with transition from the socialist one-party system to a democratic multi-party system, which allowed free elections at a local level. Tosics (2005) argues that it was the local governments and not the regions in CEE that were given substantial power after 1990 because regional self-government was not implemented during the socialist period. In the early 1990s local governments could, in fact, start to operate as real decision-makers within their territory (Tosics 2005: 54). The central governments’ belief was that local officials would make wiser decisions and more could be done with less money. In most of the countries in question, however, no calculations were made regarding the amount of public money needed to fulfil given tasks, resulting in a lack of sufficient funds being distributed at the local level. Bachtler et al. (2000) indicate that the transition from the central to the local level has involved a series of economic reforms together with political, social and cultural changes.

In Poland, the territorial structure and the organisation of the state were radically changed after 1989. The process of liberating Polish cities from the socialist grip was accelerated when political and spatial transformations were initiated (Polish Ministry for Regional Development 2010). Interestingly, the distribution of power was first introduced at the local level in 1989 and subsequently in 1999, at the regional level (Gorzelak 2000: 153). This post-socialist decentralisation has fundamentally altered the legal, political and economic framework of local governments in Poland. As Swianiewicz argues, “compared to the situation before 1990, it is fair to say that almost everything has changed” (2005: 100). Kozak (2000: 319) identifies at least two reasons for why there was a need to decentralise and for the Polish state to reform local government: (i) that the centralised state could not effectively cope with the developing market economy and (ii) the aspirations of the regional and local communities for more self-determination within the emerging democracies.
The first post-communist government formed in September 1989, led by the Solidarity party (Solidarność), quickly acted on its commitment to local self-government. In March 1990 the lower house of the Polish parliament, the Sejm (Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej), passed the Law on Local Self-Government, which granted new powers of self-government to the municipalities (gminy). There are now 16 regions (województwo), 314 land counties (powiats ziemske), 66 cities with county status (powiats grodzkie) and 2479 municipalities (Central Statistical Office of Poland 2015). This structure makes Poland one of the most deeply decentralised non-federal countries in CEE (Kozak 2000). The goal of the reform was to separate functions and policy areas between the different organisational levels. Swianiewicz argues that the three spatial tiers cooperate in some areas, such as economic development, but “in terms of specific service delivery, the separation is close to perfect” (2005: 103). He underlines this statement by discussing how the most recent reform distributed exclusive responsibility for a large number of different functions to local governments. They are in charge of primary education, water and sewage systems, public transport, housing, welfare tasks, culture, and to a limited extent stimulating the local economy and city competitiveness. He further states that local authorities increased their expenditures at the municipal level. This is also true for authorities in Polish cities that became much more independent in influencing and determining the policies of their area. Another important aspect was the growing flow of global financial transactions. The interaction between decentralised regions and global processes resulted in greater privatisation and a growing market orientation within the cities.

2.5.4 European integration of Polish cities

After the accession of Poland into the European Union in 2004, economic and political aspects at the local level became even more important. Veltz (2000) states that horizontal, transnational relations increasingly outpaced traditional vertical relations with the state. This pattern was also clear in the case of the enlargement of the EU, a process that facilitated the operation of international capital among sub-national entities within the new EU member states. But despite ongoing processes of convergence towards a market-economy, many cities strive to distinguish themselves from other cities, and their citizens refuse to relinquish their history and identity. City
authorities in Poland quickly realised that the uniqueness of their city is what gives them an advantage in the global competition (Nedović-Budić and Tsenkova 2006). Additionally, the ability to develop entrepreneurial urban governance strategies (Young and Kaczmarek 2008) has shaped the extent to which the cities become attractive to their residents.

According to the Polish Ministry of Regional Development (2010), the most competitive cities since 1990 were the metropolitan areas of Warsaw, Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków and Gdańsk. Based on these cities’ historical legacies and individual economic and political performance, they developed different strategies towards improving the conditions for urban residents after the fall of communism and with the process of European integration. Warsaw, Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków and Gdańsk, being among the biggest urban settlements in Poland, have took on increasingly more responsibility for their own strategic decision-making, for delivering greater affluence and quality of life for their residents, and for inclusion in the European framework. They also made significant investments in their public infrastructure and transport systems and aimed to enhance the attractiveness of their city for its urban population and foreign investment. These adjustments are also reflected in The Polish New Local Government act, which came into effect after 1989. It stated that the task of a commune authority is “to satisfy the collective needs of the community” (Parysek and Mierzejewksa 2006: 293). These changes of the political and social reality, as well as the mechanisms of participation in the internal market, were described as very difficult but also very significant, particularly for Polish cities (Węcławowicz 2005: 240).

Increasingly local authorities have also operate across national borders, which is largely a result of ongoing European integration. These direct international contacts between local governments add new possibilities and opportunities for Polish cities to position themselves in a competitive European environment. These obligations, in turn, are beneficial for local residents and advantageous for attracting foreign investment (Swianiewicz 2005: 116).

With EU membership, the so called “return to Europe” for CEE states (Sztompka 2004: 489), another form of transition took place as a new form of “other” came into being for Polish citizens (Sztompka 2004). There was not only the chance for more
economic cooperation and political collaboration, but also a prospect of new boundaries arising – between the newcomers and the old EU member states. Would Poland be treated as an equal member, or would it face a division between the core and periphery, this time within the EU (Sztompka 2004: 490)?

Galent and Kubicki (2010: 217) argue that the inclusion of Polish cities into the European network of personal exchanges allows for the dynamic spread of cultural patterns and creates the opportunity to experience multiculturalism and political pluralism through direct contact. In this sense, Polish urban centres are going through a particularly dynamic process of social, economic and political change. They are gradually replacing the nation-state as the most important frame of reference. Cities are “places which are conducive to living in” (Galent and Kubicki 2010: 222), where the urban way of life becomes a certain value and creates attachments to the local entity. After European integration, Polish cities encountered a new reality with opportunities for their urban residents, transnational networks and exchanges for market and cultural growth, and the development of innovative strategies and competitive urban conditions.

2.6 Conditions in cities

If we apply theoretical assumptions on the local level and argue that cities matter as sites that structure and potentially shape attitudes towards the EU and mobility patterns, it is essential to provide an overview of institutional factors. Cities within the EU are in a position to provide two different sets of conditions. On the one hand, the process of Europeanisation allows urban actors to engage and connect with other actors and cities on a European and global level. Cities and urban citizens benefit from networks across boundaries, contacts and transnational exchanges. On the other hand, cities encounter ongoing competition, as some are more successful than others in their processes of cultural, economic and political reforms (Christin 2005: 31). As a result, local governments are forced to promote their urban space as an arena for individual possibilities to enhance the appeal to foreign investors and to avoid ‘brain drain’.

Furthermore, cities not only compete internationally for the provision of good options and conditions, but also with other cities within national boundaries (Szczech-
Pietkiewicz 2013). How these conditions are perceived is not only based on individual preferences but also depends on each city’s competitive strategies and the local governments’ ability to provide an attractive competitive framework for local residents and foreign investors alike.

For my study this indicates that local authorities in the analysed Polish cities are required to provide good urban conditions for their citizens. The question I aim to answer is: how do potential Eurostars perceive the conditions and public services and infrastructure offered by the city they live in? To present some context to answer this question, I discuss the concept of city competitiveness and how it relates to quality of life and the provision of favourable urban conditions.

Figure 2: The two-fold conditions provided by urban entities

2.6.1 City competitiveness and quality of life

Nijkamp and Kourtit (2013: 292) argue that it is important to juxtapose the role of cities with global developments. In their view, worldwide dynamics and diversity at the local level constitute the context in which we are living. Urban entities play a pivotal role in socio-demographic, cultural, technological and political developments, since the world exhibits an increasing orientation towards an urbanised life. Following Sassen (1999) and Le Galès (2002), they posit that cities not only act as magnets for
social and economic developments but that creative strategies and good governance are increasingly required by urban authorities to become competitive in a globalised world.

Looking at the European context, Le Galès similarly notes that competitive behaviour has become an organising principle for a variety of actors within European cities (2002: 201). Local development and competition with other cities act as an important form of urban common interests. He further points out that, although the process of globalisation is leading to a convergence of European cities, these sites are still in competition with each other, in an attempt to attract outside investments, as well as jobs and certain audiences, including tourists, students and new residents. The primary responsibility of integrating these group interests and local institutional development is assigned to urban governments.

Although the importance of local government in areas of economic competition and accumulation of favourable conditions appears clear, the actual concept of “city competitiveness remains without a theoretical basis” (Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013: 17). The competition between cities across and within countries is mostly defined by indices or results. Begg (1999: 796) also writes that “many of the factors that influence urban performance derive from national or supranational economic trends”. He particularly refers to macroeconomic policy variables that assess regional and local economic performance. The interest rate or fiscal balances that affect exchange rates and wage inflation are set at national or supranational levels (Begg 1999: 804). In his view, urban competitiveness is an “interplay between cities as locations and […] firms and other economic agents active in them” (1999:799). Companies are able to choose their location flexibly. Consequently, cities with low property costs and policies that regulate factors in favour of economic activity are at an advantage. Transport systems, tax policies and attitudes to land-use planning are among these important factors.

In trying to reinforce their assets, urban governments also focus on other means to make their city attractive for investments. According to Szczech-Pietkiewicz (2013), city competition hones in on investment, human capital, tourism and cultural and sports events. She further mentions two different forms, such competition can take. The role of direct competition is to host events or to attract infrastructural investment. Subtle competition increases the quality of life for citizens that in turn attracts a highly
qualified labour-force. Stanilov (2007: 14), focusing on economic and spatial development in CEE cities, also discusses the quality of life in cities as a main factor for international investors and urban development. Other elements he highlights include technology, labour costs, and institutional and legal environments.

What these scholars have in common is that they emphasise the role of local governments in urban development. Although dealing with the conditions of local economy is not an obligatory function of local urban authorities, it has nevertheless been a major concern for urban entities (Swianiewicz 2005: 110). Stanilov (2007) notes the increasing role of not just state intuitions in CEE, but also local governments that, throughout the decentralization process, have become important actors. Local authorities and institutions are required to adopt a much more proactive role in developing strategies to make their city attractive to investors and the residents alike. A competitive city is not, therefore, simply a place of great economic performance but also a location that provides a high standard of living. The purpose of competition between cities is to augment quality of life for urban residents (Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013).

In his paper *Quality of Life and City Competitiveness*, Rogerson (1999) argues that increasing mobility of capital contextualises the way in which cities act. Their ability and willingness to respond to the changing needs of the markets, culture and technology provides them with the capability to be responsive to the needs of capital. However, the competitiveness of cities is not only reflected in their current capacity to engage with global capital and to attract foreign investors through low labour costs. An important factor is the ability of urban governments to provide conditions “sufficiently attractive to lure potential capital into the area” (Rogerson 1999: 971).

Analysing urban transformation in CEE cities after socialism, Stanilov (2007) has built on this statement. He notes that as CEE countries are being integrated in the global economy, the national, regional and local governments become aware of the importance of quality of life in securing future success of their entities as competitors in the global market place. Rogerson (1999) also states that research on place promotion illustrates that quality of life is an important attribute for competitiveness among cities and can be employed to attract foreign investors. Similarly, Fainstein (2013) refers to quality of life as decisions made by the urban governments’ that have
an influence on the life of city residents in various ways. She specifically mentions policies such as “housing, transport, and recreation that differently affect people’s quality of life” (2013: 16). Rogerson (1999: 981) also mentions alternative elements constituting quality of life, such as life satisfaction, happiness and well-being. To date, little emphasis has been given to these factors. This is due, he argues, to “the privileging of capital’s notion of quality of life”. (Rogerson 1999: 980).

Quality of life, as a concept to evaluate the cities’ competitiveness, is complex and not easy to measure. Difficulties arise from the lack of explanations regarding what quality of life actually means, for whom it is an important factor and to what extent. Despite the fact that there is, at present, no consensus in the literature on a clear definition of quality of life (Rogerson 1999, Morais et al. 2011), the concept is utilised to analyse conditions in European cities. The Flash Eurobarometer “Quality of life in European cities 2015” (No 419) evaluates “people’s opinions on a range of urban issues” (European Commission 2016: 8). The main findings of the survey were that health services, unemployment and education are perceived as the most important issues for cities (European Commission 2016: 17). Whereas some studies provide no definition at all, others list certain social and environmental indicators or provide a basket of attributes under this theme. “Quality of life in European cities 2015” uses a range of questions to cover various aspects such as satisfaction with transport, health services, green spaces and the noise level. Moreover, cities’ residents are asked if they feel safe and if they trust the people in the city they live in.

Despite these difficulties in operationalising the concept, Morais et al. (2011) analyse the effect of quality of life on highly educated people. They argue that quality of life is an “important factor to explain why cities are considered attractive by some segments of the population” (Morais et al. 2011: 190). In their view, the perception of quality of life by well-educated urban citizens cannot be ignored in the evaluation of city competitiveness. In accordance with Stanilov (2007) and Rogerson (1999) they argue that attracting highly skilled human capital means attracting firms and foreign investments and thus economic development for cities (Morais et al. 2011: 202). Moreover, they conclude that mobility of highly qualified labour in Europe exists mainly at a national level. In search for a better quality of life, urban citizens rather relocate within their own country than across national boundaries. These findings are
underlined by Cheshire and Magrini (2009). They conclude in their study that the European urban system is not unified and national borders still represent significant barriers (2009: 107). This aspect was further analysed by Martin-Brelot et al. (2010). According to their findings, graduates from higher education institutes are faced with cultural, language and institutional barriers. Moreover, the costs of relocating are relatively high. Therefore, soft factors, such as quality of life, in their view, play only a marginal role in attracting members of the young well-educated class to another city within the EU. Tough not crucial when relocating, these factors do play a role in retaining residents once they have established themselves in cities (Martin-Brelot et al. 2010).

2.6.1.1 Quality of life in Polish cities

In 2011, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) published a comprehensive Report on major Polish cities that offered the widest opportunities for businesses and for the people who live there. This report stated that Polish “cities have taken more and more responsibility for their own strategic decision-making, and for delivering ever greater affluence and better quality of life for their residents” (PwC 2011: 1). A high quality of life is expectedly pushes people to decide if they want to live and work in particular places instead of taking offers in different domestic or foreign cities. Consequently, investors use quality of life as an indicator to decide where they want to locate their businesses (PwC 2011). Quality of life is influenced by many factors and PwC (2011: 18) acknowledges that it is a debatable concept and difficult to measure. The indicators researchers use to measure quality of life in Polish cities include: the condition of the natural environment, level of healthcare quality, level of education quality and sense of security. Figure 2 illustrates the level of Quality of life in Wrocław, Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, and the Tricity area (Trójmiasto) - a metropolitan area consisting of Gdańsk, Gdynia and Sopot.
Figure 3: Quality of life in Polish Cities

![Quality of life in Polish Cities](image)

Source: Report on major Polish cities, PwC 2011, Figure by author

With the average level of 100 for the 11 cities analysed in their report, the value of Quality of life in Polish cities is highest in Wrocław, followed by Warsaw and Kraków and lowest in the Tricity area and Poznań. The low level of the Tricity area can be explained by a poor health care service, a low quality of education services and a low sense of security. Poznań is faced with similar issues. The table also shows that these Polish cities – with the exception of the Tricity area – have similar levels of Quality of life. However, Szczech-Piętikiewicz (2013) notes that a city must offer more to attract the well-educated class.

to attract the well-educated class.

For my research, this implies that quality of life might act as an additional incentive as part of a competitive strategy, but other factors, such as economic and public goods and infrastructure, also have to be able to compete on a domestic and European level. Cheshire and Magrini argue that “people vote with their feet and if the combination of the real wage and quality of life they could receive in some other city is higher, then they will move to it (2006: 26).

2.6.2 City competitiveness and conditions in cities

Processes of globalisation and the rise of supranational entities have both contributed to the change in the position of states in the global market and political system. Lackowska (2014: 32) concludes that “national territories ceased to be units that control and enclose economic and power relations”. As mentioned above, this statement may be challenged as the national context and influence of state authorities is still important and has to be taken into consideration when analysing opportunities
for urban residents (Kazepov 2005). Yet, the loosening grasp of the state on cities and global economic pressure have not only contributed to the cities’ increasing political autonomy, but equally to their application of competitive strategies (Lackowska 2014) and the development of new favourable conditions in order to position themselves in a globalised world. Clark (2009: 366) summarises this process by stating that it is striking how European cities use challenges – such as inter-urban competition and the high mobility of urban residents – to strengthen their performance. New ideas, implemented by innovative local authorities, transmit across urban networks. The question remains as to how local urban governments use their increased autonomy to improve the attractiveness of their space, and more importantly, how are residents involved in, and benefitting from policies conducted by these local governments. Quality of life is an important but not the only factor that has a potential influence on the competitiveness of cities. Nor does it solely determine how residents perceive the performance of their respective city in contrast to provisions offered by other cities and the EU. If cities want to attract and retain highly qualified people, they have to find ways to offer effective economic, political, social and cultural conditions.

A widely discussed concept of the city is that of a place that provides opportunities for urban citizens to be involved in shared experiences. Such an understanding of the city implies a concept of urban citizenship that denotes actors with rights, duties, possibilities and constraints (Sassen 2002). The city as a place also embodies a space for human communication: people do not merely inhabit a city. Hill (1994) argues that individuals attach meaning to the city through political and cultural interaction. Urban citizens, therefore, experience their city not only as a spatial, but also as social, entity. They often have a strong common sense of belonging to their city and want this feeling to be recognised by the political authorities (Walmsley 1988). Many people in cities live and work in relatively small defined areas. The services they receive as residents of a particular spatial area also have to be of local character. In this setting, the local government has been the leading actor for shaping the administrative, economic and political conditions for its citizens (Hill 1994).

By analysing the city as an urban area that involves and influences its residents, it is crucial to consider its position within European integration and globalisation processes. Cities are rooted in national societies, conducting local politics, but they
have also emerged as strategic sites “not only for global capital, but also for the
transnationalisation of labour and the formation of translocal communities and
identities” (Sassen 2010: 7). City governments actively support private investments
and city redevelopment, as opposed to merely directly delivering services within a
welfare state framework (Hill 1994, Veltz 2000). Cities advertise themselves as
providers of a unique quality of life and conditions for locals, while at the same time
presenting excellent conditions for companies and businesses. This responsibility to
both residents and businesses demonstrates that flows and networks exert pressure on
nation-states and equally on cities (Le Galès 2002).

For my research, this implies that urban authorities work towards place
promotion and marketing in order to forge distinctive images and atmospheres for
residents and investors alike. Creating favourable conditions, a good quality of life,
unity, and a sense of belonging to the local society, in the face of social fragmentation,
European networks and the pressure of a global market, is not an easy task. Consequently, every Polish city responds differently to this issue.

2.6.2.1 Cultural conditions in Polish cities

Culture has been widely viewed as being an important feature to create a bond
with local societies and sense of belonging to the city. (Le Galès 2002: 221). Urban
entities have always exhibited a capacity to both generate cultural and economic
innovation (Scott 2000). The context of redistribution of authority further favours these
attempts to mobilise local urban culture in order to establish attachment and to make
the city more attractive to international companies. Culture is, in this context,
instrumental in creating a sense of solidarity to, and of residents’ interdependence with,
the city. For cities in Europe, culture has become a key element in the promotion of
their image (Le Galès 2002: 221). For example, through the promotion of cultural
facilities. The educated middle-class in European cities is particularly sensitive and
responsive to the display of cultural events and venues (Le Galès 2002). Universities,
museums and heritage sites prompt a particular type of bond between the residents and
the city.
Urban areas also provide cultural institutions that “have intensely local characteristics” (Scott 2000: 3). These qualities not only help to create specific images and to differentiate cities from one another but also reap economic benefits. Cities invest in culture to attract tourists, foreign companies and consumers. In this context, culture can be Janus-faced with local institutions as an important source of identity including traditions and symbols and, on the other hand, as means of competition for international investments and economic development. The same mechanism can be seen regarding EU initiatives that have been focused on cities. The most visible initiative is the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme, which has been a significant catalyst for a culture-led regeneration of urban spaces (Griffiths 2006). Cities use this opportunity to articulate their distinctive identity and recreate a sense of the public space and locality, while also using their year as ECOC to promote an image of transformation and location branding.

A successful example from CEE in this regard is the Polish city of Wrocław, which was the European Cultural Capital in 2016 and therefore took the opportunity to promote its national and local culture. Latusek and Ratajczak (2014:63) argue that the local government undertook several projects to create a new image of the city and that “charismatic leadership helped to unite Wrocławians and supported the creations of their local identity”. Additionally, the city managed to transform itself from a peripheral and underdeveloped town into an urban area of international recognition and as “one of leaders on the cultural scene of Central Europe” (Latusek and Ratajczak 2014:63).

2.6.2.2 Economic conditions in Polish cities

A striking similarity, most authors share, is their focus on economic conditions, when describing the decisive factors of urban competitiveness (Sassen 1999, Stanilov 2007, Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013). Sassen (2006: 31) states that today we recognize a “growing number of cities emerging as strategic territories that contribute to articulate a new global political economy”. In light of the dominant impact of economic forces, Nijkamp and Kourtit (2013) question how these trends can be applied at a European level. In their view, European cities have to respond “properly and urgently to avoid a
declining attractiveness for creative [and well-educated] talents and firms” (Nijkamp and Kourtit 2013: 301). They also emphasise the critical role that European cities play as innovative hubs of new economic activities. “European urban areas […] are striving to find or to gain a new competitive advantage in a post-industrial environment” (Nijkamp and Kourtit 2013: 307). They further state that cities have to develop a degree of entrepreneurial activity to attract a constant flow of investments and highly qualified labour-force. As Cheshire and Magrini state, migration patterns depend on “spatial differences in economic opportunities” (2009: 91). Nijkamp and Kourtit conclude that “innovation and creativeness are thus the necessary ingredients for entrepreneurial cities in Europe” (2013: 307). The local urban level offers a great potential for a wide range of businesses and jobs and seeks to take advantage of flexible migration patterns to attract the best labourers. This is also true for Polish cities.

Despite the need for innovation and creativity in developing economic strategies and the existing competitiveness between European cities, many urban areas become alike due to the same globalization processes they are exposed to. Local authorities focus on similar strategies and economic trends which undermines the exclusiveness of their respective city and prevents them from creating more competitive positions (Bruneckiene et al 2012:256). The same process of convergence can be observed in Poland. In her study, Szczech-Pietkiewicz (2013) concludes that Polish urban competitiveness is rather homogenous. The major advantage of Polish cities in attracting foreign investors is the low cost related to human resources. This advantage, on the other hand, constitutes a major disadvantage in competition for a highly qualified labour force.

On a general competitive basis, Polish cities still fall behind compared to other cities in the EU, despite the improved access to horizontal networks across national borders. The only exception may be Poland’s capital, Warsaw. In his article The Warsaw Metropolitan Area on the eve of Poland’s integration into the EU, Grzegorz Węcławowicz describes Warsaw as an urban area that has a “substantial domination in the social, economic, and administrative domains” (2005: 224). Despite the fact that it has not developed as a globally influential city, it is an important economic centre and has an impact on the diffusion of the modernisation process in East Poland. Additionally, European integration processes are likely to have a substantial influence
on the future economic development and job opportunities of the Warsaw Metropolitan Area.

Although Warsaw’s situation, as the biggest city and financial centre, is advantageous in relation to the rest of the country, it does not mean that other Polish cities fall far behind. A spill-over of investments to other major Polish cities and gradual economic growth due to the improved accessibility to the EU have occurred (Korcelli 2005).

2.6.2.3 Public Services and Infrastructure in Polish cities

Public goods are the services and infrastructure delivered by political institutions for the shared benefit of residents. They constitute an important political factor in terms of place promotion for residents. Bagnasco and Le Galès (2000) mention that the provision of public services and infrastructure - such as transport, water and infrastructure development - is a typical feature of European cities. These public policies could even be described as a hallmark of European urban sites, although cities throughout Europe differ in their town planning and infrastructure development (2000: 14-15). These variations also include the extent of collaboration and joint operation with private companies to provide public services. Lorrain (2000) discusses these various forms of urban service models. He notes that whereas in some countries a service might be operated by a private company and regulated by the municipal authorities, in other countries the same service is organised through municipal, regional or even national authorities themselves. These different approaches expose significant differences in political culture and attitude and in the methods adopted for implementing local policies (2000: 162).

In light of Lorrain’s conclusion that local authorities keep a right of intervention if action is needed (2000: 176), this study does not aim to untangle the extent to which Polish authorities share their responsibilities in providing public services with private enterprises. It is also not the purpose of this study to describe the various systems of political regulation and the inclusion of organised civic groups when regulating public services. As a general approach, I assume that cities gain “greater political importance, particularly in terms of their strategic and political capabilities” (Bagnasco and Le
Galès 2000: 29). Healy et al. (2003) posit that local governments should take on the role of promoting the qualities of their places. These contemporary policies encompass place visions, bidding for resources in integrated area strategies and the development of urban areas as learning regions, as productive spaces and as environmentally and socially cohesive areas (Healy et al. 2003: 61). This form of local governance is described as place-focused, “open-minded to new ideas, aware of its traditions and facilitative of the opportunities and ambitions of residents with a stake in a place” (Healy et al. 2003: 61).

Healy (2002) also explains that politics and local administrations carry out projects and programmes to shape and improve the image of the urban space. The city as a social and spatial entity has to be brought to life through public policies implemented by urban administrations. In his *Lyons Inquiry into Local Government – Final Report* (2007) Sir Michael Lyons describes local governments as being well-situated to understand urban residents’ needs and to make appropriate decisions that consider the interests of local people. Local governments are physically closer to the urban residents and are therefore in the position to offer possibilities and exercise choices on behalf of their communities. How well these political choices are experienced by the urban community and how satisfied it is with the services provided by the local governments varies over time and between places.

Regardless of the scope of political challenges for urban environments, local governments are required to address the needs of the urban residents and to strategically plan and improve public services. This type of good governance on a local urban level is also an important condition for the attractiveness and competiveness of urban environments (European Commission, Directorate General for Regional Policy 2011).

Polish cities have also tried to improve the public services and infrastructure for the urban residents and the involvement of the local community in their decision-making processes. One example for good local governance is the political administration of the city of Poznań. On one hand, the city administration is responsible for spatial order, environmental protection, roads, public transport, water-supply, electricity, education, culture and public order. On the other hand, in 1995 the local government formulated its mission of urban development under the title: “Poznań
– the people-friendly city of opportunities” (Parysek and Mierzejewksa 2006: 293). The main strategic aim was to position Poznań as a centre of supra-regional importance through the enhancement of its attractiveness, the efficient use of local resources and the stimulation of its economic potential. This initiative to provide the best services for its residents and to attract tourists and investors to develop the city’s international importance. Nevertheless, these ambitious plans can only be achieved if local governments provide services and infrastructure that are tailored to the needs of the urban population and therefore perceived by them as an enhancement of the urban arena. The example of Poznań demonstrates the aim of local governments to provide adequate services and to enhance the appeal of the city to its urban population.

2.7 Group characteristics

For this study, I investigate a particular social group with distinct characteristics. I analyse MA students in cities in one country in CEE. EU accession created new challenges and opportunities for a generation assumed to “embody the propositions about spatial and social mobility in Europe” (Recchi 2014: 161). These circumstances and ways in which this well-educated young people coped with geo-political shifts and economic changes after European integration, necessitates scholarly attention. In this section I provide a closer look at these so-called “winners” of the post-communist transition period (Tucker et al. 2002). I start by describing the social group of highly skilled individuals and subsequently focus on students as a particular kind of population. In the last part, I assess EU attitudes and migration practices from a gender perspective.

2.7.1 Winners of globalisation

EU accession ushered in opportunities to go abroad, be it to experience a new cultural environment or to further a career for better prospects in terms of a higher salary, personal development or intellectual potential. The right of free movement is both closely intertwined with the calculation of individual costs and benefits and the alteration of traditional territorial attachment. Related to this view, Mau (2010)
investigates a sample of non-migrant Germans and their interactions and mobility across national borders. He argues that young people are less dependent on the nation-state but more likely to emphasise the opportunities connected to globalisation processes. He further states that young people are more involved in transnational interaction and show a greater readiness to migrate.

In contrast, Adrian Favell (2008) analyses young, well-educated Europeans, who have moved to West European cities. In his book *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe* (2008) Favell interviews these ‘Eurostars’ to investigate who they are and what experiences they made by living and working abroad. He concludes that these Eurostars benefit from a new migration system within the EU that has emerged as a result of increasing integration and enlargement of the EU. He further attributes better options in other European cities and a general increase of the quality of life as the main reasons why well-educated young people leave their country of origin. Similarly to Favell, Andreotti et al (2015) study highly skilled segments of the European population living in urban environments. In their study, they specifically focus on managers to better examine how European societies and cities change in relation to the ongoing globalization. In their book *Globalised Minds, Roots in the City: Urban Upper-middle Classes in Europe* they explore how the urban upper middle-class in Europe “adopt ‘exit’ or ‘partial exit’ strategies with respect to the nation-state” (Andreotti et al 2015). They conclude that the managers they had compared in their study see Europeanisation predominantly as an opportunity for personal and economic advancement. Based on their findings, both, Favell and Andreotti et al. argue that often rational reasons guide whether or not someone takes the opportunity to move, but that the Eurostars are still culturally rooted in their home societies and cities.

These works illustrate that in all cities certain groups of people are in a stronger position to benefit from these networks and increasing horizontal contacts. Groups with higher education and better cultural resources are more likely to have contacts beyond national borders (Le Galès 2002: 130). The same advantages are also applicable to winners of the transition from a socialist to market-based society in CEE. With European integration, this group of well-educated individuals benefited from free movement and facilitated access to a larger job market. Their advantages on the micro-
and the meso-level provide them with favourable opportunities that are beneficial regarding the development of exit-strategies. These social classes are highly mobile and are able to change city or country and thus avoid the constraints of local economic conditions that influence social hierarchies. The opportunity for involvement in these networks for highly educated urban residents is an indicator of the connection of spatial and social mobility. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) similarly argue that those with lower education may face declining possibilities because of changing economic structures and the differential impact of new political networks.

The division into winners and losers also constitutes a challenge to local governments and unsettles the dynamics and changing status of place in modern societies. Global means of communication, cheap transport and the interconnectedness of European countries seemingly reduce the importance of place (Lyons 2007). This interconnectivity may also question the relevance of local communities as point of reference for the individuals’ orientation. Although cities matter as providers of efficient political services, cultural institutions and economic conditions, well-educated urban citizens benefit equally from urban conditions offered by local governments and from European integration and transnational networks.

For this study, the characteristics of winners of globalisation are a crucial aspect. With respect to their skills and capacities to work and live everywhere, they may be less interested in, and feel less strongly attached with the urban environment and the local community (Lyons 2007: 55).

2.7.2 University students: A particular kind of population

Rosenblum et al. describe social identities as locations with which we connect or refuse to connect. Their work identifies three important coordinates that determine students’ social identities: “’Where’ are we, which ‘who’ are you (or me or us), and how will that matter for our interaction?” (2016: 170). In an academic environment, these identities are developed and performed in interaction with other students and staff during a specific duration of time. In this study, I take into account three specific aspects, related to the investigated social group.

First, many MA students have well-established connections with other students that may influence their opinion not only of the faculty and staff they interact with but
also on the prevailing views within their cohort. An inevitable and sometimes difficult situation that students face is that of forming their own opinion separate from their own social support system such as long-term friends and family. Guerra and Braungart-Rieker (1999) describe that all students are confronted with such academic and personal challenges throughout their time at institutions of higher education. In this context, students develop personal values and norms, a sense of community and assess their personal interests. This active involvement and interaction with the surrounding world has been described as ‘social participation’, a process in which individuals take an active part in decision making within the environment that affects them. A variety of activities have been examined as forms of such participation, including, studies pointing to an increasing trend of student disinterest in traditional politics but an interest in non-traditional civil involvement (Cicognani et al. 2008: 98).

Second, students are exposed to academic research, received training in methodology and research designs. Daniels and Brooker (2013), argue that universities are now increasingly encouraging students to prepare specifically for their future career in the global labour market, departing from traditional forms of pedagogy. This training includes developing qualities sought after by companies and enterprises such as time management, value of entrepreneurship, or social awareness. Globalisation has driven this shift in dynamics between tertiary education and future employment opportunities. However, universities now promote themselves as institutions that provide resources for the labour market and market themselves based on these global labour demands. Students, are therefore in a phase where they may have certain expectations about potential opportunities offered to them due to higher education or assume secure and rewarding employment.

Finally, related to their preparation to become a part of the labour force, MA students are at a stage in their studies where they have to plan their next step. These students — on the hunt for continuing education or a good job either in their country or abroad — potentially frame their intentions and current connections with institutions and social networks in terms of their status as students who have to change not only location but also their social environment. Smith et al. describe this process as “student identity in transition” (2017: 10). As they approach graduation and their
understandings and skill set develops, students have to balance a student identity with an emerging professional identity.

For my own research and specifically during the process of data collection, it was important to be aware of these aspects. Participants’ personal characteristics and the role of the academic environment in the socialisation of students potentially influence the data collection process and may bias the answers they provide (Bryman 2016).

2.7.3 EU attitudes and migration from a gender perspective

Most of the abovementioned theories about support for EU integration, are not focused on gendered patterns of support for the EU. Some studies, however, analysed a potential gender gap and confirmed that women tend to be less supportive towards EU integration than men (Nelsen and Guth 2000, Mau 2005, Surwillo et al. 2010). Nelsen and Guth, argue “that a modest gender gap exists, with women being less enthusiastic about the EU than men” (2000: 267). The majority of these studies employed utilitarian approaches to explain this gender difference (Noe 2016: 157). Some scholars have indeed argued that the lack of support results from women’s unfamiliarity with EU politics and economic pessimism (Nelsen and Guth 2000). Similarly, Mau states that differences can be explained because women are “more reliant on the nation-state, both as employees and as recipients of transfers” (2005: 300), suggesting that women perceive European integration as a potential disrupter of these granted benefits. These findings also apply to Polish women. Using data based on random samples collected in 1995 and 1998, Słomczyński and Shabad argue that women “tended to be less favourable toward Poland joining the EU than their male counterparts” (2003:515). Although they argue that these generalisations mask the heterogeneity of attitudes towards the EU among women towards the EU.

At the same time, researchers highlight that other socio-demographic variables tend to have more explanatory power than gender. Torres and Brites (2006) state that indicators such as class, education and age provide a better explanation for different EU attitudes than gender. There is “greater disparity between a young woman graduate, for example, and an older woman with little schooling than there is between
that young graduate and a man of the same age with a similar education” (Torres and Brikes 2006: 180). Extending from the generational argument, Mau (2005) argues that education is the most influential variable regarding personal assessment of winning and losing from EU membership. More educated individuals have better chances of benefitting from EU accession and are more likely familiar with the scope and development of European politics. Essentially, they understand how they can succeed from personal opportunities awarded to them through integration. These results point towards a mitigation of gender-based determinants when socio-demographic variables are held constant at the same level.

Along with a myriad of considerations, gender also affects the decision to migrate. With younger people, however, Mau (2010) states that the gender gap mostly disappears. Women are as much on the move as their male counterparts, but he stresses that the topic requires further investigation in order to better assess the extent to which gender disparities still occur. In this context, the European East-West divide has to be taken into account. This consideration is particularly crucial in Poland where, previously, the communist state introduced gender equality, prohibited discrimination and offered equal access to the labour market (Siara 2013). However, these policies did not challenge the traditional understanding of gender roles in private life (Zielińska 2016). The fall of communism and the post-1989 transformations such as the development of democratic norms and the introduction of a market-based economy, resulted in large changes at macro-, meso-, and micro-levels for the Polish society.

These social, political and economic adjustments also had a gendered dimension. As Morokvasic (2004: 101) notes, “the post-communist transition has put a large number of women on the move”. New push-factors emerged for women growing up in former communist countries now facing new realities that impacted on their personal life situations. They were looking for an escape from either the reinforcement of conservative gender discourses promoted by political institutions, or the exclusion from opportunities brought by new market conditions. Traditional gender expectations were still promoted, even after Poland joined the EU in 2004. However, liberal gender models from the West began to compete with conservative views on gender roles and in recent years “fewer and fewer Poles have regarded a woman’s role solely as that of mother and homemaker” (Siara 2013: 106).
Today, younger people often disagree with continuing traditional gender expectations and benefit from freedom of movement and new opportunities due to fading boundaries within the EU. This new situation for young, well-educated Polish citizens calls for the examination of the effect of gender on attitudes towards the EU and migration patterns. As Table 2 shows, the number of well-educated female migrants increased by almost 50 percent after Poland’s EU accession. Despite this dramatic change, Kaczmarczyk (2010), responsible for that research finding, does not delve into a discussion of gendered migration. Most scholars, looking at the gender-based aspects of East-West migration take a qualitative research approach and explore the experiences and challenges of people who have already moved to other countries and cities (Favell, 2008; Fomina 2010; Andreotti et al., 2015).

The influence of gender as a selective factor for patterns of migration, however, should be studied in the context of local societies. These includes economic structures, cultural norms and access to mobility (Morokvasic 2004). In this study, I aim to answer the question of how gender influences attitudes towards the EU and migration practices, among well-educated young people living in Polish cities. Earlier research indicates that male and female students may be equally supportive to EU integration but female students are more likely to develop exit strategies and to take advantage of facilitated migration. Few scholars have focused on these individual gender-based developments of attitudes and exit strategies of well-educated, urban citizens living in CEE (White 2010).

2.8 Summary

The literature review discussed a variety of theories of how citizens develop support for European integration and what influences their migration behaviour with a focus on CEE and Poland. I further assessed how these nation-focused theoretical assumptions could be applied at sub-national territorial levels. Furthermore, I connected these theoretical assumptions to understandings of the so-called winners of post-communist transformation. I also provided a descriptive overview of attitudes and migration in Poland. Moving away from the nation-centred view, I established the relevance of cities in the EU as alternative spatial dimensions. The concept of ‘city
competitiveness’ presents cities as social and political spaces that provide urban residents conditions that have the potential to influence attitudes towards the EU and migration behaviour. Subsequently, I introduced a specific social group living in cities: young, highly educated student, the potential Eurostars. I also underscored the importance of considering gender-based differences to better understand attitudes toward EU and migration. All young well-educated residents have the potential to benefit from the conditions presented by urban authorities and also from European integration. Access to the EU and increasing opportunities for mobility offer them new perspectives and potentially influence their choice of future location and work.

Chapter 3: Analytical framework

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and critically discussed the literature relevant for this study. The elaborations not only present a rationale for my research and theories employed to explain support for European integration but also introduced the local level and, specifically, urban conditions as a potentially important frame for the development of attitudes towards the EU and migration patterns. The issues reviewed help to identify the research already conducted in the field of public opinion about the EU and how their views may be related to the local context. Moreover, the literature review established that cities in CEE present a special case based on their distinct historical path and dynamic economic and political changes after the fall of communism, deserving of further analysis.

This chapter presents the analytical framework, which includes the theoretical framework, the methodology and the research design. In section 3.2, I first present the theoretical framework to demonstrate how and why the variables used in this study are related to each other. I follow the structure of Bryman and Cramer (2009) and start with low-level theoretical models, earlier presented in the literature review, from which I develop a set of hypotheses. I then develop measures of these concepts by defining and operationalising the variables used in this study. Subsequently, I conceptualise conditions in cities and show the limits of this conceptualisation. In
section 3.3, I outline the comparative framework, which includes the selection of cases and a justification for the choice of Kraków, Warsaw, the Tricity area, Poznań and Wrocław. I also provide a brief overview of each city and their specific backgrounds. Section 3.4 is devoted to methodology, outlining quality criteria and the philosophical assumptions used for the use of mixed methods research. In section 3.5, I explain the research design and the different parts of my mixed methods approach that entail a sequential explanatory design, with a quantitative part followed by a qualitative part. In the same section I explain how I combine the quantitative and qualitative data. This integration is the unique but also essential factor of every mixed methods approach (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). In section 3.6 I outline the process of population sampling and data collection by conducting a survey and semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Theoretical framework

The main purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which attitudes towards the EU and future choices of potential Eurostars are related to the city they live in. The question guiding my research is to what extent do perceived conditions, public service and infrastructure in Polish cities influence the attitudes of the well-educated youth towards the EU and what kind of impact this has on their choice of location and work. This question also entails investigating the extent to which nation-based theoretical assumptions of support for EU integration and intra-EU migration are applicable at the local level. In this section, I outline the theoretical approaches I use to answer the research questions and develop hypotheses based on these concepts.

3.2.1 Theoretical concepts and hypotheses

The previously mentioned theoretical emphasis on context-based rational choices and utilitarian approaches shows that macro- and micro-economic approaches interact to a certain extent. In line with Christin (2005), I argue that economic explanations operate on two levels of influence (micro and macro) and will therefore assess attitudes towards the EU for both of these levels. Well-educated young urban citizens are likely to base their attitudes on individual cost-benefit analyses, but they
also assess their environment and make choices based on the opportunities offered by European integration, factoring in the information they have about the urban conditions provided by their respective city. At the same time, I include theories about territorial attachment as a factor that shapes attitudes towards the EU. Despite conflicting results the relationship between support for EU integration and place attachment is almost always statistically significant (Duchesne et al. 2013).

First, it is necessary to question the distinctiveness of urban settings. As previously mentioned, all cities try to strengthen their performances in order to stand out in a competitive, globalised environment, to create favourable conditions for foreign investors and companies and to promote a unique quality of the urban area that retains the highly skilled in the city. To compare different cities, it is crucial to examine what options and infrastructure local institutions offer their inhabitants. As a result, it is important to ask how locals perceive the provisions offered by their local government. To assess the perception of this mix of cultural and economic conditions, and public services and infrastructure, I ask how conditions and infrastructure offered to potential Eurostars differ between Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, Kraków and Wrocław. Furthermore, I assess how potential Eurostars perceive the conditions and public services and infrastructure offered by the city they live in.

The first hypothesis following these sub-questions assesses the influence of macroeconomic structures on locals’ perceptions. I suggest that a good performance leads to a favourable perception of this performance among MA students. More specifically, I assume that well-educated, better-informed, urban citizens will notice if the city they live in provides a high quality of life, cultural and economic conditions, and efficient public services and infrastructure (Duch et al 2000).

H1: The better the conditions and infrastructure and quality of life a city offers, the more favourably are these urban conditions perceived by their citizens.

Another important sub-question to consider is the role of cities as sites for processes that create attachment and a point of reference for identities and loyalties (Sassen 1999, Latusek and Ratajczak 2014). Local living conditions and quality of life are an important feature of creating a sense of belonging to the urban space (Martin-
Brelot et al. 2010, Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013, Zukin 2003). If political authorities recognize the citizens’ needs, it not only increases the cities’ competitiveness, but may also augment the attractiveness of the local space and enhance a strong sense of attachment to the local environment. This link leads to the question as to how the perception of local conditions impacts upon local territorial attachments among the young, well-educated, mobile population. Local urban institutions are expected to be important for the socialisation of potential Eurostars (Le Galès 2002.). The hypothesis addressing this question is:

H2: The better the potential Eurostars perceive the local conditions and the quality of life in their city to be, the more attached they are to their respective city.

