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The only journey is the one within.

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Abstract

In the framework of social representations theory, this thesis presents a two-fold research aimed at identifying social representations of Warsaw and Rome, according to the multi-method approach. The first population under scrutiny includes 210 subjects from seven different nationalities (Italian, English, American, Spanish, French, German and Polish) who visit Warsaw for the first time. Their perception of the city before and after the visit is studied, taking into account their place identity, information sources and cognitive maps produced. This research is the extension of the research initiated by de Rosa in the city of Rome and subsequently repeated in other European capitals: Helsinki, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Paris and Vienna. The second population studied includes Italian expat residents in Warsaw and Polish expat residents in Rome. Their social representations of the cities, emerging from questionnaires and interviews are compared, according to modeling approach that tests a series of interrelated hypotheses. Each level of research not only complements the other levels, but also helps to better understand the findings as a whole. Altogether, the article presents a complex picture of the cities of Warsaw and Rome, imagined and experienced, from the points of view of first-visitors and expat residents, based on perceptions expressed in writing, in speech and through graphic-projective techniques. The findings concerning Warsaw are compared with those of other European historical capital cities, unveiling underlying *themata* and allowing for a profound understanding of complex social representations.



THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. The city: its history, its places, its messages and its dreams

1.1. Overview of the history of the city and in particular of the capital city

Ever since from their beginning, cities have always been the places where communities of people were linked together in a complex way. In the ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle developed two main approaches to the nature of the human being in the context of society (Hewstone, Stroebe, 2001). Plato laid ground for the socio-centred approach, which highlights the educational role of state and authorities that render social the individual. He portrayed the city as an example of both urban virtue and urban decay. On the other hand, Aristotle considered individuals to be social by nature, which was then developed to the individual-centred approach.

However, the cities have not always accompanied mankind. It is estimated that *homo sapiens* appeared approximately 40,000 years ago, yet the first urban settlements, on the Sumerian coast and in the Indus Valley, date back to approximately 3,500 BC (Morris, 1996). Throughout the history of humanity, nomadic civilizations were always less numerous, as the agricultural ones grew in number. That process prompted the steady development of the cities, which experienced a sudden acceleration during the Industrial Revolution, the unique era of great cities (Weber, 1989). The massive urbanization in the last century has resulted in a situation where half of the world's 6.6 billion people currently live in cities, one billion of them in informal settlements; the United Nations projects that the global urban population will expand to as many as 5 billion over the next two decades.

According to many legends, the first cities were founded by nomads, ostracised or punished by their communities. The Chinese, Indian, African, European and Mesoamerican legends talk about the dangerous passage from wandering to settlement and "in any given place time began when the city was founded." (Rykwert, 2000) Also the Biblical account of the first city reports Cain, the first murder, as the founder of the



city in the land of Nod, which became a refuge after the expulsion from Eden. Life in the city was thus contrasted with the nomadic existence. While currently it tends to be contrasted with the country life, in the ancient cities the evolution from rural to urban was emphasized, by having the relics of rural origins in the city centre. For instance, in Athens the Aeropagus was placed on the roof of thatch and clay, while in Rome the wood hut of Romulus was preserved on the Palatine Hill, near marble palaces. In the beginning of their history, the cities used to be characterized by symbolic ways that were aimed at representing the anthropological needs of old rural societies. According to Wheatley (1967), this was done by: 1) creating a parallelism between the heavenly space and the earthly space, reproduced in rituals and customs, 2) creating symbolic spaces that represented the centrality of the city, and 3) enclosing such spaces from the outer world and at the same time projecting their influence on the outer world. Rome is an example of such a city, where time and space served to give direction to the pilgrims in order to witness the glory of the Church through the architecture of the city, especially in times of the Pope Sisto V. The cities were born and developed following the meanings of the religious, political and cultural order, and were modified by local exigencies due to the work related, emotional, religious and creative needs of the community. The fountains, monuments and gardens used to all be arranged by this order of meanings (Pinna, 2000). Throughout the history cities carried the impression of a more intense life, not necessarily positive; the traffic problems, crowdedness, corruption and dirt was already criticised by Horace and Juvenal.

Taylor (2000) distinguishes three stages in the development of the cities, thus outlining a framework for the changing territoriality in the *longue duree* context: the necessity for territoriality, the nationalization of territoriality and the demise of territoriality. It is in the second phase, when the political transformation led by France (Billington, 1980), leading to the concept of people as a nation, has resulted in the cultural centralization and the focus on capital cities. In the nineteenth century in Europe, the idea of a city versus state was vanishing and purely industrial cities were losing their significance while the capital cities were becoming dominant due to their state functions. Lawton (1989) calls this situation “the world urban system of the capitals of states.”

Capital cities are a specific kind of cities and are designated as such by the country or



area. In Europe, capital cities bring to mind big cities, or at least the biggest cities in the countries. According to the definition, it is the seat of the highest governing body. Thus, *La capitale*, capital city derived from the word “head”. In the ancient times, Rome and Athens presented two models of capital cities (Maćzak, 1996). In the case of Rome, its expansion started as the expansion of the city. From the urbanistic point of view, private homes were located in the proximity of the public buildings and central but not separated structures of governing bodies. Roman Forum, like Greek *agora*, performed multiple functions, from economic, through entertaining, religious and governing. The times of Roman Empire had made Rome to become an archetype of an imperial capital city, the city filled with fruits of military victories, and a model for imperial capital cities until the XXth century (Maćzak, 1996). Although there seems to be a link between a capital city and its long history, there are some exceptions both in Europe and especially in the rest of the world. Usually capital cities and very big or the biggest cities, in constant growth, sometimes an ill growth such as in case of *favelas* or *bidonville*, which may cause the elites and governing bodies to cultivate a desire to separate from such places, cut the links with the past and start out in a new, virgin place. There is an important link between a city, especially a capital city, and the identity. According to de Giovanni Centelles (2011), throughout the history the Mediterranean identity is based on three elements: the Book, the city and the family. The city, one of the three pillars, with its *agora*, *plaza* or *piazza*, has always been a place of encounter and a platform for dialogue. The underlying concept of the city and the archetypes transmitted to the North of Europe, especially during the Renaissance, had a lasting influence on the perception of the city and its significance.

A contemporary definition of a city points out four characteristics (Marada, 2011): 1. Expanding, destined to grow in terms of population and territory; 2. Political and economic importance; 3. Education and culture; and 4. Migration to the cities, which has changed since 1960's and 1970's, especially in Western Europe with receiving migration from former colonies. It resulted in giving more importance to city planning, conventional explanation of the new phenomenon and the post-material change of paying more attention to not only material conditions, but also safety and environmental issues.



1.2. Social psychology as the key to understanding the phenomenon of the city

Places have always been a part of human existence. Among different places cities play a crucial role for the development of civilizations. *City* is defined by Encyclopaedia Britannica (2010) as “relatively permanent and highly organized centre of population, of greater size or importance than a town or village. The name *city* is given to certain urban communities by virtue of some legal or conventional distinction that can vary between regions or nations.” However, there is no uniform standard definition of the city, although in most countries “the definition of urban/rural areas is based on both qualitative and quantitative criteria that may include any combination of the following: size of population, population density, distance between built-up areas, predominant type of economic activity, conformity to legal or administrative status and urban characteristics such as specific services and facilities”, as noted by the United Nations (2008). In spite of seemingly endless definitions (almost every country has its own official definition of “urban”), at the end most anyone can fairly easily decide whether a given settlement is urban or rural. How is that possible? In general, men and women do not find it difficult to make such decisions, yet when it comes to coming up with a universal and unique definition of the city almost every country has its own. Nevertheless, it seems that such a definition is somewhere out there, in the shared sphere, which allows us to function in the world, to classify and to name what we see and experience. From the scientific point of view, the best theory that allows the researcher to examine such aspects of everyday reality, including the city and in particular the capital city, is the theory of social representations developed in the social psychology. It is the social aspect of a historical capital city, which is the concern of this research. Therefore, the standpoint from which the topic of the city is going to be treated is from the field of contemporary social psychology, “the science of culture, and in particular of our culture. As such, it is the anthropology of modern world” (Moscovici, 1981). Social psychology is related to sociology and psychology, but it is not the combination of the two disciplines. According to Moscovici (1972), what makes social psychology different from them is the effort to understand the conflict between the individual and the social from a particular point of view. Nevertheless, it seems that

in the general viewpoint there has always been the tendency to focus either on social or on psychological aspects of social psychology. In the European context, Henri Tajfel and Serge Moscovici made an effort to make social psychology more oriented toward social, and less toward individual aspect of it. In 1972, these two authors contributed to *The Context of Social Psychology*, in which they took a stand against the definition of social psychology as the discipline dedicated to the study of the relations between the individual and the society. According to Moscovici, social psychology was to study symbolic behaviour of social subjects, understood as individuals or as groups (1972). That behaviour was then described more specifically by Moscovici (1984a) as the continuous tension between the individual and the society, which is being overcome by employing various solutions. The way to study such conflict is through the study of social representations, generated by groups and individuals to function and to communicate. Thus, the study of social representations, their genesis, structure and functions is the heart of social psychology. Such an approach varies from the traditional linear approach of psychology, in which subject and object are separately defined as illustrated by the following model:



Fig. 1. Linear approach

The innovative approach proposed by Moscovici (1984) is the triad between subject (S_1 – subject 1), object (O) and other (also called subject 2 - S_2), which can be demonstrated as follows, according to Bauer and Gaskell (1999):

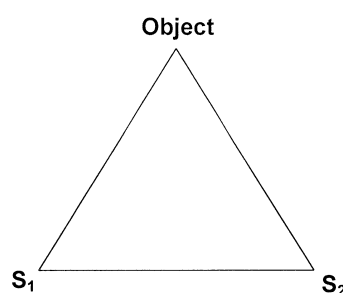


Fig. 2. Semiotic triangle

The relationship between the subject and the object is always mediated by the other, individual, group, collective beliefs and social representations. This way of perceiving the reality helps to have a balanced approach, between the psychological and the social, and is different from both purely psychological and purely sociological approach.

The semiotic triangle above proposed by Moscovici (1984) has been further developed by Bauer and Gaskell (1999) who defined a paradigm for research on social representations. In their definition of characteristics of social representations, they identified three features: cultivation in communication systems, structured contents serving different functions for the communication systems, and embodiment in various modes and mediums.

Concerning communication systems, understood as social milieus, the triad presented above was considered as the minimal system. Bauer and Gaskell (1999) added a time dimension (both past and future) to the basic semiotic triangle, thus creating an elongated triangle, which they depicted as a “toblerone”. As the authors explain, “the apexes of the triangle stand for subject 1, subject 2 and the object O in the sense of a ‘brute fact’, the referent. The elongation is the past and the future that is implied in the joint project P. A section through the toblerone at any particular time is a surface that denotes the common sense meaning [the representation] of that object at that time” (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999).

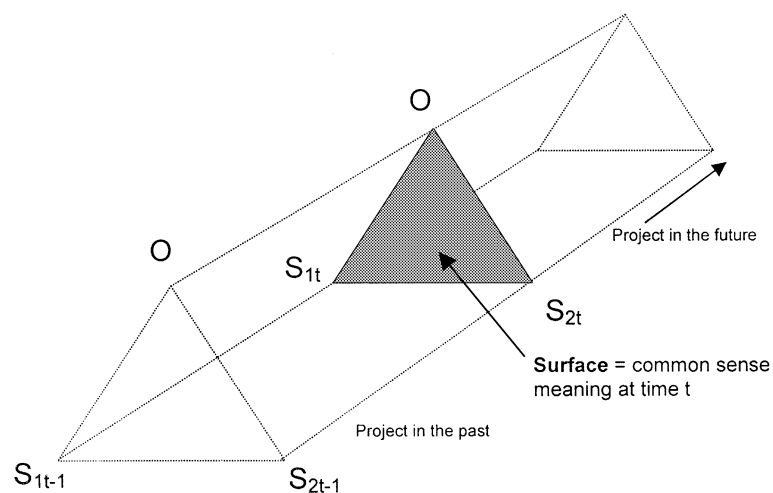


Fig. 3. Toblerone model



Concerning methodology, the theory of social representations from the beginning has been characterized by different approaches and a great diversity. The methods used by social psychologists interested in the theory of social representations include experiments, surveys, interviews, observation and other techniques. There are different levels of explanation that the researchers should be able to articulate and integrate: intrapersonal, interpersonal and situational, positional and ideological (Doise, 1984). Besides using traditional psychosocial methods (questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, observation, etc.), some specific techniques have also been developed to study the content of social representations through verbal associations techniques that allow “minimizing the amount of interpretation to be done by the researcher” (Rateau et al, 2011). Two examples of these specific associative techniques for the study of social representations are the “Basic Cognitive Schema” created by Guimelli (1993, 1998) and the “Associative Network Method” created by de Rosa (2002). As stated by Rateau et al. (2011), also the development of computerized and more accessible multivaried techniques has prompted researchers to “detail the specificities of each method compared with the social representations theory’s postulates”.

1.3. Social psychological theories: the choice

There is no unique, core theory in social psychology, which is a discipline with a rich history of thought based on different philosophical assumptions. Current theories can be traced back as emerging from other theories within social psychology and sometimes from other theories in social sciences.

Regarding places, one of the first social psychologists who developed a theory about the physical-spatial environment (and the city can be an example of such) was Kurt Lewin whose field theory and psychological ecology acknowledge the importance of environment in the well known formula $B=f(P \times E)$. Lewin saw the environment in a holistic perspective, not only from a physical or spatial point of view. His field theory (1952) attempts to explain behaviour that occurs in a given situation, thus attributing a crucial role to the understanding of the situation in a given moment, defined as a property of psychological field. According to Bones (2007), in Lewin’s theory the



physical environment is therefore placed explicitly next to the social environment. Thus defined psychological ecology on the theoretical level refers to three areas: the life space, the multiple physical and social processes at a given moment, and a border area between the parts of physical and social world that have influence on an individual life (Lewin, 1952). It is precisely this border area that interests the psychological ecology, and it is from this point of view that the city is the object of research and study. Not in itself, but as a reality that influences and is influenced by people today.

1.3.1. Social representations theory

The social element in the social psychology postulated by Moscovici, refers to the circumstances of the genesis of social representations, the circumstances of their circulation and the social functions that they perform (Banchs et al, 2007). The social representations theory of Serge Moscovici is the core part of the theoretical framework of this thesis.

The social representations, according to Jodelet (1993) are “forms of social thinking used to communicate, understand and master the social, material and intellectual environment. As such, they are analysed as products and processes of mental activity that are socially marked.” The first focus of Moscovici was the way science and scientific concepts, such as psychoanalysis, penetrate and change once they become a part of everyday knowledge. The passage from reified universe guided by verification and validation to the commonsense universe prompts the creation of representations of the scientific concept among non-scientists. Social representations refer not only to scientific concepts, but also to many other objects, such as a city or one’s own body. They facilitate and allow for communication between people, because they are shared (as a common basis, not necessarily in their entirety) and result from a collective production of meaning. Jodelet (1984) identified five features of social representations: they are always representations of an object, they are imaginary and capable of rendering interchangeable the perception and the concept, they are symbolic and meaningful, they are constructive and they are autonomous and creative.



How do social representations come into being? As Moscovici stated, there is no exhaustive answer to this question and social representations are not formed in a genetic sense. They are elaborated through two processes: anchoring and objectification.

Anchoring assigns the new object to a category or element of an existing representation. By placing it in a “conceptual box”, it becomes more familiar (Potter, 1996).

Objectification transforms the new object into a concrete, often iconic element of the representation to which it is anchored.

Anchoring and objectification account for change and demonstrate that the theory of social representations is a constructivist theory. In constructivist view, social interaction, communication and social systems of norms and values influence individual cognitive functioning and contribute to the construction of new forms of knowledge. In Moscovici’s words (1988), “social representations, to rephrase a common expression, are ways of world making.” The construction process is not random and it is shaped by the regularities of thought, language and life in society; for this reason, the theory of social representations investigates how they are forged by social forces, in accordance with the nature of social groups, and how they are communicated.

Regarding the structure of social representations, according to Abric (1993), every representation is organized around central nucleus, which determines the meaning and the organization of the representation. Central nucleus constitutes an essential and necessary part of a given representation, as it contributes to the stability and coherence. Therefore, two elements of the structure of a social representation can be distinguished: central system, which is based on the central nucleus and determined by social, historical and ideological factors, and the peripheral system, which depends on individual characteristics of subjects and the context. The structure of social representations is helpful in order to understand their changing and dynamic character (due to peripheral system) that nevertheless does not exclude the seemingly opposite constant and continuing character (due to central system).

In the field of studies dedicated to places there has existed the concept of social representations of places, as shown by Milgram (1984), following his research on “mental representations” of the city of Paris by the inhabitants, who expresses some doubts regarding the use of the construct of social representations in this kind of studies.



However, many different European authors do not share his concern and have developed some studies dedicated to social representations of places, such as Jodelet (1987), Kruse, Grauman (1987), Bonnes (1980) and de Rosa (1997, 2006). Bonnes for instance demonstrates that by examining and comparing social representations of different places in the city, they are mutually interdependent and form “a naïve theory of the city” that allows for organization of surrounding urban reality, orientation in it, and communication with other inhabitants regarding it (Bonnes, Secchiaroli, 2007).

In fact, social representations theory is widely applicable to social issues and in particular in the field of environmental psychology. According to Rateau, Moliner, Guimelli and Abric (2011), its applicability is due to the following three characteristics: it is an adaptable and versatile theory, it is a common sense psychosocial theory, and it has given rise to the elaboration of various methodologies. Among various fields where social representations theory has been successfully applied, the abovementioned authors name geography that takes an interest in the mental processes, which contribute to the perception of space. They quote the “geography of representations” (Lussaut, 2007), according to which space is endowed with meanings and values and representations are final determinants of spatial practice. In this light, the study of a place and in particular of a city, a place very dense with human activity, takes on a whole new dimension.

1.3.2. Social identity theory

Henri Tajfel based his theory on a concept of society that comprises social categories of different social status and power, depending on economic condition and history. Social identity is strongly influenced by belonging in a given category as a member of a group, as opposed to the individual identity. Rooted in the social identity, intergroup behaviour is thus an outcome of social categorization. It depends also on social comparison, since membership of a social group is tied to the value and emotional significance (Tajfel, 1981) in comparison with other social groups. The process of social categorization occurs in order to organize and order the environment, by accentuation and contrast. Besides this cognitive function of simplifying perception, people have a need of maintaining or obtaining a positive self-esteem, and for this reason identity function comes into play. A membership in a group is tied into one’s self-concept, and thus



groups make an effort to see their ingroup in a positive way in comparison with an outgroup, which can lead to discrimination and stereotypical perception of group members. The process of social comparison determines a frame of reference and allows a deeper knowledge of self and of the world. Individuals and groups tend to compare themselves with such a point of reference, which allows a positive outcome for the ingroup. If the outcome of comparison is nevertheless negative, the groups and individual perform certain actions to change the situation and to be able to see themselves in a positive light. The actions undertaken depend on whether the boundaries between the groups are considered to be permeable or not. If they are, then the social mobility is possible and one's self-esteem can improve by changing a membership in a group. If they are not, the social change can occur by improving the position of the entire ingroup.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), people's psychological processes are qualitatively transformed in group settings and the bases for their definition of self undergoes a change in group settings. As members of groups, people identify themselves with the characteristics of their groups, which is especially evident in large-scale groups, but occurs also in small groups. In this way, one's self-esteem becomes dependent on his or her esteem of the group. Turner (1982) took the theory further by identifying processes of self-stereotyping and depersonalization. According to him, social identity, collective images of one's own group, cause people to perceive themselves based on the stereotypes of their own group, which is the essence of the referent informational influence (1991). When it takes place, one makes the group's characteristics his or hers own. This could result in conformity to group norms and is related to the normative and informational forms of influence.

In multicultural societies, social identity encompasses the subjective representation of numerous ingroup identities. Roccas and Brewer (2002) identified four models of social identity complexity: intersection corresponding with hyphenated identities, dominance corresponding with assimilation or separation strategies, compartmentalization corresponding with cultural ambidextrousness and merger corresponding with integrated biculturalism.



Concerning the social identity theory's link with social representations, Breakwell (2010) points out to the fact that since social identity derives from group memberships, the theory of social identity is *de facto* a theory of intergroup discrimination and conflict. However, Breakwell (2010) does not consider social identity only in the abovementioned terms, but sees it also as a set of psychological and typical attributes that form the entire identity, underlying the role of social representations in the process of shaping the identity. Moreover, identity itself can be conceived as a social representation, when understood as "a system of common sense knowledge about the self and its enactment that is collectively constructed and shared" (Chryssochoou, 2003). Since individuals use identity as a concept to explain motives and actions within the framework of common sense, it may be said that identity has become a social representation and a useful tool for understanding of social phenomena, including people's relations with the environment, in particular with a city.

1.4. One place, many concepts

Traditionally, the study of places and therefore cities is linked with the social psychology, environmental psychology and community psychology, psychology of tourism, and sociology.

1.4.1. Place as a concept in social psychology

In social psychology, the scientists have developed many perspectives to integrate the construct of place, and in particular of the city. Among the first social psychologists interested in the concept of the city, Stanley Milgram focused on the experience of living in cities (1970), explaining the pathologies in the city as caused by the overloading with information, and pointing out the anonymity, instrumental relations and reduced helpful behaviours. According to Peter Gould, Milgram could be defined as the psychologist of the city, also due to his development of projective techniques in research, such as the mental maps (Milgram and Jodelet, 1976). The research performed by Jodelet and Milgram in Paris demonstrated that cognitive maps have a social role and depend both on the experience of a place and social values that one attaches to it. According to the above authors (1984), the judgements of



arrondissements based on the preference, knowledge and choice as a place to live, and therefore the type and activity of population that can be found in a given place, put a certain limitation on the urban space, where the focus is on the centre of the city. It is a central nucleus; the most positively viewed part of Paris because it is associated with the origins of the city. Current social representations of Paris are influenced by social classes' categorization, which is represented by the preference for the area of the walls of Fermiers generaux (not existing anymore). The urban structure is thus based on the imaginary and symbolic basis, reflecting the socio-spatial way in which Parisians live their city. Jodelet (1984) cites this example as a representational phenomenon leading to a social representation.

The increasing interest in non-experimental techniques opened the doors for the research in the city and prompted contributions in the area of the theory of the psychology of the city.

However, in an average textbook on social psychology not much is said about places. They may be mentioned for instance in relation to stress, as environmental factors and spatial arrangements due to the architecture (Kassin, Fein and Markus, 2008). For this reason, it is worthwhile to examine the concept of place in different fields.

1.4.2. Place as a concept in environmental psychology

Environmental psychology aims for the study of relations of human behaviour and the environment, and is characterized by eclectic methodology and international and interdisciplinary character. Place is a key concept in environmental psychology (Russel and Ward, 1982), understood not as a background of social action, but as a dynamic, socially constituted concept.

According to Bonnes (2007), environmental psychology emerged as a fruit of a progressive convergence of interests within psychology, but even more importantly from such disciplines as architecture, urban planning, environmental protection, geography and bio-ecological sciences.

Currently, environmental psychology is a very interdisciplinary field, with valuable contributions from geography, tourism, architecture and other disciplines, even though it originated from social psychology. The main research topics in the field of

environmental psychology concern the physical-spatial dimension of behaviour, the physical characteristics of environment that cause environmental stress, and the processes of evaluation and knowledge of the environment (Bonnes, Secchiaroli, 2007). Each one of the above topics can and has been applied to specific research regarding the city as environment, especially when introducing the concept of urban stress as environmental stress.

The definition of place takes a complex form in environmental psychology advocated by Canter (1977), which considers a place as a result of relations between actions, concepts and physical attributes. Therefore, in the Venn diagram of the above three sets below, the place is located in the intersection of the three sets.

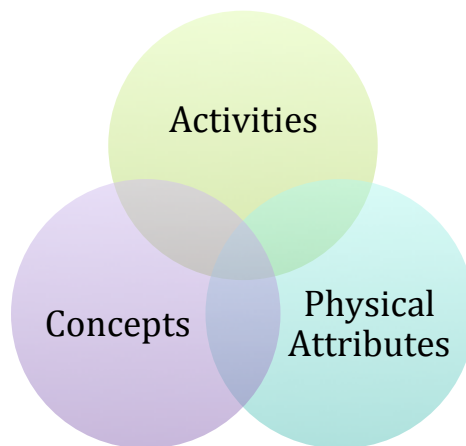


Fig. 4. Place located in the intersection, according to Canter (1977)

According to Canter (1977), places should be considered as main elements for the construction of understanding of human actions in the natural context. The premise for is that men and women always act in natural conditions act in a setting, which is everything but a laboratory setting, and therefore it is crucial to understand the nature of the place, in order to understand human actions and experiences. Thus the study of city can be useful to study people and their behaviour or perception, because in the real world nothing stands isolated.

In environmental psychology Craik (1970) considers the city as a large-scale man-made environment and places it as follows in the table that illustrates the reference points of the field:



SCALE	DEGREE OF HUMAN INFLUENCE	
	Minimum (natural environment)	Maximum (man made)
Small scale	E.g. a tree	E.g. a room
Large scale	E. g. a park	E.g. a city

Tab. I - The reference points of environmental psychology according to Craik (1970)

The environmental psychology places the city within the theoretical perspective of multi-place or a system of places (Rapoport, 1990; Bonnes et al, 1990). Such way of viewing the city allows for an analysis of small-scale places, such as home, school, or museum that combined give an overall system, the city.

1.4.3. Place as a concept in community psychology

Community psychology, interested in local communities and their problems, concentrates on the application of research, with the methodological preference for case studies and action research. The definitions of “community” may differ, but quite often it is understood as a place, sometimes as relationships or a collective political power (Gusfield, 1975; Heller, 1989; Suttles, 1972). It is the physical and the social environment that constitutes the essential factor for the development of the community, as there is a direct influence of the sense of community on the influence on the immediate environment (McMillian & Chavis, 1986), such as for example a neighborhood in the city. According to Brower (1980), the symbolic interaction with the environment, for example certain kind of decorations specific for a given place in the neighborhood, increases the sense of community.

Jim Oxford (1992) states that community psychology considers individuals always in the context of social systems to which they belong and by which they are influenced. This implies studying complex phenomena and the reciprocal relations of people and their environment. Such relations change over time and the overall configurations (Seidman, 1988) of all the above factors are of interest to community psychologists. The main concepts used in community psychology (Oxford, 1992) can all be applied in the urban environment: social sustainability, power, control and empowerment, behavioral setting (Barker, 1978) and the Bronfenbrenner’s system model with the



micro, meso, eso and macro analysis levels (1979). The systemic approach offers the theoretical framework for community psychology dedicated to the interdependence of individuals, their environment and macro level of social categorization, especially socio-economic. Community psychology is an applied branch of psychology (Oxford, 1992), and one of its practical applications is the city and its influence on community. An example of a community psychology research in urban setting can be the study of Richman (1974), who discovered a higher occurrence of depression among mothers in London who live in apartments as opposed to those who live in houses. Another example could be the study of McCarthy and Saegert (1978) who demonstrated the differences between emotions and attitudes of groups of subjects who live in different type of housing in Bronx, New York. Place has an important role in community psychology, as more often than not communities are defined based on where their members are found. Parts of a big city, certain neighborhoods for example, are very often linked to certain communities, which is especially evident in case of immigrants or residents of a given ethnicity who tend to live in the same area of the city.

1.4.4. Place as a concept in psychology of tourism

De Rosa (1995) postulates theoretical perspective of understanding of psychology of tourism as the applied social psychology of environment. She cites the concept of psychology *for* tourism instead of psychology *of* tourism, introduced by Cesa Bianchi (1991) as a new approach to tourism, contrasted with the traditional way of seeing it in purely economic and geographic terms. Such a new approach highlights the psychological aspects of decisions made by subject while choosing the destination and the way of spending their leisure time. However, the author notices that overall there is a lack of a unique sound theoretical framework for the psychology of tourism. According to Perussia (1991) currently the psychology of tourism focuses on the behaviour and decision-making, approached from the point of view of social psychology, environmental psychology or cognitive psychology. Even though numerous research projects have been conducted regarding the psychology of tourism in various forms of tourism, there seems to be no specific methodology or theoretical approach. Just to mention some traditional fields of research in social psychology of



tourism, there is research focused on attitudinal outcomes of international contacts while travelling (Smith, 1955, 1957; Steinkalk and Taft 1979; Pearce, 1982), relations with tourist guides (Taft, 1977; Lopez, 1980, 1981; Holloway, 1981), culture shock (Cort and King, 1979; Pearce, 1981) and visitor evaluation (Borun, 1977; Zube, 1980; Hayward, 1980). Cohen (1979) proposes a way of classifying the tourism research as follows: processual, contextual (referring to specific places or spaces), longitudinal and emic. Some other studies (Stringer and Pearce, 1984) distinguish two approaches to tourism within social psychology: more sociological (based on the determination of individuals' behavior and experience by social institutions and structures and with people's interaction as framed by roles and normative expectations) and more psychological (with the emphasis on behavior and intra-individual cognition in social situations).

1.4.5. Place as a concept in sociology

The sociology of the city is the topic explored by Weber (1966), according to whom the heart of the concept of the city can be found by exploring partially abstract typologies of different cities, existing in various times and places (Petrillo, 2001). The typical-ideal aspect of the city is based on the conceptual classification of Weber (1966), linked to the evolutionist model.

The city with its resources and dangers is in reality the corner stone and one of the main topics of sociology (Pitch, Ventimiglia, 2001). In a different way in Europe and in North America, from Durkheim to Simmel and the Chicago School, to Goffman, Parsons and the social control and social deviance sociologists in the sixties and seventies, the problems of order and control have always been situated and analyzed in the urban context. From the point of view of sociologists, the city can be defined as “a relatively vast settlement, dense and durable, of people socially heterogeneous” (Wirth, 1938). Based on this definition, the main goal was to define actions and organization of individuals inside of a spatial and social space of the city.

The topic of the city as a place of both opportunity and danger, the resources for an individual growth and the threats to personal identity, has always been one of the topics of sociology. The contemporary cities overtake a large space, thanks to the new

technologies of communication and transportation that render possible the dispersion and suburbanization, as well as the revitalization of city centres as leisure places and representative offices of corporations dispersed all over the globalized world. The relationship between the centres and the periphery is changing, due to the flexibility of many modern professions. The standardization of the environment is a consequence of the standardized consuming, as for instance in the shopping centres, places lacking a meaningful past and yet adopted always more as not only shopping areas, but spaces for walks and social encounters. This has effects on the lack of trust and diminishing interest in the public sphere, and the increasing interest in the family life.

For a contemporary urban sociologist, Giddens, local environment means the physical space in which the interaction between persons takes place, such as bigger and smaller cities (1984). The socially defined physical space conditions lives of people, including the relations and processes involved. There is a trend in urban sociology to fall into a certain kind of determinism, based on the study of how physical conditions in places influence human behaviour, but most sociologists do not share this approach, but rather consider it as mutual influence but not determinism. One of the first sociologists to research this influence was Oscar Newman who investigated the relationship between the design of neighbourhoods in New York City and the criminal or anti-social behaviour (1972).

Among various groups in the city, sociologists have also been interested in the immigrants. According to the Chicago school, the development of a city is a physical environment that illustrates the social position of the immigrants in the following way (Burgess, 1925):

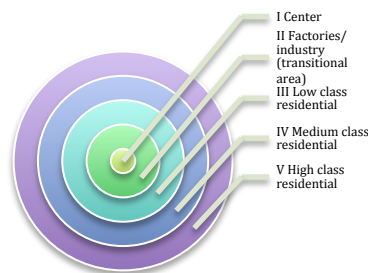


Fig. 5. Social position of immigrants in the city



According to the above model, the center of the city is the transition area where often the new immigrants start their career. The middle area is the “better world” where lives the middle class and many second-generation immigrants. Finally, the outer circle represents the houses with gardens and the commuting life style, affordable for the higher class of the society in Chicago. According to Dickens (1990), the key of the above analysis is the attention to the social change, which is related to the traditional topics of sociology, such as the changes in relations between the individual and other members of society and the wide social implications of such relations. Dickens (1990) states that the main point of contemporary urban sociology is the tension between the local dimension of individual existence and the national or international dimension of markets and governments. Such tension results in what Giddens (1984) describes as “ontological insecurity” that leads to a limited comprehension of processes that influence one’s own life and are very difficult to control.

Such transformation of society is not necessarily that new. Already Durkheim (1893) analyzed the change over time, the passage from traditional to modern society, and pointed out the conflict between the moral obligations and social order from one side and the innate egoistic tendencies. In modern society, the risk consists of the possibility that the individual passion will be transformed in a rebellion that weakens social cohesion.

1.5. Puzzle of constructs in the study of places

The following paragraphs present seminal constructs for the study of places.

1.5.1. Place identity

The works of Proshansky and his colleagues (1983) introduce the concept of place identity, defined as “pot-pourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings as well as types of settings”. Place identity describes one’s socialization with the physical world and can be compared to social identity. It is also related to temporal identity, since the identification with place is rooted in time perspective.



Hummon (1986) studied especially the urban aspect of place identity, demonstrating that some subjects experienced a positive “city identity”, which allowed them to use place related self-descriptions in order to present themselves in a positive light and to distinguish themselves from others. Not only the city itself, but also “the bond to a particular part of town can contribute to one’s differentiation from residents in other town areas” (Lalli, 1992). In both cases, place identity can be linked with the images and experiences of the place, which constitutes a symbolic extension of self, thus contributing to global self-categorization. Place identity is a cognitive structure, which has to do with “those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment” (Proshansky, 1978). The affective-evaluative component of place identity is expressed by preference for a particular environment or a sense of emotional belonging to a place.

According to Brindley (2003), places are linked with social identity, especially because of the social fragmentation. He cites Harvey (1989) who identifies the development of place identity as characteristic for the postmodern city. In the times of rapid social changes, a sense of security can be found in places. For this reason, for social groups and especially for minorities, the aesthetics of the place are important; in order to develop place identity, the qualities that give a unique symbolic value to a place are on demand. For example, particular urban neighborhoods represent and reinforce the identities of given ethnic and sexual minorities.

According to Ledrut (1973), the mental reconstruction of a place consists of spatial representation, which designates the image of the place, and conceptual representation, which reflects the evaluations, attitudes and affects regarding the place. One of the first studies of cities was conducted by Lynch in the United States of America in Boston, Los Angeles and New Jersey (1960). He used the technique of mental maps, which encloses both a concept and a method by projecting the representation of a place, either verbally or graphically. While interpreting the results, Lynch identified five physical landmarks that indicate the legibility of the city: the paths, the limits, the districts, the nodes and the landmarks. If these landmarks allow a person to design a coherent map,



then the quality of the representation is considered high and so is the legibility of the city. In this way, the landmarks frequently constitute anchoring points and form basis for mobility. Lynch perceived legibility of the city in terms of spatial and physical characteristics of the environment. The study of Paris, conducted by Milgram and Jodelet in 1976 demonstrated that the sequence of elements designed during the construction of the map depends on the importance given to each element: the most salient landmark is designed first, then the second most important landmark, the third, etc. Thus, according to Milgram and Jodelet (1976), mental maps demonstrate the social values of places, through a hierarchical organization based on their significations. Often the importance of a landmark is linked with the familiarity with it, as demonstrated by Ramadier and Moser (1998) in the study of Paris. This study showed that the anchoring points were the most familiar to the subject, and therefore evoked first. From a socio-psychological perspective of these authors the legibility of the city “corresponds to the facility with which individuals use the socio-physical characteristics of their surroundings to produce or to internalize environmental meanings.” Such approach is not very distant from the approach proposed by Canter (1997) who considers the environment in terms of the meanings that are formed in people-environment relationships, and not in terms of the intrinsic physical characteristics of places. In his opinion, socially shared meanings influence spatial knowledge and identification of anchoring points. Dorothee Marchand (2003) proposes a definition of the anchoring point, which encompasses the above considerations: “the anchoring point is a stable urban element for the perception of the urban environment and it allows the individual to face a complex and evolutive space.” She points out that the anchoring points are charged with strong meanings and constitute starting points for the investigation of the representation of the city.

A specific type of place identity, urban identity, relates to the specific kind of a place, the city. According to Nenci, de Rosa, Testa and Carrus (2003), urban identity is the result of social communication, accessible through spatial routes. As a social construct it is affected by physical-spatial circumstances. When a city becomes a place with which people identify psychologically, socially and culturally, sometimes to a point of



becoming an inseparable part of their environment (Werner, Altman and Oxley, 1985), such urban identity implies a strong bond between a person and a place.

1.5.2. Image

When considering the social representation of the city an aspect of it will be the city destroyed, in ruins. Inevitably in case of Warsaw, a city completely destroyed in 1945 by the Nazis, such image comes to mind. To visitors who are not Polish the city in ruins can be anchored to images of cities that are known better. For instance, the descriptions in literature, such as Paris in ruins depicted by Proust (1927), Prague in the eyes of Kafka (1924) and Berlin described by Benjamin (1955).

Already in the sixties, Kevin Lynch published “The Image of the City” (1960), which presents the research conducted in Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles and focused on the image of each one of the cities in the minds of the inhabitants, which is reflected in “the use of the city” and can be graphically presented, thus forming a reference point for the architectural projects. The following research of Lynch (Appleyard, Lynch, Meyer, 1964) was dedicated to the study of urban design, in particular of the images of the highways among road users. This demonstrates that besides the functional aspect of urban space, inhabitants develop a complex structure of imaginary space in the city, starting from the image of the city itself, through the images of various districts, places and at the end single significant buildings or establishments.

In reference to the metropolies of modernity, Valeria Giordano (2005) highlights the fragmentation of images in time and space, reflecting on how it is humanly speaking impossible to have a full picture of the city, because each person is faced only with a part o the city in a given moment in time. This situation motivates a person to make an effort to understand the ever-changing city, sometimes causing a certain kind of nostalgia for the past. Baudrillard’s “simulacra” represent the post-modern quest for the images of the lost past, expressed in a desire for continuity and stability which results in a construction of replicas of material objects from the past (Poster, 1998). Thus, the stylised image is the archetype of postmodern community “where social bonds are inconsequential but image and identity are all.” (Brindley, 2003)



Images are used by social representations in the process of transformation and simplification of consciousness, in such a way that the majority of social relations and communication between individuals is pregnant with images (Emiliani and Molinari, 1995). They correspond to symbolic material and/or to daily practices.

A big city is a metaphor of the modern world. It is where one is or becomes an individual, free from traditional family and community bonds, and linked with others based on his or her choice. The city offers multiple identities, interchangeable but not exhaustive (Pitch, Ventimiglia, 2001). This image draws people from rural areas and small towns to the big city, influencing especially the choices related to one's career and future. It is when the people from outside of the city, especially immigrants become a part of it, appears an image of the mirror, a reflection of the receiving society that brings into light the limitations and characteristics of this society (Sayad, 1999).

1.5.3. Time and memory

Time is one of the dimensions of place-identity and it offers the past, present and future component in reference to places. According to de Rosa et al (1993), the articulation of time perspective is closely related to the type of effect performed by the social setting on the object. Moreover, time influences the experiences and expectations of a place depending on a stage in life.

According to Pinna (2000), the big cities manipulate time through technology, which is especially evident when compared with the villages. The cities thus offer an experience of producing meanings that define and are defined in time and space, creating universes of sense constituted by the participation of individuals in realizing the time-space and the space-time. It is in this semantic horizon that an individual is a subject and an object of relations that create a micro-cosmic order, in which one gains knowledge and determines where he or she belongs (Pinna, 2000). No-place and no-time, as noticed by Augè (1993) cannot be encompassed by our identity, our relational capacity and our ability to make places meaningful. Because of the size of big cities, both visitors and inhabitants encounter some places that they render meaningful, but such places constitute only a small part of the entire city. The rest of it is a no-place and no-time.



On the other hand, Giddens (1984) considers contemporary society stretched in time and space. Compared with tribal settlements, the concept of time and space is much wider in modern times when remote spaces are easily accessible. However, such stretching of social life can actually lead to an ontological insecurity, a limited capacity to understand self, the everyday life, one's own nature and origins.

Time when related to urban space is inevitably linked with memory of the place. Current main trends in social psychology approach memory in different ways (Haas, 2011): 1. As a representation of the past – in social cognition, related to social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), inter-group relations, conflict, etc. with the method of questionnaires and with the focus not on the experienced past but represented by, for instance, the second generation; 2. As a conversation – from the perspective of social conventionalization and the constructivist approach, considered as a conversational practice (Brown and Middleton, 2008); 3. As a family culture – centred on generational memory, based on the work of Hirsh (1997), using such methods as collection of drawings and qualitative analysis; 4. As a reflection of social thought – focusing on the dynamic aspect of social memory, coordination of past-present-future (Jodelet, 1992), highlighting the essential role of space and urban places in understanding collective mechanisms and memory content. Among types of memory, Haas enlists (Haas, 2011) autobiographical memory (individual), collective (created by a group), social (including institutional memory and mass memory (created by mass media).

Memory is a social phenomenon, not a passive retrieval of information but an active reconstruction that depends on context (de Alba, 2011). This social aspect in reconstruction (Bartlett, 1932) is enriched by the memory of groups and societies that have a memory of their own, different from individual memory (Halbwachs, 1925), within frames of space, culture, language and time.

1.5.4. Space

From the perspective of social psychology, space refers not only to the physical setting, but also to relational-contextual setting, functional in relation to needs and expectations of an individual (Canter, 1977). Space assumes meanings, given to it by the users (Jodelet, 2010). From the anthropological point of view, there are some places “no-



places” such as airports or shopping centers that look similar around the world, but as Jodelet states (2010), when it comes to a city there has to be a certain uniqueness that characterized urban space, in order to enable identification with it, which can be both relational and historical. Urban experience includes material space, which is the scenery of practices and rituals that in turn influence memory and give shape to the projected meaning. Thus, it is possible to identify “the spirit of the space” (Jodelet, 2010).

As a dimension of physical environment, space has an influence on behaviour. Many scientists have studied this influence, and according to Holahan (1986) the research can be divided into the following categories: personal space, territoriality and privacy. The classical research on personal space, developed by Hall (1959) from the view point of cultural anthropology, in which the author describes the influence of space (interpersonal distance) on communication between individuals in everyday transactions. The interpersonal distance offers qualitative information to the participants and observers about the interaction as a cognitive, behavioural and active phenomenon. Territoriality refers to identification of space as one’s territory, a geographical area personalized or marked in some way and defended from the invasion by others (Brown, 1987). Such identification of territory implies a control over it (also in a psychological way) and can be a factor in the processed linked with identity. While the core example of one’s territory is home, a comparative study has been conducted in three different cities (Rome, Paris and Lundt) considered as territories and researched by using observation of photographs and the following systematic analysis of furniture, in terms of structuring, organizing and animating space (Bernard, Bonnes, 1985). The last concept identified as linked with studies about space is privacy, understood as a selective control of access to self and to one’s own group that people tend to exercise in the environment, especially in terms of social environment (Altman, 1975). The spatial aspect of privacy illustrates it as a process through which people aim to achieve an optimal condition (unique for each individual) on the continuum of openness/closeness. The city can be an example of how this is achieved on a social level, for instance when constructing whole neighbourhoods that in some way reflect the privacy of inhabitants. Depending on the cultural norms, the cities vary in the degree of openness/closeness.



1.5.5. Name

The social representation of the city is inevitably linked with its name. According to Moscovici (2000), proper names influence the stability of the representation, by describing the same place in numerous representations across time and space. Moscovici also stresses the importance of proper names for the genesis of social representations, probably due to their ability to “concentrate meanings and potential images of what we have felt and heard.” Besides, in social representations proper names are more emphasized and serve as themata that indicate the topic. Themata are the source ideas and image-concepts culturally shared and transmitted through collective memory (Moscovici and Vignaux, 2000), which are often oppositional categories.

For this reason it is worthwhile to consider the proper name “Warsaw.” The name of the city actually means “of Warsz”. Warsz was a knight, the owner of the village that dates back to the XII/XIII century.

While the etymology of the name does not seem to be very strongly impressed in the collective imagery, the gender of the name “Warszawa” (Warsaw in Polish) seems to have some influence on how the city is viewed. While this feature does not exist in English, in Polish the names of the cities can be feminine, like Warsaw or masculine, like Cracow. Perceiving the name Warsaw as female has some influence on the social representation of the city. Many cultures saw their land, their city, their place as sort of a mother that nourishes them or a sort of a father that protects them. It could likely be that since Warsaw was given a “female name”, the “mother aspects” of the city appear as more important in collective imagery.

1.5.6. *Terrae incognitae*

Already in 1947 Wright, the President of the Association of American Geographers stated, “the most fascinating terrae incognitae of all are those that lie within the minds and the hearts of men.”

Before visiting an unknown place, there is inevitably the imaginary element of the social representation of it, as well as the construction of “other” prior to experiencing it (Jodelet, 2006). As Jodelet points out, the territory of the other is a privileged ground for the development of the imagined reality, which can be treated as social



representations (2007). The approximation of social representations to the subjective sphere, according to Jodelet, resembles the “anthropological trajectory” proposed by Durand (1960). In this way, the imagined reality is actually the representation of the object shaped and modified by imperatives of the subject. The foreign land, the unknown place can be the object of social representations. Without visiting, seeing and experiencing a city, most people can readily imagine it and describe it, based on various sources of information that they have at their disposal, such as books, movies, documentaries, stories told by others, and today in large measure also Internet. In this way, unknown place does not appear completely unknown, the effort to familiarize the unfamiliar brings as a result a social representation of a place that one might have never visited, but it finds its place in his or her mind and heart.

The imaginary, symbolic and illusory all form a part of social reality. Abstract concepts that people use on a daily basis do not stem from perceptive knowledge, yet they are facilitating dialogue and allow for communication and social exchange (Moscovici, 2001).

1.6. The city of Warsaw – sediments of history

Warsaw is almost 750 years old. It had developed keeping up with the pace of other European cities to become one of the six largest cities in Europe in the late 18th century. The growth of the city was a continuous process, interrupted dramatically between 1939 and 1944.

As every big city, Warsaw has multiple faces, most of them marked with suffering and destruction. All the above constructs can be used in order to describe it, but each period of its history presents almost a completely different picture. Visiting the city may evoke various images of it, linked with time, space and name. Based on the above concepts, four Warsaws are identified, taking into account scientific resources that describe the past.

1.6.1. Royal Warsaw

In the end of Golden Age, “Warsaw had been one of the most modern and richest towns of Europe east from the Laba River”, while Moscow was a wooden village and the



streets of Berlin were covered with mud (Terpilowski, 2000). Zygmunt III, the king of Poland who lived in the XVIth century was a historical figure especially important to the history of the city as he decided to move the capital city from Cracow to Warsaw. Until today, the column of Zygmunt III appears as the monument marking the greatest time of Poland's glory. It is located in the old town's area, on the Polish Capitol Hill protected by the city walls, on the Castle Square in front of the Royal Castle. The first king of Warsaw had ruled the city and the country wisely and gently, supported by the intellectual and military elite of his times. "The king who was strong in himself", as the greatest Polish poet of that period described Zygmunt III (Kochanowski, 1971), had left the expanded Royal Castle, a remarkable bridge and a palace, finished by his son and most commonly called Casimir's Palace, contemporary main building of the University of Warsaw (Drozdowski, Zahorski, 1972).

The positive times for the city were followed by a series of problems including invasion in the mid-seventeenth century. The Swedes plundered and destroyed Warsaw in 1655, and then the Russians occupied it several times in the eighteenth century. The positive turn for the city was marked by the reign of the King Jan III Sobieski who moved his summer residence to Wilanow, outside of the city. The last king of Poland, Stanislaw August Poniatowski saw Warsaw as the capital city of a modern state of his times, reformed and educated. He build Lazienki Palace on Water at the feet of the Ujazdowski Castle, investing also in culture and military growth, as demonstrated by the construction of the National Theater and Cadet School.

The times of the kings, especially during the Golden Age are still a pride of Polish people and a part of some touristic itineraries, such as the Royal Route.

1.6.2. Erased Warsaw

There was a long, dark time in Polish history when the country was erased from the map of Europe and divided between its enemies, the neighboring empires in 1795. As a result, Warsaw fell to Prussia, losing its status of the capital city. Thanks to Napoleon, the Duchy of Warsaw emerged from the oppression in the period 1807-15; however, after his defeat the domination of Russia marked again the history of the city, which became the capital of a new Polish Kingdom in 1815 under the lordship of Russian



monarchy. The city went through a long period of numerous efforts to regain independence through insurrections, but it was only in 1918 when it became again the capital city of an independent Poland. From the point of view of population, it was growing and expanding. Pre-war Warsaw was on one hand a crowded and poor city, with a population of 1.25 million living in 661,000 residential rooms (Paulsson, 2002), but on the other hand it was filled with hopes, architectural plans and projects to improve the conditions and offer possibilities of growth.

1.6.3. Warsaw in chains

Between 1939 and 1944 more than 84% of Warsaw was completely destroyed (Warsaw City Hall website, 2005). The German bombings and military attacks forced the city to surrender at the end of September 1939. Warsaw had to assume yet again the difficult position of the capital city of a puppet state, this time the General Gouvernement, established by Nazi authorities. At the same time, it served as headquarters of the Polish underground military force. During the next five years the occupants repeatedly plundered Warsaw, robbing it of its art, destroying the national monuments and terrorizing the population.

1.6.3.1. Ghetto in hands of Hitler

According to Paulsson (2002), Warsaw was the largest Jewish centre in Europe before the Second World War, and “in many ways the most important centre of Jewish culture in the world.” The Jewish population consisted almost 30% of the entire population of the city (Gutman, 1994). During the war, 98% of the Jewish population of the city died, most of them in the ghetto, known as the biggest Nazi ghetto. It was located in the centre of the city, unlike in the majority of other cities, where the Nazis planned for the ghettos to be out of the city, such as Auschwitz or Treblinka. Surrounded by brick walls, the Jewish inhabitants, many of them members of the intellectual and economic elite of the Warsaw, were forced to live in inhumane conditions, dying from starvation, diseases and deportations to concentration camps. The revolt in the ghetto started on April 19, 1943 and lasted four weeks. During this time the Jews fought the Nazis with



armed force, in a heroic effort described by one of the leaders as a “magnificent, heroic struggle of the Jewish fighters” (Zuckerman, 1993).

The memory of the Warsaw ghetto, known for the armed resistance against the order of final extermination until today brings many tourists to Warsaw. Today, the place is very symbolic; there are no more ghetto walls but a monument in a park and a marked line on the ground where the walls used to be. Currently, the Jewish population of Warsaw is not very numerous, but there is a synagogue and a Jewish theatre, evidencing the active life of the Jewish community.

1.6.3.1. Heroic Uprising

When the Soviet army was approaching Warsaw, the underground military force decided to launch the uprising on August 1, 1944. They fought for 63 days while the awaited support from the Russians had never come, until the final defeat, with overall 160,000 casualties (Bartoszewski, 2004). As a result, German troops deported the remaining inhabitants of Warsaw to work camps and deliberately destroyed the rest of the city. It was only in January 1945 when Soviet and Polish troops freed Warsaw. The Uprising has been a controversial chapter in Polish history; until today some citizens consider it a heroic effort resulting in destruction, which could have been avoided, while other actually see it as the event that gave Poland the status of an independent country. During the times of Communism it was a delicate topic, avoided at school curricula as it clearly demonstrated the lack of support from the Soviet army. Only after its fall, it has become officially commemorated and taught in detail. In fact, one of the most modern interactive museums in Warsaw is entirely dedicated to the uprising and very popular among Poles and foreign visitors.

1.6.4. Opium of Communism

The city of Warsaw was liberated by Soviet and Polish army in January 1945. The entire country raised funds and had gone through maximum effort to rebuild the city, with the financial support from abroad. Care was taken to reconstruct the Old Town to mirror what it had looked like in the past. Warsaw has become the capital city of Poland yet again, the seat of the communist government, which in 1955 signed Warsaw Pact.



For the city, such key political and administrative role meant rapid growth of population. To host the newcomers, many districts were built, following the utilitarian principles of communist architecture. The most significant symbol of this period is the Palace of Culture, Stalin's gift for the city built in the modern center of Warsaw, close to the central train station. These buildings, formerly part of a growing socialist nation, with time became reminders of grey, oppressive system that began to deteriorate towards the end of 1970's.

1.6.5. European dream

After the fall of Communism, Warsaw suddenly started to change from grey to colourful, with the explosion of skyscrapers in the centre, which evidenced the influx of foreign investments. Rapid growth, not always easy for the population, which suddenly had to face problems of unemployment, caused yet again the development of the city. Shopping centres, international restaurants and hotels started to fill the city, offering opportunities especially for the young people. The first metro line was built, together with new residential areas, necessary for the population of almost 2 million. With the entrance to the European Union, many possibilities for funding opened up for the city and it started to develop its marketing strategy. In 2010, announced the year of Chopin, the new interactive Museum of Chopin started to draw many tourists, highlighting the importance of culture in the city, which boasts with many theatres and concert halls, very popular especially among Poles, but also foreign visitors. 2011, known as the year of Maria Skłodowska-Curie put a special emphasis on science, as the Copernicus Science Centre was opened in Warsaw, which hosted some meetings of EU diplomats and other events related to the Polish presidency of the Council of the European Union. The future looks promising for the city, with the 2012 emphasis on sport and the preparation of the infrastructure, especially considerable investments in transportation (the reconstruction and expansion of the national stadium, accessible thanks to the new metro line). Moreover, in 2016 Warsaw will become the European Capital of Culture, yet another way of enriching its offer and fomenting the European identity.



EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

2. Objectives and Hypothesis

The choice of the main focus, the city of Warsaw compared with the city of Rome is motivated by the extension of an already existing research on social representations of various European cities. The first-visitors come from the same countries as in mother research, plus there is the addition of Polish first-visitors. There is also a research of social representations of Warsaw and Rome based on questionnaires and interviews with Polish residents in Rome and Italian residents in Warsaw. Why these two cities? Rome has already been analyzed in the mother research, as well as compared with Paris, and for historical, cultural and social reasons it is justified to compare Warsaw and Rome. According to Borucki (1995), from Polish perspective, Rome became a very interesting city since 966, after the kind Mieszko I became a Roman Catholic. In the beginning only Polish clergy and princes were more familiar with Rome and it was to their interest to establish relations with the Pope and with the eternal city. Historically, Polish nobility travelled to Rome for religious and educational purposes. Especially following 1795, when Poland disappeared from the map, all the artists (mainly painters, poets and writers) have spent at least some time in Rome, which inspired and influenced their art, thus leaving a lasting imprint on the Polish culture. Such a “Roman magnetism” has been reinforced by the exaltation of a Pole as the Pope (Borucki, 1995). Rome has historically been the second home for Polish people, therefore the numerous Polish presence in Rome still today should not be surprising, especially after the entrance to the European Union.

2.1. A path from the past

This thesis has two major integrated studies.

First, it is dedicated to the identification of social representations of the city of Warsaw among first-visitors from six different nationalities. It is the following step of the research on European historical capitals performed over the years by Annamaria de Rosa (1997) and concerning Berlin, Helsinki, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Rome, Paris and



Vienna. The research program extends in time and space dimensions in the following way (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2011):

1992-95 – Mother research by de Rosa on social representations of imagined and experienced Rome among first-visitors from six different nationalities,

2002-06 – Follow-up and extension of the mother research by de Rosa and d'Ambrosio,

2006 – Extension of the research to six European capitals,

2010 – Addition of the Japanese first-visitors in Rome.

The focus of the research on Warsaw concerns the imaginary aspect of representation of Warsaw and an ideal city, identified before visiting the Warsaw, and the comparison of semantic universes related to the city before and after the visit (imagined places and experienced places).

Second, the thesis explores the representations of the cities of Rome and Warsaw, among Italians who live in Warsaw, and Poles who live in Rome. The social representations of the two cities are identified and compared, inspired by a similar research on the cities of Paris and Rome (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 1998). The mother research focused on the historical capitals, place identity and representations in tourists and residents in the above cities.

The multi-method research design of the mother research was inspired by the Social Representations Theory and the Place Identity construct, and investigated their relationship mediated by different communication systems as anticipatory experience of the city. Several dimensions have been investigated, including the comparison between imagined places (prior to the visit) and experienced places (following the visit) and the social representations of the capital cities and their historical centres, guided by a series of hypotheses concerning the stability and transformation of the social representations and their dimensional elements (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2010). The analysis was performed from a comparative perspective on multiple levels, such as: the imagined and experiences places before and after the visit, the social representations of the historical capitals of the cities as a whole and of their centres, the influence of the nationality of first-visitors, the representations of the European capital cities and the ideal city. The multi-level approach (de Rosa, 1990) in the mother research allowed for identifying



peculiar dimensions in the construction and transformation of the Social Representations of the various European capitals.

2.2. Bases for reasoning

The following paragraphs present the set of hypothesis that guides the research structure and instruments.

2.2.1. Imaginary versus experienced

In the case of Warsaw in the eyes of first-visitors, the hypothesis is that the imagined Warsaw will be significantly different from the experienced Warsaw, in particular when it comes to the issue of history (World War II) that is expected to be salient on the imaginary level, versus the image of a dynamic, modern image of experienced Warsaw. This hypothesis is based on the theory of Moscovici that representations are created and transmitted through communication, including face-to-face and mass media communication. Since in the media and education Warsaw is most often mentioned and portrayed during World War II, with a special reference to the Ghetto, it is expected that social representations will mirror these images and they will include such words as “history”, “war” and “old”. However, Warsaw is actually one of the newest European capitals because of its complete destruction in 1945. For instance, the ghetto area after the war became a residential part of the city, with parks and small apartment buildings, so a visitor who visits it has to imagine what it used to be like, usually with the help of a tourist guide and using some maps and photos displayed near the Ghetto Monument. The impact of the war had been certainly very strong on the city, but because it was completely rebuilt, in the present times the war is actually symbolized and represented by monuments and museums. Probably these will be present in the social representations of the city after the visit and according to the hypothesis the new places, such as shopping centres, clubs and restaurants will be included in the social representations of Warsaw after the visit. It is also expected that the prominent feature of modern history, Communism, would form an important part of social representations of the city. In reality, in the historical centre of the city, one of the first large buildings built after the destruction, was the Palace of Culture and Science, a replica of buildings



built by Stalin in Moscow and then in the socialist capitals of the Eastern Europe. This building dates back to 1950's and it is in fact older than the so-called Old Town, built in 1970's and including the Royal Castle, which in effect looks like the oldest part of the city, since it was built based on photos, paintings (especially paintings of Canaletto), old architectural plans and memories. How do first-visitors actually represent this complex history and paradox of "old" and "new"? The hypothesis is that in the imaginary level the "old" will prevail, but after the experience of visiting the city there will be a mixture of "old" and "new" in the social representations of the city. This is supported by the "serendipity method" introduced by Hannertz (1980), which consists of finding something new by chance while looking for something else, and then formulating new ideas (representations) of the city.

2.2.2. Stigma of Communism

It is also expected that the communist past of the city will be reflected in the social representations. The above mentioned Palace of Culture and Science is likely to be mentioned by the visitors both before and after the visit, as well as other terms in general associated with Communism, as an example of anchoring the social representations of Warsaw to Communism, especially by the visitors from countries other than Poland who will probably be more stricken by the communist architecture and other influences still present in the city. Therefore, even though currently the country of Poland has a firmly established democratic government, it is expected that because of the history the Communism will be present in the social representations of the city. In relation to the mother research, Warsaw is the first capital of Eastern post-communist Europe and it will probably be a salient feature when confronting the research results with the results of other cities.

2.2.3. Barbarian tongue

In the case of Warsaw there is an interesting linguistic aspect. Due to the difficulty of the language the hypothesis is that compared with other European capitals fewer proper names will be mentioned by the foreign visitors. However, it is expected that Polish first-visitors will mention proper names much more often and much more precisely



because there is no language barrier than in the case of non-Polish speaking foreigners. There is the probability that language, as a barrier will also enter the representational field of some subjects. The Polish place names in Warsaw may be completely ignored, in which case descriptive terms could be used, or there could be some attempts to translate the Polish names to native languages by the first-visitors from countries other than Poland, as well as the incorrect recalling of the original names, based on associations to the native language.

2.2.4. Personal feeling

There is a hypothesis that among each nationality of visitors there should be consistency on the individual level when it comes to evoking certain kinds of places as important in one's life and as the most salient in Warsaw. For example, if an individual mentions mostly green spaces and nature as important during his or her life, it is likely for that person to identify parks and gardens as important places in Warsaw. The city has many characteristics: it has a considerable amount of parks, numerous cultural events, international restaurants, various art museums, galleries and exhibitions, important educational centres, as well as sports competitions, just to mention some areas that could be of interest. According to the hypothesis, the choice of category depends on individual preferences, based on the theory that in the mass of information that surrounds people, they choose to see what interests them the most and not to pay much attention to the rest.

2.2.5. From strong roots to double absence

The concept of place identity has been called an implicit psychological structure because it is especially evident during the transition to a new place. The hypothesis is that place identity shall be much more salient and conscious among Italians and Poles who live a foreign country, as opposed to first-visitors whose bonds with the places in their home countries are not threatened. The difference is expected between the social representations of the city of foreigners who have been residing in Warsaw and in Rome over different time periods. For those who have been residing in a foreign city for less



than a year the representations will be more similar to those of first visitors, while for long-term residents the places elicited are expected to be much less touristic and much more linked to their personal and professional lives. The common hypothesis for both first-visitors and residents is that in reference to their place identity the central core of the representations should be home, but that the differences would be identified in relation to different demographic characteristics of the subjects, according to the theory of Proshansky (1983). This hypothesis is also supported by some research regarding the situation of Polish high skilled immigrant workers who live in Rome and their future plans and expectations (Pelliccia, 2010). In this research based on case studies and open interviews, the majority of the subjects expressed an uncertainty regarding the possibility of permanently going back to Poland. As the author notes, such subjects' identity is "neither here nor there", which is considered by most of them as a disadvantage in life. The vast majority maintains strong ties with Poland, "supported by the accessible technology of low-cost flights that make it possible to reach Warsaw in a short period of time and of online software (such as Skype) that allow for a live audio-visual communication" (Pelliccia, 2010). Because of such a frequent mobility many subjects actually refuse to call their experience "migration" and describe it as a circular and transnational, which according to Cingolani (2009) implies "an existential disposition that resembles a cloudy sphere causing an individual to continually change his position in respect to his or her choices and strategies, to continually negotiate the thought space and the practical implications of the self" (my translation). How is identity salient in this case? As said above, an individual's home is expected to be the most evoked place, also among the Polish residents in Rome for whom the feeling of the "double absence" (Sayad, 1999) of a dislocated identity and feeling out of place both in Italy and in Poland can be overcome by reference to one's home.

2.3. Sight and hearing in action

The main methodological tools used in this research are the questionnaires of two types as well as interviews, including quantitative and qualitative methods. However, the scope is not the triangulation of methods, but applying optimal method to a given



context, bearing in mind paradigmatic differences that form the bases of different perspectives. The pragmatic approach therefore uses different methodological approaches in relation to different contexts, defined by van Dijk (1998) as structured sets social situations, which can be important to the production, structure, interpretation and function of communication. The contexts do not present a dichotomy, but rather can be placed on a continuum, which takes into account not only the type of data gathered but also the objectives of research (Bamberger, 2000). The context of first visitors from different nationalities refers to societies from the perspective of *sensu largo* and the macro level, which searches for general mechanisms, which can be verified and compared. On the other hand, the context of relatively small communities of Polish residents in Rome and Italian residents in Warsaw refers to the micro level because the research focuses on subjects with a medium-high level of education, income and social standing. In the case of both cities the subjects know each other and interact directly with one another, attending the same places. In such micro context, the questionnaires are also used, but they contain more open-ended questions, and there is a further development of research by the use of interviews, in order to identify and understand in depth the social representations of the cities of Warsaw and Rome.

2.3.1. Questionnaires

There are two types of questionnaires used in the research: the questionnaires for the first visitors and the questionnaires for residents. Based on the social representations approach, the research tools are therefore aimed to represent the natural communication that occurs in society, social representations are treated as means of re-creating reality, taking into account the fact that they are especially evident during the times of change (such as visiting a foreign country) and the people who create the representations are seen as amateur-scientists (Moscovici, 1984).



2.3.1.1. First visitors

First, for the first-visitors the questionnaires developed by Annamaria de Rosa have been used. The first part of the questionnaire focuses on the demographical data, such as age, sex, profession, level of education, place of birth, place of residence, some details regarding the personal places of residence and the stay in Warsaw. The first-visitors are then asked to create associative networks, according to the procedure developed by Annamaria de Rosa, around the key words “Warsaw” and “Ideal City”. Then follow the projective and semi-projective tools such as time pattern and importance of places in individual’s lives during various stages, reflecting on the most meaningful ones (inspired with Proshansky). Before ever seeing the city, the most relevant places are listed by the subjects in order of importance, who then justify their choice. The first-visitors also list adjectives they associate with Warsaw and its historical center. Finally, the structured tool of identifying the informational baggage of each person, rating the importance of each one of various sources of information and giving concrete examples is applied. When the subjects are about to leave the city or are actually back in their home countries (in some cases), they reply to the questions related to most relevant places, explaining their choice. Similarly, the free adjectival associations are applied after experiencing the city. The last projective tool asks the first-visitors to draw a map of Warsaw, which contains the places that they chose or would have chosen to visit if they had an hour to take a walk in the city.

The procedure of compiling the empirical data differed depending on the situation. In most cases the administration of the questionnaire was carried out individually at first (before the visit) and then auto-administered (after the visit). Quite often auto-administration took place on flights to and from Warsaw (a two-hour flight allows for an individual filling the questionnaire, with the possibility to ask any questions). Only in two cases (so far) I was able to administer the questionnaire to a group of individuals at the same time (at the airport and at the hotel). No codification was necessary, since the subjects would always recognize their own handwriting.



2.3.1.2. Residents

Second, for the Polish residents in Rome and for the Italian residents in Warsaw, the questionnaire first concerned the demographical data as in the case of first-visitors. Then followed the part dedicated to three associative networks with the stimulus words “Warsaw”, “Rome” and “Ideal City”. The following part regarding time pattern and importance of places in individuals’ lives during various stages was succeeded by questions referring to the most significant places, the adjectives list for Warsaw and its historical center before living in the city, the sources of information about the city, and the explicit questions about changes and their speed in the city. Then the subjects were asked about their sources of information about Rome, the changes in Rome and the similarities/differences between the two cities. Then the last questions concerned the current most important places in Warsaw and the current adjectives list for the city and its historical center. The administration of the questionnaire was carried out among Polish residents in Rome and Italian residents in Warsaw, found among embassy workers, chamber of commerce members, those who attend a Polish church in Rome and an Italian Mass in Warsaw, as well as long-term international students and professionals.

2.3.2. Semi-structured interviews

Besides the questionnaires, another methodological tool to be used are open interviews with the residents, three case studies for each city (Warsaw and Rome). The main criteria for the subject selection are the lengths of their residency in the foreign city, ranging from short, through medium to long. The total of twenty case studies includes: five Polish subjects who live in Rome for a short period of time, five Polish subjects who live in Rome for a long period of time, five Italian subjects who live in Warsaw for a short period of time, and five Italian subjects who live in Warsaw for a long period of time.



2.4. From seeds to fruits

The results of the questionnaires are going to be analyzed using quantitative techniques: descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages and lexical correspondence analysis using the package software SPAD.T. Lexical correspondence analysis allows for synthesizing all the information gathered, based on the assumption that a complex phenomenon can be described in a set number of variables displayed in a multidimensional space and presented taking into account relations of correspondence between them. Thanks to a series of calculations performed on the entire set of data, the software identifies spaces of reduced dimensions, where a lower number of factors can present the original variance of the phenomenon.

For the case studies and open interviews the qualitative analysis was performed using the package software ALCESTE. This should ensure a multi-methodological approach recommended for the study of social representations.

2.4.1. Descriptive statistics

The demographic data, as well as other replies are first analyzed using descriptive statistics, such as frequencies, percentages and means presented on charts and tables. For some of the descriptive statistics the program SPSS has been used.

2.4.2. Multivariate techniques

2.4.2.1. SPAD.T

Thanks to the use of package software SPAD.T (Lebart, Morineau, Bécue, 1989), factor analysis and graphical representations result from the textual analysis.

The analysis of associative networks in particular, carried out using lexical correspondence analysis available in SPAD.T was aimed at detecting both the structure and the contents of the representational field associated to different trigger words (Warsaw, Rome and Ideal city). Prior to performing correspondence analysis that uses words as single units, files in text format (.txt) have been prepared, which contained all



words elicited in the associative networks, numerical data and codes assigned to the subjects. Then, the preparation of dictionary files allowed for the description of all the variables and respective modalities.

In particular, the package software SPAD.T provided a synthesis of information contained in the original complete set of data, extracting factors. Then, it displayed visually the associative networks of words, presenting connections between textual data (the words elicited by the subjects) and contextual data, thus performing the analysis of the vocabulary used in relation to the illustrative variables: nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002). SPAD.T offers different procedures for data analysis. The first one used, NUMER, counts all the lexical forms contained in the text and prints out their frequencies and length, allowing to define the minimum frequency of words to be further analyzed. The second procedure called MOTEX elaborates a contingency table that contains the statistics of the words' distribution among groups of subjects. The following step, performed in the RECAR procedure allows for selecting classes of answers based on Chi square distance. The actual Chi square test used in MOCAR procedure identifies lexical forms grouped in classes, using V-test index (calculated on Student's T-test) to test significance. APLUM procedure creates a contingency table and performs its correspondence analysis based on illustrative variables. Finally, the ASPAR procedure defines the factorial axes by the contribution of each category.

The results presented in chapter 4 show five factors extracted for each trigger word. In order to determine which categories were significant in a factor, the formula $100/N$ was used and each factor was displayed graphically in the tables and in the factorial plan consisting of two axes. Also, another graphical display that included significant illustrative variables was always shown below for the clarity of visualization and convenience of comparison. Thus, each visual display included two factors, with their most significant opposing elements highlighted in different colors.



2.4.2.2. ALCESTE

The guided interviews were analyzed with the ALCESTE package software that uses descending hierarchical classification method. The interviews were all transcribed and translated to English, and then grouped according to the illustrative variables of nationality, sex, age, profession and length of stay in the city). The software elaborated data in three stages.

During stage A, all data was divided into elementary context units that take into account punctuation and may differ in length. Based on their analysis, ALCESTE creates a dictionary that groups words with the same word root, eliminating suffixes and words with an unknown root. This dictionary, called DICO also specifies the frequency of each word and the analysis indicator that identifies word's quality as a lexical form that can be analyzed ("a"), illustrative variable ("s"), a word that does not undergo the analysis, such as an article or conjunction ("r") or a rejected word ("w" or "z"). Moreover, another dictionary (DICB) is created that takes into account criteria used in the preceding step, as well as specifies analysis indicators and words with the highest frequency, marked with an "X". After obtaining a data table (DONN) and comparing elementary context units with the reduced forms, a dictionary of pairs is created (DICBC) that represents pairs of reduced forms in succession. Thus, the first stage basically is needed in order to obtain dictionaries necessary for the following stages.

Stage B consists of performing a classification of the elementary context units based on the distribution of vocabulary. As a result, the most significant classes emerge to be used in the last stage of analysis.

In the final stage C of analysis, auxiliary calculations are performed to make easier the interpretation of classes and to perform correspondence analysis. In particular, some special files are created, including factor analysis and corresponding graphs, tables that contain Chi² of association, lists of repeated segments by class, etc.

2.5. Research design

Study	Subjects	Research instrument	Level of analysis	Objective	Hypothesis
Social representations of Warsaw among first visitors	First visitors from seven nationalities	Associative network (de Rosa, 1995)	Stimulus words: Warsaw, Ideal City	Description of the structure and of content of semantic fields of the representations.	Verification of differences of representations among different nationalities; existence of <i>themata</i> .
		Temporal axis/timeline (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio)	Place identity during childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age	Identifying the most important places for the subjects during their lifetime.	Consistency on the individual level when it comes to evoking certain kind of places as important in one's life and as the most salient in Warsaw; the importance of home-related places.
		Table	Places in Warsaw before and after visiting the city	Categorizing places enlisted by the subjects in order to identify the most salient categories, taking into account the difference between before and after.	In the imaginary level the "old" prevails, but after the experience of visiting the city there will be a mixture of "old" and "new"; influence of the difficulty of Polish language (majority of generic names of places among the non-Polish).
		Table	Descriptions of Warsaw (the city and the historical center) before and after visiting the city	Identifying new elements that appear after the visit.	In the imaginary level the "old" prevails, but after the experience of visiting the city there is a mixture of "old" and "new"; the presence of communist history.
		Linkert type scale	Sources of information about Warsaw	Identification of the "psychological luggage" of the subjects.	Differences in the type of information depending on nationality, age and educational level.
		Mental map	Mental map concerning the itinerary in Warsaw	Evocation of places through a projective graphic instrument.	The similarity between places in the mental map and places enlisted after the visit.

Social representations of Rome among Polish residents	Polish residents in Rome	Associative network (de Rosa, 1995)	Stimulus words: Warsaw, Rome, Ideal City	Description of the structure and of content of semantic fields of the representations.	More positive representation of Rome (polarity index) than of Warsaw; existence of <i>themata</i> .
		Temporal axis/timeline (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio)	Place identity during childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age	Identifying the most important places for the subjects during their lifetime.	Place identity much more salient and conscious among Italians and Poles who live a foreign country, as opposed to first-visitors whose bonds with the places in their home countries are not threatened.
		Table	Places in Rome before and after living in the city	Categorizing places enlisted by the subjects in order to identify the most salient categories, taking into account the difference between before and after.	More personal places after living in the city than before.
		Table	Descriptions of Rome (the city and the historical center) before and after living in the city	Identifying new elements that appear after the visit.	The greater number of adjectives after living in the city than before.
		Linkert type scale	Sources of information about Warsaw and Rome	Identification of the "psychological luggage" of the subjects.	The greatest importance of interpersonal information.
		Open questions	Open-ended questions concerning changes in Warsaw and Rome and comparing them	Evaluation of changes in both cities, considering similarities and/or differences.	Highlighting the differences between Warsaw and Rome.
		Guided interview	The experience and evaluation of Rome	Identifying clusters of responses concerning the cities.	Detecting further details of the experience of living in Rome over different time periods.

Social representations of Warsaw among Italian residents	Italian residents in Warsaw	Associative network (de Rosa, 1995)	Stimulus words: Warsaw, Rome, Ideal City	Description of the structure and of content of semantic fields of the representations.	More positive representation of Rome (polarity index) than of Warsaw; existence of <i>themata</i> .
		Temporal axis (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio)	Place identity during childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age	Identifying the most important places for the subjects during their lifetime.	Place identity much more salient and conscious among Italians and Poles who live a foreign country, as opposed to first-visitors whose bonds with the places in their home countries are not threatened.
		Table	Places in Warsaw before and after living in the city	Categorizing places enlisted by the subjects in order to identify the most salient categories, taking into account the difference between before and after.	More personal places after living in the city than before.
		Table	Descriptions of Warsaw (the city and the historical center) before and after living in the city	Identifying new elements that appear after the visit.	The greater number of adjectives after living in the city than before.
		Linkert type scale	Sources of information about Warsaw and Rome	Identification of the "psychological luggage" of the subjects.	The greatest importance of interpersonal information.
		Open questions	Questions concerning changes in Warsaw and Rome and comparing them	Evaluation of changes in both cities, considering similarities and/or differences.	Highlighting the differences between Warsaw and Rome more than similarities.
		Guided interview	The experience and evaluation of Warsaw	Identifying clusters of responses concerning the cities.	Detecting further details of the experience of living in Warsaw over different time periods.

Tab. II - Research design

3. Actors

3.1. First-visitors

Between October 2009 and June 2011, a total of 210 subjects took part in the research based on questionnaires regarding social representations of the city of Warsaw among first-visitors. The subjects were from seven different nationalities as follows: 30 from Italy, 30 from the United Kingdom, 30 from the United States of America, 30 from Spain, 30 from France, 30 from Germany and 30 from Poland.

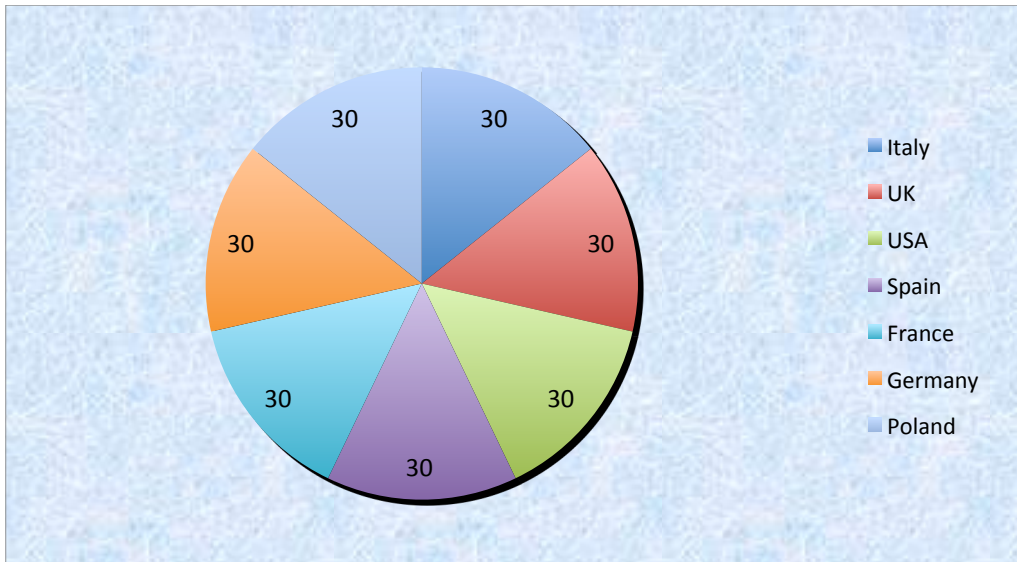


Fig. 6. First-visitors by nationality

Overall, 54% of the subjects were female, distributed as follows:

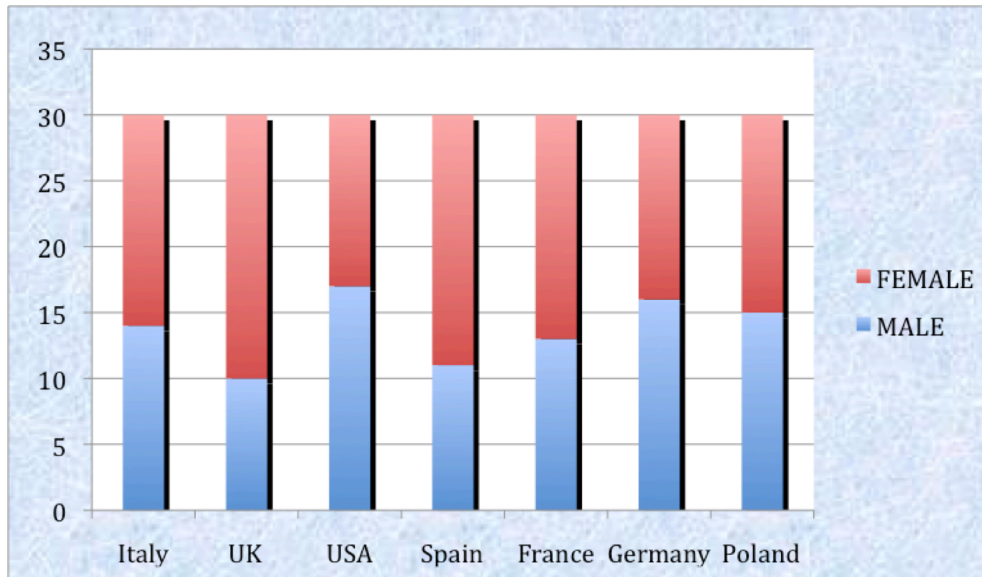


Fig. 7. First-visitors by sex

The subjects varied when it comes to age, although Polish first-visitors were usually younger due to the fact that in Poland it is customary to visit the capital city fairly early, usually while still studying and for this reason it is more difficult to find Polish first-visitors who are middle age or older. Overall, the youngest subject was 15 and was French, while the oldest subject was 77 and was German. The average age of the subjects was 35 years, distributed in the following way among the seven nationalities:

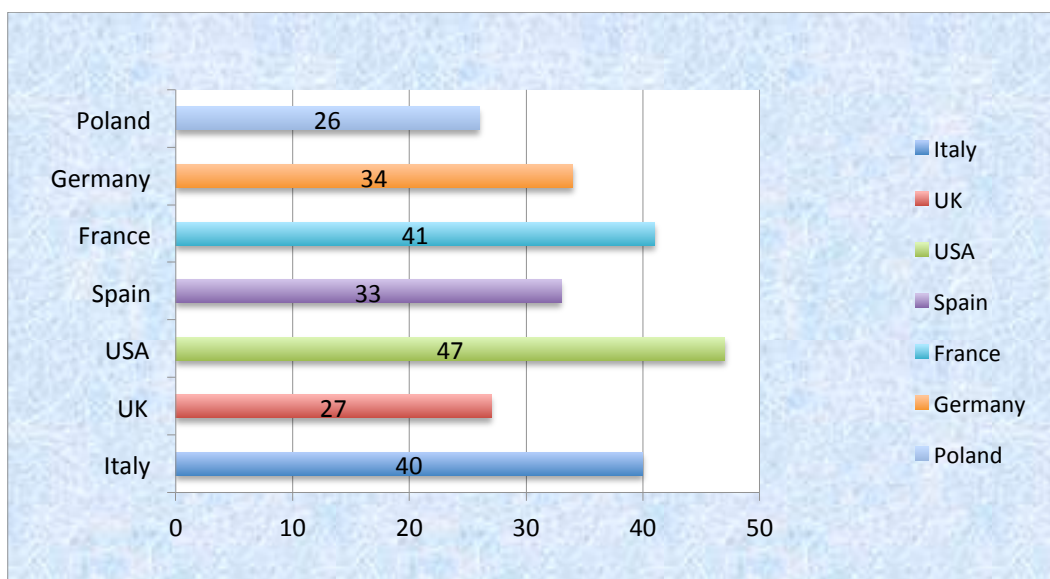


Fig. 8. First-visitors by age

The education of subjects was on a high level, with many participants with a PhD, as well as some students, still in the process of acquiring their education. Only among Polish visitors there was a higher number of participants with basic level of education, probably due to the fact that it is hard to find educated Polish citizens who are for the first time visiting the capital city.

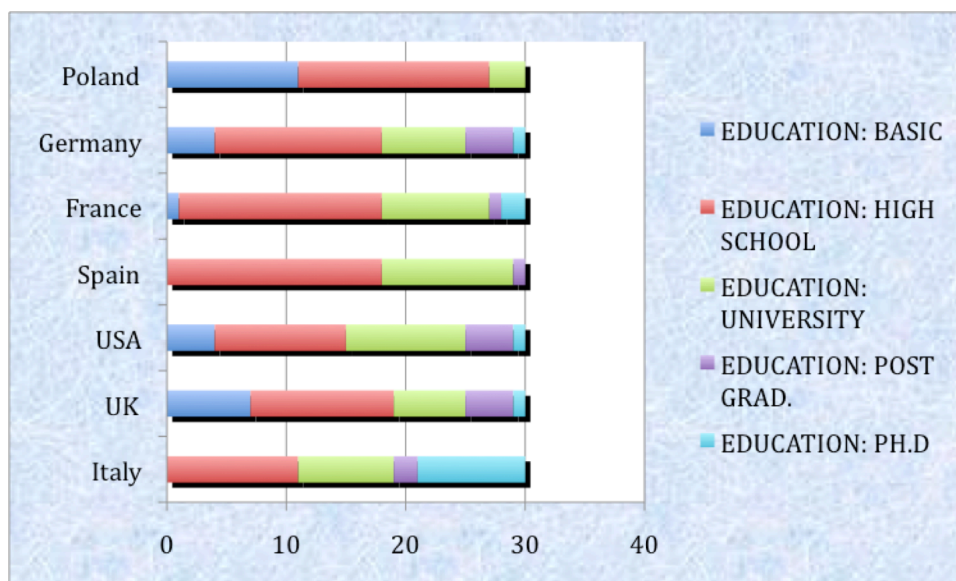


Fig. 9. First-visitors by educational level

3.2. Residents

3.2.1. Written dimension

Between October 2009 and June 2011, a total of 60 subjects took part in the research based on questionnaires, regarding social representations of the city of Warsaw among residents from Italy and social representations of the city of Rome among residents from Poland.

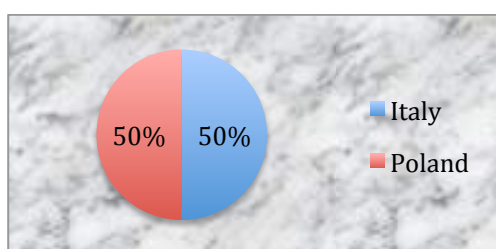


Fig. 10. Residents by nationality

Overall, 55% of subjects were female, with a majority of Polish subjects female and majority of Italian subjects male as follows:



Fig. 11. Residents by sex

The average age of Italian subjects was 44, while for Polish 42, with the youngest subjects 26 and 20, and the oldest subjects 71 and 73, respectively for Italy and Poland. The majority of subjects from both countries was educated at the university level. Very few had basic education. They represented various professions, the majority of Italian subjects were businessmen working in the private sector or for the Italian ministry of foreign affairs, while the majority of Polish subjects was employed by the Polish government in Polish institutions in Rome, as well as by the Vatican.

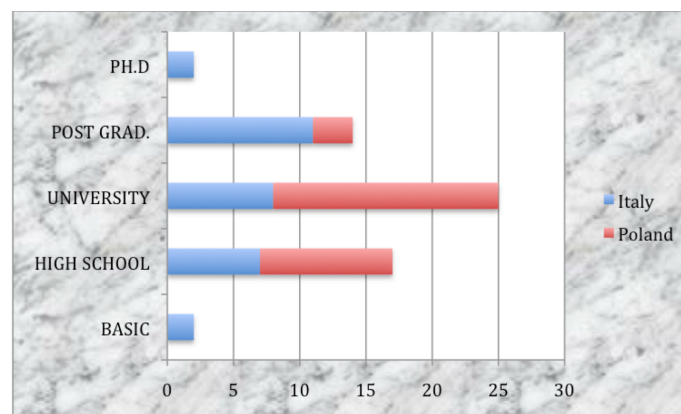


Fig. 12. Residents by educational level

More than 75% of Italian subjects moved to Warsaw because of work. For the Polish subjects, work was also the most frequent reason of moving to Rome (53%), followed by the category “other” (30%), in most cases specified as “marrying an Italian”.

The majority of Italian subjects (more than 20%) have lived in Warsaw for between 3 to 9 years, while for the majority of Polish subjects the length of stay was more than 10 years (with a 30% of actually more than 20 years).

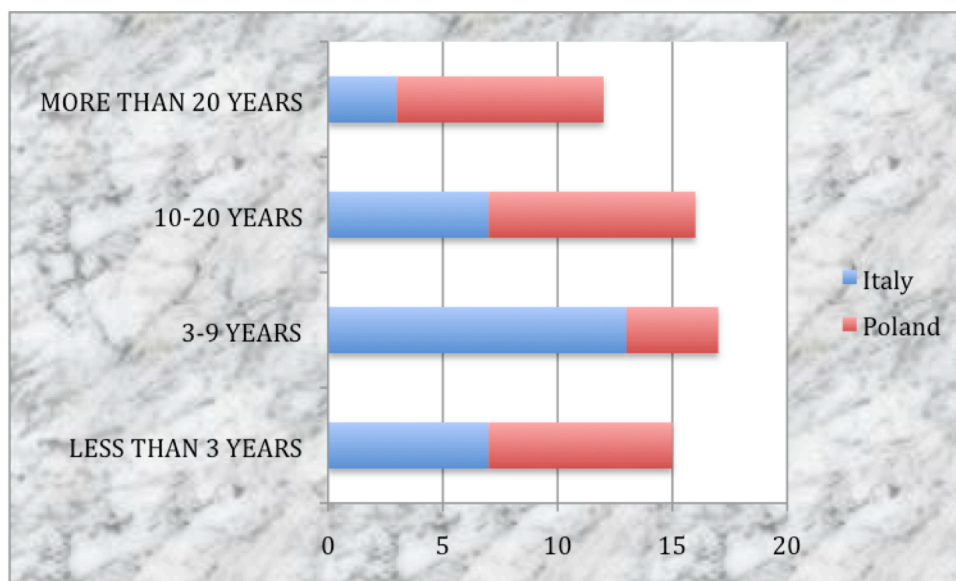


Fig. 13. Residents by length of stay

The professions of the subjects from both Poland and Italy varied widely, from private sector workers through public officials to clergy. Majority of the Italian subjects were consultants and other types of professionals working with private business (also as managers), while for the Polish subjects many worked in education and the Catholic Church. In the chart below, the outer circle represents Polish subjects and the inner circle represents Italian subjects.

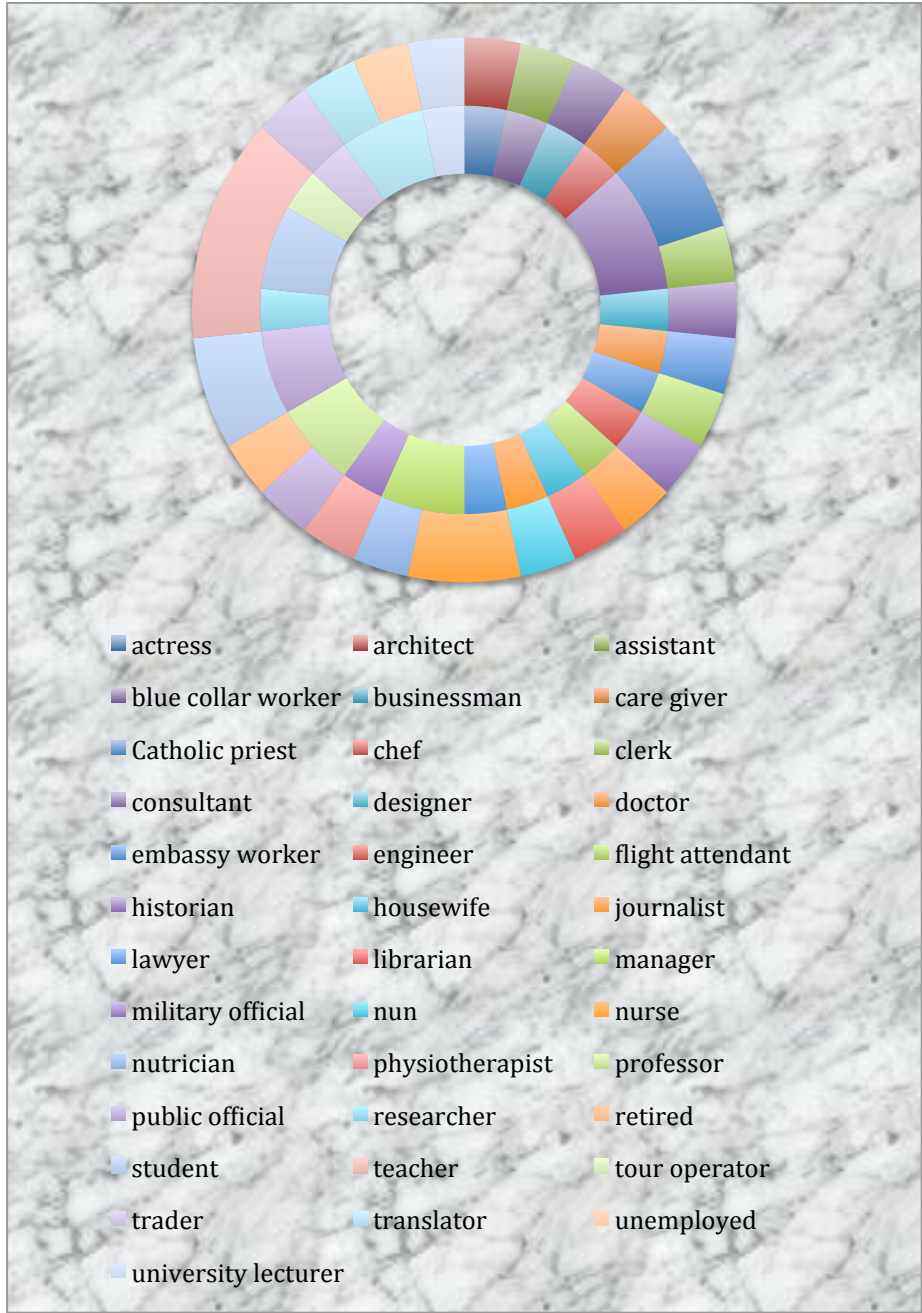


Fig. 14. Residents by profession

3.2.2. Spoken dimension

Between October 2010 and May 2011, a total of 34 subjects were interviewed regarding their social representations of the city of Warsaw among residents from Italy and social representations of the city of Rome among residents from Poland. Overall, approximately 50% of the subjects were women and 50% were men. However, among the Polish subjects majority were female, while the opposite was true for the Italian subjects.

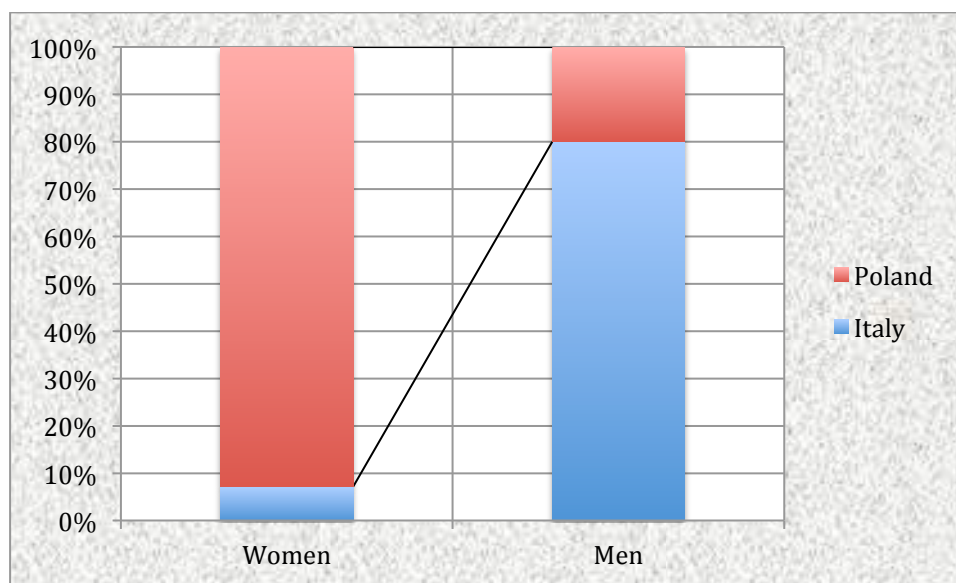


Fig. 15. Interviewed residents by sex

The average length of stay in Warsaw for the Italian subjects was almost 15 years, with the majority of residents who have lived in Warsaw from 11 to 20 years and more than 20 years. For the Polish subjects, the average length of stay in Rome was over 11 years, with the majority of residents who have lived in Rome from 1 to 5 years.

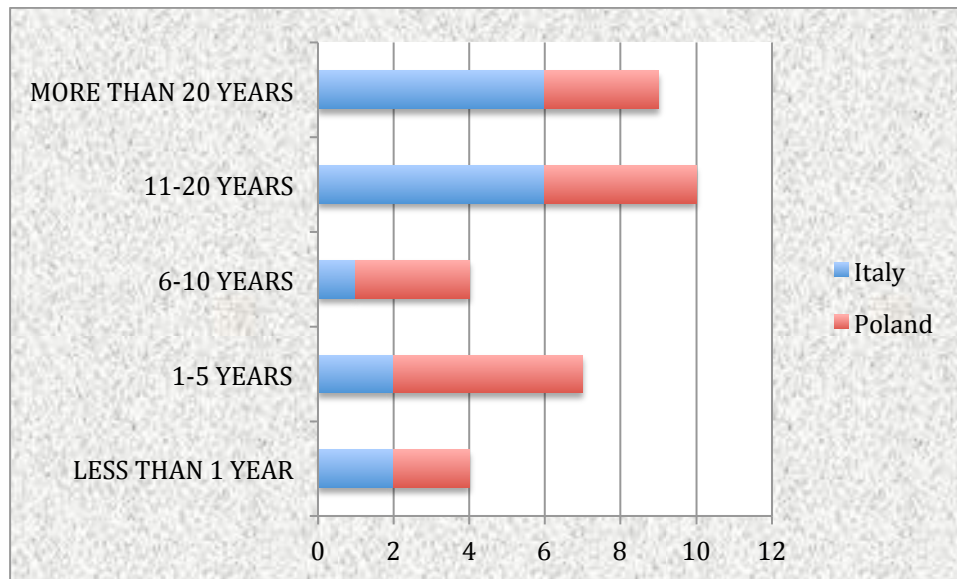


Fig. 16. Interviewed residents by length of stay

The motivation to move into the new city was predominantly because of work, for both Italian and Polish subjects. Family reasons were the second most important motivation, especially for Polish subjects, in most cases specified as getting married to an Italian. Personal reasons includes diverse situations, from avoiding legal problems to looking for a less chaotic place to live (in case of Italians) or, on the contrary, for a more exciting place to live (in case of the Polish subject).

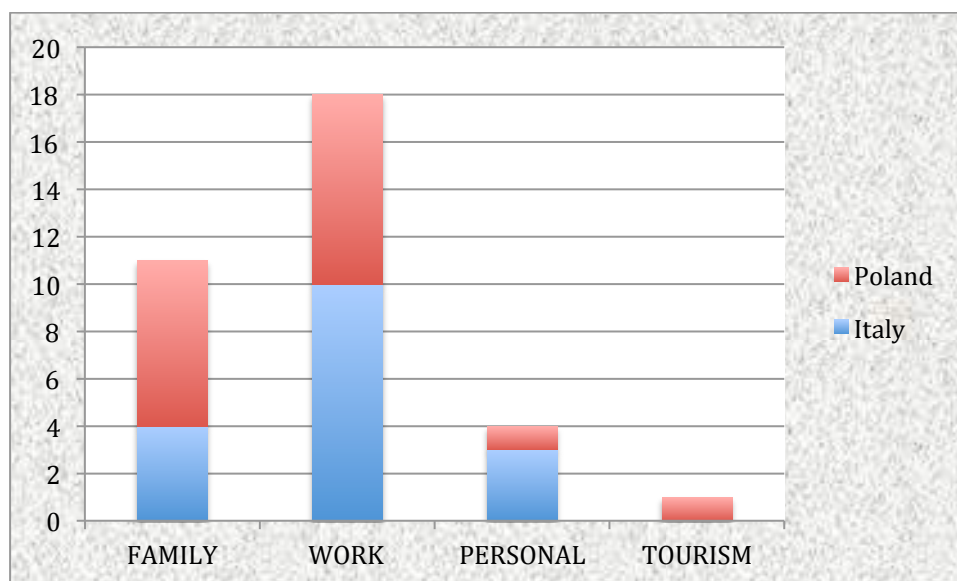


Fig. 17. Interviewed residents by reason of stay

The profession of the interviewed subjects demonstrated the fact that this research focuses on qualified migration. The majority of Polish residents in Rome worked as diplomats, while the majority of Italian residents in Warsaw owned a business in Poland. The rest of the subjects were professionals: journalists, professors, lawyers and doctors.

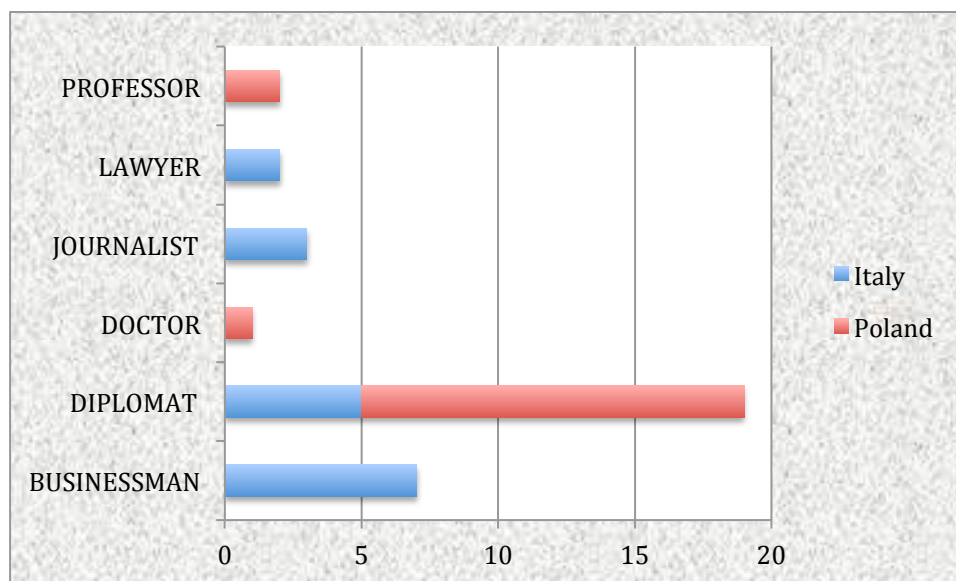


Fig. 18. Interviewed residents by profession

A new illustrative variable was added in case of interviewed subjects – their marital status. Overall, the majority of residents had a spouse, but as a result of a special categorization it turned out that among married couples most of them consisted of an Italian husband and a Polish wife, followed by the couples of the same nationality (more numerous among Poles) and even some couples consisting of an Italian and a spouse of a nationality different than Polish and Italian. Single subjects were quite well represented, especially among young Polish residents in Rome.

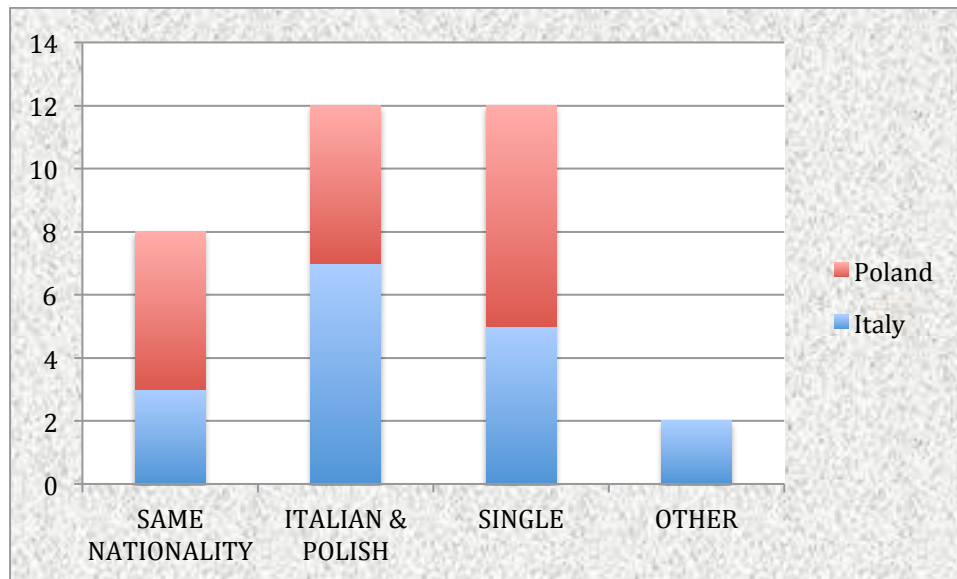


Fig. 19. Interviewed residents by marital status

It is worth mentioning that not all of the residents interviewed have also compiled the questionnaire, and thus the interviews provide further information given by new subjects. In fact, in this way the obstacle of the considerable length of the questionnaire (prohibitive to certain subjects) have been overcome by offering these individuals a possibility of a conversation. On the other hand, in cases when the same person both filled out the questionnaire and participated in the interview, the combination of two techniques enabled the researcher to better understand certain statements.

4. Outcomes

4.1. First visitors

4.1.1. Timeline

Based on the place identity construct of Proshansky (1978), de Rosa (1992) developed a semi-projective research instrument called the place identity timeline, which allows for identifying the psychological relevance attributed to different experienced life stages, as well as important places in each experienced life stage. From the five life stages: childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age; subjects are asked to attribute importance to each one of them that they have experienced or are currently experiencing and to identify places that were meaningful to them during these periods. Thus, the place identity timeline allows assessing one's life using two dimensions: graphical and verbal (de Rosa, d'Ambrosio, 2011).

4.1.1.1. Life stage score

Overall, among the first-visitors on average the greatest importance is assigned to maturity (35.7), followed by youth (33.4), childhood (25.07), adolescence (24.38) and old age (19.89). The stacked marked line below demonstrates the importance of life stages by nationality. The overall pattern differs from the individual patterns of subjects from the UK and Poland who attribute greater importance to youth than to maturity. It is worth mentioning that only subjects from Italy, USA and Poland attributed importance to old age.

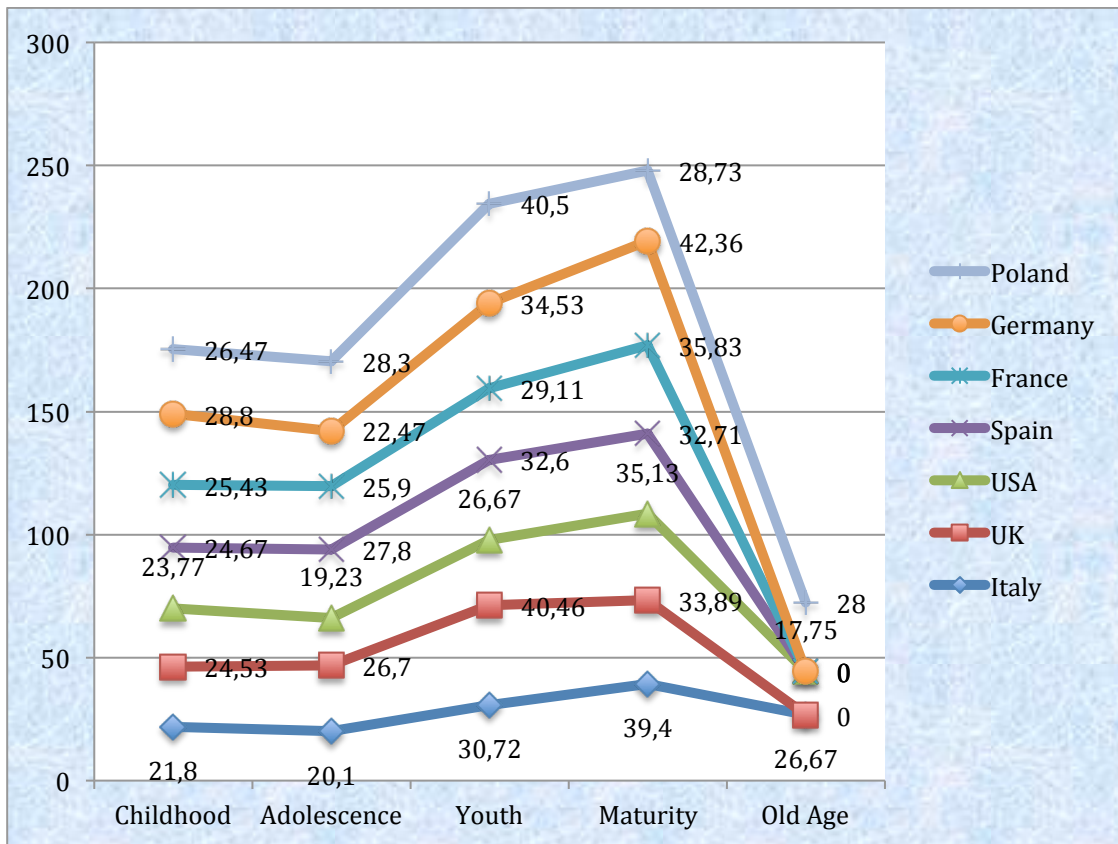


Fig. 20. First-visitors' average importance of life stages

4.1.1.2. Life stage memory

The subjects were asked to enlist significant places in each stage of their life up to the present moment. The first visitors from Italy most frequently mentioned places related to nature, which were especially important during their childhood, followed by places related to education such as school or university, especially important during adolescence. Domestic environment was on the fourth place, preceded by places related to vacations.



