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FOREIGNERS AS ACTORS OF EUROPEANISATION

THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS FOR RESEARCH ON POLISH CITIES

ABSTRACT The article presents the conceptualisations that constitute the theoretical basis of a new study pursuing sociological understanding of some major social changes which have affected Polish cities in recent years. Poland has increasingly aligned itself with European countries in terms of political, socio-economic and cultural development. New flows of international immigration, meaning new individuals choosing Poland as the country where to work and settle, are making Polish cities more diverse and complex, both in a material and in a cultural way. The new research focuses on the role of foreigners as actors of urban diversification in Poland, analysing features of globalising cities, processes of Europeanisation, migrants' discursive categorisation and anchoring. The article is conceived as a selection of critical problematisations.

Keywords: Polish cities, Europeanisation, globalising city, migration to Poland, migrants, anchoring, urban change

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the article is to present the theoretical conceptualisations underpinning a research project which aims at investigating the role of foreigners in the processes of diversification and globalisation of Polish cities. The two case studies will be Kraków and Poznań.

For reasons of editorial space, it is possible to present only a limited array of sociological themes that can be used to structure an analytical framework. For the same reasons, the methodological approach taken in the study is not presented.

A quick glimpse at statistical figures can help better contextualise the themes we are presenting. Polish society is ethnically homogeneous. According to the 2011 Polish Census,¹ 96% of the citizens of Poland declare themselves as Polish. Besides, less than 1% of the total population is represented by long-term or permanent foreign residents. Poland is also known as a country of emigration. Nevertheless, especially in the past decade, Polish society has been affected by an increasing immigration, fostered by the demand for migrant labour, in a process defined by scholars as 'migratory transition'. Since 2016, Poland has become a country of net positive immigration.² According to Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union: *In 2019, Poland issued a quarter of all first residence permits granted in the EU to non-EU citizens (724 000, or 25% of total permits issued in the EU), followed by Germany (460 000, or 16%), Spain (320 000, or 11%), France (285 000, or 10%), Italy (176 000, or 6%). (...) Poland topped the list of employment-related first residence permits, with 625 000 permits issued in 2019 (551 000 of which were issued to Ukrainians), making up 52% of all first permits for employment reasons issued in the EU.*³

New flows of international immigration, meaning new individuals choosing Poland as the country where to work and settle, are making Polish cities more diverse and complex, both in a material and in a cultural way. Consequently, the overall goal of our study is to verify how new social phenomena are taking place in Polish cities, in connection with new global migration patterns.

In consideration of the amplitude of these multifaceted processes, our study will focus on a more circumscribed object of analysis. Specifically, the primary scientific objective of the research is the evidence-based empirical analysis of whether and how the social practices of foreigners (migrants and/or expatriates, in accordance to foreigners' self-identification), and in particular their anchoring in the urban context, are contributing to the global city formation process in the Polish cities of Kraków and Poznań.⁴

¹ At the time of writing this article, data collection of 2021 Polish Census was in progress. Its results will be of great interest to our study.

² Główny Urząd Statystyczny, *Atlas demograficzny Polski = Demographic atlas of Poland*, Warsaw 2017.

³ Eurostat, *3 Million First Residence Permits Issued in the EU in 2019*, at <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20201127-2>, 12 August 2021.

⁴ N. Brenner, *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question*, Oxford 2019; A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, "Capturing the Flexibility of Adaptation and Settlement: Anchoring in a Mobile Society", *Mobilities*, vol. 13, no. 5 (2018), pp. 632-646.

A scientific reference of the study, among others, is the research thread that goes by the name of 'local turn' in migration studies.⁵ Scholars in this line of research recognise that cities have a central and proactive role in development and implementation of migration policies, through the understanding of specific local characters. From this standpoint, Warsaw is being studied as a *new immigration city*.⁶ On the other hand, Polish 'second cities' have not been thoroughly investigated yet in relation to the effects of settlement of new foreigners. Nevertheless, we are observing that migration-driven urban diversification in Polish cities is in the nascent state.