From an economic perspective, citizens assess the EU based on individual cost-benefit analysis (Anderson and Reichert 1996, Gabel 1998a) and the perception of national performances of political and economic institutions (Sánchez-Cuenca 2000, Diez Medrano 2003). For the development of the hypothesis, I combine these two levels of economic assessment. On the one hand, potential winners of the post-communist economic transition period are generally more supportive towards EU integration (Gabel and Palmer 1995, Christin 2005). However, these individual socio-demographic variables do not seem to be very stable and significant for support of European integration (Tucker et al. 2002, Tverdova and Anderson 2004). In contrast, some authors argue that personal characteristics may only have a small impact on what people think about integration, and overall it is rather system characteristics and not individual level independent variables that explain EU support (Ilonszki 2009). Christin argues that citizens of nation-states with a “high economic performance, an efficient democracy and a welfare state should be more sceptical about European integration” (2005: 51).

Based on previous studies, I therefore argue that well perceived economic, cultural and political reforms lead generally to less support for integration, regardless of personal economic assessments or individual characteristics (Gabel and Whitten 1997, Christin 2005, Ilonszki 2009). According to the national context theory (Kritzinger 2003), this assessment is not only applicable to political and economic
performance but also to cultural institutions. Given these complex interactions between the macroeconomic and the individual level, I assume that the more satisfied urban residents are with the performance of their city, the less favourable will their attitudes be towards European integration. I look at conditions and infrastructure available in Polish cities and their influence on attitudes towards EU integration. The hypothesis which addresses this question of perception of local conditions and attitudes towards EU integration is:

H3: The more satisfied the potential Eurostars are with the local conditions and the quality of life in their city, the less favourable are their attitudes towards European integration.

As mentioned in the previous section, Hooghe and Marks argue that individuals can have a strong national attachment but also a positive view on European integration. (2009: 13). What is the connection between urban place attachment and attitudes toward the EU? Whereas some scholars find that a strong (national) identity is negatively correlated with support for EU integration (Carey 2002, McLaren 2002), other authors find these variables positively correlated (Diez Medrano 2003). Looking at local entities, it should be asked to what extent is attachment to the urban space in Poland associated with potential Eurostars’ attitudes towards the EU? Based on the theoretical assumptions in previous studies (Garry and Tilley 2009, Lewicka 2011a, Chacha 2012, Andreotti et al. 2015), I expect that well-educated residents in Polish cities may feel a strong sense of belonging to their cities, but this does not necessarily translate into a negative view of the EU. Attachment to the local entity and support for EU integration may not be mutually exclusive for well-educated young citizens.

H4: A stronger attachment of the potential Eurostars to their respective city is not necessarily associated with unfavourable attitudes towards European integration.

I also investigate what implications perceptions of urban conditions and attitudes towards the EU have for the migration behaviour of the urban citizens. Citizens move for a variety of reasons but they often remain rooted in their home societies and cities
(Andreotti et al. 2015). Therefore, it seems crucial to understand the preferences among the Polish well-educated and I ask how potential Eurostars’ views of the city and the EU influence their decisions in terms of living and working.

To assess the motives and motivations that they use to guide their actions and behaviour I investigate what potential Eurostars think about the conditions offered to them by the local government of their respective city and what influence their perceptions have on possible exit strategies. This issue also relates back to the investigation of approaches on the micro-, meso-, and macro-level, as I assess the potential influence of utilitarian approaches, social place attachment and attitudes towards the EU on the students’ future plans in terms of living and working. Based on Favell and Nebe’s (2009) and Van Mol and Timmerman’s (2014) assumption that well-educated citizens not only move based on utilitarian motives but also to make new cultural experiences abroad, I posit that the perception of structural urban conditions is not the only frame for the student’s personal cost-benefit assessment (H5). I also suggest that – at the meso-level - strong attachment to place and a strong sense of belonging to the local community negatively influences the students’ migration plans to a certain extent (H6) (Wiborg 2004, Petrović et al. 2017). I further assume that personal gains resulting from Poland’s EU membership overcome general attitudes towards the EU (H7). In other words, if students expect individual-level economic benefits from migration to another EU country, their attitudes towards the EU and urban conditions do not necessarily constrain their behaviour (Favell 2014).

**H5:** Perceived conditions offered by the city and individual utilitarian motives are not the only push- or pull-factors for the potential Eurostars’ decisions, actions and behaviour in terms of living and working.

**H6:** A high level of attachment to the city increases the propensity of the potential Eurostars to live and work in their city.

**H7:** Attitudes towards the EU do not influence actions and behavior of the potential Eurostars in terms of living and working.
Other factors may also play a role, such as language, family, personal relationships, and in the case of Poland its history as a post-communist country and the accompanying “long period of exclusion and separation” (Sztompka 2004: 481). These views take into account less rational assumptions and offer a more nuanced approach to explaining individual choices and considerations among potential Eurostars. Hypothesis (H8) addresses these migration-related aspects.

Furthermore, I investigate to what extent gender is an influential factor regarding support for European integration and migration. According to previously mentioned studies (Torres and Brites 2006), education plays a bigger role in shaping attitudes towards the EU than gender and the gender gap may be less influential among young people (Mau 2010). At the same time, female students in CEE show a larger propensity to move abroad after graduation according to Morokvasic (2004). She further states that women in post-communist countries are ready to take advantage of the new transitional opportunities but domestic cultural norms and institutional contexts may still influence their decision. I therefore assume that among well-educated individuals, the influence of gender on EU attitudes is marginal, but gender might have an influence on migration behaviour (H9).

H8: Economically driven, rational actor assumptions cannot fully explain choices and actions related to living and working among the potential Eurostars.

H9: Well-educated women are not more prone to support European integration than men but have a higher propensity to develop exit strategies.

In sum, the collapse of communism in 1989–1990 brought an entirely new situation in which strong external and domestic forces started to exert their influence. It can be argued that not only local and national frameworks, but also utilitarian motives are likely to guide its residents’ views on EU integration or intra-EU migration. However, these associations are highly complex and dependent on historical background, economic aspects and the social group that is investigated.
3.2.2 Definitions, operationalisation and measurement of variables

I first define and operationalise the variables to test the hypotheses, but two aspects have to be noted beforehand. I distinguish between independent and dependent variables, even though some act as both, depending on the previously developed hypothesis. Furthermore, most variables are measured with non-parametric tests, using Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient. Therefore, I cannot predict the direction of the relationship between the variables. In other words, although conceptualised as independent and dependent variables, the direction of their association is not necessarily determined. I then conceptualise the different conditions offered in the sampled cities. This includes the justification for the choice of indicators and a description of limitations related to this concept.

3.2.2.1 Operationalisation of independent variables

*Urban conditions.* In its “cities of opportunity” report, PwC published a ranking of 30 cities in the world that demonstrated the best social and economic performance. The report reflects a wide range of conditions and factors contributing to the success of cities and to the resilience of urban communities (PwC 2014). Based on the report, I define conditions in cities as a set of cultural and economic provisions and institutions, as well as public services and infrastructure that reflect cities’ performances in promoting their urban spaces and their benefits to the residents. To evaluate the successes or weaknesses, I combine a set of indicators for each condition (economic, cultural, public services and infrastructure) in 2005 and 2014 to assess potential changes in what cities offer their residents. I measured the indicators for each city and year, calculated the average and created an ordinal scale ranking of the respective condition.

*Quality of life.* For this study, I define quality of life as the overall level of well-being and fulfillment that residents enjoy from a combination of social, economic and community environments and their physical and material conditions. This definition of quality of life draws from the Australian Project Social Benchmarks and Indicators

*Satisfaction with urban conditions.* Three different questions have been designed to measure satisfaction with urban conditions. i) How satisfied are you with the activities for economic development in your city? ii) How satisfied are you with the amount and variety of cultural institutions in your city? iii) How satisfied are you with the public services provided by the local administration in your city. The answers are ranked on an ordinal scale: very satisfied (1), fairly satisfied (2), not very satisfied (3), or not at all satisfied (4).

*Satisfaction with quality of life.* This is measured by rating the overall quality of life in the city. The answers are ranked on an ordinal scale: very high (1), quite high (2), quite low (3), very low (4).

*Place attachment.* The concept can be defined in a variety of ways, depending on the application and the perspective. For this study, I use one of the most common definitions. Following Scannell and Gifford, I define place attachment as a concept that characterizes the social bonding between individuals and their important places (2010). This definition includes a form of social place attachment that depicts places both as areas with physical characteristics and resources and as arenas for social interactions. To assess the intensity of place attachment to the sub-national in contrast to the national level, the measure embodies the feeling of belonging: more to the country (1), equally both (2), more to the city (3), or I don’t know (9).

3.2.2.2 Operationalisation of dependent variables

*Attitudes towards the EU.* This is a standard variable used to assess public opinion about the EU. The question is very concrete and geared towards general support for EU membership. It is the same question that has appeared in the Eurobarometer surveys since 1973, which asks whether Poland’s membership of the EU is: a bad thing (1), neither good nor bad (2), a good thing (3), or don’t know (9 (see appendix).

*Personal benefits from EU membership.* This variable evaluates the personal assessment of EU integration regarding students’ personal situation and subjective
calculation of costs and benefits. The question measures if, for their personal benefit, respondents think Poland’s membership of the EU is: a bad thing (1), neither good nor bad (2), a good thing (3), don’t know (9) (see appendix).

3.2.2.3 Socio-demographic factors

For this study, I only considered students who speak a second European language, have lived more than five years in their city, and are Polish citizens. These requirements were to ensure that students have the capacity to benefit from European integration and that they did not just move to their city for studies and are aware of, and imbedded in local conditions. Furthermore, I included gender to test for differing answers among men and women.

Gender. In this case there are three choices: man (0), woman (1), or other (2). In a country with relatively traditional gender roles, as explained in chapter 2, I wanted to know if the attitudes towards the EU and migration patterns differed between men and women.

Length of stay. Lewicka notes that length of residence is “one of the most often reported positive predictors of place attachment” (Lewicka 2010: 37). To filter out individuals who only recently moved to the city for studies, I asked how long have you been living in your city: Less than 5 years (0), 5 years or longer (1), I don’t live in the city (9).

Polish citizenship. I asked if they are Polish citizens. The answer was classified on a nominal scale: Yes (0), no (1).

Foreign language. I wanted to know if the students spoke a second European language which would help them benefit from European integration and would facilitate migration abroad to work and live in another EU country. I asked if they have learned a foreign language which is spoken in the EU? No (0), yes (1).
3.2.2.4 Conceptualisation of different conditions in cities

In this study I focus on the cities’ provision of cultural and economic structures, public services and infrastructure as a way to create an attractive and competitive urban environment. I analysed the level of available conditions at two different points in time to track the development of these urban conditions; namely in 2005, one year after Poland’s accession to the EU, and in 2014, which is the year with the most recent data available for all cities.

Starting with the urban authorities tasks helps determine which indicators need to be included to analyse public services and infrastructure. The administration of the City of Poznań, for example, states on its website that the following issues, among others, are regarded as fundamental tasks of the commune: local public transport, health care, welfare, water supply and sewage systems, cemeteries, roads, education, environmental protection, spatial management and public order (Poznań City Hall 2016). Other city authorities mention similar tasks on their websites and public bulletins.

Keeping city tasks and goals in mind, I chose relevant indicators for potential Eurostars surveyed in this study. Morais et al. (2011) state that studies use different indicators to conceptualise empirical structures depending on the different focus of the analysis. All indicators were available for each city and for both years, 2005 and 2014. This is crucial as it allows for the direct comparison of these indicators across different cities but at the same stage of development. Table 1 presents the categories and indicators used in the study.
Table 2: Conceptualisation of cultural and economic conditions and public services and infrastructure

**Cultural Conditions**

Libraries (per 100,000 pop.)
Seats in Theatres and Music Institutions (per 1000 pop.)
Museums (per 100,000 pop.)
Seats in Cinemas (per 1000 pop.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Conditions</th>
<th>Public Services and Infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered Unemployment in %</td>
<td>Health Care (number of hospital beds per 10,000 pop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly gross wages and salaries</td>
<td>Health care (Pharmacies per 100,000 pop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.)</td>
<td>Social Welfare (Social welfare places per 100,000 pop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita</td>
<td>Public order (number of crimes per 1000 pop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure (dwellings completed per 1000 pop.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure (Population using water supply and sewage systems in %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.2.2.5 Limitations of the conceptualisation

Comparing and ranking cities can be a burdensome endeavour and is vulnerable to certain limitations for an number of reasons.

First, cities are “difficult to generalize” (Amin and Thrift 2002: 1) and “today, any attempt to identify the common traits of the European city would seem to be a risky exercise” (Bagnasco and Le Galès 2000: 8). These statements point towards the indefinable nature of the city as an entity that can be compared in a useful manner. This lack of definition necessarily leads to a much broader understanding of the city as a dynamic spatial formation and a space that became “a strategic site for a whole range of new types of operations – political, economic, cultural, subjective” (Sassen 2005: xvii).

Second, to measure and compare cities requires theoretical and methodological bases. One of the best-known concepts, city competitiveness, is often applied and promoted by policy makers. For local urban authorities, it is crucial to present their
city in the best light to attract foreign investors and capital. However, Begg notes that "competitiveness has much in common with the proverbial elephant; we know one when we see one, but have great difficulty describing it" (2002: 2). Moreover, variables for city competitiveness are often defined depending on the researcher’s focus of interest. If the focus lies mainly on hard economic factors, such as labour costs and unemployment rates, important aspects and more ‘soft’ factors might be overlooked. Several authors (Florida 2002, Musterd and Gritsai 2009) argue that soft factors, such as an open and tolerant urban climate or quality of life, are important for a city’s competitive ability.

Third, an appropriate target group needs to be considered, based on the city’s ranking system. If an index is intended to be used by international companies, it may take different indicators into account than an index that is focused on providing information for expats. With my index, I focus on the potential needs of young, urban residents.

Fourth, the data used to compare the five Polish cities are drawn from a variety of yearbooks, as each regional statistical office in Poland collects its own data. Unfortunately, not all of these yearbooks provide the same data in the same year. Some of the data for certain cities were only available in regional yearbooks from the previous year and in different units of measurement. Wrocław, for example, offers the number of seats in theatres and music institutions (per 1000 pop.) and museums (per 100,000 pop.) only for the year 2013.

Fifth, the definitions of the terms vary depending on the regional yearbook. For example, the statistical office in Kraków refers to ‘generally available pharmacies’, while the statistical office in Warsaw displays the same number of pharmacies but refers to ‘public pharmacies’.

Sixth, the indicators used in this study to compare cities are not able to assess the quality, but only the quantity, of available institutions and facilities. To give an example, the number of beds in hospitals can be expressed by numbers, but they are not able to evaluate how happy the patients are with the services offered by the medical facilities.

Seventh, with regard to public services and infrastructure, Lineberry and Welch name three problems when collecting and analysing indicators for the distribution of
public services. One is to measure the service output which involves problems of defining the actual output unit (1974: 703). Another problem is that, usually, an agency providing a given service is only one of many factors involved in the service output. The question is, which standard should be chosen to evaluate public services? Another issue is to allocate actual data that can be compared. Lineberry and Welch summarise these methodological problems by stating that “we simply cannot directly measure public service relatively, even in the context of intra-city distributional research” (1974: 705).

Unlike Lineberry and Welch, this study compares the public service output in different cities and not in areas within the same city. Nevertheless, the same problems of measuring apply. It is difficult to evaluate the actual effect of the number of hospital beds, pharmacies, or the distribution of water supply systems on urban residents. Additionally, the indicators provided in this study might not be able to gauge the degree to which the effects are created. For example, the rate of registered crimes may be one factor in determining how secure residents feel in a city, but other social, legal, and spatial aspects could potentially have an influence.

In sum, the purpose of the indicators applied in this study is to compare the development and current state of measurable, static urban conditions in each analysed city that could be beneficial to the respective city’s attractiveness. I do not aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the cities’ competitiveness in Poland. I also do not attempt to develop a new methodology or to assign weights to indicators to allow the measurement of factors that make a city competitively viable. Lastly, I do not attempt to portray the dynamic interaction of indicators and their combined influence on a potential hierarchy regarding city competitiveness.

### 3.3 Comparative framework

After outlining the theoretical framework, I present the cities in which I conducted my research and discuss certain issues pertaining to the case selection and the possibility to compare urban territories.

A variety of practical restrictions and methodological considerations have to be taken into account when analysing cities. Any research design must consider potential
threats to its validity. To prevent bias from research findings, “we must deal with the issues of controlling the sources of variance in the *ex ante* selection of the cases” (Peters 2013: 38). Cases have to be carefully selected *in advance*. In my study I chose sites that are most alike. I am examining several similar urban entities in order to control for as many extraneous variables as possible. This selection also means that I eliminate a number of possible independent variables (Peters 2013: 40).

Although these precautions are challenging enough when comparing countries, it is even more arduous to compare cities. Robinson notes that comparative research of urban entities entails “the often unarticulated assumption that no comparison is possible across cities” (2011: 4). Cities are regarded as significantly different, not only in terms of territorial or population size, but also regarding their history, political environment, economic development and cultural context.

At the same time, groups living in these different cities might not be as independent in their judgement as they appear. Correlations between traits or behaviors, may be explained by functional relationships within local political systems, or in terms of diffusion of characteristics and historical learning arising from interactions between political entities. For example, Europeanisation may be a process of international diffusion and similarly influence the developments of conditions within the selected cities in this study to the point that the possibility of independent observations among students is undermined. This is the Galton’s problem (Peters 2013: 44).

These methodological problems are certainly not eased by the fact that scholars still debate how to define urban entities, as discussed in chapter 2. While Robinson promotes a “more international and post-structuralist comparative approach to urban studies (2011: 13), I include relatively similar cities in my study. This primarily means that I chose cities from one country instead of comparing cities across European states. In comparative research it is common to think of comparisons across countries, but a “comparative analysis across subnational units within a single nation-state is also a fruitful form of political analysis” (Peters 2013: 23). To test the theoretical approaches stated in the literature review, a comparative case study offers the potential to uncover possible associations between factors that might not be exposed by comparing
variables on national levels. Additionally, two assumptions pertaining to extraneous variance focused the study on Poland and on the five selected cities.

The first assumption is that, although the city as a case offers many analytical angles, looking at cities within the same country makes it easier to control for confounding variables. Different national policies may affect city governments and their implementation of local strategies in various ways. Analysing cities that are located in one country also likely forgoes comparing other national influences such as varying economic and welfare systems, the level of historical development, or the structure of national political systems. The focus of attention is on the city as a case and not on the state. This does not preclude a comparison of cities on a regional (e.g. European) or global scale. By looking at parallels and differences occurring in cities in various countries it is possible to describe phenomena in relation to other cities including the national framework they are located in.

The second assumption is that it is appropriate to focus on cities within one country when comparing attitudes of urban residents towards the EU. The rationale behind this approach is that public opinion is, to a large degree, influenced by variables found on a nation-state level. These factors include, but are not limited to, satisfaction with the national polity (Ilonszki: 2009), “a general hostility toward other cultures” (McLaren: 2002: 564), and the performance of the national economy (Rohrschneider and Loveless: 2010). Conversely, using the nation-state as a conceptual framework to analyse attitudes, runs the risk that “within-nation differences may be obscured” (Hantrais 2009: 51).

Landman (2008) similarly points out the advantages of comparative studies conducted in a single country. He asserts that it allows for a detailed look at the processes and possible causal mechanisms inherent in a specific country (Landman 2008: 90). This approach requires carefully selecting the country of research. Poland is not only one of the biggest countries in CEE, it is also where residents exhibit the highest attachment to the EU and to their cities (Jerez-Mir et al. 2009). Nevertheless, looking at cities as an explanatory factor can be problematic if the units of analysis and the variables in question are not carefully defined. “Put simply, regions [or cities], in the strictest sense, cannot be the cause” (Bunce 2000: 721). The cities in this study serve as a summary term for specific factors that might influence the view of young
well-educated urban residents of the EU. Five Polish urban sites were selected for investigation. A closer look at these urban areas shows differences in economic, cultural and political institutions.

3.3.1 Case selection

For the case selection, it was necessary to know how many Polish cities were home to universities and where they were located. Poland hosts close to 500 universities, colleges and academies - most of them private. In the 2009-2010 academic year, there were 457 institutions providing tertiary education in Poland (131 public and 326 private) (Kurantowicz and Nizinska 2014: 109). State-funded public universities are located in 24 cities across Poland. Some cities host more than one university.

For this study, I only included public universities, as this ensures equal accessibility. Because public universities are subsidised by the state, higher education at these institutions is free for Polish students. I intentionally did not select cities in the eastern part of Poland as they are much smaller and belong to the so called ‘Poland B’ — the poorer, less developed eastern part of Poland — as opposed to ‘Poland A’, with growing centres in Warsaw and in western Poland (Blazyca et al. 2002). There is a perception of a cultural divide between the two Polands, with Poland B - mostly the former Russian area under partition - being more rural and culturally backward. Although the assessment of the East-West divide became more complex during the 1990s, due to different choices of measuring, the divide remains visible when looking at economic factors. Larger cities in western and central Poland performed better during the post-communist transformation in 1990s than urban centres in the east. “With a few exceptions the east still remains a peripheral region in terms of economic development, even if the mosaic is, in the new millennium, more intricate” (Blazyca et al. 2002: 268).

The Polish East-West division is also reflected in the political behavior of the regional inhabitants. These regional differences were recently highlighted during the second round of elections for the Polish presidency on 24 May 2015. The conservative challenger, Andrzej Duda (blue coloured) defeated the incumbent, Bronislaw
Mr. Komorowski (orange coloured). Mr. Duda, from the Law and Justice Party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, PiS) won 51.5% of votes, whereas Mr. Komorowski from the Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska*, PO) won 48.5%. Figure 4 shows the results of the second round by counties. With the exception of Warsaw and a few other counties, voters in the country’s poorer eastern regions supported Duda, whereas the more affluent and prosperous west supported Komorowski. By focusing on cities belonging to Poland A, I intend to reduce these regional cultural influences and political views, which would be too dominant and may make the analysis of urban spaces redundant.

**Figure 4: Polish presidential elections, results of the second round by counties**

![Map of Poland with counties shaded in various colors representing different vote percentages.](http://niezalezna.pl)

Source: http://niezalezna.pl

To compare how local sets of institutions guide people’s attitudes towards the EU, I focused on larger cities that were geographically dispersed. The rationale for this requirement was driven by findings of the analytical framework. Urban authorities in regional capitals develop distinct strategies to increase the attractiveness of the city based on geographical location, historical background and local conditions. Table 2 presents a summary of the selection criteria that I determined for the cases.
Table 3: Summary of criteria that determined case selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Within “Poland A” but geographically disperse (except Warsaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Population more than 500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence</td>
<td>At least Second-Tier City according to ESPON (2012)(^6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>At least one public University in the city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural Factors</td>
<td>Distinct historical background, different cultural, and economic conditions and public services and infrastructure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In line with the literature on Polish cities and considering the criteria each case had to fulfill, I selected Warsaw, Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków and the Tricity area. Although Warsaw is the capital city and not located in Poland A, the city is included in this study. This selection is because, unlike other cities in former socialist countries, the capital is not overly dominant in terms of economic performance and population (ESPON 2012). Furthermore, based on its role as an economic hub and residents’ voting behaviour, the city itself does not necessarily belong to Poland B, unlike the voivodship\(^7\), where the city is located. Finally including Warsaw allows for the analysis of potential differences in conditions and their perception by urban residents between the capital and Second-Tier Cities within the same country. Each of these cities has a different historical background and offers a set of different political, social, economic and cultural conditions as illustrated in the next section.

3.3.2 A short overview of the selected cities

Although located in one of the more underdeveloped regions, Warsaw is the most obvious choice as it has been the capital of Poland since 1596 (Niemczyk 1998: 301). After being almost completely destroyed by the German Army at the end of the Second World War, Warsaw witnessed profound transitions from a centralised political and economic system toward a democratically elected local government and a market economy. Bańczyk (2010) notes that in terms of network activities, Warsaw

\(^6\) ESPON defines second tier cities as “those cities outside the capital whose economic and social performance is sufficiently important to affect the potential performance of the national economy” (2012: 3)

\(^7\) Since 1999, Poland is divided into 16 provinces known as voivodships (województwa).
has been the main connection between Poland’s economy and other countries. It also accumulates the largest amounts of foreign investments compared to any other Polish city. At present it is not only the political and economic centre of Poland but also the country’s biggest city. At the end of June 2015 Warsaw had a population of 1,739,586 (Statistical Office in Warsaw 2016). The city is also home to the University of Warsaw, the largest institution for tertiary education in Poland.

Kraków, the former capital of Poland and current capital of the Lesser Poland province (Województwo Małopolskie), is the second largest and also one of the oldest cities in Poland. In 2015, Kraków had a population of 762,508 (Statistical Office in Kraków 2016). The first official reference to Kraków dates back to the year 965 (Magiczny Kraków 2012). The city has traditionally been one of the leading academic, religious and cultural centres in Poland. It is home to one of the oldest universities in the world, the Jagiellonian University, founded in 1364. Although the city’s historical monuments were not destroyed by the Germans, the beginning of the Second World War had a devastating impact on Krakow’s academic and professional elite. Many of them were deported to concentration camps and killed. Today, Kraków is not only a cultural centre but also a dynamically developing economic hub and one of the most visited tourist destinations in Poland. Over 2.5 million tourists from abroad visited the city in 2015 (Radio Poland 2015).

Poznań is the capital of the Greater Poland province (Województwo Wielkopolskie), located in west-central Poland. It is not only one of the oldest and biggest but also one of the most rapidly transforming Polish cities in political and economic terms (Parysek and Mierzejewska 2006, Kotus 2006). In the 15th century, Poznań was already one of the major trade and craft hubs in Central Europe due to its favourable location on the major East-West transit routes (Parysek and Mierzejewksa 2006). Poznań’s economic and educational conditions are quite favourable when compared to other large Polish cities. The low unemployment rate and high GDP per capita make Poznań an attractive city for innovative businesses and residents alike. The city’s population in 2015 was 544,612 (Statistical Office in Poznań 2016). It is also home to one of the largest universities in Poland, the Adam Mickiewicz University.
The capital of the Lower Silesian Voivodship (*Województwo Dolnośląskie*), Wrocław, is built on several islands in the river Odra and on its south bank. Originally, the city was a trade centre, on the route linking the Baltic Sea with the Roman Empire. The city is the fourth largest in Poland with 634,400 permanent residents (Statistical Office in Wrocław 2016). It has a well-educated labour force with a large number of institutions of higher education being located in the city, the biggest one being the University of Wrocław. During the Second World War, the Germans turned the city of Wrocław into a fortress – “the Festung Breslau” (Latusek and Ratajczak 2014: 52). The devastating battle that ensued within the city ruined the town almost completely, resulting in the destruction of 90 percent of all buildings. Today, Wrocław is not only rebuilt but also “one of the largest centres of science, culture, and industry in Poland” (Latusek and Ratajczak 2014: 53).

The last urban area of this study is the Tricity area, not comprising a city itself but a conurbation consisting of three closely cooperating cities: Gdańsk, Gdynia and Sopot. All three are located in the north of Poland on the Baltic Sea. Gdańsk is the capital of the Pomeranian Voivodship (*Województwo Pomorskie*) and, with a population of 461,489 the biggest of the three cities. Historically, the city is very important for Polish people since it was the place where the fall of communism in Central Europe began with the Solidarity movement. Sopot, famous for its spas and active night life, is much smaller with a population of 37,654. Gdynia in the northwest is home to a big seaport and has a population of 247,820 (Statistical Office in Gdańsk 2015). The University of Gdańsk has faculties in each of these three cities, further underscoring the collaboration between these urban entities.

### 3.4 Methodological approach

This work has been situated within the tradition of mixed methods research. Brannen states that “mixed methods research means adopting a research strategy employing more than one type of research method” (2005: 4). Research strategies, underpinning philosophical assumptions and conceptual orientations are widely discussed and opinions vary. When applying mixed methods research it is necessary to discuss the underlining paradigms and the type of research design. Notwithstanding
the growing interest in mixed methods research, debates between the advocates of quantitative and qualitative research have been polemical. Purists from both camps have claimed the superiority of their paradigm and insinuate that mixing paradigms and the associated methods is not possible. These fierce debates are known as the paradigm wars (Kelle 2001, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, Brannen 2005, Bryman 2006). Some scholars, however, note that a mixed-methods approach - the so-called third methodological, or research paradigm - offers a practical alternative to bridge the philosophical gap between qualitative and quantitative research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, Brannen 2005). According to Brannen, the rationale for the choice of a certain method can be referred to as the “three Ps’: paradigms, pragmatics and politics” (Brannen: 2005: 7). This rationale will subsequently guide the justification of the method used in this study.

3.4.1 A debate of philosophical assumptions

Every study includes “assumptions about the world and knowledge that informs the inquiries” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 20). Both, quantitative and qualitative research are useful but are often seen as incompatible. Brannen (2005) notes that both approaches are driven by different philosophical assumptions. Following the interpretivist tradition, qualitative researchers claim that generalisations without the inclusion of context are not possible, that cause and effect cannot be separated and that knowledge cannot be understood in isolation from the source and its subjective view (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Quantitative researchers, taking a positivist approach, claim that social research should be objective and empirically justified (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Notwithstanding these debates, which claim that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms and the methods cannot be combined, such a binary portrait is even more complex under scrutiny.

One important issue in the discussion pertains to the contrast between philosophical and technical understandings of both methods. Philosophical aspects include different ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying research approaches and research methods with which they are associated. Technical aspects are related to the methods applied to collect and to analyse the data (Bryman 2006:
Scholars, who emphasise the importance of epistemological assumptions, oppose the combination of these research methods. Conversely, technical aspects allow for the mixing of the two research approaches and the integration of methods (Kelle 2001, Bryman 2006). By combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in this study, I am able to provide explanations at the micro-, and the macro-level to understand the social processes among potential Polish Eurostars.

Pragmatism is the philosophical position most commonly associated with mixed methods studies. It focuses on the research question rather than on the actual methods and acknowledges that multiple methods of data collection are suitable to tackle the research problem. Biesta argues that pragmatism is not the philosophical framework for mixed methods studies (2010: 97). This understanding means that pragmatism is rather a philosophical tool to assess problems rather than a paradigm or a justification for mixed methods research. Concerning the history and meaning of pragmatism as a philosophy, Feilzer (2010: 7) notes that it “aims to interrogate a particular question, theory, or phenomenon with the most appropriate research method” (Feilzer 2010: 13). This definition does not mean, however, that the philosophical meaning of pragmatism should be associated with a lack of principles, nor with the complete absence of ontological and epistemological assumptions. Different analytical positions about the nature of reality and how we can understand such a reality directly influence researchers’ studies, but these assumptions should not be privileged over the use of actual methods. As Morgan argues (2007: 68), pragmatism does not ignore the importance of ontological and epistemological assumptions, but equal attention should be given to the connections between philosophical stances, methodology, and methods. This understanding also implies a general shift away from debates about paradigms and towards an approach that emphasises research practices and culture.

By using pragmatism in this study, I accept that there are multiple realities that can be examined but want to avoid restrictions by selecting either a positivist or constructivist approach. Instead, I focus on the research question which combines different layers of a social reality. In practice, this approach means gaining knowledge by collecting data through methods that are best suited to tackle the research questions and the application of quantitative and qualitative methods employing a mixed methods research. The main concern regarding these different layers of reality is how
they can be best measured and integrated (Feilzer 2010: 8-9). This concern is especially important for the assessment of attitudes towards the EU based on varying political urban frameworks and social contexts within the selected Polish cities. For this study, I incorporated a sequential approach, which combines two phases that build on each other. This design is explained in more detail in the next section.

The researcher’s politics (Brannen 2005: 10) drive the ways the study can be conducted. When studying a certain social group, the researcher has to be aware what the methods are used for. As it is the goal of this research to study young, well-educated urban residents, a mixed methods approach is appropriate. This approach not only allows for an examination of their general attitudes about the cities they live in and the EU but also offers an insight into the behaviour of a group that potentially shapes the future of the EU. Other essential aspects are the social and political contexts with which the Eurostars are confront. This generation has no personal experience of life in a communist country, yet still encounters a historically grown division of Europe into East and West. My study evaluates to what extent has EU membership not only removed physical and symbolic borders but also potentially affected existing value systems, economic perspectives, political loyalties, and cultural orientations. This understanding necessitates a mixed methods approach that provides deeper insight into these questions.

3.4.2 Quality Criteria

Quantitative and qualitative research methods require different quality criteria. Quantitative research is based on four traditional tenets (Bryman et al. 2008: 264): validity, reliability, replicability and generalisability. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is subject to credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Bryman et al (2008) conducted a mixed methods study among social policy researchers to analyse their opinion on the use of quality criteria. The findings point towards a preference for combining qualitative and quantitative research criteria in mixed methods studies, while not using the same criteria for the quantitative and qualitative parts of their studies. They also asked the participants of their study about criteria that should be applied to mixed method studies. The four
most often mentioned were: relevance to research questions; transparency; the need for integration of mixed methods findings and a rationale for using mixed methods research (Bryman et al. 2008: 269). O’Cathain (2010) provided an alternative set of quality criteria, which includes eight domains: planning quality; design quality; data quality; interpretive rigour; inference transferability; reporting quality; synthesisability; and utility.

For this study I included the criteria developed by O’Cathain (2010) to ensure the quality and credibility of my research. Planning and design quality are essential for all research. This inclusion is secured by a transparent and rational justification for the use of the mixed methods approach and a design that is appropriately chosen to address the research question. In terms of data quality, I aimed to transparently describe the methods employed in this study. Furthermore, data collection and analysis should be rigorous and adequate in the context of the research questions and the project’s design. Interpretive rigour refers to the quality of the inferences and the extent to which conclusions result directly from the findings. I state clearly which findings emerged from which method, and I also relate the inferences to existing theories and current knowledge.

I go on to outline the limitations of this study in terms of how the findings can be transferred to other populations and contexts. Furthermore, I aim to be transparent not only about the procedures of data collection and the applied methods but also about the findings that emerge and the conclusions drawn from these results. This transparency also includes adequately documenting the research process throughout the study. Contrary to other domains suggested by O’Cathain (2010), synthesisability is not relevant, as it is beyond the scope of this study to apply a scoring system to appraise the employed mixed methods research. I further outline the utility of the results and the mixed methods study to reach conclusions.

3.5 Mixed methods research design

Mixed method research designs have their own technical assumptions and methods of inquiry. The “central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than
either approach alone” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 5). My rationale for applying this combination of sources and methods was that it became obvious that an encompassing picture about Polish Eurostars and their view of the EU could not be evaluated by any one method alone. The aim of this study is to further understand how individual and macro factors influence attitudes towards the EU on a sub-national level. To analyse this question, I combine quantitative and qualitative methods, which allow for a more thorough assessment, taking advantage of the strength of both methods.

Choosing the right mixed methods design that best addressed the research problem was a crucial part of the research process. The decision to offer a statistical analysis of survey answers along with detailed observations of individual views, makes the research more comprehensive and encompassing. For this study, this incorporation includes, on one hand, the analysis of quantifiable criteria such as the perception of conditions within the selected cities and the attitudes towards the EU among Eurostars. On the other hand, it also involves a qualitative, in-depth assessment of individual views and behaviours based on empirically measured associations between urban conditions and EU attitudes. A purely quantitative assessment of the Eurostars’ perceptions and attitudes would have been superficial, as it does not address questions pertaining to the understanding of the Eurostars’ social worlds and their subjective experiences and actions. Given Poland’s history as a communist country and its position as a relatively new member state, individual statements and experiences are invaluable to understanding the realities of young well-educated Polish citizens.

3.5.1 The Sequential Explanatory Design

Based on the literature and on the structure of the research questions, I employ a “Sequential Explanatory Design” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 72, Ivankova 2006). The design consists of two phases. Its main purpose is to use qualitative data to explain and to develop the findings from the first phase, consisting of preliminary quantitative studies. I also use this design to identify a certain group with purposeful characteristics through quantitative measures, which are then further examined through qualitative research (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 72).
To evaluate to what extent cities in Poland influence citizens’ attitudes toward EU integration and how the perceptions and behavior vary among the potential Eurostars, I conducted a small number of preliminary interviews. These interviews enabled me to test and to refine the questions I wanted to use for the questionnaire. Moreover, these interviews were helpful in detecting gaps in my analytical framework, as the students could offer useful insight into their lives as urban residents within a European framework. After analysing the interviews, I adjusted the questionnaire and subsequently tested it with a pilot group of MA students from Kraków. I then conducted the final survey among Polish MA students living and studying in the five selected cities. The questionnaire, which I developed to obtain the data, consisted of closed-ended questions yielding nominal and ordinal data. This quantitative phase allowed me to evaluate potential relationships between perceived urban conditions and Eurostars’ opinions about EU integration. Moreover, it allowed me to filter out students that were not Polish, did not speak a second European language and had not lived longer than five years in their respective city, which would prevent them from being considered for the qualitative part of the research - the interviews.

The quantitative step was followed by the second phase, the collection and analysis of qualitative data with students fitting the above-mentioned profile. I conducted semi-structured interviews with students previously participating in the survey that displayed different views and opinions on the various provisions and possibilities in their city and a range of opinions about the EU. The open-ended questions allowed me to further account for statistical findings from the first phase in more depth. Moreover, a deeper understanding of students’ attitudes and decisions comes through more accurately in their own words.

Generally, mixing these two types of datasets provides a better understanding of the research problem “than if either dataset had been used alone” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 7). The rationale for this approach is that collecting diverse types of data provide the best comprehensive understanding of a research problem that is not only complex but also rather under-studied. Figure 5 shows the methodological approach.
Creswell and Plano Clark state that the Explanatory Design is considered “the most straightforward of the mixed methods designs” (2007: 74). As such, it makes it relatively easy to implement and integrate this model as each method is assigned to a different phase within the research project. It also provides a clear structure to the project. However, this design required time to collect the data which was a crucial aspect in my research. I needed to collect the data within one academic year for the abovementioned reasons of MA students potentially leaving the country or generally not being available anymore.

### 3.5.2 Integration of methods

An important aspect of mixed methods designs is the question of how to combine and integrate the quantitative and the qualitative parts.

Regarding design choices, I employ the so called “Explanatory Design-participant selection model” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 86). With this design, the collection of quantitative data allowed me to carefully select students for follow-up interviews. During the first phase of the fieldwork, I collected the quantitative data by conducting a survey that included nominal and ordinal questions. The goal of this phase was to identify potential associations between satisfaction with local conditions and attitudes towards the EU. It also allowed me to purposefully select candidates for the second phase of the study: students that fulfilled the demographic conditions and gave different answers in the questionnaire.

At the design level, the qualitative data help explain the quantitative findings in more detail and provide invaluable insights into the participants’ perceptions and opinions about local conditions, attachment to a place, and EU integration. I conducted the interviews to examine what significance the local conditions have for the MA
students, what potential benefits resulting from EU membership are actually important to them, and how they see their future within the EU. Thus, the survey data provided a general understanding and the qualitative data provided additional views and potentially crucial information on emergent and unexpected topics.

Using both models described by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), also shows that I do not favour one of the two phases in my design. Instead, the quantitative and the qualitative phase are interrelated. Equal weighting was given to the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis, with neither being privileged over the other (Ivankova 2006). This balance and mutual inclusiveness means that in my study, the findings of the survey informed and generated the development of the interview phase, while at the same time, the interviewees provided more data about the quantitative results from the earlier phase.

At the interpretative level, the data in this study are integrated through narrative (Fetters et al. 2013). I describe the quantitative and qualitative findings together “on a theme-by-theme or concept-by-concept basis” (Fetters et al. 2013: 9). The findings from the survey are combined with the answers provided by interviewees. This method reflects the weaving approach described by Fetters et al (2013).

3.5.3 Reliability and validity

To deliver robust results, the measuring instruments need to meet certain quality factors. Reliability of the measuring instrument refers to the repeatability, and thus consistency, of the data collection. Another very important criterion is validity, which is the extent to which a measurement is well-founded and corresponds accurately to the real world. This research’s instruments produce stable and consistent results that could be repeated in the future. The internal validity is not necessarily assured, as alternative explanations for the presence or amount of effects cannot be excluded.

The theoretical approach has been carefully built on previous studies, yet there are many intervening factors that potentially influence attitudes towards the EU and should not be ignored. One of these factors might be the recent rise of the Eurosceptic Law and Justice party (PiS). The party won a majority in the Polish parliament, making it the first party to achieve this since the fall of communism in 1989. Since its election
victory, Poland’s ruling party has designed policies to control media and to politicise the civil service. However, the party remains popular, most importantly because of its social welfare programmes, its defence of traditional values and national identity, and its stance against the EU’s involvement in Poland’s internal affairs (Szczerbiak 2015).

It is therefore possible that correlational effects between the variables are flawed or spuriously attributed. Some variables might have been influenced by a third factor. The external validity is also a crucial factor in quantitative research. Can general conclusions be drawn on the basis of the model used and data collected, and can these results be generalised to other cases (Ihantola and Kihn 2011)? As the population sample employed in this study is not randomised, it is impossible to derive a statistical generalisation. To secure external validity, further research is needed.

3.6 Population sampling and data collection

Combining quantitative and qualitative research in this study involves the selection and definition of the population to be sampled. The question to be answered is how are conditions in each city perceived by urban residents and if and how does this influence their attitudes towards the EU? The intended population in this study are Polish students, who speak a second European language, and live and study in one of the five selected cities. I only consider MA students that are at least 18 years old and have been living in their respective city for at least five years. In this section, I describe the sampling and the data collection process and limitations arising from non-random samples.

3.6.1 Sampling strategy for the survey

The selection of people is a critical stage for any research. After defining the targeted population, it is important to know how this selection impacts the generalisability of results (Blaikie 2009: 23). Unfortunately, due to legal restrictions imposed by the universities where I carried out the survey, I was not able to conduct a probability sample. This shortcoming means that randomisation was not possible and generalisations cannot be drawn from the study sample used. The sampling technique
employed in this study might best be described as opportunity sampling (Schofield 1996). With no realistic alternative, it was necessary to accept whatever number of students was available. To avoid overlapping students, for example if they took different lectures at different institutes within the same university, I indicated a note at the beginning of the questionnaire stating that if they had previously filled out the questionnaire, they should abstain from participating. The same applied to non-MA students:

Nie wypełniaj ankiety ponownie, jeśli już to zrobiłaś/zrobileś. Nie wypełniaj ankiety, jeśli nie jesteś studentem/studentką studiów magisterskich.
(If you have already answered the questionnaire before, please do not answer it again. If you are not a Master’s student, please do not answer the questionnaire.)