Fig. 21. Places important in each life stage, Italian first-visitors

In case of subjects from the UK, no places were mentioned in the life stage of old age. Similar to Italians, the most frequently mentioned places related to nature followed by school and related places. Then own home and domestic environment were also frequent. With the exception of educational places, the subjects listed all the abovementioned places especially frequently as related to their childhood.

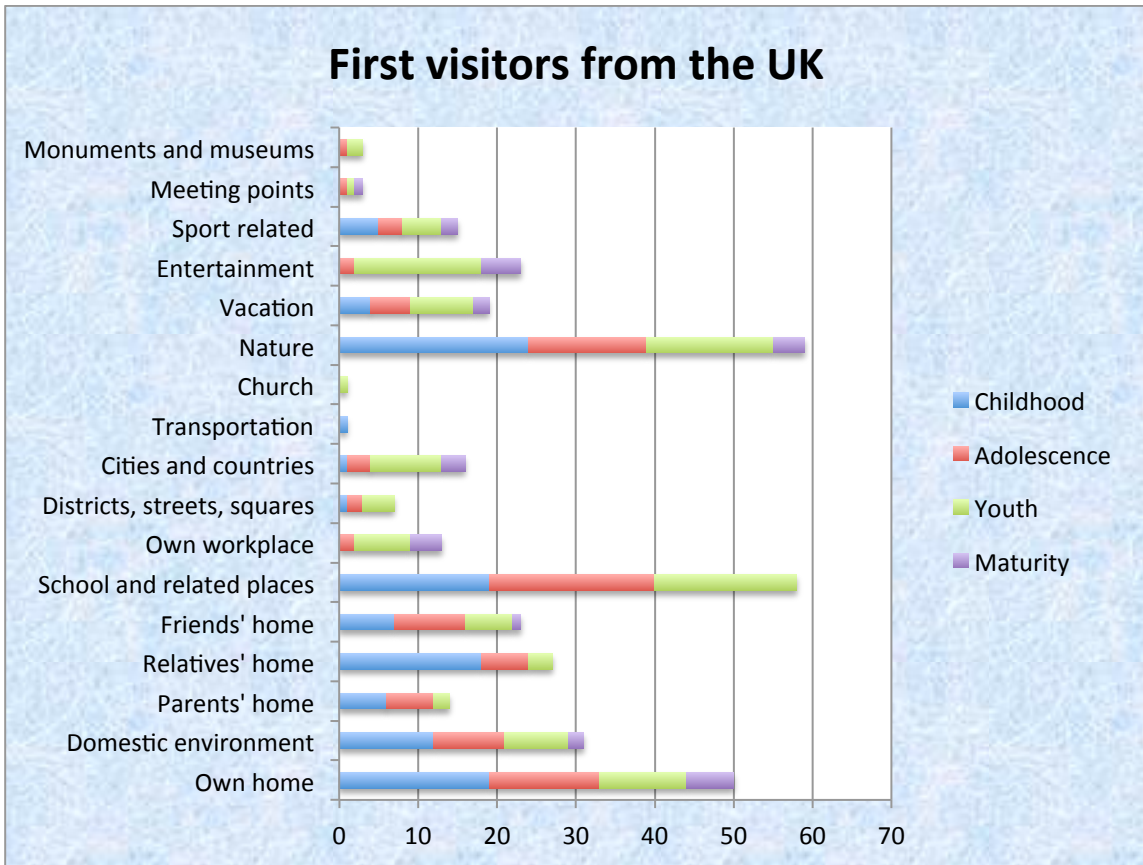


Fig. 22. Places important in each life stage, English first-visitors

The first visitors from the USA demonstrated a different pattern in their answers, with the two most frequent answers in the category of own home and cities and countries, followed by educational places and natural places. While own home appeared especially important during childhood, cities and countries tended to be mentioned much more often in relation to maturity.

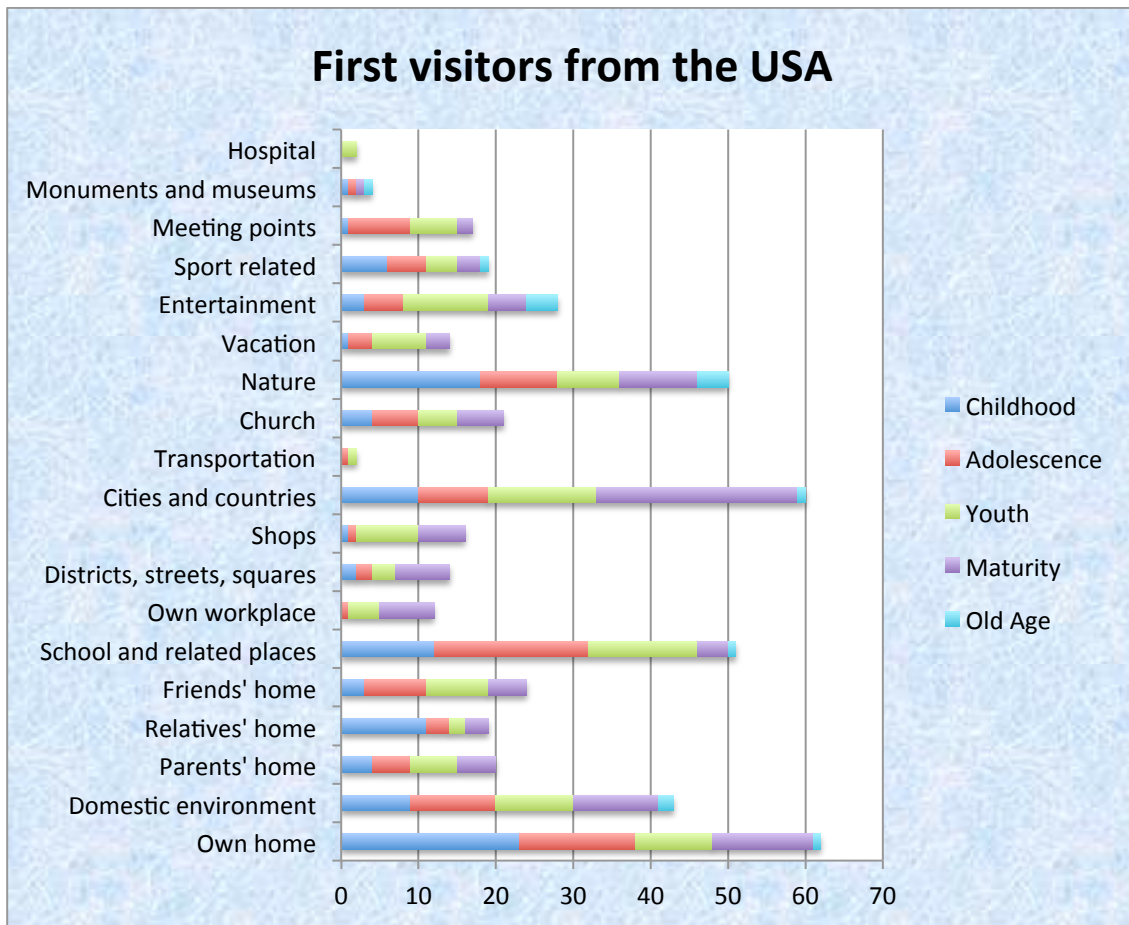


Fig. 23. Places important in each life stage, American first-visit visitors

The first visitors from Spain mentioned cities and countries the most frequently, especially as related to their youth, highlighting the fact that they travel a lot and can boast with a long list of cities that they visited. Many of the subjects were university students, which explains the second most frequent category – places related to education. No subjects identified any places during old age. Own home was the third most frequent answer, followed by places related to nature.

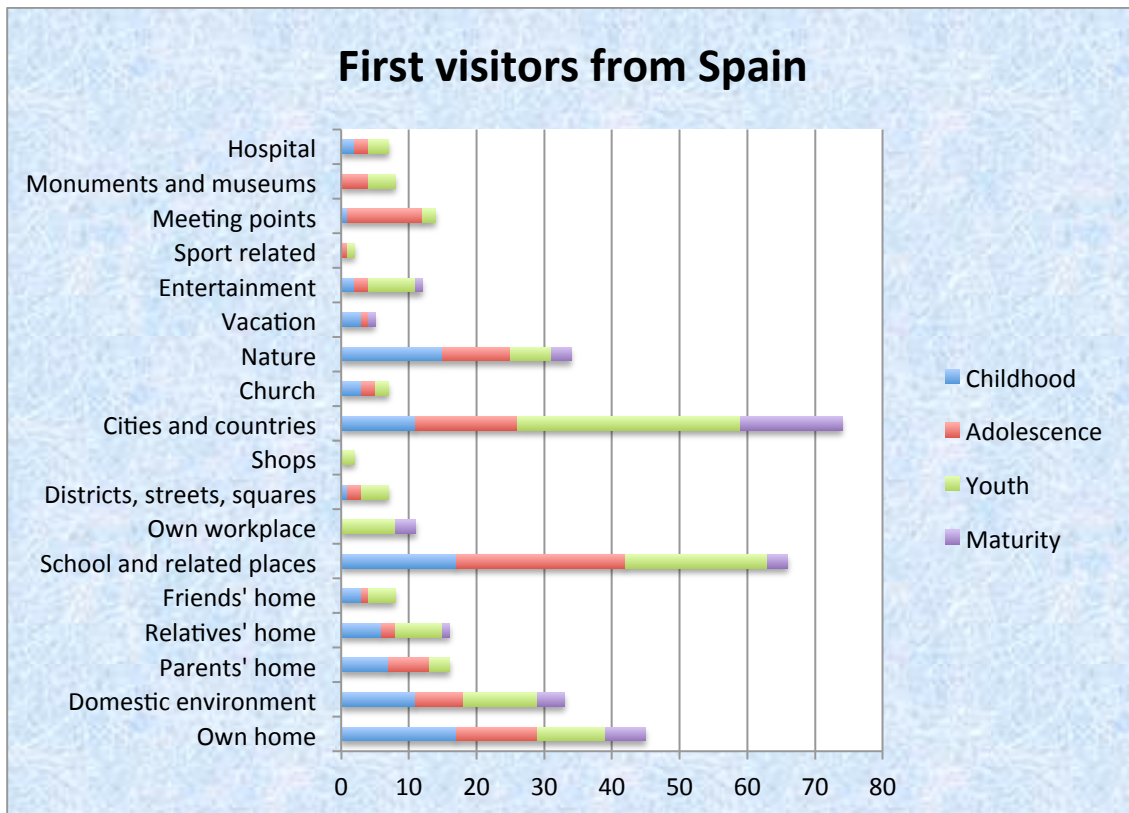


Fig. 24. Places important in each life stage, Spanish first-visitors

The first visitors from Germany most frequently mentioned school and related places, followed by places belonging to the categories of nature, own home and parents' home. As in case of other nationalities, school was especially important during adolescence and youth. The subjects did not enlist any places during old age.



Fig. 25. Places important in each life stage, German first-visitors

As the first visitors from Germany, the first visitors from France also most frequently mentioned places related to education, especially important during adolescence. Own home was the second most frequent place, followed by vacation and sport related places.

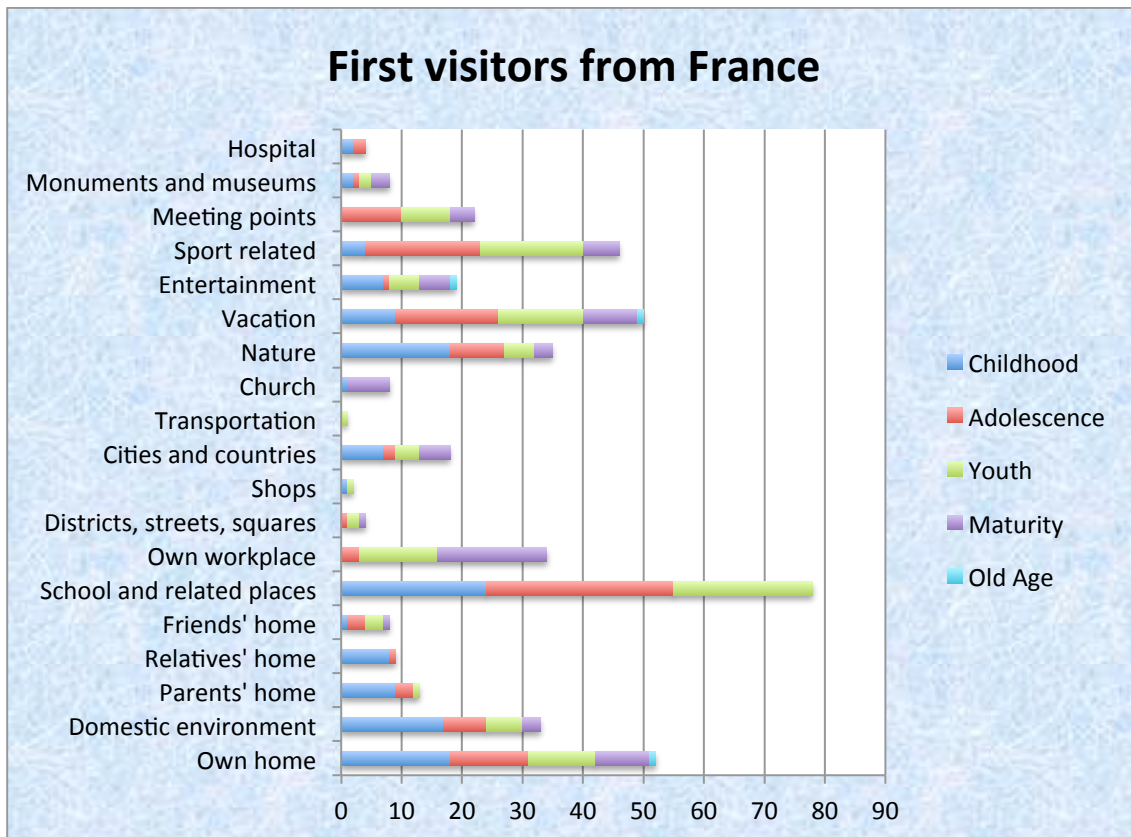


Fig. 26. Places important in each life stage, French first-visitors

The third nationality that placed the most weight on school related places, Poland, also considered it as especially important during adolescence. Own home was the second most frequently mentioned places, followed by domestic environment mentioned as frequently as natural places.



Fig. 27. Places important in each life stage, Polish first-visitants

4.1.1.3. Top place in life

The subjects were asked to identify the most important places in their lives, justifying their choice. The majority of them replied by giving a name of a city that was especially important to them. The second most frequent choice was own home, followed by school and related places, parents' home, own workplace and nature. The subjects from all nationalities identified a single city as the most important in their lives, except for the French and Polish, who respectively chose their own homes and parents' homes.

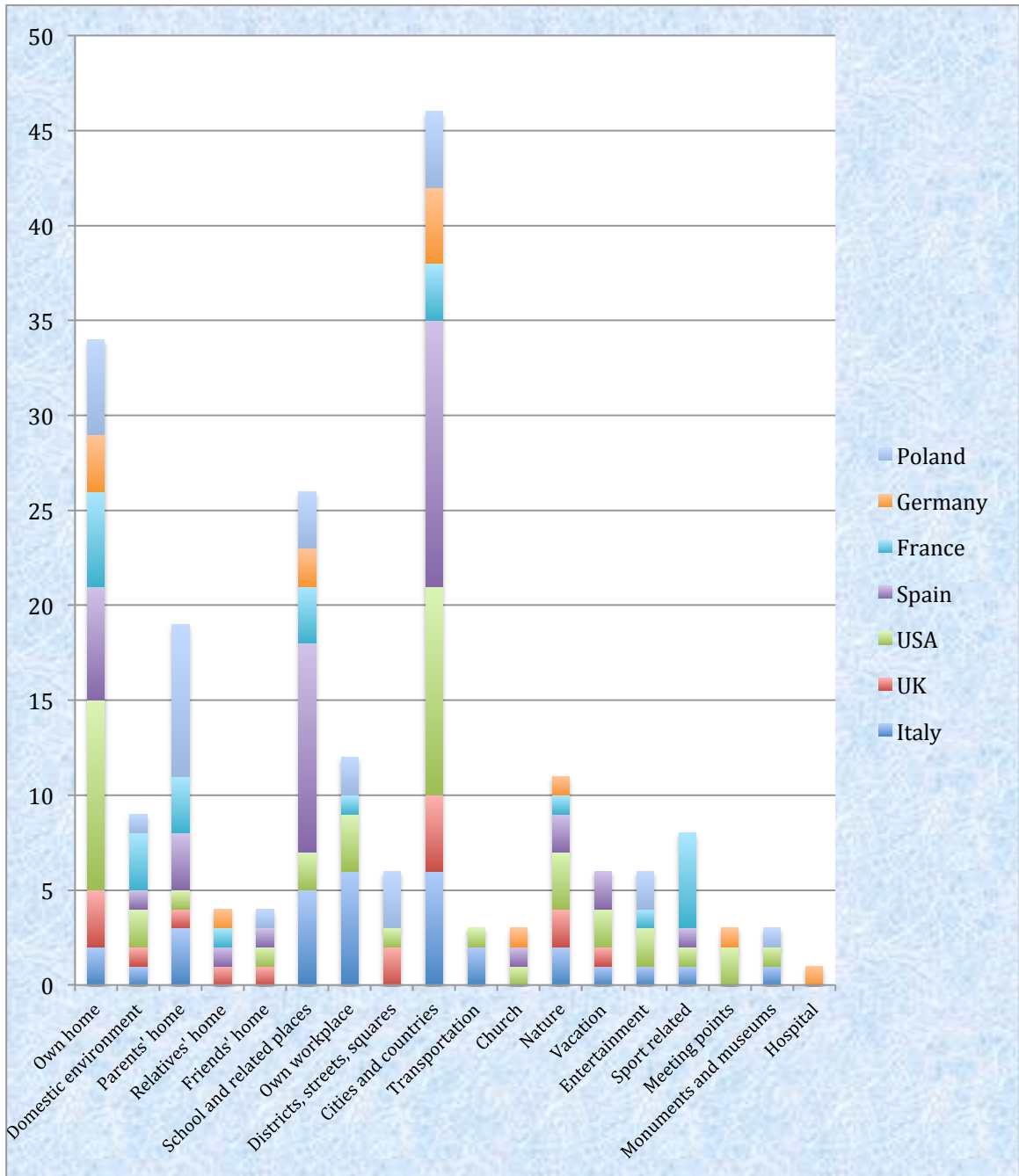


Fig. 28. The most important place in life, fist-visitors by nationality

4.1.2. Associative networks

The first visitors from all seven nationalities were asked to create associative networks stimulated by the words: Warsaw and Ideal City.

4.1.2.1. “Warsaw” trigger

The social representations of the city of Warsaw very frequently concentrate in the visual-perceptive dimension, especially among the visitors from Italy, UK and Germany. The dimension of time, history and memory is also very frequent, as demonstrated by the use of such words as World War II. Especially Polish subjects mentioned many places and monuments in Warsaw, which was also frequent for the visitors from the USA and other countries.

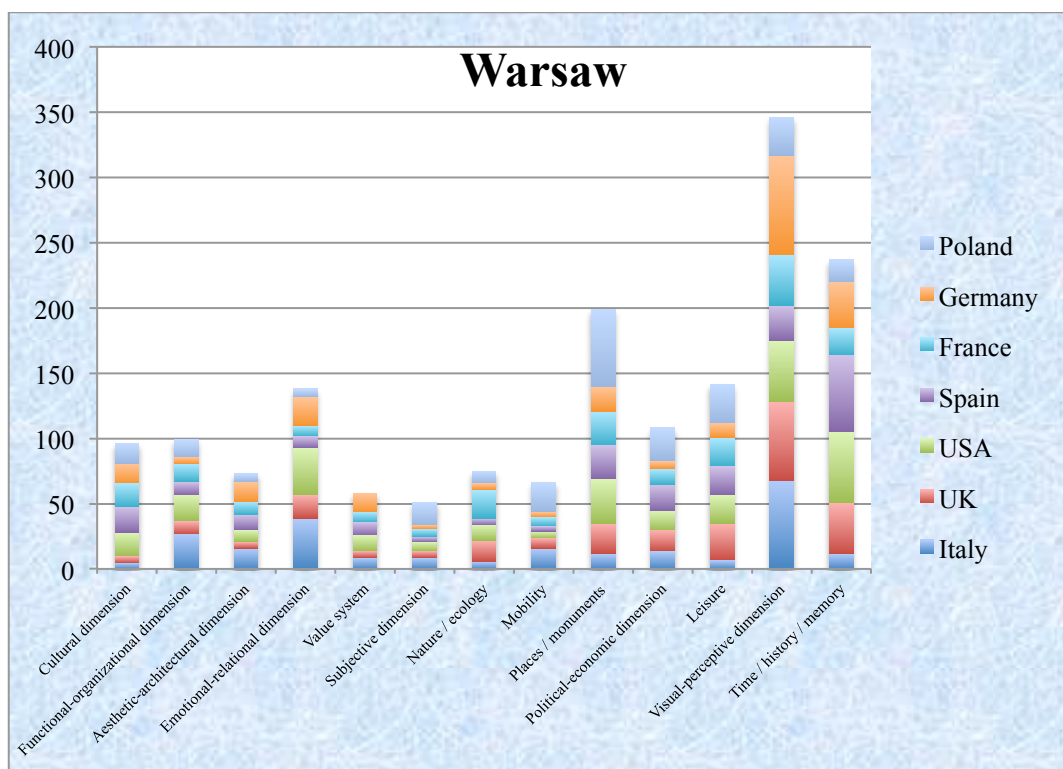


Fig. 29. Categorization of words associated with Warsaw, first-visitors by nationality

Using the package software SPAD-T described in chapter 2, five factors were extracted, which correspond to different social representations of Warsaw. The independent variables included: subjects' nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002).

F1 - negative – Patriotic Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
UPRISING	-	5.7	0.20
KACZYNSKI	-	5.5	0.17
PALACE OF CULTURE	-	3.9	0.18
TRAIN STATION	-	3.4	0.10
CONCERTS	-	3.0	0.07
STUDIES	-	2.9	0.10
PATRIOTISM	-	2.7	0.11
PRESIDENTIAL PALACE	-	1.9	0.08
VISTULA	-	1.7	0.05
METRO	-	1.6	0.08
BUSINESS	-	1.4	0.05
POLITICS	-	1.3	0.04
DIRTY	-	1.1	0.06
PRAGA	-	1.1	0.05
TRAMS	-	0.7	0.03
MERMAID	-	0.6	0.04
RESTAURANTS	-	0.6	0.03
GOLDEN TERRACES	-	0.5	0.02
NIGHTLIFE	-	0.5	0.01
FLAT	-	0.4	0.01
NATIONALITY: POLISH AGE: LESS THAN 26 YEARS OLD POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE			

Tab. III - Warsaw, factor 1 negative, first-visitors

The patriotic social representation of Warsaw focuses on the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, a heroic historical event significant for the entire country of Poland. Apart from the explicit reference to “patriotism”, it encompasses the image of Warsaw as the city of the president on the country, with his presidential palace, which became especially important to Poles after the airplane catastrophe in Smolensk on April 10, 2010 during which the Polish president and his wife, as well as a significant part of the national political elite passed away. After this tragic event, masses of Poles travelled to Warsaw to pay tribute at the Presidential Palace. The patriotic representation includes such



symbols of Warsaw as the Palace of Culture, the central train station or the mermaid, well known all over Poland.

This representation was especially frequent among Polish first visitors, as the airplane crash in Smolensk has caused a huge debate and introduced new practices. Warsaw took a prominent place in the mass memorial services and other related events, becoming the center of media attention for this reason. Typical to Polish visitors, as opposed to other nationalities, appears the recall of the historical enemies of the country in an indirect way. While other visitors explicitly talk about Hitler or Communism, Polish visitors tend to recall the uprising, which for them carries very complex historical meaning. Such negative, sad events that compose the social representation of Warsaw of Polish visitors seems to be in line with the Polish “culture of complaining” (Dolinski, 1996) that gives more importance and pays more attentions to tragic events, both in the past and in the present times. The young age of the subjects who share this social representation is probably due to the fact that only after the fall of Communism in Poland, Warsaw Uprising has become a part of school curricula and the country started regular commemorations of it. The subjects who mention it evaluate Warsaw in positive terms, focusing on the patriotic, positive aspect of the uprising, by many considered one of the main reasons Poland was recognized as a nation by Stalin following the war.

F1 - positive – Anonymous Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
SAFE	+	4.3	0.18
CLEAN	+	3.1	0.14
TIDY	+	3.0	0.10
STRANGE	+	2.1	0.06
QUIET	+	2.0	0.05
PROUD	+	1.8	0.07
YOUNG	+	1.7	0.06
BEAUTIFUL	+	1.6	0.05
INTERESTING	+	1.6	0.04
SAD	+	1.5	0.06
LIVELY	+	1.4	0.06
HOSTILE	+	1.3	0.04
SMALL	+	1.3	0.04
CHEAP	+	1.2	0.06

REBUILT	+	1.2	0.03
DANGEROUS	+	1.1	0.02
GREEN	+	1.1	0.04
RELIGIOUS	+	1.1	0.03
DIFFICULT	+	1.0	0.03
FRIENDLY	+	0.9	0.04
PRIDE	+	0.9	0.03
GROWING	+	0.7	0.03
OPEN	+	0.6	0.02
PAST	+	0.6	0.03
TRANSPORT	+	0.6	0.01
SERIOUS	+	0.4	0.02
WOMEN	+	0.4	0.02
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, GERMAN AGE: 26 YEARS OLD TO OVER 60 YEARS OLD POLARITY INDEX: NEUTRAL AND NEGATIVE			

Tab. IV - Warsaw, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

On the opposite end of the patriotic representation, there is the anonymous Warsaw, mostly described by adjectives, sometimes even opposites such as “safe” and “dangerous” or “hostile” and “friendly”. The peculiarity of this representation is that there is no description that pertains exclusively to the city of Warsaw, no symbols of the city, no specific references to its history. Pretty much, the descriptions given could refer to most European cities. Warsaw is seen as “a city” which demonstrates certain characteristics, mostly focusing on the practical aspect of it being safe, clean and tidy.

The subjects who see Warsaw as an anonymous city are Italian and German, represent different age groups and evaluate it in neutral or negative terms. It seems that the city is rather unknown to them, even though they enlist many adjectives, most of them are not emotionally loaded and demonstrate a certain distance from the place.

F2 – Dangerous but interesting Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DANGEROUS	+	65.4	0.78
INTERESTING	+	9.0	0.21
GOLDEN TERRACES	+	4.8	0.14
COLORFUL	+	3.2	0.10
NATURE	+	3.0	0.10
BEAUTIFUL	+	2.0	0.06
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, POLISH			

AGE: LESS THAN 26 YEARS OLD
POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE

Tab. V - Warsaw, factor 2, first-visitors

The social representation of Warsaw as a dangerous but interesting city points out to an image of a dangerous place that nevertheless draws the visitor's interest with its colors and nature. It is considered beautiful and it contains a concrete place, Golden Terraces, which is a shopping center with a modern, original architecture.

English and Polish subjects who share this social representation, in spite of predominantly considering Warsaw as dangerous evaluate it in positive terms. It is possible that many of them are passing through the city, because Golden Terraces is a mall close to the central train station, where visitors often shop and then proceed to reach smaller towns in Poland. Probably in comparison with such smaller places Warsaw even more appears as dangerous, but also colorful.



Fig. 30. Graphical display of factors 1 and 2, Warsaw, first-visitors

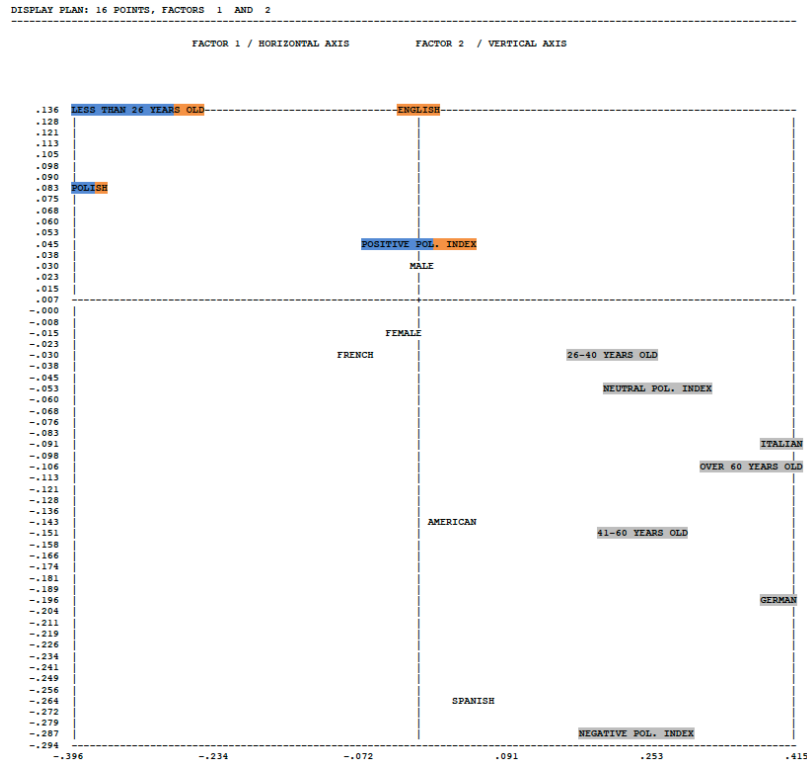


Fig. 31. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 1 and 2, Warsaw, first-visitors

F3 - negative – Symbols of Poland

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
ALCOHOL	-	7.4	0.14
POLAND	-	5.3	0.14
POPE	-	4.7	0.15
CHURCHES	-	3.9	0.09
HOLIDAYS	-	3.3	0.06
CHOPIN	-	3.0	0.12
NAZI	-	2.3	0.11
DANGEROUS	-	1.8	0.02
FRIENDS	-	1.8	0.06
HITLER	-	1.7	0.07
AMBER	-	0.9	0.03
EAST	-	0.6	0.02
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, SPANISH			
AGE: 26-40 YEARS OLD			

Tab. VI - Warsaw, factor 3 negative, first-visitors

Warsaw seen as symbols of Poland follows the stereotypical image of the country. In general, Poland is known for alcohol (especially vodka), the Pope John Paul II, Chopin, amber and the Nazi occupation in times of Hitler. Though the above associations refer more to Poland in general than to Warsaw specifically, probably due to a lack of knowledge the subjects adapted their social representation of Warsaw to their social representation of Poland, also seen as a dangerous holiday place in the rather unknown East of Europe. Almost all the associations evoked are nouns, things or persons that can be defined as symbols.

The subjects who think of Polish symbols when imagining Warsaw are between 26 and 40 years old and come from England and Spain. In both countries, especially in England, there are a considerable number of Polish workers, which probably influences the social representation of the city. This age group tends to be busy with starting a professional career and it may be more convenient for them to take the more immediate, already available symbols of Poland and associate them with Warsaw, without much pondering or research concerning the city itself.

F3 - positive – City of reflection

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
CONCERTS	+	6.0	0.10
UPRISING	+	5.0	0.14
KACZYNSKI	+	4.6	0.11
TRAIN STATION	+	4.2	0.09
PATRIOTISM	+	3.7	0.12
BUSINESS	+	2.4	0.07
POLITICS	+	2.3	0.05
QUIET	+	1.3	0.02
SMALL	+	1.2	0.03
PROUD	+	1.1	0.03
CHARMING	+	0.9	0.01
STRANGE	+	0.8	0.02
OPEN	+	0.6	0.01
RUINS	+	0.6	0.02
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH			
AGE: OVER 60 YEARS OLD			
POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE			

Tab. VII - Warsaw, factor 3 positive, first-visitors

While symbols of a country usually come to mind immediately, without much reflection, this representation of Warsaw appears as a fruit of an intent consideration. More versatile and specific to the city instead of the country, it describes Warsaw as a contemporary setting of concerts, important place for business and politics, including the person of the Polish president Kaczynski. The reflection contains some elements of the history of the city, such as ruins and uprising, a demonstration of Polish patriotism. It also includes a personification of Warsaw described as proud, charming and strange.

Italian and Polish visitors from the oldest age group value the city as a place of a historical, cultural, business and political importance. Among Polish subjects, the already mentioned death of the President Kaczynski constituted a reason to come to Warsaw for the first time, in spite of the old age, in order to pay tribute. This brings the reflection concerning the history of the city and its character.

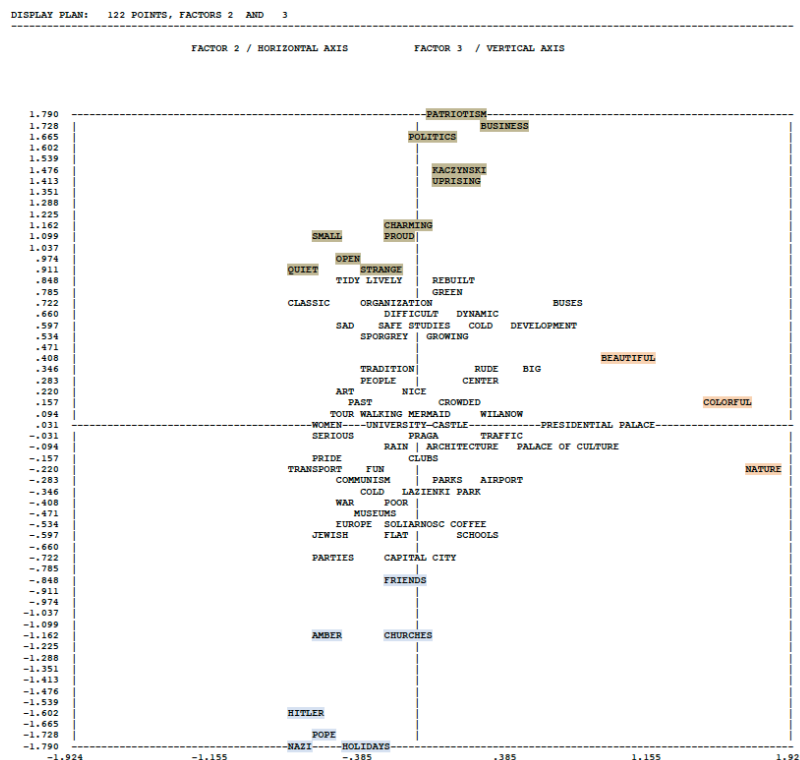


Fig. 32. Graphical display of factors 2 and 3, Warsaw, first-visitors

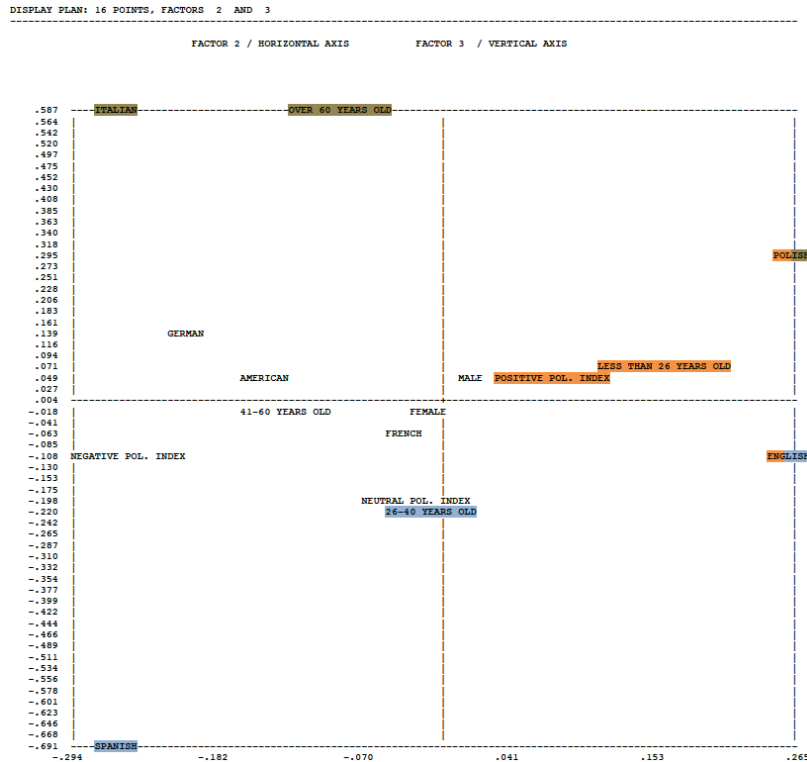


Fig. 33. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 2 and 3, Warsaw, first-visitors

F4 - negative – Looking ahead

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
RELIGIOUS	-	6.2	0.13
PRIDE	-	5.6	0.14
CLEAN	-	4.7	0.16
MUSEUMS	-	3.5	0.10
MODERN	-	2.1	0.07
SPORT	-	2.0	0.04
REBUILT	-	1.9	0.04
CHARMING	-	1.8	0.03
NIGHTLIFE	-	1.3	0.03
WALKING	-	1.1	0.04
GROWING	-	1.0	0.03
ORGANIZATION	-	0.8	0.02
SHOPPING	-	0.8	0.03
AIRPORT	-	0.6	0.02
MUSIC	-	0.6	0.01

NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH
SEX: MALE
AGE: 26-40 YEARS OLD, OVER 60 YEARS OLD
POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE

Tab. VIII - Warsaw, factor 4 negative, first-visitors

The social representation of Warsaw looking ahead concentrates on what the city looks like today and where it is headed. The growing city appears religious, which is not linked with the past, but rather with the pride of having that characteristic today. Future focuses on positive aspects, such as the fact that the city is clean, modern, organized, and offers possibilities for walking, sport, as well as shopping and nightlife. Warsaw marches towards the future, only museums remind us of the past.

This representation is shared by Italian and Polish visitors, males, age groups between 26 and 40 years old and over 60 years old, who evaluate the city in positive terms. Male first visitors probably tend to focus on the future of Warsaw because they consider the practical aspects of life in the city, valuing also the entertainment that it offers.

F4 - positive – Looking back

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
TRANSPORT	+	7.8	0.11
GHETTO	+	5.7	0.19
SMALL	+	5.6	0.12
QUIET	+	4.2	0.07
RUINS	+	2.9	0.09
COMMUNISM	+	2.4	0.09
POOR	+	1.8	0.07
CATHOLIC	+	1.6	0.07
DESTROYED	+	1.4	0.06
SERIOUS	+	1.3	0.05
CLASSIC	+	1.1	0.03
DANGEROUS	+	1.1	0.01
EUROPE	+	1.0	0.04
NATURE	+	0.8	0.02
PAST	+	0.8	0.03
HITLER	+	0.6	0.02
MARKETPLACE	+	0.6	0.02
SNOW	+	0.6	0.03
NATIONALITY: GERMAN, FRENCH SEX: FEMALE AGE: 41-60 YEARS OLD POLARITY INDEX: NEUTRAL AND NEGATIVE			

Tab. IX - Warsaw, factor 4 positive, first-visitors

The opposite of Warsaw looking ahead is Warsaw that looks back, with rather negative connotations. At least three stages of the past of the city can be identified: ghetto as wanted by Hitler, ruins of Warsaw destroyed during the Uprising and the dangerous, poor face of Communism. The only place mentioned is the marketplace, the center of the old town, significant in the past. The city appears small, quiet and serious, with the natural element of snow, the sign of winter and the significant metaphor.

The first visitors from Germany and France who tend to see Warsaw through the lenses of its past may do so because of a reflection on the history of some cities in their own countries. Women probably see the negative aspects of war such as ghetto and Hitler because its devastating impact. The age group between 41 and 60 might have heard many accounts of these aspects from the generation of their parents who have lived through these times.

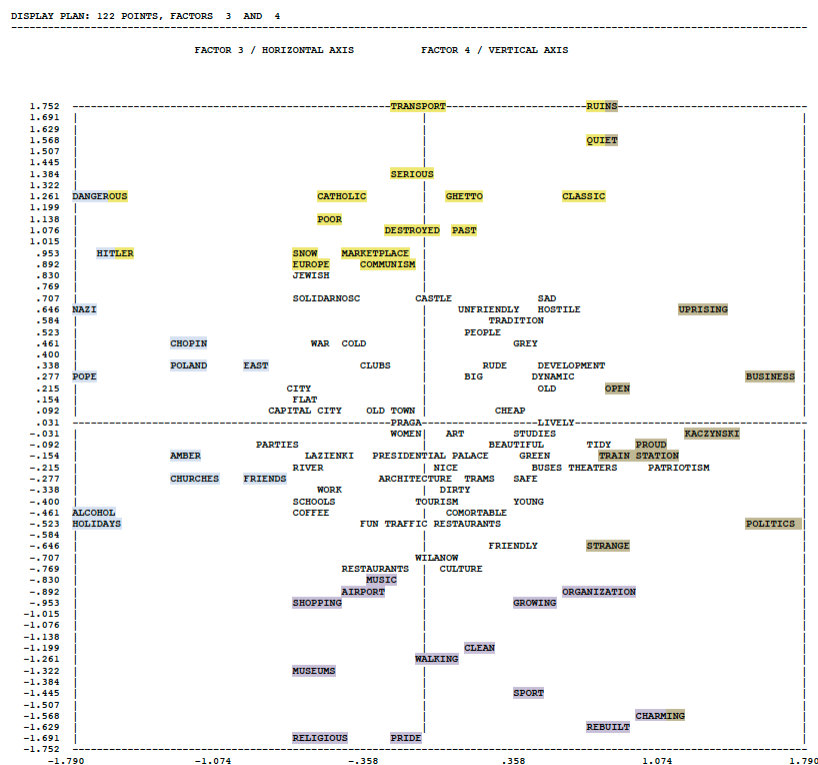


Fig. 34. Graphical display of factors 3 and 4, Warsaw, first-visitors

DISPLAY PLAN: 122 POINTS, FACTORS 3 AND 4

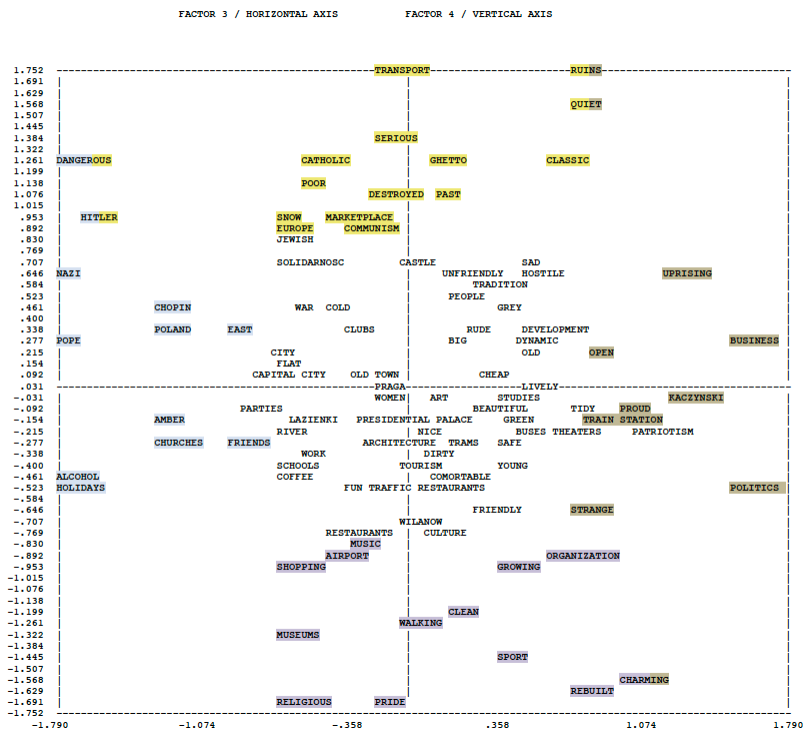


Fig. 35. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 3 and 4, Warsaw, first-visitors

F5 - negative – Artistic historical Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
CONCERTS	-	8.9	0.14
ALCOHOL	-	4.5	0.08
MUSIC	-	4.4	0.09
DANGEROUS	-	4.2	0.04
CHARMING	-	3.4	0.05
POLITICS	-	2.6	0.05
ART	-	2.5	0.06
ORGANIZATION	-	2.5	0.06
HOLIDAYS	-	2.4	0.04
TRAIN STATION	-	1.6	0.03
PARTIES	-	1.4	0.05
PRIDE	-	1.3	0.03
JEWISH	-	1.0	0.03
CLASSIC	-	0.8	0.02
HITLER	-	0.8	0.03
COMFORTABLE	-	0.6	0.02

NATIONALITY: SPANISH, GERMAN
SEX: FEMALE

AGE: OVER 60 YEARS OLD
POLARITY INDEX: NEGATIVE

Tab. X - Warsaw, factor 5 negative, first-visitors

The social representation of artistic historical Warsaw points out on one hand to charming concerts, parties with music and alcohol, and on the other hand to the proud historical capital city that suffered the extermination of Jews lead by Hitler. Both elements tend to be emotionally loaded; they do not leave the visitors indifferent.

Spanish and German subjects who share this representation stress concerts and music as artistic aspects of the city. It is also mostly female and over 60 years old first visitors who think of Warsaw in terms of its painful recent history.

F5 - positive – Bustling workplace

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
TRAFFIC	+	5.0	0.19
CROWDED	+	4.5	0.13
WORK	+	2.3	0.05
LAZIENKI PARK	+	2.2	0.09
AIRPORT	+	2.0	0.06
GROWING	+	1.9	0.06
WILANOW	+	1.8	0.08
STRANGE	+	1.5	0.03
OPEN	+	1.0	0.02
PEOPLE	+	0.9	0.03
SCHOOLS	+	0.9	0.03
CITY	+	0.8	0.03
DEVELOPMENT	+	0.8	0.02
RUDE	+	0.7	0.03
RESTAURANTS	+	0.5	0.02
TRAMS	+	0.5	0.02
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH SEX: MALE POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE			

Tab. XI - Warsaw, factor 5 positive, first-visitors

To many visitors, Warsaw appears as a busy growing city that offers work, which in turn generates traffic and crowd. In this representation, transportation plays an important role as evidenced by such words as “traffic”, “airport” and “trams”. As any growing city, its development is evidenced by the presence of schools, restaurants and

people that in the crowd may appear rude in this bustling everyday reality. Two specific places mentioned, Lazienki Park and Wilanow both represent green areas, probably seen as possibilities of rest from the busy life.

The subjects who represent Warsaw as a bustling city also evaluate it in positive terms. Many of them are males, who may be interested in business opportunities offered by the city. Polish subjects obviously come from smaller cities in the country, which makes it understandable that in comparison Warsaw seems crowded and rude, a sort of a city jungle.

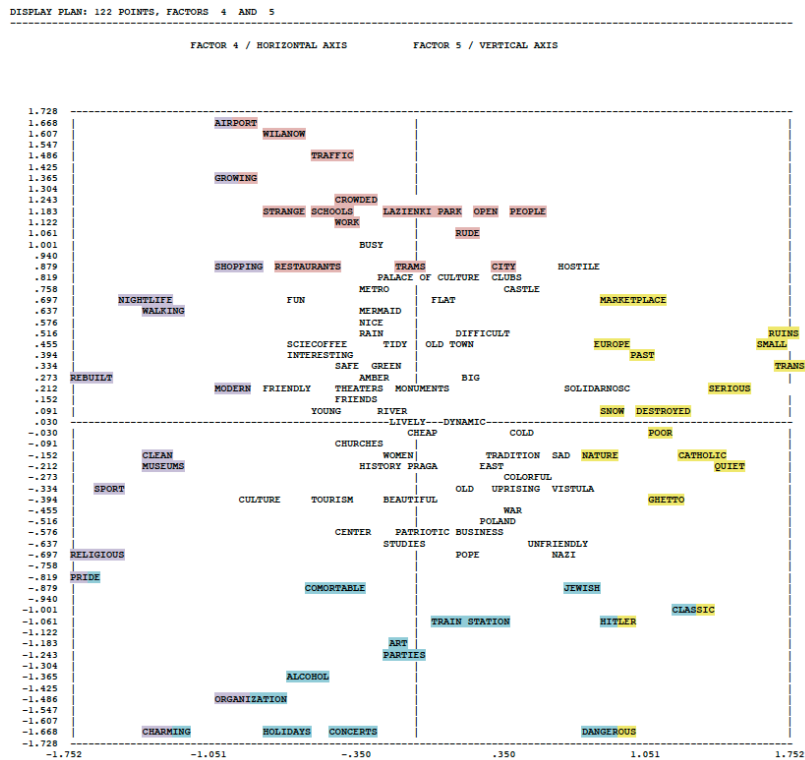


Fig. 36. Graphical display of factors 4 and 5, Warsaw, first-visitors

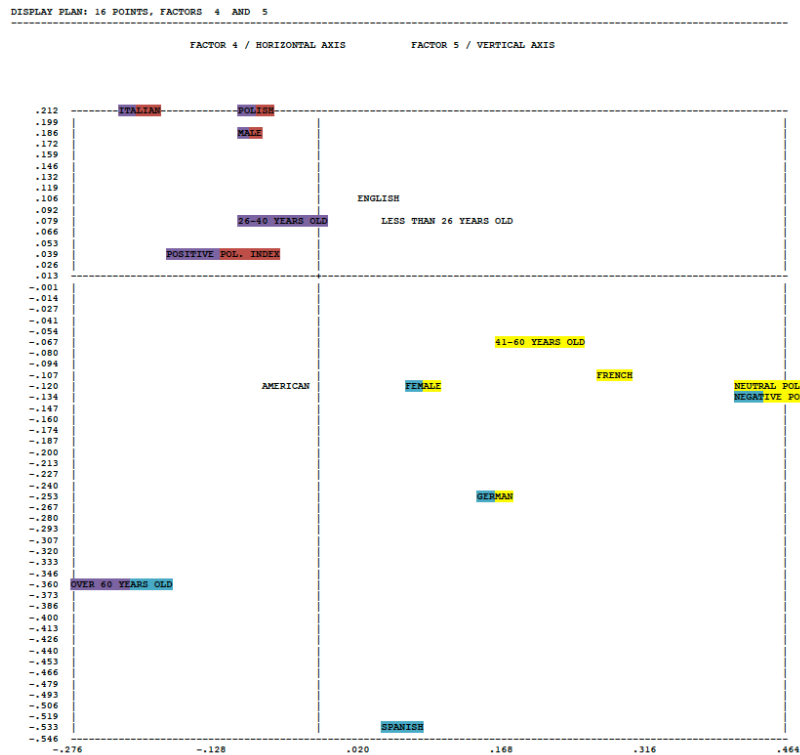


Fig. 37. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 4 and 5, Warsaw, first-visitors

4.1.2.2. “Ideal city” trigger

The analysis of frequencies based on the categorization of dimensions of words revealed the decisive domination of the visual-perceptive dimension among first visitors from all seven nationalities. The functional-organizational and leisure aspects were also frequently mentioned. The subjects wished for an ideal city to be a place with natural and green elements, often picturing it by the sea and filled with parks. From the emotional-relational dimension, significant especially for the first-visitors from Italy and the USA, such aspects as family and friends constituted an important part of an ideal city.

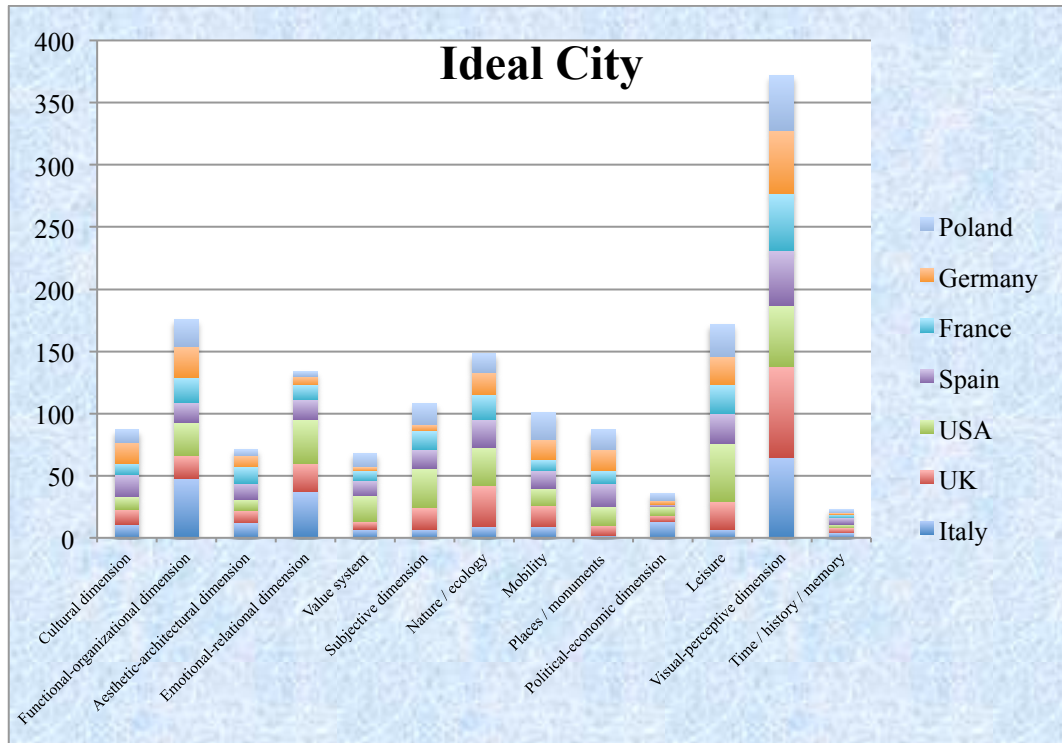


Fig. 38. Categorization of words associated with ideal city, first-visitors by nationality

When compared, the social representations of Warsaw and of an ideal city focus in both cases especially on the visual-perceptive dimension. There is an interesting significant difference of the frequency of time/history/memory category that in case of Warsaw has a high frequency, while for the ideal city the frequency is very low. In consequence, the first-visitors do not envision the ideal city as filled with monuments, which themselves are linked with time and memory. However, Warsaw appears similar to the ideal city especially in respect of leisure and emotional-relational dimension.