The rationale of our study is, in principle, simple: investigating the effects of global migration on 'second cities' can produce a broader knowledge of the phenomena at play, filling a gap in research. Such knowledge may be applicable to the development of policies suited to specific contexts, beyond the reach of national models. Uncovering new configurations of global phenomena in Polish settings will assign the country a clear position on the map of globalising dynamics, and will be conducive of further development of urban studies and migration studies with a focus on Central Europe. The relevance of the research results will hopefully determine the feasibility of a measure of impact (possibly beneficial for policy development).

A corroboration of the relevance of our research can be found in the *Declaration of the presidents on the cooperation of the cities of the Union of Polish Metropolises in the field of migration*.⁷ The declaration is a clear stance on the active role of Polish cities in migration policies and fosters an 'appropriate culture' towards migrants, who have a recognised role in developing more innovative and competitive cities.

In the first two sections of the article, we will discuss two theoretical themes that may be included in the framework of the research, that is: Max Weber's 'sociology of understanding' and Beck's 'theory of the metamorphosis of the world'. Then we will discuss the features of globalising cities as well as some general motives that led to the choice of Kraków and Poznań as study cases. Subsequently we describe the conceptualisation of horizontal Europeanisation, which we think may prove empirically convenient in the study of social practices 'from below', such as those of migrants. In the next two sections we will discuss the terminological aspects related to the categories at the centre of the study: foreigner, migrant and expatriate, and the empirical conceptualisation of 'anchoring', which we consider heuristically appropriate to the analysis of the data we will collect. In the closing section we will present two research hypotheses, which we will investigate together with the primary scientific objective presented in the introduction.

⁵ R. Zapata-Barrero, T. Caponio, P. Scholten, "Theorizing the 'Local Turn' in a Multi-Level Governance Framework of Analysis: A Case Study in Immigration Policies" (Introduction to Special Issue), *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol. 83, no. 2 (2017).

⁶ M. Duszczuk, D. Pszczółkowska, D. Wach, "Warsaw: A New Immigration City in Search of Its Integration Policy Towards Newcomers", in *The Routledge Handbook of The Governance of Migration and Diversity in Cities*, Abingdon–New York 2019.

⁷ Unia Metropolii Polskich, *Deklaracja prezydentów z 30 czerwca 2017 r. o współdziałaniu miast Unii Metropolii Polskich w dziedzinie migracji*.

A SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

How can we define our particular kind of understanding as sociological? Our starting point is Max Weber's sociology of understanding [verstehende Soziologie] that through direct observational understanding [aktuelles Verstehen] can lead to the achievement of explanatory understanding [erklärendes Verstehen]. In this way, we can achieve a causal explanation of social action, which is made possible by *understandable contexts of meaning, understanding of which we treat as an explanation of the actual course taken by action*.⁸ Furthermore, as Swedberg and Agevall pointed out, to Weber, actors are *individuals not variables, as is the case with much of contemporary sociology*.⁹ This is very important for the research on the role of foreign actors in Polish urban contexts, not least because the accuracy of the statistical data relating to the movements of individuals is questionable. A certain detachment from the predominantly statistics-oriented social science mainstream may be convenient as we search for 'empirical uniformities' (or 'actual regularities') that can allow a better understanding of social reality without limiting ourselves to simply settling on (explicatively) weak correlations. It is in the very words of Weber that we find a perfectly suitable description of the type of study we intend to implement: *The type of social science in which we are interested is an empirical science of concrete reality. Our aim is the understanding of the characteristic uniqueness of the reality in which we move. We wish to understand on the one hand the relationship and the cultural significance of individual events in their contemporary manifestations, and on the other hand, the causes of their being historically so and not otherwise*.¹⁰

We translate the meaning of the last quoted sentence as the confirmation that in the study of social dynamics it is important to integrate a hermeneutic *longue durée* perspective, which enables a better understanding of the historical stratifications that produce the understandable contexts of social practices.