Initially, 923 MA students (n) completed the questionnaire in the five cities studied. The population sample that met the required conditions, consisted of 349 MA students (n₁). This discrepancy was mostly due to students who travelled to these universities for their studies but originated from other Polish regions. From these 349 MA students, I excluded user missing values (‘I don’t knows’), eventually reducing the sample to 324 MA students (nₛ)⁸.

I was aware of the students’ social background and some of their specific characteristics. The sampled individuals were well-educated and participated in a range of social activities. One form of social participation among young adults in Poland is the involvement in the organisation of mass protests rooted in mistrust in traditional politics and disagreement with domestic policies. These circumstances and their political engagement had to be considered when I approached students to voice their opinions about domestic and European politics. I was also aware that I was asking a social group with a specific skill set and personal attributes about their future plans and their political views. These individuals have both gained knowledge about the

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⁸ n is the sample of all MA students who filled out the questionnaire; n₁ is the larger sample of all students who filled out the questionnaire and fulfil the necessary requirements (Polish citizen, speaks a second EU language, lives five years or more in the city; nₛ is the smaller sample with students fulfilling all requirements without user missing values.
method I was applying to ask them about their opinion and have been prepared by their institution for future employment on the global market, possibly affecting their answers during my research.

### 3.6.2 Conducting a survey

Sue and Ritter write that the “best questionnaire items are short, unambiguous, and meaningful to the respondent” (2012: 51). This short but essential guide influenced the development of my questionnaire. I ultimately utilised twelve questions. This decision proved successful, as many professors were sceptical about how much time I would need when coming to their classes. By telling them that it would not take longer than ten minutes to fill out the questionnaire, I could avoid issues in terms of allowance to conduct the survey. Preparing a fairly short survey and conducting it personally also helped to increase student interest and lowered their reluctance to fill out the questionnaire, thereby avoiding unit or item nonresponse (Yan and Curtin 2010).

The questionnaire consisted of mostly closed-ended nominal and ordinal questions (see annex). I wrote the questionnaire in English and got it translated into Polish and back to English. This procedure was necessary in order to make sure that the survey performs in the same way and that questions would not change the meaning. After carefully adjusting particularly problematic and ambiguous words and phrases, I pre-tested the questionnaire with a couple of MA students at the Jagellonian University in Kraków. As Sapsford and Jupp state, “piloting the data-collection instruments is essential, whether interview schedules or questionnaires are used” (1996: 103). By discussing the questionnaire with the participants, they noted that the questionnaire was easy to understand, the structure was comprehensible, and they had no problem completing it. The participants also understood the consent form which was included at the beginning of the questionnaire. Specifically, the students pointed out that the descriptions of the terms “economic possibilities”, “cultural possibilities” and “public services” were helpful. The inclusion of these descriptions, embedded in

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9 This was mainly due to the setting of the research, where I would visit MA classes and hand out the questionnaire. In order not to interrupt the actual lectures for too long, I kept the questionnaires short.
the respective questions, helped them make more appropriate decisions when answering the question.

One smaller issue was that of gender. Although I wanted the gender question to be more inclusive and considered adding a third identificatory category, I noticed that in Poland a more traditional understanding of sex and gender is prevalent. Gender questions used in surveys often classify participants into either “man” or “woman”. After discussing this matter with several Polish professors, I decided to include “other” as a third option. In my opinion, this was the best approach to account for both views: the contemporary academic and the potential more traditional one.

3.6.3 Sampling strategy for the interviews

I received permission from 111 MA students to contact them for a further interview, when they provided their email-address on the questionnaire’s last page. Of these, 88 MA students fulfilled all the demographic requirements. After contacting all of them and sending reminder emails a month later, 27 students agreed to be interviewed. This group is rather small but nevertheless, the interviews are crucial to my research as they help better understand student opinion about the city they live in and the EU. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 75 minutes. Unfortunately, the students agreeing to be interviewed are quite unequally distributed with regard to the city they live in. Table 4 presents the distribution of the MA students by city of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaires(^{10})</td>
<td>108(n_{Tr})</td>
<td>44(n_{Po})</td>
<td>75(n_{Wa})</td>
<td>35(n_{Wr})</td>
<td>62(n_{Kr})</td>
<td>324(n_{s})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Distribution of questionnaires and interviewees by city of origin

Source: Author’s own data

\(^{10}\) In this study, the samples for each city are labelled as followed:
\(n_{Tr}=108\) is the sample of surveyed MA students in the Tricity area, \(n_{Po}=44\) is the sample of surveyed MA students in Poznań, \(n_{Wa}=75\) is the sample of surveyed MA students in Warsaw, \(n_{Wr}=35\) is the sample of surveyed MA students in Wrocław, \(n_{Kr}=62\) is the sample of surveyed MA students in Kraków
In terms of research practicability, two time sensitive issues were crucial to take into account. First, the sampling and the data collection process had to be completed within one academic year. Many of the MA students represented in the study might have wanted to go abroad or start working and could have been unavailable for interviews after finishing their studies. This factor risks losing individual elements of the target population. Second, I wanted to gather data between the Polish parliamentary election on 25 October 2015 and the EU membership referendum in the UK (Brexit referendum) on 23 June 2016. Those political events could have had an influence on my research participants, potentially skewing the outcome of the survey results and the interviews. The defined time period implies that I conducted a cross-sectional study, capturing a snapshot of aspects of the social and political life among Polish potential Eurostars. I did not intend to account for social change as this would require the collection of data over time (Blaikie 2000

3.6.4 Working with interviews

Evaluating the challenges for qualitative research, Mason states that arranging an interview requires a lot of preparation (2002: 62). It is unlikely to produce a fixed set of questions ahead of the interview that one can adhere to. Therefore, it is important to conceptualise how to obtain high quality data. This preparation includes not only understanding the specific characteristics of the group being interviewed, but also more methodological and technical aspects. In my research it was important to identify relevant questions, which became the basis for more specific questions that I did not completely prepare in advance. By conducting a semi-structured interview, I developed a strategy to help me make sensitive and systematic decisions and judgements, structuring the data generation process. Semi-structured interviews are well-suited for exploring respondents’ opinions and perceptions regarding complex political issues and this approach probes for more information and clarification of answers.
All interviews were conducted and recorded through Skype\textsuperscript{11}. I was aware that even accurate transcriptions and careful audiotaping “do not provide an objective record of [...] interviews” (Mason 2002: 77). Moreover, audiotaping and transcribing interviews requires a lot of time and resources (Mason 2002: 78). Yet doing so, increased the reliability and quality of my data. In addition, I took notes of non-verbal communication, such as body language, facial expressions and voice tone which would further compliment the process of transcription. When transcribing the interviews, I merged my notes where I wrote the participants’ non-verbal behaviour with the transcription of the audio records. Comparing the differences in answering the questions and the non-verbal behaviour would also allow me to determine certain values and opinions based on the place-based identity. Another important feature was the ability to explore the social experiences of a distinct group of the Polish society and to gain access to their situationally-constructed knowledge.

3.7 Data analysis

For the quantitative step, I used SPSS to test the hypotheses outlined in section 3.2. The collected data are analysed by nonparametric procedures that are suitable for nominal and ordinal data. The methodological procedures should be suitable to either reject or not reject the hypotheses and have to consider the nature of the population from which the data was collected, the manner in which the sample was drawn and the level of measurement of the variables (Siegel and Castellan 1988). I am applying a Spearman's rank-order correlation ($\rho$) for ordinal data, to test for the strength of the monotonic relationship between the variables. Siegel and Castellan (1988), as well as Büning and Trenkler (1994), list several advantages and disadvantages of nonparametric statistical tests. One of the biggest assets, according to Büning and Trenkler (1994: 2), is that there is no requirement for a specific assumption of an underlying distribution of the population. Nonparametric tests are more efficient than

\textsuperscript{11} I recorded the interviews using a software called MP3 Skype Recorder. This is a free programme which automatically audio records all skype conversations. It stores the conversations locally in files using the mp3format. Unfortunately, I was not able to find a suitable tool that would allow me to videotape the conversations. I opted for MP3 Skype recorder because it was deemed to be stable and reliable in recording the interview. The recordings were of reasonable quality, which was further improved by the lack of background noise.
parametric tests if no normal distribution is available. Another advantage is that nonparametric tests are able to analyse nominal and ordinal data for which parametric procedures are not available. This makes them the best option to assess the nominal and ordinal questions from my questionnaire. Presumed disadvantages of nonparametric tests are that they are not systematic and sometimes less convenient as the tests appear in different formats (Siegel and Castellan 1988: 36). They also lack power compared to parametric tests.

To analyse the transcribed interviews, I decided to use NVivo to assign the data to specific ‘nodes’. This software facilitated the organisation and categorisation of the students’ statements. To further structure the qualitative part and to enable a comparison of the different answers, I used a standardised set of questions that I asked during the semi-structured interviews. For each question I also explored differences or similarities occurring in the interviewees’ reflections and descriptions according to the city in which they live. Where necessary, I added sub-categories.

3.8 Summary

The analytical framework chapter defined the variables and outlined the hypotheses. I further explained why I chose specific Polish cities and how these cities where selected. I also explained the population selection in this study. Focusing on Polish MA students allowed me to assess the realities and attitudes of a highly skilled and potentially mobile sub-group that is in the position to benefit from EU integration. I then established the methodological approach employed. The sequential mixed methods design is best suited to address the research questions but needs careful application. I also addressed questions about the underlying philosophical assumptions, defined quality criteria, and discussed the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods on various levels. Another important aspect of this chapter was the description of the methods with which I engaged for data collection. Certain practical and theoretical aspects are to be considered when conducting surveys and interviews to ensure validity and reliability of the measuring tools.
Chapter 4: Comparing conditions in Polish cities

In this chapter, I compare the cultural and economic conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure in the five selected Polish cities. The measurement of conditions is in line with Saskia Sassen’s approach of describing cities as space that entails a variety of social and spatial characteristics and economic and political operations. She argues that cities are “emerging as a strategic lens for producing critical knowledge, not only about the urban condition but also about major social, economic, and cultural refprimirings in our societies” (2005: xvii). In this chapter, I divide the conditions into three different fields: culture, economy, as well as public services and infrastructure. To be able to compare the conditions in these different cities, all data are measured per capita, per 1000, per 10000, or per 100,000 population, or in percentage form. All measurements are based on the population of the respective city in the years 2005 and 2014, except where otherwise stated. The indicators are catered to the specified target group: the potential Eurostars. This is important to keep in mind, as this group already lives in the city and is usually familiar with the local conditions.

4.1 Comparing cultural conditions

Culture is not only embodied in social actors but also in physical places. These cultural facilities, established by local governments or private enterprises, do not merely serve as points of socialisation but also as a means to represent the city’s image. Le Galès, referring to Bianchini and Parkinson (1993), notes that in European cities “cultural policies also serve to recreate a sense of belonging, to assert identity, to bring back life to public spaces, to provide a sense of locality, and to mobilize and integrate social groups” (2002: 222). A previously conceptualised, the cultural institutions compared in this study include libraries, cinemas, museums and theatres. The data are based on official statistical yearbooks of the respective cities and the Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015, with data compiled in 2014. I also compare the increase or decrease of cultural institutions in each city between the years 2005 and 2014 to illustrate the cities’ cultural development. Where the number is declared as
being per 1000 pop. or 100,000 pop. the table shows the amount of cultural entities or institutions per 1000 or 100,000 people. The higher the number, the more of these institutions or entities are available for a group of people. Figures 6 - 9 show a comprehensive distribution of indicators for cultural institutions in each city. Changes between 2005 and 2014 are indicated in percent above the columns.

Figure 6: Libraries per 100,000 pop. 2005/2014


As an example, looking at the number of libraries in each city demonstrates the asymmetric promotion of local cultural facilities. Warsaw is the city with the most libraries and it is also the only city where the number of libraries per 100,000 population increased between 2005 and 2014. By contrast, Wrocław shows not only the biggest percentage decrease in libraries per 10,000 pop. (-30.5%) between 2005 and 2014, it also has the lowest number of libraries per population compared to the other cities in this study. An indication of this is the decrease in libraries from 60 in 2005 to 43 in 2014. Poznań, displaying the second highest number of libraries per 100,000 population in 2005, also showed the second highest decrease on a percentage basis (-22.4%). Kraków and the Tricity area show a moderate decrease over the analysed time period. In sum, with the exception of Warsaw, no city improved in terms of the availability of libraries.
“Information regarding theatres and music institutions as well as entertainment enterprises concerns professional, artistic and entertainment entities conducting regular performances” (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015: 395). With regard to seats in these theatres and music institutions, all cities extended their provision per 1000 population. Warsaw (8.8) Kraków (7.8) and Wrocław (7.1) offer the highest number of seats per 1000 people in the year 2014. Poznań and the Tricity area rank behind, with only 6.3 and 4 seats per 1000 people respectively. The Tricity area (respectively the Pomorskie Voivodship), although on a very low level, demonstrates the largest percentage increase between 2005 and 2014 with 60% followed by Wrocław with 39.2% and Kraków with 32.2%.


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12 Seats in theatres and music institutions (per 1000) in the Pomorskie Voivodship. Seats in theatres and music institutions (per 1000) in Wrocław in the year 2013, based on a population of 632,100.
According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015, 844 museums and their respective subsidiary branches were located in Poland in 2014. This is an increase of 22.31\% compared to 2005 when there were 690 museums. Together, the five selected cities host more than 20\% of all museums in Poland (180 museums). This underlines the importance of cities as cultural hotspots. Warsaw is home to the highest number of museums (59), but Kraków has almost as many museums (51) despite its significantly smaller size, and hence, a higher per capita provision, underpinning the city’s status as an important cultural centre. This is also reflected in the number of museums per 100,000 people, with Kraków (6.7) having more than double the amount of Warsaw’s (3.4). Wrocław shows the highest increase in the number of museums per 100,000 people, more than doubling in number between 2005 and 2013 (119.5\%). Poznań, on the other hand, is the only city that displays a decrease in the number of museums per 100,000 pop. (-10.8\%) and is also the city with the lowest number of museums (18) and museums per population in 2014 (3.3). The Tricity area, shows a rather uneven distribution of museums with 23 museums being located in Gdańsk and only three in Gdynia and two in Sopot in 2014. Overall, the

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13 Number of population per museum in Wrocław in the year 2013, based on a population of 632,100
Tricity area houses a moderate number of museums per 100,000 people (3.7), increasing 17.3% since 2005.

Most cities range within a relatively narrow area of 3.3 to 3.8 museums per 100,000 population. The outliers are Wrocław, which increased the number of museums per population by more than 100% between 2005 and 2013, and Kraków, which displays by far the highest number of museums per 100,000 people over the whole time period. This in turn implies that Kraków offers the best cultural conditions as it pertains to museums.

Figure 9: Seats in fixed cinemas (per 1000 pop.) 2005/2014

With regard to seats in cinemas, all cities, with the exception of Warsaw, increased the amount of seats per 1000 residents. Poznań offers the highest amount of seats, mainly due to the fact that two new cinemas opened in 2005 and 2007, increasing the overall capacity by more than 9000 seats. Wrocław almost doubled the amount of seats per 1000 population despite the fact that the number of cinemas did not increase since 2005. This indicates a potential replacement of smaller venues by big international cinema operators such as Cinema City or national multiplex chains such as Multikino.

In sum, it becomes apparent that the changes in each city are not only different but also fairly distinct. While some cities extended their range of certain cultural
institutions, others reduced the volume. This suggests that each city places differing emphasis on what cultural provisions are promoted. The figures also indicate, albeit somewhat surprisingly, that there is no visible trend of general improvement in terms of availability of cultural institutions and facilities. Many cities register a decline of cultural facilities. Warsaw’s development of cultural conditions strives against the stream of other Polish cities. The capital is the only city where the number of libraries increased over the measured eleven year period. Together with Poznań, it is also one of the two cities that saw a decrease in cultural conditions other than libraries. All cities increased the number of seats in theatres and music institutions per 1000 population. On average, Wrocław saw the biggest percentage increase in different cultural conditions from 2005 to 2014, but witnessed a large decrease in the number of libraries per 1000 pop.

4.2 Comparing economic conditions

In *Urban Competitiveness: Policies for dynamic cities* (2002), Iain Begg notes that in contrast to earlier times “it is urban activities that today are the principal foundations of economic prosperity” (2002:1). Cities are places where people develop their skills, find jobs, and start their own companies. Despite a general trend towards homogeneity, each city has its own distinct set of drivers of economic conditions that influence the young well-educated in their ability to participate in the economic sphere. Regarding the indicators to measure a city’s economic conditions, there are many different ways to evaluate this. A city’s abilities to offer favourable economic conditions for the residents, to allocate new businesses and to provide innovative economic strategies are measured on the basis of various indicators and with different models and methods. As argued in chapter 2, I do not aspire to provide an all-encompassing picture of these Polish cities’ economies. The applied indicators shall provide an overview of economic conditions available in each city. They are also used as a standard in most other studies measuring urban economic conditions: for example, the UK’s Office of National Statistics, or PricewaterhouseCoopers. All indicators regarding economic conditions are based on official statistical yearbooks or statistical bulletins of the respective cities and the Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland.
2015, with data being gathered in 2014. Figures 10 - 13 provide an overview of the distribution of indicators for the economy in each city. Changes in percent are indicated above the columns.

Figure 10: Registered unemployment rate (in %) 2005/2014

The registered unemployment rate in % is “calculated as the ratio of the number of registered unemployed persons to the economically active population”. (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 130). Looking at the rate, it is apparent that unemployment was reduced in all cities between 2005 and 2014, Kraków and the Tricity area maintain the highest unemployment, while the Poznań unemployment rate is the lowest of all cities. In terms of decrease of unemployment, Warsaw (-25%) and Kraków (-27.1%) show a moderate reduction, while the Tricity area (-38.9%) and Poznań (-50%) significantly lowered their unemployment and Wrocław shows an impressive reduction of -62.4%. These unemployment rates are all well below the national rate, which was 11.4% at the end of 2014 (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015). This demonstrates these cities’ status as economic growth engines.
The average monthly gross wages and salaries’ measure includes “economic entities employing more than 9 persons” (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 35). The numbers are relatively even. In most cities the average salaries in 2014 range between 4000 and 5000 zł. The increase of the monthly average in all cities from 2005 until 2014 is also relatively uniform. It ranges between 1574 zł in Kraków to 1776 zł in the Tricity area, which results in an increase of around 60% compared to the average salaries in 2005. The exception is Warsaw, which has not only the highest rate of monthly gross wages on average but also the highest increase, of 2292 zł within the 11 year period. This increase amounts to more than 74% of the average salaries earned by residents of Warsaw in 2005.
The term ‘entities’ of the national economy is understood “as legal entities, i.e.: legal persons, organizational entities without legal personality as well as natural persons conducting economic activity” (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 24). To compare, I calculated the entities of the national economy per 1000 people. As expected, Warsaw hosts the most entities of the national economy in 2005 and 2014 with 175.6 and 211, respectively. This ties in with Korcelli’s observation that Warsaw “has attracted a disproportionate share of foreign as well as domestic investment and of new economic activity” (2005: 140). Poznań comes second and Wrocław ranks in third place. Kraków comes fourth and, with more than 50 entities per 1000 population less than Warsaw, the Tricity area ranks last. Looking at the increase in entities of the national economy in each city shows that since 2005 the allocation of new economic entities has been less unevenly distributed. The increase in all cities was almost equal, ranging from 19.1% in Wrocław to 22.7% in Poznań. This is somewhat surprising as it implies that despite Warsaw’s dominance as an economic hub, the other cities were able to attract as many new economic entities of the national economy as the capital since Poland joined the EU.
The Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is useful for comparing one city to another, because it illustrates the relative performance of each city. A rise in GDP per capita indicates an increase in productivity and shows economic growth, although this has been challenged as an indicator for economic welfare. Harvie et al (2009: 484) point out several inadequacies and propose alternatives, such as the Human Development Index, as they are more encompassing. They also argue that GDP per capita does not take into account variations in working hours, demographic factors and the labour market (Harvie et al. 2009: 503).

Due to availability of statistical data, I use GDP per capita from 2013. Warsaw has by far the highest GDP per capita. In 2013, it was more than double the GDP per capita of the Tricity area. The economic dominance of the city becomes even more impressive by comparing Warsaw’s GDP per capita from 2005 with that of the other cities in 2013. Only Poznań has a higher GDP per capita in 2013 (86411 zł) than Warsaw had in 2005. Kraków, Wrocław and the Tricity area show similar levels of GDP per capita, between 60000 and 70000 zł. All cities rank above the Polish GDP per capita which was 25767 zł in 2005 and 42485 zł in 2013 (Poland in Figures 2014).

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14 No data available for 2014
The increase over the last eleven years yields a different picture. Wrocław, by almost doubling its GDP per capita (93.8%), is the overachiever of all cities. Kraków (74.8%) is second, while the other cities are nearly equal in their increase. It is also worth noting that the Tricity (61.7%), Poznań (66.2%) and Warsaw (65%) almost coincide with the national increase of the GDP per capita, which is 64.88%. This indicates that economic growth in Poland is not only happening in cities.

In sum, all cities reduced unemployment and increased average monthly gross wages and salaries, numbers of entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.), and GDP per capita. With the exception of the unemployment rate, where Poznań ranks best, Warsaw offers the most favourable conditions regarding the economic indicators.

### 4.3 Comparing public services and infrastructure

The distribution of urban public services and infrastructure is important. For the inhabitants of a city, the urban space is first and foremost a place where they live and work and which provides a wide range of facilities and services. Local authorities are not only required to promote the city to economic actors and to build a positive image to attract foreign investors and tourists. City governments are also in the position to organise the distribution of public services within the urban community. In this matter, one issue is how to measure the local public service output.

As mentioned in chapter 2, limitations in terms of measurable indicators and their relevance for city competitiveness cannot be ignored. How specific indicators impact on the perception of a city’s attractivity for urban residents is difficult to estimate. This study does not claim to provide a detailed analysis of all possible indicators relating to public services and infrastructure, but, to avoid some of the issues, only hard data available for each city are utilised. This ensures the comparability of the level of public services and infrastructure in the selected cities. Figures 14 to 22 provide an overview of the public services and municipal infrastructure in each city. The first indicators analysed are the services and infrastructure relating to health care (Figures 14 -16), followed by social welfare (Figure 17), public order (Figure 18), and infrastructure (Figures 19 – 22).
Eurostat uses two indicators to assess healthcare resources at the regional level (2016). The first is hospital beds relative to population size and the second is the number of healthcare professionals (doctors) relative to population size. Unfortunately, only the first indicator is available for all Polish cities for the years 2005 and 2014. I replaced the second indicator with the number of pharmacies per population, as these figures are available for each city and therefore comparable. I also provide an overview of the number of doctors in Polish cities to complete the assessment of health care services and infrastructure in the Polish cities in question.

Figure 14: Number of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.) 2005/2014\textsuperscript{15}

![Figure 14: Number of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.) 2005/2014](image)


Kretowicz and Chaberko report that, according to Kaczmarek (2007) the volume and structure of medical facilities play an important role in terms of availability of medical services. As one of the main indicators, they utilise the number of hospital beds to population ratio (2012: 270). For the years between 2005 and 2014 an increase in the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population can be observed in all five Polish cities. All cities were above the recommended 40 beds per 10,000 inhabitants (Kretowicz and Chaberko 2012: 279). Poznań has not only the biggest number of beds it also had the largest increase of beds relative to its population size (16.5%).

\textsuperscript{15} Data for Wroclaw from 2013
Warsaw this number increased 13.2%, in Kraków 11.9% and in Wrocław 11.2%. The increase in the Tricity area was only marginal with 6.5%. The latter also has the lowest amounts of hospital beds per 10,000 population.

Pharmacies as used as an indicator in this study excludes hospital pharmacies as well as company pharmacies and enterprises providing services (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 219).

Figure 15: Pharmacies (per 100’000 pop.) 2005/2014


Again, Poznań provides the best infrastructure with 47.5 pharmacies per 10,000 population in 2015. All cities are relatively close together in terms of pharmacy provision with the exception of Warsaw, which saw a massive increase in pharmacies per population. More concretely, Warsaw almost doubled its amount of pharmacies – from 331 in 2005 to 622 in 2014 (Statistical Yearbook of Warsaw 2015). This increase can not only be observed in Warsaw but throughout Poland and is mainly due to a privatisation of this sector after 1989. Nowadays, anyone can run a privately owned pharmacy.

Although the data are not available for every city, it is worth having a look at the number of doctors per 10,000 population. The data not only present an indicator for the availability of health care services in the urban environment, but it also exemplifies
“one of the most controversial issues in current public debate […] the migration of medical professionals” (Kaczmarczyk 2010: 175). The changing ratio of doctors per population in cities serves as a lens through which to better understand migration of the highly skilled in the context of EU accession, as mentioned previously. Kaczmarczyk concludes that migration of the highly skilled is a rather typical phenomenon in the current area of globalisation, but the ratio of doctors per population points towards an increased migration process after Poland joined the EU. Figure 7 shows the amount of doctors per 10,000 population before and after Polish EU membership and the current situation. It is obvious that in all cities and the Pomorskie Voivodship (where the Tricity area is located), the number of doctors decreased between 2000 and 2005 until it later reached the level prior to accession. Kraków seems to be the exception, but a closer look at the data reveal that the city also had to bear a significant decrease of doctors per population. From 2004 to 2005, the number of doctors shrank from 49.2 to 43.1 doctors per 10,000 population. In other words, unlike in other cities, the number of doctors in Kraków increased just before EU accession.

Figure 16: Doctors per 10,000 population


16 Data for Wrocław from 2013
Social welfare homes and facilities in Poland are defined as “local self-government entities, associations, social organizations, churches and religious associations, foundations, natural and legal persons” (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 224).

![Figure 17: Social welfare places (per 100,000 pop.) 2005/2014](chart)


Looking at the ratio of social welfare houses and facilities to population in the different cities, it is apparent that the ratio increased in the selected cities. This indicates an improvement of stationary social welfare (in contrast to home services) in urban Polish entities (no data available for the Tricity). Poznań and Wrocław show the largest increase with 66.5% and 64.7% respectively. Kraków’s increase of the social welfare place per 10,000 population amounts to 28.3% while in Warsaw it is 15.6%.

“An ascertained crime is an event which after the completion of preparatory proceedings, was confirmed as a crime” (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 94).
The number of crimes in Polish cities continuously dropped. Warsaw shows the lowest number of ascertained crimes in 2015 (29.3 per 1000 pop.), followed by the Tricity area (30.4), Kraków (34.6), Poznań (41.3) and Wrocław (44.5). The overall decrease of crimes in the five selected cities was quite uneven. While Warsaw, Kraków and the Tricity area show a decrease of more than 40%, Poznań’s decrease amounts to 32.4% and Wrocław’s to only 25.7%.

Data regarding completed dwellings concern housing stock “located in residential and non-residential buildings” (Statistical Yearbook of Warsaw 2015). It is also important to note that a substantial portion of these urban dwellings are developed and built by private investors. Co-operative construction, municipal construction and company construction only play a minor role in the building of new dwellings (Koch: 2009: 342). The data also do not indicate a steady annual increase or decrease of completed dwellings, but only demonstrate the development in percent compared to 2005.
The data in the yearbooks do not include collective facilities such as hotels, student dormitories, or welfare homes. In 2014, Kraków and Wrocław had the most dwellings completed. Warsaw ranks in the middle, while Poznań and the Tricity area come last. In terms of increase, 203.2% more apartments per 1000 population than in 2004 were completed in Wrocław. These numbers were even higher in the years 2012 and 2013, which shows a continuous boost in construction work. The numbers in Kraków increased by 61.7%, in the Tricity area 21.2%, in Poznań 13.6% and in Warsaw only 2.4%. Despite the increasing numbers, the Polish residential market still trails behind other EU members in the west. According to Ernest and Young’s 2015 report, other “statistical indicators, such as number of residential units per 1,000 inhabitants, usable floor area per one inhabitant and per average residential unit, are below the European average” (2015:20). This is mainly due to the time-consuming procedures within the urban administrations when deciding on zoning-plans in the cities.

Looking at levels of water supply and sewerage systems shows little difference across the five cities\textsuperscript{17}, in the percentage of the population using these systems.

\textsuperscript{17} Estimated Data for all cities. Data for the Tricity area covers all urban areas in the Pomorskie Voivodship.
Figure 20: Population using water supply system (in % of total pop.) 2005/2014


Figure 21: Population using sewerage system (in % of pop.) 2005/2014

Pawełek writes that “water supply for cities and villages together with sewage disposal are the priority tasks of local self-governments” (2015: 367). All cities are close to or above 95% in terms of water supply and close to or above 90% in terms of sewage. The data includes the population “living in residential buildings connected to a defined system as well as the population using a water-line system through a common courtyard or street outlet […] and in the case of sewerage - sewerage inlets” (Statistical Yearbook of Kraków 2015: 157). The cities are also above the percentages of the population using water supply and sewage systems in Poland. In 2005, 86.1% of the Polish population used water supply systems and only 59.2% used sewage systems. These numbers increased to 91.6% and 68.7%, respectively, in 2015 (Statistical Yearbooks of Poland 2006 and 2016).

What is more striking, is the difference between rural and urban areas. Pawełek notes that Poland still lags behind other European countries. This “concerns particularly rural inhabitants, where great delays in water supply and sewerage network […] still require enormous financial outlays and must be the main focus of local self-governments” (2015: 371). Figure 22 shows the population using municipal installations in 2005 and 2014 in rural and urban areas in Poland.

**Figure 22: Population using municipal installations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>84.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Communal infrastructure 2005, Municipal infrastructure 2014, Central Statistical Office of Poland

---

18 “Data on population using water supply and sewage network [in 2014] due to changes in estimation methods are not fully comparable with data presented in previous editions of the publication” (Municipal Infrastructure in 2014).
The figure reveals the huge discrepancies between rural and urban areas in Poland in terms of the population using sewage and water supply systems. A key reason for this is the scattered housing in rural areas. This leads to high costs of the construction of water supply and sewage systems. The numbers also show considerable progress in the construction and access to supply systems. The number of people using sewage systems in rural areas increased by 96.84% while the number of people using a municipal water supply system increased by 16.92%. The numbers in urban areas remained almost stable. According to Pawełek (2016), Poland’s accession to the EU resulted in increasing expenditure on water supply and sewage systems in rural areas.

All cities improved their public services and infrastructure. The number of ascertained crimes declined, while the numbers of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.), pharmacies (per 100,000 pop.) social welfare places (per 100,000 pop.), and dwellings completed (per 1000 pop.) increased. Sewage and water supply systems only saw a moderate increase because the supply network was already relatively extensive in 2005.

4.4 Summary of strengths and weaknesses of the five Polish cities

Cities and their residents largely depend on good conditions, the steady supply of services, and the provision of infrastructure. At a general level, even when separately comparing the numbers in 2014 and the overall increases in percentages between 2005 and 2014 (see appendix), the conclusion indicates that Kraków justifiably holds the title of culture capital of Poland. Second is Wrocław, which is also the designated European Capital of Culture 2016 and third is Warsaw. Economically, Warsaw offered the best conditions in 2014 while Poznań ranks in second place and Wrocław is third. Nevertheless, Wrocław shows the largest improvement in its economic conditions over time. In terms of public services and infrastructure, Poznań ranks in first place, the Tricity area and Wrocław share the second place. In the next two sections, I analyse the current state of urban conditions and their development between 2005 and 2014. This juxtaposition provides a more detailed and
comprehensive analysis of conditions in Polish cities. It also allows me to see the closest fit with perceptions, if they exist.

4.4.1 Current state of urban conditions in the five Polish cities

I first look at cultural and economic conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure as presented in 2014. This is the latest date when data for most cities, with the exception of Wrocław, and all indicators were made available by the regional statistical offices in Poland. Data for Wrocław is drawn from 2013. Table 5 shows the ranking of the cities regarding their conditions, services and infrastructure. They are ranked from 1 (worst) to 5 (best). The order, however, does not make any statement about the distance between the respective ranks. Where appropriate, I provide more detailed information below the table.

Table 5: City ranking of current cultural and economic cond., and public services and infr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entity</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Conditions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Conditions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services and Infr.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own calculation

In terms of culture, the five Polish cities examined here offer uneven and varying conditions. Warsaw is leading in terms of libraries and seats in theatres and music institutions and ranks fourth regarding museums and seats in cinemas. However, these two categories have to be treated with caution. With the exception of Poznań, which offers by far the highest number of cinema seats per 1000 residents, and Kraków, which stands out regarding its high number of museums, most cities are close together when measuring these indicators. The Tricity area’s cultural conditions are rather limited. It offers the fewest seats in cinemas, theatres and music institutions per 1000 residents. It also shows the second lowest number of libraries per 100,000 population and ranks in the middle in terms of museums per population. Furthermore, the cultural opportunities are mainly restricted to Gdańsk. Poznań’s cultural conditions are also
rather sparse. Looking at the indicators, the city is certainly not a cultural hotspot. The same holds true for Wrocław, which ranks mostly in the middle in terms of its cultural facilities and institutions. It is also the city with the fewest libraries per 100,000 population. Again, Kraków’s position as the cultural centre of Poland is well deserved. It ranks second in all categories with the exception of museums per population, where it displays by far the highest volume and takes first place.

Warsaw is the economic powerhouse of Poland. It ranks first in average monthly gross wages and salaries (in zł), entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.) and GDP per capita (in zł). Poznań ranks second as it shows the lowest unemployment rate and performs well with regard to the other indicators, although it still falls far behind Warsaw. Interestingly, Poznań was already one of the economically leading cities during the transformation after the fall of the communist regime (Węclawowicz 2005: 224). Wrocław ranks third, but the actual measured values are still quite far from Poznań, with the exception of the average monthly wages and salaries. Kraków and the Tricity area show a rather weak economic performance. Both cities lag behind other cities with the exception of the Tricity area’s average monthly wages and salaries, where the city takes second place.

Looking at the five cities, it is clear that the water supply and sewage systems are evenly well distributed and only partly suitable as indicators to assess the cities’ public services and infrastructure. By taking all indicators into account, Poznań ranks first. This is mainly due to a high number of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.), and high numbers of pharmacies and social welfare places per 100,000 population. This also shows the limitation of the ranking and the applied indicators, as the number of doctors per 10,000 population is lower than in other Polish cities. Kraków ranks second, because it has a high number of completed dwellings in 2014 and the largest population using water supply systems (in % of total pop.). The Tricity area ranks third due to low rate of ascertained crimes and the highest number of social welfare places per 100,000 population. Tricity’s average ranking of services and infrastructure is almost on a par with Kraków. Wrocław ranks fourth with a high volume of completed dwellings per 10,000 population but relatively few welfare places per 100’00 population. Warsaw shows the lowest volume of ascertained crimes, but the city ranks last, mostly due to an overall weak performance in terms of services and infrastructure.
4.4.2 Development of urban conditions in the five Polish cities

I analyse the development of urban conditions in the five selected cities between 2005, the year after Poland’s EU accession and in 2014. These changes over time serve as an indication for the cities’ capacities to improve their cultural and economic institutions and public services. This measurement also helps to provide a more detailed look on the structural situation in cities. In other words, a city might currently not provide the best urban conditions, but it could have shown a steady improvement over the last decade. Table 6 shows the ranking of the cities regarding their development of conditions, services and infrastructure. Again they are ranked from 1 (worst) to 5 (best).

Table 6: City ranking of development of cultural and economic conditions, and public services and infrastructure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entity</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Conditions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Conditions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services and Infrastructure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own calculation

Wrocław shows a steadily strong improvement regarding its cultural institutions, which places it in the highest rank. The city displays by far the highest increase in museums per 10,000 people (119.5%). Wrocław also shows the biggest increase of seats per 1000 population. This was mainly due to a replacement of smaller cinemas with bigger movie theatre complexes. The Tricity area is second thanks to its large increase of seats in theatres and music institutions in the Pomorskie Voivodship. However, the number of seats is proportionally still the lowest among all selected cities. Kraków is third, with an overall moderate increase that can be explained with cultural conditions that are already more extensive than in other cities. Warsaw and Poznań show a rather weak performance, although Warsaw is the only city where the number of libraries increased over the measured time period. At the same time, the capital is also the only city with a decreased number of seats in fixed cinemas (per
1000 pop.), and Poznań is the only city with a lower number of museums (per 100,000 pop.) in 2014 compared to 2005.

Regarding economic conditions on a developing scale, again Wrocław is in first place. The city demonstrates impressive improvements in terms of unemployment, average monthly salaries and especially GDP per capita. Poznań in second place and Kraków in third place are relatively close together in terms of improving urban conditions. Notably, Poznań shows a higher decrease of the unemployment rate while Kraków shows a higher increase of GDP per capita, which proves its development as an attractive location for businesses and investments. Warsaw and the Tricity area share the fourth place. This is interesting because, on the one hand, Warsaw provides the best economic conditions and arguably, enhancements of these conditions might be not as easy to achieve, given the ongoing economic competition between Polish cities. The Tricity area on the other hand displays the highest unemployment rate and the lowest GDP per capita and did not make much progress. The exception is the metropolitan’s increased ability to attract entities of the national economy, which is on par with the other selected cities. This raises the question of underlying reasons for the lack of economic progress in cities with different economic conditions.

Poznań shows the biggest average positive development of its public services and infrastructure. This is due to Poznań’s relatively larger improvement of the number of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.) and social welfare places (per 100,000 pop.). Wrocław ranks second, whereby the huge increase of dwellings completed (per 1000 pop.) is noteworthy. The Tricity area ranks third, in part to its steadily large reduction of crimes and the increasing population using water supply systems. Warsaw ranks only fourth, although the city displays the biggest increase of pharmacies of all selected cities. This is largely due to a generally weak performance in terms of improvement of public services and infrastructure. Kraków ranks last, which may be explained by the city’s generally well developed infrastructure. However, room for improvement exists regarding the increase of pharmacies and the population using the sewerage system, and the decrease of the crime rate.
4.4.3 Caution in measuring urban conditions

As mentioned previously, these rankings have to be treated with caution as they do not overcome the limitations mentioned in chapter 2, nor do they illustrate important details about the development of each city’s conditions and services.

First and foremost, the measured indicators depict the status of the urban conditions for the years 2005 and 2014. An increase or decrease of any measured variable does not indicate a constant change. For example, the number of ascertained crimes or the dwellings completed never linearly changed but varied in every year and in every city. Second, some indicators or increases are almost equal in all cities. Access to water supply is above 94% in all cities and the increase of entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.) is in all cities around 20%. The validity of a ranking in these cases is at least questionable. Third, while these indicators provide an overview of the cities’ conditions, services and infrastructure, they are neither able to objectively portray what constitutes the city for the urban residents, nor to ascribe a hierarchy of importance to the different variables. While for some inhabitants, cultural conditions might be a decisive factor, for others, a low crime rate might be imperative. These and other caveats are also highlighted by Greene et al, who argue that “academics and policy makers should reflect carefully on the practice of selectively comparing and contrasting regional data” (2007: 16).

4.5 Summary

Notwithstanding the methodological flaws of the city ranking, it nonetheless provides a useful starting point that allows a comparison with citizens’ perception of the conditions present in the selected cities. Providing a good infrastructure, a high level of quality of life a wide range of cultural conditions and beneficial economic conditions, does not necessarily indicate that the residents perceive them in the same way. On the other hand, residents might have a positive image of the urban conditions on offer in their respective city, despite the fact that this perception is not reflected in the applied indicators. However, as it is in the interest of city councils to provide services and conditions that enhance the urban space and are of benefit for the urban
population (Parysek and Mierzejewksa 2006), I assume that the residents are also aware of the conditions within their respective city. I would surmise that the cities with the best available conditions are perceived to be as such by the MA students who live and study in the city. Likewise, I would posit that the cities with the least favourable conditions would be perceived as such, respectively. To assess the perception of the cultural, economic conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure and the quality of life as it influences attitudes towards the EU, I analyse the survey data in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Findings – Quantitative Data

Van den Berg and Braun, evaluating the logic of competition and place marketing, state that promoting a city starts with identifying the customers, the city’s target groups (1999: 993). If urban governance is aimed at improving the quality of the resident’s urban living environment, it is advisable to assess their views and perspectives. Studies on the urban situation often focus on the interpretation of policy makers but spend little time evaluating how urban residents perceive their standard of living (Greene et al. 2007). To explore these perceptions, I conducted a survey among students at the Universities in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław and the Tricity. The questionnaire contained a variety of questions on cultural, economic and political conditions and structures, on place attachment, and on their attitudes towards the European Union (see annex). In the first section, I examine different nominal and ordinal variables, using descriptive statistics. The crosstabulations and frequency distributions allow for a comparison of information between the different groups of potential Eurostars living in Polish cities. In the second section, the bivariate analysis, I examine if the variables correlate, according to the research design. An important point to emphasise is the non-randomised nature of the data. The survey data can, therefore, not convey generalisable results, but they can illustrate current situations and patterns among the urban Polish well-educated youth. The data further contributes to a better understanding of satisfaction with local conditions, place attachment, and support for European integration.
5.1 Descriptive statistics

In the first section, I characterise the location and variability of the variables. This includes the median and skewness and includes only the MA students who meet a specific set of requirements: Polish citizenship, living in the city for at least five years, and speaking a second European language \( (n_l = 349) \). The distribution in the dataset leads to the application of nonparametric tests, which I briefly outline in the same section. In the second part, I analyse why the actual number of MA students studied \( (n_s = 324) \) is considerably smaller than the original number of students responding to the survey \( (N = 932) \) and also smaller than the number of students fulfilling all requirements. I further explain the gender distribution among the surveyed full-time MA students. This is an important aspect as I control for a variety of demographic factors such as age, citizenship, and language, but not gender. I then examine the different conditions provided in each city and assess attachment to different territorial entities and attitudes towards EU integration among the MA students.

5.1.1 Variables and statistical tests

In this quantitative part of the study, I analyse seven variables pertaining to the perception of the conditions on offer in the urban environment and attitudes towards the EU. Table 7 presents the variables analysed for this study, including the missing values \( (n_l = 349) \).
Table 7: Descriptive statistics for all variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with cultural conditions Scale 1 - 4</th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions Scale 1 - 4</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infr. Scale 1 - 4</th>
<th>Quality of life Scale 1 - 4</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment Scale 1 - 3</th>
<th>EU for Poland Scale 1 - 3</th>
<th>EU for you Scale 1 - 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n_i ) Valid</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skewness</td>
<td>-.920</td>
<td>-.833</td>
<td>-.467</td>
<td>-.453</td>
<td>-.329</td>
<td>-1.450</td>
<td>-1.644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variables used either a 3-point or 4-point Likert scale, where 1: not at all satisfied (for satisfaction levels), very low (for perception of quality of life), more to the country (for feeling of attachment), or a bad thing (for EU attitudes), where 3: more to the city (for feeling of attachment), or a good thing (for EU attitudes), and where 4: very satisfied (for satisfaction levels), very high (for perception of quality of life).