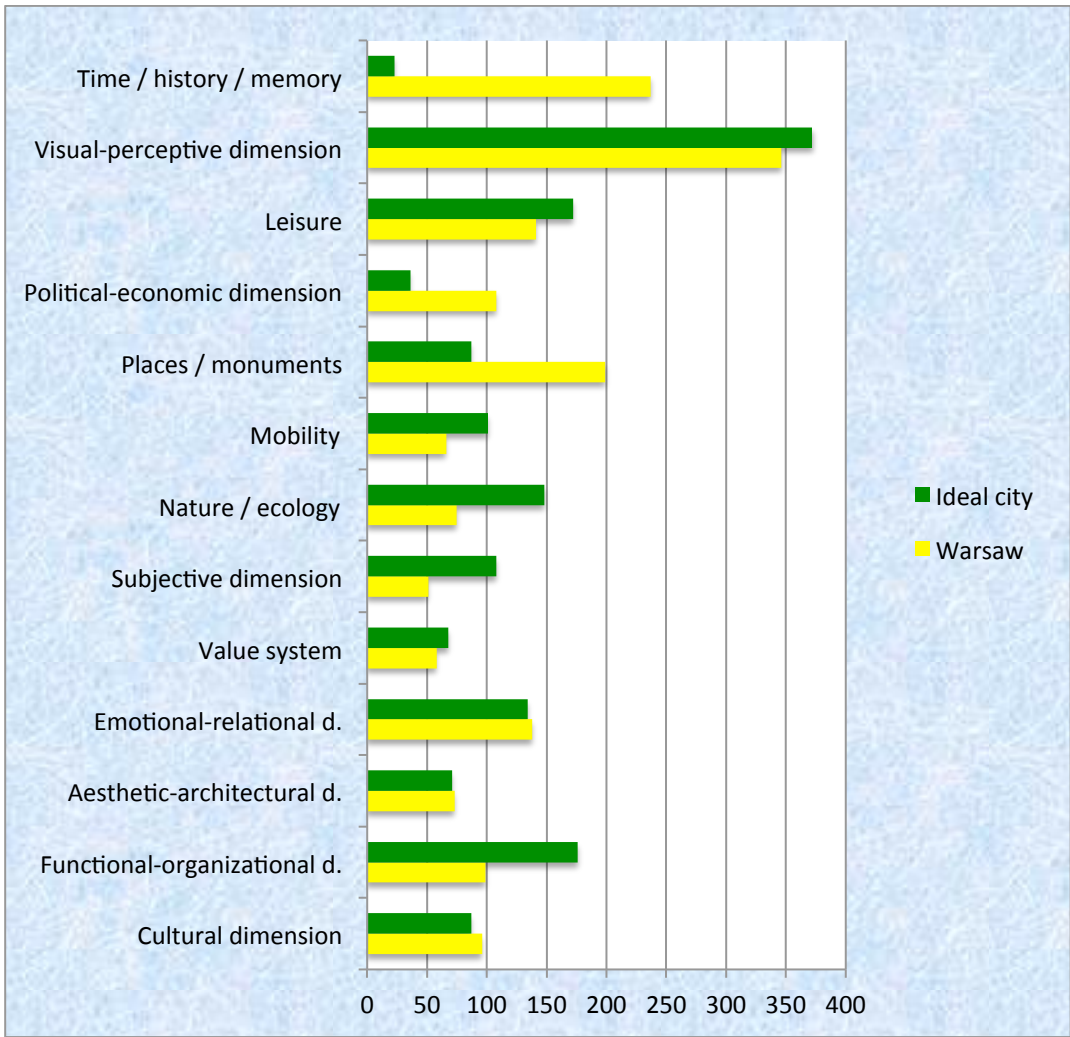


Fig. 39. Comparison of Warsaw and ideal city, first-visitors

Using the package software SPAD-T, five factors were identified, which correspond to different social representations of the ideal city. The independent variables included: subjects' nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002).

F1 – Abstract and universal ideal city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PERFECT	-	98.7	1.00
FUN	-	0.3	0.01
AGE: 41-60 Y.O.			

Tab. XII - ideal city, factor 1, first-visitors

The abstract and universal vision of the ideal city is contained in the word “perfect”. Almost all subjects who used this word did not give any detail; they felt it was enough to describe the ideal city as perfect in all senses. In such a way, they included everything that they had thought necessary; no one can in fact logically argue that something ideal is perfect, as the two words have similar meaning. Also the word “fun” used to describe the ideal city points to an abstract representation because everyone can attribute their own meaning to it, which at the same time makes it universal.

This representation is typical for the first visitors ages 41 to 60, because it allows them to focus on life here and now, without going deeper into such abstract concepts. The majority of the subjects in this age group had an active professional life and probably preferred in a way to dismiss the concept of the ideal city by describing it with one word – “perfect”.

F2 – Utopia

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
NOT EXISTING	+	95.2	0.98
CHURCH	+	2.8	0.09
COMFORTABLE	+	1.2	0.05
POLARITY INDEX: NEUTRAL			

Tab. XIII - Ideal city, factor 2, first-visitors

After verifying all the questionnaires of the subjects who replied that the ideal city did not exist, the high relative contribution of 0.98 was confirmed by the fact that all of them used only this one term in the associative network. One of them included in her questionnaire an explanation of the reply, stating that it was not worth it to waste her time on thinking about Utopia. This attitude of excluding the concept of an ideal city by describing it as not existing and therefore not giving any detail of what it is like, on a social level appears together with “church” and “comfortable”. The subjects who used these two words to describe the ideal city have given rich and articulate descriptions of it. Nevertheless, the social representation of Utopia brings together the idea of not existing, thus being imagined, which makes room for some practical elements, such as church buildings and the feature of being comfortable.

Utopia, a non-existing place cannot be either good or bad, so this representation was common among those who evaluated the ideal city as neutral.

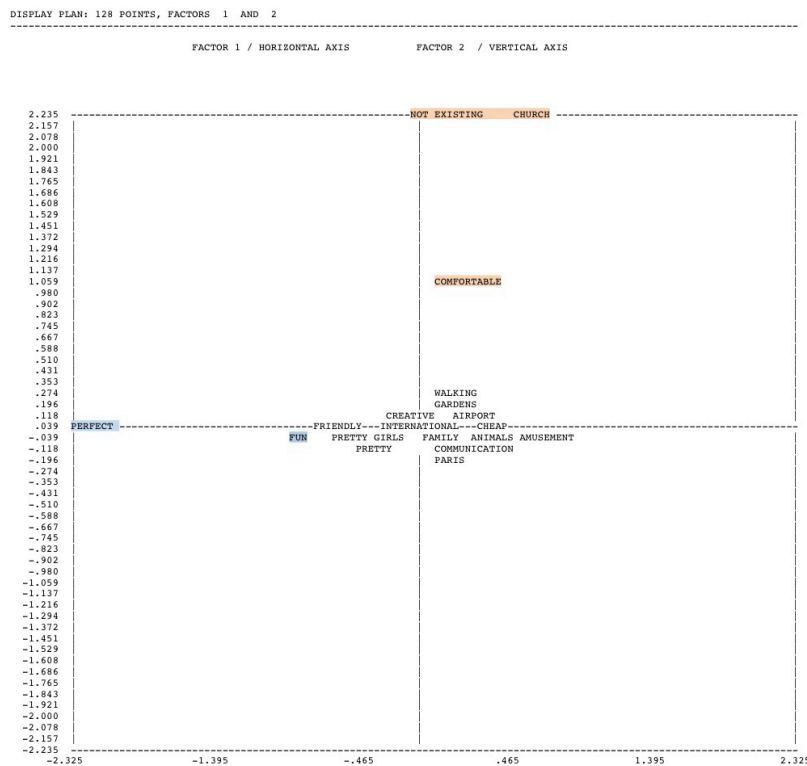


Fig. 40. Graphical display of factors 1 and 2, ideal city, first-visitors

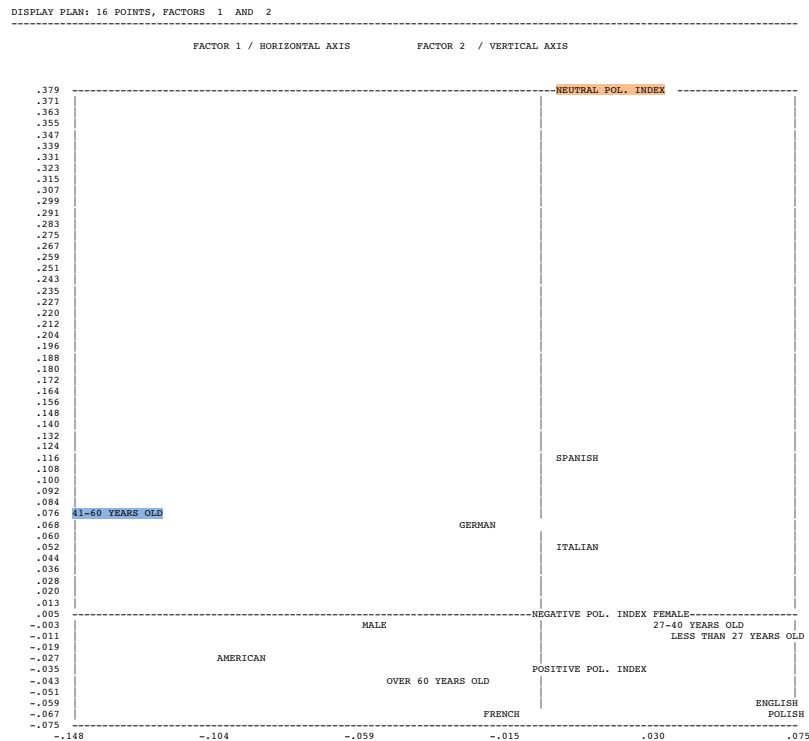


Fig. 41. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 1 and 2, ideal city, first-visitors

F3 – A real city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PARIS	+	96.1	0.99
CLUBS	+	0.9	0.04
OLD	+	0.5	0.02
NATIONALITY: FRENCH			

Tab. XIV - Ideal city, factor 3, first-visitors

The social representation of the ideal city as a real city points to Paris, and old city with clubs. According to this representation, there is no need to imagine a non-existing place, since the ideal city already exists; it is a real historical capital city.

Unsurprisingly, the French first visitors re-present the ideal city as Paris, which allows them to have a wide range of images contained in their memory at their disposal. The presence of clubs suggests a tangible way of expressing the fact of this real city being fun.

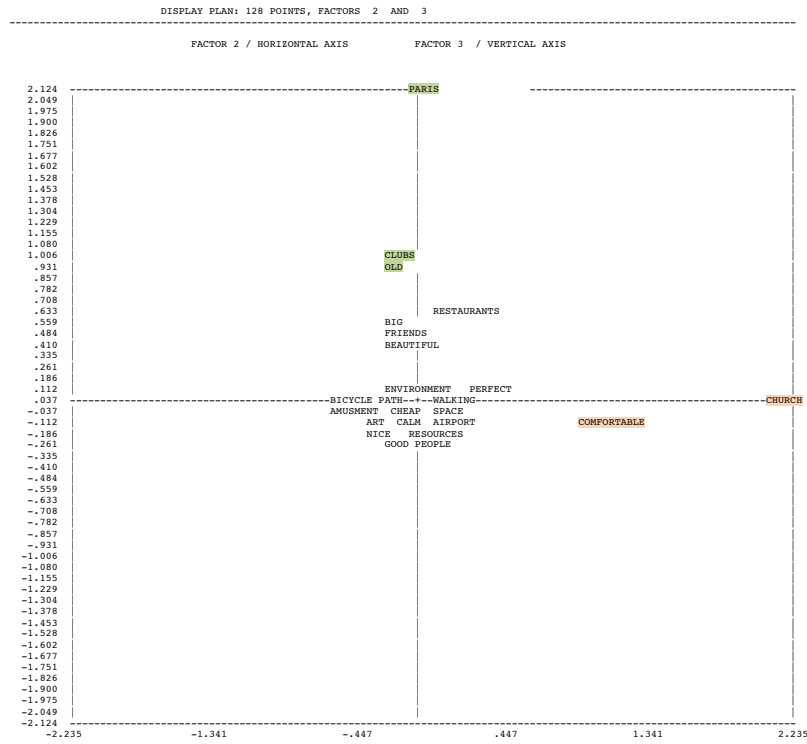


Fig. 42. Graphical display of factors 2 and 3, ideal city, first-visitors

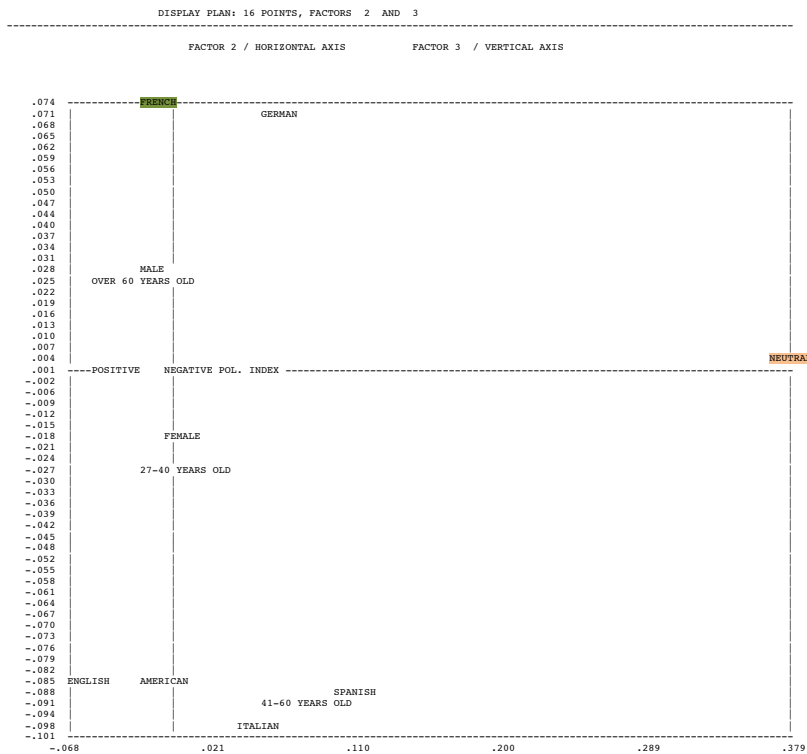


Fig. 43. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 2 and 3, ideal city, first-visitors

F4 – Pleasant to live

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
NICE PLACES	-	29.3	0.70
GOOD PEOPLE	-	25.9	0.72
NICE ARCHITECTURE	-	10.6	0.37
CALM	-	9.6	0.39
MARKET	-	7.7	0.14
COLORFUL	-	5.0	0.24
OLD TOWN	-	2.7	0.11
NATURE	-	1.5	0.06
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, POLISH AGE: OVER 60 Y.O.			

Tab. XV - Ideal city, factor 4, first-visitors

The social representation of the ideal city filled with nice places and people points to values and aesthetic aspects as the main features of the ideal city. Nice places, architecture, a market, old town and nature, all colorful and pleasant to senses have to be complemented by good people and a calm atmosphere, assuring a pleasant experience of living in such city.

This representation was shared by English and Polish first visitors, as well as visitors over 60 years old. Probably such a pleasant place to live appealed to subjects close to retirement or already retired who described their ideal city for this stage in life, when work is not anymore the main concern, but one can enjoy simple pleasures appealing to all senses, especially visually.

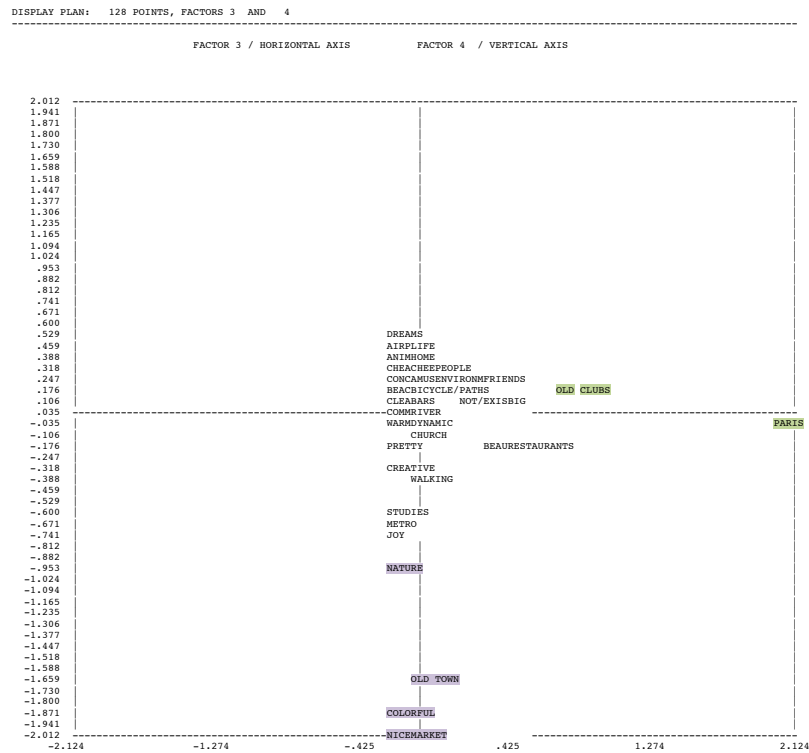


Fig. 44. Graphical display of factors 3 and 4, ideal city, first-visitors



Fig. 45. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 3 and 4, ideal city, first-visitors

F5 - negative – American dream

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PROSPERITY	-	9.1	0.17
RESOURCES	-	7.7	0.12
DREAMS	-	7.2	0.21
HOME	-	5.8	0.12
PRETTY GIRLS	-	5.4	0.09
CHILDREN	-	4.8	0.20
SPACE	-	3.1	0.12
PASSION	-	2.8	0.12
MONUMENTS	-	2.7	0.08
DIVERSITY	-	2.3	0.11
FAMILY	-	1.9	0.07
FREEDOM	-	1.6	0.08
NO CRIME	-	1.5	0.05
AIRPORT	-	1.2	0.04
RESPECT	-	1.1	0.08
LAKE	-	1.0	0.03
JOY	-	0.8	0.03
MUSIC	-	0.8	0.03
ANIMALS	-	0.7	0.02
CONCERTS	-	0.6	0.03
KINDNESS	-	0.6	0.02
CREATIVE	-	0.5	0.02
FUN	-	0.5	0.02
LIFE	-	0.5	0.01
MONEY	-	0.5	0.04
NATIONALITY: AMERICAN AGE: 26-40 Y.O.			

Tab. XVI - Ideal city, factor 5 negative, first-visitors

The ideal city represented as American dream is envisioned as a rich place, filled with all that money can buy, but not only, since family, home and children constitute an important aspect of it. The hedonistic aspect of pretty girls and passion, as well as music and monuments to enjoy make the picture complete when paired with such values as diversity, freedom, respect, kindness and life. Actually, the focus of this representation is on people, not on a place, which is there to make the dream come true.

Unsurprisingly, Americans demonstrate this social representation of the ideal city as the American dream, which is also appealing to young people in general. This is the most articulate social representation of the ideal city among the first visitors, as each abstract term has a practical illustration: prosperity comes from resources and money; dreams are fulfilled with pretty girls and passion; home is a place for a family with children and animals, by a lake; freedom finds its expression in the fact that the spacious ideal city has an airport to go wherever one wants; fun comes from enjoying music during concerts, which also express creativity.

F5 - positive – Down-to-earth ideal city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
SUITABLE	+	1.4	0.05
TIDY	+	1.4	0.04
NICE	+	1.3	0.03
ORGANIZED	+	0.8	0.02
GOOD FOOD	+	0.7	0.02
OLD	+	0.7	0.03
SOCIAL	+	0.7	0.02
AMUSEMENT	+	0.5	0.02
PRACTICAL	+	0.5	0.02
WATER	+	0.5	0.02
BRIGHT	+	0.4	0.01
NO SMOKING	+	0.4	0.01
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, FRENCH AGE: LESS THAN 26 Y.O., 41-60 Y.O.			

Tab. XVII - Ideal city, factor 5 positive, first-visitors

Opposite to a dream based on values is the social representation that focuses on practical aspects, being suitable, tidy, nice and organized. Such down-to-earth ideal city has a social aspect that is not further developed, and it addresses basic needs by providing good food, water and amusement in a non-smoking environment.

This representation, predominantly shared by Italian and French first visitors, as well as the youngest subjects and the subjects ages 41-50, probably is a mixture of the positive aspect already available to them, such as good food, nice and old scenery; and the aspect that they are missing or longing for more of it in a city that is suitable, tidy, organized and practical.

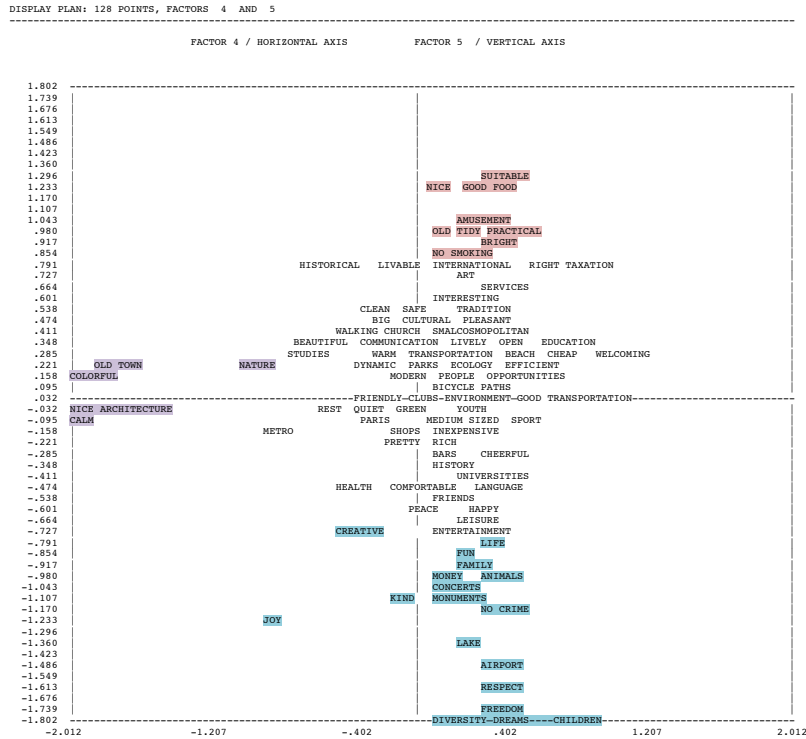


Fig. 46. Graphical display of factors 4 and 5, ideal city, first-visitors

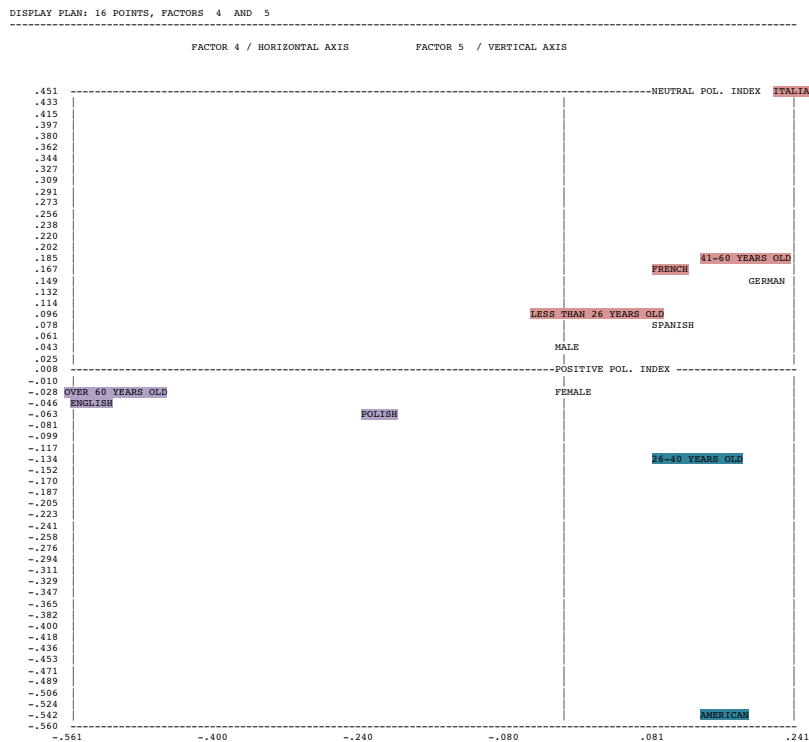


Fig. 47. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 4 and 5, ideal city, first-visitors

4.1.3. Characteristics

4.1.3.1. Imagined Warsaw

The most frequent feature of Warsaw mentioned by the subjects before visiting Warsaw is “big”, especially among Spanish. The chart below illustrates the most frequent adjectives that were given to the city by subjects from different nationalities.

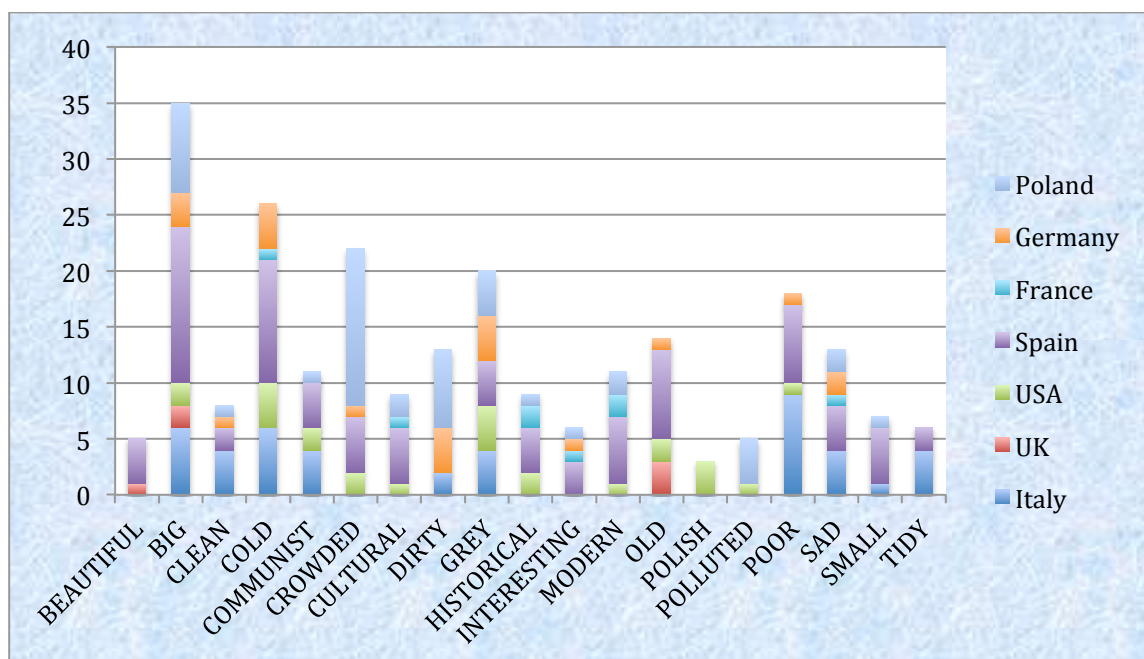


Fig. 48. Warsaw on imagined level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.3.2. Imagined historical center

Most subjects imagined the historical center of Warsaw as a historical, old, small and beautiful place. It is interesting to notice that only German subjects mentioned the adjective “Jewish” and only Italian subjects mentioned the adjective “lively”.

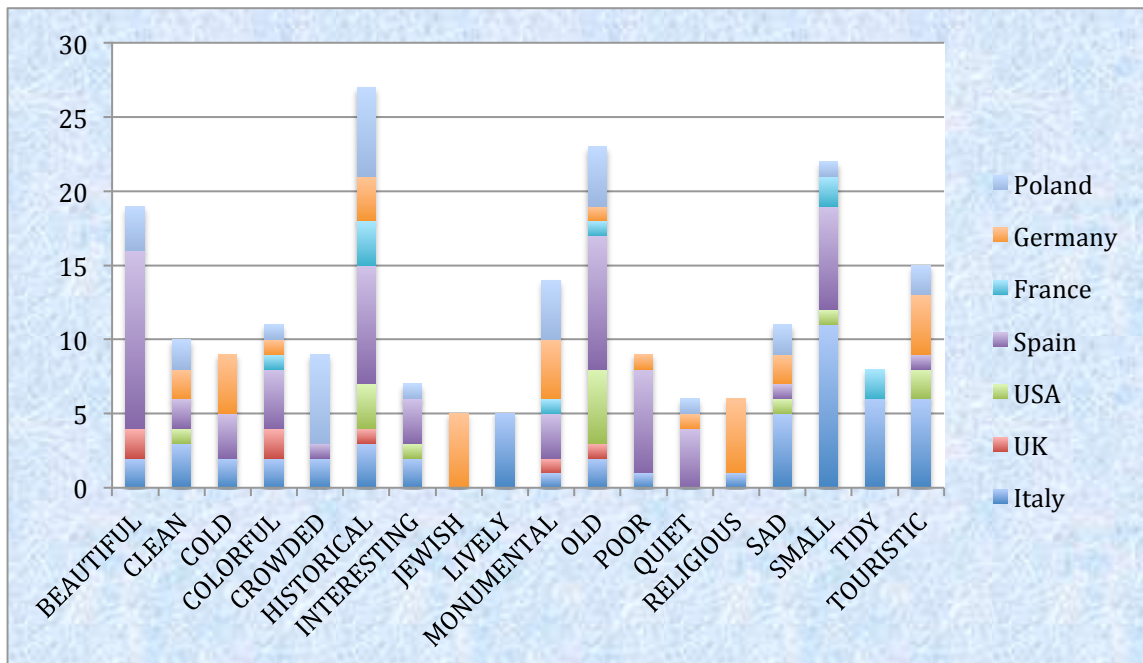


Fig. 49. Historical center of Warsaw on imagined level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.3.3. Experienced Warsaw

After visiting Warsaw, the most frequently mentioned words to describe it were: “big”, “modern” and “grey”. Every description (among the most frequent ones) was shared by at least two nationalities, except for the adjective “adventurous”, used only by German subjects.

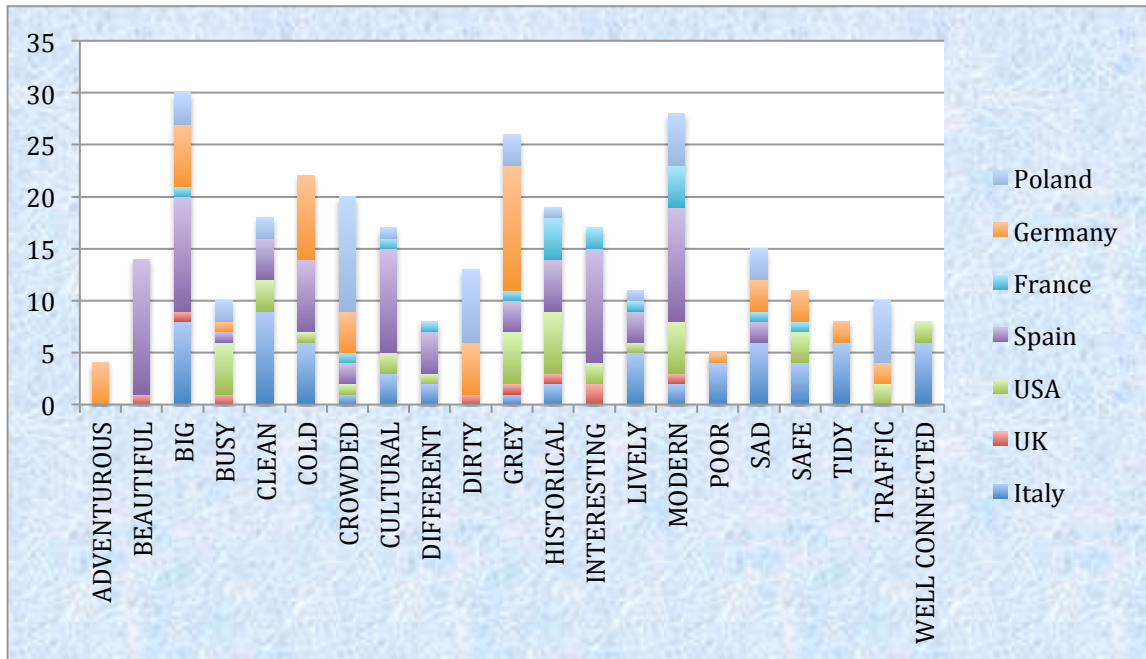


Fig. 50. Warsaw on experienced level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.3.4. Experienced historical center

Quite an opposite of the experienced city of Warsaw, its historical center was perceived as beautiful, colorful and small. Almost all of the most frequent descriptions were shared by more than one nationality, except for the “destroyed” and “precious”, which were the words used only by Spanish visitors. However, other subjects were aware of the fact that the historical center of Warsaw was destroyed and then rebuilt.

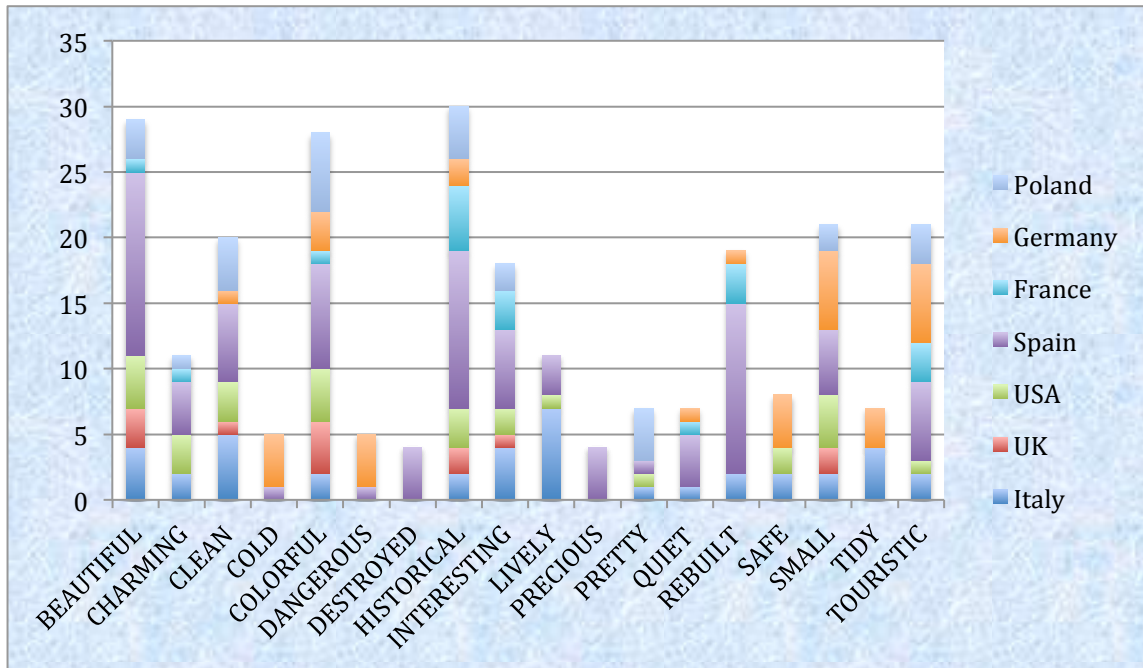


Fig. 51. Historical center of Warsaw on experienced level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.4. Winning places

4.1.4.1. Imagined Warsaw

Especially among non-Polish visitors it was common to name places in a general way, e.g. as “parks”, “shops”, “restaurants” or “churches”, without referring to any place in particular. However, the three most frequently mentioned places (Old Town, Palace of Culture and Ghetto) are specific places in Warsaw. The general categories include specific examples, such as “parks” (Lazienki, Wilanow, Saski), “shops/malls” (Zlote Tarasy, Arkadia, Blue City, Empik), “monuments” (Column of Zygmunt, Monument to the Unknown Soldier, Warsaw Mermaid), “museums” (Uprising Museum), “universities” (University of Warsaw, Medical University), “houses of friends/hotels” (Bristol, Intercontinental, Polonia, Marriott, Sobieski, Victoria), “neighborhoods” (Praga, Saska Kepa, Centrum), “streets” (Nowy Swiat, Krakowskie Przedmiescie, Piekna, Wiejska) and “churches” (St. John’s, St. Cross, Wizytka).

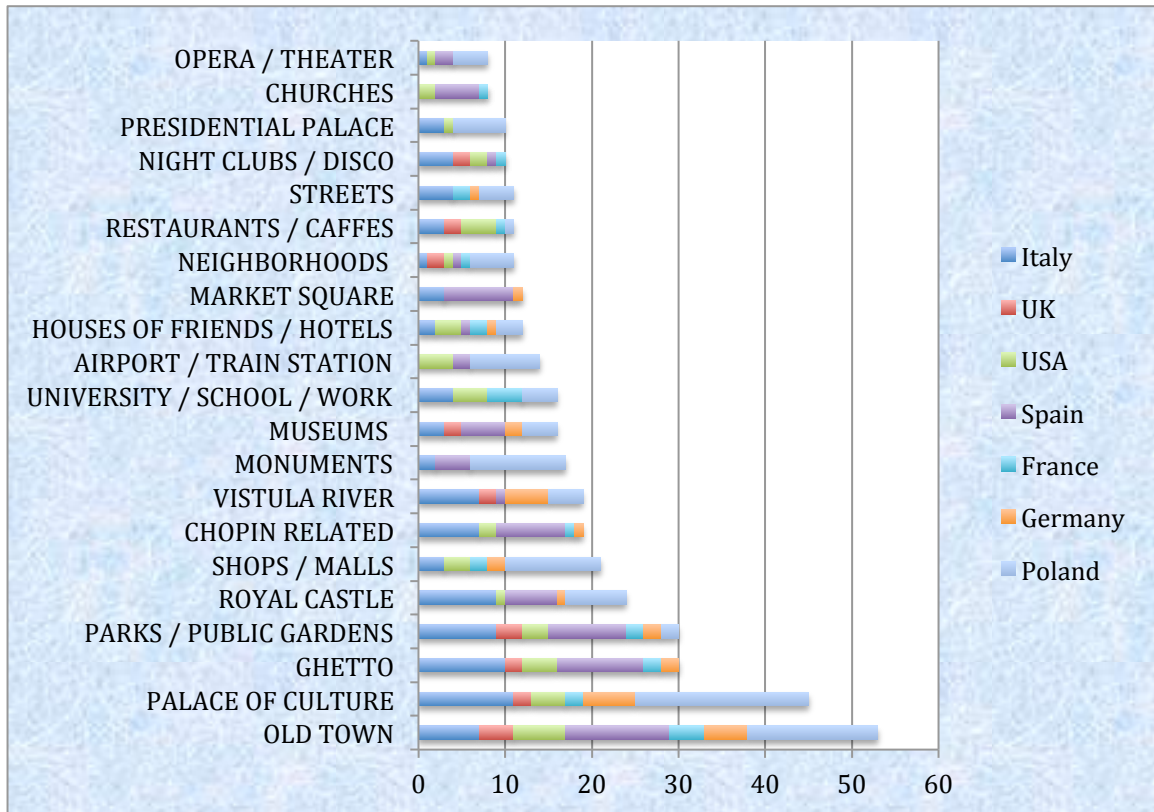


Fig. 52. Places in Warsaw on imagined level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.4.2. Experienced Warsaw

After visiting Warsaw the most frequently mentioned places were parks and public gardens, especially Lazienki Park in the central part of the city. The visitors from different countries were able to give the actual names of the parks in most cases. Old Town and the Palace of Culture continued to be important to the visitors, followed by the streets, also quite frequently mentioned by name, especially the Nowy Swiat Street or the Royal Route.

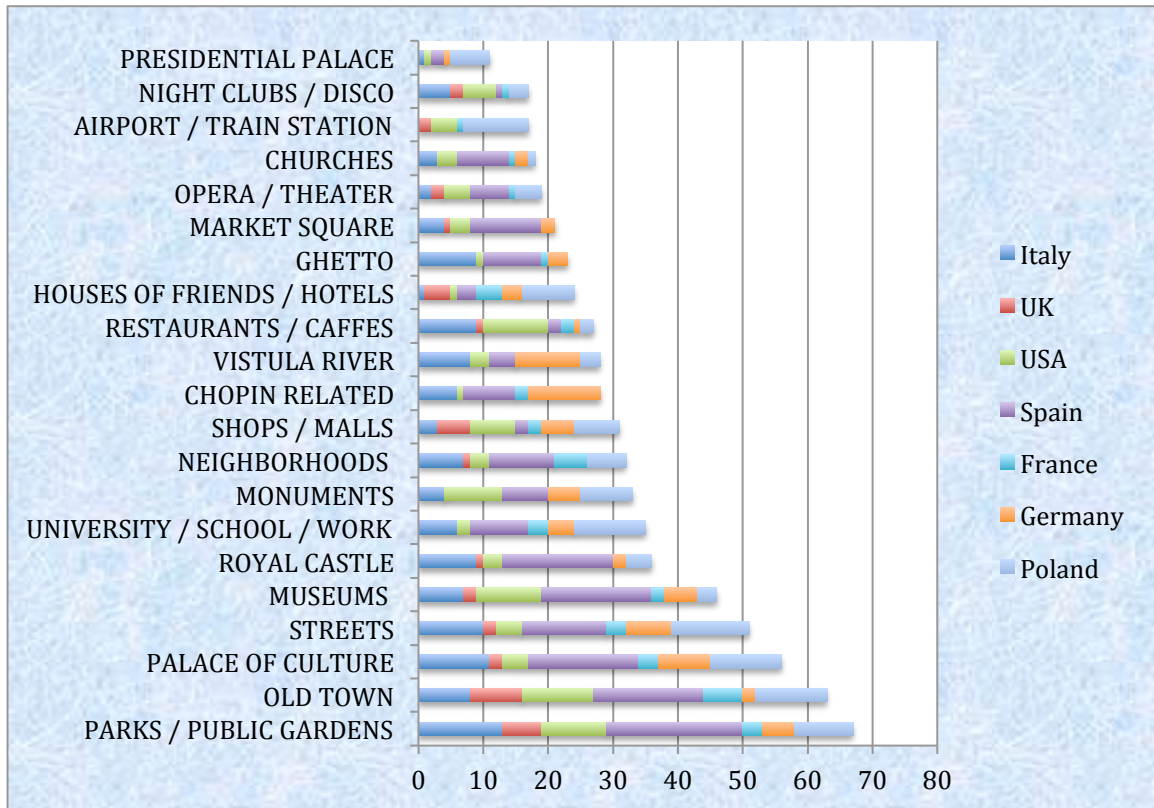


Fig. 53. Places in Warsaw on experienced level, first-visitors by nationality

4.1.4.3. Top five

Both before seeing Warsaw and after visiting it, the majority of subjects chose the Old Town as the most important place in the city. On the imaginary level there was a significant number of subjects who considered Ghetto as the most important place in Warsaw. On the experienced level the majority of the French subjects opted for various Chopin related places, while to Polish subjects the most important place became the Presidential Palace.

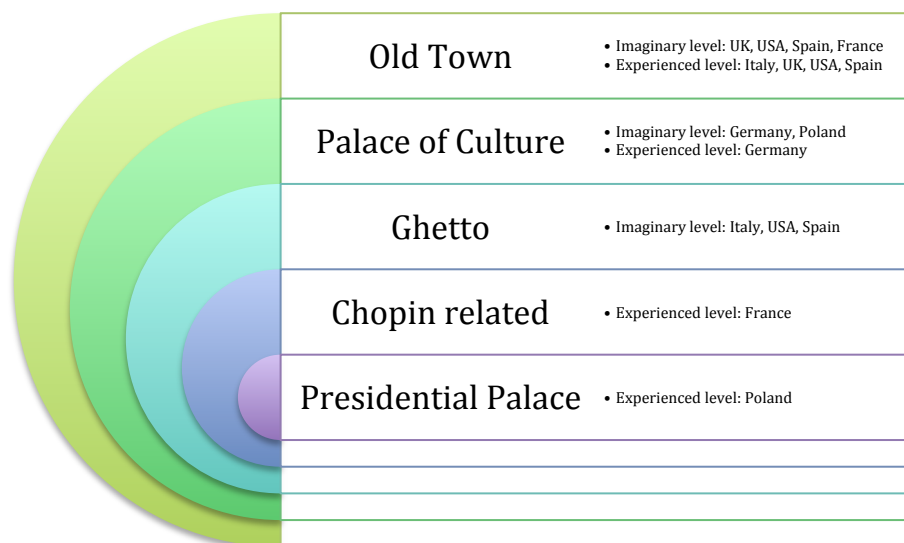


Fig. 54. Top five places to visit in Warsaw, first-visitors

4.1.5. Psychological luggage

When traveling to a new place, a person usually carries some luggage, as well as some information about the place, an idea of what it is like and what he or she can expect. De Rosa calls this role of culture of origin in the construction of the representation of the travel destination on imaginary level a “psychological luggage” (de Rosa, 1995).

In order to somehow measure the psychological luggage, the first-visitors were asked to rate their knowledge about the city of Warsaw before visiting it on a scale from 1 to 10 for each of one of the following ten sources of information: school, literature, movies, songs, Internet, press, tourist guides, documentaries, interpersonal communication and other. The subjects were also asked to specify the school subjects and to give some titles of books, movies and songs that contributed to creating their image of Warsaw before actually seeing the city itself. On average, the highest rating was given to the knowledge gained from the Internet, followed by tourist guides and interpersonal communication. In case of internet the most common specific sources of information were websites dedicated to tourism and Wikipedia; among the school subjects the most frequent specific replies included history (especially modern history) and geography; both in case of literature and movies many sources concerned the World War II; while in relation to music many respondents mentioned Chopin. There were more specific

examples given by the Polish first-visitors, with less focus on the war and more on the popular culture, such as some fairly recent movies and contemporary songs. Some movies about World War II were especially frequently mentioned, such as “The Pianist” directed by Roman Polanski, which was shot in Praga district of Warsaw. This could be a part of the reason why the first-visitors mention Praga as one of the important places in the city, which in turn is an example of “film-induced tourism” (Beeton, 2005). Certainly numerous movie productions, documentaries and books which describe Warsaw during World War II contribute to the social representation of the city marked by this period in history. As demonstrated by Liu et al. (2005), among twelve Western and Eastern societies young people overwhelmingly consider World War II as the most important event in world history. Therefore, a place like Warsaw, touched by this event in so many ways appears as an important place to visit.

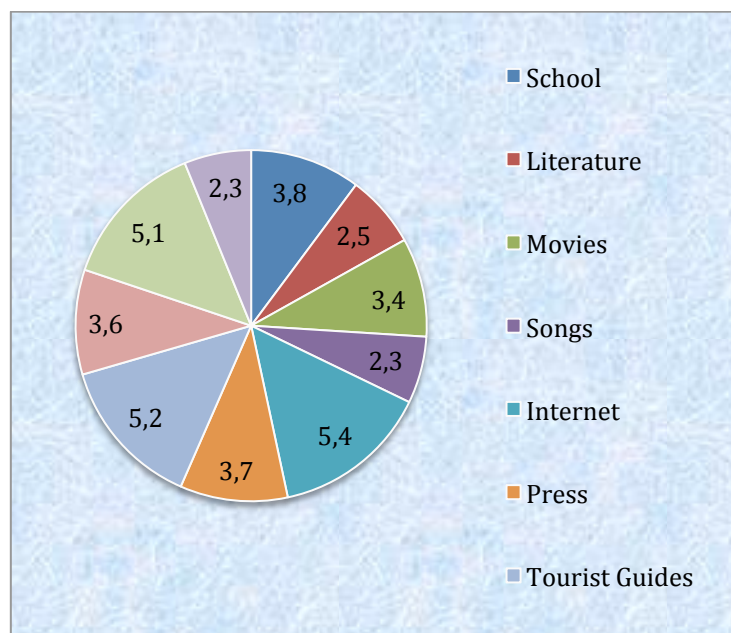


Fig. 55. Sources of information about Warsaw, first-visitors

Regarding self-assessment of knowledge, on average Polish subjects declared to have the highest level of information, followed by the Spanish and Italian subjects. Among all available sources of information, the first-visitors considered the Internet, tourist guides and interpersonal communication as the main contribution to create their image

of Warsaw. This reply is significant for the theory of social representations, since it demonstrates the importance of new media for the transmission of social representations. The data shows clearly that most participants gain information from different sources contemporarily, some of them being actually combined, for example the Internet can be considered interpersonal communication when referring to virtual chats. There is a constant dialogical interplay of society and communication on many different levels, which implies change as a part of the process (Markovà, 2003). Thus, the social representations of Warsaw undergo transformation almost constantly, with every new encounter with a source of information about the city. The subjects were asked about their “psychological luggage” in order to at least partially grasp the difference between the social representation of the city before visiting it and following the visit.

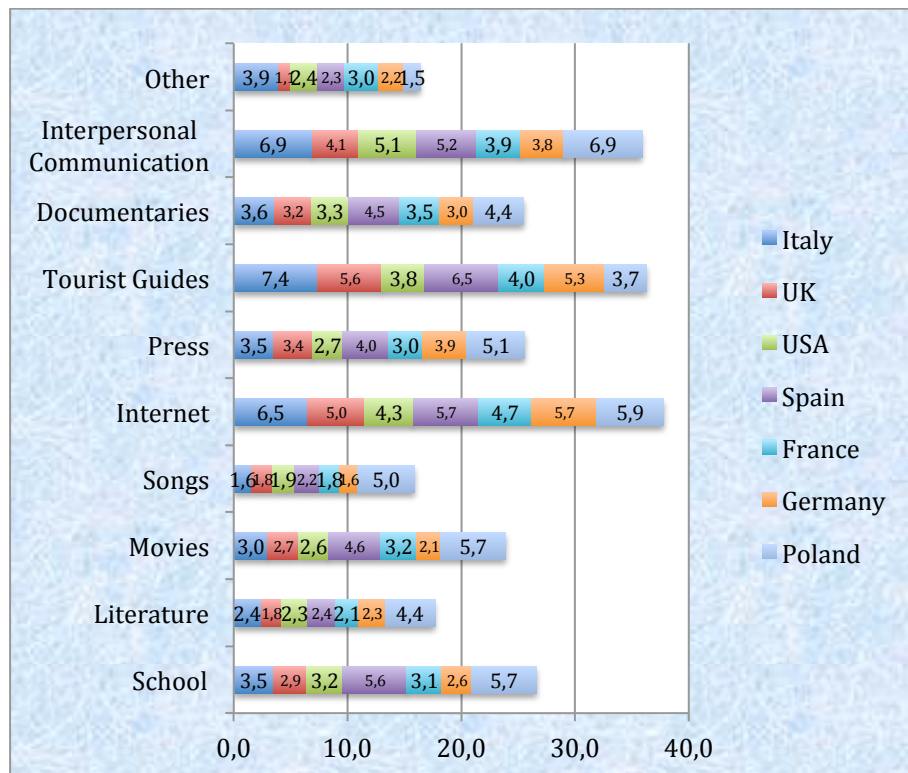


Fig. 56. Sources of information about Warsaw, first-visitors by nationality



4.1.6. Tour of Warsaw

All first visitors were asked to imagine that their friends were coming to Warsaw for a short visit. The friends wanted to see some interesting places in the city, and in order to not to get lost they needed a drawing with a short itinerary. This projective tool allowed the subjects to sketch a map of the city, or rather of a part of the city, marking the most important places. Vast majority of subjects concentrated on drawing streets and squares, as well as monuments and museums. Many would also include parks, restaurants and shops or shopping centers. A typical itinerary drawing was practical, contained arrows and landmarks. It concentrated on the historical part of the city, quite often following the Royal Route, which is a commonly suggested itinerary that can be found in guidebooks and on the Internet websites for tourists.