A POSSIBLE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE WORLD

With our study, we propose a new approach to pursue a sociological understanding of some major social changes that have affected Poland since 1989, while the country has increasingly aligned itself with Western countries in terms of political, socio-economic and cultural development. In a broader sense, Poland is participating in global scale processes.

Building on Ulrich Beck's descriptive theory of the 'metamorphosis of the world', we hypothesise that these processes may be of complete novelty. Global phenomena such as climate change, international capital flows, massive urbanisation and migrations are

⁸ M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, Cambridge 2019.

⁹ R. Swedberg, O. Agevall, *The Max Weber Dictionary*, Stanford 2016.

¹⁰ M. Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, New York 1949.

changing our perception of the world. According to Beck, the success of modernisation (not war or violence) is destabilising normative and empirical certainties of modernity itself.

Beck describes a world in which unintended social novelties are emerging, together with new political and economic processes. Besides, these new social dynamics go unobserved or unperceived, to some extent. Interlinked with the notion of 'metamorphosis of the world' is the concept of 'cosmopolitised spaces of action' that refers to new structures of opportunities available for actors such as states, corporations and especially individuals. Cosmopolitised spaces of action *include transnational, transborder resources for action, such as the differences between national judicial regimes, radical inequalities and cultural differences*.¹¹ We aim at verifying whether similar features of metamorphic evolution are today manifest in migration processes taking place in Poland.

GLOBALISING CITIES

For a more comprehensive description and a better understanding of the latest developments of Polish urban centres, we draw upon the literature on global city and globalising city.¹² By using the phrase 'global city formation', we argue that Kraków and Poznań are at the globalising city stage, considered as a stage in a process of transformation which can be examined and comprehended with reference to the larger processes of globalisation. According to the categorisation provided by Wallerstein's world-systems analysis,¹³ the position of globalising cities in the world economy is frequently described as semi-peripheral or peripheral.

To detect and 'locate' the globalising features of the two Polish cities, we draw on Brenner's 'alternative vision of urban studies' which offers a *reconceptualization of capitalist urbanization as a process that includes the moments of city building and city unbuilding, as well as the production and ongoing transformation of a multiscalar, territorially variegated urban fabric*.¹⁴ Thus, investigating the globalising stage of cities will assumably highlight the relations *between geoeconomic restructuring and the remaking of urban space*¹⁵ and generate fresh insight into the connections between *the global and the local*, which has been described as *one of the more difficult areas of globalization studies and global cities research*.¹⁶ In fact, while global cities (or world cities) such as London,

¹¹ U. Beck, *The Metamorphosis of the World*, Cambridge 2016.

¹² J. Friedmann, G. Wolff, "World City Formation: an Agenda for Research and Action", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1982); S. Sassen, *The Global City*, New York–London–Tokyo 1991; Z. Zhou, *Study on Globalizing Cities: A Theoretical Framework and China's Modes*, Hackensack 2014; N. Brenner, *New Urban Spaces...*; X. Ren, R. Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, Abingdon 2017.

¹³ I. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham 2004.

¹⁴ N. Brenner, *New Urban Spaces...*

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ J. Rennie-Short, *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World*, London–New York 2004.

New York and Tokyo, are metropolises playing top roles as centres of political power¹⁷ or spatial nodes of economic flows, globalising cities are in a dynamic process of continuous transformation, mirroring in this the features of globalisation. Besides, the positions of globalising cities in yearly international rankings (if those can be considered a tool of analysis) change as a function of their inclusion in global flows of capital, services, technology and people.