Source: Author’s own data

The data are not distributed normally. The skewness for a normal distribution would be zero or close to zero, which none of the variables fulfil. To analyse these type of ordinal data, I apply nonparametric statistical tests. They are based on less stringent assumptions and require fewer qualifications than parametric tests. Due to their wider applicability, they are also considered to have less statistical power than parametric tests. By comparison, the use of parametric techniques requires a normal distribution of the population and variables need to be measured at least on an interval scale.

5.1.2 Demography: Student requirements

I only consider students for further analysis of attitudes towards their respective city and the EU if they fulfil certain requirements and have no user missing values. This shall ensure the validity and meaningfulness of the MA students’ responses. These requirements reduced the number from 923 to 349 MA students. In other words, only 37.8% of all students who initially answered the questionnaire have Polish citizenship, speak a second European language and have lived for five years or longer in their city, and are thereby considered in this study. This is mainly due to the large number of students living in a specific city for less than five years. Length of stay may
have an influence on how the city is perceived (Lewicka 2010). Many Polish students travel to bigger cities for studies and might have no feelings of personal attachment to the urban entity. They might see the city solely as the place where they work while considering the village or small town where they grew up as their personal frame of reference. To ensure that I was able to distinguish between participants who lived in their respective city before they started studying and students who moved to a particular city to commence their studies, I divided them into three groups: lived for longer than five years in the city, less than five years in the city, and does not live in the city. The last category was chosen after discussions with students from Kraków who mentioned that many students live outside the bigger cities and commute to the university every day. Table 8, examining all survey respondents (N= 923), illustrates how many students in each city are within each of these three groups.

Table 8: Student length of stay in five Polish cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Length of stay in the city</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>5 years or longer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within City</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznai</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within City</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within City</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within City</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within City</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
N= 923

Of all students assessed, 52.9% have lived for less than five years in the city where they study. Additionally, some students live outside the city (8.8%) and commute every day to the university. Only 354, or 38.4% of all students, have lived for five years or more in their respective city. As 349 MA students fulfill all requirements, this means that only five of the surveyed students (0.6 %) who lived in their respective city for five years or longer, are either not Polish citizens or indicated that they do not speak a second European language, or both. Four of these students are
based in Wroclaw and one is based in Warsaw. It is also striking that in most cities a higher percentage of sampled students live in the area for less than five years. Warsaw is the exception. This could be for a variety of possible reasons. Either less people move to Warsaw for studies from other cities, or less people leave Warsaw to study somewhere else in Poland, because the capital provides more opportunities for studies. Alternatively, the high number of students who are not located in the city (12.4%) points towards a larger group of students who commute daily from outside the city. A similar pattern occurs in the Tricity area, where only a narrow majority of students lived in the city for less than five years (46.4%) but 12.1% live outside the Tricity area.

Another important aspect, regarding student requirements, is the exclusion of user missing values (‘I don’t know’). As Table 7 shows, variables measuring attachment and EU attitudes contain arbitrary values selected by the respondent to record non-response to a question in the survey. These were coded with 9. For the further analysis of the students’ sample and potential correlations, I excluded all user missing values, which slightly reduced the sample from 349 to 324 full-time MA students.

5.1.3 Demography: Gender distribution

To assess the distribution of men and women studying in Poland and at the faculties where I conducted the survey, Figure 23 displays the distribution according to gender for a variety of subgroups. These groups include: how many male and female full-time MA-students study at the local university (‘Unified Master's studies and second-cycle programmes’), how many male and female full-time MA-students study at programmes and faculties where the survey was conducted (‘All subjects combined’), how many male and female full-time MA-students have answered the questionnaire (‘All survey respondents’, N= 923), and how many male and female full-

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19 Unified Master's studies are long-cycle programmes available for various subjects, including but not limited to: Psychology, Law, Acting, Medical Analysis, Pharmacy, Medicine, and Conservation of Art. Candidates obtain Master's qualifications after graduation. Second-cycle programmes are Master studies available to candidates who finish a first cycle programme (BA or BA of Applied Science).

20 The label ‘All subjects combined’ includes the aggregated students from all study programmes and courses at each university where the survey was conducted.
time MA-students are represented in the sample of students which fit all requirements and have no user missing values (‘Used sample’, n_s = 324).

Figure 23: Gender distribution in total in %

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master’s studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 286399, All subjects combined: N= 11687, All survey respondents: N= 923, Used sample: n_s = 324

The initial number of female MA students answering the questionnaire (72.7%) was much higher than the number of male MA students (27.3%). This skewed distribution is also noticeable when looking at the data from the final sample used in this study – 65.7% women and 34.3% men, and is also apparent when looking at the individual cities. The percentage of female respondents is higher at each university where I had conducted the survey.

There are two likely causes for the striking female to male ratio of almost 3:1. First, it is possible that the study programmes and courses, where I was allowed to conduct the survey, host more female students. Second, according to the Central Statistical Office (2015), it is true that generally more women (57.75%) study at Polish universities than men (42.25%). This comparison of datasets according to gender is especially important, as I am not controlling for this variable and potential bias could occur due to preferences based on gender. The gender-based evaluation also allows me to estimate the distribution of survey respondents as compared to the actual numbers of men and women studying at the universities that I visited for my study. To evaluate the respective proportions of the survey respondents and how they are distributed in each selected city, Figures 24 - 28 compare the percentages of female and male students in each city and provide a transparent summary of the demographic
data. For each selected city, I apply the same differentiation as in the previous calculation: ‘Unified Master's studies and long-cycle programmes’, ‘All subjects combined’, ‘All survey respondents’, and ‘Used sample’.

Figure 24: Gender distribution in Tricity

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master's studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 7511, All subjects combined: N= 1335, All survey respondents: N= 280, Used sample: nTr = 10

Figure 25: Gender distribution in Poznań

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master's studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 11705, All subjects combined: N= 568, All survey respondents: N= 144, Used sample: nPo = 44
Figure 26: Gender distribution in Warsaw

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master’s studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 13509, All subjects combined: N= 3910, All survey respondents: N= 178, Used sample: nwa = 75

Figure 27: Gender distribution in Wrocław

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master’s studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 7230, All subjects combined: N= 282, All survey respondents: N= 134, Used sample: nwr = 35

Figure 28: Gender distribution in Kraków

Source: Author’s own data and Central Statistical Office of Poland, 30.XI. 2015 r. – dane wstępne
Unified master’s studies and second-cycle programmes: N= 17614, All subjects combined: N= 5592, All survey respondents: N= 187, Used sample: nkr = 62
The data on unified master’s studies and second-cycle programmes are provisional but the numbers confirm that more women than men are enrolled in MA programmes at universities in the selected cities with a rather constant percentage of women of 65% – 70%. Data concerning the actual study programmes and courses demonstrate that the proportional distribution of women and men is close to the percentages of participants surveyed for this study.

At most universities, the proportion of women answering the questionnaire was higher than the ratio of women studying at the programmes and faculties where the survey was conducted. Only at the University of Wrocław did a higher percentage of women study at the faculties where I conducted the survey than women who filled out the questionnaire. At the universities in Poznań, the Tricity area and Wrocław, the gender distribution of all survey respondents closely matches the distribution of men and women studying at the visited programmes. In Warsaw and Kraków, the respondents’ gender distribution is closer to the distribution within the combined number of unified master’s and second-cycle programme students. In Warsaw, 67.2% of students in both programmes are women, 32.8% are men. In Kraków, 68.1% female students and 31.9% male students take part in unified master’s and second-cycle programmes.

The most interesting, and also most crucial comparison is between the ‘used sample’ and ‘all subjects’ combined. These two groups present the number of students actually used for this study compared to students who study at the faculties where the survey was conducted. In Kraków and the Tricity area, these numbers are strikingly close, with only a gap of 4% and 1% respectively. In Poznań, the difference is around 7% and in Warsaw around 9%. Wrocław shows the biggest gap with around 12%. Although generalisations are not possible, this indicates that the survey data have a similar gender distribution to the population profiles in each university. As the data sample reflects official enrolment figures to a considerable degree, I assume that the data may be allow conclusions about a broader population than the sample represents. However, a confirmatory study would have to prove potential significances of any correlation between these variables.
5.1.4 Satisfaction with urban conditions

Cities create space for shared experiences. European cities, as Kazepov argues, differ from other cities because they provide “specific contexts to actors, characterized by a specific mix of constraints and enablements” (2005: 7). This does not only include physical provision of various cultural and economic conditions and public services and infrastructure for urban citizens, but also relationship and interaction between the urban space and society. The assessment of these city-related contexts requires an understanding of the perception of services and conditions by the urban population. How satisfied citizens are with the performance of their respective city potentially mirrors the efforts of local authorities to enhance the urban space, and increases the city’s attractiveness for the young, well-educated residents. This is a central issue in Polish cities, where the population barely increased since EU accession in 2004 (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015). In fact, the population in the Tricity area, Poznań, and Wrocław even decreased between 2005 and 2014.

5.1.4.1 Satisfaction with cultural conditions

Zukin describes culture in cities as the counter draft to urban politics and economy. She argues that cultural infrastructure and activities convey ritualised pleasures which “lift urban citizens out of the mire of [their] everyday lives” (2003: 137). She further argues that culture is also used by local authorities as a tool to control cities through images and symbols. This becomes more important as urban residents become more mobile and established political parties are less able to act as an institution that builds collective identities. How well cities act as spaces for cultural transactions, and as representative areas of urban life, largely depends on the perception of cultural conditions by the population.

I asked the MA students in the survey how satisfied they are with the amount and variety of cultural institutions (such as theatres, museums etc.) promoted by the local administration in their city (see appendix). Figure 29 presents how satisfied the potential Eurostars in the five selected cities are with the cultural conditions available in their respective city, broken down by gender.
Based on my sample, the evidence suggests that the overall level of satisfaction is very high. 29.7% of all male MA students are very satisfied with the local cultural conditions, and 56.8% are fairly satisfied. These numbers are even higher among female MA students. 51.6% are very satisfied and 43.7% are fairly satisfied with the number and variety of cultural conditions.

A closer look at each city reveals certain differences. Kraków is the city where most students are very satisfied with the cultural conditions on offer (59.7%). This is also reflected by the high number of male students (52.2%) and female students (64.1%) that are very satisfied with Kraków’s cultural conditions. In Warsaw (48%), the number of very satisfied students is also quite high. The gap, however, between male (29.6%) and female (58.3%) students is remarkable. Male students in Warsaw are fairly satisfied (51.9%), or not very satisfied (14.8%) with the cultural options in the city. Equally, MA students in Wrocław are fairly (42.9%) and very satisfied.
(42.9%) Special attention should be given to the large percentage of male students that are not very (10.5%) or not at all satisfied (10.5%) with Wroclaw’s cultural conditions. At the same time, a high number of female students in Wroclaw are very satisfied (68.8%), while the number of very satisfied male students is quite low (21.1%). Students in the Tricity also lean towards being fairly satisfied (50%) rather than being very satisfied (39.8%) with the cultural conditions in the metropolitan area. Again, male students have a tendency to be less satisfied than female students. In Poznań, the level of satisfaction is rather low. Only 27.3% of all students are very satisfied, while 63.6% are fairly satisfied. Male students have a strong tendency to not be very satisfied (14.3%) but at the same time, the number of very satisfied students is larger among men (28.6%) than women (26.1%)

In sum, male students in this survey are less satisfied with the cultural conditions in their respective city than female students. Students in Kraków show the highest level of satisfaction, while students in Wroclaw are the least satisfied compared to other selected cities.

5.1.4.2 Satisfaction with economic conditions

The growth of informatics and digital industries allows companies to be increasingly independent from territorial locations. “Cities, they told us, would become obsolete as economic entities” (Sassen 2012:1). However, this notion of place as a factor of shrinking importance does not account for the full story. Despite the spatial distribution and mobility of the economy, centralised economic hubs are growing. Even companies that provide information technologies and digital services need a physical location and local authorities are promoting the cities’ role as economic centres by fostering the attractiveness of their area. Every city has a range of distinctive features and creates a certain profile that has an impact on its economic development. Veltz (2000) argues that the concertation of jobs and economic growth in metropolitan areas, especially for the highly skilled, is a global future that includes Europe. These developments are visible in Polish cities that underwent intense and rapid changes after the collapse of socialism and the centrally planned economy. This transformation from the industrial past to centres of a diversified economy also
requires highly skilled labour. Keeping the well-educated in the city by creating an environment with a thriving economy and well paid jobs is certainly of interest to local businesses and authorities.

To assess the appeal of cities within the realm of job and financial opportunities, I asked MA students in the survey how satisfied they are with the activities related to economic development (such as attracting new businesses, jobs etc.) carried out by the local administration in Gdańsk/ Poznan/ Wrocław/ Warsaw/ Krakow (see appendix). Figure 30 shows how satisfied the MA students in Polish cities are with the economic conditions on offer in their respective city.

Figure 30: Gender satisfaction with economic conditions in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
n= 324

The level of satisfaction with the economic conditions is rather moderate. Only 7.4% of all surveyed students are very satisfied, while most students are just fairly satisfied (69.4%) and 19.8% are not very satisfied. The distribution between men and women is quite even. 64.9% of the male MA students are fairly satisfied (female students: 71.8%) and 21.6% are not very satisfied (female students: 18.8%).
The Tricity area and Poznań both generate a high level of satisfaction. While the percentage of students who are very satisfied is higher in the Tricity area (9.3%), more students are fairly satisfied with the economic conditions in Poznań (84.1%). The Tricity area also shows the highest percentage of very satisfied male students (9.5%) but at the same time a high number of male students that are not at all satisfied (9.5%). Female students in Wrocław are showing the highest percentage of being very satisfied among all surveyed students (31.3%), while Wrocław’s male students show the highest rate of dissatisfaction (10.5%). Kraków and Warsaw seem to be less convincing among MA students with their economic conditions on offer. In both cities a high number of male and female students are not very satisfied. In Warsaw, the percentages amount to 37% for men and 31.3% for women and are the highest compared to the other cities. In Kraków, 30.4% of all male students and 17.9% of all female students are not very satisfied with the economic conditions.

In sum, the differences in satisfaction with the economic conditions in the cities are rather marginal between men and women, with two notable exceptions. First, female respondents in Wrocław have a more favourable view on the local economic conditions than the male respondents. Second, a third of the students in Warsaw represented in my sample view economic conditions in the city as not very satisfying. This is the highest rate of dissatisfaction in all cities.

5.1.4.3 Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure

Urban areas provide citizens with a wide range of public services and infrastructure. These services and infrastructure initially revolved around the provision of water and gas. This not only included the physical planning and building of water and gas supply systems, it also involved establishing principles of governance and the continuing inclusion of new technologies. Today, confronted with new technologies, Europeanisation, globalisation and new needs among urban citizens, local authorities have to juggle different tasks and adjust their performance to new models (Lorrain 2000). In many parts of Europe, local governments have the capacity to coordinate the policy agendas concerned with the conceptualisation and implementation of public services and infrastructure.
This is now also the case with cities in Poland. Between 1945 and 1990 socialist authorities centrally planned and created urban spaces (Kotus 2006). With the fall of communism, Polish cities entered the arena of the free-market and global networks. Local governments received considerable power in their decision-making, particularly in terms of planning and implementing new services and infrastructure. This also involved the improvement of services, listening to the needs of urban residents and enhancing the attractiveness of the urban space by providing a well-functioning infrastructure. To examine what the potential Eurostars think, I asked them how satisfied they are with the public services and infrastructure provided by the local administration in their respective city. This included areas of responsibility such as healthcare, education, public transport, social welfare, security, etc. (see appendix).

Figure 31 shows, how satisfied the MA students are with the public services and infrastructure on offer in the Tricity, Poznań, Warsaw, Wroclaw or Kraków, broken down by gender.

Figure 31: Gender satisfaction with public services and infrastructure in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
n = 324
Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure is moderate compared to satisfaction rates with other conditions. Overall, 26.5% of all MA students in my sample state that they are not very satisfied and 10.5% are not at all satisfied. The same, rather negative levels of satisfaction, are observed among men and women. More than a quarter of all male MA students are not very satisfied (26.1%) and 13.5% are not satisfied at all. The percentages among women mimic a similar pattern, as 26.8% are not very satisfied and 8.9% are not at all satisfied.

Looking at the different cities, satisfaction levels among men are the highest in Kraków (17.4% are very satisfied and 52.2% fairly satisfied) and in the Tricity area among women (11.5% are very satisfied and 57.5% fairly satisfied). Responding male and female students in Warsaw show equal satisfaction levels while women in Poznań tend to be less satisfied than men as shown by the high percentage of women who are not at all satisfied (21.7%). In Wrocław, the percentages are uneven. While male students are very unsatisfied with the city’s public services and infrastructure (31.6% are not at all satisfied, and 31.6% not very satisfied), female students have a slightly more positive attitude towards these conditions: 6.3% of women in Wrocław are not at all satisfied and 31.3% are not very satisfied. However, No student in Wrocław was very satisfied with the public services and infrastructure in the city.

In sum, none of the cities examined achieved high satisfaction with public services and infrastructure provided by local authorities. In most cities almost 50% or more of the students are only fairly satisfied and combined percentages of dissatisfaction (not very, and not at all satisfied) reach 30% and more in almost every city. The exceptions are students in Poznań and students in Wrocław where the combined percentages of dissatisfaction reach almost 50% or over 50% respectively.

5.1.4.4 Perception of quality of life

Quality of life is a vague concept and has, depending on researchers’ interests and focus of analysis, different indicators. Several known indicators for quality of life are already included in the above categories of cultural and economic conditions, and public services and infrastructure. Notwithstanding these methodological difficulties in measuring quality of life, the concept and its potential influence on urban residents
and their spatial mobility allow for interesting examinations concerning the behaviour of potential Eurostars in Poland. Young, well-educated people in the EU are not as mobile as they are commonly described (Martin-Brelot et al. 2010), and quality of life is a decisive factor in terms of relocation within a country rather than across borders (Morais et al. 2011). Are these findings also applicable to potential Polish Eurostars?

Another interesting question to address is the potential impact of quality of life on attitudes towards the EU. If Polish Eurostars take quality of life into account when they vote with their feet, where do they go? Data suggest that they might not necessarily move to other cities within the country. In three selected cities of this study, Poznań, Wrocław and the Tricity, population numbers decreased between 2005 and 2014. In Kraków and Warsaw, they only increased moderately. Does this mean they are moving abroad after their studies because they perceive quality of life as being low in Polish cities? Or is quality of life perceived positively, and thus increases attachment to the city, and in turn, decreases the draw of the EU, keeping the students stay in the city? In this case, other factors would explain the decrease of the urban population.

To assess these questions related to quality of life, I asked the MA students about their personal perceptions of the level of quality of life in their respective city. As mentioned in chapter 3, this means the overall level of well-being and fulfillment that they enjoy from a combination of social, economic and community environments and their physical and material conditions. Figure 32 shows the results, broken down by gender.
Figure 32: Gender perception of quality of life in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very low</th>
<th>Quite low</th>
<th>Quite high</th>
<th>Very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very low</th>
<th>Quite low</th>
<th>Quite high</th>
<th>Very high</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>70.7%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>72.6%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
n= 324

A large majority of all responding students perceive quality of life in their city as quite high or very high (84.3%). At the same time, only a few students perceive quality of life in their city as quite low or very low (15.7%). MA students in Tricity area (21.3%) and Warsaw (17.3%) show the highest satisfaction with quality of life in their cities, while Kraków (3.2%) and Poznań (2.3%) receive the highest numbers of unfavourable ratings.

This pattern is also observable among the male respondents of my sample. Kraków (8.7%) and Poznań (4.8%) are the only two cities where male students perceive quality of life as very low, while Warsaw (18.5%) and the Tricity (14.3%) are perceived as having a very high level of quality of life. Female students also place the Tricity (23%) and Warsaw (16.7%) at the top. But the Tricity area is also the only place that receives very negative perceptions in terms of quality of life (2.3%) among female MA students. Kraków and Poznań are also seen as not favourable. Many female students in both cities perceive the quality of life as quite low (30.4% in Poznań, 20.5%
Wrocław’s quality of life is generally seen as quite high but does not reach high levels of either satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

In sum, most responding students, male and female, perceive the level of quality of life in their respective city as quite high. The Tricity area and Warsaw receive the largest number of very high perception levels of quality of life.

5.1.4.5 Aggregated perceptions of urban conditions

There is clearly a lot of variation in the perceptions of conditions in each city. To obtain a better understanding of these perceptions among students, Figure 33 illustrates the aggregated more positive (+) perceptions (fairly satisfied plus very satisfied, and quite high plus very high) of cultural conditions (cul_con +), economic conditions (econ_con +), public service and infrastructure (pub_ser_inf +), and quality of life (QoL +). It also shows the percentages of students who have a positive perception of the conditions in the Tricity area, Poznań, Warsaw, Wrocław, and Kraków.

Figure 33: Positive perception of urban conditions in %

Source: Author’s own data
n = 324
In almost all selected cities, positive perceptions of all conditions exceed 50%. The exception is Wrocław, where only 48.6% of surveyed MA students see public services and infrastructure as positive. MA students in Poznań also have a less positive opinion about the public services and infrastructure in their city with slightly more than 50% giving a positive rating. Conversely, MA students in the Tricity area generally have a very positive view of conditions provided in their city, with no condition ranking below 68% and three conditions ranking above 80% concerning their positive perception.

The condition that received the highest satisfaction rate in every city is culture. With percentages ranging between 85.8% in Wrocław and 100% in Kraków, cultural conditions rank above every other category. The second most positively rated condition is quality of life. With the exception of Poznań, where satisfaction with the economic conditions ranks higher, MA students have a very positive perception of quality of life in their respective cities (between 72.7% and 88%). Economic conditions rank third in terms of positive perception, again with the exception of Poznań and also Warsaw. With a range of 48.6% in Wrocław to 68.5% in the Tricity area, public service and infrastructure received the least average positive perceptions in the five selected cities. If the aggregated positive perceptions are split into male and female MA students, the picture looks more diverse. Figure 34 shows the percentages of positive perception among both genders within the five selected Polish cities.

Figure 34: Gender-based positive perception of urban conditions in %

Source: Author’s own data
n = 324
Cultural conditions are still perceived as the most positive condition among both genders in almost all selected cities. Exceptions are men in Poznań, who have a more favourable perception of economic conditions in the city. At the same time, positive perception of cultural conditions among women in Poznań, Warsaw and Kraków and men in Kraków reached 100%, which makes it the only condition to receive a full positive perception. Quality of life was perceived as being quite high by both genders in most cities, receiving positive perceptions by 69.5% to 93.8% of students in their respective cities. Satisfaction with economic conditions is also quite high, but male students seem to be more critical. With the exception of the Tricity metropolitan area, more women than men are fairly satisfied or very satisfied with the economic conditions offered in their respective city. Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure, by contrast, is relatively low. Only between 36.8% and 69.0% of all students are fairly or very satisfied with these conditions. A particularly interesting case is Wrocław, where the level of satisfaction with every condition is much lower among male students than among female students.

5.1.5 Attachment and attitudes

Feelings of national attachment matter for the evaluation of opinions about EU integration. This also includes variations from one country to another as every country provides a different political, economic and cultural background on which to base one’s own opinion. The relationships between national and EU attachment are complex and can even lead to opposing interpretations (Duchesne et al. 2013: 11). Demographic aspects, economic assessments, satisfaction with domestic politics, history and a range of other factors may play a role in creating attachment and attitudes towards the EU. To assess local attachments and EU attitudes among the potential Eurostars in Poland, I present an overview of the responses from MA students participating in this study.
5.1.5.1 Attachment to city or country

It is important to focus on personal environments that can be directly experienced and serve as a frame for identification. To varying degrees, this applies to countries, to regions and to municipalities. Every citizen has a subjective sense of belonging to different territorial entities. To examine to what extent the potential Eurostars are attached to a certain territory, I asked them if they have a feeling of belonging, and specifically: more to the country; to both the city and the country; more to the city they live in, or if they do not know. Figure 35 shows the different levels of attachment to various territorial entities, broken down by gender.

**Figure 35: Gender-based feeling of attachment in five Polish cities in %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data

nᵢ = 324

On the basis of this sample, the first discovery to highlight is that cities do matter in terms of subjective attachment. While 48.8% of sampled MA students state that they feel a sense of belonging equally to the country and their respective city, 37.3% feel more attached to the city. Only 13.9% feel more attached just to the country. While
the numbers of students feeling more attached to the city are constantly lower than the students who feel attached equally to the country and the city, the gap is not very large. In the Tricity area (9.2%), Warsaw (1.3%) and Kraków (6.4%), the difference amounts to less than 10%. In Poznań (11.4%), and especially Wrocław (37.2%), considerably more MA students feel attached to both territorial units than just to the city. The results also show that men and women feel more attached to the country and the city than only to the city, but that the number of students who feel attached only to the country is rather low. Male students (51.4%) in this study are more attached to both territorial units than female students, but the latter group is more attached to the city only (39.9%). This is particularly striking in Poznań, where many female students feel attached to just the city (43.5%) while a higher number of men has a feeling of belonging equally to the country and to the city (66.7%).

5.1.5.2 Attitudes towards EU integration

As mentioned in chapter 2, support often depends on social class (Duchesne et al. 2013). Well-educated citizens with high professional status and high income are arguably more in favour of EU integration. The sample presented in this study only consists of MA students. The assumption is that an equal level of education helps prevent a possible class-related bias. However, the sample cannot exclude the influence of political knowledge, or party affiliations on attitudes towards the EU. Another advantage of focusing on MA students is their current situation and the accompanying personal evaluation in terms of living and studying. While all students are influenced by the local conditions offered by their respective city, they are also in the position to plan their future after studies and to work out the costs and benefits as a Polish citizen living in the EU. However, the concept of attitudes is not uncontested and its validity may vary depending on respondent understanding of the EU (Duchesne et al. 2013).

Figure 36 shows the distribution of attitudes towards the EU among Polish MA students, broken down by gender.
More than two thirds (71.0%) of all respondents think that Poland’s EU membership is a good thing. This number is considerably higher than the outcome for the whole country (62.0%), as measured in the European Parliament Eurobarometer (EB/EP 84.1) carried out in September 2015. Conversely, 10.2% of all students in the sample responded that EU membership is a bad thing, which is also more than the measured amount by the European Parliament Eurobarometer (8.0%). Male students are less supportive of EU membership (57.7%) than female students (77.9%). For individual cities, percentages of men who perceive EU membership as a bad thing range between 4.8% in the Tricity area and 26.3% in Wrocław, while the rates of women who have an unfavorable perception of EU membership never exceeds 10%, except in Kraków (10.3%). The highest rate of support for EU membership among all MA students appears in Warsaw (78.7%), while students in Wrocław are the least enthusiastic: 17.1% think that EU membership is a bad thing and only 62.9% think it is a good thing.

What about the personal benefits? The students represented in my sample are all members of a better educated class. These so called winners of globalisation (Kriesi et
al. 2008) are likely to be in the position to benefit not only from improving conditions in their respective cities, but also from European integration. Figure 37 shows, by gender, to what extent they perceive European integration as beneficial.

Figure 37: Gender-based perceived personal benefits from EU membership in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>A bad thing</th>
<th>Neither good nor bad</th>
<th>A good thing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>75.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
n_s = 324

In most cities, except Wrocław (65.7%), more than 70% of all students think that EU membership is good for them. Less than 7%, again with the exception of Wrocław (11.4%), think that it is a bad thing. Female students are much more convinced that EU membership is a good thing for them (81.2%) than male students (61.3%). Also, more male students see EU membership as a bad thing for them personally (9.9%) than female students (3.3%). Male students in Wrocław are particularly sceptical about potential personal benefits brought by EU accession. Only 52.6% of them indicated that it is a good thing for them, to be part of the EU. On the other hand, male students in the Tricity area are the most optimistic regarding the influence of EU membership on their personal benefits (66.7%).
While it is apparent that female students lean more favourably towards EU membership and are more likely to think that they benefit personally from European integration, it is essential to compare these two types of attitudes for each city. Every city provides a different frame of reference upon which opinions are built. Figure 38 provides an overview of the distribution of attitudes towards the EU in each city.

**Figure 38: Compared attitudes towards the EU in %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>75.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>71.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data

m = 324

Within the sample of students, the overall view on personal benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership is slightly more positive than the general positivity towards Poland’s benefits from EU integration. In almost every city, personal benefits resulting from EU accession are rated higher than attitudes towards European integration. Warsaw is the only exception. More students in the capital city have positive attitudes towards Polish EU membership (78.7%) than students who see EU integration as a good thing for them personally (76%). Students in Wrocław (17.1%), Kraków (12.9%) and Poznań (11.4%) are the most sceptical in terms of attitudes towards Polish EU integration, while sampled students in Wrocław (11.4%) are also quite pessimistic towards potential personal benefits of EU integration.
5.2 Bivariate Correlations

I start by examining the correlation between satisfaction with various conditions offered in each city and place attachment to assess the importance of urban context and framework provided by a certain place in creating attachment. I then assess the connection between the conditions offered by each city and the attitudes towards the EU. The creation of cultural images and symbols, the transition from a planned to a diversified and innovative economy, the improvement of public services and infrastructure, and the potential influence of quality of life on the attractiveness of cities, may all influence opinions about European integration and the view on possible personal benefits as a consequence of Poland’s membership. I further analyse the effect of demographic factors, such as gender and duration of stay of the respondents, on attachment and attitudes towards the EU.

For the correlations, I also identify significance levels and provide p values. However, these numbers have to be treated with caution, since they are based on random samples and generalisations. Figueiredo Filho et al. (2013) state that it makes no sense to estimate p values for non-random samples. If a sample is not random, it is biased and no longer subject to the laws of probability. A second issue is the rather low sample size for each city, with the exception of the Tricity area. Larger samples would reduce variability and increase the probability of finding statistical significance (Figueiredo Filho et al. 2013). The reason why I show significance levels and p values is two-fold. On the one hand, the sample of students in this study quite closely reflects the gender distribution at the faculties where the survey was conducted. On the other hand, I am controlling for other variables, such as education level, age, religion, and length of stay in the city. I therefore assume that the data could potentially provide insights about a wider population of young, well-educated residents than represented in my sample. Based on this assumption, I provide the values and related significance levels to indicate a sense of security for the relationship between variables. Unsurprisingly, statistical significance occurs rather frequently for the Tricity area, as this is the biggest sample.
5.2.1 Correlation of satisfaction with conditions and attachment

Correlations for feeling of attachment to the city and satisfaction with cultural conditions, economic conditions, public services and infrastructure, and perception of quality of life are tested separately for each variable. Table 9 presents an overview of the correlation coefficients and significance levels of all sampled students ($n_s = 324$). While I focus on the correlation between satisfaction with urban conditions and feelings of attachment, for the sake of completeness, I nevertheless indicate correlations among all urban conditions for each city.

Table 9: Correlation of satisfaction with cond. with feeling of attachment to the city

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.318**</td>
<td>.232**</td>
<td>.249**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.268**</td>
<td>.332**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.280**</td>
<td>-.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.026</td>
<td>.124*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
$n_s = 324$
Source: Author’s own data

Looking at the correlation coefficients, it is apparent that weak positive correlations occur between satisfaction with cultural conditions, economic conditions and public services and infrastructure and quality of life. The strongest relationship, although still relatively weak, is to be found between the perception of quality of life and satisfaction with economic conditions (.332). All correlations are significant at the 0.01 level. This means that there is less than a 1% chance that a linear monotonic relationship does not exist in this sample of Polish students, provided that the data would reflect the conditions of a randomised sample. On the other hand, there is hardly
a correlation to be detected between satisfaction with any of the conditions and attachment to the city. Additionally, the correlation coefficients do not reach statistical significance. The only variable that shows a very weak (.124), but significant (0.05 level) correlation with feeling of attachment to the city is quality of life.

So far, the data has been analysed for the entire sample of Polish MA students fulfilling the demographic requirements, but what about the cities? Do relationships between the variables differ in terms of strength and significance depending on which city the respondents live and study in? I explore possible variations by applying a Spearman's rank-order correlation for each city separately. Tables 10 - 14 show correlations (both 2-tailed) between urban conditions and feeling of attachment among student samples for each selected city.

Table 10: Correlation of satisfaction with cond. with feeling of attachment to the city in Tricity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.443**</td>
<td>.329**</td>
<td>.331**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.463**</td>
<td>.440**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.389**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

n= 108
Source: Author’s own data

In the Tricity area all variables of satisfaction with local conditions (cultural, economic, public services and infrastructure) as well as perception of quality of life are positively correlated with each other. All correlation coefficients are significant at the 0.01 level. On the other hand, hardly any link exists between variables that include satisfaction with urban conditions or quality of life and feeling of attachment. The
exception is a very weak correlation of quality of life and feelings of attachment (.158). In other words, MA students in the Tricity area that are satisfied with one condition tend to be satisfied with the other conditions on offer, but this only partially correlates with their attachment to the city.

Table 11: Correlation of satisfaction with cond. with feeling of attachment to the city in Poznań

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.404**</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>-.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.562</td>
<td>.885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>-.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td>.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

n = 44

Source: Author’s own data

Unlike the Tricity area, there are hardly any significant correlations between the measured variables among the surveyed MA students in Poznań. Only the relationship between satisfaction with cultural conditions and satisfaction with economic conditions is moderately positive correlated (.404) and statistically significant. As in the Tricity area, satisfaction with local conditions and perception of quality of life does not significantly correlate with feeling of attachment. Interestingly, the associations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and feeling of attachment (-.157), as well as satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and feeling of attachment (-.276), are negatively correlated but not significant. In sum, if the MA students in Poznań represented in my sample are satisfied with the cultural conditions, they tend to be satisfied with the economic conditions, but there are no significant relationships between satisfaction with conditions and feelings of attachment to the territorial level.
Warsaw shows a similar pattern of correlations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and other local conditions and perception of quality of life. However, the correlations are slightly weaker than in the Tricity area and, in case of the relationship between cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure (.274*), it is only significant at the 0.05 level. Other correlations between local conditions are not significant, including those with feelings of attachment. The very weak associations that occur between conditions and feelings of attachment are mostly negative. In sum, the data points towards a tendency of MA students in this sample as being satisfied with cultural conditions and at the same time being satisfied with public services and quality of life in Warsaw.

Table 12: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with feeling of attachment to the city in Warsaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.375**</td>
<td>.274*</td>
<td>.331**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.586</td>
<td>.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

nWa = 75
Source: Author’s own data
Table 13: Correlation of satisfaction with cond. with feeling of attachment to the city in Wrocław

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient: .498**</td>
<td>.259</td>
<td>.543**</td>
<td>-.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed): .002</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with economic conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient: .433**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.522**</td>
<td>.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed): .009</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient: .457**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed): .006</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.882</td>
<td>.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of life</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient: -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed): .739</td>
<td>.739</td>
<td>.739</td>
<td>.739</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

n_W = 35

Source: Author’s own data

Wrocław displays a range of moderate correlations between different variables. Satisfaction with cultural conditions is moderately correlated with satisfaction with economic conditions (.498**) and perception of quality of life (.543**). Furthermore, satisfaction with economic conditions is moderately correlated with satisfaction with public services and infrastructure (.433**) and quality of life (.522**). The latter variable is also linked with satisfaction with public services and infrastructure (.457**). With the exception of satisfaction with cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure, all variables that concern satisfaction with local conditions and perception of quality of life are significantly correlated with each other. However, there is hardly any association with feelings of attachment, and the very weak relationships that occur are negative. Although the sample is very small, the data shows that among the responding MA students living and studying in Wrocław satisfaction with one local condition goes along with being satisfied with other local conditions.
Data from Kraków somewhat delineates itself from that of other cities. Similar to Poznań, only one significant correlation occurs between satisfaction with local conditions and perception of quality of life. MA students from my sample who are satisfied with Kraków’s economic conditions, tend to perceive quality of life favourably (0.402**). An interesting aspect is the weak positive correlation between quality of life and feeling of attachment. Kraków is the only city that displays a significant relationship with local conditions and feeling of attachment among the responding MA students.

After analysing potential correlations in cities, one question remains unanswered. Are demographic variables, such as gender and length of stay in the city, of any relevance in assessing the local urban conditions and in terms of feeling of attachment? In the next section, I analyse these two aspects.
5.2.2 Does demography correlate with satisfaction levels or attachment?

As described in the previous chapter, satisfaction with some of the conditions in the selected cities seems to depend, to various extents, on gender. To test if the satisfaction levels and also feelings of attachment vary among men and women, I employ a Mann-Whitney-U-Test. This test is the nonparametric equivalent of the t-test which compares the differences between two samples. More specifically, by ranking the observations of both groups (men and women), the test analyses whether there is a difference in the mean ranks between these two groups. The test requires a dependent variable that is measured at least at the ordinal level and an independent variable that consists of two independent categorical samples. Table 15 shows the mean ranks of each group and the actual significance values.

Table 15: Gender differences in satisfaction with conditions and quality of life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>135.63</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>176.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>151.49</td>
<td>.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>168.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>156.42</td>
<td>.350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>165.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Life</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>154.47</td>
<td>.167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>166.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling of attachment</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>153.28</td>
<td>.160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>167.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n_s = 324 (Men = 111; Women = 213)
Source: Author’s own data

The table indicates that women have a higher mean rank than men in all variables. This means that the women that responded to my survey are more satisfied with urban conditions, perceive the quality of life in their respective cities as higher and feel more attached to their cites than men. The column labelled Asymp. Sig (2-Tailed) shows the p values for each variable. For most variables, p values are greater than 5%. Satisfaction with cultural conditions is the only variable, which is statistically significant. This indicates that the mean rank among women for this variable is likely to be different from men’s mean rank. In other words, there is sufficient evidence that...
female students are more likely than male students to be satisfied with the cultural conditions in their respective cities.

Concerning length of residence, Anton and Lawrence (2014) argue that the latter can predict place attachment. However, length of residence is also often linked with age, and older people have been found to be more attached to a place than younger people (Anton and Lawrence 2014, Lewicka 2010). This leaves the question, how young, mobile people build place attachment. To determine to what extent length of residence, among the Polish MA students in question, correlates with feeling of attachment, I examine the sample of students that are Polish and live in their respective city either less than five years or five years or longer (n_{length} = 794). This excludes people who live outside the city and commute to the University. Table 16 shows the result. I also included satisfaction with local conditions depending on duration of stay.

Table 16: Correlation of length of stay with satisfaction with conditions and feeling of attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</th>
<th>Quality of life</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>-.120**</td>
<td>-.164**</td>
<td>.076'</td>
<td>.282**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Spearman’s Rho correlations display two seemingly contradictory relationships. On the one hand, I find very weak negative correlations between length of stay and satisfaction with local conditions. Two of these relationships, length of stay and satisfaction with economic conditions (-.120**), as well as satisfaction with public services and infrastructure (-.164**), are significant at the 0.01 level. In other words, people who live longer in the city have a tendency to be less satisfied with local conditions offered by their respective city. On the other hand, length of stay is very weakly positively correlated with perception of quality of life (.076’) and weakly correlated with feeling of attachment (.282**). This suggests that the MA students
represented in my sample feel more attached to their city if they lived there for five years or more.

5.2.3 Correlation between satisfaction with conditions and attitudes towards the EU

Correlations for satisfaction with cultural conditions, economic conditions, and public services and infrastructure, as well as perception of quality of life, with attitudes towards the EU (‘EU for Poland’) and the perception of personal benefits resulting from EU integration (‘EU for you’), are tested separately for each variable using Spearman’s Rho correlations. Table 17 presents an overview of the correlation coefficients and significance levels.

Table 17: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.176**</td>
<td>.182**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with economic conditions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.177**</td>
<td>.247**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.089</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of life</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.122†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU for Poland</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>.667**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). **
Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). *

n= 324
Source: Author’s own data

The data shows that satisfaction with cultural conditions correlates positively with attitudes towards the EU (.176**) and the perceived personal benefits of European integration (.182**). I also found a weak positive correlation of satisfaction with economic conditions and ‘EU for Poland’ (.177**), as well as ‘EU for you’ (.247*). All these correlations are significant at the 0.01 level. The correlation between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and ‘EU for Poland’ (.095) and EU for you (.088) are also positive but very weak. The same is true for the correlations between
the latter variables and quality of life, which are .100 and .122*. Less surprisingly, attitudes towards the EU among the MA students in this sample is strongly positive correlated with the perception of personal benefits as a consequence of Poland’s EU membership (.667**).

Data has been analysed for the sample of Polish MA students that meet the demographic criteria (Polish citizenship, live for five years or longer in their respective city, speak a second EU language). In the next step, I examine this data for each city separately. This is to assess if correlations between satisfaction with locally provided conditions and attitudes towards the EU differ with respect to the cities where the sampled MA students live and study. Tables 18 – 22 display Spearman’s Rho correlations between satisfaction with cultural and economic conditions, public services and infrastructure, and perception of quality of life and attitudes towards the EU, as well as perceived potential benefits coming from EU membership for each city.

Table 18: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU in Tricity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Correlation Coefficient</strong></td>
<td>.212*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with economic conditions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Correlation Coefficient</strong></td>
<td>.251**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</strong></td>
<td><strong>Correlation Coefficient</strong></td>
<td>.212*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of life</strong></td>
<td><strong>Correlation Coefficient</strong></td>
<td>.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU for Poland</strong></td>
<td><strong>Correlation Coefficient</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sig. (2-tailed)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n_{Tr} = 108
Source: Author’s own data

Data for the Tricity area reveals that all correlations are positive but relatively weak, with the exception of the relationship between attitudes towards the EU and perceived personal benefits of European integration (.624**). The strongest correlation occurs between satisfaction with economic conditions and the variables ‘EU for Poland’ (.251**), as well as ‘EU for you’ (.274**). All correlations, except the one between perception of quality of life with attitudes towards the EU and perceived
personal benefits from EU membership are, significant either at the 0.01 level or 0.05 level.

Table 19: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU in Poznań

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with economic conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>0.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-0.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of life</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU for Poland</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

n_Poznań = 44

Source: Author’s own data

In contrast to the Tricity area, some of Poznań’s correlations are negative. An interesting relationship occurs between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and EU for you (-0.241). This negative correlation is relatively weak but still the strongest of all links between variables in Poznań, again with the exception of ‘EU for Poland’ and ‘EU for you’ (0.632**) Generally, the relationships between the variables are weaker than the relationships in the Tricity metropolitan area, which may be due to the smaller sample size.
Weak positive correlations emanate in Warsaw between satisfaction with cultural and economic conditions and attitudes towards the EU, as well as perception of personal benefits resulting from EU integration. All other correlations are also positive but very weak. As in the other cities, the relationship between the variables ‘EU for Poland’ and the ‘EU for you’ is strongly positive (.653**).