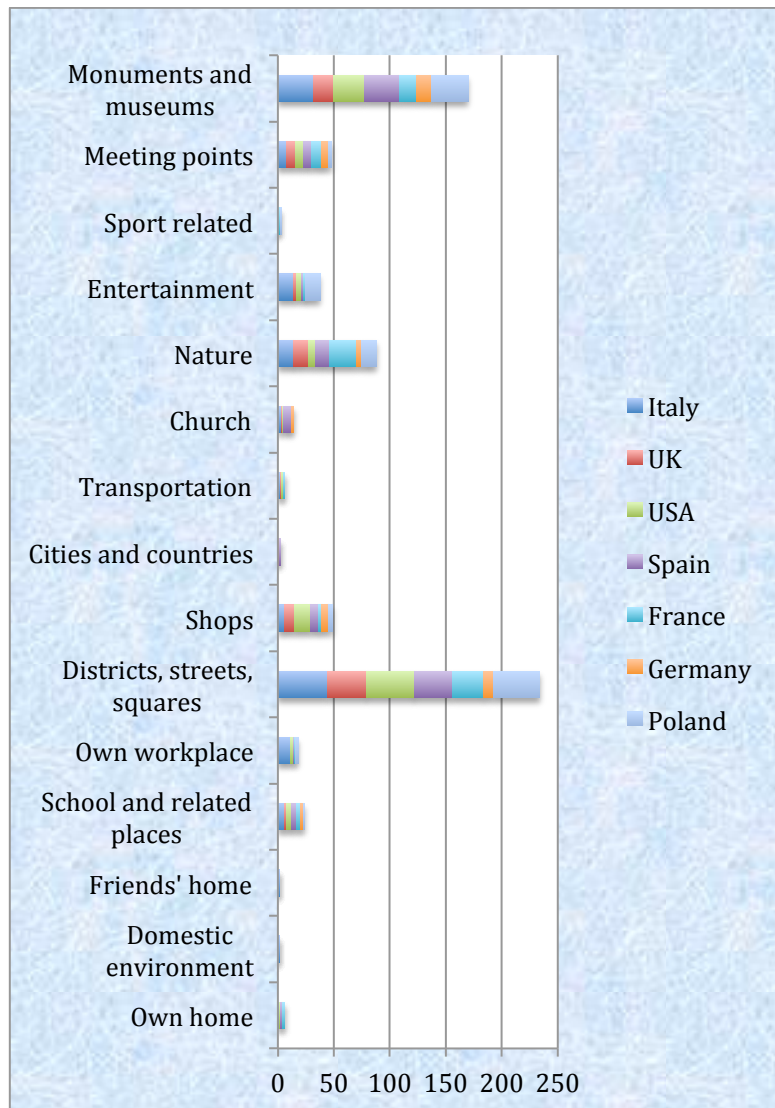
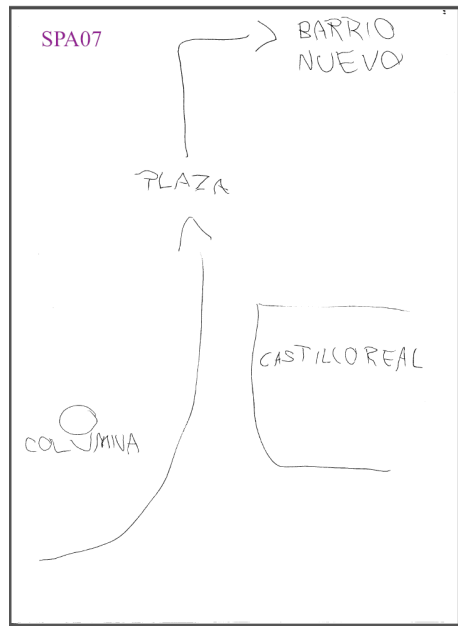
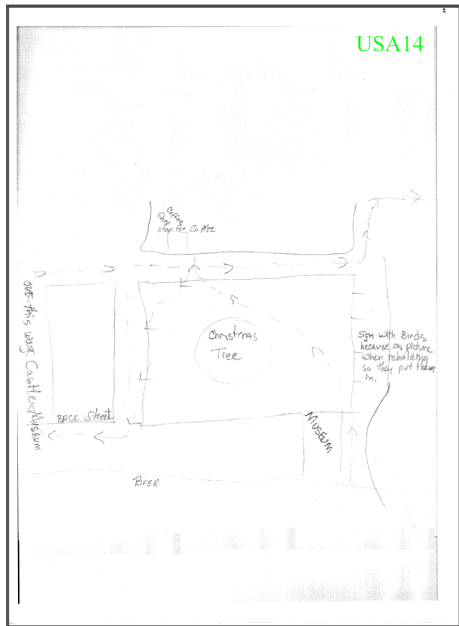
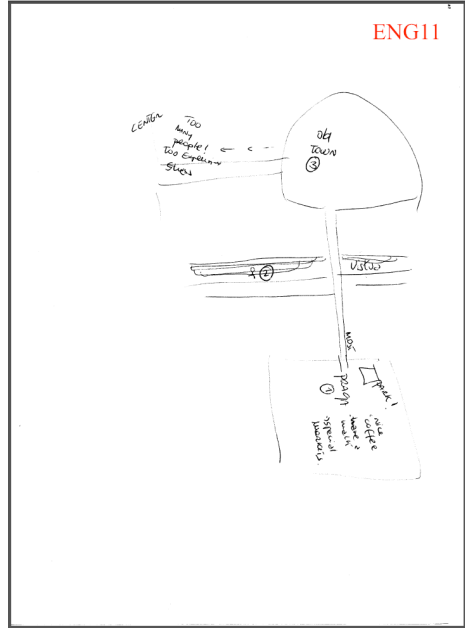
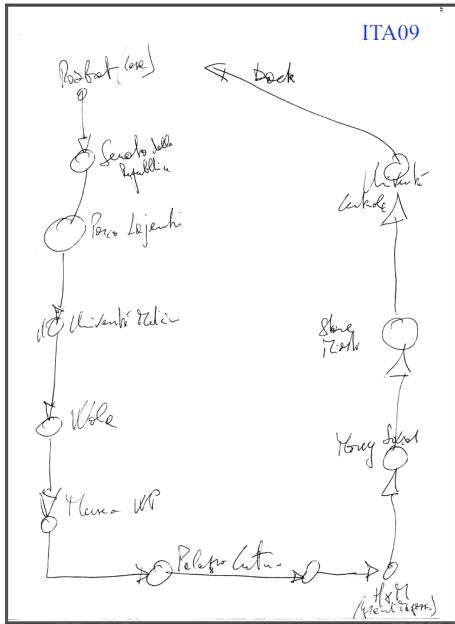


Fig. 57. Categorization of places drawn on the mental map

Besides enlisting places, the projective tool of drawing an itinerary on a blank page gives more information about the subjects' vision of the city. According to Milgram (1984), the social representations of a city "are more than disembodied maps", but rather a way of endowing a place with meaning, thus helping to define the social order of the city and one's place in it. Some of the most interesting and representative drawings of a recommended itinerary in Warsaw are presented below, by each nationality.



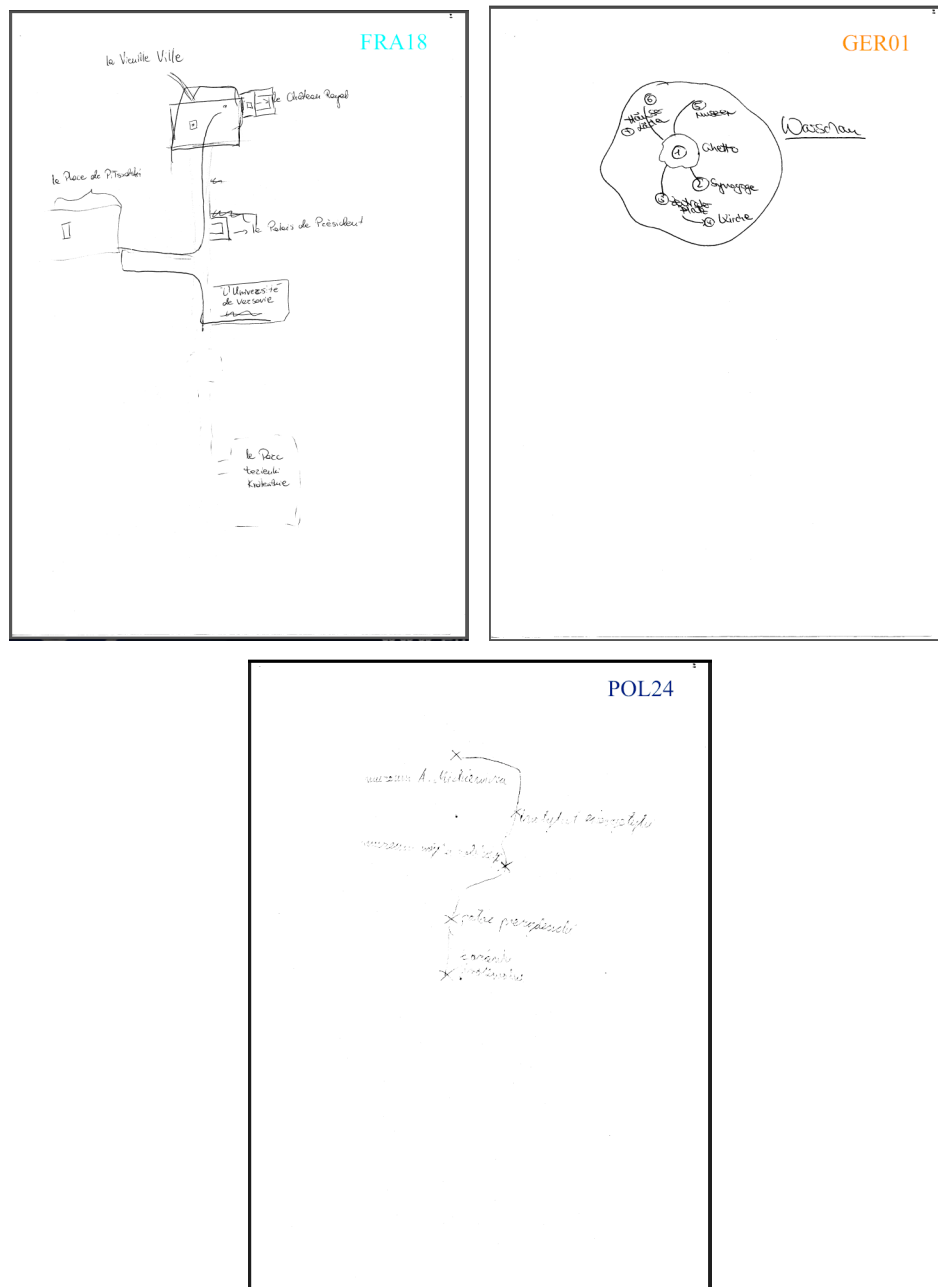


Fig. 58. Itineraries proposed by first-visitors

In the above drawings the use of space is one of the first characteristics that stands out as differentiating the final product. Presented with blank page, some subjects (especially Italian and Spanish) use the whole space that is available; others use most of it (visitors from the UK, USA and France); and some take less than a half of the page for their drawing (German and Polish). There could be some links with proxemics and varying



standards of personal space in different cultures (Hall, 1963) – the cultures from the south of Europe don't leave hardly any space available, as opposed to the Nordic cultures that leave a lot of empty space. Moreover, the idea of itinerary can be understood in different ways: as a proper tour that starts and ends in the same place, forming a circle (the drawing of an Italian who starts the trip from home and comes back home), as a route that starts in one place and finishes somewhere else (the drawings of subjects from USA, Spain and Poland), as a set of short trips that always start in the same central place (the drawing of a German subject who clearly considers the ghetto as the main central spot, which connects all the other places), or as a set of places that have a potential of offering an itinerary, but could be approached in many different ways (in this way, the drawings of French and British subjects give an idea of leaving the final choice to “their friend” for whom they have only given a map of places, without suggestions of the order of visiting them).

Considering the above itineraries in the light of five elements that Lych identifies in mental maps (1960), can give some more insight into their meaning. First, paths consist of the routes along which people move in the city. Itineraries are by definition paths; however, not all the subjects asked to propose an itinerary that they would recommend to a friend actually do it. Hence, clear examples of paths can only be observed in the drawings of the subjects from Italy, USA, Spain and Poland. Second, regarding edges, only the map produced by the German subject contains a clear boundary, a circular border that forms a sort of a frame. The Polish subject designed an itinerary with a break in continuity, a clear beginning and end. A partial border in the form of a river can be identified in the drawing of the subject from the USA. The remaining drawings do not have borders, as for instance evident in the itinerary proposed by the subject from Spain who starts and finishes in an unidentified place, as if outside of the page. Third, districts are medium to large sections of the city, characterized by common characteristics. In some of the above drawings subjects mention specific official districts of Warsaw, such as Wola included by the Italian subject and Praga included by the British subject (who actually makes a short description of it: “nice coffee, have a walk, special markets”). Apart from official districts, also the wellknown fairly large areas of the city can be considered in this way – the Old Town (included by the subjects



from Italy, UK and France) and the New Town (included by the Spanish subject). Fourth, nodes are strategic points of intense activity, like squares and junctions. A very clear example of a node is ghetto drawn in the center by the German subject. The square present in the drawing of the American subject could be another example of a node, as it is surrounded by all the other places and streets to visit. Fifth, landmarks are external reference points, usually physical objects that can be easily identified in the urban landscape. For example the Vistula River seems to be a landmark for the British subject, the Christmas tree and the “sign with birds” – for the subject from USA, and the column – for the Spanish subject.

Overall, understood in Lynch’s perspective (1960), itineraries constitute a good way of discovering how people orient themselves in the city.



4.2. Residents

4.2.1. Questionnaires

The questionnaires distributed among Italian residents in Warsaw and among Polish residents in Rome were the similar to the questionnaires distributed among first-visitors but slightly more extensive as they contained the associative networks that referred to both cities and open-ended questions asking to compare the two capitals.

4.2.1.1. Timeline

Based on the place identity construct of Proshansky (1978), de Rosa (1992) developed a projective research instrument called the timeline, which allows for identifying the importance attributed to different experienced life stages, as well as important places in each experienced life stage. From the five life stages: childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age; subjects are asked to attribute importance to each one of them that they have experienced or are currently experiencing and to identify places that were meaningful to them during these periods.

4.2.1.1.1. Life stage score

The place identity of the subjects based on the projective tool of timeline demonstrates that from 0 to 100, both Italian and Polish subjects attributed the greatest importance to their maturity; however, for Polish subjects their youth was almost as important as their maturity, while for the Italian subjects the second most important period was their old age.

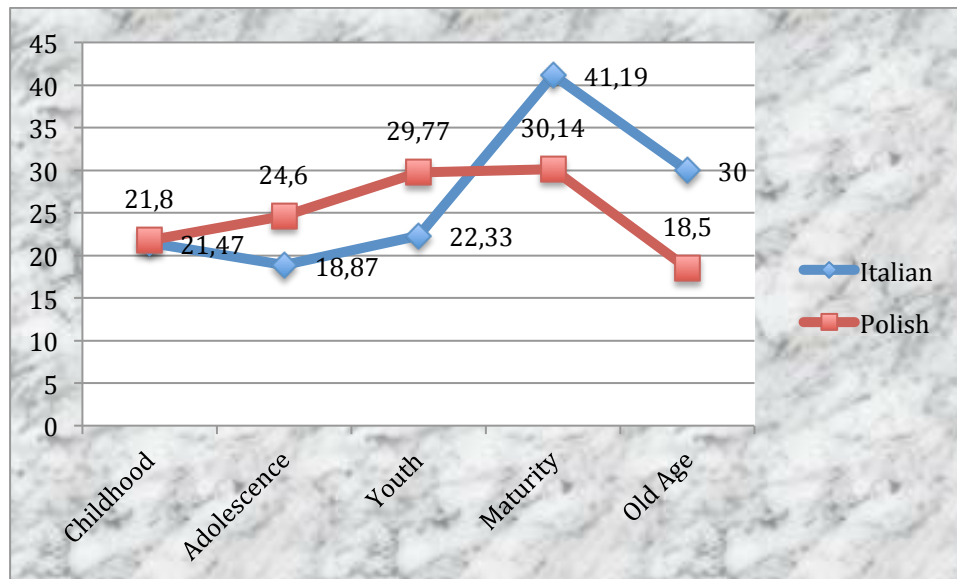


Fig. 59. Residents' average importance of life stages

4.2.1.1.2. Life stage memory

The Italian subjects overall mentioned most frequently places related to nature, especially important to them during their childhood and adolescence. During youth, the most important places mentioned were related to the subjects' own workplace, while during maturity the greatest importance was given to cities and countries. Very few places were mentioned for the old age.

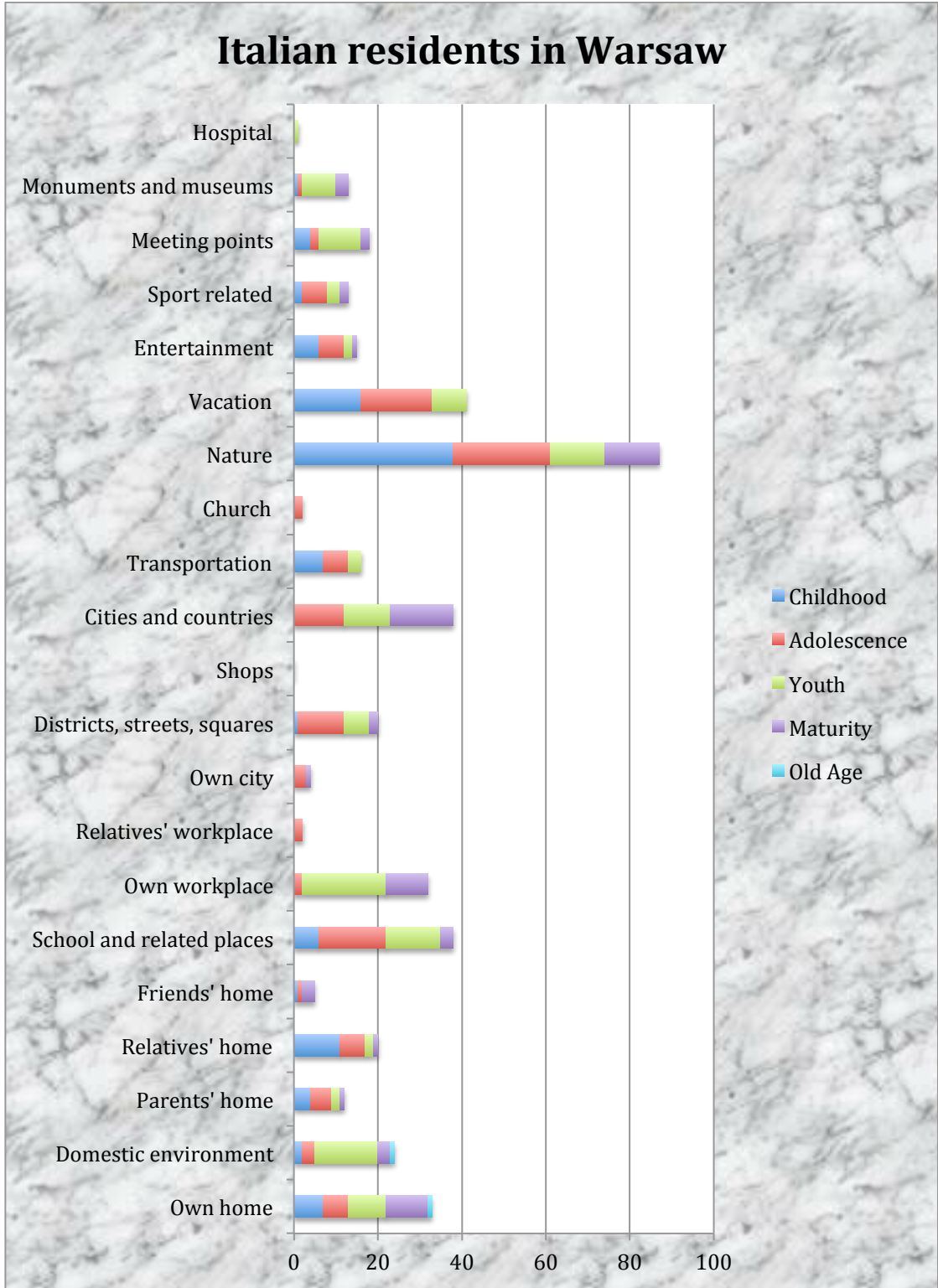


Fig. 60. Places important in each life stage, Italian residents



Polish residents in Rome most frequently mentioned cities and countries, overall and during youth, maturity and adolescence. Places related to nature were decisively the most important to them during childhood, while for adolescence the most frequently mentioned places were related to school.

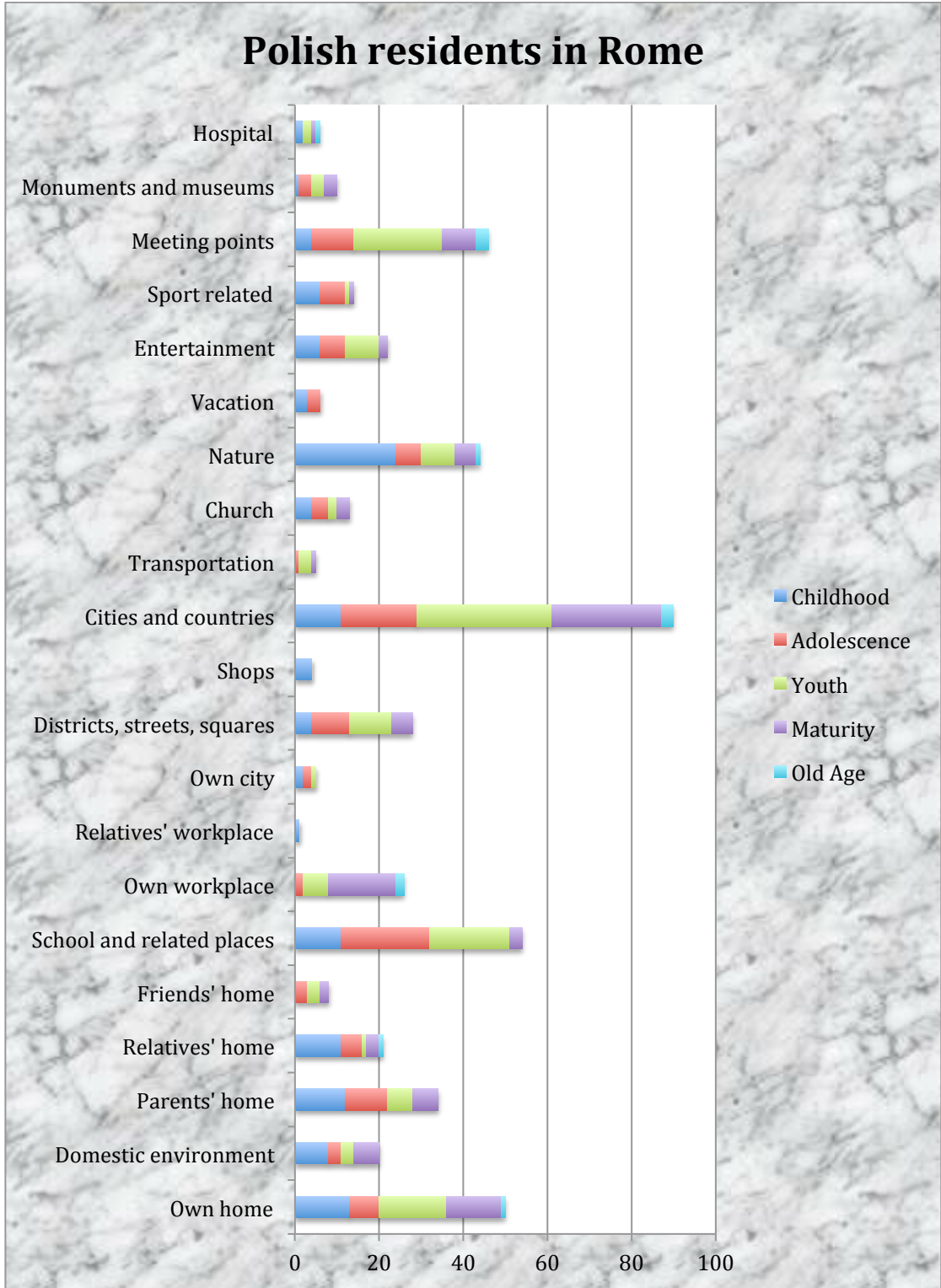


Fig. 61. Places important in each life stage, Polish residents

4.2.1.1.3. Top place in life

When asked about the most important places in their lives, the majority of Italian subjects mentioned school and related places, immediately followed by domestic environment, cities and countries and entertainment. Polish subjects considered cities and countries as the most important places, followed by their parents' homes.

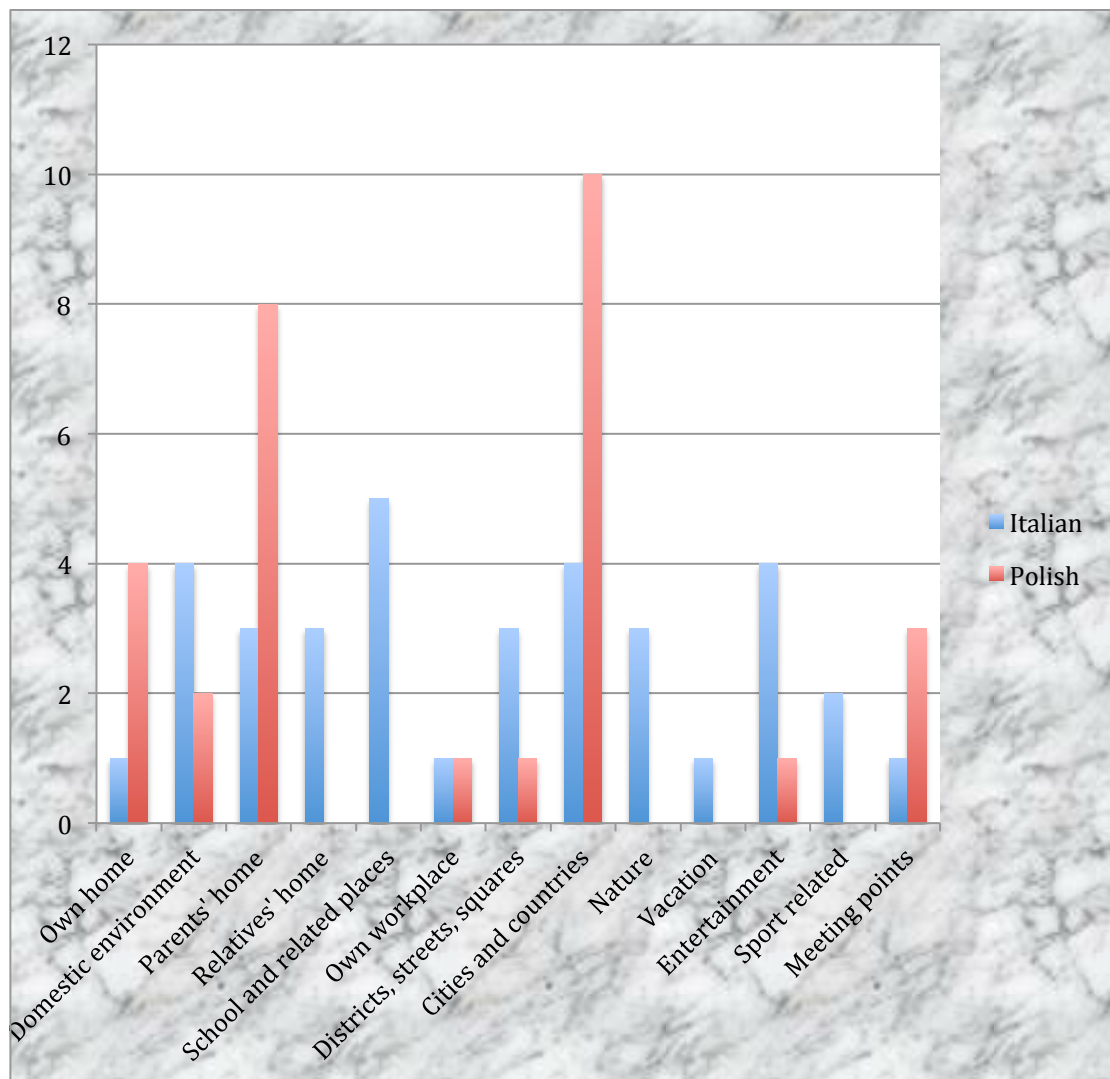


Fig. 62. The most important place in life, residents by nationality

4.2.1.2. Associative networks

The Italian residents in Warsaw and the Polish residents in Rome were asked to create associative networks around the stimulus words: Warsaw, Rome and Ideal City.

4.2.1.2.1. “Warsaw” trigger

The Italian residents’ representation of Warsaw was centered on the visual and perceptive dimension of the city, as well as the functional-organizational dimension of it. Polish residents who live in Rome concentrated on places and monuments of Warsaw followed by the functional-organizational aspect of it.

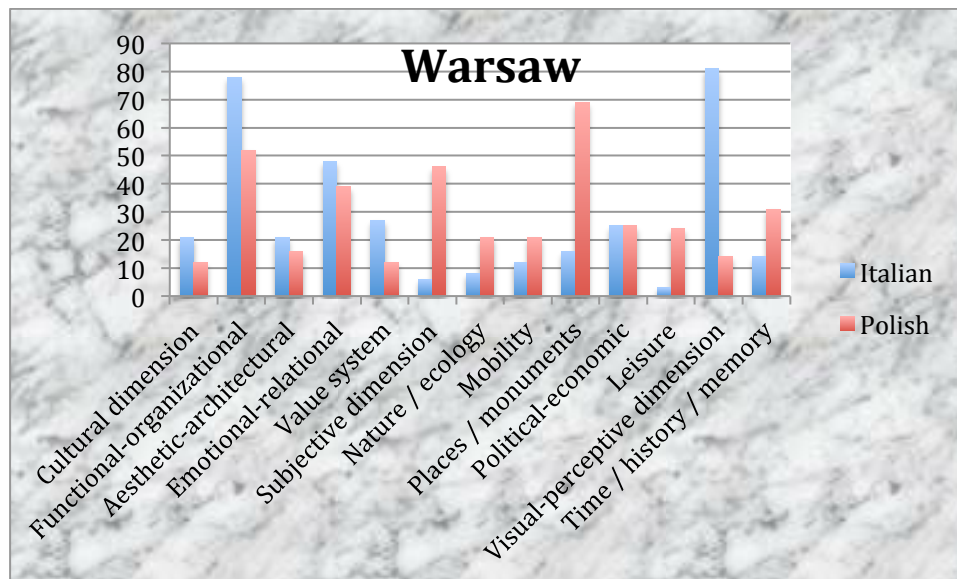


Fig. 63. Categorization of words associated with Warsaw, residents by nationality



Using the package software SPAD-T, five factors were identified, which correspond to different social representations of Warsaw among Polish residents in Rome and Italian residents in Warsaw. The independent variables included: subjects' nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002).

F1 - negative – Rallying symbols

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PALACE OF CULTURE	-	3.5	0.27
FAMILY	-	3.0	0.12
HOME	-	2.7	0.17
UNIVERSITY	-	2.2	0.18
VISTULA	-	2.0	0.17
GOVERNMENT	-	1.9	0.15
OLD TOWN	-	1.9	0.16
FRIENDS	-	1.8	0.10
TRAIN STATION	-	1.8	0.12

Tab. XVIII - Warsaw, factor 1 negative, residents

The social representation of Warsaw called “Rallying symbols” focuses on symbolic places, especially on the Palace of Culture, followed by home and university. There is a mix of personal places, as demonstrated by the presence of family and friends, as well as public places such as university or train station, as demonstrated by the government. It is hard to tell whether Warsaw is considered in positive or negative terms, as places are simply mentioned, without any adjectives that could evaluate it in any way. However, the symbols enlisted have one common feature, like a rallying idea, they tend to gather people. In Warsaw, the Palace of Culture has always been a setting of cultural events (with two theaters, one concert hall and recently a cinema complex) and scientific events (it contains some museums, as well as it is used for annual fairs, such as book fairs or mineralogical fair). Thus, it aggregates people in an official, structured way, while family and home aggregate them in a familiar, unofficial way.

F1 - positive – Dividing sensations

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
COLD	+	7.9	0.44

HOSTILE	+	7.6	0.26
CLOSED	+	5.4	0.18
TIDY	+	4.3	0.19
CLEAN	+	3.5	0.14
BUREAUCRATIC	+	3.4	0.15
DIFFICULT	+	3.4	0.16
SAFE	+	3.4	0.19
PROUD	+	3.1	0.17
INHOSPITABLE	+	2.8	0.14
DIFFERENT	+	2.6	0.07
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH SEX: MALE, FEMALE			

Tab. XIX - Warsaw, factor 1 positive, residents

The social representation called “Dividing sensations” contains a range of adjectives, some negative, such as “cold”, “hostile” and “closed” and some positive, such as “tidy”, “clean” and “safe”. The adjectives seem to be assessing the city, as almost all of them can be defined as either positive or negative.

Such focus on sensations when representing Warsaw characterizes Italians and Poles, and both males and females. The fact that so many sensations are mentioned evidences that practical issues of everyday life are important to these subjects. The high absolute contribution of words such as “cold” and “hostile” does not surprise in case of Italians who are used to warmer weather and a more open culture due to where they were born. Polish residents in Rome evidently describe their sensations of Warsaw through the lenses of their experience of life in Rome, a city that is certainly warmer and friendlier.

F2 - negative – My past

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FAMILY	-	11.5	0.30
CHILDHOOD	-	8.9	0.21
FRIENDS	-	6.7	0.24
HOME	-	6.7	0.27
SCHOOL	-	5.6	0.19
DIFFERENT	-	4.2	0.07
STUDIES	-	4.2	0.09
YOUNG	-	3.8	0.10
PARTIES	-	2.8	0.07

Tab. XX - Warsaw, factor 2 negative, residents

“My past” representation of Warsaw, centered on family, childhood, friends and home points out to the youth, with focus on school and studies. There are no references to specific places or monuments, the city is conceived as a setting of personal life in the past. It seems that all words used are related to two main words, “family” and “friends”, which tend to be also the most important in people’s lives when they reflect on their past.

F2 - positive – The city’s past

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
UPRISING	+	5.1	0.30
GOVERNMENT	+	3.3	0.17
DESTROYED	+	2.9	0.14
PALACE OF CULTURE	+	2.8	0.14
PRESIDENT	+	2.3	0.10
OLD TOWN	+	2.2	0.11
CHOPIN	+	2.0	0.10
CAPITAL CITY	+	1.8	0.09
SEX: MALE			

Tab. XXI - Warsaw, factor 2 positive, residents

The representation focused on the city’s past, points out to its history, for example by mentioning the uprising that resulted in destruction, Chopin who used to live in Warsaw during his childhood (when his father taught at the University of Warsaw) and the figure of the president, probably also seen as part of the past due to the tragic death of the Polish president and many government officials in Smolensk. Specific places are mentioned, such as the Palace of Culture or the Old Town, which also are significant for the city’s past. The Old Town is a replica of what the city used to look like in times of the kings, while the Palace of Culture recalls a more recent past, in times of Stalin.

It is male subjects who share this representation focused not on personal past, but on the past of the city. The reason for it could be the fact that both Italians and Poles belong or have strong ties with the community vitally interested in political issues, which in Poland are related to the history. The presence of the uprising as the most salient element of the representation may be due to the fact that men tend to value bellicose, heroic events when thinking of the past of the city.

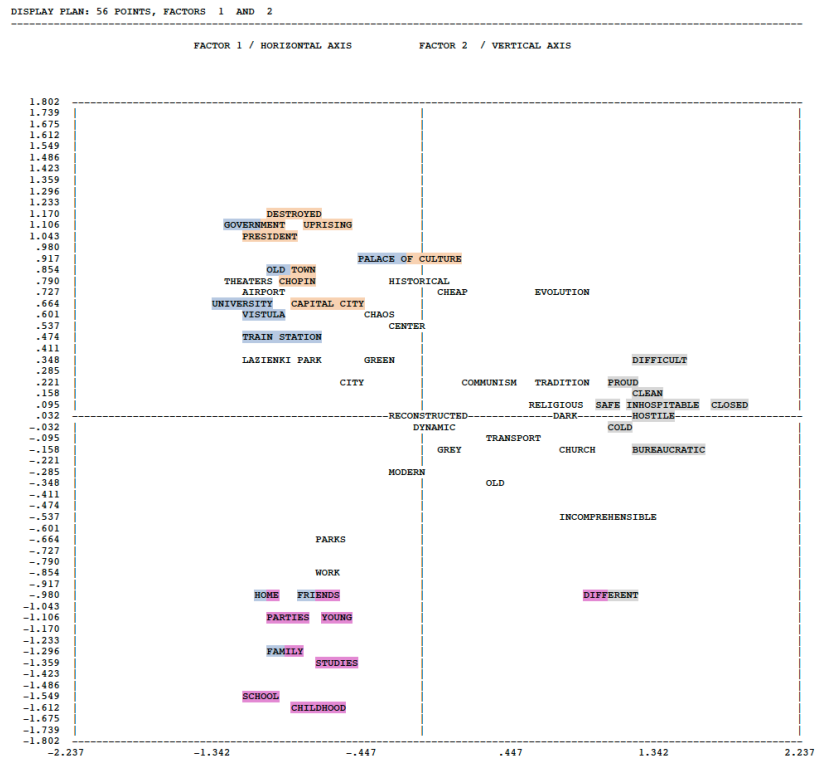


Fig. 64. Graphical display of factors 1 and 2, Warsaw, residents

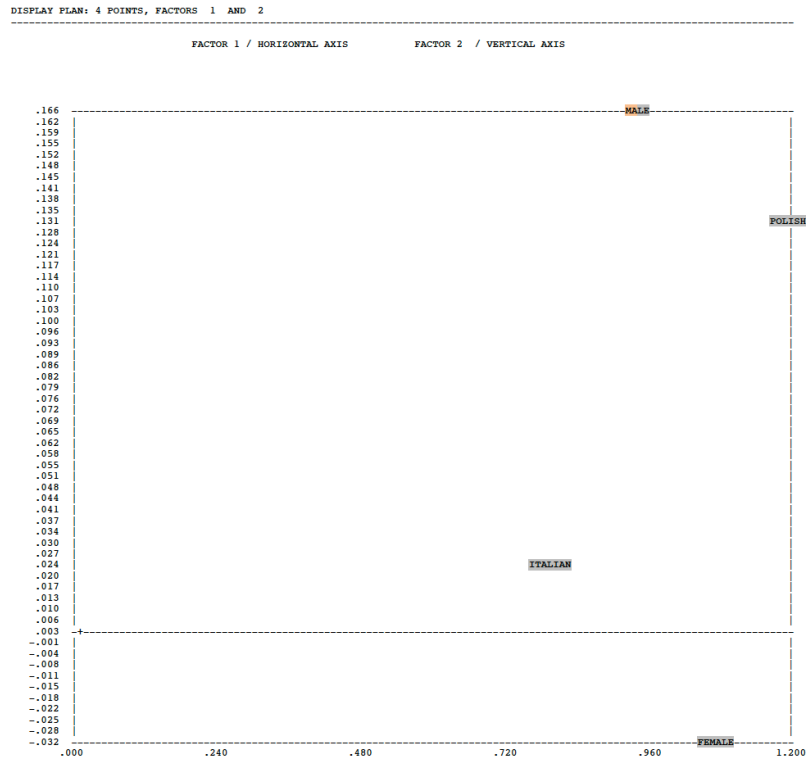


Fig. 65. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 1 and 2, Warsaw, residents

F3 - negative – Profound

Word	Axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
INCOMPREHENSIBLE	-	20.8	0.40
DYNAMIC	-	20.0	0.45
MODERN	-	15.7	0.33
DIFFERENT	-	2.6	0.04
YOUNG	-	2.5	0.06
HISTORICAL	-	2.2	0.07
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN			
SEX: MALE			

Tab. XXII - Warsaw, factor 3 negative, residents

The representation called “Profound” describes Warsaw using various adjectives, both positive and negative. It portrays an incomprehensible city, at the same time modern and historical, not easy to judge. The lack of reference to personal experience demonstrates the intention to create a description useful to everybody, mature and profound, avoiding stereotypical judgments. The presence of the word

“incomprehensible” demonstrates subjects’ humility when faced with a reality very different compared with where they grew up.

The subjects who share this representation are Italians and men in general. They seem to strive to be objective and fair in their judgment. Unsurprisingly, it is Italian residents who live in Warsaw that consider the city predominantly as incomprehensible (maybe due to the difficult language and a different culture) and dynamic (thus a hot spot for the entrepreneurial activity).

F3 - positive – Superficial

Word	Axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PARTIES	+	5.0	0.11
STUDIES	+	5.0	0.10
TIDY	+	2.4	0.06

Tab. XXIII - Warsaw, factor 3 positive, residents

The representation called “Superficial”, not very articulate, centers around parties and studies. Warsaw is seen as a tidy setting for these activities, typical of students. There are no specific elements that are characteristic and unique for the city of Warsaw, rather general descriptions of main activities performed during the stay. The absence of any deeper reflection concerning the city itself demonstrates the superficial approach and lack of willingness to stop and ponder the complexity of Warsaw, unnoticed in this representation.

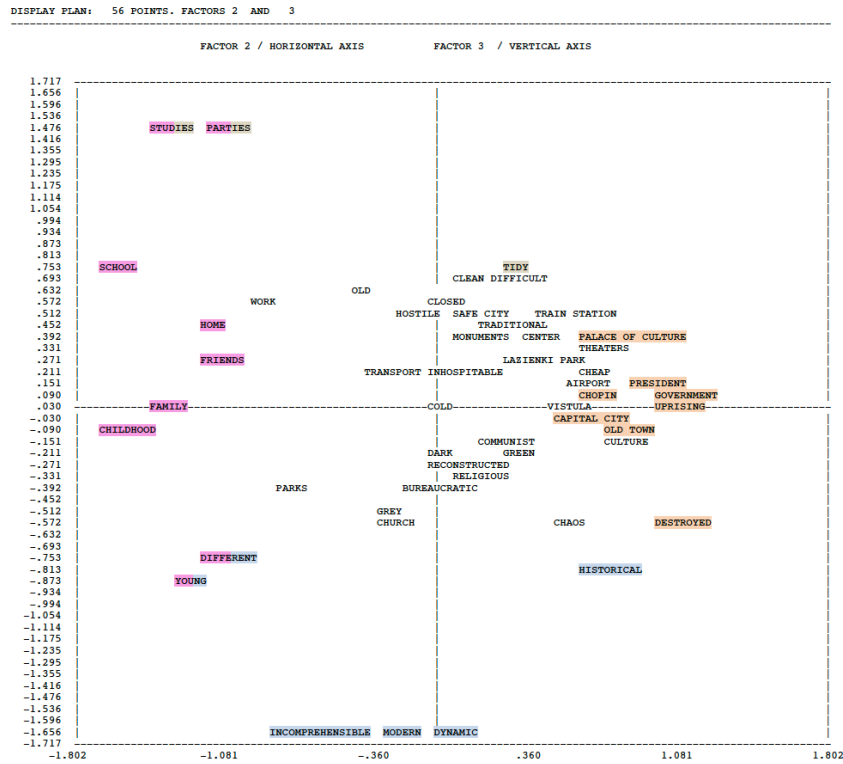


Fig. 66. Graphical display of factors 2 and 3, Warsaw, residents

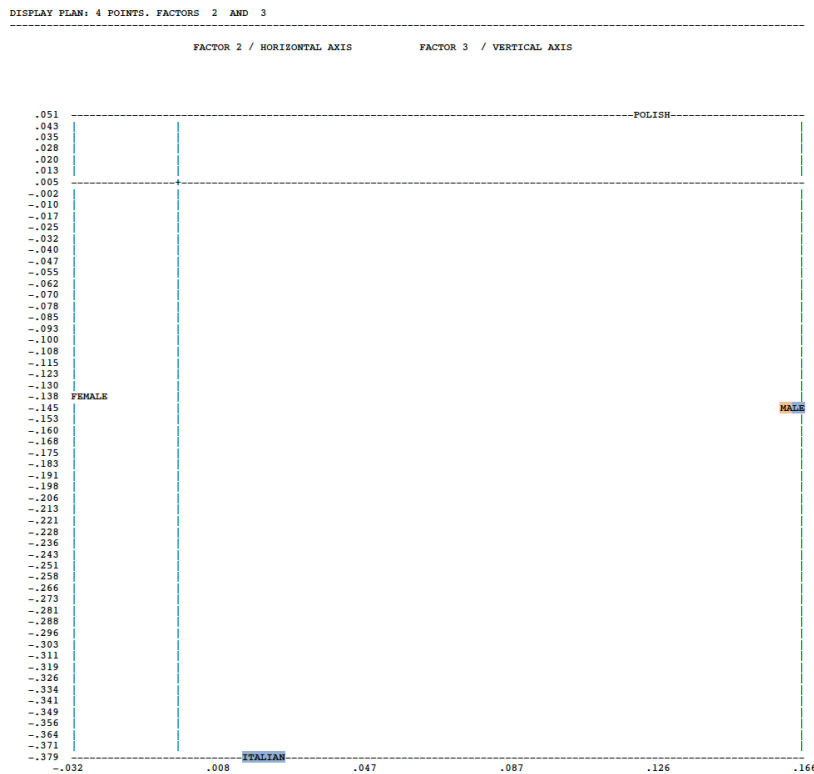


Fig. 67. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 2 and 3, Warsaw, residents

F4 - negative – At a glance

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DARK	-	10.8	0.23
TRADITIONAL	-	4.7	0.14
HISTORICAL	-	3.8	0.11
GREEN	-	3.6	0.08
EVOLUTION	-	3.0	0.09
RECONSTRUCTED	-	2.9	0.07
RELIGIOUS	-	2.9	0.07
SAFE	-	2.2	0.07
PARKS	-	2.1	0.06
CHEAP	-	2.0	0.06
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN SEX: MALE			

Tab. XXIV - Warsaw, factor 4 negative, residents

Focused on the everyday living, fairly Warsaw at a glance appears as a place that is dark (probably due to being situated in the Northern part of Europe), traditional and religious, but very likely easy to live, since it is green, safe and cheap. The historical parts of Warsaw are often reconstructed and in the modern parts of the city there is a trend of evolution, visible already at first sight, for example thanks to the presence of skyscrapers under construction.

Italian residents in Warsaw, as well as men in general tend to see the city at a glance. They describe both natural and social aspects, but the most outstanding adjective is “dark”. Probably to Italians, coming from a very sunny country it is very impressive to see the sky that is predominantly clouded and therefore the appearance of the city is described as dark.

F4 - positive – An intense gaze

Word	Axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DIFFERENT	+	15.4	0.22
BUREAUCRATIC	+	6.4	0.16
HOSTILE	+	5.1	0.10
INHOSPITABLE	+	2.2	0.06
TRANSPORT	+	1.8	0.06
NATIONALITY: POLISH			

SEX: FEMALE

Tab. XXV - Warsaw, factor 4 positive, residents

On the opposite end from Warsaw at a glance we find Warsaw under an intense gaze. It appears, above all else different, not in a positive way, as is actually demonstrated by hostility and by the lack of hospitality. From the practical point of view, it appears bureaucratic, thus seeming like a really difficult place to function. These aspects are not visible on the first sight, one has to go through the experience of practical life in the city in order to be able to pick up such features as bureaucracy and hostility, but also to appreciate the transport that it offers.

Quite surprisingly, it is Polish residents in Rome who see Warsaw as different. Also females share the representation of the city as hard to live and mention many negative adjectives when referring to it, demonstrating that their judgment of the city comes from experience and lived out situations.

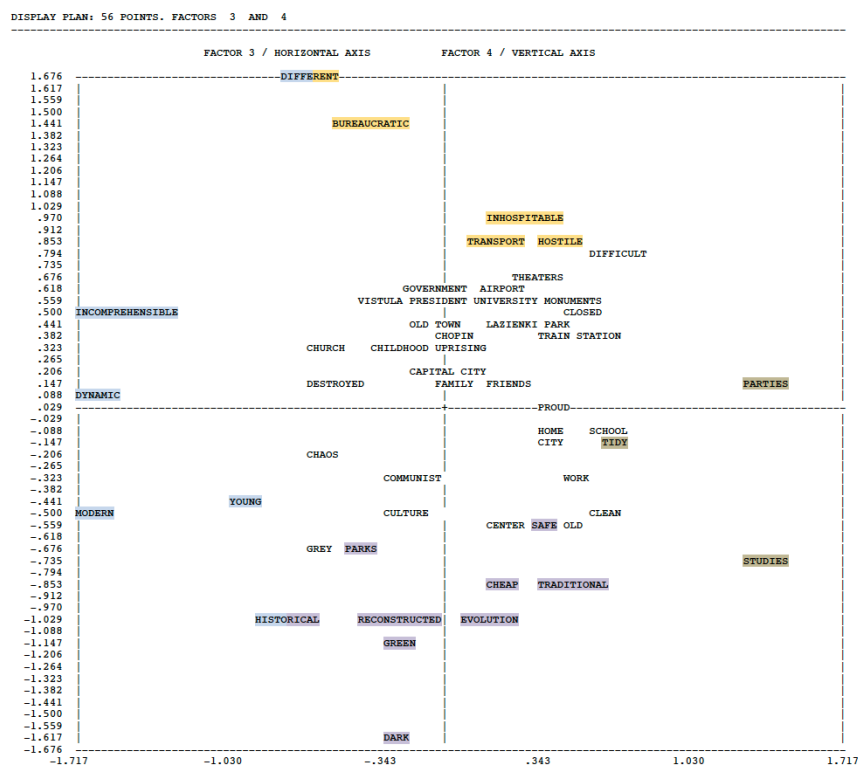


Fig. 68. Graphical display of factors 3 and 4, Warsaw, residents

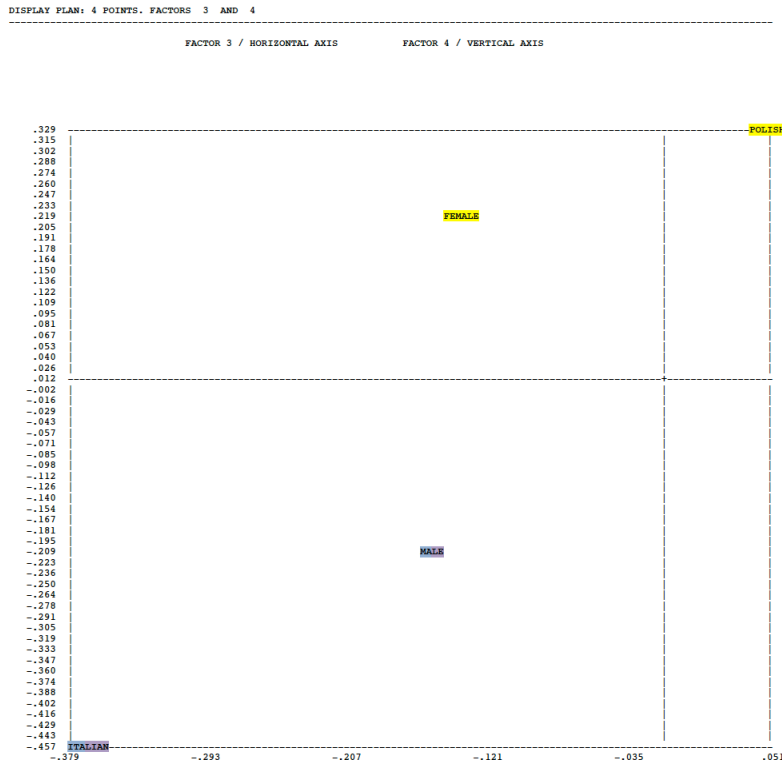


Fig. 69. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 3 and 4, Warsaw, residents

F5 - negative – Fantasy of the past

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
CHILDHOOD	-	10.2	0.20
YOUNG	-	7.6	0.17
PARKS	-	5.8	0.17
RECONSTRUCTED	-	4.2	0.09
FAMILY	-	3.1	0.07

Tab. XXVI - Warsaw, factor 5 negative, residents

Warsaw seen as the “Fantasy of the past” centers on childhood and youth, when family plays the core role. The city is reconstructed; the only places mentioned are parks, probably because they are important in childhood. There are no references to specific places or monuments.

F5 - positive – Reality of the present

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
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STUDIES	+	18.4	0.32
PARTIES	+	15.9	0.31
CHAOS	+	4.2	0.12
INCOMPREHENSIBLE	+	3.1	0.01
GREY	+	2.2	0.06
DYNAMIC	+	1.9	0.04
TRANSPORT	+	1.9	0.06
THEATERS	+	1.8	0.08

Tab. XXVII - Warsaw, factor 5 positive, residents

The representation called “Reality of the present”, focuses on studies and parties, seeing Warsaw in incomprehensible chaos, as a grey but dynamic city. It takes into account the situation today, the immediate reality of Warsaw, without including any aspect from its past.