The constitutive importance of migratory flows in the processes of global city formation has been made evident by early studies on the topic. One example is the fifth thesis of the 'world city hypothesis' proposed by Friedmann: *World cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants*.¹⁸ Another example is the extensive investigation of the connections between economic growth, global cities rise, new labour demand and migration processes, published by Sassen in 1988 in the book *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*.¹⁹ In a subsequent work, Sassen researched the role of local actors (organizations and individuals) in global dynamics and affirmed that [global] *cities help people experience themselves as part of global non-state networks as they live their daily lives. They enact some version of the global in the micro-spaces of daily life*.²⁰

Recent research on globalising cities has broadened its own scope, dealing with emerging 'urban worlds,' such as the Global South and Asia²¹, where globalising cities have emerged as destinations of flows of global migration.²²

Past and recent studies can be the source of comparative problematisations of the phenomena at play in Poland, as we observe, today Polish cities are attracting substantial numbers of immigrants from all over the world, a condition that motivates the launch of appropriate research projects.

KRAKÓW AND POZNAŃ AS APT CASE STUDIES

We argue that Poland holds characteristics of global attractiveness that take shape in some of its major urban centres. In order to understand these features it is beneficial to look back at the history of the country and of its major cities. Polish history has characteristics of uniqueness precisely in relation to its urban development, which may be better understood in a perspective of *longue durée*.

Most important changes occurred during the Second World War and after it, in the multidimensional process that Galent and Kubicki have named 'ruralisation' of

¹⁷ P. Hall, *The World Cities*, New York 1966.

¹⁸ J. Friedmann, "World City Hypothesis", *Development and Change*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1986).

¹⁹ S. Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*, Cambridge 1988.

²⁰ S. Sassen, "Local Actors in Global Politics", *Current Sociology*, vol. 52, no. 4 (2014).

²¹ X. Ren, R. Keil (eds.), *The Globalizing...*

²² A. Lehmann, *Transnational Lives in China: Expatriates in a Globalizing City*, New York 2014.

Polish cities²³ where ‘peasant-workers’, attracted by industrialisation, became the dominant element. Following the collapse of the communist regime and the socio-economic transition to capitalist mode of production and accumulation, Polish society promptly reached the turning point of EU accession in 2004. Since that time, the country has been increasingly involved in global economic and financial dynamics and has taken on evident features of Europeanisation.

Polish researchers have studied the wide-ranging processes that occurred in Polish cities since 1989.²⁴ For the purposes of our research, the most relevant are those interdependent phenomena that have *created all of the structural changes that have brought about the redefinition of the role of the city and urban culture in Poland*²⁵ such as the growth of a new urban middle class, new forms of production and consumption (i.e. digitalisation and digital/symbolic economy), European integration and globalisation. Therefore, well-founded reasons led to the choice of Kraków and Poznań as both the setting and the object of our study. According to recent evidence, their voivodeships are the two with the largest number of migrants after the voivodeship of Warsaw²⁶. This evidence confirms the cities’ ability to attract foreign workers. Historical evolution then makes the two cities comparable in terms of internationalisation. Kraków has been a centre of power and cultural production and is developing as a hub of international Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) and tourism. Poznań maintains the features of its past as a continental trade node, revived since the 1920s with the status of a major business centre, thanks to Poznań International Fair, and also becoming, in the present days, a fast-developing international BPO hub. However, the two cities differ significantly in terms of their model of development over the last two decades. Kraków has become a model example of a post-Fordist city, whereas Poznań still remains largely a Fordist city. The advances in the process of global city formation have attracted, together with foreign labour and investments, the attention of scholars who have described them as ‘symptoms’ of globalisation²⁷ and have consistently incorporated the two cities in several global cities classifications and rankings. If we postulate the semi-peripheral position²⁸ of the two Central European cities of Kraków and Poznań, we are driven to take into consideration some important socio-cultural features of the processes of globalisation and Europeanisation that are taking place in Poland.

First of all, it seems appropriate to study the phenomena of globalisation using a multiscalar analytical approach. This allows us to formulate new conceptualisations regarding the scale of the globalising city, a level of analysis which enables to locate the

²³ M. Galent, P. Kubicki, “New Urban Middle Class and National Identity in Poland”, *Polish Sociological Review*, no. 179 (2012).