## Table 20: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU in Warsaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.252*</td>
<td>.213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.257*</td>
<td>.247*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.547</td>
<td>.498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.160</td>
<td>.179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.653**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

n<sub>Wa</sub> = 75
Source: Author’s own data

## Table 21: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU in Wroclaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.464</td>
<td>.253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with economic conditions</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.425*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.162</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td>.327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.316</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td>EU for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.773**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

n<sub>Wr</sub> = 35
Source: Author’s own data
Spearman’s Rho correlations in Wrocław range from very weak to strong. A moderate positive correlation occurs between satisfaction with economic conditions and the perceived personal benefit resulting from EU membership (.425*). Associations between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure as well as quality of life with ‘EU for Poland’ and ‘EU for you’, are relatively weak. Nevertheless, they are stronger than in any other city, despite the small sample of MA students. The relationship between ‘EU for Poland’ and ‘EU for you’ is also the strongest of all cities (.773**).

Table 22: Correlation of satisfaction with conditions with attitudes towards the EU in Kraków

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with economic conditions</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfaction with public services and infrastructure</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of life</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU for Poland</strong></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\(n_{K}=62\)

Source: Author’s own data

In Kraków, weak positive correlations exist between satisfaction with cultural conditions and the variables ‘EU for Poland’ (.221), and ‘EU for you’ (.222). Other relationships between variables are very weak. An interesting case is the correlation between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and the ‘EU for Poland’, which is very weakly negatively correlated (-.099). This makes Kraków and Poznań the only two cities displaying negative correlations, and in both cases, this relationship occurs through satisfaction with public services and infrastructure.

As with the previous variables, in the next section, I test if demographic variables, such as gender and length of stay in the city correlate with attitudes towards the EU and the perception of personal benefits stemming from EU membership.
5.2.4 Does demography correlate with EU attitudes?

To assess if attitudes towards EU integration and the perception of personal benefits resulting from EU membership differ among men and women, I analyse the data by applying a Mann-Whitney-U-Test. This allows us to make a prediction about the differences in the mean ranks of data that are not normally distributed, with the dependent variable being measured on an ordinal scale. Table 23 shows the mean ranks of each group and the actual significance values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU for Poland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>140.69</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>173.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU for you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>140.62</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>173.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data shows that women have a considerably higher mean rank than men in both variables. This indicates that female students, represented in my survey, are more likely to see Poland’s EU membership and personal benefits resulting from EU integration as a ‘good thing’. The column named Asymp. Sig (2-Tailed) displays the p values for each variable. These values are based on the assumption that the data are randomly sampled and reflect the true distributions of the populations of interest. Therefore, p-values have to be treated with extreme caution. However, there is reason to posit that female students have more positive attitudes towards the EU and a more positive view perception of personal benefits, thanks to EU membership, than men.

I also look at the duration of residence and how this potentially correlates with attitudes towards the EU. I compare Polish students who live less than five years in a respective city to students who live in the city for five years or longer (n_{length} = 794). The variable does not indicate where MA students, who moved to a respective city less than five years ago, have lived before. Because the focus is on the influence of cities, the survey did not assess these potential rural-urban cleavages, nor their effect on attitudes towards the EU. This variable only compares correlations of attitudes among
the “newcomers” and the “long-established” to examine if there is a difference in their views on the EU. Table 24 shows the result.

Table 24: Correlation of length of stay with attitudes towards the EU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>EU for Poland</th>
<th>EU for you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.152</td>
<td>.282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n_{length} = 794
Source: Author’s own data

As the table shows, there is only a very weak positive association between the variables. Length of stay and ‘EU for Poland’ have a correlation coefficient of .051, and length of stay and ‘EU for you’ have a coefficient of .038. The lack of strength between the data sets suggests that MA students represented in this sample do not have different attitudes towards the EU depending on the duration of residence in one of the selected cities.

5.2.5 Correlation between attachment and attitudes towards the EU

Finally, I look at the correlations between feelings of attachment and attitudes towards the EU. Unlike many other studies that use Eurobarometer data, I did not measure attachment levels for different territorial levels but asked if the MA students felt more attached to the city, the country or both equally. This is important to note as a variety of scholars have tested attachment levels to separate territorial entities on the influence on attitudes towards the EU (Carey and Lebo 2000, Hooghe and Marks 2005). Depending on the model, sampling and the conceptualisation of national identity, their findings are quite distinct. Applying Spearman's rank-order model, I test how more attachment to the local entity correlates with attitudes towards the EU. Table 25 shows the correlations of feeling of attachment with attitudes towards the EU (‘EU for Poland’) and perceived personal benefits stemming from Poland’s EU membership (‘EU for you’) for the whole MA student set. The data are calculated separately for the whole sample of MA students and for each of the selected cities
There is a weak positive correlation between feeling of attachment and ‘EU for Poland’ (.228**), as well as the ‘EU for you’ (.159**). This suggests that sampled MA students who feel more attached to the city, are likely to have a more positive attitude towards the EU and are also more likely to see Poland’s EU membership as a good thing for their personal benefit. Both correlation coefficients are significant at the 0.01 level. This significance level, however, has to be taken with caution, as the larger sample size is likely to reduce the occurrence of Type-1 and Type-2 errors. This is also apparent when looking at the second largest sample from the Tricity area compared to the other samples in Polish cities. While there are weak positive correlations in every selected city, only the relationships between feelings of attachment and EU attitudes in the Tricity area and Poznań are significant at the 0.05 level. Surprisingly, the correlation in Poznań between feelings of attachment and the EU for you (.305*) is significant despite the small sample size, indicating that the result likely mirrors the relationship in the population.
5.2.6 Summary of bivariate correlations

5.2.6.1 Satisfaction with conditions and feeling of attachment

Overall, on the basis of my sample of Polish MA students, I find weak positive correlations between satisfaction with cultural and economic conditions and public services and infrastructure, and with perception of quality of life. This means if students are satisfied with one condition, they are likely satisfied with every other measured condition. All correlation coefficients are significant at the 0.01 level, meaning that the results are not attributed to chance. I also found a very weak correlation between quality of life and feelings of territorial attachment that is significant at the 0.05 level. In other words, there is a small tendency among the MA students that a high perception of quality of life is related to more attachment to the city. The data also show that no relationship between satisfaction with local conditions and attachment to place exists.

Looking at the individual cities, with the exception of Poznań and Kraków, satisfaction with cultural conditions is likely to be weakly or moderately positively correlated with most other variables of satisfaction with local conditions and the perception of quality of life. In the Tricity area and Warsaw, this includes all other conditions and quality of life. In Wrocław, satisfaction with cultural conditions correlates moderately with satisfaction with economic conditions (0.498**) and perception of quality of life (0.543**). In Poznań, the cultural variable correlates moderately with economic conditions (0.404**) and only very weakly with other dependent variables. In Kraków, satisfaction with cultural conditions only very weakly correlates with all other variables. Satisfaction with economic conditions also correlates moderately with satisfaction with public infrastructure and services and perception of quality of life in the Tricity area (0.463**) and weakly in Wrocław (0.255). It also links moderately with perception of quality of life in Kraków (0.402**).

Perception of quality of life and satisfaction with public services and infrastructure correlate weakly among students in the Tricity area (0.389**) and moderately in Wrocław (0.457**). In other cities, the association between these two variables is very weak. Most correlations between conditions and quality of life and attachment are very weak. By far the strongest weak positive correlations between any variable that
measures satisfaction and perception of local conditions and feelings of attachment, occurred in Kraków and the Tricity. In Kraków, sampled MA students who have a favourable opinion of quality of life tend to be more attached to the city (.320 * ). The same is true for students who are satisfied with the economic conditions (.123). In the Tricity area, quality of life is also weakly positively linked with feelings of attachment (.158). In Poznań, I found weak negative associations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and feeling of attachment (-.157) and satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and feeling of attachment (-.276). Interestingly, if there is any negative correlation in any city, it includes feeling of attachment as the dependent variable. With the exception of the Tricity area, I found at least two weak negative correlations between any variable that measured satisfaction with local conditions or perception of quality of life and feeling of attachment.

Looking at the comparison between men and women, there is also statistical evidence that female Polish MA students in my sample tend to be more satisfied with the cultural conditions offered in their city. With regard to length of stay, I found that MA students who are living five years or longer in their respective city are more likely to be less satisfied with the cultural conditions (-.061 * ), economic conditions (-.120 **) and public services and infrastructure (-.164 **). Nevertheless, they have a weak tendency to perceive quality of life as higher (.076 *) and to have a slightly stronger feeling of attachment toward the city than to the country (.282 **).

5.2.6.2 Satisfaction with conditions and attitudes towards the EU

I find weak positive correlations between satisfaction with the urban conditions, perception of quality of life and attitudes towards the EU, as well as between the perceived personal benefits resulting from European integration. The relationships between satisfaction with cultural conditions and both dependent variables measuring attitudes (‘EU for Poland’ .176 ‘EU for you’ .182), as well as satisfaction with economic conditions and both dependent variables (‘EU for Poland’ .177, ‘EU for you’ .247), are considerably stronger than correlations between other independent and dependent variables. However, and rather unsurprisingly, the strongest relationship occurs between the two dependent variables measuring EU attitudes (.667). This
suggests that surveyed MA students who see EU membership as a good thing for Poland are also more likely to perceive EU membership as a good thing for themselves personally.

Looking at the cities individually, the results are rather non-uniform. In three cities, the Tricity area, Warsaw and Wrocław, all independent and dependent variables are weakly positively correlated. In Poznań and Kraków, negative links exist between several independent and dependent variables, although they are generally very weak with one exception. In Poznań, satisfaction with public services and infrastructure is weakly negatively correlated with EU for you (-.241). In most cities, with the exception of Wrocław and again Poznań, cultural and economic satisfaction reveal the strongest relationships with the variables measuring attitudes towards the EU. In Wrocław, the relationship between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and ‘EU for Poland’ (.304), as well as ‘EU for you’ (.327) is rather strong compared to other correlations, although the relationship between satisfaction with economy and EU for you (.425*) is still stronger among the sampled MA students in Wrocław. In the same city, quality of life and EU for you (.312) are more strongly associated than in other selected cities. Less surprisingly, in every city the variables ‘EU for Poland’ and ‘EU for you’ are strongly positively correlated. These results are also significant at the 0.01 level.

A clear pattern surfaces when comparing attitudes towards the EU along gender variables. Women in my sample are more likely to see Poland’s EU membership positively. The same is true for the perception of personal benefits stemming from EU integration. In terms of correlations between length of stay in the city and EU attitudes, I find only weak positive associations with the variables ‘EU for Poland’ (.051) and ‘EU for you’ (.038). This points towards a slightly more positive attitude towards the EU among sampled MA students that live in their respective city for five years or longer.

5.2.6.3 Attachment to the city and attitudes towards the EU

Looking at the mean ranks illustrated in table 15 shows that women (167.30) feel more attached to their cities than men (153.28). Length of stay is weakly positively
correlated with attachment to the city ($0.282^{**}$). It is important to keep in mind that these correlations do not indicate the direction of the relationship. As Anton and Lawrence argue, it could be that the longer people reside in a home or area, the more attached they become, or that people who are attached are more likely to stay in the area (2014: 458).

Considering the correlation of feeling of attachment and opinion about the EU, a relatively constant pattern is revealed. The relationship between attachment to the city and the two variables measuring attitudes towards the EU is positive in every city, albeit very weak. Overall, with the exception of Poznań, the associations for feeling of attachment and ‘EU for Poland’ are slightly stronger in the selected cities than between feeling of attachment and ‘EU for you’. In other words, in most cities, sampled students who feel more attached to their respective city, tend to have a more positive view on EU integration than they have on the personal benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I assessed descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations of the answers provided by the surveyed students. This included demographic aspects, satisfaction with local conditions, place attachment and attitudes towards the EU.

In Poland, it is common that students move away from home to another city for studies. This greatly reduced the size of my sample from 932 ($n$) students to 349 ($n$). I then excluded the user missing values, which further reduced the sample to 324 ($n_s$) full-time MA students. The proportion of women answering the questionnaire (72.7%) was around 13% higher than the actual ratio of female students enrolled in programmes and faculties where the survey was conducted (60.1%). In most cities, cultural conditions and quality of life receive a positive or even very positive reception. Satisfaction with economic conditions was also perceived as quite high, although not to the extent of cultural conditions and quality of life. Public services and infrastructure received relatively low satisfaction rates, especially in Wrocław and Poznań. Almost half (48.1%) of the sampled students feel attached equally to the country and the city, though 37% feel more attached to the city. Attitudes towards the EU and the perception
of personal benefits resulting from EU accession are generally perceived as a good thing.

The bivariate correlation incorporates the relation of satisfaction with urban conditions and place attachment as well as attitudes towards the EU. I also evaluated the influence of demographic aspects such as length of stay and gender on place attachment and support for EU integration. All data were assessed on an aggregated level and for each of the five selected cities individually. In the next chapter, I describe what influence the perception of local conditions has on the MA students’ plans for the future. For this purpose, I analysed 27 interviews conducted with students in each of the five cities represented in this study.

Chapter 6: Findings – Qualitative Data

Galent and Kubicki (2010) state that the global network opened for Poland after the fall of the communist system, but especially after becoming a member state of the EU. This in turn created new opportunities for urban residents and led to a dynamic exchange of multicultural social interactions. With the inclusion into the EU also came the opportunity to go abroad, be it to experience a new cultural environment or to further a career that seemed to provide better prospects in terms of a higher salary, personal development or intellectual potential. Andreotti et al (2015) argue that the upper middle-class, which is also part of the group of the Eurostars, “is slowly on the move” (Andreotti et al. 2015: 187) beyond national boundaries. They further argue that mobility and exit strategies have to be examined in relation to existing social structures in the national context.

Drawing on semi-structured interviews with Polish MA students, I explore the extent to which urban conditions in CEE influence attitudes towards the EU. I further examine what these potential Eurostars think about European integration and how it affects their decisions and future actions. These interviews contribute to a better understanding of complex transitions within post-communist European societies in relation to their own perceptions of their social and political environment. Additionally, these personal narratives provide an in-depth analysis of implicit knowledge prevalent among the urban Polish youth.
In the first section I briefly discuss what was considered when conducting semi-structured interviews with Polish MA students. In the same section, I also discuss how I synthesised the interviews into data and how I analysed this information. In the second section I present the findings of the qualitative data analysis.

6.1 Conducting interviews and organising the data

6.1.1 Considerations when interviewing Polish MA students

During the pretests with the MA students it became clear that opting for semi-structured interviews would be beneficial as I could make “better use of the knowledge-producing potential of dialogues” (Leavy 2014: 286). With this method, I was able to follow up on specific inputs that emerged from the standardised questions and I could ask for clarification or for further details, if necessary.

I was aware that these interviews are contextual and that the social framework in which the interviews took place had to be taken into account. This not only included the use of language, historical background, gender and social class, but also the national space in which meaning and understanding was generated. For example, the interviewees themselves constantly compared and ranked the selected Polish cities. They did not argue about the hierarchy itself: Warsaw was consistently seen as the most competitive city. Bourdeau-Lepage and Jean-Marie Huriot (2002: 434) described this as a superiority deriving from Warsaw’s position as the capital city. But the students did differ in their perception of this relative advantage depending on where they were brought up. Students from Warsaw saw their own city as the place with the best opportunities. In contrast, students from other cities disliked the residents living in Warsaw and were annoyed by the capital’s economic and cultural dominance, as these two statements illustrate:

(MBa, M, Warsaw)\(^{21}\)
I think Warsaw gives better perspectives than other Polish cities.

(JKa, F, Wrocław)
I think it’s quite common that nobody likes people from Warsaw but it’s very complex because on the Polish level the cities compete.

\(^{21}\) The first two capital letters stand for the initials; F = female student, M = male student
Another student mentioned historical circumstances as a reason for the long-established bickering between residents of Warsaw and citizens living in other Polish cities.

(AK, F, Warsaw)
I don’t think I could live in another city in Poland. [...] In Kraków or in Poznań, they don’t like people from Warsaw (laughs). Yes really, it’s a big fight between Kraków and Warsaw. I don’t know why. I mean, I know why but it was so many years ago because Kraków used to be our capital and then it was moved to Warsaw. And since that time they hate us (laughs). So, no, I think it is really hard to move out from Warsaw to another city, just because they will hate you probably.

These perceptions indicate a rather unsurprising fact, namely that some of the discourse is shaped by historical, social and cultural settings (Paltridge 2006). The MA students’ own experiences in their respective cities and also nationally prevalent narratives do influence how they perceive their own and other locations and how their location is perceived by others.

Another aspect was the relationship between the use of language and gender. One of the social phenomena addressed differently by the interviewed female and male MA students was the issue of personal relationships. 14 of the 18 women I interviewed mentioned the word ‘family’ during the interview, while only 3 out of 9 men mentioned this aspect. The word count search also revealed differences in the use of ‘friends’ (14 women, 5 men) and the words girlfriend/boyfriend (4 women, 1 man). These numbers indicate that the interviewed women were more prone to mention personal relationships than the men.

6.1.2 Ordering and indexing the data

Mason points out that “sorting and ordering of data [...] is a practical necessity [but] it is not entirely a practical or technical task” (2002: 148). Categorising data is not a neutral task as it already includes certain assumptions made by the researcher about what counts as data and what does not. This also influences the way the information is organised. For example, for most students one of the important aspects about the perception of the local urban economy was the range and scope of available jobs. Therefore, I included ‘jobs’ as a sub-category to ‘perception of economic conditions’. I also added a second level of categorisation (Mason 2002: 151) to
organise the data. All interviews are not only indexed according to the main interview questions but also according to the city where the interviewees were from. This cross-sectional indexing system (Mason 2002: 153) enabled a more sophisticated multidimensional consideration and analysis of the data.

6.2 Analyses of the data: The students’ perceptions

The overarching research question for the qualitative part of this study was:

*How does the potential Eurostar’s view on the city and the European Union influence their decisions in terms of living and working?*

To tackle this question, I divided each interview into several parts according to the sub-questions mentioned in Chapter 2.

6.2.1 Perception of local conditions

In the first sub-research question I addressed what potential Eurostars think about the conditions offered to them by the local government of their respective city. I asked the students if they could explain in detail the statements they made in the questionnaire about their perception of local conditions.

6.2.1.1 What students like the most and the least

I began each interview with the same “warm-up question” (Mason 2002: 73) for every student: “What is the best and the worst thing about (your city)”? Interestingly, while all students were able to provide an answer of what they considered their city’s best feature, they were rather hesitant in naming the worst things. They often said that they do not know what to say. A number of students also used comparisons to emphasise a certain aspect of their respective city in contrast to either the capital, or other cities in Poland. Only one student from Warsaw compared her city to other cities in Europe when answering the warm-up question. This potentially highlights the dominance of the national spatial entity as a frame of reference.
It is a big city but still I think that we don’t live in such a rush like in other capitals in Europe. [...] I have been to London and to Berlin and I think that people there are much more busy than we are here but maybe that’s because of the fact that those cities are bigger, yeah, and, and that’s the point I think. And people there have much more work to them than we here but maybe that’s only my opinion.

Regarding the positive things in the cities, the students pointed out a wealth of different features, often related to characteristics either unique to their city or specifically promoted by the respective urban territory. For example, students in the Tricity area often referred to the location of the metropolitan region next to the Baltic Sea including the beach that offers a great place for walks. Students in Warsaw frequently mentioned that the capital is the biggest city and the one with the best opportunities, especially in terms of jobs, and the largest variety of cultural institutions. They also referred to a rather vague feeling of living in the big city where more is going on than in other Polish cities. As one student put it, “things happen around here. I don’t know if it makes sense for you” (JA, M, Warsaw). Another student from Warsaw also pointed out the feeling of living in the only big city in Poland: “Compared to other Polish cities, Warsaw is the most metropolitan city, which I like” (JH, F, Warsaw). In Kraków, students often referred to the wide range of cultural conditions. This not only included cultural facilities and events but also the city’s status as a student city with a multicultural vibe and a friendly atmosphere. One student summarised her impression of Kraków:

For me, Krakow is a really nice city for students because of the lots of places that we can go and meet together. Moreover, it’s really interesting in a cultural way. Like, lots of historical places and entertainment places. [...] And I also like the mentality of the people here. Because, I have met so many friendly people and people that are really willing to meet each other. And if I can say, if I can compare, for example, I didn’t see this thing like in Warsaw, in the capital city.

Similar statements came from students in Poznań and Wrocław. They highlighted the range of cultural events and entertainment facilities and described the atmosphere in their cities as friendly, welcoming and international.

In terms of the cities’ worst features, the answers were quite similar with few regional differences. Traffic and a lack of good jobs were often mentioned by students
in various cities. Another cross-cutting issue was a noticeable negative attitude against foreigners that occurred in all its facets. While some students expressed their discontent about the underlying racism within the Polish urban society, another student - having Ukrainian ancestors herself - criticised Ukrainian students for behaving improperly and for not showing enough respect (DA, F, Kraków). These negative sentiments towards foreigners were mostly targeted towards societies from further East.

Differences in terms of perception of unfavourable features in each city arose in Kraków with regards to quality of life, whereby air pollution was heavily criticised. This did not come as a surprise as the city is notorious for its bad air quality due to the widespread burning of waste and cheap coal in private homes during the winter. As one student put it: “The bad thing is for sure the air pollution. This is, to be honest, this is one thing that makes me like not want to live here anymore” (MBi, F, Kraków). Students from Warsaw described the people from the capital as being less approachable, more distant and “quite arrogant” (JH, W, Warsaw). Another aspect students disliked was the “lack of real architecture” (PG, M, Warsaw). This was mentioned in reference to the near complete destruction of Warsaw’s original Old Town by the end of the Second World War and its subsequent reconstruction faithful to its pre-war state. Additionally, the “Stalinist architecture” (AP, F, Warsaw) did not get much praise. This is not surprising as the infamous Palace of Culture, Stalin’s gift to the city, is still highly contested. For students in the Tricity area, intra-metropolitan aspects were issues that were mentioned fairly often but not with a coherent opinion. While some students were critical and felt that the Tricity area “needs to be more of a metropolis” (KK, M, Tricity), other students appreciated the diversity of the three cities making up the Tricity area (MS, F, Tricity)

6.2.1.2 Individual satisfaction with cultural conditions

The range and quality of cultural facilities and conditions in European cities is not only a factor for attracting foreign investments and tourists, but it also increases the attractiveness of the urban space for local residents. Cultural infrastructure and events shape the image of a city, be it the annual music festival in Gdynia, the Oskar
Schindler Factory in Kraków, the successful application of Wrocław as the European Capital of Culture in 2016, or the new museum of the history of Polish Jews in Warsaw. Yet, regardless of how well a city positions itself and acts as a space for the emergence of a common identity, it depends not only on the diversity of the cities’ cultural landscape but also on the perception of these cultural conditions by local residents. To assess how the interviewed potential Eurostars perceive the existing cultural conditions in their city, I asked them to elaborate on their previously stated answer in the questionnaire: “You stated in the questionnaire that you are (depending on the student: not at all/ not very/ fairly/ very) satisfied with the cultural conditions and opportunities in (depending on the student: your city). Why is that?

As mentioned in chapter 5.1, the overall level of satisfaction with cultural conditions in the selected Polish cities is rather high. This was also reflected in the answers provided by the interviewed MA students.

(MPo, F, Warsaw)
We have many museums now. Really many museums. Ah, and festivals! Oh and of course the restaurants, that’s quite normal. Also great is the old town.

The amount and variety of cultural facilities, events and institutions was generally perceived as very good. One aspect that was frequently mentioned and specifically appreciated was the student discounts for cultural institutions. This greatly enhanced the accessibility to museums and theatres. Some of these facilities even offer free entrance on certain days.

(JH, F, Warsaw)
With a student ID, you only pay 1 Zloty in certain places and most museums are free on Thursday. I am really fond of Warsaw in terms of culture.

Students were also aware of specific cultural conditions that made their city stand out from other cities in Poland. In the Tricity area, the overall satisfaction seemed very high but the outstanding cultural feature that was frequently mentioned was the annual big music festival ‘Open’er’. As one student put it: “[In] the Tricity area, there is a lot of opportunities. So, we have theatres, museums, festivals, like Open’er for example, or the Jazz Festival in Gdańsk” (AO, F, Tricity). This statement also potentially indicates another aspect that was different in the Tricity area than in other
cities. The students distinguished between cultural conditions within the three cities that built the metropolitan region Tricity area. Gdańsk was praised for its historical places and museums, such as the European Solidarity Centre (*Europejskie Centrum Solidarności*), Sopot was mentioned for its lively art and club scene and Gdynia was touted as the place to go for homely pubs and Jazz and Blues music.

Similarly, in Kraków, the satisfaction with the local cultural conditions was also very high. An aspect that was specifically mentioned was the Jewish culture in the Kazimierz district (MBi, F, Kraków). One student used the slogan, which is also frequently used to advertise the city internationally as an attractive destination: ‘The cultural capital of Poland’ (PZ, F, Kraków). This points toward a debate among the residents of the various cities in Poland as students from Wrocław mentioned their city’s status as European Capital of Culture in 2016. At the same time, they also insinuated that Warsaw still has more to offer regarding cultural conditions than Wrocław. This was confirmed by students from Warsaw who were very happy with the cultural conditions in their city and, again, used the word ‘capital’ to emphasise not only the outstanding cultural opportunities and institutions within the city, but also the city’s position as cultural metropolis that can compete with other European cities.

(MW, M, Warsaw)
I think, Warsaw is the best place in Poland, because fortunately, Warsaw has really really a lot of museums. It’s the capital of museums.

(AP, F, Warsaw)
So, there is everything, and there is no better place in Poland than Warsaw for cultural opportunities. And I guess it’s sometimes, erm, you can compare Warsaw to, erm, not sometimes. I guess you can compare to the other capitals. So, yeah, you can see exhibitions and you can see everything. Whatever you want. Do, whatever you want (laughs).

In Poznań, the cultural variety and especially the interconnectivity of different cultural institutions and events was also emphasised by students. Additionally, student friendly prices and the easy accessibility of cultural events was mentioned (SL, M, Poznań).
6.2.1.3 Individual satisfaction with economic conditions

It seems that the availability of good economic conditions is not only an important factor for the competitiveness of European cities but it also matters for the urban residents who are confronted with choices to make in terms of what and where to work. Cities, as economic hubs, provide a plethora of different jobs. In Poland, the capital city is the leading economic champion with the highest average monthly gross wages and salaries, the most entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.) and the highest GDP per capita. To examine how the MA students in five selected Polish cities perceive the economic conditions in their city, I asked them to elaborate on their previously made statement: “You stated in the questionnaire that you are (depending on the student: not at all/ not very/ fairly/ very) satisfied with the economic conditions and opportunities in (depending on the student: your city). Why is that?”

The level of satisfaction with economic conditions was rather moderate among the surveyed MA students. This was also reflected during the qualitative interviews and occurred equally among students in every city. The main issue was the lack of good jobs and good salaries. On the one hand, the students pointed out that most jobs available during studies are low paid internships and jobs in bars and restaurants. Many students feel forced to take on as many internships as possible to increase their chances of finding a good job after they completed their studies. As some students mentioned:

(AS, F, Tricity)
Like, you are finishing studies you should already have experience. You should have great marks, you should have a couple years of experience in other companies. This is a problem but I don’t know if it is only in Trójmiasto. I think that it’s general.

(AK, F, Warsaw)
Because, here if you want to find a really nice job, you […] have to have also some kind of, you know, practicing. […] And here in Poland this is a very big problem because the practice here is unpaid. […] There is a lot of corporations that don’t pay you. And you are working eight hours, five days during the week. So, you are doing mostly during the summer time when you don’t have classes because classes are obligatory, right? […] So, they are using us.

On the other hand, finding a job after studies can also be rather difficult, as it does not only depend on the personal work experience but also on the field of study. Furthermore, the first job is often not well paid “even below minimum wage” (MPi, F, Warsaw).
Generally, many students expressed their concerns and insecurity about their own personal job situation and their prospective career regardless of the city they live in. However, one city was perceived fairly differently in terms of jobs and career opportunities: Warsaw was seen as the place to go “to find a better job” (AM, F, Kraków). The main reasons were the higher salaries and the wider range of work possibilities, “compared to other cities where you can literally hit the wall very soon after you begin to pursue your career or goals” (JA, M, Warsaw). Students living in both Warsaw and other Polish cities, mentioned this relative competitive advantage of the economic conditions in the former (AM, F, Kraków; MS, M, Warsaw). At the same time, a couple of students acknowledged a growth of new companies outside the capital that offer job opportunities:

(AO, F, Tricity)
For example in Gdynia, there is a lot of new businesses, new associations. So, it’s a really young city. So, I can see a lot of opportunities here.

(MBi, F, Krakow)
I know that here, lots of companies that have places for new people. For example, outsourcing companies.

(MM, F, Wroclaw)
When I think about the economic opportunities, I mean that there are many international companies here. Like these really big companies, like LG for example.

These statements indicate a perceived increase of new businesses and jobs for a highly skilled labour force in Polish cities. This perception also ties in with the notion of a “quite high entrepreneurial drive in Polish cities (Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013: 26). Polish cities are increasingly able to attract international companies by promoting a suitable business environment and providing qualified workers.

One aspect that was repeatedly mentioned was the comparison of the job market in Polish cities with jobs available in other European countries (PG, M, Warsaw). While Warsaw, and to a lesser degree Wrocław, were perceived as the best job markets with the best chances to find a job in Poland, it was also clear that the interviewed students acknowledged job opportunities abroad.

(AK, F, Warsaw)
But I know that people in different countries (laughs) are earning better than we are. But, I think it’s because we are post-communist country. So maybe it’s not our time yet (laughs).
Another interesting observation was the students’ use of the words ‘post-communist’ and ‘the West’ (PG, M, Warsaw, WP, M, Kraków) in connection with job opportunities. Despite the fact that they do not have a personal experience of Poland being part of a communist system, these terms are still widespread. This indicates that there is still a prevalent self-understanding of ‘us and them’ and the perception of West Europe as place of better opportunities and economic affluence (Sztompka 2004: 488). Their individual idealisation of the West with simultaneous critical recognition of European integration also surfaced when they described reasons for personal exit strategies.

6.2.1.4 Individual satisfaction with public services and infrastructure

In Poland, local councils increasingly invest in planning and developing public services and infrastructure to support the basic means for urban residents. Despite these efforts undertaken by local politicians, satisfaction with public services and infrastructure was generally quite low among the surveyed MA students. As mentioned in chapter 5.1, 37% of all students in my sample are either not at all or not very satisfied with the public services and infrastructure in their city. To examine this perception of public services and infrastructure in more detail, I asked the MA students to elaborate on their previous statements in the questionnaire: “You stated in the questionnaire that you are (depending on the student: not at all/ not very/ fairly/ very) satisfied with the public services and infrastructure in (depending on the student: your city). Why is that?

The answers provided by the students revealed two topics that were of substantial importance: public transport and health care. 22 of the 27 interviewed MA students mentioned public transport, and 14 of 27 MA students commented on public or private health care. However, issues with public health care were also identified as not only restricted to cities but being a topic in the whole of Poland. This was mainly due to a lack of trust in the national public health care system. Public transport, on the other hand, was evaluated within the urban context or in clear comparison to another city. Other topics that were mentioned concern urban planning and architecture, social work and aid, education, and bureaucracy in cities.
Looking at the satisfaction with public transport in the various cities does not yield a clear pattern. Some students are happy with the public transport system while others, living in the same city, are not very satisfied. The explanations and reasons for these different perceptions are various as the opinions of these students from Kraków reveal that:

(PZ, F, Kraków)
Transport is really bad for me and public service [in general]. We have no subway, I don’t know why. Of course, we can’t build an underground in the old city but we can invent something different for example around the city.

(JKo, F, Kraków)
Our streets are very very crowded and it’s really hard to get from one side of Kraków to the opposite side in some quick time.

(AM, F, Kraków)
Public transport is getting better but it’s still not as good as you have it in the UK.

(MBi, F, Kraków)
I was thinking about public transportation because I am very proud of it. I don’t have to wait more than 10 minutes on a bus or tram stop. And there are lots of new cars and trams and buses.

(PP, F, Kraków)
Transport is really perfect. All the night buses are provided to work to get to all of the dorms. So it’s like they thought about the students. That they come home usually late or at night and they always have a bus to get to the dorm.

Similar statements are made by students from other cities. The perception of the range, quality, and frequency of public transport systems seems to depend on individual preferences, subjective comparisons, and personal experiences of using the different means of public transport. Notwithstanding the plethora of different opinions about local public transport systems, the fact that almost every student mentioned them, highlights their relevance in their everyday lives. As one interviewee pointed out: “Public transport is really important for me because I use it every day” (MW, M, Warsaw).

On the other hand, a clear pattern emerged when the students described their opinion about the Polish health care system. The general satisfaction appears to be rather low and this impression is not restricted to certain geographical areas. As one student summarised: “Public health [care] is bad everywhere in Poland” (JKa, F, Wrocław). The students’ statements also coincided with descriptions of quality of
health care in an OECD report about improving the health-care system in Poland (Boulhol et al. 2012). According to Boulhol et al., the self-assessed quality of health care in Poland seems to be quite poor with the reasons being predominantly “poor access to new technologies and long waiting times for highly specialised treatment” (2012: 15). Long waiting times for getting an appointment at a specialist under public health care coverage was also the main issue among the interviewed MA students. As one student expressed: “If you want to go to some specialist, you have to wait for a long time” (OM, F, Tricity). Similar statements came from students in Warsaw, Poznań, Kraków, and Wrocław. Consequently, many of the interviewed students use a private health care insurance, which is not free but offers better access to specialists and avoids some of the inadequacies of the public state system.

A couple of students also expressed their views on safety and security in Polish cities. Again, opinions were rather uneven and were largely contingent on personal perceptions and evaluations, rather than on personal experiences or actual large-scale issues with public safety in Polish cities. Some students pointed out that they never had a “problem with some bad people” (AO, F, Tricity), while others heard stories from other people: “I heard from my colleagues that they were beaten in Krakow by hooligans” (JKo, F, Kraków).

One issue that was often emphasised was the question of adequate urban planning and expenditure on urban development. While some students were happy with the type and range of urban development taking place in their respective city, others complained about the unnecessary construction of new infrastructure initiated by local governments. Two students, providing current examples of urban planning and development in their city, illustrate these diverging points of view:

(PP, F, Kraków).
I am also very satisfied with the new train station which has recently rebuilt. Now it looks really really good. It is very safe.

(AP, F, Warsaw)
The president is not the best one and they are concerned more about […] political party, and not about the city. […] And they are doing things only to […] make a profit for developers. Like a new bridge. There is a plan for building a new bridge and […] there is no need to do it in this place where they are planning right now. […] The city hall is not listening to the people.
These accounts make clear that satisfaction with urban planning and development is also a matter of individual perception and locally existing requirements. It also shows that MA students are aware of this aspect of local politics and that they have a clear idea of what they think is necessary – or not – to improve the city’s image and the residents’ everyday lives.

Other topics that were mentioned were related to education and social care. Some students were fairly happy with the opportunities for education in their city: “I have a good offer of education here. Very good schools and university” (AS, F, Tricity). “The University of Warsaw is one of the best universities in Poland” (JH, F, Warsaw). Interestingly, students from Warsaw also delineated different districts within the city, referring to a gap between less affluent and wealthier areas. Yet, given its large population size, it is not surprising that residents of Warsaw use their district as a frame of reference when talking about the dissimilar quality of public services and infrastructure. In this context, the main concern among students from the capital was “that the city doesn’t do enough to close this gap or kind of help” (MPi, F, Warsaw). One student criticised the lack of day-care, kindergartens, and pre-schools in certain districts in Warsaw (AP, F, Warsaw), while another student complained about the closure of a centre for drug users and the unwillingness of the district authorities to provide a replacement.

6.2.1.5 Individual perception of quality of life

Quality of life, although an elusive concept, has been measured by a wide array of institutes, such as Mercer, PwC, and the OECD. Every three years, the European Commission Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy also publishes a survey about the quality of life in European cities (European Commission 2016). As such large and comprehensive studies would exceed the scope of this paper, I asked the students more specifically about their own opinion on quality of life in their city.

Most students were fairly happy with the quality of life in their respective city. However, the perceptions of what actually matters for a good quality of life were not uniform among the interviewed students and across the selected cities. One of the most frequently mentioned aspects of quality of life was air (AO, F, Tricity; JKo, F,
Kraków). More specifically, students from the Tricity area and Kraków mentioned quality of air quite often but from the opposite point of view. While students in Kraków loathed the high air pollution in their city, students in the Tricity area praised the air quality at the Baltic Sea as one of the most important factors for their favourable perception of quality of life in their city. The statements of two students illustrates these different perceptions:

(AO, F, Tricity)
I think we have the cleanest air in whole Poland. So, this is super cool.

(JKo, F, Kraków)
The worst is no fresh air. It’s very contaminated.

Some students in Warsaw also mentioned the high pollution in the city as having a negative impact on quality of life. At the same time, they pointed out that the situation is not as bad as in Kraków and that air pollution is mostly problematic in the city centre and less in the suburbs (MW, M, Warsaw). The same comparison was reiterated by a student from Wrocław: “I want to have a good air. That’s not gonna happen in Kraków“ (JKa, F, Wrocław).

Another issue that was frequently mentioned was the availability of parks and green areas in the selected cities. Notably, most students from the Tricity area highlighted this aspect during the interview. The close proximity to the sea and the forest was a main contributor to their generally favourable perception of quality of life in the Tricity area. As one student put it:

(OM, F, Tricity)
I think for me very important is to have lots of possibilities. So, when I want to go for a walk, I can go to the forest and it’s about 5 min from my house. When I want to go to the sea, I have about 15min by tram.

In other cities, views on the available green space were mixed. While some students were happy with the number of parks in the city, other students from the same city were less enthusiastic. This again points towards the rather individual nature of assessments and understandings of how many and what type of recreation areas are needed to contribute to a positive perception of quality of life. The Tricity area really is the exception with its natural areas receiving almost unanimous acclaim.

Other factors that were emphasised in relation to quality of life included the good
education institutions in Wrocław and the Tricity area, and the lack of social housing in Warsaw. One aspect that several students mentioned did not refer to any measurable indicator: having friends and family in the city (JKa, F, Wrocław; AM, F, Kraków). Quality of life for them was to have a social network. As one student stated: “For me, to have friends in Warsaw is good and makes me happy” (MSn, M, Warsaw). This indicates that individual accounts may move away from a rather narrow conception of quality of life that is place-based toward a focus on the relevance of personal relations (Rogerson 1999).

6.2.2 Shall I stay or shall I go?

This section assesses the potential exit strategies of the potential Eurostars. The goal is to examine if urban well-educated residents want to leave their city or not. On the one hand, these questions address the capacity of the interviewed MA students to take advantage of opportunities and pursue their own ambitions. On the other hand, the questions also address potential restrictions, boundaries and personal costs that may lead to a different strategy, such as moving within the state instead of crossing its borders.

6.2.2.1 Staying or leaving the city?

Similarly to the first part of the interviews that focused on individual perceptions of urban conditions, I started this section pertaining to future plans and strategies with a rather general question, which then led to more detailed sub-questions. I asked the students: “Can you imagine leaving (your city) after your studies and going somewhere else, or do you want to stay?” The majority responded that they intend to leave their city after studies, but the answers varied in several respects. While some students answered with an unambiguous ‘Yes’ and a few of them with a clear ‘No’, the most prominent answer was a “Yes, I think, but…”. While some students had concrete plans about what they want to do after their studies, most students rather had ideas and exit-intentions and were generally in a stage of contemplation and evaluation of possibilities. This process also included the careful consideration of push- and pull-
factors when describing reasons to leave the city. Two statements from students illustrate these different types of motivations.

(JH, F, Warsaw)
I want to meet with different cultures and I want to get experience of working abroad and meet new people. I have been living in Warsaw all my life and now, it’s the time to see something new.

(JKo, F, Kraków)
I don’t want to stay in Kraków. It’s good for studying. It’s a good city for studying but not for living. It’s too crowded, too dirty, high prices, and too many people.

Other reasons for leaving the city mainly included plans for further education such as Erasmus, learning another language, completing a PhD, searching for potential jobs or volunteering abroad. On the other hand, not everybody wanted to leave and experience life abroad. Some students did not have a clear exit plan and considered staying in the city where they currently live and study as being a possible option. Reasons to stay often included specific feelings of attachment, such as the concept of being a local patriot (lokalna patriotka (f) or lokalny patriota (m)) highlighting long-established social networks that provide a sense of belonging. I will address these reasons in the next section. The following accounts give an impression of rationales as to why students consider remaining in their respective city.

(KK, M, Tricity)
I was living in Warsaw for a while and it was a good experience. But I am still a local patriot and for now I want to stay here [in Sopot].

(WP, M, Kraków)
I can’t say I will not definitely leave Kraków but it would be very difficult for me because now, it’s the best place to live for me.

6.2.2.2 Moving abroad or within Poland

I also asked students, who indicated that they were considering leaving their city, if they would rather go abroad or to another Polish city. In view of Poland’s EU membership, I was interested in learning if there are perceived barriers or constraints that facilitate a relocation within the country rather than moving across national borders. As some scholars argue, “European societies continue to be deeply national societies” (Andreotti et al. 2015: 184), despite further European integration and fading national borders. Additionally, the individual assessment of personal costs associated
with transnational mobility might lead to partial exit strategies in the sense of moving only temporarily to another country, or leaving the local entity and transitioning to another city while staying within the national dimension.

Generally, many of the interviewed students could imagine moving abroad rather than moving to another city within Poland. If they would move within the country, several MA students living in Kraków, the Tricity area, Wrocław, and Poznań declared that they only wanted to move to other big cities, with many students naming Warsaw as their preference. Otherwise, they would prefer to stay in their hometown. MA students living in the capital also preferred to move abroad or, in case of staying in Poland, to stay in their city. Compared to students from other cities, only a few students from Warsaw named alternative Polish cities where they could imagine living and working. The following examples illustrate this tendency in the mobility behaviour of the young well-educated city dwellers.

(JKa, F, Wrocław)
In Poland, I could only live in Warsaw apart from Wroclaw, and I would also like to explore Europe maybe a little. […] Paris for being abroad. I would actually like to live there, or Brussels.

(KK, M, Tricity)
I am also thinking of doing a PhD. For that, moving to another country for some time would be ok. In Poland, I can imagine to move to Warsaw. The city is kind of like another country. Or maybe Kraków. In Warsaw, there are so many different people from European countries. It’s like Europe in a Polish city. Warsaw is really different. So, yes, if I go to another city, it would be Warsaw. You can meet the whole world in Warsaw.

(MD, F, Tricity)
I think I would go abroad. Except of Sopot and Gdynia, I am not a huge fan of Poland (laughs). Sorry (laughs).