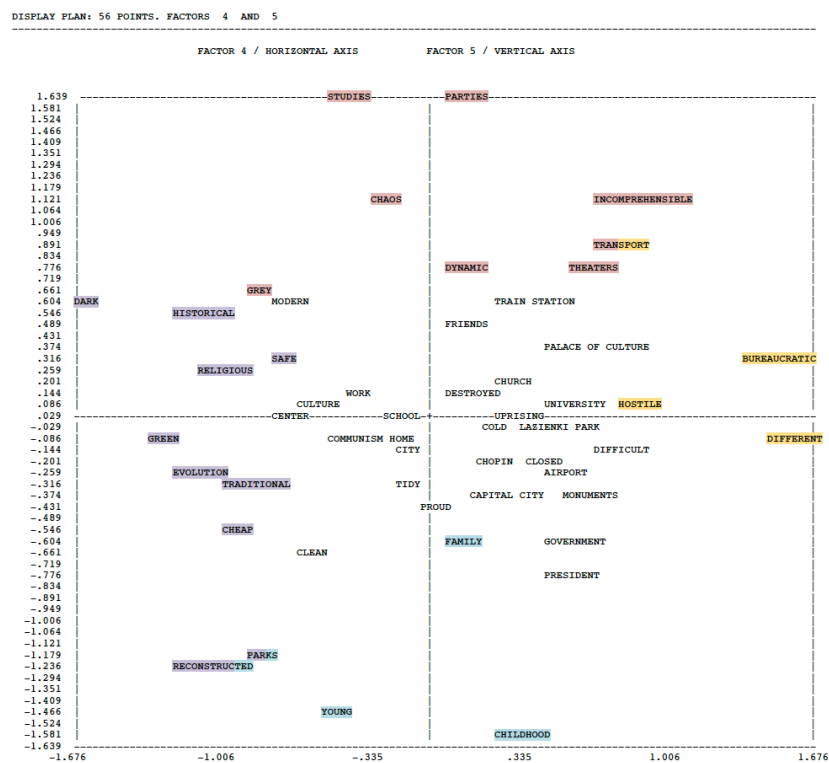


Fig. 70. Graphical display of factors 4 and 5, Warsaw, residents

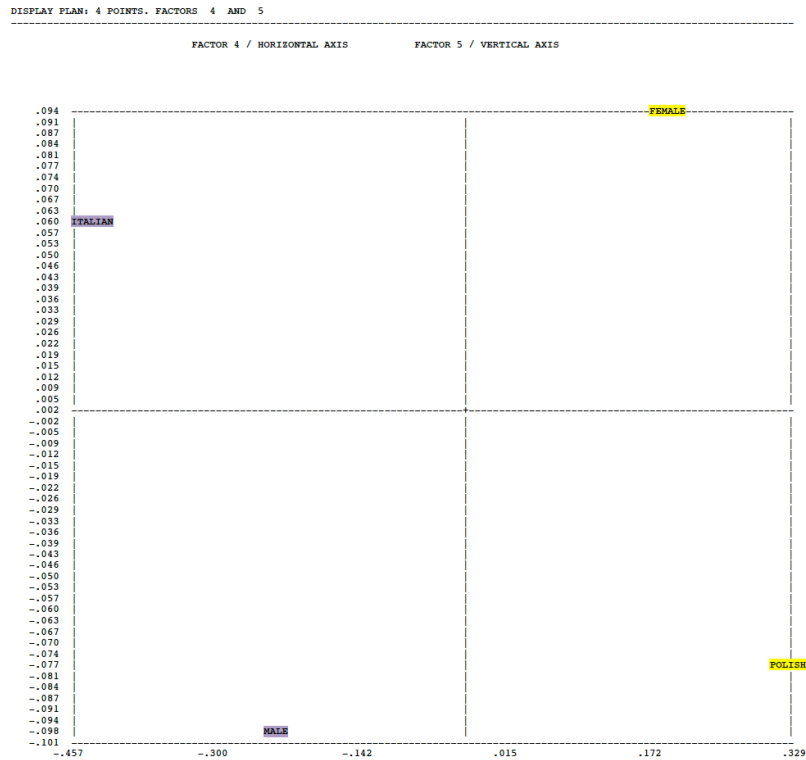


Fig. 71. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 4 and 5, Warsaw, residents

4.2.1.2.2. “Rome” trigger

In case of Rome, Italian residents, as in case of Warsaw, also focused especially on the visual-perceptive dimension, followed by places and monuments of the city. The same pattern was present in the social representation of Rome among Polish residents.

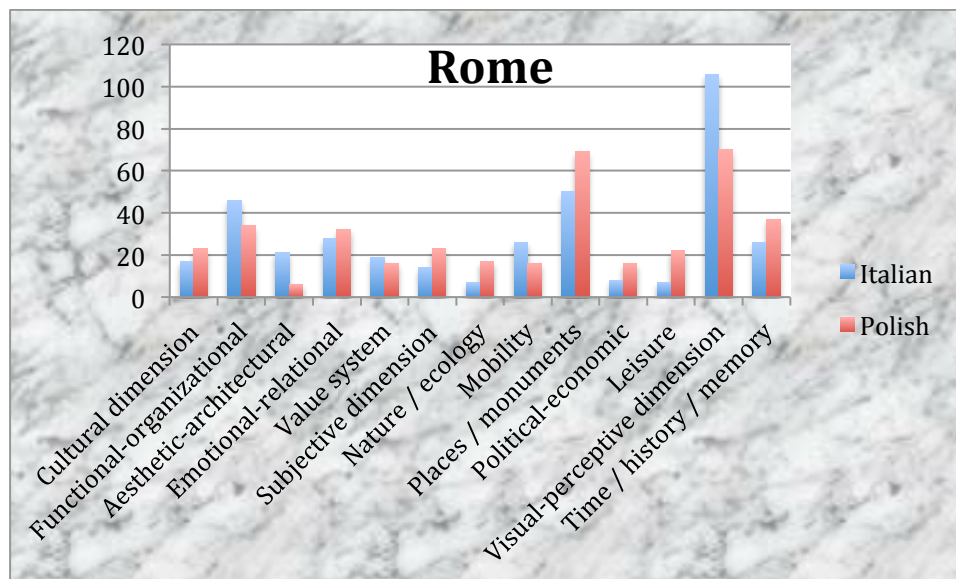


Fig. 72. Categorization of words associated with Rome, residents by nationality

Using the package software SPAD-T, five factors were identified, which correspond to different social representations of Rome. The independent variables included: subjects' nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002).

F1 - negative – Relative values

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
WELCOMING	-	9.1	0.43
MESS	-	7.3	0.35
BUREAUCRATIC	-	4.8	0.22
CHAOS	-	4.4	0.23
TRAVELLED	-	3.8	0.16
BRIGHT	-	3.3	0.12
WARM	-	3.3	0.11
MULTIRACIAL	-	2.9	0.14
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH			
SEX: MALE, FEMALE			

Tab. XXVIII - Rome, factor 1 negative, residents

The social representation called Relative values, describes pros and cons presented mostly as descriptions of the city: positive, such as “welcoming”, “bright” and “warm”, and negative, such as “bureaucratic” and “chaos”. It is an evaluation of desirable and non-desirable features, which are by definition quite universal and could possibly be

applied to many cities. However, the descriptions given are relative, as they depend on the subjects' sensations and past experiences.

This representation is common to both Italian and Polish residents, male and female. Such practical evaluation, enlisting positive and negative aspects probably has been useful for both nationalities and sexes.

F1 - positive – Absolute values

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
WORK	+	11.2	0.26
HOME	+	8.9	0.27
FRIENDS	+	6.1	0.22
COLOSSEUM	+	3.5	0.09
POPE	+	3.3	0.12
TRAFFIC	+	3.0	0.14
TOURISTIC	+	2.9	0.13
ANCIENT	+	2.8	0.15

Tab. XXIX - Rome, factor 1 positive, residents

As opposed to describing Rome in relative terms based on personal experience, the representation called “Absolute values” contains such values as the subjects' work, home and friends, as well specific associations of Colosseum and the Pope, which can be found only in this city. In this case it is clearly about “the city”, not “a city”. None of the elements of representation is evaluated as positive or negative, which further stresses the specificity of Rome with its absolute values.

F2 - negative – Inside

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
WORK	-	21.9	0.37
HOME	-	11.6	0.25
FRIENDS	-	11.5	0.30

Tab. XXX - Rome, factor 2 negative, residents

The representation of Rome called “Inside” centers around the personal life and its individual aspects: work, home and friends. It does not mention any specific place in the

city nor adjectives describing it, which demonstrates that Rome is seen as a very personal setting where the subjects' life takes place.

F2 - positive – Outside

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
ART	+	10.9	0.21
COLOSSEUM	+	7.4	0.13
CULTURE	+	5.7	0.20
HISTORY	+	5.4	0.16
TOURISTIC	+	4.9	0.15
MUSEUMS	+	4.8	0.12
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN SEX: MALE			

Tab. XXXI - Rome, factor 2 positive, residents

On the contrary to personal life that takes place inside, the representation called “Outside” points to such impersonal broad terms as art, culture and history. One specific place is mentioned in the city, the Colosseum, which is an example of art, culture and history at the same time, as well as one of the reasons Rome appears as a very touristic place filled with museums. All these aspects can be seen outside of one's home and personal life, any visitor who comes to the city can appreciate them.

Residents who are Italian and who are male had the representation of Rome called “Outside”. Bearing in mind that the subjects were Italians living in Warsaw, it is not surprising that they see Rome as quite remote, in terms of cultural and historical patrimony of humanity.

DISPLAY PLAN: 40 POINTS. FACTORS 1 AND 2

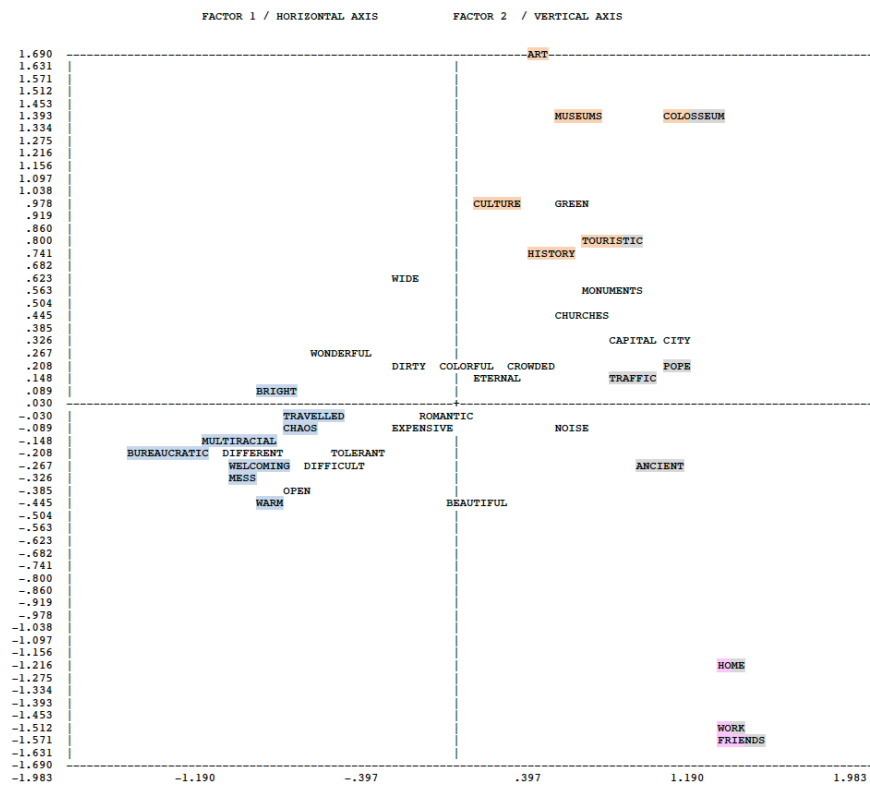


Fig. 73. Graphical display of factors 1 and 2, Rome, residents



Fig. 74. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 1 and 2, Rome, residents

F3 - negative – Colosseum says it all

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
COLOSSEUM	-	13.2	0.21
NATIONALITY: POLISH			

Tab. XXXII - Rome, factor 3 negative, residents

There is a representation of Rome that consists of one word only – Colosseum. Clearly, to the subjects who share this representation this place is the essence of Rome, it is its symbol and there is no need to mention any other places or descriptions. There is no evaluation of the city, it is hard to tell if it provokes emotions and in case it does, of what kind.

The representation of Rome as Colosseum is probably a mental simplification of a very complex reality, lived by the Polish subjects on a daily basis. It seems surprising that Poles who live in Rome have such a concise representation of the city, which they identify with its universal symbol.

F3 - positive – Everything says Rome

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
MUSEUMS	+	12.8	0.30
COLORFUL	+	11.2	0.27
CULTURE	+	9.6	0.32
HISTORY	+	8.7	0.24
BEAUTIFUL	+	6.2	0.16
TOLERANT	+	5.3	0.17
ROMANTIC	+	4.6	0.15
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN			

Tab. XXXIII - Rome, factor 3 positive, residents

As opposed to the representation that narrows Rome down to one place, the representation called “Everything says Rome” highlights the fact that Rome is a colorful, beautiful city filled with museums and thus rich in culture and history. There is a romantic touch to it and overall all terms can be classified as positive. However, no specific places are mentioned. To understand Rome, according to this representation it is necessary to visit numerous museums, to study its culture and history, but also to live the emotions that it offers, to experience the romanticism that characterized the city.

Italian residents who live in Warsaw consider Rome as a city that has much too offer and share its representation called “Everything says Rome”. Somehow, the distance from their capital city does not simplify their representation of Rome, but rather makes it quite articulate.

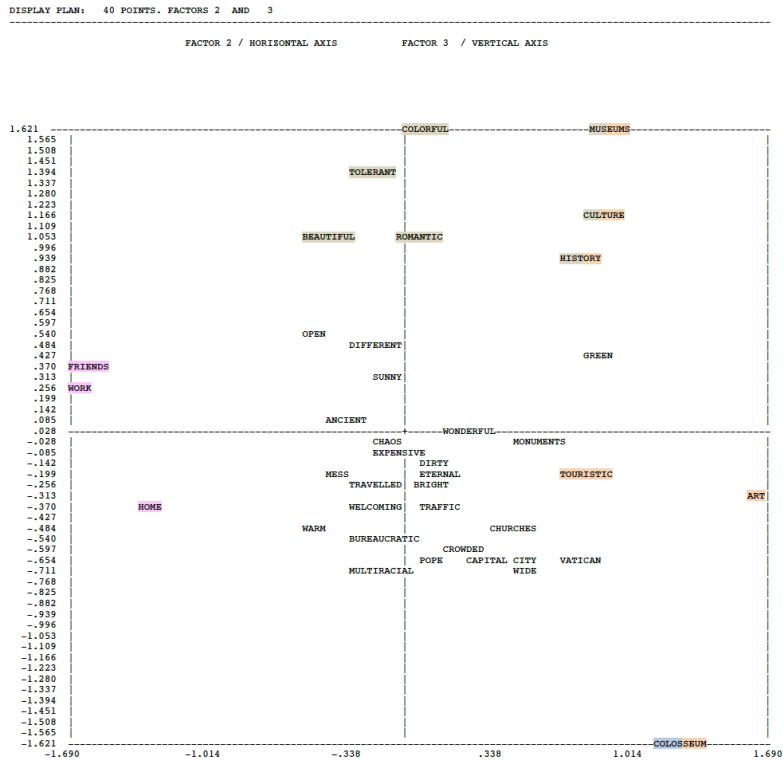


Fig. 75. Graphical display of factors 2 and 3, Rome, residents

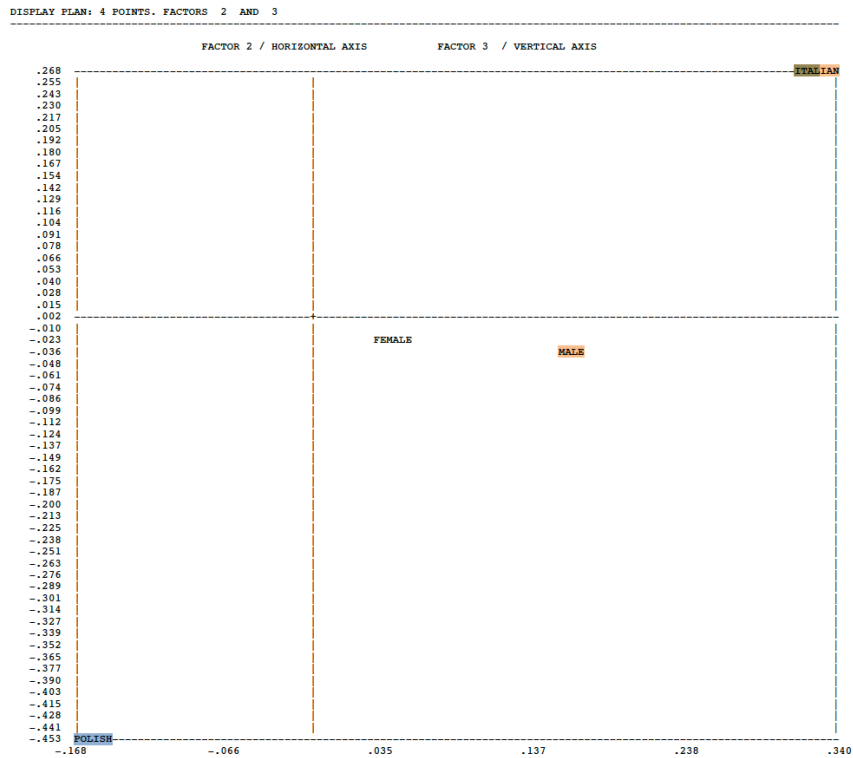


Fig. 76. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 2 and 3, Rome, residents

F4 - negative – 10, 100, 1000 places

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
CULTURE	-	7.4	0.23
MUSEUMS	-	7.2	0.16
ART	-	5.1	0.09
HISTORY	-	4.6	0.12
BRIGHT	-	4.1	0.09
TRAVELLED	-	4.0	0.10
HOME	-	3.4	0.06
WARM	-	2.8	0.06
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH SEX: MALE, FEMALE			

Tab. XXXIV - Rome, factor 4 negative, residents

The representation of Rome called “10, 100, 1000 places” considers it as a historical capital, with the presence of culture, art and history that fill the city. Two kinds of places are mentioned, museums and home, the latter giving a hint that this historical capital is also considered as one’s own, one’s home. Bright and warm, no wonder it is well travelled and overall certainly attractive, though there is no clear evaluation of the city.

Both Italian and Polish residents, as well as both males and females see Rome as their home, a city filled with culture and history and their expressions. While interviewed Italians live in Warsaw and Poles live in Rome, both populations share a positive representation of the city of Rome, which does not mention any negative aspects of daily life.

F4 - positive – Unique pieces

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
COLORFUL	+	11.3	0.26
VATICAN	+	8.2	0.24
ROMANTIC	+	8.1	0.24
BEAUTIFUL	+	4.1	0.10
GREEN	+	3.7	0.10
COLOSSEUM	+	2.8	0.04

Tab. XXXV - Rome, factor 4 positive, residents

Although colors are the most important, this core of this representation is constituted by the unique places in Rome, Vatican and Colosseum, which make the city something much more than another historical capital. No other city in the world will ever have the Vatican or the Colosseum. Rome is viewed in a positive way, as colorful, romantic and beautiful. Probably the presence of green spaces accounts at least partially for this positive judgment of the city.



Fig. 77. Graphical display of factors 3 and 4, Rome, residents

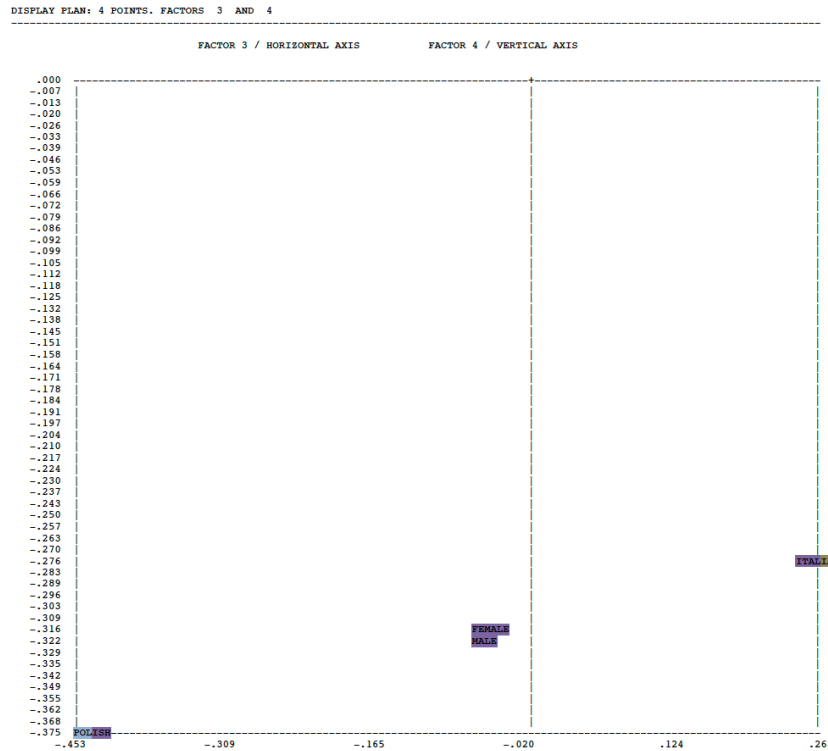


Fig. 78. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 3 and 4, Rome, residents

F5 - negative – The city of the Pope

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
POPE	-	12.3	0.24
TRAFFIC	-	9.8	0.25
EXPENSIVE	-	6.7	0.20
ANCIENT	-	3.1	0.09

Tab. XXXVI - Rome, factor 5 negative, residents

This representation is clearly centered on the presence of the Pope, unique for the city of Rome. Since this ancient figure has been characteristic for Rome for the long time, no wonder the city is also expensive and filled with traffic. The absence of personal references characterizes Rome, primarily considered as the city of the Pope. The presence of traffic may be due to the fact that the Pope can be considered as an “attraction” that draws crowds and thus causes traffic. Also, where there are crowds, the higher demand tends to cause the costs to rise and consequently the city appears as expensive.

F5 - positive – The city of art

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
ART	+	22.0	0.33
COLOSSEUM	+	4.9	0.07
HOME	+	3.9	0.06
COLORFUL	+	3.1	0.06
WIDE	+	3.0	0.09
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN SEX: FEMALE			

Tab. XXXVII - Rome, factor 5 positive, residents

In case of this representation it is not the figure of the Pope that makes it special, but art. Colosseum constitutes an example of art that fills the colorful, wide city. The presence of the word “home” demonstrates that it is seen as one’s own familiar place, probably very dear and appreciated.

It is Italians and females who value Rome for its art, but at the same time represent it as their home. The Colosseum, the universal symbol of the city is also present as the only concrete place important to the subjects in their home city.

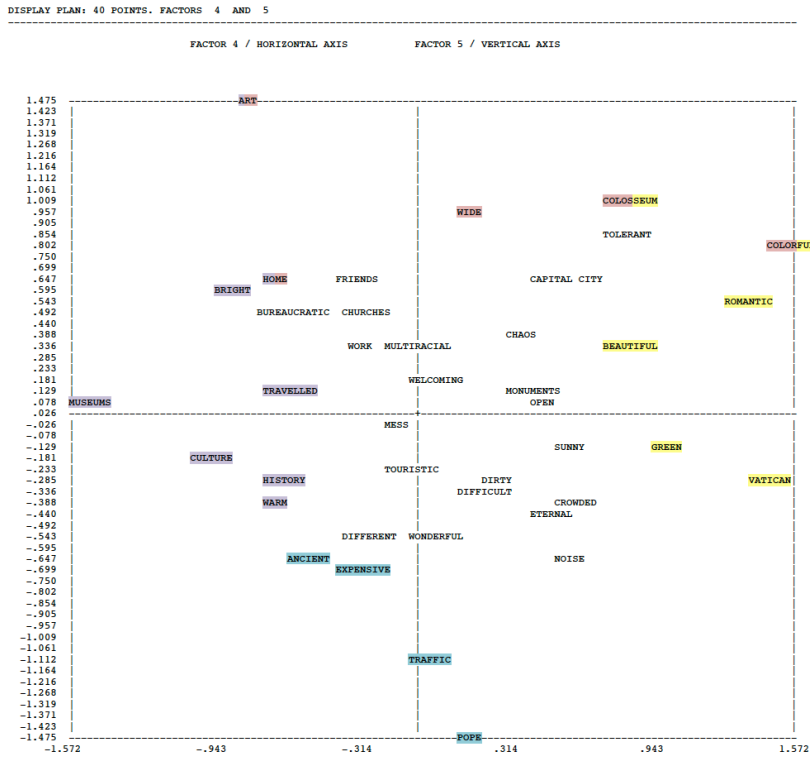


Fig. 79. Graphical display of factors 4 and 5, Rome, residents

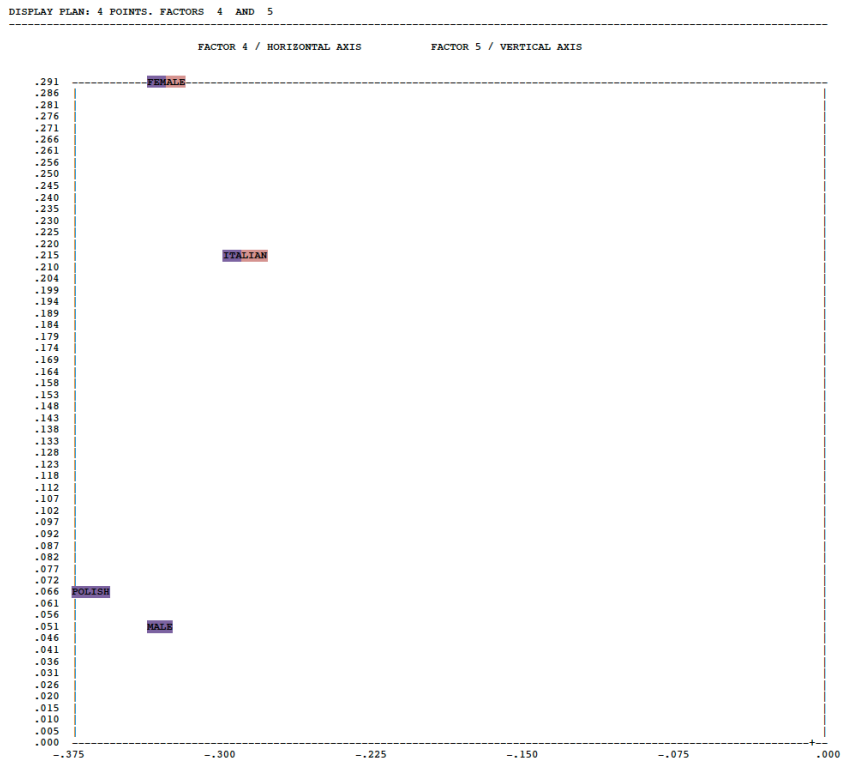


Fig. 80. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 4 and 5, Rome, residents

4.2.1.2.3. “Ideal city” trigger

The responses regarding ideal city differed: while for Italian residents in Warsaw the most frequently mentioned aspects of the ideal city belonged to the functional-organizational dimension followed by the visual-perceptive dimensions, in case of Polish residents in Rome these two dimensions were also the most frequently mentioned but in an inverted order.



Fig. 81. Categorization of words associated with ideal city, residents by nationality

When comparing the sum of replies of Italian and Polish subjects, the social representations of Warsaw concentrated in the functional-organizational dimension, while for Rome and the ideal city the main focus was the visual-perceptive dimension.

Using the package software SPAD-T, five factors were identified, which correspond to different social representations of the ideal city. The independent variables included: subjects' nationality, sex, age and polarity index (de Rosa, 2002).

F1 - negative – Collective welfare benefits

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
OPEN	-	12.6	0.47
EQUITABLE	-	7.1	0.16
WELCOMING	-	4.8	0.21
SOCIAL	-	4.5	0.16
SERVICES	-	4.5	0.21
OPPORTUNITIES	-	3.6	0.13
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, POLISH SEX: MALE, FEMALE			

Tab. XXXVIII - Ideal city, factor 1 negative, residents

The social representation of an ideal city that is open, equitable and welcoming can be called “Collective welfare benefits”. Such city does not judge newcomers; it welcomes everyone, offering them social services and numerous opportunities.

Unsurprisingly, considering that the subjects are expats living abroad, both Italians in Warsaw and Poles in Rome, men and women alike, feel the strong need to be treated on an equal basis and their representation of an ideal city stresses the fact that it is open and welcoming.

F1 - positive – Individualistic values

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
BEAUTIFUL	+	7.8	0.14
FRIENDS	+	6.3	0.22
PROSPERITY	+	6.1	0.10
WORK	+	6.0	0.12
FAMILY	+	5.9	0.18
PEACE	+	5.1	0.16
MONUMENTS	+	2.5	0.07

Tab. XXXIX - Ideal city, factor 1 positive, residents

Instead of focusing on equality and benefits, the social representation called “Individualistic values” highlights aesthetic aspects (such as beauty and monuments), individual personal well being (thanks to the presence of friends and family in a peaceful setting), as well as positive professional situation that creates prosperity based on one’s work.

F2 - negative – Traditional values

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FREE TIME	-	18.9	0.25
FAMILY	-	12.8	0.32
FRIENDS	-	5.4	0.16
ARCHITECTURE	-	3.3	0.08
CHEAP	-	2.8	0.09
NATIONALITY: POLISH			

Tab. XL - Ideal city, factor 2 negative, residents

The representation of the ideal city called Personal life centers around very individual aspects of life, mostly connected with leisure and interpersonal relations. Less important, but also present are architecture linked with aesthetic aspects and the feature of being cheap, thus affordable and easy to live.

Polish residents who live in Rome share this representation of the ideal city, maybe as an alternative to their daily practical struggles. The desire for free time is probably connected with the need to spend more time with family and friends.

F2 – positive – Modern and efficient

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PROSPERITY	+	9.0	0.12
MONUMENTS	+	6.0	0.14
EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION	+	4.5	0.15
MODERN	+	3.2	0.11
PARKS	+	3.0	0.11
NICE	+	2.9	0.10
TOLERANT	+	2.7	0.06

Tab. XLI - Ideal city, factor 2 positive, residents

Modern and efficient ideal city focuses on prosperity, probably understood as a secure financial situation, which allows the subjects to enjoy monuments and parks in the city. This representation does not include any direct reference to people or interpersonal relations, thus it considers the ideal city solely in terms of a place.

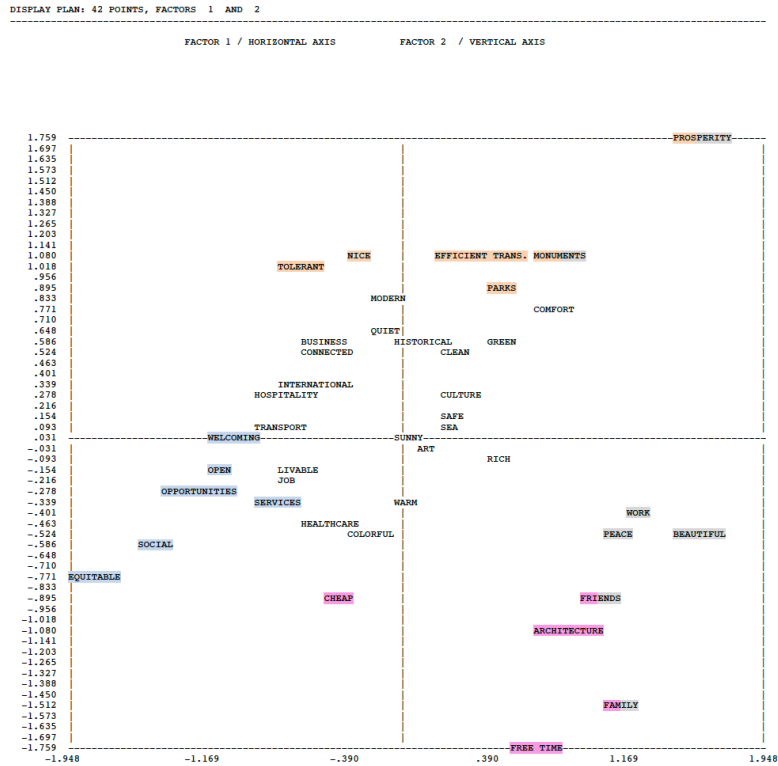


Fig. 82. Graphical display of factors 1 and 2, ideal city, residents

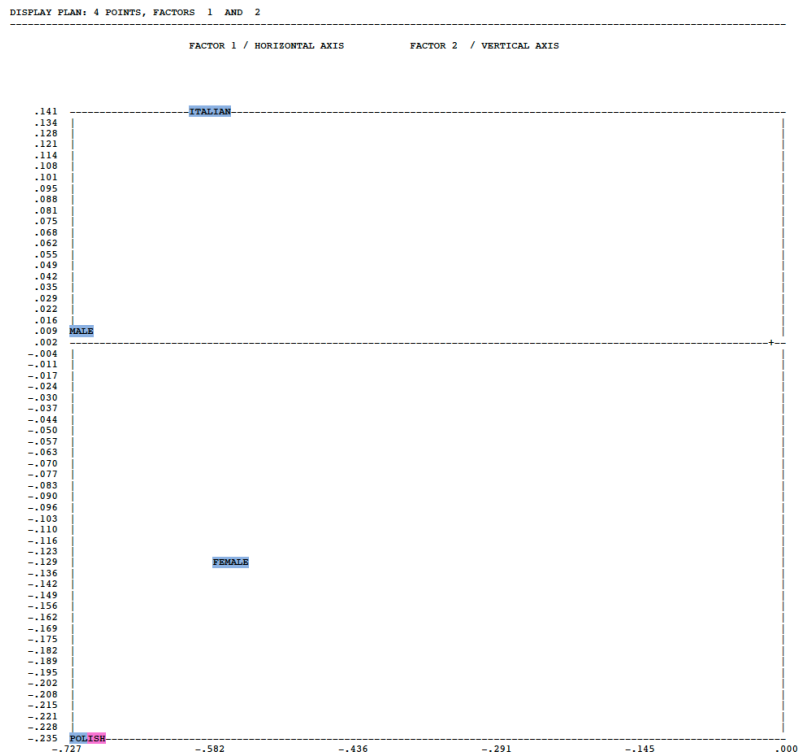


Fig. 83. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 1 and 2, ideal city, residents

F3 - negative – Prosperous and safe

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PROSPERITY	-	19.5	0.26
BEAUTIFUL	-	10.0	0.14
SAFE	-	9.6	0.21
EQUITABLE	-	4.5	0.08
CHEAP	-	2.5	0.08
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN			

Tab. XLII - Ideal city, factor 3 negative, residents

The representation of a prosperous and safe ideal city links these two features with the fact of being beautiful. The ideal city is described using solely adjectives, most of which concentrate on the practical side of life.

This representation, shared by Italians probably demonstrates their concern about the material side of life, as well as their longing for prosperity and lower cost of life. In times of economic difficulties also social differences stand out more, thus the ideal city is characterized by equitability.

F3 - positive – The value of nature

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
QUIET	+	9.4	0.23
SUNNY	+	6.2	0.14
TOLERANT	+	6.1	0.13
SEA	+	4.7	0.12
NICE	+	3.2	0.10
WORK	+	3.2	0.05
RICH	+	2.5	0.09

Tab. XLIII - Ideal city, factor 3 positive, residents

Although it is still important for the ideal city to offer work and possibilities to get rich, the social representation called “The value of nature” focuses on such natural aspects as being quiet, sunny and by the sea. In terms on human relations it is also a tolerant and nice place.

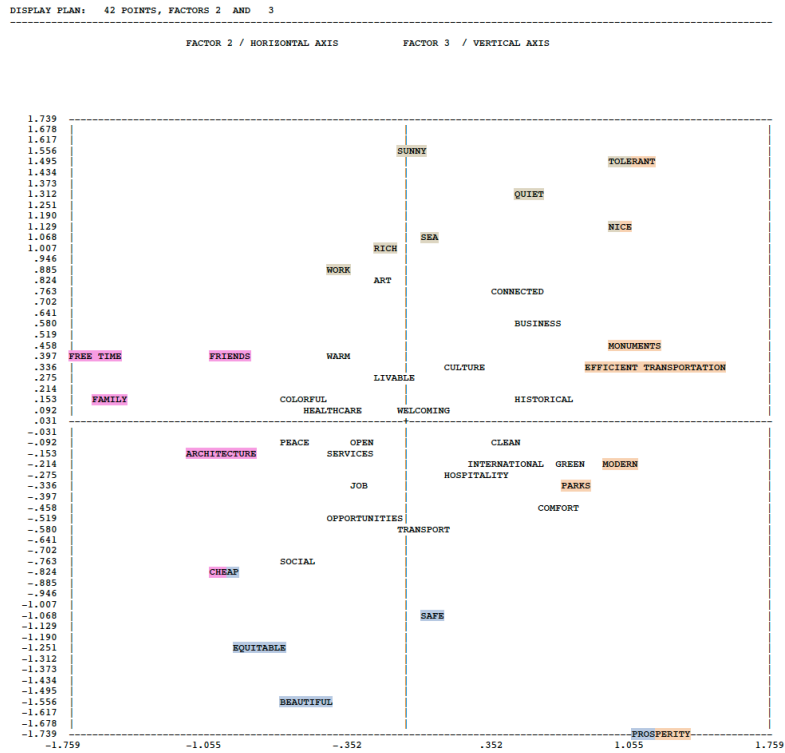


Fig. 84. Graphical display of factors 2 and 3, ideal city, residents

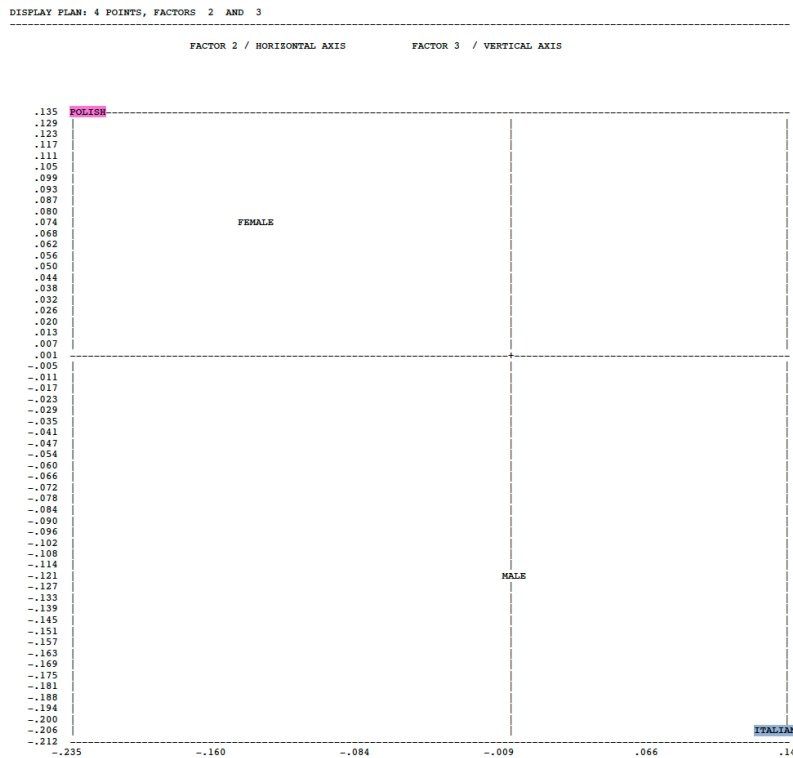


Fig. 85. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 2 and 3, ideal city, residents

F4 - negative – Plato's Politeia

Word	Axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
TOLERANT	-	12,1	0,22
BEAUTIFUL	-	8,7	0,11
QUIET	-	5,9	0,13
NICE	-	4,8	0,14
FAMILY	-	3,1	0,07
FRIENDS	-	2,6	0,06
EQUITABLE	-	2,5	0,04
WARM	-	2,5	0,07
OPEN	-	2,4	0,06

Tab. XLIV - Ideal city, factor 4 negative, residents

Based on universal truths, this representation of the ideal city resembles Politeia described by Plato in *The Republic*. As an enlightened place, equitable and open to everyone, it encompasses the cosmos (a beautiful, quiet place), as well as individual with his or her family and friends. The common good, evidenced by tolerance, is in a perfect balance with one's personal life.

F4 - positive – Pantheistic optimism

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
SUNNY	+	11.0	0.22
SEA	+	7.1	0.16
FREE TIME	+	6.1	0.07
SAFE	+	4.1	0.08
JOB	+	3.7	0.12
WORK	+	3.5	0.05
HEALTHCARE	+	3.0	0.08
SEX: FEMALE			

Tab. XLV - Ideal city, factor 4 positive, residents

The most outstanding elements of the representation called "Pantheistic optimism", sun and sea, bring nature to the fore in the ideal city. Similar to the vision of Saint Francesco of Assisi, this representation values free time, but also the practical aspects such as having a job or work and appropriate healthcare.

Shared by females, it encompasses women's appreciation for the beauty of nature and their practical sense and need for both leisure and work, even in the ideal city, seen as above all a safe place.

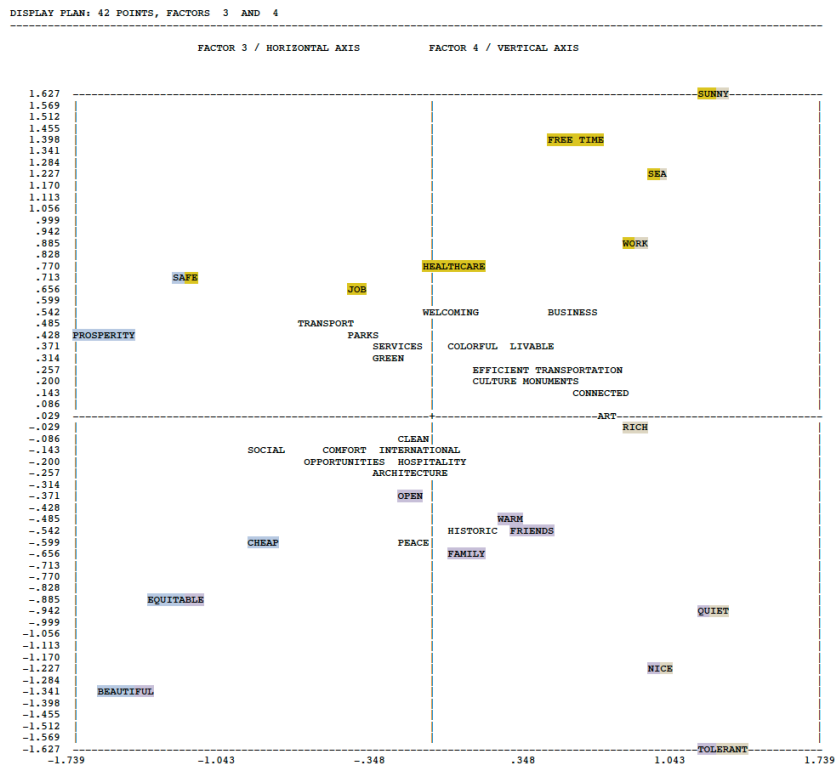


Fig. 86. Graphical display of factors 3 and 4, ideal city, residents

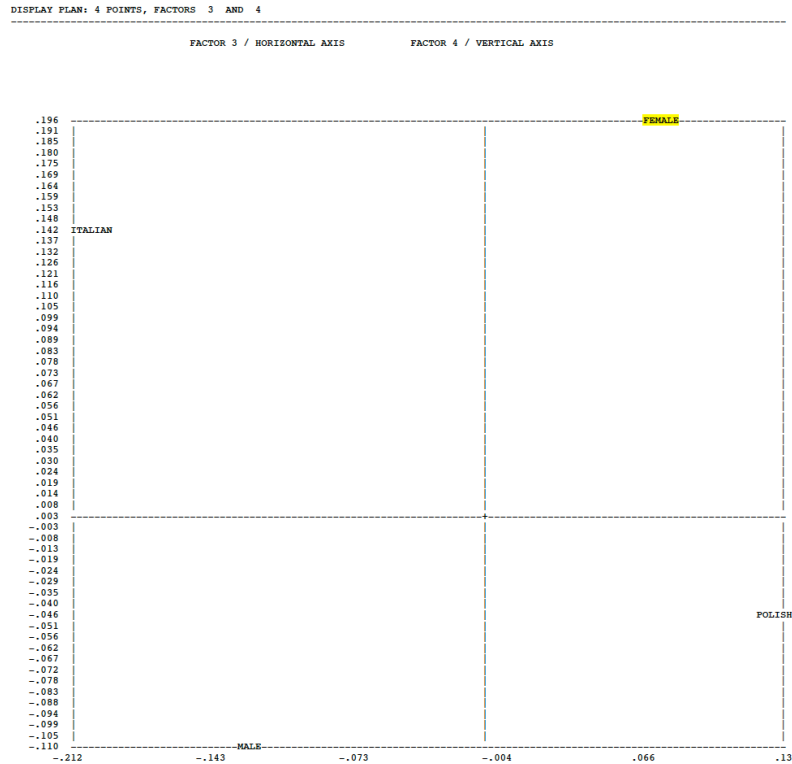


Fig. 87. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 3 and 4, ideal city, residents

F5 - negative – Hedonism

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
BEAUTIFUL	-	14.2	0.17
ARCHITECTURE	-	13.7	0.26
FREE TIME	-	12.6	0.14
LIVABLE	-	5.6	0.17
HEALTHCARE	-	3.2	0.08
NATIONALITY: POLISH			
SEX: FEMALE			

Tab. XLVI - Ideal city, factor 5 negative, residents

The representation called “Hedonism” concentrates on enjoying the beautiful ideal city, characterized by an interesting architecture and health. The inhabitants of the city have a lot of free time to live it, appreciating its beauty.

Polish residents in Rome and females tend to see the ideal city, focusing on such hedonistic aspects, probably due to their sensitivity to beauty and a longing for a free time in their busy life schedules.

F5 - positive – Asceticism

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
WORK	+	13.6	0.19
EQUITABLE	+	5.9	0.09
FRIENDS	+	4.0	0.10
PEACE	+	3.1	0.07

Tab. XLVII - Ideal city, factor 5 positive, residents

On the opposite end from hedonism we locate asceticism, concentrated on work above all else. According to this representation, the ideal city appears as an equitable and peaceful place where friends are important.

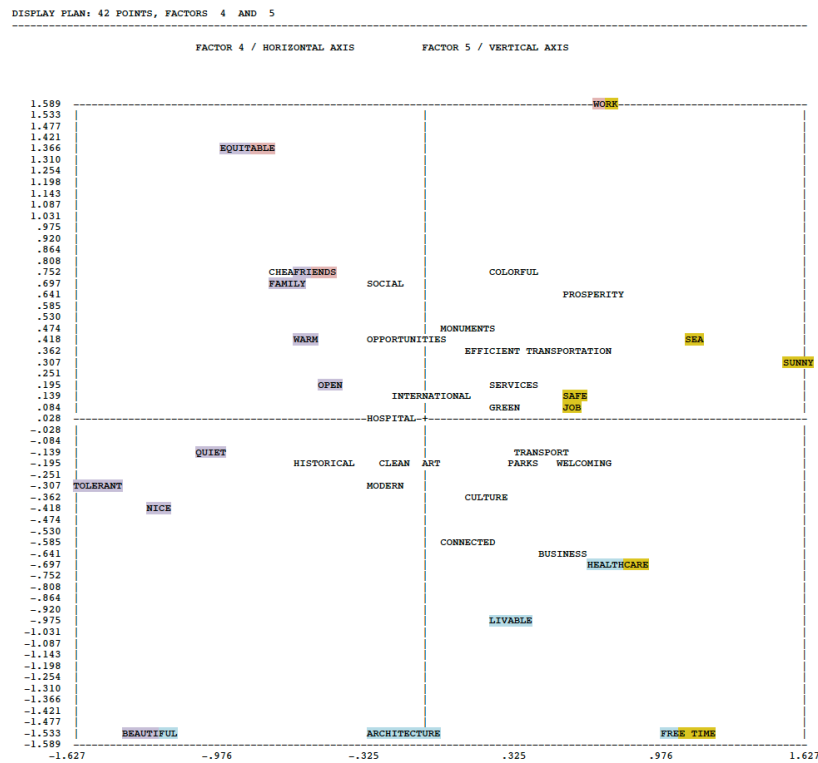


Fig. 88. Graphical display of factors 4 and 5, ideal city, residents



Fig. 89. Graphical display of illustrative variables for factors 4 and 5, ideal city, residents

Based on the categorization of words evoked in associative networks concerning Warsaw, Rome and Ideal City, the most salient is the visual-perceptive dimension, especially important for the city of Rome and the ideal city. As presented in the following chart, the social representation of Rome is much closer to the social representation of the ideal city than that of Warsaw. The city of Warsaw is represented predominantly within the realms of functional-organizational dimension, followed by the visual-perceptive dimension and places and monuments.

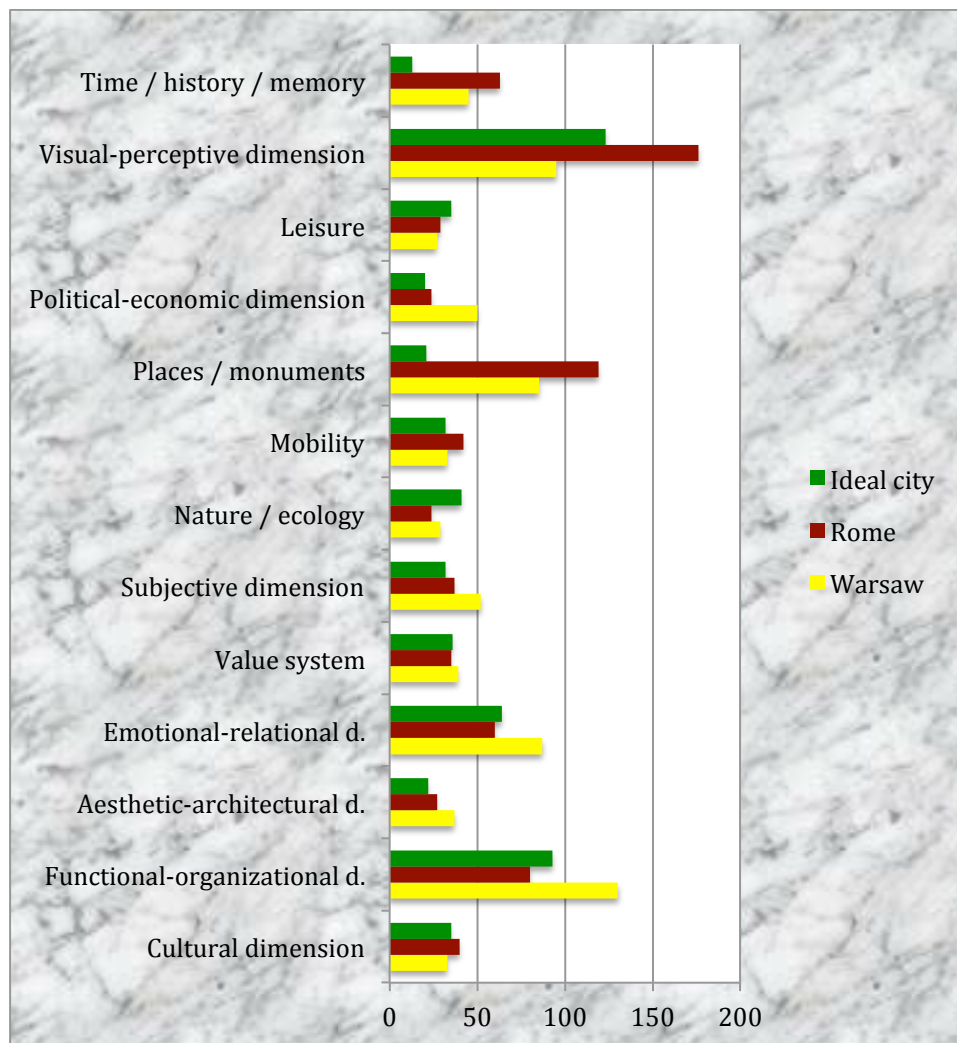


Fig. 90. Comparison of Warsaw, Rome and ideal city, residents

4.2.1.3. Characteristics

4.2.1.3.1. Imagined Warsaw and Rome

On the imaginary level, the words recalled by the residents to describe Warsaw and Rome were in most cases opposites, with the exception of the words “big”, “crowded”, “important” and “modern”.

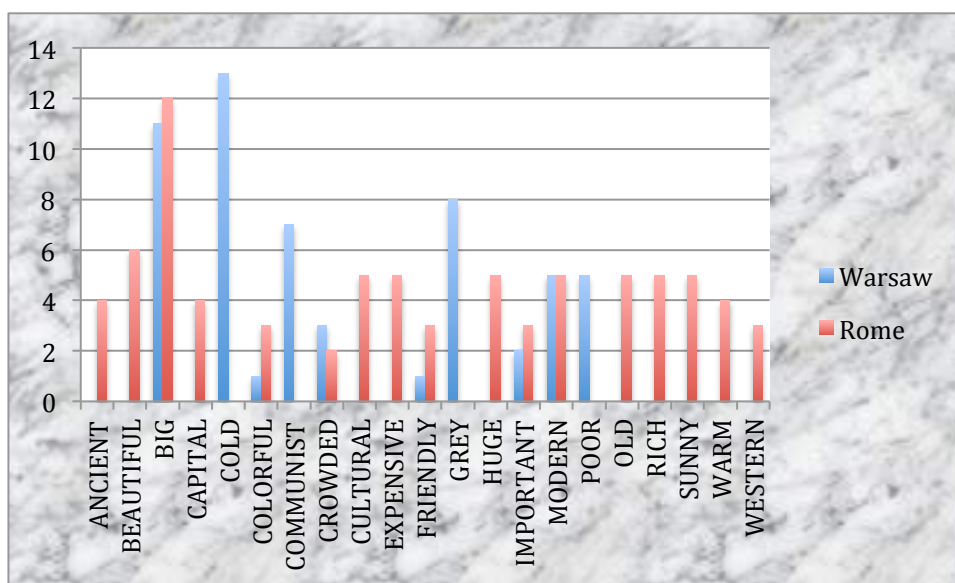


Fig. 91. Warsaw and Rome on imagined level, residents

4.2.1.3.2. Imagined historical centers

The most frequent word used by Italian residents to describe how they had imagined the historical center of Warsaw was “small”, while for Polish residents to describe the historical center of Rome was “beautiful” and “ancient”. There was practically almost no similarity of the most frequent words, except for the word “touristy” applied to both historical centers.