²⁴ A. White et al., *The Impact of Migration on Poland: EU Mobility and Social Change*, London 2018; P. Kubicki, *The City and Narrating Otherness: Polish Cities and The Process of Europeanization*, Berlin–Warsaw 2019.

²⁵ M. Galent, P. Kubicki, *New Urban...*

²⁶ K. Pędziwiatr, M. Stonawski, J. Brzozowski, *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku*, Kraków 2021.

²⁷ M. Wdowicka, *Miasta w globalnej sieci korporacji transnarodowych*, Poznań 2017.

²⁸ I. Wallerstein, *World-systems...*

strategic presence of foreigners/migrants when they take on the role of actors of urban change.

Secondly, we can bring within our analytical framework the narratives that consider the Europeanisation processes that took place especially after the 2004 EU accession. By doing so, it will be possible to account for the distinctive characteristics that the migratory processes towards Poland have assumed in recent years, specifically in relation to its continental position.

Thirdly, the scale of the globalising city allows a productive examination of the historical and cultural specificities of Polish cities, which have experienced a massive change in their social structure. They passed from a multi-ethnic condition (early twentieth century) to a mono-cultural one (after the Second World War). In this case, the global migratory processes open new possibilities to the return of multicultural practices.

HORIZONTAL EUROPEANISATION

Social scientists are extremely cautious in handling contested terms such as globalisation and Europeanisation.²⁹ Their disputed character derives from the difficulty of exhaustively comprehend all the features of the phenomena under consideration. Short of adequate space, we will deal here only with some aspects of processes of Europeanisation. We consider Europeanisation in dynamic interscalar relation with globalisation, the state and regional levels, and of course the local and urban levels as the primary focus of our study. Therefore, when we deal with issues concerning geographic scales, we refer to the thematisation proposed by Neil Brenner: *Geographical scales – the discrete tiers, strata, or levels within vertically ordered sociospatial configurations – are not static, fixed, or permanent properties of political-economic life. They are best understood, rather, as socially produced, and therefore malleable, dimensions of specific sociospatial processes (...). Insofar as any social, political, economic, or environmental process or institutional configuration is vertically differentiated among relatively individuated spatial tiers, the problem of its scalar organization (and, by implication, that of its potential reorganization, or rescaling) arises. It is more precise, therefore, to speak of the scaling (scale differentiation) and rescaling (scale reordering) of specific sociospatial processes and institutional forms rather than of scales per se. Scales are but the provisionally stabilized outcomes of scaling and rescaling processes; the former can be grasped only through an analysis of the latter.*³⁰

Precisely in these terms of social production, our study will articulate the analysis of the sociospatial processes of globalisation and Europeanisation, because *Scales cannot be construed adequately as fixed units within a system of nested territorial containers defined by absolute geographic size (a ‘Russian dolls’ model of scale). The institutional*

²⁹ U. Beck, *What is Globalization?*, Cambridge 2018; J.P. Olsen, “The Many Faces of Europeanization”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 5 (2002).

³⁰ N. Brenner, *New Urban Spaces...*

*configuration, functions, histories, and evolutionary dynamics of any one geographical scale can only be grasped relationally, in terms of its changing links to other geographical scales situated within broader interscalar configurations.*³¹

Until recent times, the prevailing understanding of Europeanisation has had a vertical political characterisation. The conceptualisation of vertical Europeanisation is connected with top-down political, economic and social processes that originate at the European level (mainly from The European Union, but not only) and can be described as the effects of the implementation of Europe-wide public policies and legal regulations.³² As we can imagine, vertical Europeanisation has been the object of political science, historical and legal studies, and economics³³.