(PP, F, Kraków)
It’s my dream [to go abroad]. Yes, of course yes! In a perfect future I guess, yeah. But first I will try to get to some kind of post-diploma studies in Warsaw. And then I will see. I really hope that it will be possible to do something for, in the area of European structures but not here.

(MBa, M, Warsaw)
I am considering doing my PhD abroad although I have some perspectives for staying in Warsaw. It depends how my collaboration I am starting right know will look like. I think Warsaw gives better perspectives than other Polish cities.

6.2.2.3 Settling abroad or within Poland?

I was also interested in the students’ long-term plans and strategies for their
future. I asked them if they could imagine staying abroad or if they wanted to come back to Poland or (their city) after a while. Admittedly they found this question a bit strange since it did not relate to their current situation and, considering their present period of life, a bit premature. However, almost all of the students were able to provide a clear answer. This not only shows that they thought about their exit strategy but also why they chose one strategy over the other. As Andreotti et al argue, ”European urban upper-middle classes have to be analysed in relation to their strategies in gaining resources from the international world and to escape the constraints of national society” (2015:11).

After analysing the different answers, it became clear that 13 students (almost half) out of all the interviewed students intended to settle in Poland. Two students would likely come back to Poland, while three students would likely stay abroad, and four students have the clear intention to leave Poland for good. Five students indicated that they either did not know or that both options could be possible. Three statements shall give an account of these intended temporary moves abroad:

(AP, F, Warsaw)
I wouldn’t leave Poland for whole my life, I guess. For some years I would like to, I guess.

(MSa, F, Tricity)
I would rather go, I would rather move for some time, like for one year, to another European country, than to another Polish city. Because I am just interested in, you know, I would like to learn languages, I would like to meet some new people, learn about their stories.

(SL, M, Poznań)
It’s about how my situation will develop but I think, after all, I like to spend a couple of years abroad. […] Maybe to get some experience, connected with people from my kind of job. But it’s not like I want to escape from Poland because it’s getting worse. But maybe one day I will also return here to spend the rest of my life.

Nevertheless, are students with the firm intention of leaving their city and country the same students that do not want to come back? Or is returning home, after some time spent abroad, appealing even for the internationally orientated? Of the interviewed students, 15 intend to move abroad after their studies, but only four of these students can also imagine remaining abroad. Six of the students with plans to leave Poland are among those who want to come back later to settle in their home country. A second interesting observation is the relationship between intentions to
move abroad with gender and place. While students from every city said that they could imagine moving abroad, it seems that the interviewed men are less mobile than the interviewed women. Only one man (MBa, M, Warsaw) compared to 14 women stated that he definitely wants to move to another country when I asked him if he could imagine leaving Warsaw and going abroad after his studies, or if he would rather stay in Poland:

(MBa, M, Warsaw)
Yes, absolutely. I am considering doing my PhD abroad!

Although the sample is not representative and the finding has to be treated with caution, it is interesting that the city itself seems to have no immediate influence on the students’ intentions to move abroad, yet gender does. In other words, location does not mould individual preferences of transnational mobility, but the interviewed women are more internationally orientated.

6.2.3 Factors that potentially influence the students’ future

Cities themselves are apparently not influencing individual considerations about transnational relocation. But what about specific factors within these cities? Is the perception of local aspects affecting MA students’ decisions in terms of where they want to live and work? With regard to the analytical framework, I identified several factors that may have an effect on the potential Eurostars’ future plans and I addressed them during the interviews. These factors include the perception of local conditions, satisfaction with the local authorities, attachment to the city and attitudes towards Poland’s EU membership.

Additionally, three other topics emerged during the interviews and became distinctively relevant. The first is a perception of Poland being situated in between Russia and West Europe. This notion does not only include geographical and political elements, but also assumes historic connotations regarding Poland’s past as a Soviet satellite state and a still deeply entrenched feeling of us (the East) versus them (the
West). Second, after PiS\textsuperscript{22} (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Law and Justice Party) won an outright majority with 235 of the 460 seats in the lower house of the Polish parliament, the party is now in the position to govern without coalition partners. This situation, and the subsequent shift of Poland towards more nationalistic tendencies, was met by the interviewed students with a rather negative stance, incomprehension, and a feeling of insecurity about the country’s future in the EU.

6.2.3.1 Perception of local conditions and the students’ future

Cities act as a shared space and simultaneously as providers of conditions and services for urban dwellers living within this space. Urban planning, opportunities for individual education, recreational areas, cultural institutions, and the provision of favourable conditions to facilitate a thriving economy affect the daily lives of the young, well-educated citizens. While some of these provisions potentially might enhance individual feelings of belonging to the urban territory, MA students are also in the position to leave if they are not satisfied with what they are offered. In other words, they could vote with their feet and move, but the question is if they would rather move abroad or to another city to improve their prospects for more attractive conditions. Furthermore, do local provisions even constitute a factor that is considered relevant enough to generate a demand for change in location? What potential influence do the perceptions of the conditions and infrastructure in their respective cities have on possible exit strategies? I assessed these questions by asking the sampled students about their future plans, their intentions to relocate, and about the main reasons for their individual decisions in terms of where to work and live.

The first noteworthy aspect is the general lack of reference to cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure, as defined in this study, as being an influential factor on exit strategies. Only one student mentioned cultural institutions – namely theatres – as one of many reasons why he wants to stay in Kraków for now (WP, M, Kraków). Economic conditions and quality of life, on the other hand, were frequently mentioned as important, if not even the most influential reasons, for their future plans.

\textsuperscript{22} The party has a rather conservative, nationalist and Eurosceptic orientation accompanied by generous social welfare programmes. With this communitarian approach, PiS remains the most popular party in Poland at the beginning of 2017.
for relocation. The following statements and conversations demonstrate the relevance of quality of life and economic factors, such as good job opportunities, as drivers for the students’ future decisions:

(MW, M, Warsaw)
If I stay in Poland, I think I will stay in Warsaw (laughs) because the main reason is, here we have a high quality of life. And high salary. It’s the main reason.

(PP, F, Kraków)
I don’t think that, […] in these [big international] companies, you can really have a good job. Because during the first x amount of years, you will be not really considered as a specialist in every area except IT, I guess. […] I had an experience of calling these people and they were so rude that I was just, erm, so ok, I was right not wanting to live in Kraków and work here, in these kind of companies. Because, the majority of my group mates from European studies, they don’t really think about working in European institutions. They don’t even see this possibility. They want to work in these stupid companies and in my opinion it’s stupid.

If the jobs were better in Krakow, would you stay?
Well, yeah, at least I would think about of staying here for a couple years more but not for all my life.

(AO, F, Tricity)
I am thinking about to leave because I really want to live in the South of Europe because I need the sun and I want to collect the fruits and vegetables for the breakfast (laughs). So, yeah, that’s why. But if I will stay in Poland, I will stay here for sure (laughs). Yeah, the temperature and climate would be my main reason to leave.

And when you say South of Europe, where is that? Do you have a city/country in mind?
Italy or Spain. I was living in Italy nine months and I really love this country. So, I don’t know, maybe somewhere in Toscana or Puglia. They are good regions for me I think. In Spain I don’t know, because I was there just once this year. Let’s see.

Is a job also a potential reason you would leave Poland for?
No, it’s definitely about my quality of life and not about my job. Yeah!

Connected to economic incentives and quality of life, as determining factors in deliberating their individual prospects for the future, was the comparison of these two factors with the situation in other countries. Often, previous visits and travel allowed students to compare and contrast conditions at home and abroad. In many cases, cultural elements, in the broadest sense, and economic factors were also combined with a personal assessment of quality of life in a specific foreign country or city. This then, of course, played an important role in some students’ course of action. Many of the students knew what they were looking for in terms of career and lifestyle without necessarily being frustrated with the situation in Poland, but with a feeling that what they wanted to achieve required transnational mobility. Additionally, experiencing new cultures and people, and maybe going back to their favourite European city or
country that they associated with a better level of quality of life, was often seen as more important than making a lot of money. Yet, what exactly counted as a perception of a better quality of life in another country or city was consistently subjective. The following statements made this clear when I asked the students about their main reasons to leave their city:

(AK, F, Warsaw)
If I would travel somewhere and I would love this city, like really love this city. Like I have with Rome. I could really go and live in Rome, even tomorrow. But, it’s kind of the atmosphere there that I really like. And of course if I go to a different country or city, I would like to love the city as I love Warsaw. It couldn’t be a city that I don’t like or I feel unsafe.

(MD, F, Tricity)
Yes, actually (laughs). I was thinking about that but, I need to find something that I can relate to. Like next to the sea, similar atmosphere, something like that. I wouldn’t be able to live, for example, in Warsaw. Or, maybe in London. I am not sure, if I could do that because there are skyscrapers and I don’t like that (laughs). I want to see green fields of joy (laughs). Something like that.

(JH, F, Warsaw)
I want to meet with different cultures and I want to get experience of working abroad and meet new people. I have been living in Warsaw all my life and now, it’s the time to see something new. I am actually already planning to move. I am going to the Netherlands. I will work there. […] Also, because quality of life is better in the Netherlands than in Poland. I am not leaving because Poland is a poor CEE country. I am going for new experiences. A good job is important but for me, experiencing a new lifestyle abroad is more important than economic issues.

In contrast, some students did put economic incentives first. Again, these students did not necessarily view economic aspects as separated from quality of life, but highlighted the importance of having a good job and obtaining a decent income.

(JKa, F, Wrocław)
Definitely a job offer. That, because, I like living here. I have my whole life here, my friends, my fiancée, erm, so, that wouldn’t be an easy decision, erm, but, I kind of take into consideration that it is a possibility to move.

(PG, M, Warsaw)
Would you prefer to stay in Warsaw or to leave to another EU country?
Well, I don’t think, I am not so sure because it should depend of the kind of work you could do in any particular country but it’s okay for me to look for a job in the common European market. Yes, I think it’s an opportunity.

If the job situation in Warsaw would be better, would you stay or would you still leave to the European Union?
I think the chances to stay would be higher. Yes.

(MPo, F, Warsaw)
I think that I would stay here [in Warsaw] if I will earn enough to live here on this, like, medium level, let’s say. Living in Warsaw is quite expensive and we still do not earn as much as we would like to earn in comparison to other countries. So, I would stay if I would have a well-paid job. Then for sure.

These accounts depict the interviewed students as quite rational actors that make their choices based on individual preferences. It also shows that soft factors might play an important role in the students’ plans and exit strategies but that hard economic factors are still essential. Some of the students’ ideas were still rather murky but they were able to assess potential costs and benefits that were part of their intentions, be it to stay in their respective city, to relocate within Poland, or to move abroad.

6.2.3.2 Satisfaction with local authorities and the students’ future

After the collapse of the communist system, which liberated cities from centralised Soviet control, local authorities gained more power and influence. Almost thirty years later, the roles and duties of local urban authorities are manifold and cover a range of political and social areas. They have to support policies that provide sustainable urban planning, promote the cities’ competitiveness and develop strategies to make the urban environment attractive for their residents. To assess what the students think about their local government, I asked them: “Would you say, the City Council does a generally good job or not such a good job in running (your city)?” This first was followed by additional questions on possible areas of improvement and on the individual impact of the councils’ decisions and policies on the lives of the students.

Generally, most interviewed students acknowledge the work of their respective local governments but, at the same time, are rather critical of the actual policies and their effect on the urban environment. This is what two students said, reflecting many other statements on the perceived work of local authorities.

(AP, F, Warsaw)
I guess, when I have to rate and the rate is up to ten, I could say four. They are not so good (laughs). They are good in some of the things but not so many.

(DA, F, Kraków)
I think that a good job, but there’s always some space to perfection, so I guess there are some problems that have to be solved.
While most students had a similar approach to how they see their local governments, some of the urban residents took a more passionate and firm stand either for or against the government. Negative attitudes towards the City Hall often resulted from a lack of trust, in addition to assertions that the authorities only have their own interests in mind. This was expressed by the following two students when I asked about their satisfaction with the local authorities. Hardly surprising, this palpable frustration was often targeted at the politician that the students identified as the key culpable figure. This was typically the face of the local government, usually the president of the City Council. The statements also illustrate that some students are quite disillusioned about how much they can expect from their local governments.

(AM, F, Kraków)
I am getting back to local things. The president of the city, which is Jacek Majchrowski [in power since 2002, fourth term], he is like a president for 10 years. I am not sure if it is 10 years but he is here, like, for a long time and he is not improving, I don’t know why he was chosen again. Pfffff, so, no. No! […] You see the same faces all the time in the politics and this is getting a little bit frustrating.

(AP, F, Warsaw)
Yeah, I think that’s on the City Hall, which is not the best one. The president is not the best one and they are concerned more about party, political party, and not about the city. So, they are not doing the best thing for Warsaw and they are destroying a lot of things.

Regarding specific complaints, a lack of effectiveness and urban planning and infrastructure were the areas most often criticised by students from every selected city. This included the slow renovation of streets (AS, F, Tricity, DA; F, Kraków), public participation in urban planning (JKa, F, Wrocław), a more extensive public transport network (KK, M, Tricity; MPo, F, Warsaw; PZ, F, Kraków), more green areas and parks (JKa, F, Wrocław; MPi, F, Warsaw). Looking at specific cities, students mentioned local political issues such as the rather chaotic and utterly expensive organisation of the World Youth Day 2016 in Kraków (PP, F, Kraków; PZ, F, Kraków; AM, F, Kraków), or the massive maintenance bills for the mostly empty stadiums in Wrocław and Gdańsk (AS, F, Tricity; JKa, F, Wrocław). In terms of positive reviews, one City Council received a lot of acclaim. MA students from the Tricity metropolitan region not only distinguished between issued policies of local governments in Gdynia, Sopot and Gdańsk, they also ranked their performances with the City Council. Gdynia received very favourable feedback for its urban planning, investment in public
participation activities, creating opportunities for young people, and, as one student put it, for its innovative approach.

(OM, F, Tricity)
They [the authorities in Gdynia] are really innovative and they are trying to help young people and to do, for example, some start up and new business. In Gdansk it’s more difficult to introduce something new. We are more traditional.

This statement also illustrates the immediate impact of political decisions that address the needs of young urban citizens. Good local governance equally improves the competitiveness of the urban environment and the attractiveness of the urban space for city dwellers. Now the question is whether good governance is seen at all as an incentive to stay in a specific city, or to leave for another city where political actions are perceived as being more beneficial for personal development. When asked about the influence of local governance on intentions to leave or stay or on their general future plans, the answer was a clear ‘No’. This candid statement was usually followed by a more nuanced explanation that often included personal reasons as a driver behind the decision where to live and work. Some students also pointed out that the issues they are faced with, such as the deficient public health care system, cannot be solved on a local level anyway. One student from Wroclaw summed it up:

(JKa, F, Wroclaw)
The city council can’t change the medium wage or something like that or health care nationwide, but it also wouldn’t change my decision [to move] within Poland. Because if I moved to Warsaw I did [it] only to get a better job, in a ministry or something like connected to the government for example. So there is no chance to get a position like that in Wroclaw. Maybe, a representative, something like that but not actually in the heartland of the institution. So, it’s not what the city council can change, it would more depend on what the country can or cannot change. If the capital moved to Wroclaw, then I am staying (laughs) but otherwise, I might consider moving.

Many students appreciate the efforts being undertaken by the local governments but eventually, it is their own dreams, rational considerations, or personal interests that influence their future plans. If opportunities offered by local governments overlap with personal needs, MA students might stay in the city, but improved public services and enhanced attractiveness of the respective city do not necessarily generate enough incentives among students to abandon potential plans for career advancement.
Some of the interviewed students indicated that they are more attached to the city than to the country, while others felt more attached to Poland than to their respective city. A third group said that they are equally attached to both territorial entities. One observation I made during the interviews was that the reasons for these different forms of attachment are multiple and hardly follow a fixed pattern. Yet, does attachment even matter for the young well-educated urban residents when considering their future? To assess the students’ individual reasons for attachment and possible influences on their attitudes and behavior, I asked them to elaborate on their previously stated answer: “You indicated in the questionnaire that you are (depending on the student: more attached to the country than to the city/ more attached to the city than to the country/equally attached to the country and the city). Why is that?”

Students being more attached to the country than to the city often mentioned a general lack of attachment, but, since they had to choose one territorial level, they indicated Poland. Travelling abroad, length of stay, and having family dispersed all over Poland were among the reasons named for the absence of feelings of attachment.

(JKo, F, Kraków)
My family is from Warsaw and I grew up in Bielsko and I have friends from there but I am a couple of times during the year in Warsaw and I go there for Christmas and Easter. And also, I travel a lot around Poland. In my free time. And I know people from all over Poland. And I enjoy very much a lot of places, not only Śląsk (Silesia) or Kraków. From all the corners of Poland (laughs).

(JA, M, Warsaw)
I am not really attached to the country as well and I am even less attached to the city but since I am here I am very pragmatic about this. And if I were to pick one of these two, I’d say, I might feel a bit responsible for the country. [...] I am feeling more like a citizen of the European Union than Poland or Warsaw.

(MM, F, Wrocław)
I am not living so long here actually. And when I have been 21, I was on Erasmus. So, then I felt more national, like with my country, not with my city. Because there were people from Ireland and from France and England and some other countries. I just remember I was from Poland.

Regarding the reasons why students feel equally attached to Poland and the city they live in, the answers were rather uniform, only the wording slightly differed. Most
students simply stated that they lack stronger feelings for one entity over the other. Interestingly, these statements were often followed by additional information, such as why exactly they feel a similar level of attachment and also what potential actions they associate with these feelings.

(AP, F, Warsaw)  
You know. As I said, Warsaw is my city but I feel as well that Poland is my country and I would like to build a better Poland but also a better Warsaw. So, yeah, I guess I am connected the same way with the city and the country.

(JH, F, Warsaw)  
I don’t know, hm, yes, I feel attached to the country and the city. I love Warsaw but there are things that make me want to leave. But I am still proud to be Polish.

(KK, M, Tricity)  
I am a local patriot. I like to live here, but I am also a national patriot.

(MSa, F, Tricity)  
Why am I attached equally? I feel Polish and I feel as habitant of Gdynia, equally. And to me, it means that I want do something good for local things, for my locality, if we can say so. That I am Polish and I want to present me as a Polish person and my country as something good.

(PG, M, Warsaw)  
I really don’t have the strongest feelings to the country over the city or the city over the country. Like it’s not very different to me. Like, I am from Warsaw but I am not proud of it and I am definitely not ashamed of it. It’s neutral to me.

Unlike citizens with more traditional positions and experiences, young people with more modern views are seen as holding a weaker sub-national attachment (Slomczyński et al 2013). However, the interviews revealed two factors that were repeatedly mentioned as having an impact on a strong Heimatgefühl (emotional bond to home, Lalli 1992: 288). Residents who were born in a specific city and lived there for all their life reported positive feelings of identification with the city. Many students even highlighted these two aspects as the main source for their individual attachment to the local environment. This also intertwines with a feeling of local patriotism that was repeatedly mentioned throughout the interviews. Local patriotism is a relatively elusive concept that describes a strong feeling of belonging to a territorial level subordinate to the nation-state. The term is used in clear distinction to affective attitudes towards the nation and often has a positive connotation. The following statements provide some examples for the strong emotional bond with the local entity.
(MSn, M, Warsaw)
Because I was born in Warsaw. This is a kind of pride that I feel. I think, in my opinion, that is because I was born here and I am happy that I am born in Warsaw. It’s my small home country. […] I have a lot of connection with Warsaw and my roots are here. I am a local patriot.

(AM, F, Kraków)
I spent my whole life in the city. I have never lived in any other city than Kraków. So, it is hard for me to imagine how it would be to live in another place. And when I think about Poland, my second thought is like, I think about my home in Kraków.

(MD, F, Tricity)
I was born in Sopot and I was raised here. I actually feel like this is my home, you know? Sopot is my home and I love it. I love everything about it.

(AK, F, Warsaw)
I was born here and I spent my whole life here so I feel really attached to Warsaw and I love Warsaw. Even if I am travelling a lot to different countries and the bigger cities. I feel really, like, I am missing Warsaw. I don’t know why actually (laughs).

Another aspect that contributed to local patriotism and emotional attachment to the urban space is a specific form of ‘us vs them’. Many interviewed students described a feeling of being part of a group that occupies a relatively narrow space and shares social and cultural values in contrast to the population of the rest of the country. This feeling of belonging to a distinct urban group was also used as a distinction from citizens living in other Polish regions or cities, especially the capital. In other words, students from Kraków would not only point out that they are different from Polish people in general, but also that they are specifically different from people living in Warsaw.

(JKa, F, Wroclaw)
I have been living in Wroclaw for eight or nine years, and it’s like my little homeland, you know? It’s easier to like it, you know, to be familiar with people that are living here and I guess it’s like in every country: People from Wroclaw don’t like people from Warsaw or Kraków, something like that. So, I think for me it’s easier to like what’s close, what’s near instead of having this very vague, very intangible idea of Polishness, whatever.

(AK, F, Warsaw)
I feel like Poland is so different in some parts of this country and people are really different except of, you know, the place that you are living in. Like, we have Silesia and there are people completely different than people from Mazovia.

(MPi, F, Warsaw)
Outside of the city, I think that people tend to think a bit differently, like for example, they don’t like the European Union, they don’t like the US and stuff like that. I don’t feel that connected to this attitude. That’s why I feel more connected to Warsaw and this Warsaw kind of thinking. That it’s a good thing that we are developing and such.
These statements also highlight a different view of students: those who feel more attached to the country and those who are more attached to the city. Nationally attached students often mentioned that as a result of traveling abroad, their attachment to a larger territorial entity stems from a wider view on the world and a larger frame of reference (JA, M, Warsaw). Slightly more of the interviewed students express stronger attachment to their city (11) than to equally both territorial levels (10), while a minority stated that they are more attached to the country (6). At the same time, the majority of students (17) answered with a clear yes, when asked if they could imagine leaving their city after studies, and less than one third of the students were somewhat ambiguous or undecided (8). Only two students clearly negated any intentions to leave their respective city in the near future, but they also said that everything is possible and maybe one day there will be a good reason to leave.

Interestingly, eight of the eleven students who expressed a stronger attachment to the city than to the country also have fairly clear intentions to leave their city after studies. This suggests that motivations to leave the city are fuelled by reasons decoupled from attachment, and instead influenced more by career goals that cannot be achieved in the students’ respective cities. These reasons include - as mentioned earlier – pull factors such as better job opportunities, learning another language, or Erasmus student exchange programmes. A student from Kraków exemplifies this stance when she explains her sense of strong attachment to the city:

(PZ, F, Kraków)
Yes, Krakow and our region, Małopolska (Lesser Poland), hmm, I think we can, people from here can say that they have an original identity. And it’s a really strong feeling because, hmm, well, it’s, erm, sometimes it’s that people from here say that they can’t live in Warsaw or another city because they think that our region, our city is the best. […] I can say that I am a local patriot and I like Kraków and our region and I feel connected to it.

At the same time, she was just about to leave Kraków and prepared for an exchange semester at the University of Warsaw.

(PZ, F, Kraków)
To be honest, I am just leaving. For my second semester I will go to Warsaw. To the University of Warsaw. It’s some kind of programme of student mobility, you know, exchange between Universities. But for me, Warsaw it’s, you know Kraków and Warsaw don’t like each other but I decided to live in Warsaw for a few months and search maybe a job.
Finally, another specific point often reiterated by Polish students was the importance of family for the personal feeling of belonging and attachment. Many of the students stated that their family influenced their potential exit strategies and choice of residence. Although eroding borders and new technologies facilitate cross-national contacts between family members, most students emphasised that they want to live close to their family. They could imagine living abroad or in another city for a short period of time in pursuit of their career, but in the long run they wanted to return and live in close proximity to their family. This is how a student from Warsaw described the relationship with her family and what impact this network of relatives had on her attachment to the city and her considerations about transnational mobility:

(AK, F, Warsaw)
I think because there is, here are my roots and my family. […] Honestly, you know, I feel, I don’t know, it’s so, maybe irrational but I really feel connected to Warsaw. And I cannot imagine, maybe I could go to, I don’t know, to Galapagos when I am retired or something. But it’s a different kind of story, when I am thinking, like ok, let’s think about my future, be serious, then I am thinking about going back to Warsaw. Because here, I have my mum, and grandmother, and friends, and flat, you know. It’s something that I will always miss about Warsaw.

Family and friends exert a strong influence on the nature of potential exit strategies. Several students mentioned the need to live close to their family as an important reason why they could only leave their city for a certain time. Thus, while many students are rationally planning their future, the emotional bonds to their relatives keep them linked to their respective city or the country.

6.2.3.4 Attitudes towards EU and the students’ future

With EU accession of ten new member states, including Poland, on 1 May 2004, Polish citizens faced new realities and possibilities. One of the indicators for a profound change was the increase of emigration among well-educated Poles. I wanted to know what the current situation is, a decade after Poland joined the EU. How do Polish MA students who have no personal experience of living under communist rule and grew up in a system that offers all the potential benefits of EU membership, evaluate the country’s EU membership? And what significance does the EU have for
the students’ personal benefits? Do attitudes towards EU integration affect the potential Eurostars’ decision in terms of where to live and work? I asked the students what they think about possible advantages and disadvantages brought about by Poland’s EU membership.

One of the most prominent benefits voiced by the interviewed students was the security aspect of EU membership (AM, F, Kraków, AS, F, Tricity). Many students referred to the country’s history as a communist satellite state ruled by the Soviet Union and the resulting distrust they maintain against the current Russian state. This rather grief-stricken preoccupation with Poland’s history illustrates that, despite the lack of personal experiences, young Polish citizens are still in the process of coming to terms with the country’s past and political trajectory. Yet, there is a notion of relief that emerges from the feeling of belonging to a larger community that offers protection against any potential Russian threat. Several students made rather emotional statements about their view on the EU’s ability to safeguard Poland and its citizens from Russian influence.

(AM, F, Kraków)
For me, it’s good to be an EU member. […] If we wouldn’t be a part of the EU we could have the same situation as in the Ukraine. […] Yes, for Poland, it’s a matter of security. Two years ago, I was really scared of an invasion. For the first time in my life, I was scared that Russia would attack Poland, not openly, but strategically. For the first time in my life.

(AS, F, Tricity)
Our history is bloody as well because we are between Russia and Germany. So I think we need countries which will be, like, with us in one group to help in some cases. […] And I think I feel more safe if I knew the EU than only here. Because even if it happens like in the past that maybe nobody will help us if somebody attacks us, I can have this little hope that something changed already and somebody helps us if someday attacks us. And yes, I am a stereotypical Polish girl who has some doubts about Russia. It’s true, sorry (laughs)! Yes, I have doubts with Russia. I don’t trust them and I am not any racist or anything but I have this in my blood. I inherited it.

These accounts simultaneously demonstrate an orientation to the past that is still vivid and a will to look forward, embracing European integration as a cornerstone of Polish security and protection against a perceived former aggressor whose influence still remains visible in neighbouring countries.

The other benefit that was pointed out by several students pertained to the funds being transferred from the EU to Poland. Indeed, within the financial framework 2014
– 2020, Poland will be the “biggest EU funds beneficiary among all the member states” (MSP 2013).

(Mpi, F, Warsaw)
I don’t understand people who claim that the EU did nothing. Just go outside and look! Thanks to the funds we got.

Often, students also referred to actual programmes and specific projects that were funded with money from the EU.

(MSn, M, Warsaw)
The EU funds a lot of these alternative energy sources, like wind and water. And of course, the strengthening of the Polish economy. We get a lot of money. The life of the farmers gets better because they receive money from the EU. The EU is quite new for us in Poland but I can already see the benefits for the Polish progress.

The students were also critical about certain aspects of EU membership. First and foremost, the perceived loss of autonomy and the feeling of a distant ruler deciding over Poland’s future without adequate consultation of the member state was something that the students criticised. Related to this perceived lack of equality was the notion that some countries have more decision-making power than others and that these countries have their own interests in mind and do not care about Polish needs. As one student put it:

(MM, F, Wrocław)
We want to take part in decisions and they don’t allow us sometimes. They don’t care about us at all. Mostly, like, we say that Germany has the main decision power and so on.

Besides the transfer of sovereignty, some students felt that the EU was unnecessarily meddling in the Polish economy by imposing new laws and norms, which in turn prevent Polish products from being produced and exported. Aside from the European Commission’s tough stance on emissions caused by coal, which hurts the largely coal-powered Polish economy, issues for traditionally produced food were brought forward:

(JKo, F, Kraków)
The products which were made in each region, each part of Poland. I think they are valuable and they origin from this part and after the laws from the EU, they cannot be produced because they don’t fit to the norms and to the laws. […] It’s due to some receipt because the food has to be safe, you understand, and you can’t do it in the traditional way.
In contrast, when I asked the MA students if Poland’s EU membership is beneficial for their personal future, I received predominantly positive answers. Two topics were specifically relevant for the students: Erasmus programmes and the free movement within the EU. Two statements exemplify the students’ view on the advantageous aspects of European integration.

(MD, F, Tricity)
I think it makes it easier. Because you can travel easily right now. You don’t need to wait until you get a visa or something. You easily travel. Just your ID and it’s enough.

(MM, F, Wrocław)
For me personally, yeah, it is! Because, erm, because European membership has allowed me to be on Erasmus and it was for me really important to go to Erasmus. So, actually from a personal point of view, yeah it is! Full stop!

These statements demonstrate that the sampled students distinguish between national and personal benefits stemming from EU membership. While some students are rather critical when they assess the impact of EU membership on Poland as a country, the vast majority of them emphasised the personal advantages resulting from EU accession. This is not surprising, given the fact that many of these students contemplate exit or partial exit strategies that involved studying, working and living abroad. The EU facilitates these projected transnational movements by providing incentives in the form of student mobility programmes and by lowering the institutional barriers that inhibit relocation from one country to another. Hence, this social group has the capacity and the resources to cross national boundaries, to benefit from international exchange and to advance their own interests beyond the constraints of their respective city. For most of the interviewed students, the EU offers a basket of opportunities.

6.2.3.5 Other influential factors: The other and PiS

Several social and political aspects were repeatedly mentioned during the interviews when I asked about the students’ plans for the future. The first was the prevalent distinction between the “East” and the “West” (JH, F, Warsaw). After the collapse of the communist system, Central and East European societies were incorporated into a wider European framework. New values, symbols and social codes had to be negotiated and internalised, while the perception of the former communist
states as the “significant other” (Góra and Mach 2010: 9) was only slowly disappearing. As a result, multiple frames of reference contextualise the ways in which the potential Eurostars experience all aspects of social life and how they plan their future. Many of the interviewed students find it difficult to cope with the somewhat contradictory situation of being a member of the European Union while at the same time being met with long-established stereotypes by West Europeans. As one student put it.

(JH, F, Warsaw)
One thing that I have learned, West European people still see us differently. They often think we are still communist and backwards, not only economically but also culturally.

This statement also reflects what Sztompka (2004) argues in his essay: “Being invited to enter the ‘European house’ does not necessarily mean automatically ‘feeling at home’, or that newcomers will necessarily be treated as ‘one of us’ by the current tenants”. To stick with Sztompka’s metaphor, ‘feeling at home’ is a reciprocal process. The old members of the European house can try to make someone feel at home by welcoming them and by trying to understand their value and belief system, and by being responsive to their needs. Yet it also includes a transformation of deeply ingrained norms and ways of doing by the new member of the European house. This continually embedded mentality and the division of Europe into ‘old’ and ‘new’ members, or ‘West’ and ‘East’, was ubiquitous throughout the interviews. Often, West Europe, or specific countries and places in West Europe, were described as providing a better quality of life, job opportunities and general conditions than Poland. One student referred to diverging salaries to illustrate this gap:

(PG, F, Warsaw)
Yes, I think so, because the salaries are quite higher in the West still. That’s the main reason for emigration in Poland.

These statements made clear that while the young generation is seemingly faced with an ideological and institutional Europeanisation affording more opportunities, old boundaries are cemented, while new boundaries emerge and need to be debated and negotiated. These new boundaries include not only the relationship between old and new EU member states, but also a climate of distrust towards Russia. One student had
a fairly positive approach to this large number of newly developed political, cultural, and social realities:

(WP, M, Kraków)
I have been to Germany some times and I liked it because I didn’t have this feeling that I am from former Soviet Republic. I had the feeling that it’s the country which is in the same club and I can feel safer there somehow.

Another event that was perceived as potentially creating new boundaries was the election of PiS that affected the country as a whole and revealed tremendous cleavages within Polish society. Almost every interviewed student who voiced their opinion about the current party in power had a very negative view on its policies and actions, ranging from frustration to outright anger to fear about the future of the country. In contrast, according to the Polish Public Opinion Research Center, in January 2017, PiS was supported by 37% of the survey respondents and retained its status as the most popular party (CBOS 2017). This fact was not overlooked by the interviewed students who described the current political situation as deeply divisive for the Polish society. Both camps are very outspoken in their support or rejection of the current party in power. In their opinion, polarisation had driven a wedge between the supporters of PiS and their opponents. As one student pointed out:

(AK, F, Warsaw)
You know, when I am, let’s say, against PiS, I cannot talk with my friends, because they are so much for [PiS] and they are getting aggressive or something and we are protesting on the streets against them and people which are for PiS they are protesting against us. And it seems like we are two different nations fighting between each other about something you know that really doesn’t matter because it can be changed after four years [the next election].

Another hotly debated topic among the interviewed students was the rising tension between Poland and the EU. Many students recognised the benefits brought by EU membership and were wary about the political changes and the Eurosceptic rhetoric introduced by the PiS party leaders. The dominant argument was a rising concern that the European Union may lose patience with a Polish government, which is rather critical of the EU, and that this might result in a loss of funds and access to the market. One student from the Tricity area expressed her views about the current tension between the EU and the current government:
(AS, F, Tricity)
They are anti-EU and they can make that we will go out. Or everybody will start thinking that they cannot believe in our laws that they cannot have business with us, any contracts or anything, because [our] government was actually making strange things with everything, which is questioning the law.

Some students questioned the party’s newly introduced laws such as the “Family 500+” (*Rodzina 500 plus*), a child benefit scheme that proposes 500 Zloty (£100) a month for every second and each subsequent child in a family. The law is meant to increase the birth rate and is rather expensive with an estimated cost of 22 Billion Zloty (£4.45 billion) per year. The policy has led to wide debates among experts and policymakers (ESPN 2016), but it also received support from the vast majority of Poles – 80% support the law (CBOS 2016). However, among the interviewed students, this new law was met with disapproval. One student pointed this out in a particularly outspoken manner:

(AM, F, Kraków)
And a lot of absurd situations are happening. For example 500 Zloty for every child, which is bullshit. You know, they have to get the money for that so they are creating new taxes for that.

Generally, the sampled students were very critical about the political future under the PiS administration and considered the current situation as unfavourable, not only for themselves but also for the country as a whole and Polish society in particular.

### 6.3 Summary of qualitative findings

The semi-structured interviews conducted among MA students in Warsaw, Kraków, the Tricity area, Poznań and Wrocław revealed interesting insights into their perceptions of social urban structures and how they influence their future plans in terms of living and working.

Most students are happy with life in their respective city and named a range of local aspects and factors that they specifically like about their city. Negative aspects, on the other hand, were quite similar in each city, with a focus on economic factors and local infrastructure. One point that was also highlighted was the friendly
atmosphere in smaller Polish cities in contrast to the rather distant and self-centred behaviour of people in Warsaw.

As expected, satisfaction with local conditions was often based on individual assessments and therefore very subjective. However, some patterns did emerge during the interviews. Cultural conditions were generally perceived as very favourable and students from Wrocław, Kraków, and Warsaw claimed the title of Poland’s cultural hotspot for their own city. Satisfaction with economic conditions was fairly moderate, the main reason being a lack of good jobs after studies and low salaries compared to other countries. Although most students did mention a slight increase in job opportunities in their respective cities, the capital was almost unanimously cited as Poland’s economic powerhouse and the place to go for good jobs. Individual satisfaction with public services and infrastructure was rather low. Shortfalls in public transport systems and inadequate public health care were mentioned as the main issues, although not every student was equally affected or critical about these factors. Many students have subscribed to a private health care scheme. Most students were also rather happy with the quality of life in their respective city. The main difference was quality of air, which was praised in the Tricity area and loathed in Kraków.

In terms of future plans, most students intended to leave their city after their studies but did not yet have a clearly outlined strategy. Potential reasons to leave the city included further education, potential job opportunities and a search for a better, but rather vaguely formulated, quality of life. Many of the interviewed students could imagine moving abroad instead of to another city within Poland, but almost 50% of all interviews students intended to settle in Poland once they planned to have a family. Their statements indicated that many see their experience abroad as being of limited duration and intend to come back to their hometown or to Poland. This seemingly highlights a certain rootedness with their local social networks and also raises questions about feelings of belonging and local patriotism. Interestingly, attachment to the city hardly restricts them in their plans to move abroad or to another Polish city.

EU membership was predominately seen as beneficial for the students’ own futures and to a lesser extent for Poland as a country. Security aspects, the feeling of being part of the European club and EU funds were among the most prominent benefits mentioned, while a perceived loss of sovereignty was criticised. For the students
themselves, unrestricted travel and European educational programmes were highlighted as the main reasons why the EU is a good thing.

One interesting point mentioned by several students was the notion of “the West” for the old EU member states. This still shows deeply ingrained boundaries expressed by terms that continue to cement a view of ‘us vs them’. A further aspect that influenced the students’ plans and behaviour was the dominant influence of PiS on the Polish society. The party’s hostile rhetoric against the EU, as well as its subsequent alteration of laws within a continually divided Polish society were also highly criticised.

6.4 Summary

I interviewed students from Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, the Tricity area and Warsaw for this study. They provided interesting accounts of their views on local urban conditions, place attachment, and attitudes towards the EU. Particularly interesting were the insights into their decision-making processes about staying in, or leaving their respective city. The cost-benefit approach does play a role but less utilitarian factors, such as quality of life, family and local patriotism also influence the students’ future plans. The interviews also allowed me to include non-verbal communication and phrasing during the interviews. A specific example is the current ruling party PiS. Most students would not mention the name but paraphrase PiS as “the party”, or “the political situation”. The refusal to even use their name might indicate one aversion many students had to PiS. Another interesting aspect was the ambivalent relationship, many students have with the capital. They desired to live and work in Warsaw, despite the fact that they criticised the quality of life and unfriendly atmosphere. Similar double-edged statements were made when students explained their attitudes towards the EU. They were rather positive, but also critical when assessing the benefits of the EU for Poland, and fairly optimistic when describing the advantages for themselves.

In the next chapter, I summarise the quantitative and qualitative findings, link them to the relevant literature, and make suggestions for further research.
Chapter 7: Discussion and integration of data

In this study, I investigated the extent to which perceived conditions in Polish cities influence attitudes towards the EU among young, well-educated urban residents. I further examined how these local frameworks and social contexts affect young people’s potential exit strategies. I employed a sequential approach, consisting of a quantitative, followed by a qualitative step. This chapter integrates the findings of a survey among Polish MA students and subsequent semi-structured interviews.

The first step helped identify the participants for quantitative analysis and the semi-structured interviews. I selected the participants from those that were Polish citizens, had lived in their respective city for more than five years and spoke a second EU language. These students were able to provide information from a perspective that reflected the perceptions and opinions of long-term urban residents in CEE. The interviews also allowed me to elaborate on the quantitative findings in more detail and provided individual accounts and new insights on the aggregated quantitative data. I synthesise the findings in this chapter by employing a method that integrates data through narrative. Using the research questions and hypotheses as a guideline, I combine quantitative and qualitative findings to answer each hypothesis associated with the respective research question. This weaving approach, as presented by Fetters et al. (2013: 9), best serves the purpose of expanding on the quantitative data and supplementing it with more detailed elements on the potential Eurostars’ views regarding their cities and the EU. Additionally, the analysis drawn from the interviews yields important insights into the students’ social contexts and their motivations regarding transnational mobility.

The first section presents the findings related to urban conditions, place attachment and attitudes towards the EU. The second section focuses on potential exit strategies and individual restrictions based on the conditions offered and the opportunities available in the selected Polish cities, as well as attachments and attitudes towards the EU. This part also includes a gender-based assessment of EU attitudes and migration behaviour. In both sections, I evaluate each hypothesis in the context of other relevant research and existing literature. In the third section, I explain the limitations of my research and the implications of my results for the analysis of
European integration and urban societies. I explain why my findings are important for the ongoing study of European integration and offer recommendations for further research.

7.1 Urban conditions, place attachment and attitudes towards the EU

7.1.1 Measured urban performance

To answer the question of how different cities and perceived urban conditions might influence the urban residents’ views towards European integration, it is necessary to compare what structural factors the selected Polish cities offer.

The first question I addressed concerned differences in economic and cultural conditions, as well as infrastructure, in the various cities. The question also included the temporal development of these conditions during the period of Polish EU membership. I used data from statistical yearbooks and basic urban statistic documents to compare conditions at two time points; measuring the increase or decrease in available conditions in each city. The first point is 2005, a year after Poland became a member of the European Union, and the second is 2014, when the newest data for every selected city is available. Needless to say, it is nearly impossible to convey a comprehensive picture of local conditions in Polish cities. Every indicator and method of measurement is debatable.

Furthermore, the measured indicators are not able to portray the combined dynamic influence of available conditions on the city as a framework for social actions but, instead, provide a synopsis of the available services and conditions. For cultural conditions, I measured libraries (per 100,000 pop.), seats in theatres and music institutions (per 1000 pop.), museums (per 100,000 pop), and seats in cinemas (per 1000 pop.). Indicators for economic conditions included registered unemployment rates (in %), average monthly gross wages and salaries, entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop), and GDP per capita. The available indicators in Poland’s Statistical Yearbooks to measure public services and infrastructure include health care (number of hospital beds per 10,000 pop and pharmacies per 100,000 pop), social welfare (social welfare places per 100,000 pop), public order (number of crimes per
1000 pop.), infrastructure (dwellings completed per 1000 pop.) and population using water supply and sewage systems (in %).

Once having processed the indicators based on the statistical data, I then ranked the cities from 1 to 5 for each factor measured, using the newest data from 2014. The average of the ranked factors rates the cities’ conditions. The better the performance, the better the mark. I also marked cities that improved their local conditions between 2005 and 2014, using the same marking scale as for the current conditions. In sum, the higher marks a city received and the higher the average ranking number, the better the city’s urban conditions or its capacity to improve local conditions. The city with the highest average of combined marks for its current state or temporal development of its indicators would rank first in the respective category.

The juxtaposition of these two measurements is appropriate to an overview of the different conditions available in each city. It also helps to understand the potential of local administrations to improve urban competitiveness, although some of conditions are beyond the influence of local authorities (Begg 2002: 4). Nevertheless, the creation of a favourable business environment, a sense of belonging to the city among the residents and the provision of facilities and services for the local community are part of the responsibilities of City Councils.