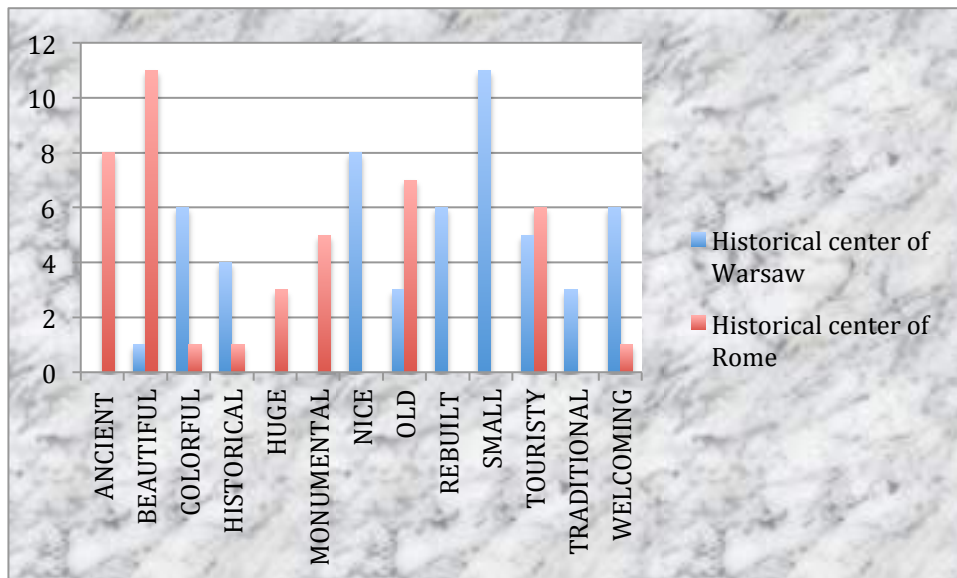


Fig. 92. Historical centers of Warsaw and Rome on imagined level, residents

4.2.1.3.3. Experienced Warsaw and Rome

After experiencing the life in the city, Polish residents describe Rome most frequently as “dirty”, “chaotic” and full of “traffic”.

Italian residents describe Warsaw especially frequently as “big”, but also “clean” and “tidy”. The adjective “cold” remains as quite frequent description of Warsaw.

The two cities have in common the frequent descriptions of full of “traffic” and “big” (though “big” is less frequent for Rome than for Warsaw).

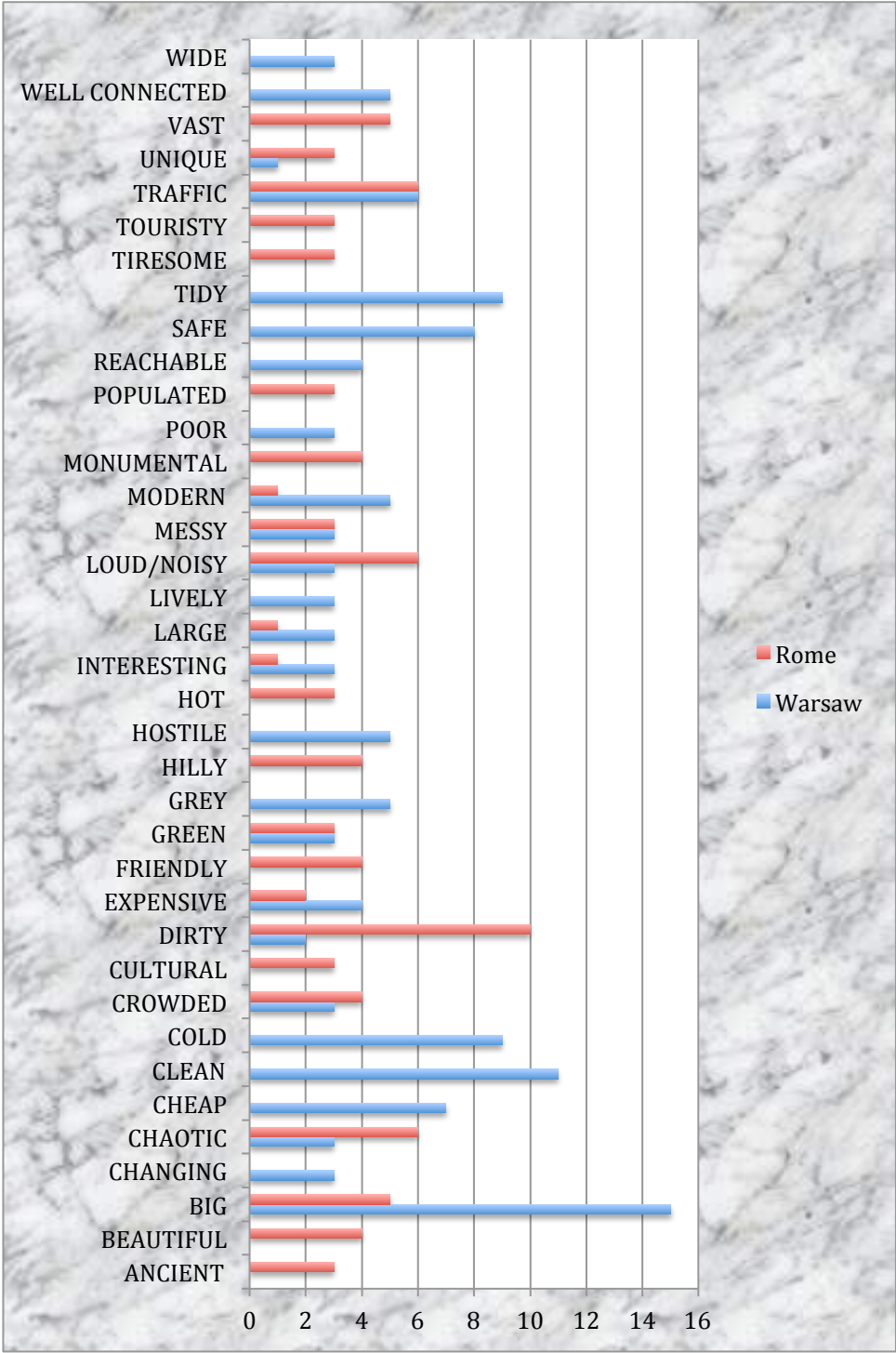


Fig. 93. Warsaw and Rome on experienced level, residents

4.2.1.3.4. Experienced historical centers

After living in Warsaw and in Rome, the most salient terms used by the residents to describe the historical centers were quite opposite. The Italian residents described the historical center of Warsaw most frequently as “clean”/”tidy”, “nice”, “small” and “safe” and “welcoming”, but also “expensive”. The Polish residents most frequently described the historical center of Rome as “dirty” and “touristy” as well as “ancient”.

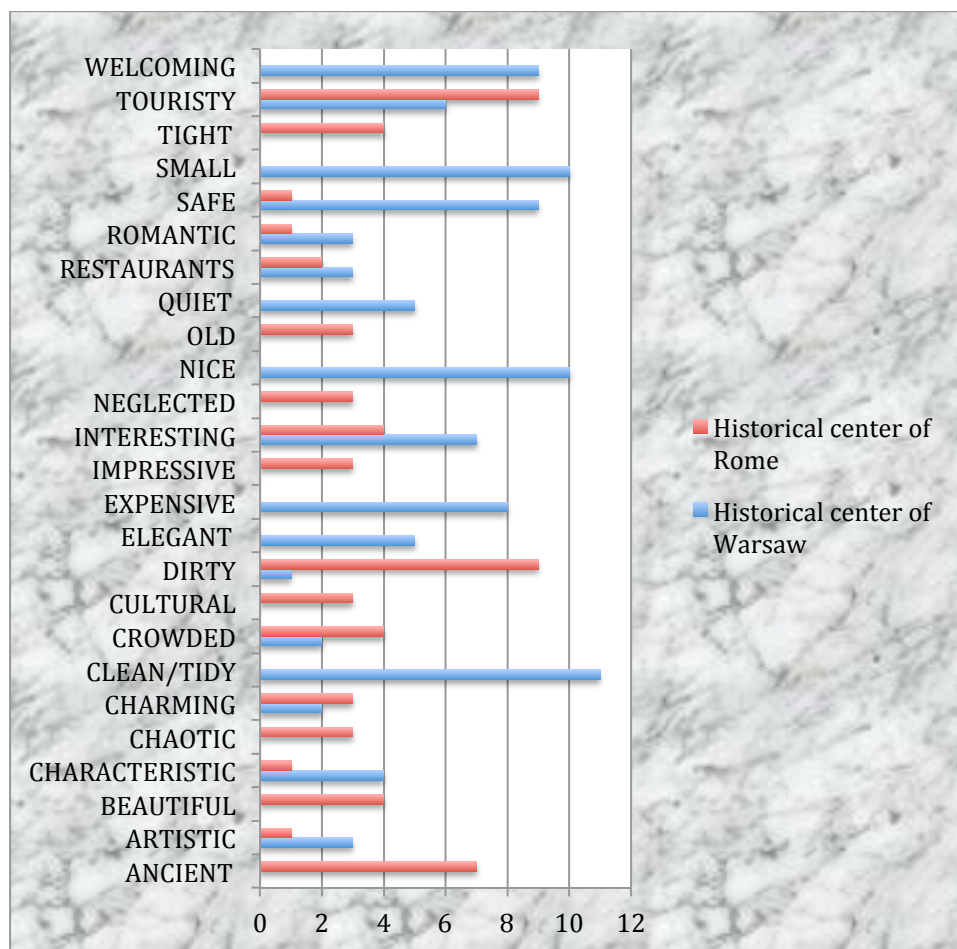


Fig. 94. Historical centers of Warsaw and Rome on experienced level, residents

4.2.1.4. Winning places in Warsaw and Rome

4.2.1.4.1. Warsaw yesterday and today

The Italian residents in Warsaw, before they moved into the city, according to what they can recall after the period of already living there, most frequently mention the Palace of Culture as an important place in the city, followed by the Old Town and the Ghetto.

When asked to identify which places are important to them currently, they most frequently mention the Old Town, followed by parks. In general, there are many more places mentioned after living in the city, with some completely new places, such as the airport, the Warsaw mermaid (the official symbol of the city), the ministries, pubs, the national theater, the unknown soldier's monument and the Uprising Museum.

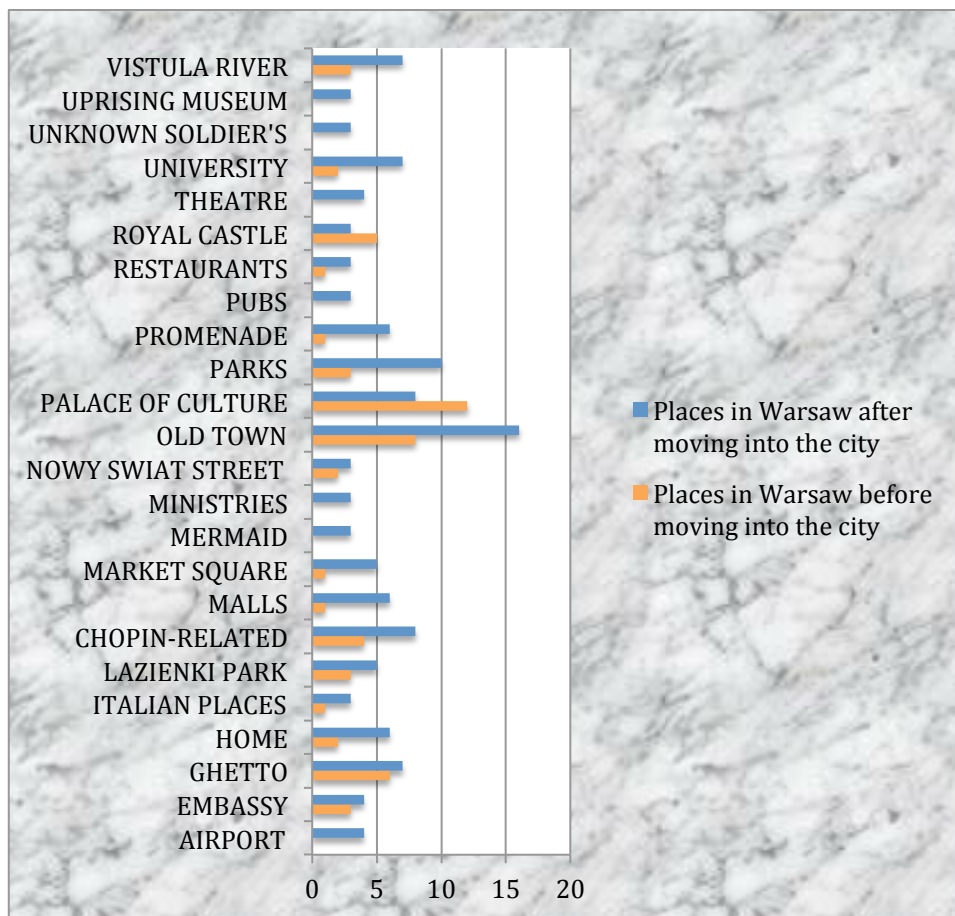


Fig. 95. Places in Warsaw before and after moving to the city, residents

4.2.1.4.2. Rome yesterday and today

In case of Polish residents who live in Rome, they recall a wide variety of important places in the city even before living in it. Among the most frequent mentioned places recalled as important in Rome before moving into the city, we can find Colloseum immediately followed by the Vatican and the two basilicas, St. Peter's and St. Paul's. After the period of living in Rome, the most frequently mentioned place is the Vatican,

followed by Trastevere and Polish Church and Piazza Venezia. There are some places that are frequently mentioned only after living in Rome – parks, Parioli and museums.

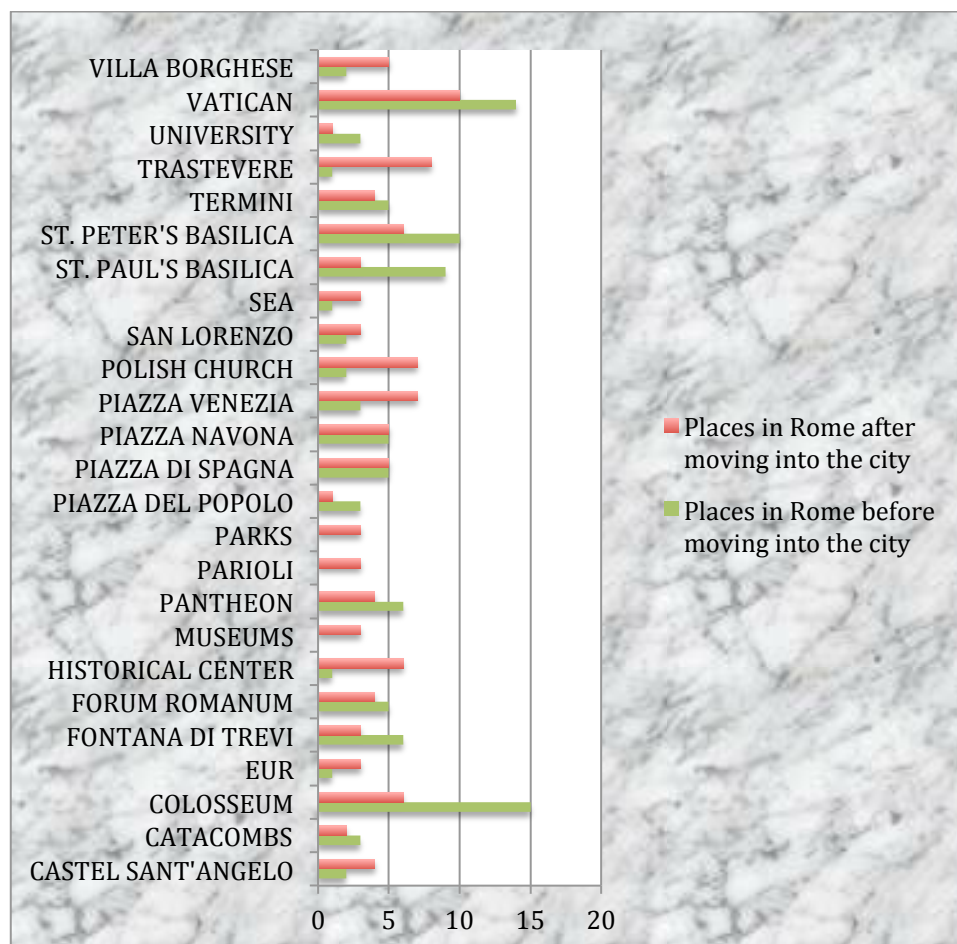


Fig. 96. Places in Rome before and after moving to the city, residents

4.2.1.4.3. Top five Warsaw

The Italians who live in Warsaw when asked to identify the most important place in the city before living in it, the most frequently mentioned the ghetto, the old town and the Palace of Culture. When asked to justify their choice, they explained that the ghetto, even though it is more of a symbol than a place, it helps not to forget the past because “the past shouldn’t be forgotten”. The choice of the old town was justified “because of its romantic aspect”, while the Palace of Culture – “the symbol of a terrible past but also a reminder of the transformation”.

When asked about the place that is the most important to them currently, the Italian residents mentioned the center of the city (where is also the Palace of Culture, though not mentioned as the place) and the old town, followed by own home/apartment. The center was seen as important because it was “the heart of the city” to the residents, described as “stressful” and “crowded” but “interesting”. The home was the most important because of sharing it with the partner, and to one of the subjects it was “a piece of Italy”.

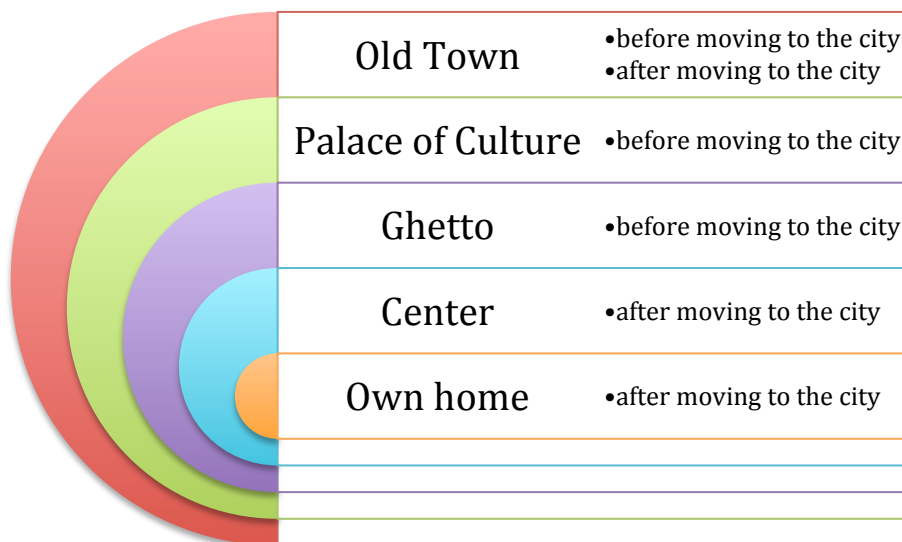


Fig. 97. Top five places to visit in Warsaw, residents

4.2.1.4.4. Top seven Rome

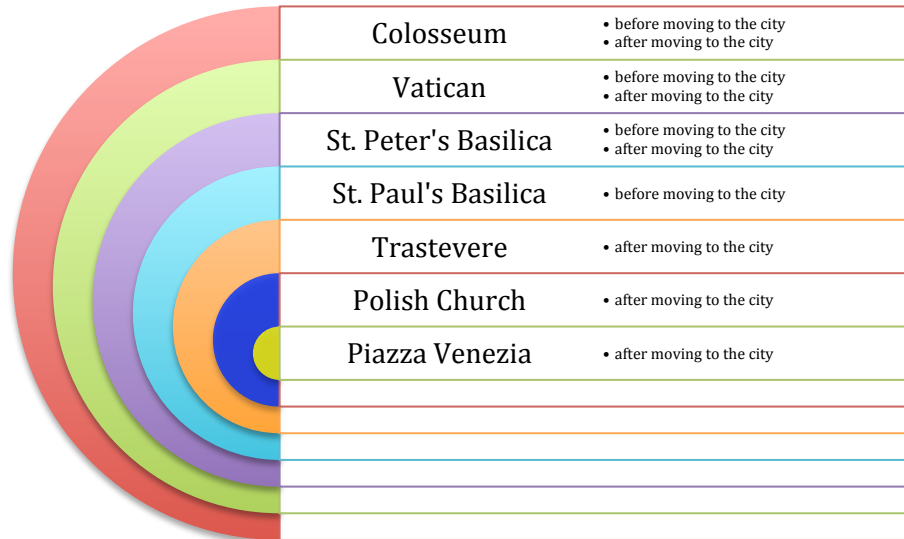


Fig. 98. Top seven places to visit in Rome, residents

4.2.1.5. Psychological luggage

Among Polish and Italian residents combined, the level of information concerning Rome was overall much higher, based on the average values of self-attributed knowledge gained from each of the sources below. While Rome was known from school, literature, movies and songs, all these sources were ranked fairly low for Warsaw, known mostly from the Internet. Apart from these sources, among residents interpersonal communication and press ranked high for both cities. This is probably due to the fact of belonging to expat communities: both Italians in Warsaw and Poles in Rome form official or unofficial groups that offer information about the city, especially regarding practical issues.

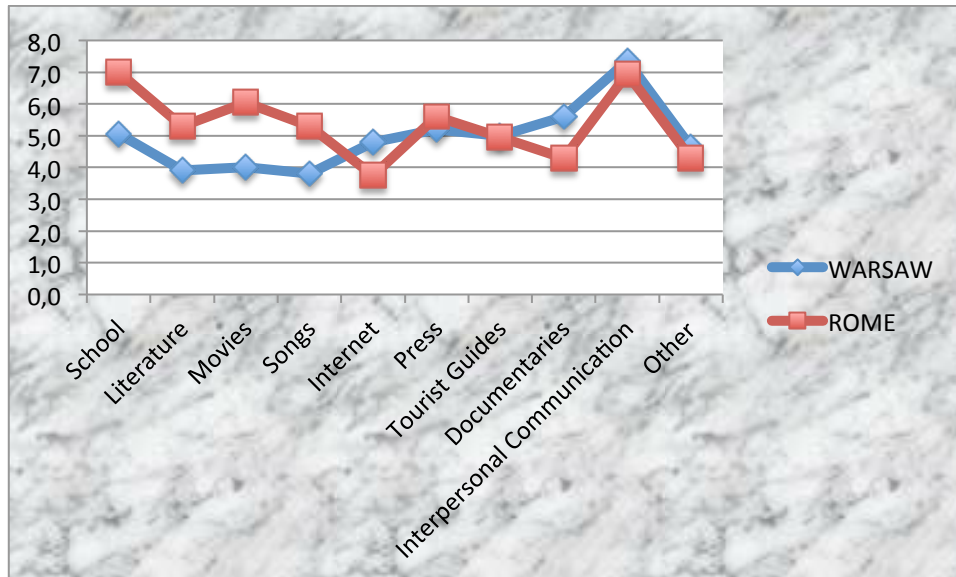


Fig. 99. Sources of information about Warsaw and Rome, residents

There are significant differences in the level of information about the city of Warsaw among Poles and Italians. Polish residents living in Rome for the most part attended schools in Poland and this is when they gained considerable amount of information about Warsaw as portrayed in literature, movies, documentaries and songs. In fact, when asked for specific titles most Poles mention titles that form high school curriculum.

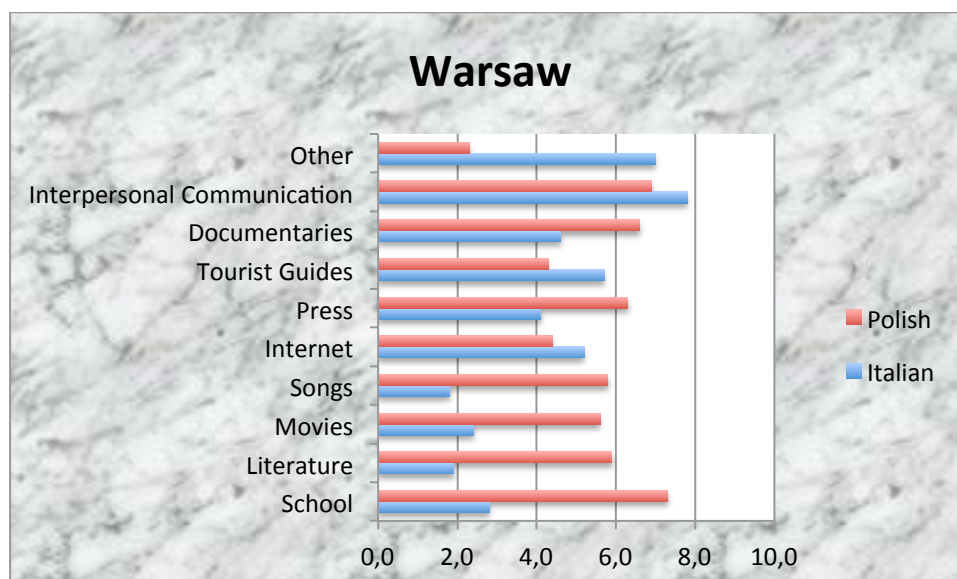


Fig. 100. Sources of information about Warsaw, residents by nationality

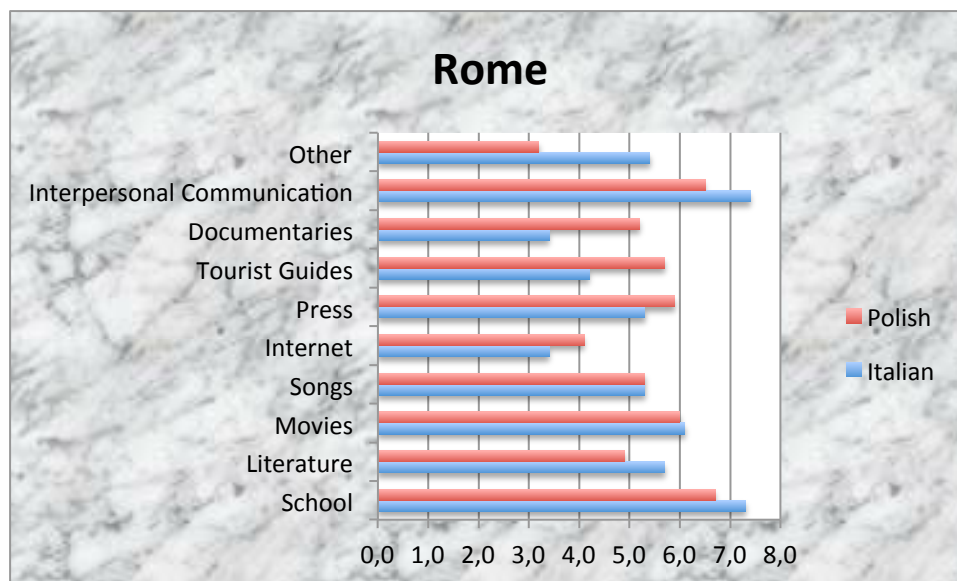


Fig. 101. Sources of information about Rome, residents by nationality

4.2.1.6. Different or similar?

The residents were asked three open-ended questions regarding similarities and differences between the cities of Warsaw and Rome, as well as changes in each one of them.

Considering the question “Has Warsaw changed and why?” the majority of residents answered “yes”. Many Italian residents said both “yes” and “no”, giving reasons for each answer. Polish residents did not have very many doubts and not only saw many changes in Warsaw, but also saw them as occurring fast.

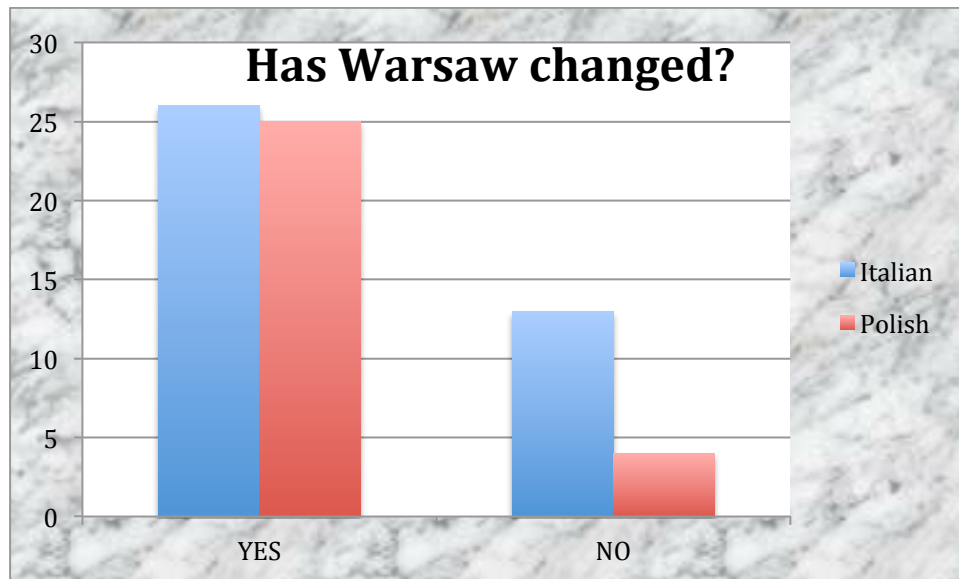


Fig. 102. Changes in Warsaw, residents by nationality

In case of Rome, also the majority of both Italian and Polish residents acknowledge that it has changed. However, there are a greater number of subjects who see Rome as both changing and not changing and there are more reasons to consider it as not changing, such as its history and reputation of being an eternal city.

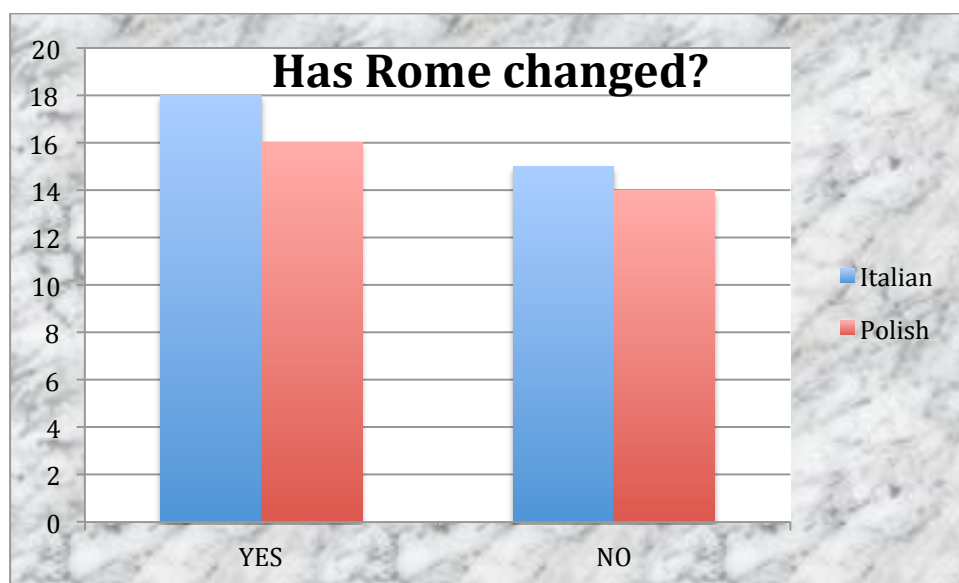


Fig. 103. Changes in Rome, residents by nationality

When asked whether Warsaw and Rome are similar, the majority of the subjects said “no”. However, Polish residents mentioned more similarities than differences between Warsaw and Rome, highlighting the fact that both of the cities were European capitals with a fast pace of life. Overall, the two capitals are not considered similar, because on the one hand Rome is seen as historical and more touristic, while Warsaw – as modern and growing.

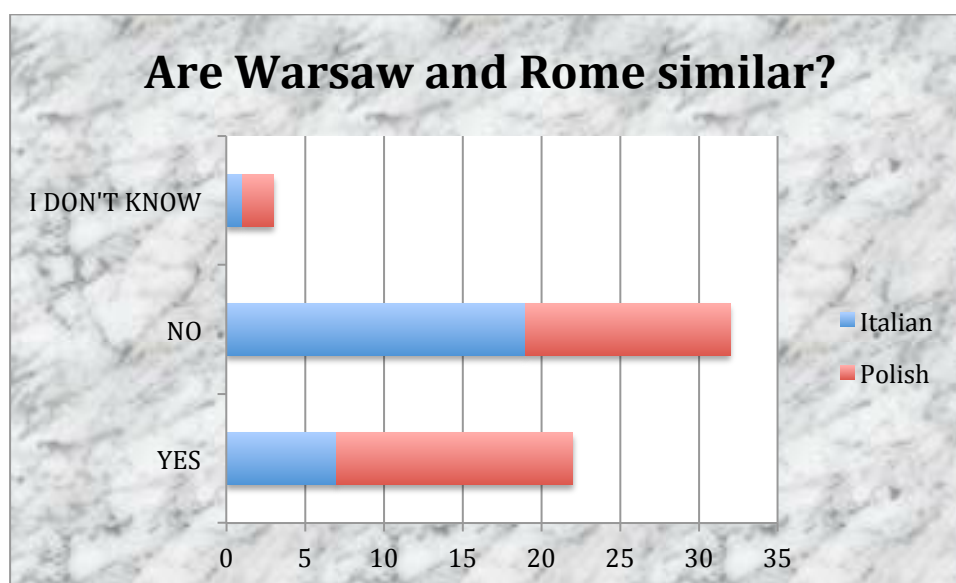


Fig. 104. Similarities between Warsaw and Rome, residents by nationality

4.2.2. Interviews in Warsaw and Rome

Warsaw and Rome present two different settings that treat expats in different ways. It is important to highlight that while in Poland expats from Italy are generally seen in a positive light, in Italy expats from Poland potentially face different forms of discrimination, especially when seen not as Polish, but as Eastern European. According to MisterMedia Report 2011 (Betto, Morcellini, 2012), among different types of minorities, Italian media (television and radio) pay the most attention to immigrants (61% of analyzed cases). However, they present news that describe predominantly deviant and criminal behavior, while facts that concern minorities (legal situation, conditions of daily life, success stories, etc.) are a rare exception. In spite of this situation, in none of the interviews there was a reference to discrimination, and Polish

residents in Rome who belong to the qualified migration did not describe any experience of mistreatment, but rather complained about the low level of functionality (chaos, problems with public transportation, manifestations, etc.).

4.2.2.1. Simple stats

As a result of the content analysis of 34 guided interviews conducted with Italian residents in Warsaw and with Polish residents in Rome, the responses were evaluated and categorized by two independent judges (Italian and Polish).

4.2.2.1.1. Overview

When asked to freely describe the city, the Italian subjects the most frequently described Warsaw as familiar and modern, while almost one third of Polish subjects described Rome as beautiful.

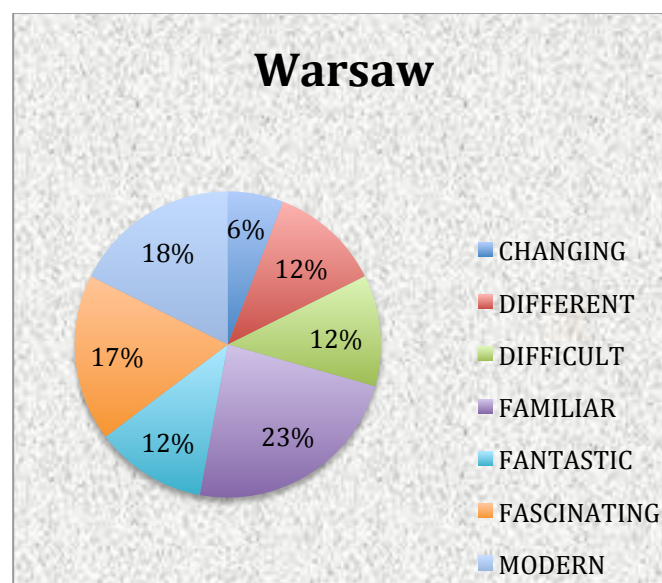


Fig. 105. Overview of Warsaw, interviewed residents

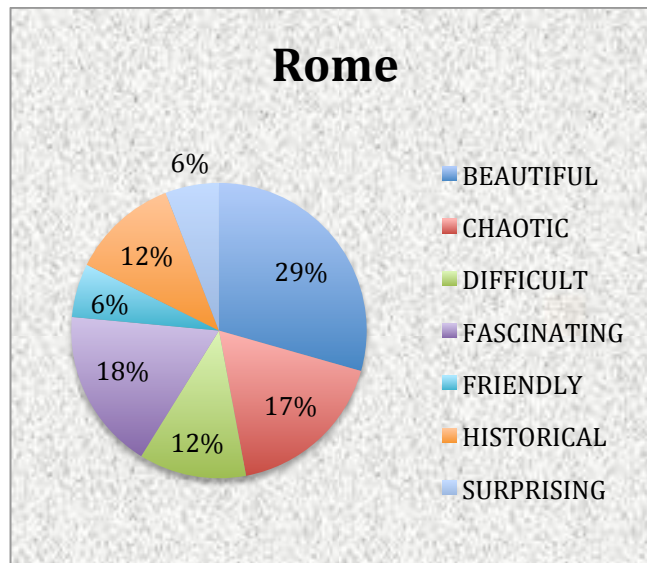


Fig. 106. Overview of Rome, interviewed residents

4.2.2.1.2. First impression

Among the Italian residents Warsaw was most frequently described as difficult (the difficulty referring especially to language) and closed. Almost half of the Polish subjects first perceived Rome as impressive, but also chaotic (especially in terms of transportation and orientation in the city).

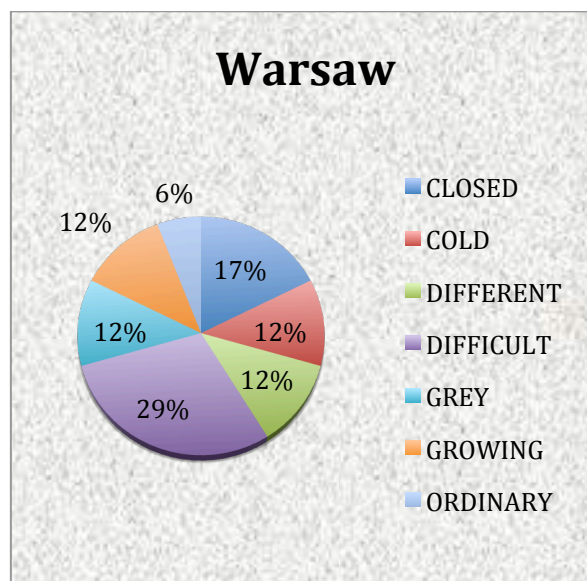


Fig. 107. First impression of Warsaw, interviewed residents

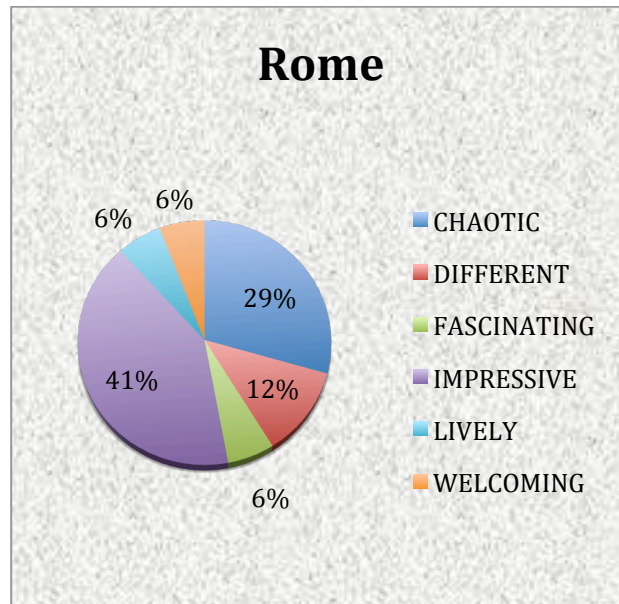


Fig. 108. First impression of Rome, interviewed residents

4.2.2.1.3. Current impression

The most frequent term that Italian residents used to describe their current impression of Warsaw was “home”, while for the Polish residents Rome was chaotic and dirty.

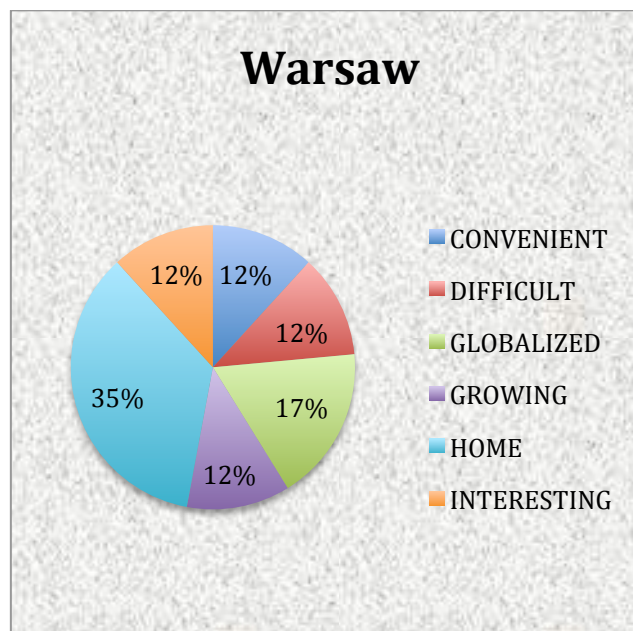


Fig. 109. Current impression of Warsaw, interviewed residents

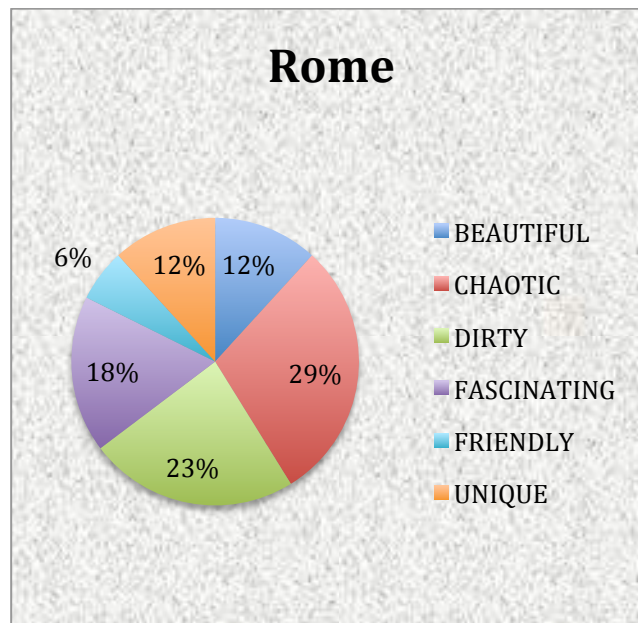


Fig. 110. Current impression of Rome, interviewed residents

4.2.2.1.4. Assessment

When asked about an overall evaluation of the city of Warsaw, the majority of Italian subjects evaluated it as positive, especially highlighting the fact that it is comfortable, modern and well organized. The majority of Polish subjects evaluated Rome in very positive terms, with phrases as “ten out of ten” or “the most beautiful city I’ve ever seen” or in positive terms, highlighting the fact that the unique beauty of the city and its historical and aesthetical value overcomes the practical difficulties of living in Rome.

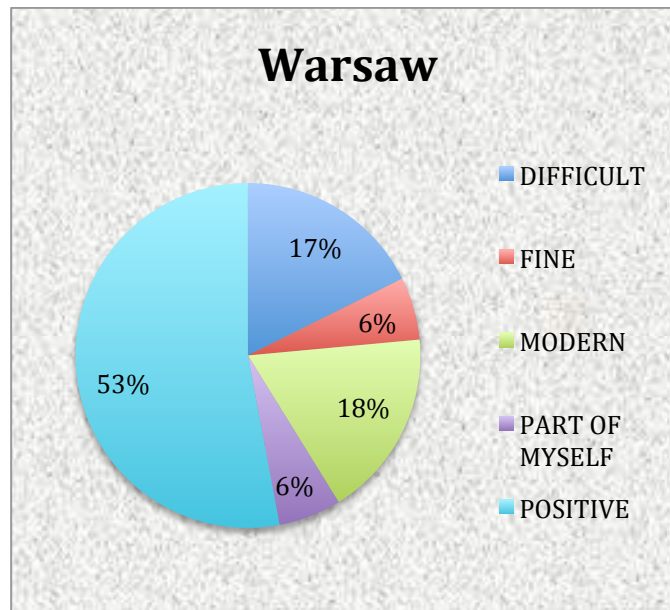


Fig. 111. Assessment of Warsaw, interviewed residents

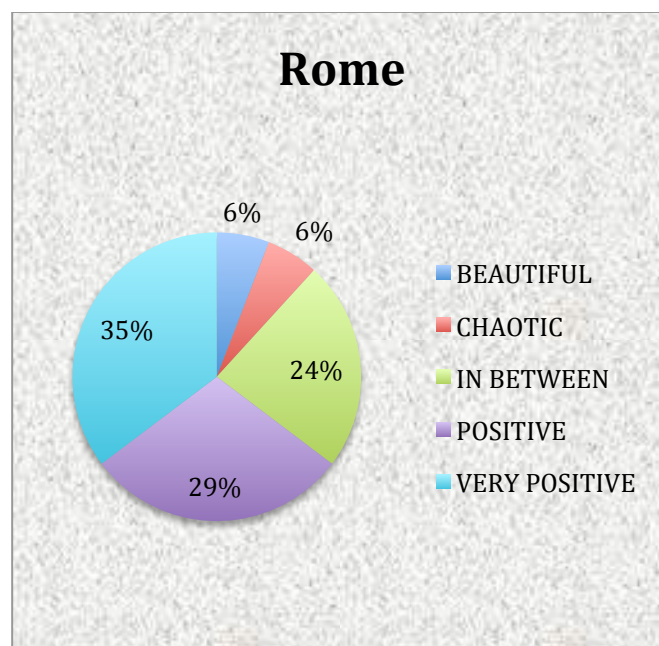


Fig. 112. Assessment of Rome, interviewed residents

4.2.2.1.5. Invitation for a walk

The majority of Italian residents in Warsaw was unable to mention places worth visiting in the city, stating that they have never done city guides for anyone or that they simply couldn't decide. In case of Polish residents in Rome, each subject had many places to

recommend so the most salient ones were chosen. For the majority, these included hills (especially Pincio) and churches (especially St. Peter's Basilica).

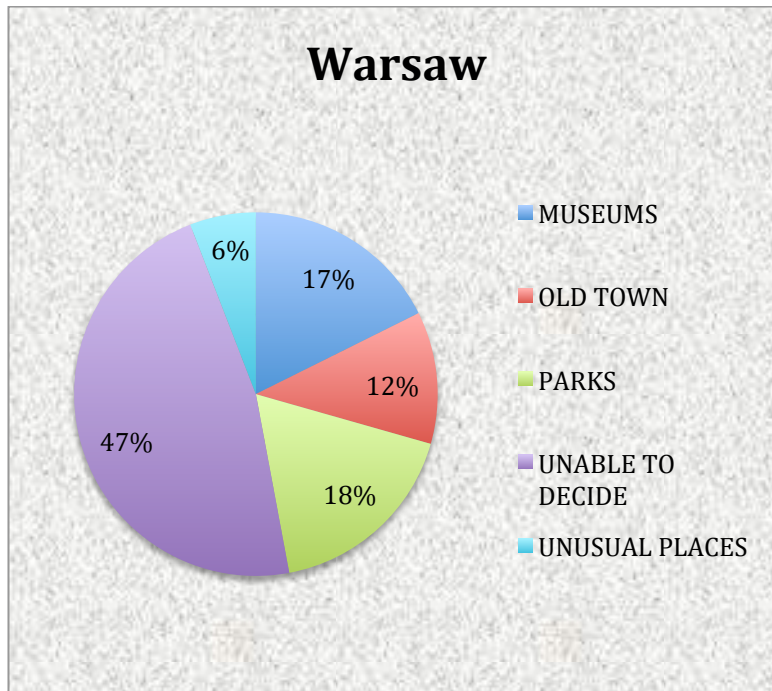


Fig. 113. Places in Warsaw, interviewed residents

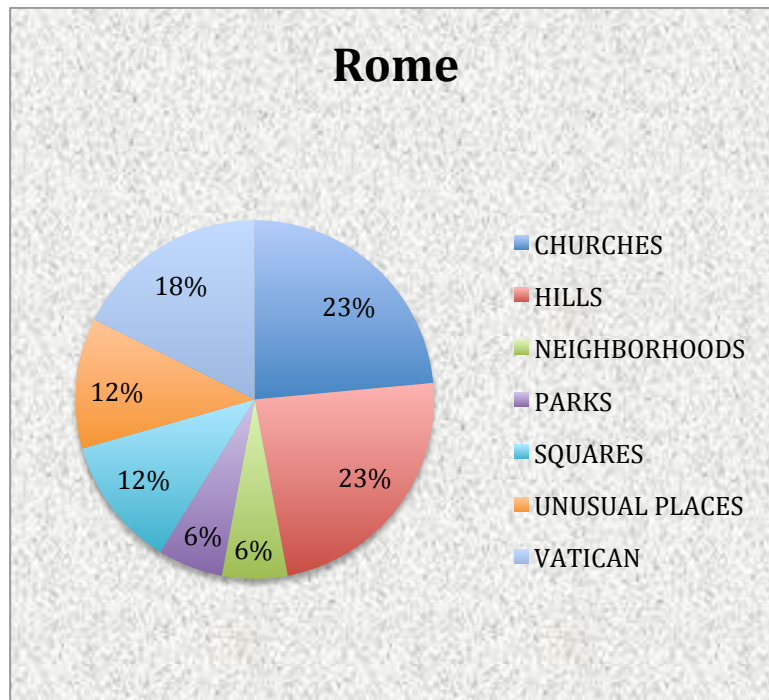


Fig. 114. Places in Rome, interviewed residents

4.2.2.2. Sophisticated software

The transcribed interviews were analyzed using ALCESTE package, based on the lexicometric approach, content analysis and cluster analysis.

4.2.2.2.1. Dendrogram

The textual corpus resulting from the transcription of 34 interviews translated to English, after the classification retained 80.33% of elementary context units. Seven clusters, each characterized by its specific vocabulary, tool-words and descriptive variables, are demonstrated below in the descending hierarchical order (“uce” refers to elementary context units). Considering the number of elementary context units, the highest number characterizes clusters 1 and 4, followed by clusters 2 and 3, while the lowest numbers characterize clusters 5, 6 and 7. Thus, the overall structure of the dendrogram is divided in two main groups. The first group, much more complex, contains the subgroup of clusters 4 and 5 that are connected with cluster 1. In turn, this subgroup is connected with clusters 6 and 7, forming the first group. The second group consists of clusters 2 and 3.

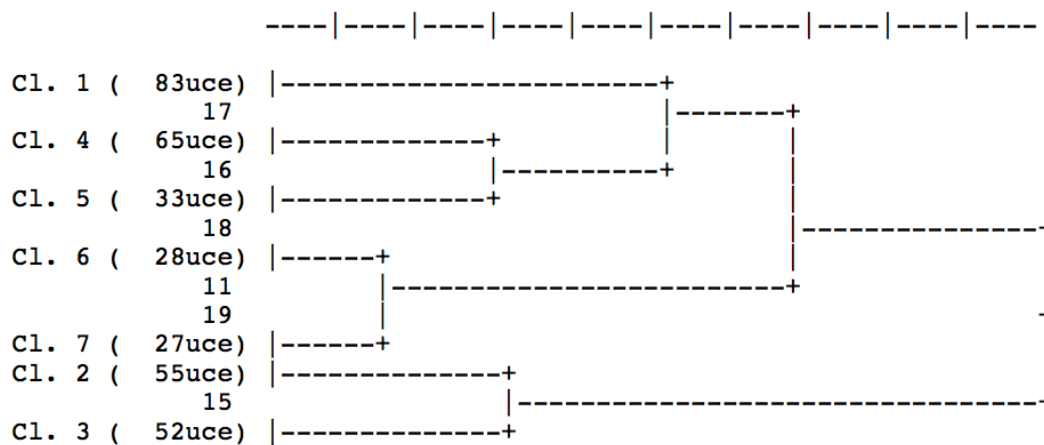


Fig. 115. Dendrogram of the text corpus

Based on a thorough consideration of all the information that ALCESTE offers for each cluster, they were named and interpreted on the basis of lexemes presented in the alphabetical order, the specific vocabulary, the instrumental words, the illustrative variables, and the typical elementary context units that help to contextualize the lexemes.

The dendrogram presented below presents all seven clusters, how they related to one another, which city or cities they describe and what percentage of all elementary context units (u.c.e.) they represent. There are two groups of clusters: the first and much more numerous group, named More than meets the eye, contains five clusters that describe, evaluate and judge the city/ies; while the second cluster, named The truth is hidden in the place, is focused on places.

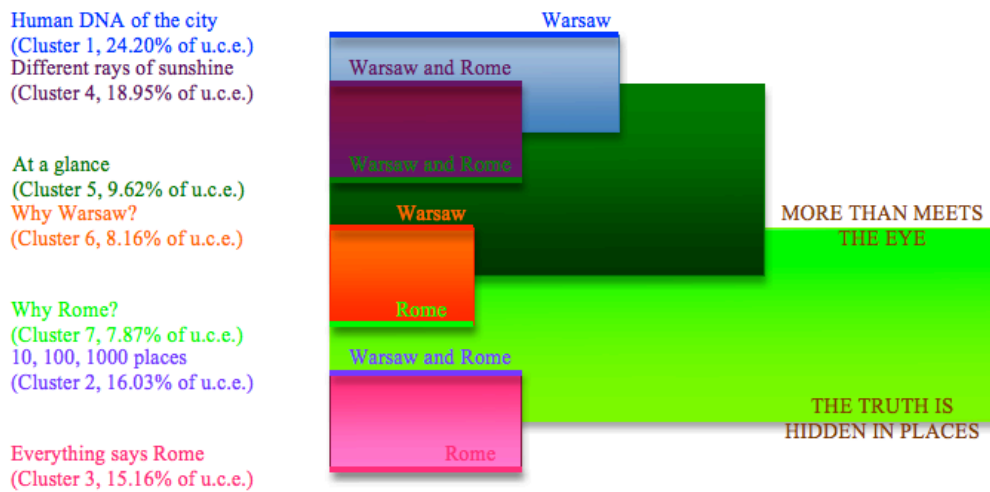


Fig. 116. Interpretation of the dendrogram

4.2.2.2.1.1. Cluster 1: Human DNA of the city

The first cluster focuses on the characteristics of the inhabitants of Warsaw and contains 24.20% of all elementary context units. It describes on the one hand young people who are seen as dynamic, international and well educated, and on the other hand some inhabitants who live in bondage of the sad history of Warsaw, especially Communism and war.