The attention for horizontal Europeanisation has been growing recently in sociology. Proposed by Beck and Grande in 2007, the concept had the effect of an epistemic innovation in the field of European studies. First of all, the two scholars powerfully criticised the thematisation of Europe under an 'additive, national view of society', arguing that this perspective can *Grasp Europeanization sociologically at best a) comparatively, through methodical comparisons of national societies, or b) on the model of the endogenous convergence among national societies and national histories, or c) in terms of overlaps, that is, intersections between social and historical commonalities.*³⁴

For Beck and Grande, vertical Europeanisation corresponds *roughly to the level of 'internationality' and 'supranationality', which are state-centred concepts.* While horizontal Europeanisation is conceived as a *regional concept of what is generally called transnationalization.* In a more extensive understanding, we also consider processes of horizontal Europeanisation beyond the institutional frame of European Union, which are intertwined with processes of social production of other scalar levels. When we will investigate the role of foreigners in the processes of city production, we are going to make empirical use of the definition of horizontal Europeanisation provided by Martin Heidenreich: *By 'horizontal' (or societal) Europeanisation, we refer to the increasing role of transnational practices, social relationships, interactions, attitudes and inequalities, and an increasing transnationalisation of social fields in Europe as a result of growing cross-border interdependencies and cross-border strategies of (sometimes EU-related) organisations and individuals. These processes are characterised by openness and conflict as well as different territorial ranges and multiple territorial references, with the European level playing a particularly important role.*³⁵

This framing devises a clear path for empirical research. It clearly identifies organisations and individuals as the actors of social processes and practices, adopting the model of

³¹ Ibid.

³² C.M. Radaelli, *The Europeanization of Public Policy*, in K. Featherstone and C.M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford 2003.

³³ M. Heidenreich (ed.), *Horizontal Europeanisation: The Transnationalisation of Daily Life and Social Fields in Europe*, Abingdon–New York 2019.

³⁴ U. Beck, E. Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, Cambridge 2007.

³⁵ M. Heidenreich (ed.), *Horizontal Europeanisation...*

Europeanisation 'from below' (i.e. bottom-up) envisioned by Beck and Grande. Moreover, we argue that the mentioned 'different territorial ranges and multiple territorial references' can be operationalised in terms of processes of scaling and rescaling.

FOREIGNERS

Foreigners who settle in Polish cities are the primary focus of our study. They can identify themselves, and can be identified, either as migrants or expatriates. The usage of the (alleged) dichotomy migrant/expatriate is as pervasive as elusive. Kunz identifies polysemy as the main relevant characteristic of both phrases, which becomes evident when they are jointly examined. She considers the 'plasticity', defined as semantic multiplicity and malleability, of both 'expatriate' and 'migrant' as it emerges in interviews with her respondents. Moreover, *conceptual multiplicity enables a range of what might be called 'polysemic games', discursive operations on the terrain of polysemy that do political work.*³⁶ According to Kunz, it is their intertwined polysemy that constructs 'migrant' and 'expatriate' as signifiers apt to mobilise shifting meanings in 'everyday politics of migration categories'. Polysemy can be detected at individual level, as confirmed by the research respondents, and in the public discourse, especially in the content conveyed by media outlets. Therefore, the categorisation of migrants (and the consequent racialisation of migration) can be determined by the representations shaped by media to the point that they differ substantially from statistical evidence. According to Kunz, these larger dynamics have a direct influence on the *constructions of the 'expatriate' and the 'migrant', both by migrants and non-migrants.*³⁷

It is therefore apparent that any attempt to operationalise concepts like 'foreigner', 'migrant', 'expatriate', etc., should imply caution. One main terminological reference is the *Glossary on Migration* published by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and used by migration scholars. A look at the definitions of the terms 'foreigner', 'migrant' and 'expatriate' provided by the *Glossary* makes it the inherent complexity of the categories of the study clear.

Foreigner

A person in a State of which he is not a citizen or national.