Because the numbers in the following rankings for each condition are ordinal, it is impossible to determine exactly how much better a city performs compared to another. To facilitate the understanding of each figure, I included the average mark of all the indicators for each category. Figure 39 shows the ranking for cultural conditions in each selected city.
The cities vary in the cultural conditions they offer in 2014 and also regarding the development of their cultural facilities and institutions since 2005. Overall, Kraków deserves the self-designated title of cultural capital of Poland because it ranks first or second in all measured indicators in 2014 and displays a very high average mark for its cultural conditions (4.25) compared to the other cities. It is also located in the middle regarding the improvement of its cultural faculties and institutions since 2005. Regarding development over time, Wrocław ranks first because it shows a strong improvement of the number of all cultural institutions between 2005 and 2014, with the exception of libraries. The Tricity area ranks last in current cultural conditions but showed a large improvement of its cultural conditions since 2005.

Concerning economic conditions, the measured indicators convey an overview of the cities’ ability to offer competitive conditions for the urban residents. Figure 40 shows the ranking for economic conditions in each city.
Regarding economic conditions, all the selected Polish cities decreased unemployment, raised average monthly gross wages and salaries, GDP per capita and increased numbers of legal entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.). The studied cities, except for Warsaw, are homogeneous in their economic conditions between 2005 and 2014. This uniformity suggests what Szczek-Pietkiewicz argue which is that that none of the analysed Polish cities in her study displayed a major competitive advantage, with the exception of Warsaw (2013: 35). Indeed, ranking in the first place, Warsaw is the centre of economic power in Poland according to the data from 2014. Poznań is second both in current conditions and improvement over time. Notably, Poznań shows the lowest level of unemployment in 2014. In contrast to Poznań’s good economic performance, the Tricity area and Kraków reveal a rather low average of all measured economic indicators.

Urban public services and infrastructure are crucial for residents in any city as they constitute and define the quality of the space they are living in. City Councils in Polish cities are required to plan and organise these provisions. At the same time, as mentioned in Chapter 4, measurement problems appear, particularly for public infrastructure and services. Defining the service output, assessing the actors involved in providing services and finding topical data that can be compared between several cities can be rather difficult (Lineberry and Welch: 1974). Thus, I do not claim that the following Figure 41 provides more than a rough overview of available public services and infrastructure in each selected Polish city.
Several measured indicators, such as completed dwellings, water supply and sewage systems, are at a consistently high level in each city and did not change much over time. One exception was Wrocław’s dramatic increase in completed dwellings per 1000 pop. in the year 2014 (203%). However, all of the studied cities improved their local public services and urban infrastructure. The number of crimes was lower in 2014 compared with 2005, whereas more hospital beds were provided. Pharmacies and social welfare places were increasingly available. Looking at all indicators combined, Poznań scores highest in both current conditions (3.857) and development of the measured indicators over time (3.429). The other cities performed similarly.

7.1.2 Perceived urban performance

At this point, the focus shifts from the city’s performance and the quality of available conditions and services. It is important to examine residents’ opinions of local conditions as their views might differ from the measurable reality. Focusing solely on economic conditions and support for European integration, Gabel and Whitten (1997) argue that individually-perceived conditions are better suited to study models of support for EU integration than objectively measured economic factors (Eichenberg and Dalton 1993). I therefore ask how the Eurostars perceive the conditions and public services and infrastructure offered by the city they live in. The
first hypothesis that I derive from this research question is the assumption that the MA students’ perceptions of local conditions are fairly congruent with the actual situation.

H1: The better the conditions and infrastructure and quality of life a city offers, the more favourably are these urban conditions perceived by their citizens.

To examine the validity of H1, I looked at the three different rankings for each condition and analysed if they overlap. The first ranking includes the measured indicators for 2014. The second ranking includes the development of the indicators between 2005 and 2014. The third is the perception of the urban conditions among MA students, which I assessed through a questionnaire. This third ranking consists of the percentage of sampled MA students who perceived the respective condition in their city as either very – or fairly satisfying. The higher the mark (1 – 5), the better the rank. Comparing these three rankings allows me to assess which indicator is more important for the satisfaction with urban conditions: the current situation or the development over time.

7.1.2.1 Perceived urban cultural performance

I asked 923 MA students (n) in the five selected cities how satisfied they were with the cultural conditions in their city (see appendix). The general level of satisfaction with cultural conditions was fairly high. Of the 324 (n_s) sampled students, 44.1% were very satisfied and a further 48.1% were fairly satisfied with the range and variety of cultural facilities and institutions in their respective city. Women (51.6% very satisfied, 43.7% fairly satisfied) tend to be happier with the available cultural conditions than men (29.7% very satisfied, 56.8% fairly satisfied). To assess the validity of H1 for cultural conditions in urban territories, I compared the rankings of the measured and the perceived cultural conditions. Figure 42 shows the results.
Kraków’s status as the cultural capital of Poland is mirrored in the students’ satisfaction level (100%). No student indicated that they were dissatisfied with Kraków’s cultural conditions. With other cities, the picture is less clear. According to the measurable indicators, Warsaw ranks second and Wrocław and Poznań rank third regarding cultural conditions 2014. The Tricity area comes in last place. Regarding the development over time, Wrocław takes the lead, the Tricity area is second, Kraków is third and Poznań and Warsaw share the last place. Yet students from Warsaw show the second highest satisfaction level (93.3%), Poznań is third (90.9%), the Tricity is fourth (89.8%), and Wrocław ranks fifth (85.8%). With the exception of Poznań the number of very satisfied women is higher than men in every city.

It seems that the MA students in their respective city evaluate the current situation to determine their satisfaction, rather than improvement over time. In Poznań, Warsaw and Kraków, the measured indicators of 2014 and perceived performance regarding cultural conditions overlap. In the Tricity area and Wrocław, these two measurements are also rather close. However, satisfaction levels among MA students, with the exception of Kraków are also very close together, ranging from 85.8% to 93.3% and therefore, the ordinal ranking might be somewhat misleading.

The concern with the quality of cultural conditions in Polish cities was also reflected in the students’ individual accounts of cultural facilities and events. They not only highlighted the range and amount of cultural institutions in their respective city but also their accessibility to students through discounts. The MA students interviewed...
also emphasised their contentment with specifically local cultural conditions. As one student put it:

(MD, F, Tricity)
You can easily find everything you need. Literally. Everything you need is in Trójmiasto. You don’t need to go far. And especially in Sopot, it’s amazing (laughs).

Many students mentioned that Warsaw has the largest range of cultural conditions and institutions and the biggest events mostly take place there. At the same time, instead of only focusing on the general provision of cultural conditions in their city, the interviewees often mentioned specific cultural features that made their city special and gave it a certain profile: for example, the Tricity area with its festivals and museums, Kraków’s Kazimierz district with its Jewish culture, and Wrocław’s general improvement regarding cultural institutions thanks to its status as a 2016 European Capital of Culture. One student from Wrocław explained:

(JKa, F, Wrocław)
You know, the biggest names are in Warsaw. So, erm, so, that’s a no for Wrocław but it doesn’t mean that it’s like completely terrible, because we have festivals, we have a lot of good actors, a lot of good shows, theatres, etc. And a lot of events and now it’s European Capital of Culture of course.

From the individual accounts of the interviewed MA students it became clear that measuring only the range and number of cultural conditions was insufficient to portray the actual situation in the selected cities. Aggregated opinions and, especially, subjective personal statements illustrate that quantity does matter, but that it is often the quality of the existing cultural institutions, facilities and events that really have an impact on the general perception of cultural conditions. This distinction also partially explains why students from three cities saw their own urban territory as being a Capital of Culture.

7.1.2.2 Perceived urban economic performance

I also asked the same students how satisfied they were with the economic conditions in their respective city. This perception drew on attracting new businesses and job market creation. The students in my sample were moderately satisfied with the
economic conditions in their respective city. 76.8% of all interviewed students are either fairly or very satisfied, which is much less than the 92.2% of students who are generally satisfied with the cultural conditions in their respective city. Interestingly, 33.3% of the sampled students in Warsaw perceive the local economic conditions as not very favourable, which is the highest rate of all selected cities.

Satisfaction levels of men and women are fairly even within the economic frame, with one exception. Women (31.3%) in Wrocław have a much more favourable opinion about their city’s economic conditions than men (5.3%).

To assess, if as H1 argues, better urban economic conditions are also perceived more favourably, I compared the measured indicators and the perceived conditions. Figure 43 shows these findings.

**Figure 43: Compared rankings of economic conditions in five Polish cities**

Looking at the level of positive perception among the sampled MA students, Poznań displays the highest mark and ranks first (86.4% satisfaction rate), the Tricity area second (82.4%), and Wrocław third (80%). With a bit more distance, Kraków ranks fourth (74.2%) and with another gap, Warsaw ranks fifth in perception of economic conditions (64%). Rankings of objective economic conditions in 2014 and subjectively perceived satisfaction with these economic conditions are only consistent in Wrocław and Kraków. In the Tricity area, and Poznań, the economic conditions are perceived to be better than the rankings suggest. They are also perceived better than their development over time indicates, whereas in Warsaw it is the opposite. The
capital city, despite being the largest economic hub in CEE, received a more unfavorable satisfaction rating.

The moderate level of satisfaction with the economic conditions in Polish cities was also reflected in individual statements during the semi-structured interviews. The problem was not primarily the availability of companies that offered well-paid jobs, but low accessibility to these jobs for recently graduated and inexperienced students. MA students, especially in Warsaw, also expressed their frustration with the low salaries for career entrants due to heavy competition. One student described the job market in the capital city as very tough, noting that companies “know that everyone wants to start so they just give you little money” (MPi, F, Warsaw). Despite these struggles to find a good job, suited to their needs and well paid, many students state that they are aware of their cities’ endeavour to attract new businesses and improve the range of job opportunities. These statements point towards an increasing competitiveness of Polish cities, especially of Warsaw, although they are still considered to be “less competitive than other cities in the European Union” (Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013: 24).

Interestingly, the quantitatively measured conditions and individually assessed perceptions yield different results. Attraction of new companies and the general availability of new jobs and good salaries are objectively measurable indicators for economic conditions. In this context, it may be advisable for Poland’s urban authorities to create favourable conditions to further increase their competitive positions and attract highly qualified labour. Yet, for MA students already living in these cities, the satisfaction level depends not only on new businesses and companies, but also on the perception of how many good jobs are actually available to them. Or as one student put it:

(MD, F, Tricity)
For young people it’s a struggle to find a job that they really like. Especially when you finish studies and you want to find a job in your field. It’s difficult.

7.1.2.3 Perceived urban public services and infrastructure

Satisfaction with public infrastructure and services was generally rather low among the interviewed students. Only 62.9% were either very satisfied or fairly
satisfied with the services and public infrastructure in the selected Polish cities, and men and women hardly differed in their perceptions. To assess the validity of H1 and how MA students perceive public services and infrastructure, I compared the objectively measured indicators and the subjectively perceived services and infrastructure. Figure 44 shows the results.

**Figure 44: Compared rankings of public services and infrastructure in five Polish cities**

![Graph showing rankings of public services and infrastructure in five Polish cities](image)

Source: Author’s own calculation

There is no consistency between indicators for public services and infrastructure and perceived satisfaction with these indicators. Looking at the perceived levels of positive perception, the Tricity area ranks first (68.5%), Warsaw second (66.7%), Kraków third (64.8%), and with some distance Poznań (52.3%), and Wrocław (48.6%). These inconsistencies may have several causes. On the one hand, there are the limitations mentioned in chapter 3, such as definition of services, availability of data, and choice and combination of indicators. On the other hand, issues of public safety, education and urban planning were mentioned, but for many students public health care and local public transport were the main issues and likely to be the main basis for their opinion. This lack of consistency is also reflected in the answers of many students who predominantly mentioned these two topics when talking about public services and infrastructure in their respective city.

(JH, F, Warsaw)

I am quite satisfied with the public transport. The health care system and security are quite bad but this is the case in whole Poland.
Unfortunately, comparative data about public transport was not available for each of the selected cities and therefore did not enter the ranking of measured public services. The issues mentioned by the interviewees about public health care are also not reflected in measured public services and infrastructure. The main problem for most students was the poor quality and lack of efficiency of public health care. Long waiting times and poor services are, according to the interviewed students, the norm rather than the exception.

7.1.2.4 Perceived quality of life

As mentioned in chapter 2, it is rather challenging to measure and compare quality of life in cities (Morais et al. 2011). On the one hand, there is no clear definition or list of indicators to measure quality of life. The concept itself is contested and measured in different ways, depending on the specific focus of the researcher. An important aspect is Stanilov’s argument about quality of life in CEE. He argues that after 1989 the reorganisation of urban activities had a direct impact on the improvement of quality of life of urban residents. He specifically mentions a restructured and facilitated access to jobs, housing and services (Stanilov 2007:4).

To measure quality of life as objectively as possible, I used aggregated secondary data in the form of the report on major Polish cities issued by PwC, published in 2011. Data to measure these indicators over a longer time period was not available. Although the report is somewhat dated and covers indicators that I have already included, it is also comprehensive and covers all selected cities. Figure 45 shows the compared rankings of measured and perceived quality of life:
Notwithstanding the issues in measuring and defining quality of life, the compared rankings show a similar pattern with the exception of the Tricity metropolitan area. To avoid confusion, I used a relatively general definition of quality of life in the questionnaire and treated it as the overall level of well-being and fulfillment that students enjoy from a combination of social, economic and community environment and their physical and material conditions (Salvaris et al. 2000). Looking at this perceived quality of life in each city, Warsaw and the Tricity area rank first with 88% of surveyed MA students being fairly or very satisfied. Wrocław is in the third place, Kraków is fourth, and Poznań ranks fifth. These perceptions are similar to the level of quality of life determined by PwC. In the Tricity area, MA students were more satisfied than the measured objective indicators would have suggested. However, other institutes and organisations that measured quality of life in Polish cities, such as the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation (2016) or Newsweek Poland (2017), ranked Sopot and Gdańsk (part of the Tricity area) among the cities with the highest quality of life.

The enthusiasm and high satisfaction with quality of life in Warsaw and the Tricity area was frequently expressed among students living in these urban areas. Interviewed MA students were happy with the location of the Tricity area next to the Baltic Sea, the clean air and the high number of green spaces. In Warsaw, quality of life was generally rated very highly thanks to the attractive possibilities the city offers and the range of parks. In Kraków, the high pollution was the main reason why students were not satisfied with the quality of life in their city, as two female students expressed when they explained how much they disliked the air quality there:
(AM, F, Kraków)
The pollution is getting worse and worse in Krakow right now, so, it’s actually very hard to breathe here in the city.

(JKo, F, Kraków)
In the winter when I want to run outside, do sports outside, it’s very unpleasant, because I can feel that I am breathing with some bad things. And it’s not the fog (laughs), I can see that and I think this is the worst thing.

7.1.2.5 The better the conditions, the better their perception?

With the possible exception of cultural conditions, students’ perceptions of local conditions, public services and infrastructure, and quality of life are not consistent with the objectively measurable reality. However, perceptions of cultural and economic conditions, and quality of life do follow a somewhat similar pattern as the measured indicators display. These results lead to the conclusion that H1 has to be rejected.

Better urban conditions in a city are not always perceived more favourably by the residents living there. This discrepancy ties in with Gabel and Whitten’s findings who argue that “clearly, objective economic conditions are a poor proxy for perceptions” (1997: 93). The interviews revealed a more nuanced picture regarding this issue. Students in different cities sometimes thought about factors that have not been included in the quantitative measurement of urban conditions. These factors involved personal issues with public health care services or subjectively perceived quality of public transport. These interview answers demonstrate that perceptions of local conditions reflect a range of subjective considerations despite higher levels of information (Duch et al 2000). The resulting difficulty in anticipating perceptions makes a direct comparison between measurable and perceived indicators quite problematic and renders the results somewhat arbitrary.

Further details were fleshed out during the interviews. The Tricity area was praised for its quality of life. Cultural conditions were often described as unique in each city and students were proud of the specific cultural institutions and events their respective city offers. Warsaw is still described as the most important economic centre in Poland, despite Poznań’s favourably perceived economic conditions on an aggregated level. In addition, for the interviewed students, feeling that good jobs are available for them was as important as knowing that good jobs are coming to town.
Public services and infrastructure are generally perceived as not highly satisfactory, whereby MA students often focused on public transport and health care.

### 7.1.3 Perceived urban performance and attachment

Accounting for attachment to the locality, several authors argue that local institutions and conditions add value to the urban space and conceivably make the residents feel connected to a local community (Le Galès 2002, Healy et al. 2003, Zukin 2003, Martin-Brelot et al. 2010, Szczech-Pietkiewicz 2013, Latusek and Ratajczak 2014). Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 2, Lewicka (2011a) argues that place attachment correlates positively with length of stay and negatively with higher education and young age. These correlations lead to the question of whether these conditions influence attachment among the potential Eurostars, despite ongoing processes of Europeanisation and better options to benefit from exit strategies. In other words, I wanted to know to what extent the perception of local urban conditions is associated with attachment to the city. The hypotheses related to this question are:

**H2:** The better the potential Eurostars perceive the local conditions and the quality of life in their city to be, the more attached they are to their respective city.

To assess the validity of this hypothesis, I first measured possible correlations for all of the Polish MA students who fulfilled the demographic requirements. Looking at these correlation coefficients of cultural and economic condition, public services and infrastructure, and quality of life with feelings of attachment to their city, there is hardly any clear relationship to be found. Spearman’s rank-order correlations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and place attachment (-.026), as well as satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and place attachment (-.043), are very weak and negative. The correlation between satisfaction with economic conditions and attachment to the city (.075) is positive but also very weak. Satisfaction with quality of life correlates positively and also rather weakly with place attachment (.124) although the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Looking at each city, a similar pattern occurs. Most correlations between satisfaction with local conditions or quality of life and feeling of attachment are weak. Kraków is the only city that displays a significant relationship with local conditions and feeling of attachment. Associations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and feeling of attachment, as well as satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and feeling of attachment, are very weakly negative. The Tricity area is an exception where these correlations are positive but close to zero. Satisfaction with economic conditions correlates positively albeit very weakly in each city. An interesting aspect is the correlation between satisfaction with quality of life and attachment to the respective city among the surveyed MA students. In the Tricity area (.158), in Poznań (.065), and Kraków (.320, significant at the 0.05 level; 2-tailed), the correlation is positive. In Warsaw (-.039) and Wrocław (-.058), the association between these two variables is also very weak but negative.

On the basis of the aggregated correlations, I reject hypotheses H2. Better perceived economic and cultural conditions, public services and infrastructure, as well as quality of life did not generally correlate positively with a form of more exclusive attachment to the city. Satisfaction with cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure is mostly negatively associated with attachment to the city. In contrast, data support the expectation that satisfaction with economic conditions and the vague concept of quality of life correlate positively with place attachment in some cases. Correlations of quality of life and of place attachment are relatively complex and non-uniform. Satisfaction with economic conditions is very weakly positively correlated in every city, whereas quality of life only positively correlates in three cities but the coefficient is higher than with other conditions.

These quantitative findings question the importance of local urban conditions as an influential frame of reference for a potentially more exclusive place attachment. The urban way of life that creates attachment to the place depends less on the quality of cultural conditions and public services. Economic conditions and individual perceptions of quality of life play a potentially more important role. These factors confirm Morais et al.’s. (2011) argument that quality of life is a highly important factor for well-educated people. In this context, quality of life not only includes
environmental aspects but also social networks such as friends and family. As one student put it:

(AP, F, W)
And I here live with my whole family and my, erm, all of my friends and, erm, yeah, that’s my city and that’s the best thing.

Related to this social form of quality of life, Galent and Kubicki see multicultural approaches unfolding in Poland, where cities “started competing against each other for human and creative capital and building their images as open and tolerant” (2010: 223). I find similar references in the qualitative analysis. Two students were particularly outspoken about the slow changes in Polish cities regarding tolerance towards multicultural societies.

(MSa, F, Tricity)
I think that there are still many stereotypes behind our actions and I feel that people are just scared about something that is different and it’s easy to see especially when you talk about religion. And when you say that someone is Muslim, this is the end of the world. It is a terrorist! For sure! So, even my grandma, who I really love, she has the same image in her head. And I know I won’t change her but what scares me the most is that many young people who are at my age, they think the same. And when I say, when I talk about cultural diversity and that Polish people are not ready, I mean the fear of something different, stereotypes, and maybe (sighs) lack of knowledge about other cultures.

(JA, M, Warsaw)
Because I don’t like the intolerance and the tensions that grow and raised recently since the elections in particular. And there is a lot of hate among the people. And also my friends from, erm, for example, I have a friend from Humboldt University here to study medicine. She is from the UK and she is experiencing a lot of racism on a daily basis, erm, very simple situations. People are just, I imagine, scared of another which is very sad, cause it doesn’t feel like the place where I like to live.

In sum, satisfaction with urban conditions hardly affected the surveyed MA students’ attachment to the city. Yet, the fact that satisfaction with quality of life correlates with a stronger feeling of attachment to the city cannot be rejected and deserves further research. This link underscores the importance of better defining of what the term quality of life means to make it a more tangible concept. During the interviews some students also mentioned that quality of life may not even be the main reason why they are attached to their respective city. It seemed that familiarity also had an influence on feelings of place attachment. Or as one student said:
I just think I am lucky to live in Sopot really. But the other cities, they are not so appealing to me. Even if they may offer better quality of life. But I am not into that really. I am satisfied with my city. With my hometown (laughs).

Being born and growing up in a place often outperforms other more infrastructure-related influences on place attachment. In other words, social factors may be more important for attachment than physical factors (Lewicka 2010). Length of residence was frequently mentioned as one of the most important reasons why the interviewed MA students feel more attached to the city than to the nation-state. Regarding demographic and social variables, Anton and Lawrence further argue that some studies found that women show a higher local area place identity than men (2014: 459). Although their findings are predominantly related to homes and local areas, such as neighbourhoods, it provides an indication for possible results.

I tested the relationship between length of stay and gender with attachment to the city. First, I focused on students that had lived in their city for either less than five years or five years and longer ($n_{\text{length}} = 794$). I used five years as the threshold since many students move within Poland to study in other cities and their studies take an average time of five years. In other words, if they lived in their respective city for more than five years, I assumed they did not just move there for studies. To measure correlation between length of stay and feeling of attachment, I utilised Spearman’s Rho correlation. The calculation shows that length of stay is weakly positively correlated with feeling of attachment (.282) and also significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). This results indicates that the surveyed MA students are more attached to the city than to the nation-state if they live there for five years or more. This finding ties in with Lewicka’s study who calls residence length the “unquestionable winner” (2011b: 216) of all socio-demographic variables, highlighting that it is the “most consistent positive predictor of attachment to residence places” (2010:216). At the same time, my findings contradict Savage et al. (2005), who argue that residents feel a sense of belonging to a place because they choose to live there and not because they are born and bred in a certain area.

I cannot prove, with certainty, the direction of the relationship between these two variables, but the semi-structured interviews suggest that growing up in a city and
spending time within the urban sphere influences feelings of attachment. As one student made clear:

(MPo, F, Warsaw)
I live here from my birth. So, that’s my city and that is why I think I feel more from Warsaw than from Poland.

I further compared differences between men and women of the sampled students who fulfilled the required demographic conditions (n = 324). I employed a Mann-Whitney-U-Test, which compared the difference in feeling of attachment between two samples. My findings reveal that women have a higher mean rank (167.30) than men (153.28) regarding their feelings of attachment to their respective city. Although the p value (.160) indicates this difference might be due to chance, the results suggest that women show a higher propensity to be more attached to the city than to the nation-state. Often gender is included as a control variable in regression models, but it is not further explained what causes gender differences in feelings of place attachment. Anton and Lawrence (2014), offer some explanations, such as raising children, local networks and home maintenance that apply to individual homes but not to the city as a whole.

The topic is rather complex and I can only speculate that if there is a strong attachment to the local urban entity, including to family and friends, this can be linked to societal and cultural aspects or a still prevalent traditional distribution of roles. Another possibility is better access to economic opportunities in cities due to better education (Mau 2010). The well-educated women’s improving chances to find a job after studies may, in turn, explain their higher attachment to the urban space. In the more progressive urban environment, it may be easier for them to benefit from social networks and to receive higher education, than in the countryside. However, as my research shows, this does not prevent young, well-educated women from developing exit strategies to fulfill their aspirations. To better illuminate the question of gender differences in feeling of attachment, further research is needed.
7.1.4 Perceived urban performance and attitudes towards the EU

With European integration, the nation maintains its importance as an institutional actor and any assertion of the demise of the nation-state is premature (Le Galès 2002: 87). However, citizens are both, socialised within local and national entities and this shapes their perception of the EU (Duchesne et al. 2013: 30).

The spatial dimension matters. Cities constitute an important frame for the integration of political and economic developments and serve as locations with various options for its citizens. Students’ attitudes towards the EU are conditioned by a social reality they are familiar with. Cities present such a reality by offering a social context and political proxies. Each city develops its own strategies to provide a set of conditions from which individual actors can choose (Kazepov 2005) and which, in turn, influence the extent to which they perceive their environment. For this reason I focus on citizens’ subjective evaluation of urban conditions to assess potential correlations with attitudes towards European integration, instead of the objectively measurable reality. The question I want to answer is: To what extent do perceived political, economic, cultural and social conditions in Polish cities influence the Eurostars’ attitudes towards the European Union? Based on the theoretical framework, I assume a non-linear relation between well-perceived urban conditions and attitudes towards the EU (‘EU for Poland’). I then state the following hypothesis:

H3: The more satisfied the potential Eurostars are with the local conditions and the quality of life in their city, the less favourable are their attitudes towards European integration.

I was also interested in the students’ personal perceptions of benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership (‘EU for you’). I wanted to understand if and how individual cost-benefit approaches correlate with attitudes towards European integration. More than a decade after Polish EU accession and the fall of communism, are the winners of Europeanisation still likely to support Poland’s’ EU membership, as Tucker et al. argued (2002)?
The overview of correlations between urban conditions and attitudes towards the EU, as well as perception of personal benefits shows that all the variables are positively correlated. The strongest correlations – although still very weak - are satisfaction with cultural condition and positive attitudes towards the EU (.176), as well as perceived benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership (.182). I also find weak correlations between satisfaction with economic conditions and attitudes towards the EU (.177), as well as perceived personal benefits from EU integration (.247). All four of these correlations are significant at the 0.01 level. Correlations between satisfaction with public services and infrastructure and attitudes towards the EU (.095) and perceived personal benefits (.088) are also positive but very weak. This measurement also applies for correlations between quality of life and attitudes towards the EU (.100) and personal benefits stemming from Poland’s EU membership (.122).

On the other hand, data for the different cities reveal no clear pattern. In the Tricity area, Warsaw and Wrocław, all correlations between the variables are positive. In Kraków and Poznań, a few variables are negatively correlated but generally very weak. With the exception of Wrocław and Poznań, cultural and economic satisfaction levels show the strongest correlation with attitudes towards the EU and perceived personal benefits from Poland’s EU membership. In Wrocław, satisfaction with public services and quality of life are also quite strongly correlated with both of the EU-related variables. These results indicate that, with the exception of some correlations in Poznań and Kraków, hypothesis H3 is disproved and shall be rejected. Further research is needed to evaluate the strongly differing results in Poznań, not least to exclude potential issues with methodology and sample size.

The results indicate that positively perceived levels of economic and cultural performance of cities have a stronger relation with positive attitudes towards the EU and personal benefits than satisfaction with quality of life or public services. These results tend to confirm Christin’s (2005) argument, who states that his own findings in this area are not clear and rather vague. The results further tie in with Kritzinger’s (2003) findings. She states that political and economic performances influence citizens’ support for EU integration to some extent but that these results depend on historical and cultural contexts of the territorial entity. This national context theory can therefore be extended towards a local context. However, Gabel and Whitten (1997:
state that public perceptions are quite difficult to anticipate and are also rather elusive. This uncertainty is exemplified by the results in section 7.1.2, which evaluate a variety of reasons as to why perception and actual performance in the selected Polish cities differ.

My findings do not make a prediction about the direction of these relations. It is conceivable that expected personal benefits from Poland’s EU membership and a generally positive attitude towards the EU increase positive perceptions of cultural and economic conditions on a local level. For example, citizens might notice when the EU invests in cultural projects or business development in their cities. This effort, in turn, may generate a positive perception of the EU and urban conditions. The link between observation and positive perception would point towards Gabel and Palmer’s (1995) argument that better educated young citizens are more receptive to new opportunities and conditions resulting from EU membership. Another potential explanation lies in Christin’s (2005) line of reasoning that the winners of the transformation in CEE show a generally more positive attitude towards the EU if the city is perceived as being in good economic and political shape. This would confirm the influence of individual-level variables such as education, on the assessment of macro-level conditions; disproving Ilonszki’s (2009) argument that it is predominantly the perception of a locality’s performance and not individual-level characteristics that explain attitudes towards the EU. With a focus on urban citizens, this interaction of individual and macro variables is worth further investigating.

As the findings in the previous section demonstrate, satisfaction with cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure do not necessarily correlate with place attachment. Nevertheless, I was interested in the direct connection of place attachment and attitudes towards the EU. Scholars have come to mixed conclusions about the relationship between attachment and attitudes towards the EU (Christin and Trechsel 2002, Diez Medrano 2003). Differences occur depending on the extent of exclusive or inclusive identities (Hooghe and Marks 2004, 2005), which are influenced by socio-demographic factors (Hooghe and Marks 2009, Lewicka 2011a, Andreotti et al. 2015), perceived threats to the community (Carey 2002, McLaren 2002), or macroeconomic variables (Garry and Tilly 2009). Hence, I wanted to know if more attachment to the city than to the state was associated with a more critical view
on the EU. I assumed that cities provide good conditions and a frame of reference that potentially increases strong attachment. This link, in turn, would not necessarily reduce support for EU integration, as well-educated citizens may have feelings of strong attachment to their local space but do not perceive European integration as a threat to their local community because of the potential benefits resulting from EU membership (Andreotti et al. 2015). The related hypothesis is as follows:

H4: A stronger attachment of the potential Eurostars to their respective city is not necessarily associated with unfavourable attitudes towards European integration.

In short, my findings support H4, both on the aggregated level and when analysing each city separately. Within the sample of all surveyed MA students, I found uniformly weak positive correlations between a strong local place attachment and attitudes towards the EU (.228) and perceived personal benefits from EU membership (.159). Both correlations are significant at the p< 0.01 level. MA students in my sample who have stronger feelings of attachment to the city also have slightly more positive attitudes towards the EU and are more likely to perceive EU membership as beneficial for personal gains.

First, this result indicates that a stronger attachment to the city than to the nation-state does not necessarily mean that any territorial dimension above the local entity is met with skeptical views. Hooghe and Marks (2001) emphasise this point with their notion of inclusive attachments, where citizens do not trade off identification with one spatial entity with attachment to another. More specifically, the students demonstrate that it is possible to have a strong sense of attachment to the city but this feeling is not exclusive and the urban space is not necessarily seen as a terminal community (Carey and Lebo 2001). As a matter of fact, perceived potential threats to a certain territory resulting from Poland’s EU membership were only voiced in relation to the nation-state (MM, F, Wrocław).

Secondly, the results demonstrate that the impact of place attachment on EU attitudes may be conditioned predominantly by economic factors. In addition to Garry and Tilly (2009) who analysed the influence of macroeconomic factors on identity and attitudes towards the EU, utilitarian theories (Surwillo et al. 2010) are also helpful
when investigating the impact of local attachment on support for EU integration among Polish students. The interaction of strong local attachment and personal gains resulting from Poland’s EU membership and the effect on attitudes towards the EU is worth further investigation. Such future research should also include assessing groups with different socio-demographic features to investigate the microeconomic conditioning effect on attachment and attitudes.

Intriguingly, the correlation between attachment and attitudes towards the EU is quite similar in all cities, ranging between .209 in the Tricity area and .236 in Wrocław and Poznań. At the same time, the association with personal benefits resulting from EU membership is rather uneven. In Warsaw (.016) and Wrocław (.081), the correlation is very weak, in Kraków still quite weak (.178), and in the Tricity area (.203) and Poznań (.305) weak but significant at the 0.05 level. These results are especially interesting because they also prompt the issue of direct experienced benefits brought by EU membership. Warsaw and Poznań are both strong economic centres but the correlation with local attachment is the lowest in Warsaw and the highest in Poznań. This could indicate that the benefits in Poznań are more likely perceived as being a result of EU membership, which in turn increases attachment to the city, whereas in Warsaw only a very weak correlation appears.

Correlations between length of stay and support for EU integration (.051), as well as perception of resulting benefits (.038) are very weak. In other words, MA students who live in their respective city for more than five years tend to have more positive but weak attitudes towards the EU.

I found strong correlations in each city between attitudes towards the EU and perceived personal benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership. They ranged between .667 in the Tricity area to .773 in Wrocław. These figures indicate individual forms of cost-benefit analyses among the surveyed potential Eurostars. Several authors demonstrate that utilitarian theories (Gabel 1998a, b, McLaren 2005, Surwillo et al. 2010) are able to explain attitudes towards European integration with individual cost and benefit analyses. If expected gains from integration influence attitudes towards the EU, it would be interesting to evaluate to what extent young well-educated citizens in Polish cities assess their benefits directly from EU integration policies. Specifically, as not only utilitarian but also political orientations and behaviour shape attitudes
towards EU integration (Słomczyński and Shabad 2003: 531). Therefore, it is also possible that evaluations of benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership are filtered through the perception of local political contexts, such as Poland’s transition from a communist state towards open borders and a market economy. This, in turn, would confirm Schlenker’s post-communist context theory (2012/3). Individuals may assess political institutions and form attitudes based on criteria that are defined by the national, and potentially the local political trajectory. Further research about satisfaction with local governments and the combined influence of political history and individual party preferences is necessary to contextualise utilitarian approaches and opinions about the local political system.

The data also show that there are limitations to the suitability of cities as spatial entities to assess influences of local conditions on attitudes towards the EU. First, measured indicators of the urban performance do not fully capture the perception of these performances among the potential Eurostars. Moreover, high satisfaction levels with urban conditions are not a predictor for favourable attitudes towards the EU. To give an example, Poznań ranks highest in measured economic indicators and it also ranks highest in perceived satisfaction with economic conditions, but the correlation coefficient with attitudes towards the EU is only .097. In contrast, Warsaw ranks second in measured economic performance, fifth in satisfaction with economic conditions among the surveyed MA students, and the correlation coefficient with attitudes towards the EU rests at .257, significant at the 0.01 level.

Second, during the semi-structured interviews, most students mentioned economic conditions and quality of life as important influences on their plans, which includes potential relocation to another EU member state. At the same time, when asked about their opinion of the EU, one of the frequently mentioned benefits had no connection with the students’ life in cities. One reason provided was the EU’s security policy and wanting to be a part of a new political system after years of communist rule. In this context, the vast majority of students referred not to their respective city but to the country. In other words, when they said “we” or “us” related to security issues, they meant the Polish nation and not urban residents.
Without the EU we would be Ukraine. We would be alone in Europe and everyone would be able to do anything and other countries would say, ok it’s not our business. If you are alone, you fight alone.

Other repeatedly mentioned advantages of EU membership were cohesion funds transferred to Poland and programmes, such as Erasmus, that are funded with money from the EU, foreign direct investment, and facilitated travel and trade.

Generally speaking, if there wasn’t money from the EU, and these European programmes, IAD exchange, Erasmus, you know, and Schengen of course, Poland and Krakow would develop much more worse.

These statements illustrate what the EU represents for the interviewed MA students and the perceived effects of European integration. In their minds, Poland’s past still plays a role in the perception of current political events and in the unfolding of future events. Looking back at what their country had been through within a relatively short time period, some students also showed forms of pride to be part of the EU. One student described this accession process as a hard fight and was convinced that the EU would understand that Poland takes more time to be on the same level after “we had some problems due to our past, our history, like Stalinism and Socialism” (AK, F, Warsaw). This description also relates to Galbraith’s (2004) findings, following interviews with well-educated professionals in Kraków. She found that for them the return to Europe was seen as a “restoration of Poland to its rightful place after being artificially held in the East by Soviet domination” (Galbraith 2004: 77).

Negotiations for EU membership also revealed possible challenges for Poland, including foreign influence and domination. The loss of independence upon joining the EU was also critically mentioned during my interviews.

I think there are good and bad things for Poland from being in the EU. But I think there are bad things like unification. That someone in the government of the EU tells us what we should do and we have to adjust to their laws and things. And it’s often not good for us.

Many students were also under the impression that larger countries, such as France and Germany, have more decision-making power within the EU than others.
Nevertheless, students were aware that being part of the EU involves a tradeoff. As one student sums it up:

(AM, F, Kraków)
Poland changed a lot. Travel possibilities, job possibilities, Erasmus and a lot of development. For sure, you lose a little bit of independence but there is always a price.

The interviews show that the sampled students distinguish between the influence of EU membership on Poland, which they see sometimes rather critically, and personal benefits of Poland’s EU membership, which they perceive largely as very advantageous. At the same time, the statements also make clear that attitudes towards the EU are predominantly influenced by the national context. In fact, Diez Medrano (2003: 56) disputes the relevance of urban entities as significant sites for the perception of frames on EU integration and emphasises the importance of the national level. In contrast, my findings indicate that cities have a certain relevance in providing a frame for socialisation and help determine people’s perceptions and behaviour. Nevertheless, the national frame and context is still more dominant in influencing support for EU integration.

7.2 Individual exit strategies and personal restrictions

Many authors (Favell 2009, Andreotti et al. 2015) have investigated the life of migrants living and working abroad. They focus on social and cultural aspects of the transnational movers’ integration into new societies. Instead, I am interested in the stories and concerns of potential Eurostars: MA students who may or may not migrate. I evaluate individual perceptions of the local environment and the EU in connection with potential exit strategies. I investigate how conditions in cities and attitudes towards the EU influence Polish MA students’ decisions to leave or stay in their city or their country. Young, well-educated students are in the position to benefit from European integration. At the same time, personal restrictions on the macro- or meso-level may apply, which impede them from taking advantage of certain opportunities. Social and cultural conventions, such as family ties and economic considerations, may influence individual decisions. The question I wanted to answer was, how do the potential Eurostars’ views of the city and on the EU influence their decisions in terms
of living and working? This question entails several sub-questions such as the influence of specific conditions and personal attachment to the city on potential exit strategies. I also evaluate the nature of the students’ potential exit strategies and personal restrictions and boundaries. Do they consider moving abroad or within Poland? Do they want to stay longer or only for a short time and then come back to their home country or home town? I aimed to provide nuanced and comprehensive analyses of the *Lebenswelt* (living environment, the world of lived experience) of young Poles growing up in an ever-changing Europeanised space.

### 7.2.1 Perceived urban performance and exit strategies

The first sub-research question I address is: What influence do individual perceptions of the conditions and infrastructure in their respective cities have on possible exit strategies of the interviewed MA students? As stated in chapter 2, on the macro-level, free movement in Europe facilitates exit strategies from poor conditions and potentially frustrating perspectives at home (Trevena 2005). At the same time, White (2011) argues that residents in Polish cities are generally more optimistic about their future and more satisfied with their livelihood and local. Similarly, Anacka and Okólski (2010) find that regions with a low urbanisation level have seen a larger flow of emigration after Poland’s EU accession. They further state that EU accession generally increased migration among the young and well-educated. This pattern points towards a more probable migration of Polish people with certain resources and capacities, such as higher education. In this context, for Kaczmarczyk, one of the key issues is a lack of return migration. Thus, he suggests that authorities should create favourable conditions for those who want to return to their home countries (2010: 184). In addition, programmes such as Erasmus student exchanges and open borders may encourage students to migrate abroad either during their studies or after. In light of these mixed results, I state the following hypothesis:

H5: Perceived conditions offered by the city and individual utilitarian motives are not the only push- or pull-factors for the potential Eurostars’ decisions, actions and behavior in terms of living and working.
The majority of the interviewed students said they intended to leave their city once they finish their studies but many of them had only a relatively broad idea of what they wanted to do after graduation. The reasons for these potential exit- or partial exit-strategies included a variety of personal interests, including higher education, further training, better job opportunities, or a better quality of life. Many students could imagine moving abroad, although relocating to other big cities in Poland was also an option for some.

A very interesting aspect was the clear irrelevance of cultural conditions and public services and infrastructure as an influential pull-factor on decisions in terms of staying or leaving. On the other hand, the economy and various aspects of quality of life were repeatedly mentioned as crucial push-factors when planning their personal exit-strategies. In the best utilitarian manner, several students compared the situation in their city with the conditions in other countries. Although they did not always have a clear plan, they noticed that conditions somewhere else might be more favourable and wanted to benefit from the possibility to move and work. One student described his process of thinking and the current state of planning in detail:

(BC, M, Tricity)
I have many plans about that and I must say I think about these things almost every day actually. […] There are two possibilities. Either I go on a second master’s degree of probably computer science, or data analytics. And the best specialist which I know in this field in Poland are probably in the Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika in Toruń or maybe go to Warsaw because in Warsaw, there is another possibility. Because the university in Warsaw probably has more cash, groups of PhD students are bigger and I think there or there or there. And yeah, maybe to Dublin maybe to UK maybe to USA. But this is some, maybe, dream and this is very far far away. But maybe in the future but I have some plans to use the possibility of Erasmus plus programme.

Generally, most students base their choices on very individual perspectives and personal fulfilment. This preference indicates that the perceived urban conditions have a somewhat limited influence on personal decisions of where to live and to work. Nevertheless, economic push-factors (White 2010), such as finding a well-paid and interesting job, still play an important role in the future plans of many students, not least in connection with soft factors such as a good quality of life that many students described as being an important aspect for decisions of where to go next. Martin-Brelot et al., argue that a high level of quality of life keeps the well-educated in the city (2010: 868). In this context, there is evidence that H5 can be confirmed. Perceived conditions
in cities may play a role in the decision-making process where to live and to work, but other aspects, such as personal career plans, previous visits in other countries, and social networks may also be of importance for the student’s choices.

7.2.2 Place attachment and exit strategies

One of the causes that may influence exit strategies, and that was frequently mentioned, was local attachment. Whereas some students were rather indifferent regarding any sense of belonging and others more attached to the country, some students felt strongly attached to the city. The reasons for this local attachment are manifold and hardly follow a fixed pattern, but there were several factors as to why students felt more attached to the city. Being born in a specific city and length of residence in that city clearly added to a sense of belonging to the local space (Lewicka 2011a). This feeling further expanded into a specific form of social place attachment best translated as local patriotism, which was often used as an amplified form of attachment and feeling of embeddedness in the local society.