Migrant

An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories

³⁶ S. Kunz, "Expatriate, Migrant? The Social Life of Migration Categories and the Polyvalent Mobility of Race", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 46, no. 11 (2020).

³⁷ Ibid.

of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students.

Note: At the international level, no universally accepted definition for 'migrant' exists. (...)

Expatriate

A person who voluntarily renounces his or her nationality.

Note: The term is also used colloquially to identify nationals who have taken up residence in a foreign country, such as employees of multinational companies or international civil servants.³⁸

According to Ambrosini, the definition of a 'migrant' is 'blurred' and does not take into consideration: (1) *the person's legal status*; (2) *whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary*; (3) *what the causes for the movement are*; or (4) *what the length of the stay is*. (...) *Legal status and the lack thereof are defined by the rules of the receiving country, which commonly refer to different dimensions such as residence and employment.*³⁹ It is manifest that since the law of the receiving country is the cogent one (i.e. derived by generally accepted authority), the experience of international migration is nationally situated, and so is the research on it, in most of the cases. Moreover, it is remarkable that the definition of 'migrant' is nowadays accepted without a clear timeframe. This is a clear reflection of the fluid and complex characters that migration processes have assumed in recent years (consider, for example, circular migration). For the purposes of our research, this is a key aspect, as it is directly connected to the operationalisation of terms employed in the research. Our study will take its first steps in qualitative data collection, giving voice to foreigners in relation to categorical definitions. This will allow us to better understand how, when moving to Poland, migrants and expatriates reshape their social representations and practises.

ANCHORING

One last aspect that we will discuss regards empirical research tools. An essential assumption of our study is that the new phenomena we are witnessing require new tools of investigation. At the same time, it is of fundamental importance to keep our investigative focus on individuals.

In recent years, we have witnessed an innovative academic discussion on the characteristics of foreigners' settlement in host countries. For example, Schinkel has

³⁸ IOM, *Glossary on Migration*, Geneva 2019.

³⁹ M. Ambrosini, *Irregular Immigration Southern Europe: Actors, Dynamics and Governance*, Cham 2019.

strongly criticised Western European *immigrant integration imaginaries*.⁴⁰ Similarly, Favell has contested the term 'integration' for *its central role in re-enforcing essentially colonial and (usually) heavily racialised views on immigration, from the receiving state's viewpoint only*.⁴¹ Savage et al., studying 'contemporary local belonging' in relation to global change, have observed practises of *'elective belonging,' which articulates senses of spatial attachment, social position, and forms of connectivity to other places*.⁴²

The new conceptualisation we will adopt as one heuristic basis of our research was proposed by the social scientist Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, under the name of 'anchoring'.⁴³ The Polish scholar connects the proposal of the new concept to the *global changes in international mobility, linked to the acceleration of globalisation processes and geopolitical changes*. In her argumentation, Grzymała-Kazłowska enumerates several socio-cultural transformations of contemporary societies, such as the *development and popularisation of new communication technologies, super-diversity, the reduced significance of coherent cultural systems and traditional social institutions within societies such as marriage and conventional family or institutional religion along with the decline of the welfare state and increasing job insecurity, as well as questioning of the 'nation-state-society' paradigm*. The validity of the contextualisation operated by the author is confirmed by the wide range of social processes taken into consideration. Indeed, we think that the open character of the proposed conceptualisation makes it a tool adaptable to the possible perspective of a metamorphosing world.

Grzymała-Kazłowska defines anchoring as *the process of establishing footholds and points of reference which allow individuals to acquire relative stability and security (understood as a feeling of being safe and not exposed to chaos and danger) and function effectively in a new environment. The concept of anchoring links the issues of identity, integration and security to understand how migrants adapt to new life settings and 'settle down'. Significantly, settlement is understood less as putting down roots in a new country and more as making life relatively stable or reaching a state of stability. Anchoring emphasises, on the one hand, the cognitive and emotional aspects of establishing footholds and, on the other hand, tangible anchors and structural constraints*.⁴⁴ As we can see, the concept of anchoring is a metaphorical extension of the semantic field of the word anchor, which refers, in everyday discourse, to a *tool that allows a floating object to be stopped and held in a proper position*. The concept is then useful to investigate flexibility of migrants' adaptation and settlement. Various kinds of anchors can be 'dropped', and also

⁴⁰ W. Schinkel, *Imagined Societies: A Critique of Immigrant Integration in Western Europe*, Cambridge 2017.

⁴¹ A. Favell, "Integration: A Critical View", in R. Zapata-Barrero, D. Jacobs, R. Kastoryano (eds.), *Contested Concepts in Migration Studies*, Abingdon 2021.

⁴² M. Savage, G. Bagnall, B. Longhurst, *Globalization and Belonging*, London 2005.

⁴³ A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, "Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected?", *Sociology*, vol. 50, no. 6 (2016); eadem, *Capturing...*

⁴⁴ A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, *Capturing...*

‘weighed’ in the reverse process of ‘un-anchoring’. Consequently, anchoring may have the nature of *simultaneity, multidimensionality and changeability*.⁴⁵

Tasked with the objective of operationalising foreigners’ anchors (i.e. modalities of anchoring) we can draw on the explanatory categories provided by Grzymała-Kazłowska. On the one hand, anchors can be subjective and internal. Examples of this type of anchors can be national identification, beliefs and memory. On the other hand, anchors are objective and external, such as legal anchors like citizenship and legal status, or economic ones as the types of consumption, and also spatial ones as in the cases of the place of birth and place of residence. Material objects and practises can represent anchors. Moreover, Grzymała-Kazłowska identifies anchors that can have mixed character. They can be social and professional, including family roles, profession, or being a foreigner. Mixed types of anchoring can be cultural ones, related to language, norms and values.

As Grzymała-Kazłowska wrote, *through anchoring, individuals are included in a society*.⁴⁶ The intellectual challenge of our study is to identify which processes of anchoring allow foreigners to participate in the dynamics of production of the city, securing a prominent role in the processes of the global city formation.

SECONDARY RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND CLOSING REMARKS

Until today, no study has investigated our main research hypothesis, namely whether foreigners actively contribute to the processes of the global city formation in Poland. However, this does not constitute a prejudice to the validity of the hypothesis itself. Indeed, some scholars have ventured into similar investigations.

A significant example is the research conducted by Çağlar and Glick Schiller, presented in their recent book *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*.⁴⁷ The setting selected for their study can be considered ‘diametrically opposite’ to ours, as they chose three marginal and disempowered cities: Halle/Saale (Germany), Manchester (New Hampshire) and Mardin (Turkey). Nonetheless, their findings on immigrants’ small businesses are noteworthy, as they clearly indicate that they are *not organized around migrants’ cultural background and ethnic networks*, instead, they can be linked to *multiscalar restructuring processes that reconfigured the lives of all residents and conditioned the growth and demise of businesses*.

We argue that analogous multiscalar restructuring processes are at play today in Poland, engaging both Poles and foreigners. Therefore, along with the primary research objective mentioned above, the proposed study advances two additional research hypotheses:

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, *Social Anchoring...*

⁴⁷ A. Çağlar, N. Glick Schiller, *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*, Durham 2018.

1) Poles and foreigners are actively modifying the collective perceptions and representations of the two Polish cities of Kraków and Poznań, along with the socio-political and economic globalising processes that are inducing urban diversification;

2) We expect to detect the emergence of social innovation, together with residential selectivity (and clustering).

The study we envision is one of a qualitative design. Nevertheless, the research is conceived in such a way as to allow the construction of an ideal bridge with its possible future development in a quantitative sense. The motivation lies in the possible evolutions of migratory phenomena, and the more general socio-economic ones, which may affect the country in the years to come. We consider our study as the first step in a long enduring analysis of international social dynamics in Poland.

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