Local patriotism was also manifested in the emphasis of contrasts between smaller cities and the capital. Many students, living in Poznań, the Tricity area, Kraków and Wrocław, highlighted specific aspects that made their city unique and lively compared to the arrogant and harsh economy-focused climate in the capital city. In contrast, students from Warsaw often emphasised the capital’s strong position as economic hub and the only globally relevant city in Poland. None of these statements, however, disputed Warsaw’s superior competitive position but exemplified how narratives changed depending on the spatial setting. As Galent and Kubicki state, “the city in Poland has become an independent mechanism of identity discourse production” (2010: 243. This characteristic also includes a certain form of discursive defence of the territory one feels attached to.

Another frequently mentioned aspect of local attachment were social networks, such as close relations with the family and being part of the local community of friends (Scannell and Gifford 2010, White 2011). Family ties are a factor that students consider when selecting their future place of residence (Andreotti et al. 2015, Petrović et al. 2017). In this context, I wanted to know if place attachment constitutes an
important factor when planning potential exit strategies. In light of the importance of territorial and cultural attachment mentioned above, I argue:

H6: A high level of attachment to the city increases the propensity of the potential Eurostars to live and work in their city.

From the 27 interviewed students, only two said that they have no clear exit strategy and no intention to leave their respective city. However, they also stated that only time will tell what is going to happen in the future. Furthermore, of all students who declared that they felt more attached to the city than to the country (11), almost three out of four expressed their intentions to leave their city after studies. These findings point towards a rather rational approach of career planning and pull factors that are perceived as more appealing than a personal feeling of belonging. Clearly, this would not support H6, since attachment to the city and local patriotism are important to many students but neither one increases the propensity to stay in their respective city.

Nevertheless, the focus on place attachment does not reveal the whole picture. In fact, students’ decisions may not be strongly influenced by feelings of attachment to the physical local space (Scannell and Gifford 2010) but are somewhat restricted by one of the most important values for Polish people - their family network. In this regard, the interviewees provide insightful accounts of the relevance of meso-level networks as a social communities and guiding structure. Andreotti et al. (2015) claim that the role of family and friends in urban settings has been often ignored but is crucial to an understanding of attachment to a place. Indeed, an interesting aspect that the interviews revealed is the students’ combination of attachment to the city and to people living in the city. These are not mutually exclusive concepts but are intertwined and together constitute a sense of belonging. Home is where your family and friends are (White 2011).

(JH, F, Warsaw)
For me, I feel attached to places and people. I am born in Warsaw and I know everything in the city. I like to go to certain places, squares, and the old town. Also, my friends live here and my family. So, it’s home to me.
White (2011) states that these emotional factors play a crucial part in explaining the decisions that Polish migrants make in terms of where to go, when to leave and if they want to return. Thus, although these highly qualified students would be ready to benefit from their mobility and open European borders, social networks often shape their rational cost-benefit approaches and hence their agency. Niedźwiedzki (2010) also describes the drawbacks experienced by Polish migrants. They often miss friends, family and their place of origin. In his interviews, they often swayed between satisfaction with their financial situation abroad and the emotional costs of homesickness. One of the interviewed students summarised her feelings when thinking about leaving the city and the country:

(MSa, F, Tricity)
It’s hard for me to imagine living in another country. Even though I could move somewhere but not more than for one year for example, I would just need to have this vision in my mind that I will be back after some time. Because I am really attached, especially to people. It’s not only about the place because this place doesn’t mean anything to me unless those people who are around me they are there. And I feel really close to my family especially to my grandma. Yes, this is probably the closest person that I have in my life. And when I had a possibility to move to London last year, I refused because I couldn’t imagine going there, you know, leaving everything I have here to live there. But I travel a lot. So, I’m open to travelling by any means. I was also hitchhiking and I really love travelling. So, I am open to other cultures but I always need to feel that I have a place where I want to be back. And this is my flat, my family, my friends and this is this attachment. This is how I understand it.

In short, social place attachment may not restrict the interviewed MA students from leaving their cities to pursue personal development and better prospects. However, it may influence their plans in terms of duration and often resulted in envisioning partial exit strategies instead of leaving for good (Wiborg 2004). In this context, there is reason to assume that H6 cannot be rejected. Further research is needed to evaluate if these structural constraints on the meso-level also occur in other CEE countries.

7.2.3 Attitudes towards the EU and exit strategies

Favell writes that “the freedom to travel, work and study anywhere in the EU is what the majority of Europeans constantly cite as the most important benefit of EU
membership” (2014: 165). The interviewed students confirmed this when I asked them about their personal future benefits as a result of Poland’s EU membership. Free movement within the EU and access to Erasmus programmes were the most prominent answers. But would the sampled MA students make full use of these opportunities, or are there also negative attitudes towards the EU that exert a restrictive influence on the students’ exit strategies? In this context, I stated the following hypothesis:

H7: Attitudes towards the EU do not influence actions and behaviour of the potential Eurostars in terms of living and working.

Generally, attitudes towards the EU were rather positive among the sampled students. Of the 324 sampled students, 71% stated that EU membership is a good thing for Poland. The number of students who said that Poland’s EU membership is beneficial to them personally was even higher (74.4%). In every city, attitudes towards the EU were above 62.9% and reached the 70% mark in most cities. Notwithstanding the generally positive attitudes, students expressed critical views during the interviews. On the one hand, they appreciate the feeling of security to be a part of a non-communist entity that protects the country from Russian influence. They also mentioned the beneficial effect of funds transferred from the EU to Poland. On the other hand, they criticised the imbalance of power among EU member states and the perceived loss of independence due to the transfer of power from Warsaw to Brussels.

Despite certain criticisms, the personal benefits connected to Poland’s EU membership were dominant during most interviews. The introduction of border-free travel widened their geographical scope of economic activities and chances of a better quality of life. Although transnational mobility was also described as a means to study abroad or to visit their relatives, rational economic motives dominated their personal accounts. A student from the Tricity area made a statement that reflects similar statements made during the interviews.

(AS, F, Tricity)
But the most important is like this knowledge and this that I will know I can always emigrate and always can be better even if that job will be worse, lower level in the hierarchy and the classes and these things. But I have a possibility for a better life in the meaning that I can afford things which maybe I could not afford here.
This message also demonstrates that the sampled students are what Favell describes as qualified movers who accept a “social move downward into higher paying, but lower level work in the West” (2014:12). Macro-level theories that identify economic disparities and wage differences between countries as push factors for migration are helpful to understand incentives among young-well educated Polish citizens to use their personal resources to move abroad (Morawska 2007). It also shows that the students are willing to benefit from these new opportunities regardless of their own political view. The students use their human capital and to some degree their networks-based social capital to cross borders and to facilitate their arrival in a foreign country (Hagen-Zanker 2008). This planning in turn reduces the individual costs and risks of migration. These findings point towards approval of H7. Individual attitudes towards the EU do not specifically influence the potential Eurostars’ agency.

7.2.4 The ‘other’, PiS and exit strategies

Apart from the utilitarian factors and attachment that influence exit strategies and decisions connected to migration, I also expected other reasons to emerge from the interviews. I wanted to know, if there were other reasons that influence the potential Eurostars’ decisions in terms of where to live and work. For this purpose I formulated the final hypothesis:

H8: Economically driven, rational actors’ assumptions cannot fully explain choices and actions related to living and working among the Eurostars.

Many students distinguished between Poland, or the CEE, and “the West” and attributed West Europe with a certain pull function in terms of economic possibilities, lifestyle and exploration of new cultures. As previous studies argued (Sztompka 2004), the understanding of the liberal and prosperous West versus the poor, post-communist East still serves as point of reference for Polish citizens. These debates are further driven by the experience of the Eastern enlargement, which introduced a process of Europeanization and a reconstruction of identification among citizens living in CEE.

These mechanisms equally occur among the Polish youth, despite their lack of personal experience in Poland’s communist past. The commonalities of territory,
history and culture play an important role in how the interviews MA students perceive local attachment and how they develop attitudes towards EU integration. Yet, in contrast to Sztompka’s findings (2004), the ‘satellite mentality’ did not yet disappear. The interviewed students often described Poland and the city they live in as economically inferior and politically deficient to West European countries and cities. This perception was paired with an idealised image of the West and negative opinions of societies further East. Combined, these views contributed to the students’ self-description of being European but at the same time apprehended by the West as being “other than Europe” (JH, F, Warsaw).

Their statements exemplify the ongoing complex transitions within post-communist European societies in relation to their own perceptions of their lived environment. Although Poles have been official members of the EU for more than a decade, old boundaries and feelings of significant otherness (Cichocki, 2011) are still in place and new boundaries emerge and need to be debated and re-negotiated. These perceived cultural and economic macro-level disparities lead to the paradox situation that the transition winners see themselves as European losers that have suffered enough during communist times. Now they want to use the opportunity of eroding borders to work and travel unrestrictedly. Yet, this ongoing Europeanisation process also leads to slowly shifting identity-constructions, where some students saw themselves as fully-fledged EU citizens but were still aware of the stereotypes and attributes ascribed to CEE (Sztompka 2004).

Another element that had an impact on the interviewees’ strategies and future plans was the current political landscape in Poland, with the Law and Justice Party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS) being the dominant party. Most interviewed students had a rather negative view of the party’s polarising policies.

(MPo, F, Warsaw)
When PiS was elected, it was a shock for most young people, why it happened. And how it happened and what will happen, because that’s for us quite dangerous and not understandable.

Their concerns touched on different issues, domestically and on the international level. Two of the most iterated aspects were the rhetoric and the actions of the party leaders, which affected the social cohesion in Poland. The students described how the
Polish nation became divided over citizens’ affiliation and opinion of PiS. “We are really also fighting each other” (JA, M, Warsaw). Some of the students even went as far as comparing the current political system with the early stages of communism. At the same time, several MA students said that this invigorated their interest in national politics and law and several of them attended the mass demonstrations taking place in Poland’s bigger cities.

The party’s policies also led to friction with the EU, which was another reason for concern among the interviewed students. On the one hand, they fear that the EU might not remain inactive and will take actions: for example, that they will lose business and investments, or the EU’s trust. On the other hand, some of the students were worried about the reputation of Polish citizens abroad, which would directly affect them once they migrate. Their statements revealed an underlying insecurity about the future of the relation of Poland with the EU and how this potentially affects their own future.

Given the students’ accounts that point towards a variety of political, social and cultural factors that influence their transnational mobility and prospective plans, there is justifiable evidence to confirm H8. In other words, although positive attitudes towards the EU are often guided by rational and economy-driven aspects, the decision to move or not to move cannot be explained solely by economic cost-benefit analysis. These findings also reveal newly-emerging structures that influence the potential Eurostars in their decision-making process.

7.2.5 Gender and exit strategies

The statements made during the interviews also disclosed another element to the discussion of exit-strategies. As mentioned in chapter 2, gender is a crucial factor in the development of attitudes towards the EU and the assessment of personal career development and future plans. Based on the literature review and the analytical framework, I addressed this aspect with the following hypothesis:

H9: Well-educated women are not more prone to support European integration than men but have a higher propensity to develop exit strategies.
A clear correlation emerges between gender and the dependent variables. The results of the Mann-Whitney-U-Test show that, among the surveyed students, women (mean rank 173.86) are more likely to have positive attitudes towards EU integration than men (mean rank 140.69). The same is true for the correlation with perceived personal benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership (mean rank among women: 173.90, mean rank among men: 140.62). The role of gender in shaping attitudes towards the EU is a very interesting aspect. My data, however, contradicts findings that describe women as less enthusiastic about the EU than men (Nelsen and Guth 2000, Słomczyński and Shabad 2003) and points towards a greater influence of education in shaping attitudes towards the EU (Mau 2005, Torres and Brites 2006).

Taking into account the years in which previous studies were conducted, this discrepancy also raises the question of how views among men and women have changed within the last twenty years and with Poland’s EU membership. Within my sample, women were more outspoken about their attitudes towards the EU and more enthusiastic about leaving their city or the country, as exemplified by one of the female interviewees:

(MM, F, Wrocław)
Yeah, I can! (Laughs) Because I am an international person, I have some dreams, and some targets to do.

Many of the interviewed women not only emphasized that they want to leave, many of them had already made plans where they wanted to go and for how long. Time seemed to be a crucial factor as women often mentioned that they want to return to Poland after spending time abroad. This is what Favell and Nebe call “circular mobility” (2009: 219). But unlike in Favell’s and Nebe’s study, the main incentive to return that was mentioned in my interviews was the family. Moreover, it was only the women who embedded the term family in a context of strong social ties that restrict their agency and push them to come back to their home city. Although eroding borders and new technologies facilitate cross-national contacts between family members, many female students emphasised that they wanted to live close to their family and friends. This network attachment demonstrates that, although the micro-level is very
significant (Trevena 2015), the meso-level is equally important for understanding gendered migration patterns. Even the females who suggested that they could imagine staying abroad for longer, for example if they get married, mentioned that they want to visit their family often.

(MD, F, Tricity)
I would say, it’s possible to stay but it really depends. I would like to visit my hometown every once in a while. To stay close to my parents, yes, that would be nice. But you know, for the one, if it happens ever (laughs) that would be great (laughs)!

The role of women in terms of migration is often connected to moving and settling with a foreign partner (Favell 2008). Some of the interviewed students did indeed match this description. The majority of these well-educated women, however, did fit the picture of the female pioneer migrant with the necessary human capital and new attitudes towards gender roles (Morokvasic 2004). My results confirm Mau’s (2010) assumption that women are equally motivated to migrate but gender differences in migration behavior still exist.

Collectively, my findings demonstrate that H9 can only partially be approved. Women in my sample are both more prone to have favourable attitudes towards the EU and are more likely to develop concrete migration plans. This group deserves further investigation as data about potential migrants, and especially the role of women and the social structures that influence their exit strategies, are still rather scarce.

7.3 Summary

In this discussion chapter, I have integrated the quantitative and the qualitative findings to assess how urban conditions influence attitudes, attachments and exit strategies. In particular, I highlighted the relatively minor role of urban conditions in determining place attachment. I have also underscored that well-perceived economic and cultural conditions in cities correlate more strongly with positive attitudes towards the EU than infrastructure and quality of life. At the same time, quality of life does play a role for the decision where to work and live after studies. Other non-economic aspects, such as local patriotism and family networks may also be of importance and need to be incorporated in future analyses of place attachment.
The sense of belonging to a city is often amplified by the social network living within the urban space and by length of residence. These factors also influence students’ transnational mobility and exit strategies in terms of time and place. Many students want to go abroad for a while but settle in their hometown, close to family and friends. This points towards a combination of utilitarian and more attachment-driven factors that guide the students’ decision-making process. It also demonstrates the limits of cities as a unit of analysis. Many students in the five selected cities noticed the specific benefits and advantages their city offered in comparison to other places in Poland, but their plans for the future, motivations and constraints were often surprisingly similar and detached from the cities’ conditions.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the introduction, I stated that we all think we know what a city is. We typically live and work in cities and benefit from the services, infrastructure and conditions offered in them. However, every city is different and local authorities develop their own strategies to provide a set of conditions for the urban population, which in turn may or may not influence the political views of the cities’ residents. Drawing on utilitarian approaches and theories of place attachment, I argued that the perception of these economic and cultural conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure of a city, leads to differentiated support for EU integration. The majority of these theories, however, concentrate on the national level and on different social and economic groups and they often focus on West European countries. With this thesis, I sought to do two things. First, I wanted to analyse how the satisfaction with urban economic and cultural conditions, as well as public services and infrastructure and quality of life relates to support for EU integration among urban dwellers in CEE. Generally, I aimed to make statements about the relationship between local structures, attachment and attitudes towards the EU in a post-communist society. Second, I examined the motivation for migration depending on the satisfaction with these urban conditions. In other words, I wanted to find out how the urban residents’ view on the city and the EU influences their individual decisions with regard to where they want to live and work after their studies.
To answer these questions I employed a mixed method approach and focused on a specific group in a specific geographical area. I looked at young, well-educated, potentially mobile, urban residents in five Polish cities: Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, the Tricity area and Warsaw. I chose the mixed methods design to address the research problem since it combined statistical analysis and a qualitative approach. I first conducted a survey among an unrepresentative sample of 923 MA students, living and studying in these cities followed by 27 semi-structured interviews. All conclusions are based upon the limitations of empirical research.

In the next section, I provide a summary of the findings and comment on the generalisability of the results and the limitations. I also delve further into the findings that merit a closer attention and elaborate on findings that deserve further research.

8.1 Summary of findings

There is a plethora of literature about cities in the European Union. With this study, I contribute to a smaller section of the urban literature that focuses on potential Eurostars and cities in CEE, as a unit of comparative analysis and the urban space as a structure that potentially influences attitudes towards the EU and transnational mobility.

8.1.1 Urban conditions

The starting point of my analysis was the assumption that mid-sized Polish cities offer a fairly distinctive set of conditions. This assumption was based on the rapid processes of decentralisation and regionalization (Yoder 2003) taking place in Poland after the collapse of the communist system. The newly introduced law of local self-government transferred power and political responsibilities to the counties (powiaty) and municipalities (gminy) in Poland. This included budgets that were separated from the national one and elements of direct democracy implemented at the local level. Notwithstanding the inexperience of local authorities, the widespread bureaucracy and financial problems, local entities proved capable of responding to the needs of its population.
Despite several changes in the government and further reforms, local authorities gained more autonomy and began to promote their own strategies for the development of their city. This prompted cities to tailor their policies in a distinct way, improving their local economy and culture as they saw fit. This process also led to increased competition between cities, as local authorities sought to attract foreign investors, international companies and a skilled labour force. As such, I wanted to examine how the measurable, objective local conditions in the five selected cities differ and also if any potential nuances are perceived among the urban residents.

My findings point towards a continuous and steady improvement of conditions in Polish cities as of 2014. With the exception of libraries, there are more available cultural facilities, such as theaters and museums. Unemployment in each city decreased while average monthly wages and salaries and GDP per capita increased. The number of hospital beds, social welfare places and completed dwellings rose, while the crime rate fell. At the same time, most conditions are, with a few exceptions, similarly well-advanced in each city and above the Polish average.

Naturally, some cities are ahead of others. Warsaw, for example, still provides by far the highest average monthly wages and salaries as well as the highest GDP per capita, while Kraków retains its title as the culture capital of Poland. Nevertheless, the even and balanced improvement of other cities’ conditions shows that they do not fall far behind the capital regarding most of their urban attributes. Unfortunately, the available measured indicators, as well as a lack of complete data for each city, make it difficult to provide an all-encompassing picture of the urban conditions available in the five selected cities. My findings further indicate that the objective reality and the perceived situation do not necessarily correspond. With a few exceptions, the perceived reality in each city differs markedly from the measured conditions. This shows that key aspects that were not evaluated might be important for the MA students studied. This could include specific cultural events, or public transport systems, which I could not include in my statistics.

The mixed method approach employed allowed me to engage in additional qualitative interviews that showed that the MA students are often quite happy with the urban conditions in their city, despite the fact that the objective data points towards a rather weak performance and competitiveness. This emotional attachment to a place
further highlights the limitations of quantitative approaches used in isolation to measure and compare urban conditions.

8.1.2 Performance, attachment and EU attitudes

I wanted to ascertain to what extent the perception of local, urban conditions is associated with attachment to the city and attitudes towards the EU. Most of the sampled students are equally attached to Poland and to the city where they reside and study. Nevertheless, more students are more intimately attached to the city than to the country. These levels of attachment are, however, only partially influenced by the urban performance. One issue that became clear during my investigation was the relatively unimportant correlation of urban conditions and quality of life with feeling of attachments to the city. In other words, local authorities may want to improve the performance of their city to attract foreign investors and international companies, but these policies may have a minimal effect on the citizens’ feelings of belonging to the city.

Demographic factors such as gender and length of stay seem to be better suited to predict attachment to the city. The sampled women and people residing longer than five years in one of the selected Polish cities had a higher propensity to be more attached to the city. However, the attachment levels according to gender vary considerably across the five cities. No clear pattern is detectable, which may suggest a gender-based development of attachment connected to factors relating to each city individually.

Long-term residents in my sample also tend to be more unsatisfied with the local conditions in their city. The reason for this rather puzzling result might be that the longer they stay in a city, the more they feel emotionally attached, but also have more time to critically observe the local authority’ policies and action plans. These empirical findings provide interesting insights into how different demographic groups perceive local policies. Furthermore, these preliminary conclusions necessitate more extensive research to verify these results.

The correlation between satisfaction with urban conditions and attitudes towards the EU was predominantly positive. The favourable perception of local conditions,
especially regarding culture and economy, is clearly a factor related to a more positive view of the EU. Only in Poznań did I find negative correlations between satisfaction with cultural conditions and public services, and support for EU integration. These findings, however, are not able to predict the direction of the relationship. Further research could shed light on the potential influence of satisfaction with urban conditions on support for EU integration.

Besides conditions in cities, again gender seems to have a strong relation with attitudes towards the EU. Young well-educated Polish women are more supportive towards the EU than men and a higher level of local attachment amongst women also correlates with more positive attitudes towards the EU. In short, my findings point towards a specific social group that has more favourable views of the EU: the sampled well-educated women who live five years or longer in their respective city. Interestingly, the gender cleavage does not apply to the same extent to perceptions of urban conditions. With the exception of Wrocław, women and men are not that different in their satisfaction with urban conditions, although women are slightly more positive. Where they differ significantly, is in their attitudes towards the EU and in the perception of personal benefits resulting from EU membership. Further studies could focus on increasing rights and incrementally changing perceptions of women as having equal rights. In this context, a comparison between urban and rural areas would certainly reveal some interesting results.

8.1.3 The city and migration

How does the view of a city as a social space and the European Union as a political environment influence the students’ strategies in terms of where to live and work? This question includes a class-related element, as the interviewed people belong to the potential beneficiaries of Europeanisation and globalisation. They are young, well-educated, speak a second language and, most importantly, they are mobile – if they so choose. This is where my study delineates itself from other research assessing European East-West migration (Trevena 2005, Favell and Nebe 2009, Fomina 2010, Siara 2013). I was interested in evaluating the motivation to move or stay among the highly educated before they actually leave their city. What are the push- and pull-
factors that influence the MA students’ decisions? What makes the potential Eurostars either relocate or remain in their city? In this study I hone in on the expectations and plans of the potential movers and not on the practical experiences of the ones that already moved. This demarcation is situated in contrast to studies that assess issues of integration of migrants in their new host countries (Favell 2008, Andreotti et al. 2015).

The interviewed students were generally quite happy with the cultural conditions in their city and less satisfied with public services and infrastructure. Many of the students also felt emotionally attached to their respective city. Again, the length of residence was mentioned as an important factor, especially in regards to why they felt a strong attachment to what they called their city. This sense of belonging was also often used to distinguish themselves from citizens from other cities. However, what really seemed to have an influence on their plans to stay or move was the economic situation and quality of life. Many of the sampled MA students anticipated a combination of better quality of life, better job opportunities and heightened experiences through new cultures. This is an interesting finding as it underscores Favell’s and Nebe’s (2009) evaluation of high-skilled movers. The mix of utilitarian reasons and personal motives, as a motivation for migration, do not appear to have changed over time. The interviewed students also indicated that any efforts undertaken by local authorities would not change their opinion. They appreciated good governance; the City Council in Gdynia in the Tricity metropolitan region, in particular, received acclaim for their progressive policies and development of opportunities for young people.

Ultimately, while the sampled MA students had rather vague plans and different possible options at hand, they were aware of potential benefits resulting from Poland’s EU membership. However, references to issues of us vs them, resulting from Poland’s history as a communist country and the relatively new EU membership in 2004, are still deeply rooted in the students’ minds. Although Poles are now official members of the European Union, old boundaries are still in place and new ones appear. One of these new boundaries, that was especially mentioned during the interviews, was the fear that newly introduced laws and the anti-European rhetoric of the Law and Justice party (PiS) would deepen the cleavages between Poland and the EU. This, in turn,
could inhibit the students’ chances in the European market and could negatively affect Poland’s image in Europe.

Some students also considered moving within Poland. This was mostly expressed by students from smaller cities, their destination of choice often being Warsaw, despite not particularly liking the capital. As a matter of fact, some of them complained about the cold, hectic, concrete jungle that Warsaw represented. Yet the students were also aware that the best job opportunities and the highest salaries are to be found in the capital.

Simultaneously, the majority of students want to move only temporarily. Attachment to family and friends is important for many Poles, even the younger, well-educated generation. This had a strong influence on where they could imagine themselves settling and on the timeframe during which they could spend abroad. These findings are independent from their city of residence, but not independent from gender. Women among the interviewed students seem to be more eager and willing to leave Poland after their studies than men. This may be due to a general affinity for transnational experiences, or an opportunity to move away from traditional Polish values, which may be perceived as being restrictive for women’s personal development. Interestingly, although women more frequently mentioned family and friends and the propensity to settle in Poland close to their relatives, ties to family and friends are prevalent among both men and women. These findings contribute to a sparsely researched area of urban sociology and shed light on the important role of family networks in CEE and their influence on residential choice and career plans.

8.2 What can we learn from comparing Polish cities?

The applied research design and the applied mixed methods approach were best suited to assess the relation of perceived urban conditions on attitudes towards the EU and the potential Eurostars’ exit strategies. They allowed me to gather a substantial number of students’ attitudes and opinions followed by subsequent in-depth insight on their views vis-à-vis the cities and the EU. Although this study provides important insights about Polish cities, the European Union and transnational mobility, some questions remain unanswered and deserve a closer look. I specifically address what I
think are the most immediate and profound limitations of this study. This includes the question of cities as a useful unit of analysis for comparative research. Connected to that are issues with measuring urban conditions and the definition of certain terms and concepts. I also address methodological issues, specifically non-random samples.

8.2.1 Cities as an entity of comparison

Bagnasco and Le Galès (2000) describe Europe as a fairly densely urbanised continent, with the cities being medium-sized and relatively close together. This makes “the city” an interesting and important entity for comparison. As noted earlier, the first problem with analysing cities is the lack of theoretical definition of what a city actually is. Despite somewhat homogenous waves of urbanisation (Bagnasco and Le Galès (2000), theoretical formulations cannot grasp the differentiated reality of individual cities (Häussermann and Haila 2005). Also problematic are detailed assessments of particular cities that bear the risk of being too coincidental to be useful for comparison. Furthermore, despite fragmentation and decentralisation, cities are not completely independent and autonomous entities. The nation-state’s policies are still pervasive and legal regulations are often dependent on national government decisions. For many of the interviewed students, the state also served as a frame of reference, even though they may have felt more attached to the city they live in. When they talked about “we” they often referred to the Polish nation as a whole and not necessarily to the citizens living in the same city.

This raises the question of how useful and powerful cities are as a unit of analysis. Focusing on cities within one country helps control interfering state-driven variables. At the same time, national influences and identities still play an important role in this study. This, in turn, potentially reduces the importance of cities as pivotal frames of reference. In other words, national context theory can only partially be extended towards the local level. Equally, the EU’s influence through supranational regulations and an ongoing cultural Europeanisation should not be underestimated in the assessment of place attachment, attitudes towards the EU and exit strategies. These different spatial contexts, and the perception of direct benefits resulting from these different levels on attitudes towards the EU, certainly deserve further research.
Related to the influence of various territorial entities are also two aspects that surfaced during my research. The concepts of “the capital vs smaller cities” and “local patriotism” are interesting starting points for an in-depth analysis of a relatively under-researched aspect of intercity competition, place attachment and resulting exit strategies based on the urban frame of reference. Furthermore, my findings reveal that any evaluation of urban place attachment needs to take into account family and friends to provide an all-encompassing picture of how a sense of belonging is constructed. Another interesting finding is the role of women and their distinctively different approach on many of the assessed issues, such as attitudes towards the EU and propensity to benefit from transnational mobility. The focus on gender-related aspects among young well-educated people in CEE would be an important contribution to the literature of contemporary European studies.

8.2.2 Measuring urban conditions

As mentioned in chapter 3, measuring conditions in cities is difficult and any choice and combination of indicators utilised may create controversy. Is the number of hospital beds per 10,000 pop. suitable as an indicator to assess health care in the selected Polish cities? Is the proportion of the population using the water supply and sewage systems appropriate to evaluate the urban infrastructure and do the citizens even recognise this indicator? There is no common or generally valid theory of what an index of urban conditions and indicators has to include to accurately portray a city’s economic competitiveness, cultural capacities or quality of life.

In this study, I relied on information available in yearbooks issued by the Polish statistical offices. This means that I measured only quantifiable aspects of the respective city. Begg (2002) notes that the question of why some cities thrive economically and others decline is rather complex. “Location, inheritance, governance and sheer luck all play a part in shaping the capacity of a city” (Begg 2002: 311). Facilities and institutions that contribute to urban conditions matter, but it can be difficult to attribute these conditions to the actual urban performance and its perception among its residents. The measurements used in this study shall provide a quantifiable overview of certain services and conditions local governments provide and that were
available in statistical yearbooks. My aim was to present the current situation of urban conditions in Polish cities and their development – the structural change - since EU accession. I am aware that there is no unambiguous way to measure urban conditions. Any comparison of local assets and urban performance remains challenging and is prone to oversimplification.

To mitigate potential issues in the conceptualisation of urban conditions and their perception, in the questionnaire, I defined what I mean by cultural conditions, economic conditions, public services and infrastructure, as well as quality of life. For further research, I suggest that an in-depth case study could shed light on the question of which urban assets are perceived as enhancing the urban performance. This would include quantitative and qualitative aspects, hard and soft factors, as well as the dynamic interaction of local institutions, key stakeholders and different social classes. The aim would be to provide a methodological approach and a comprehensive picture of what counts as good urban performance among city dwellers.

8.2.3 Non-random sampling design

As mentioned in chapter 3.3, due to legal restrictions I was not able to obtain access to students’ email addresses and demographic data. Additionally, administrative offices at the universities either did not respond or, for legal reasons, were not able to distribute the questionnaires on my behalf. The collection of data was further complicated by the rather difficult communication with professors from each university. Despite these legal and communicative restrictions, I sent several dozen contact letters to professors from the five universities asking for help in getting access to MA students, but only one or two per university replied.

The advantage of this opportunity sample was the larger number of students answering the questionnaire. According to most professors I spoke to, response rates among Polish students are generally relatively low. Although speculative, I am convinced that it would have been difficult to collect 923 questionnaires if I had sent the information online.

Fortunately, I was able to maintain a gender distribution among the surveyed participants that is relatively close to the actual situation in the respective universities.
where I conducted the survey. This allows me to assume that the data has certain representative potential to allow for conclusions to be generated about MA students living in Polish cities. However, further research would need to provide results that are more generalisable. This also includes the aspect of gender and attitudes towards the EU. Empirical research about women in post-communist countries and their changing view on the European Union may offer important insights in the changing social reality of women in CEE. A confirmatory study would have to prove generalizable results about the potential significance of any relation between these variables.

8.3 The future of potential Eurostars in CEE?

In this study, I have demonstrated that political and sociological aspects matter when analysing young urban Europeans. I further made a case that Poland, as the largest new member of the European Union, along with its cities, serves as an interesting frame to analyse the potential winners of globalisation, the group of highly skilled young people. What will happen to them in the future? Will they actually move abroad for a while and benefit from transnational mobility and eroding European borders? Will they face the personal difficulties and issues described by Favell (2008, 2014), White (2011), Andreotti et al (2015), and many other scholars, or are they better prepared based on examples from other migrants? Will they feel exploited and face difficulties in finding a place to live and work? Furthermore, will negative experiences in different European Union countries have a de-motivating influence on their general attitude towards the EU? For example, are they willing to accept potential downward social mobility for higher payment, or will it leave them disillusioned about the opportunities offered by the EU?

What about the situation at home? Many of the interviewed students hold unfavourable views of the current political party and its political programme. They are against the return of nationalism, the polarisation of the Polish society and they do not want Poland to become the outcast of the EU. The cities also witnessed mass demonstrations against restrictive media regulations and a proposed stricter abortion law (black protest). Nevertheless, PiS remains popular, especially among less educated people living in rural areas. In addition, Poland is not the only country in CEE that is
experiencing a rise in conservative parties, as is witnessed through its neighbours. How will this change these countries’ relation with the European Union and how will it influence East-West migration and, generally, the lives of the potential urban Eurostars?

Urban centres in CEE serve as economic and commercial hubs and are on the rise. They increasingly integrate in EU urban networks and experience a growth of consumer services, entrepreneurship, economic competition and diversified investments (Hamilton et al. 2005). However, local conditions seem to have a limited influence on the sampled students’ place attachment and their attitudes towards the EU, but cities do matter as a place of reference. An important contribution of this study is presenting the balance between utilitarian approaches and non-economic incentives that primarily motivate the potential Eurostars in their attitudes towards the EU and transnational mobility plans. Additionally, it provides integration of different level-based theories and highlights the importance of simultaneously operating casual factors. The sampled students make their decisions in an environment conditioned by economic pressure, local norms, social networks and varying political territorial backgrounds. In this context we witness a paradoxical situation in which national borders play a less restrictive role for potential Eurostars in Poland, due to ongoing European integration processes. Concurrently through this development, cities in Poland are emerging as providers of emotional spaces. Cities it appears, not only represent a physical entity, but also are the locus of social networks and provide a sense of place attachment and belonging. This study, however, has merely scratched the surface into the ways we understand cities as places of attachment and their role in shaping the attitudes of potential Eurostars. As such, it serves as a platform from which future studies can delve deeper into these issues.
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Annex

Attitudes in CEE: The role of the Polish city in shaping the approach of the urban, educated youth to the European Union

Questionnaire for MA students

Dear Student. My name is Adrian Favero. I am a PhD candidate in the School of Social and Political Science at the University of Edinburgh. I am conducting this survey to analyse if and how Polish cities influence attitudes of well-educated residents towards the European Union. Specifically, this questionnaire will help to understand how opportunities offered by city governments influence personal views of the EU. The collected data will improve the knowledge about internal dynamics within CEE cities from a bottom-up perspective. With my research I seek to contribute to the current scholarship on the nature of the city as a social and political space.

Your participation is completely voluntary. Please read the following information and proceed if you agree. If you are not a Master student, please do not answer the questionnaire. If you have already answered the questionnaire before, please do not answer it again.

I (the student) volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Adrian Favero from the University of Edinburgh. I understand that this questionnaire is designed to gather information about the role of the city in shaping the approach of the urban, educated youth in Poland to the European Union.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I will not receive any financial reward for my participation. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one on campus will be told.

I understand that if I feel uncomfortable in any way during the questionnaire, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the questionnaire. Participation involves answering 12 questions. The survey will take approximately 10 minutes.

I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this questionnaire and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Only if I provide my email-address, I allow Adrian Favero to contact me for a follow up interview which will take place in spring 2016.
I allow the information given in the questionnaire to be used for the research purposes outlined by the researcher. Subsequent use of data will be subject to standard data use policies by the University of Edinburgh which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

I have read and understood the explanations provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction and I **voluntarily agree to participate** in this study.

**I. Attitudes towards different entities**

**The first group of questions is about your view on different political entities you live in.**

1. Do you have a feeling of belonging: more to your country; to both the city and the country; more to your city? Please select one option (_X_).

   (___) More to the country 1
   (___) Equally both 2
   (___) More to the city 3
   (___) I don’t know 9

2. Generally speaking, do you think that Poland’s membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad? Please select one option (_X_).

   (___) A bad thing 1
   (___) Neither good nor bad 2
   (___) A good thing 3
   (___) I don’t know 9

3. For your personal benefit, do you think that Poland’s membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad? Please select one option (_X_).

   (___) A bad thing 1
   (___) Neither good nor bad 2
   (___) A good thing 3
   (___) I don’t know 9
II. Opportunities in the city where you live and study

The second group of questions concerns your personal opinions about the opportunities offered by Gdansk/ Poznan/ Wroclaw/ Warsaw/ Krakow. They are divided into economic, cultural and political opportunities. Opportunities in cities are to be understood as a set of economic, cultural and political conditions and services that reflect the cities’ performance in promoting the urban space and its benefits to their residents.

Economic

4. How satisfied are you with the activities for economic development (such as attracting new businesses, co-operation with business, job market creation) carried out by the local administration in Gdańsk/ Poznan/ Wrocław/ Warsaw/ Krakow? Please select one option (_X_).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
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<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Fairly satisfied</td>
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<td>Not at all satisfied</td>
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Cultural

5. How satisfied are you with the amount and variety of cultural institutions (such as theatres, museums) promoted by the local administration in Gdańsk/Poznan/Wroclaw/ Warsaw/Krakow? Please select one option (_X_).

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<td>Very satisfied</td>
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<td>Not at all satisfied</td>
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Public Services

6. How satisfied are you with the public services provided by the local administration in Gdańsk/Poznan/Wroclaw/Warsaw/Krakow? This includes all its responsible areas such as health care, education, public transport, social welfare, security, etc. Please select one option (_X_).

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<th>Option</th>
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<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
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III. Quality of Life

The third group of questions is about your personal perceptions of the general quality of life in your city. This means the overall level of well-being and fulfillment that you enjoy from a combination of your social, economic and community environment and your physical and material conditions.

Quality of Life
7. Generally, how would you rate the overall quality of life in this city? Please select one option (_X_).

(____) Very high  
(____) Quite high  
(____) Quite low  
(____) Very low  

IV. Demographic questions

These are confidential demographic questions that will help to obtain some background information.

8. What is your gender? Please select one option (_X_). 

(____) Man  
(____) Woman  
(____) Other: _______________ 

9. Are you a Polish citizen? Please select one option (_X_). 

(____) Yes 
(____) No
10. Have you learned a foreign language which is spoken in the EU? (Examples: German, English, French, Italian….). Please select one option (X).

(__) Yes 0
(__) No 1

11. How long have you been living in this city? Please select one option.

(__) Less than 5 years 0
(__) 5 years or longer 1
(__) I don’t live in the city 9

12. What is your field of study (Examples: Political Science, Chemistry, Sociology, Economics, Communication). Please fill in the blank.

V. Follow up interviews
If you agree to be contacted for a possible follow up interview, please indicate your e-mail address below. The interview will take place in spring 2016 and will last approximately one hour.

Thank you very much for your time. If you have any question or concerns regarding this survey, please contact me: A.Favero@ed.ac.uk
## Appendix

Table 26: Distribution of indicators for cultural conditions and changes (in %) in each city

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<tr>
<td>Libraries (per 100,000 pop.)</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>-7.20</td>
<td>-22.39</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>-30.49</td>
<td>-10.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seats in Theatres and Music Inst. (per 1000 pop.)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.124</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>39.22</td>
<td>32.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums (per 100,000 pop.)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.825</td>
<td>5.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>17.28</td>
<td>-10.8</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>119.49</td>
<td>23.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seats in fixed Cinemas (per 1000 pop.)</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td>27.43</td>
<td>-6.67</td>
<td>89.90</td>
<td>21.60</td>
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</table>


---

23 Seats in Theatres and Music Institutions (per 1000) in the Pomorskie Voivodship
24 Seats in Theatres and Music Institutions (per 1000) in the year 2013, based on a population of 632100
25 Number of population per Museum in the year 2013, based on a population of 632100
Table 27: Distribution of indicators for economic conditions and changes (in %) in each city

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznań</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wrocław</th>
<th>Kraków</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered unemployment rate (in %)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>-38.89</td>
<td>-50.00</td>
<td>-25.00</td>
<td>-62.39</td>
<td>-27.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly gross wages and salaries (in zł)</td>
<td>2925</td>
<td>4701</td>
<td>2735</td>
<td>4354</td>
<td>3094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>60.72</td>
<td>59.20</td>
<td>74.08</td>
<td>63.70</td>
<td>61.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entities of the national economy (per 1000 pop.)</td>
<td>129.6</td>
<td>157.4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>196.3</td>
<td>175.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>21.45</td>
<td>22.69</td>
<td>20.16</td>
<td>19.11</td>
<td>20.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita (in zł)²⁶</td>
<td>37731</td>
<td>61024</td>
<td>52000</td>
<td>86411</td>
<td>77001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>61.73</td>
<td>66.17</td>
<td>65.02</td>
<td>93.81</td>
<td>74.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


²⁶ All data from 2013
Table 28: Public services and municipal infrastructure and changes (in %) in each city

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of hospital beds (per 10,000 pop.)</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>16.49</td>
<td>13.17</td>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>11.92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacies (per 100,000 pop.)</td>
<td>33.43</td>
<td>37.08</td>
<td>38.04</td>
<td>47.46</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>35.84</td>
<td>39.31</td>
<td>43.03</td>
<td>39.50</td>
<td>41.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>10.94</td>
<td>24.78</td>
<td>83.82</td>
<td>9.44</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare places (per 100,000 pop.)</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>66.50</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>64.65</td>
<td>28.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of ascertained crimes (per 1000 pop.)</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>34.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>-46.00</td>
<td>-32.40</td>
<td>-45.23</td>
<td>-25.71</td>
<td>-42.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwellings completed (per 1000 pop.)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>21.18</td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>203.22</td>
<td>61.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population using water supply system (in % of total pop.)</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>99.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population using sewerage system (in % of total pop.)</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>91.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change in %</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td></td>
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</table>


27 Data from 2013
28 Estimated Data, Data for the Tricity covers all urban areas in the Pomorskie Voivodship 2014
29 Estimated Data, Data for the Tricity covers all urban areas in the Pomorskie Voivodship 2014
Table 29: Gender satisfaction with cultural conditions in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Satisfaction with cultural conditions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not all satisfied</td>
<td>Not very satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1.3%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Author’s own data  
\( n_s = 324 \)

Table 30: Gender satisfaction with economic conditions in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Satisfaction with economic conditions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not all satisfied</td>
<td>Not very satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>10.5%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
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<td>5.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.2%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data  
\( n_s = 324 \)
### Table 31: Gender satisfaction with public services and infrastructure in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznan</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wroclaw</th>
<th>Krakow</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznan</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
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<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Krakow</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznan</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wroclaw</th>
<th>Krakow</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
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<td>21.7%</td>
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<td>6.3%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>26.1%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
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<td>57.5%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
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<td>4.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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<td>100.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's own data
n_s = 324

### Table 32: Gender perception of quality of life in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznan</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wroclaw</th>
<th>Krakow</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznan</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krakow</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tricity</th>
<th>Poznan</th>
<th>Warsaw</th>
<th>Wroclaw</th>
<th>Krakow</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznan</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krakow</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's own data
n_s = 324
### Table 33: Gender feeling of attachment in five Polish cities in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Feeling of attachment(^{30})</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More to the</td>
<td>Equally to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>country</td>
<td>country and city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data  
\(n_s = 324\)

### Table 34: Gender attitudes towards EU membership in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Poland EU membership(^{31})</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A bad thing</td>
<td>Neither good nor bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data  
\(n_s = 324\)

---

\(^{30}\) \% within City  
\(^{31}\) \% within City
Table 35: Gender perceived personal benefits from EU membership in %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>EU for you²</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A bad thing</td>
<td>Neither good nor bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricity</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrocław</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own data
nᵢ= 324

---
² % within City