Lexemes of cluster 1

Cluster n° 1 => Context A

Number of elementary context units: 83 which is 24.20%
Number of active+complimentary units: 2310 which is 23.16%
Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 24.64

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.
4	4. 8.	50.00	2.97	A capita+l
8	33. 96.	34.38	7.53	A have+
9	7. 8.	87.50	17.89	A internationa+l
11	2. 3.	66.67	2.98	A nationa+l
18	2. 3.	66.67	2.98	A socia+l
19	4. 7.	57.14	4.23	A sur+
21	11. 30.	36.67	2.79	N an+
24	2. 3.	66.67	2.98	N attitude+
25	25. 82.	30.49	2.32	N but+
31	4. 9.	44.44	2.07	N culture+
32	4. 5.	80.00	8.61	N experience+
34	3. 5.	60.00	3.55	N front+

44	5.	7.	71.43	8.69	N milan+
48	4.	5.	80.00	8.61	N nation+
55	11.	14.	78.57	23.53	N pole+
61	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	N situation+
66	6.	9.	66.67	9.09	N us
72	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	V influenc+er
83	4.	6.	66.67	6.00	Y cultur<
84	15.	28.	53.57	14.34	Y different
92	3.	3.	100.00	9.48	Y scientifi<
93	4.	8.	50.00	2.97	Y universit<
99	11.	24.	45.83	6.59	after
104	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	almost
112	62.	216.	28.70	6.46	and
115	4.	9.	44.44	2.07	anymore
117	3.	3.	100.00	9.48	apart
123	4.	5.	80.00	8.61	away
124	8.	20.	40.00	2.89	back
125	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	basic+
130	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	become+
131	8.	20.	40.00	2.89	been
136	4.	6.	66.67	6.00	between
149	18.	57.	31.58	2.03	can+
150	5.	6.	83.33	11.64	care+
152	3.	5.	60.00	3.55	certainly
159	8.	13.	61.54	10.27	cities
162	3.	6.	50.00	2.22	close+
167	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	Communism
168	3.	5.	60.00	3.55	communist
169	7.	9.	77.78	14.47	compared
170	4.	9.	44.44	2.07	consider+
171	7.	16.	43.75	3.50	could
173	5.	8.	62.50	6.55	country
176	4.	6.	66.67	6.00	decided
177	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	define
182	6.	9.	66.67	9.09	didn'
188	7.	17.	41.18	2.81	do
190	12.	28.	42.86	5.79	don+
192	6.	12.	50.00	4.51	due
193	4.	7.	57.14	4.23	during
199	3.	5.	60.00	3.55	embassy
203	5.	10.	50.00	3.74	european
204	14.	33.	42.42	6.61	even
205	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	event+
212	4.	9.	44.44	2.07	fact
219	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	felt
220	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	few
221	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	finding
222	7.	18.	38.89	2.24	find+
243	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	government
258	4.	5.	80.00	8.61	high
279	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	involved
282	19.	35.	54.29	19.24	italian+
283	11.	23.	47.83	7.50	italy
285	5.	11.	45.45	2.80	its

293	6.	12.	50.00	4.51	language+
297	5.	10.	50.00	3.74	learn
300	5.	6.	83.33	11.64	leave+
304	5.	7.	71.43	8.69	level
318	8.	18.	44.44	4.25	maybe
320	3.	3.	100.00	9.48	meeting+
324	13.	36.	36.11	3.11	more
340	23.	59.	38.98	8.49	not
349	4.	9.	44.44	2.07	open
351	10.	22.	45.45	5.79	other+
352	5.	7.	71.43	8.69	our+
357	3.	5.	60.00	3.55	paid
361	14.	39.	35.90	3.28	people+
366	10.	24.	41.67	4.29	poland
367	12.	26.	46.15	7.39	polish
368	4.	4.	100.00	12.68	political
369	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	pope
391	4.	5.	80.00	8.61	sad
393	3.	6.	50.00	2.22	same
395	12.	35.	34.29	2.16	say
418	6.	8.	75.00	11.52	speak
421	4.	6.	66.67	6.00	started
430	3.	6.	50.00	2.22	study
437	8.	14.	57.14	8.64	than
440	10.	19.	52.63	8.87	their
442	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	themselves
445	4.	4.	100.00	12.68	therefore
446	18.	37.	48.65	13.52	they+
451	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	those
452	6.	11.	54.55	5.71	though
458	7.	15.	46.67	4.32	today
464	3.	5.	60.00	3.55	towards
470	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	turin
475	2.	3.	66.67	2.98	unfortunately
477	6.	6.	100.00	19.13	up
480	3.	4.	75.00	5.69	vacation+
491	5.	5.	100.00	15.89	wanted
492	4.	8.	50.00	2.97	want+
493	31.	83.	37.35	10.32	warsaw
497	15.	26.	57.69	17.21	we
502	9.	19.	47.37	5.89	were
507	7.	14.	50.00	5.30	while
512	5.	10.	50.00	3.74	wife
513	7.	14.	50.00	5.30	will
517	37.	87.	42.53	21.35	with+
519	3.	6.	50.00	2.22	working
520	12.	35.	34.29	2.16	work+
521	7.	12.	58.33	7.90	world
528	11.	13.	84.62	26.89	young
532 *	5.	7.	71.43	8.69 *	etc
536 *	19.	51.	37.25	5.57 *	t
545 *	12.	34.	35.29	2.53 *	I be
552 *	8.	20.	40.00	2.89 *	*age_fifthg
557 *	41.	99.	41.41	22.49 *	*duration_elevtot



562 *	69.	159.	43.40	59.56 *	*nation_it
564 *	26.	64.	40.63	11.57 *	*prof_business
567 *	15.	29.	51.72	13.09 *	*prof_journ
572 *	69.	190.	36.32	34.10 *	*sex_male
575 *	34.	115.	29.57	2.72 *	*spouse_pxiixp
576 *	24.	78.	30.77	2.38 *	*spouse_same

Number of selected words: 126

Vocabulary specific for cluster 1

pole+(11), with+(37), young(11), internationa+1(7), differ+ent(15), care+(5), compared(7), italian+(19), leave+(5), political(4), speak(6), therefore(4), they+(18), up(6), wanted(5), we(15), have+(33), experience+(4), milan+(5), nation+(4), us(6), scientifi<(3), apart(3), away(4), cities(8), didn'(6), high(4), italy(11), level(5), meeting+(3), not(23), our+(5), polish(12), sad(4), than(8), their(10), world(7), cultur<(4), after(11), almost(3), basic+(3), become+(3), between(4), country(5), decided(4), don+(12), environment+(2), even(14), felt(3), nobody(2), other+(10), pope(3), realize+(2), started(4), themselves(3), though(6), turin(3), vacation+(3), were(9), while(7), will(7), sur+(4), during(4), language+(6), maybe(8), today(7), capita+1(4), nationa+1(2), socia+1(2), an+(11), attitude+(2), front+(3), situation+(2), influenc+er(2), pa+y+er(1), universit<(4), certainly(3), Communism(2), communist(3), define(2), do(7), embassy(3), european(5), event+(2), few(2)

Tool words specific for cluster 1

as(19), be(12), etc(5), t(19)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 1

Age: fifth group – over 65 years old (8)

Duration of stay in the city of residence: 11 to 20 years (41)

Nationality: Italian (69)

Profession: businessman (26); journalist (15)

Sex: male (69)

Spouse: Polish spouse of an Italian, Italian spouse of a Pole (34)



Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

60 27 #while as I travel and take airplanes I can see the new managerial class, #young #people in #their thirties, #international, #they #speak many #languages and pursue a #career in #an anglo-saxon style.

90 24 now #they put #up #their sleeves, #they travel the #world; #young #people #speak two or three #languages #other #than #polish. #they are a #country that is living a big #growth, so #after all I can say that the choice of warsaw made me win my bet.

49 22 I found many advantages in being a businessman and a consultant in poland and in 1997 I #have found warsaw still very post #communist. however, year #after year it has invested and #today warsaw is #not #different from many #other #european #capital #cities, cosmopolitan, comparable #with #milan, etc.

176 22 I know poland quite well; #maybe #even better #than some #poles and travelling, #apart from cracow, which is beautiful and touristic, warsaw is #different #compared #with #other #polish #cities out in the #country and in #other regions.

29 21 #but #today warsaw is completely #different #than 13 years ago. it is dangerously #different because #young #people are #sad, #they #have #become more globalized #than #others, and everything is accepted, everything is allowed.

250 21 at first to #have a #paid #vacation or a #leave, because #not #even such a #basic thing as #paid #leave was granted to me, #even #though I was working for such #an institution where the television was coming to #us and #we #were organizing concerts for the in vatican.

174 20 I #have to #make a point, #though, regarding warsaw, because I #do #not consider warsaw as poland. it stands on #its own #compared #with poland, since it is a #european #capital city #under all #different aspects, #cultural, etc.

96 19 let' s #not believe false myths, #though, as #we see the #level here I would #define warsaw as more melancholic #than #sad or #maybe to heavy due to #its history, #not exactly joyful.

183 19 I mean, #even #young #people #open #up only #after certain #situations, #not immediately, because initially #they are distrusting and #maybe only #after a drink together then #they begin to #open #up more,

184 18 #even #though the day #after everything is gone and #they close #themselves again. #but the main question is if in my opinion religion has influenced the character and the #attitude of #poles, since #we in #italy #have the #pope, #but I #don' t think that it has influenced the #social spirit very much.

152 17 #young #people #don' t understand, as soon as #they are born #they #want to be businessmen, managers, artists, #while there are #people here who know that #even #with a diploma in engineering #they sell lamps or work as janitors, and #nobody complains.

185 16 to me, one has to consider poland as the only #country, #apart from #italy #with the #pope, as the #country #with a #high cardinal, a sort of vice #pope, and #therefore there has been a positive #influence, especially #during the #Communism.



175 15 and I #don' t say that it surpasses #italy #but #certainly it has many #cultural, #political and economic attractions #compared #with #other #european #cities. please give me a brief description of the city. I always say that I live in warsaw, #not in poland.

153 14 then there are #those super smart, #with #experiences abroad and #with some more contacts and #they #make #themselves noticed, #maybe #they #even emerge, #but #they are minority.

180 14 to begin #with, the temperature, the climate, etc. are #not very #different #compared #with #turin, #while only #after years, I #have to say, #not in the beginning, I #realized what thing is essentially missing in warsaw: the sun!

37 13 I #have some to #do #with #poles in case of official #events and planned #meetings, #but I can count on my fellow workers, both to study the problems and to analyze #people' s reactions, as well as to communicate in #their #language,

86 13 I #didn' t #have #an #international corporation to back me #up and so I #didn' t frequent colleagues from work, #but I was moving in the #polish #social context.

205 13 I #have met poets, painters, musicians and if you #don' t mind, in this #environment it is my #wife who has been #involved for years in #finding #young #people and dark talented musicians, to give them #an opportunity to #become known.

67 12 #they opened #up only #after some time, although for example grandparents #have always been very helpful to me #taking #care of my son, #while the cousins #were #not as enthusiastic because #italians are considers conquerors of #polish women who then take them to #italy.

Analysis of cluster 1

The vocabulary specific to cluster 1 contains words that describe inhabitants of Warsaw (“Poles”, “Polish”), in such terms as “young”, “international”, “different”, “sad” or “communist”. It compares (as evident through the repetitive use of the word “compared”) Warsaw with known Italian cities (in particular “Milan” and “Turin”).

The cluster named Human DNA of the city is a reasoned evaluation of the personality traits and abilities of the inhabitants, from a point of view of professionals (businessmen and journalists), people who have lived in the city for a long time (11 to 20 years), Italians, males and subjects who decided to marry someone of a different nationality than their own (Italian and Polish). This condition justifies lengthy and thorough description of people in Warsaw, probably often seen as potential workers or collaborators. First, concerning professional aspects, this cluster underlines the ability of the inhabitants of Warsaw to adapt to new democratic conditions in a skillful and fast way, especially in case of young people. Seriousness, hard work and willingness to



study (among other things, foreign languages) are pointed out as positive traits of the population that is doing all they can to make their city a truly European capital. Second, the people in Warsaw are seen as sensitive and artistic (“I have met poets, painters, musicians”). It is highlighted that Warsaw differs from the rest of Poland with its outstanding characteristics of a European city attractive from the cultural point of view. Third, the interviewees give some thought to how Poles consider Italians, especially in case of personal relationships. Speaking from the experience of being an Italian husband of a Polish woman, one of the subjects shares his experience of an initial lack of trust (“Italians are considered conquerors of Polish women who then take them to Italy”), which he was able to overcome with time (“grandparents have always been helpful”). Fourth, there is also a focus on personal traits of the inhabitants of Warsaw, seen as sad and reserved (“even young people open up only after certain situations, not immediately, because initially they are distrusting and maybe only after a drink together then they begin to open up more”), as well as religious (“religion has influenced the character and the attitude of Poles”).

This cluster aims to investigate the human component of the city of Warsaw, the characteristics of its inhabitants and the reasons why people act in a certain way.

4.2.2.2.1.2. Cluster 4: Different rays of sunshine

The second cluster in the hierarchical order is cluster 4 that concerns the impression of the cities of Warsaw and Rome, and contains 18.95% of all elementary context units. It contains evaluations based on relative values – what is clean to one person appears as dirty to another, while what one finds interesting seems boring to another. Practical aspects of daily life seem important for the overall impression of the city, with a special focus on traffic, functionality and weather. The values are understood not necessarily in positive terms, but also frequently as negative values; each person sees the surrounding reality of the city in a different light, based on their value system, personality, social position, culture, needs, priorities, etc. Different rays of sunshine are often also pros and cons of living in a certain city, a mixture of positive aspects, such as beauty for Rome or high level of security of Warsaw, and negative aspects, such as deficient public transportation and chaos in Rome or cold winters in Warsaw. This cluster contains



replies to such questions as first impression of the city, current impression of the city and overall evaluation of it.

Lexemes of cluster 4

 Cluster n° 4 => Context D

Number of elementary context units: 65 which is 18.95%
 Number of active+complimentary units: 2025 which is 20.30%
 Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 27.43

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.
2	2. 4.	50.00	2.54	A attenti+f
12	4. 7.	57.14	6.79	A negati+f
15	3. 6.	50.00	3.83	A publi+14
23	4. 5.	80.00	12.31	N aspect+
27	3. 7.	42.86	2.66	N chaos
38	25. 70.	35.71	16.09	N impression+
41	7. 22.	31.82	2.53	N lot+
43	2. 3.	66.67	4.49	N metro+
45	3. 5.	60.00	5.57	N moment+
50	4. 5.	80.00	12.31	N opinion+
54	11. 40.	27.50	2.15	N place+
60	2. 4.	50.00	2.54	N short+
79	3. 6.	50.00	3.83	V transport+er
85	13. 23.	56.52	22.66	Y evaluat+ion
102	3. 7.	42.86	2.66	ago
107	2. 4.	50.00	2.54	although
108	14. 24.	58.33	26.06	altogether
109	12. 30.	40.00	9.48	always
110	8. 21.	38.10	5.34	am
112	49. 216.	22.69	5.30	and
121	11. 17.	64.71	24.38	around
132	6. 16.	37.50	3.76	before
135	8. 11.	72.73	21.40	better
138	4. 9.	44.44	3.91	bit
144	3. 4.	75.00	8.28	buses
154	5. 8.	62.50	10.11	chaotic
160	46. 147.	31.29	25.51	city
161	5. 8.	62.50	10.11	clean+
175	6. 17.	35.29	3.11	day+
183	8. 15.	53.33	12.07	difficult+
185	3. 4.	75.00	8.28	dirty
189	3. 6.	50.00	3.83	doesn'
196	4. 6.	66.67	9.05	easier
197	2. 3.	66.67	4.49	easy
206	8. 13.	61.54	15.96	every
213	6. 13.	46.15	6.51	family
217	6. 17.	35.29	3.11	feel
218	4. 7.	57.14	6.79	feeling+
232	6. 10.	60.00	11.30	full
234	2. 3.	66.67	4.49	funds
235	2. 4.	50.00	2.54	getting

236	10.	15.	66.67	23.25	get+
240	3.	5.	60.00	5.57	gone
242	3.	6.	50.00	3.83	got
250	4.	6.	66.67	9.05	hand+
252	3.	5.	60.00	5.57	happen+
254	5.	13.	38.46	3.35	hard
255	13.	44.	29.55	3.69	has
256	5.	9.	55.56	8.06	having
267	2.	4.	50.00	2.54	however
268	4.	11.	36.36	2.24	huge
277	4.	8.	50.00	5.14	interesting
280	53.	191.	27.75	21.72	is
281	49.	159.	30.82	27.18	it
286	16.	31.	51.61	23.67	it'
296	3.	5.	60.00	5.57	laughs
298	2.	3.	66.67	4.49	learning
302	4.	5.	80.00	12.31	less
303	3.	7.	42.86	2.66	let'
305	7.	22.	31.82	2.53	life
309	11.	34.	32.35	4.41	live+
312	5.	13.	38.46	3.35	made
319	7.	16.	43.75	6.72	mean+
324	12.	36.	33.33	5.42	more
327	5.	9.	55.56	8.06	move+
335	5.	9.	55.56	8.06	never
341	28.	45.	62.22	63.14	now
343	48.	221.	21.72	3.10	of
344	4.	6.	66.67	9.05	offer+
355	2.	4.	50.00	2.54	over
371	2.	3.	66.67	4.49	pretty
374	3.	6.	50.00	3.83	quite
388	25.	38.	65.79	61.04	right+
395	10.	35.	28.57	2.35	say
399	4.	6.	66.67	9.05	seem+
402	2.	4.	50.00	2.54	she
408	2.	3.	66.67	4.49	small
409	20.	74.	27.03	4.01	so
413	9.	19.	47.37	10.58	something
415	2.	3.	66.67	4.49	somewhere
425	6.	14.	42.86	5.43	still
427	4.	11.	36.36	2.24	street+
431	6.	18.	33.33	2.56	such
439	37.	151.	24.50	5.42	that+
444	18.	71.	25.35	2.39	there
448	8.	25.	32.00	2.99	think
450	14.	50.	28.00	3.12	this
460	4.	8.	50.00	5.14	too
463	4.	7.	57.14	6.79	tourist+
466	3.	3.	100.00	12.94	traffic
471	4.	4.	100.00	17.31	twenty
478	8.	21.	38.10	5.34	used
482	2.	3.	66.67	4.49	various
496	11.	21.	52.38	16.28	way+
498	3.	4.	75.00	8.28	weather

503	35.	126.	27.78	10.10	what+
522	4.	5.	80.00	12.31	worse
525	13.	42.	30.95	4.49	year+
526	4.	4.	100.00	17.31	yes
529	32.	101.	31.68	15.11	your
533 *	4.	11.	36.36	2.24 *	m
535 *	22.	63.	34.92	12.82 *	s
543 *	15.	51.	29.41	4.27 *	8 on
553 *	11.	26.	42.31	9.99 *	*age_firstg
554 *	29.	120.	24.17	3.27 *	*age_fourthg
561 *	10.	30.	33.33	4.43 *	*duration_untone
563 *	51.	184.	27.72	19.86 *	*nation_pl
565 *	45.	167.	26.95	13.55 *	*prof_diplomat
566 *	4.	11.	36.36	2.24 *	*prof_doctor
570 *	6.	15.	40.00	4.53 *	*prof_professor
571 *	40.	153.	26.14	9.31 *	*sex_female
576 *	20.	78.	25.64	2.94 *	*spouse_same

Number of selected words: 112

Vocabulary specific for cluster 4

now(28), right+(25), evaluat+ion(13), altogether(14), around(11), better(8), get+(10), is(53), it(49), it'(16), aspect+(4), opinion+(4), difficult+(8), every(8), full(6), less(4), traffic(3), twenty(4), way+(11), worse(4), yes(4), negati+f(4), always(12), buses(3), chaotic(5), clean+(5), dirty(3), easier(4), feeling+(4), hand+(4), having(5), lack(2), mean+(7), move+(5), never(5), offer+(4), seem+(4), something(9), tourist+(4), weather(3), family(6), gone(3), happen+(3), interesting(4), laughs(3), more(12), still(6), that+(37), too(4), used(8), metro+(2), account+(1), bit(4), easy(2), fast(1), funds(2), into(1), learning(2), pretty(2), small(2), somewhere(2), various(2), publi+14(3), transport+er(3), before(6), day+(6), doesn'(3), feel(6), got(3), hard(5), has(13), made(5), quite(3), this(14), attent+i+f(2), home+(3), short+(2), us+er(2), ago(3), although(2), because(16), big(4), extremely(1), getting(2), growing(1), however(2), let'(3), map+(1), over(2), safe(2)

Tool words specific for cluster 4

son(2), on(15), m(4), s(22)



Illustrative variables specific for cluster 4

Age: first group – up to 25 years old (11); fourth group – 51 to 65 years old (29)

Duration of stay in the city of residence: until 1 year (10)

Profession: diplomat (45); doctor (4); professor (6)

Spouse: the same nationality (20)

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

272 23 surprising. #it was. #it #made a #big impression on me, positive, though #it' s #worse #every year. what #is your impression of the city #right #now? #still the same. #it #is #big and in my #opinion #always #more #dirty.

277 21 on the other #hand, I disliked the specific chaos of rome. I #mean, the #lack of coordination of #public #transportation, #too many #tourists. #it' s #better #now, i' m already #used to #it. what #is your impression of the city #right #now? warm impression. I #mean, I am very content with living in rome.

380 19 the #transportation #is #worse and #it' s dirtier than #before. really? #yes. the #transportation #is #worse, there are #more cars, and above all there #is #more #traffic, which #wasn' t here when I came, the #traffic #wasn' t like #this and #buses #used to run #better, so did #metro and trams.

220 18 #altogether, what #is your #evaluation of the city? after #two years I can #say #that I #feel close to the city in a certain friendly #way. #it #is #easier for me to #get #around, I know #more people, I know the city #better. I #still think #that #it #is a very beautiful city.

363 18 #before there #used to be not #that many people on the #metro, only during the rush hours the #metro was #full. #right #now #it #doesn' t matter what time #it #is, there #is #always a lot of people.

221 16 I #got #used to #it and the #negative #aspects of the city do not #seem as dramatic as #before. for example, i' m #less irritated by graffiti, which covers all the walls, #although I #still can' t #get #used to #it but #it' s #easier not to notice #it as much.

281 16 to #move #around the city #is simply #hard, #because of. due to the #traffic, general #lack of organization and all kinds of manifestations #that make #traffic #more #difficult #laughs.

346 16 #it #is. somehow. #it can be discovered from a different #side, I #mean #having #always #more information, a #better orientation in the layout of the streets there #is a #feeling #that there #is #always #something else under the first layer, isn' t #it?

288 15 #it #has #this charm #that #always as one walks #around #something new catches #attention, but #it #is very #difficult for daily life. #it #is a city for people who, if I can #say so, have a lot of time and don' t work #every #day, don' t have many responsibilities, a #family, #small children, for people who are already retired then #it #is fun and #it' s #easy #this #way.



217 14 so, #it was #pretty #hard here, I had #difficulties in #getting #around. life was tough in the beginning, but I #got #used to everything #fast and I want to #say #that the #negative impressions were #gone fairly #fast.

345 13 one #never #has a #feeling #that he or #she knows #this city well. what #is your impression of the city #right #now? #it #is very domesticated, #that' s true, but.

365 13 #right #now I pass flaminio square #every #day and #it #seems like a market to me, #it' s #dirty. I am not even talking about the center #because the center #is.

147 12 what #is your impression of the city #right #now? today, the city #seems to me well maintained and if you think #that taxes in poland and in warsaw are #way lower, #it #means #that the #public money #is administered #better and #less money #is stolen.

349 12 I have #always admired #two #aspects of rome: on one #hand as a city to spend some time in, I #mean to precisely discover, to taste everything #it #has to #offer, and on the other #hand to live, where one #has to start a #family, #get to work #every #day,

91 10 #altogether, what #is your #evaluation of the city? warsaw #has a high level of security and in #twenty years, except for #having my car stolen, I have #never experienced #something #negative, aggression or similar.

306 10 #it #is #difficult to #get to work; there #is a lot of #traffic. and #yes, I have to point out #that #it #is not a very #clean city, capital city.

322 10 in rome, in my #opinion. in order to #feel good in rome one #has to have a place, one #has to live in a place #that #is #more or #less quiet and calm, #because rome #is a #chaotic and loud city.

333 10 #it was #such a strange #feeling. the coliseum #has #made the greatest impression on me. what #is your impression of the city #right #now? #now I am simply tired with rome. #that #is the impression #it gives me #laughs.

350 10 so I personally #never paid #attention to #that other #aspect, #because #always. I #mean, my stays are a #bit #too #short, one year when I was studying and #now a year until december, so I think #that there are some #negative #aspects here, I #mean the #public #transportation, all these strikes #that #happen here,

Analysis of cluster 4

Cluster 4 revolves around impression and evaluation of the city. The most outstanding meaningful words (with the highest Chi²) are “aspect”, “impression”, “evaluation”, “traffic”, “opinion”, “chaotic”, “clean”, “difficult”, “worse”, etc. Personal judgments are applied to both Rome and Warsaw, although Rome seems to be mentioned more often in this cluster, as demonstrated by the selection of elementary context units. Poles who live in Rome focus on functional aspects of the city, which in their opinion is not



easy to get around due to the traffic, chaos and manifestations. Some of them also find the city to be dirty, crowded and dangerous. The subjects use comparisons with the past, either seeing improvement or deterioration (“it’s worse every year”, “always more dirty”). Different rays of sunshine cannot be all negative, and thus positive aspects of Rome are also mentioned: “warm impression”, “it is a very beautiful city”, “it has this charm”. Concerning Warsaw, similarly the functional dimension appears important – the city is considered well maintained and secure, as evidenced by these descriptions: “taxes in Poland and in Warsaw are way lower”, “Warsaw has a high level of security”. The above impressions and evaluations of the cities, the cluster 4 named Different rays of sunshine gathers the youngest group of subjects and the subjects between 51 and 65, thus those at the very beginning of professional career and at the very end of it. Also, subjects with the shortest duration of stay in the city (up to a year), as well as those who identify themselves as diplomats, doctors and professors, who have a spouse of the same nationality as their own – each group is the illustrative variable significant for this cluster. Different rays of sunshine displayed over the city paint a personal picture, consisting of meaningful experiences, both positive and negative specific to each person, but also shared, especially when it comes to experiencing the traffic in Rome. This cluster, containing pros and cons of both lives in Rome and in Warsaw, depicts a sincere effort to convey a personal experience based on past and current impressions that each city gives.

4.2.2.2.1.3. Cluster 5: At a glance

The cluster named “At a glance” presents impressions not backed up with experience and not thought through. It tries to catch the superficial outlook, especially the first impression of the cities, both Rome and Warsaw. The residents think back about the immediate sensations that they experienced, which sometimes correspond with pros and cons mentioned in cluster 4 (like in the case of chaos), but for the most part focus on the beginning of each person’s stay in the city.

Lexemes of cluster 5

Cluster n° 5 => Context E

Number of elementary context units: 33 which is 9.62%

Number of active+complimentary units: 932 which is 9.34%

Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 25.33

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.
26	2. 6.	33.33	3.95	N case+
27	2. 7.	28.57	2.95	N chaos
33	2. 5.	40.00	5.39	N four+
38	25. 70.	35.71	68.87	N impression+
53	4. 13.	30.77	6.95	N part+
64	32. 302.	10.60	2.76	N the
71	2. 4.	50.00	7.59	V gre+er
74	4. 15.	26.67	5.24	V lov+er
122	23. 66.	34.85	59.82	at
133	23. 36.	63.89	136.23	beginning
134	2. 6.	33.33	3.95	being
160	32. 147.	21.77	43.66	city
163	2. 5.	40.00	5.39	cold
166	5. 13.	38.46	12.93	coming
171	4. 16.	25.00	4.56	could
186	2. 8.	25.00	2.23	discover
194	3. 4.	75.00	19.89	each
202	3. 11.	27.27	4.07	especially
218	2. 7.	28.57	2.95	feeling+
229	4. 14.	28.57	6.03	found
238	4. 12.	33.33	8.04	go
268	3. 11.	27.27	4.07	huge
289	2. 6.	33.33	3.95	kind+
299	2. 6.	33.33	3.95	least
308	2. 4.	50.00	7.59	livable
323	3. 6.	50.00	11.45	month+
324	6. 36.	16.67	2.30	more
330	14. 95.	14.74	3.95	my
343	32. 221.	14.48	16.87	of
345	3. 7.	42.86	9.08	often
348	5. 27.	18.52	2.67	only
353	3. 9.	33.33	5.98	out
406	3. 14.	21.43	2.34	simply
419	4. 6.	66.67	22.85	spite
423	22. 36.	61.11	122.64	stay+
428	2. 4.	50.00	7.59	strong+
437	3. 14.	21.43	2.34	than
447	6. 36.	16.67	2.30	thing+
494	28. 104.	26.92	51.39	was
503	26. 126.	20.63	27.78	what+
504	6. 35.	17.14	2.54	when
517	13. 87.	14.94	3.80	with+
529	25. 101.	24.75	37.69	your
547 *	2. 5.	40.00	5.39 *	I oh



560 *	7.	44.	15.91	2.30 *	*duration_sixtoten
568 *	4.	15.	26.67	5.24 *	*prof_lawyer
574 *	2.	6.	33.33	3.95 *	*spouse_pforiiforp

Number of selected words: 47

Vocabulary specific for cluster 5

impression+(25), at(23), beginning(23), stay+(22), was(28), city(32), your(25), spite(4), coming(5), each(3), month+(3), of(32), thank+(2), part+(4), gre+er(2), go(4), livable(2), often(3), seen(1), strong+(2), lov+er(4), cold(2), found(4), out(3), case+(2), being(2), could(4), especially(3), huge(3), kind+(2), the(32), infrastructure(1), somehow(1), sun(1), week+(1), sense+(1), unique+(1), couple+(1), restaurant+(1), long+er(1), challenge+(1), come+(5), discover(2), discovered(1), holiday+(1), no(2), only(5), outskirts(1), person+(3), without(1)

Tool words specific for cluster 5

oh(2)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 5

Profession: lawyer (4)

Spouse: Polish spouse of an Italian, Italian spouse of a Pole (2)

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

192 38 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? my first #impression #of warsaw #was enthusiastic, in #spite #of #coming in #the middle #of wintertime.

158 31 #especially italians, but in general foreigners, to integrate. thus, I #found it to be quite #cold and unfriendly. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay?

40 27 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? #often italian businessmen that visit warsaw and ask for support have a hard time with #the excessive complexity #of rules and regulations, #especially in #case #of public bids in #the area #of #infrastructure.

9 23 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? in #the #beginning #of my #stay I considered #the #city simply as a #city where I had to work.



27 23 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? with these feelings I used to #go to church much more than in italy, but #especially my commitment #was #stronger, #thanks to #the example #of poles.

200 22 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? I have #seen #the evolution #of warsaw from a #city #coming #out #of Communism #only a #couple years ago, until a #great european capital #city, with #the most alive stock market in #the eastern europe, with #the highest GDP in #the entire EU,

215 21 #the #city is to me a mix #of what is very #great, very beautiful, with what is very messy. well, everything should be improved. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? probably a feeling #of #being lost in a way.

108 20 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? monthly I used to #go to bari, brindisi, taranto and not as #often to florence and rome, which I #love deeply but which I find very chaotic and I #could not live here, #at least not while i' m working.

343 20 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? well, I have to point #out that it #was #the first time when I #was in rome;

84 18 in #the #beginning #the motivation #of my #stay in warsaw #was #personal, then also because #of work. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? in #the #beginning #the motivation #of my #stay in warsaw #was #personal, then also because #of work.

292 18 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? #the first #impression is precisely this chaos, problems with solving #the easiest things concerning #the moving and acclimatization.

297 17 and on #the other hand things that make one very tired and discouraged. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? well, here #the fascination is #stronger, definitely, with this #huge quantity #of monuments and #the curiosity #of what' s here, what can be #found in this #city.

178 16 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? #the first impact #of warsaw, #coming from turin, from #the second ring outside #of turin, approximately 20 km from #the #city, depends naturally where one #comes from.

374 16 simply #no. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? my #impressions after #coming to rome. I liked it! I liked it very much, #only certain things.

258 15 i' m enchanted all #the time. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? from #the #beginning I had a good #impression, also including #the romans' attitude towards polish.

71 14 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? even though my wife #was polish, anyway there #was #the first time I went to warsaw.

16 11 they tend to enter from #the back. what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? in order not to make a mistake, #without knowing what I would find, I



had brought with me some barilla noodles, which I would then bring with me after #each trip.

2 10 what #was #your #impression #of #the #city #at #the #beginning #of #your #stay? what is #your #impression #of #the #city right now? there is not big difference between how I perceived warsaw before and how I perceive it now, since I #was born here, in any #case I #love italy and every year I #go for #holiday to italy #at least for a #month with my family.

72 9 and for me it #was a fantastic #city, in #spite #of #the climate, #the #cold. I #was convinced that it #could be a #livable #city. what is #your #impression #of #the #city right now? after four years here I can still say that my #impression is positive, it has a lot #of green space, etc.

Analysis of cluster 5

The cluster “At a glance” focuses on the first impression of the city, which can be described on three different levels. First, from the emotional point of view, the interviewees describe such feelings as fascination with the city or being lost. Second, the functional aspects are also mentioned: Warsaw at a glance appears livable to some, while too complex with its rules and regulations to others; Rome overwhelms with its chaos and practical problems concerning moving and acclimatization. Third, interpersonal relations play an important role: in Warsaw, some Italian residents find Poles unfriendly, while others feel inspired with the religious commitment that they see; in Rome, Poles appreciate the Romans’ positive attitude towards them.

The first impression concerns both cities. Even though the content of these first memories differs, there are certain aspects that make that quick glance at both Warsaw and Rome quite similar. The subjects face practical difficulties of getting used to new circumstances; some of them respond by carrying a symbolic taste of home with them to the unknown city, such as an Italian who brought Barilla noodles with him. On the other hand, there are some who claim not to pay much attention to that first glance at the new city by saying “I considered the city simply as a city where I had to work.”

The illustrative variables for cluster 5 are the lawyer profession and the subjects who form Polish-Italian couples. It is probably the influence of the experience in legal matters that has to do with evoking “complex rules and regulations, especially in case of public bids” or “the most alive stock market in the Eastern Europe” when considering Warsaw at a glance. The professional outlook can be juxtaposed with the personal

outlook of a man or a woman who comes to live in the city of his or her spouse. Some subjects in fact say, “even though my wife was Polish” to demonstrate that their initial outlook on the city, that first glance, did not depend very much on their personal condition.

4.2.2.2.1.4. Cluster 6: Why Warsaw?

When speaking in a free manner about the city, the residents inevitably share their motivation for coming to live in a foreign city. Cluster 6 focuses on Warsaw, in particular on reasons that brought Italians to live there. The subjects share their story of transition to a new environment, not only a new city, but also a new country and a new culture that most of them have chosen to get to know and to share to a certain degree. The cluster simply named “Why Warsaw?” presents different reasons that cause highly qualified professional Italians to move to this city.

Lexemes of cluster 6

Cluster n° 6 => Context F

Number of elementary context units: 28 which is 8.16%

Number of active+complimentary units: 837 which is 8.39%

Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 26.14

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.
6	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	A content+
10	2. 5.	40.00	6.86	A long+
13	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	A norma+l
19	2. 7.	28.57	3.97	A sur+
33	2. 5.	40.00	6.86	N four+
36	11. 66.	16.67	7.88	N here+
40	5. 13.	38.46	16.55	N job+
45	2. 5.	40.00	6.86	N moment+
59	2. 5.	40.00	6.86	N science+
90	18. 30.	60.00	117.83	Y pres+ent
110	5. 21.	23.81	7.30	am
116	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	anything
124	4. 20.	20.00	3.97	back
131	4. 20.	20.00	3.97	been
147	9. 15.	60.00	56.22	came
179	18. 36.	50.00	93.91	describe
181	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	did
211	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	eyes
220	1. 3.	33.33	2.56	few
223	4. 5.	80.00	34.93	finished
226	20. 135.	14.81	13.14	for

227	2.	5.	40.00	6.86	foreign+
229	3.	14.	21.43	3.43	found
244	6.	7.	85.71	57.33	graduate+
245	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	grey
248	9.	34.	26.47	16.87	had
266	19.	44.	43.18	82.56	how
283	4.	23.	17.39	2.80	italy
287	5.	15.	33.33	13.26	i'
299	2.	6.	33.33	5.16	least
309	7.	34.	20.59	7.77	live+
310	2.	6.	33.33	5.16	living
321	2.	4.	50.00	9.45	middle
322	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	money
327	2.	9.	22.22	2.44	move+
330	14.	95.	14.74	7.57	my
331	2.	5.	40.00	6.86	myself
362	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	period
366	11.	24.	45.83	48.85	poland
381	20.	42.	47.62	99.38	reason+
398	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	seemed
405	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	similar
407	7.	23.	30.43	16.31	since
414	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	sometimes
429	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	studie+
430	2.	6.	33.33	5.16	study
443	6.	43.	13.95	2.20	then
453	2.	5.	40.00	6.86	thought
454	3.	11.	27.27	5.54	thre+
457	22.	228.	9.65	2.00	to
459	2.	4.	50.00	9.45	together
463	2.	7.	28.57	3.97	tourist+
484	3.	4.	75.00	24.12	ve
493	14.	83.	16.87	11.07	warsaw
504	7.	35.	20.00	7.28	when
510	2.	6.	33.33	5.16	why
515	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	winter
518	3.	3.	100.00	34.05	worked
519	2.	6.	33.33	5.16	working
520	6.	35.	17.14	4.19	work+
524	19.	95.	20.00	24.56	would
525	11.	42.	26.19	20.75	year+
527	1.	3.	33.33	2.56	yet
529	18.	101.	17.82	17.81	your
530	18.	88.	20.45	23.85	you+
537 *	27.	221.	12.22	13.62 *	0 in
548 *	2.	3.	66.67	13.82 *	J six
550 *	2.	5.	40.00	6.86 *	M EU
551 *	26.	257.	10.12	5.22 *	M I
560 *	7.	44.	15.91	4.04 *	*duration_sixtote
561 *	5.	30.	16.67	3.17 *	*duration_untone
562 *	17.	159.	10.69	2.53 *	*nation_it
568 *	3.	15.	20.00	2.93 *	*prof_lawyer
573 *	3.	13.	23.08	4.01 *	*spouse_other



Number of selected words: 74

Vocabulary specific for cluster 6

pres+ent(18), came(9), describe(18), graduate+(6), how(19),
 reason+(20), poland(11), finished(4), worked(3), name(2), ve(3),
 year+(11), job+(5), had(9), i'(5), since(7), warsaw(14), four+(2),
 here+(11), moment+(2), science+(2), am(5), foreign+(2), live+(7),
 middle(2), my(14), myself(2), thought(2), together(2), when(7),
 least(2), living(2), study(2), thre+(3), why(2), working(2),
 institution+(1), office+(1), taxe+(1), apartment+(1), back(4),
 been(4), help(1), need(1), work+(6), content+(1), norma+1(1),
 anything(1), cannot(1), countries(1), did(1), good(2), grey(1),
 impact(1), last(1), money(1), similar(1), sometimes(1), story(1),
 then(6), travel+(1), winter(1), yet(1)

Tool words specific for cluster 6

in(27), six(2), EU(2), I(26)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 6

Duration of stay in the city of residence: 6 to 10 years (7)

Spouse: nationality other than Polish or Italian (3)

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

102 54 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence
 in #warsaw? #i' #ve #been #here 17 #years, I #graduated #here in
 #poland. #my father is italian from ferrara and #my mother is
 polish.

190 41 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence
 in #warsaw? #i' #ve #been #living in #warsaw for #four months. I
 #am a young lawyer who #graduated in italy and who #works with one
 of the most famous law firms in #warsaw, dedicated to the italian
 desk.

133 39 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence
 in #warsaw? I have #lived in #poland, and in particular in #warsaw,
 for 28 #years. I #am in #warsaw because of a life decision, #since
 I have #had legal problems in italy due to misunderstandings
 concerning #taxes.

196 39 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence
 in #warsaw? #i' #ve #lived in #warsaw for 22 #years, with some
 interruptions. the #reason for #my arrival and such a long
 #presence in #warsaw depends on #my institutional position. and you



#need to think that I arrived to #warsaw in the #middle of #winter, after #three #years in cuba.

13 35 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? #my #name is enrico and I have #lived in #warsaw #since july 1994. it was a rainy day and I have already #had a house #here that was provided by the company where I #worked.

81 34 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? #my #name is marco, #i' m from milan and I have #lived in #warsaw #since 1992. #i' m one of the older italian residents and members of AIRE in #poland.

114 30 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? I have #been #here for #four #years now and I #am still going to be #here two more #years.

65 26 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? the main #reason for #my #presence in #warsaw is personal; I #came #here for the sake of #my family #since #my wife is polish.

24 24 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? I experienced a very negative #impact #when two #years before coming to #warsaw, #when I was 23 #had #lived for two #years in russia.

115 23 I have #lived in #warsaw #since february 2007. I #am a world #traveler, I have #been to america many times, ten times to brazil, #three times to venezuela, chile, USA, canada, china, japan, peru, australia, but I #had never #been to #poland before.

154 23 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? it' s a long #story that goes #back to 2003, #when in that #year I was a part of the italian task force, of the ministry of #foreign affairs.

77 20 #how would you #describe the #reasons for your #presence in #warsaw? #work commitments. please give me a brief description of the city. #when I #came I #had many prejudices and I #had #thought that #warsaw was an ex communist city, cold and #grey.

103 18 I #came to #poland, to #warsaw for the #middle school and to follow #my dad who opened a factory that made leather products and gifts. I #finished #my studies in #warsaw and I #graduated #here. #last #year I became a professional lawyer in #poland, one of a few graduates and lawyers not born in #poland.

Analysis of cluster 6

The question “Why Warsaw?” has many answers, but the vast majority of them revolve around one crucial aspect of adult life – the job. As evidenced by the major meaningful words with the highest Chi2 (“job”, “came”, “finished”, “graduate”, “Poland”, “reason”, “Warsaw” and “worked”), work related reasons certainly dominate among Italians who decided to live in Warsaw. Among those who find themselves in Warsaw for professional reasons, we can distinguish two groups: independent professionals, for instance lawyers and consultants who nevertheless have ties with usually international



corporations, and Italian public institutions' managers, for instance diplomats sent to Poland by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While independent professional seem to be more conscious of making an independent choice to come to Warsaw, which they considered a city of opportunities and growth, those working for public institutions tend to see themselves as "being sent" to Warsaw and give an impression of a less active participation in the choice of the city. Somehow related to work is also the theme of studies, few of the Italian subjects decided to study in Poland, though it is not their primary reason for staying in Warsaw.

The second aspect of life that encompasses some personal stories of coming to Warsaw is family life. As one interviewee simply puts it, "I came here for the sake of my family, since my wife is Polish." Another type of family situation occurs when parents of an Italian decide to move to Warsaw and he finds himself in this city because of his parents' decision.

Concerning illustrative variables, cluster 6 gathers subjects, who have lived in the city from 6 to 10 years, which seems to be the period of reflection concerning the motives for coming to Warsaw. In fact, some subjects do consider coming back to Italy; in certain cases they even know exactly when ("I am still going to be here two more years"). The other illustrative variable significant for the cluster "Why Warsaw?" concerns being married to a person of a different nationality than Polish and Italian. For example, one Italian who works as the director of the Polish-Italian Chamber of Commerce, is married to a Canadian. In this case the consideration of reasons for coming to a country different than the countries of both spouses, appears significant, as one family unit is a meeting space of three different cultures.

4.2.2.2.1.5. Cluster 7: Why Rome?

As a sort of a mirror, while cluster 6 contained motivations for coming to Warsaw, cluster 7 contains motivations for coming to Rome. When asked "Why Rome?" Polish residents also mention professional and family reasons. However, cluster 7 includes brief descriptions of the city of Rome seen through the eyes of Polish residents, as often there is a smooth passage from considering the reasons for coming to the city to describing the first impressions of it.

Lexemes of cluster 7

Cluster n° 7 => Context G

Number of elementary context units: 27 which is 7.87%

Number of active+complimentary units: 835 which is 8.37%

Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 27.15

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.	
3	20.	27.	74.07	177.11	A brief
7	20.	27.	74.07	177.11	A descripti+f
10	2.	5.	40.00	7.22	A long+
14	2.	10.	20.00	2.09	A positi+f
16	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	A second+
27	2.	7.	28.57	4.22	N chaos
36	10.	66.	15.15	5.97	N here+
38	9.	70.	12.86	3.01	N impression+
40	3.	13.	23.08	4.31	N job+
42	2.	7.	28.57	4.22	N main+
52	2.	3.	66.67	14.43	N parent+
61	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	N situation+
90	12.	30.	40.00	46.79	Y present
95	4.	9.	44.44	17.05	above
97	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	actually
111	2.	9.	22.22	2.62	amazing
115	2.	9.	22.22	2.62	anymore
122	8.	66.	12.12	2.04	at
127	5.	25.	20.00	5.47	beautiful
128	2.	7.	28.57	4.22	became
133	7.	36.	19.44	7.43	beginning
145	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	business
154	2.	8.	25.00	3.31	chaotic
155	2.	5.	40.00	7.22	children
156	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	choice
160	23.	147.	15.65	21.44	city
170	2.	9.	22.22	2.62	consider+
174	2.	6.	33.33	5.46	daily
179	14.	36.	38.89	53.36	describe
192	3.	12.	25.00	5.03	due
211	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	eyes
213	3.	13.	23.08	4.31	family
214	2.	5.	40.00	7.22	fascinating
226	17.	135.	12.59	6.84	for
237	20.	35.	57.14	130.48	give+
266	13.	44.	29.55	32.69	how
270	4.	5.	80.00	36.40	husband+
295	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	late+
305	4.	22.	18.18	3.45	life
317	2.	4.	50.00	9.90	married
330	12.	95.	12.63	4.10	my

336	3.	17.	17.65	2.36	new
343	23.	221.	10.41	5.51	of
360	3.	5.	60.00	19.01	past
362	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	period
365	20.	31.	64.52	150.78	pleas+
367	4.	26.	15.38	2.19	polish
373	5.	10.	50.00	25.21	professional
381	16.	42.	38.10	60.28	reason+
386	2.	7.	28.57	4.22	remember
390	13.	89.	14.61	7.52	rom+
396	2.	5.	40.00	7.22	school
398	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	seemed
406	3.	14.	21.43	3.70	simply
422	3.	4.	75.00	25.15	stayed
423	9.	36.	25.00	16.27	stay+
429	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	studie+
475	1.	3.	33.33	2.71	unfortunately
485	13.	84.	15.48	8.87	very
494	13.	104.	12.50	4.41	was
501	2.	4.	50.00	9.90	went
524	14.	95.	14.74	8.54	would
529	15.	101.	14.85	9.62	your
530	12.	88.	13.64	5.42	you+
531 *	22.	226.	9.73	3.17 *	a
540 *	21.	81.	25.93	47.66 *	7 me
556 *	7.	55.	12.73	2.13 *	*age_thirdg
559 *	9.	73.	12.33	2.54 *	*duration_overt
563 *	19.	184.	10.33	3.30 *	*nation_pl
565 *	17.	167.	10.18	2.39 *	*prof_diplomat

Number of selected words: 70

Vocabulary specific for cluster 7

brie+f(20), descripti+f(20), give+(20), pleas+(20), husband+(4), professional(5), stayed(3), parent+(2), above(4), past(3), long+(2), children(2), fascinating(2), married(2), rom+(13), school(2), very(13), went(2), beautiful(5), daily(2), due(3), chaos(2), main+(2), architect<(1), hostil+e(1), became(2), life(4), simply(3), positi+f(2), second+(1), genera+l(2), mettre.(1), motivat+ion(1), anymore(2), approximately(1), born(1), business(1), choice(1), consider+(2), director(1), entire(1), eyes(1), february(1), from(7), happy(1), inhabitants(1), late+(1), naturally(1), period(1), post(1), receive+(1), seemed(1), should(1), studie+(1), until(1), willingness(1)



Tool words specific for cluster 7

me(21), A(1)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 7

Age: third group – 40 to 50 years old (7)

Duration of stay in the city of residence: over 20 years (9)

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

329 53 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? family reasons, #simply. I #married an italian, we had two #children and I #simply #stayed. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. it is a magic city, but it is #very difficult to. for a #daily #life, if I can say so.

212 44 this is the basic reason why I am here, purely #professional reason. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. the city is #very #beautiful, #above all, #fascinating, it #gives the impression of amazing riches of the civilization, if I can say so.

7 37 A #professional activity transformed my #entire #life because I got #married here and I have done thousands of things. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city.

373 33 that was my reason for coming to #rome, only that. well, only that. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. #rome is #very #beautiful; I won' t talk too #long about that. #rome is #simply #beautiful, I like it a lot. I would be #very #happy to stay here, but unfortunately, well.

286 32 31 years. 31 years. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. amazing, but #very difficult for #daily #life. what was your impression of the city at the beginning of your stay? I remember #very well the weather, tasty food, astonishing beauty and a lot of #chaos.

276 31 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? an italian #husband. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. #beautiful. #very short. what was your impression of the city at the beginning of your stay? I liked #rome #from the #very start, because of the #architecture and the atmosphere in #general.

357 29 I started a family and now I live here. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. what is #rome like? well, #rome is a #very #beautiful city; one can fall in love with #rome.

318 27 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? I #received a job offer in #rome. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. it is #very interesting and #very #beautiful.

356 26 then it so happened in #life that I #simply #stayed, I #met my future #husband and I #went to #school here, I #studied and I told myself that I would stay here.



274 25 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? my #husband' s #professional career. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. #rome. what was your impression of the city at the beginning of your stay? bad.

229 22 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? because of my #husband' s job at the polish institute. #please #give me a #brief #description of the city.

256 20 #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. all the time #fascinating. #fascinating ever since the first impression, in that #period between 2004 and 2009, since the first day I was delighted and it #stayed with me #until today.

211 15 how would you describe the reasons for your presence in #rome? #above all #due to #professional reasons, on #february 1, 2009 I #became the #director of the polish academy of science in #rome.

291 12 #please #give me a #brief #description of the city. ambivalent that' s the first #description. chaotic but enticing and full of spirituality that' s how I can describe it.

Analysis of cluster 7

Polish residents in Rome, when considering their reasons for coming to this city tend to mention more personal reasons embedded in their family situation: joining an Italian spouse in his country (“I married an Italian, we had two children and I simply stayed”), following a Polish spouse because of his career (“because of my husband’s job”) or being brought by parents as a child.

Following family reasons, a high significance is given to professional motives. There tends to be more highly qualified Poles who work in Polish public institutions in Rome, such as the embassy, various institutes and religious organizations. In case of the particular group of subjects considered in this study (highly qualified and educated professionals), even the wives who follow their husband succeed at finding good jobs in Rome, and thus professional reasons often become secondary motivation. The path to finding an employment is not easy due to current economic situation, but Poles are willing to study in Italy in order to increase their competitiveness on the labour market (“I met my future husband and I went to school here, I studied and I told myself that I would stay here”).

Another strong motivation for coming to Rome, not mentioned in case of Warsaw, is the unique beauty of the city. When asked “Why Rome?” Polish residents spontaneously move into describing the “magic city” and sharing their fascination with



the “amazing riches of the civilization”. Although in most cases this type of reasons accompanies other motives, such as following the partner or developing career, there are some stories when the “astonishing beauty” was the primary reason for deciding to live in Rome. Contrasted with Polish reality perceived as boring, dark and cold, certain Poles just find themselves at ease in Rome, “fall in love” with it, as they themselves describe it. Even though the aspect of chaos comes back slightly in this cluster, the majority of subjects who describe the city speaks about it in superlatives, mentioning many positive emotions, such as in the case of this interviewee who sees Rome as “fascinating ever since the first impression, (...) since the first day I was delighted and it stayed with me until today.”

The illustrative variables for the cluster 7, the duration of stay in Rome of over 20 years and belonging to the age group between 40 and 50 years, demonstrate that it is especially subjects who have lived in the city for a long time reflect about their reasons for it. Moreover, the age group contains professionals with an established career path and usually settled personal situation. As demonstrated by their own descriptions and impressions of Rome, the subjects often see the city as a hobby and learn about its history and monuments for personal pleasure. Some Poles who live in Rome not only study it, but also write about it, for example the extensive guidebook written about Rome by the Polish ambassador, Wojciech Ponikiewski (2009) or a Rome-inspired commentary on each of the books of Dante’s masterpiece called “Roman Comedy” (2011). Such publications in turn intensify and feed the interest of both Poles living in Rome and those visiting it as tourists, increasing Polish fascination with the Eternal City.

4.2.2.2.1.6. Cluster 2: 10, 100, 1000 places

The five clusters described above referred to descriptions of the cities, focusing on “More than meets the eye”: personal impressions, experiences, human relations, pros and cons of daily life, etc. The two remaining clusters have a different focus – places. In particular, cluster 2 named “10, 100, 1000 places” speaks about specific places in Rome and in Warsaw, which interviewees would recommend to a friend who is visiting the city for the first time.

Lexemes of cluster 2

Cluster n° 2 => Context B

Number of elementary context units: 55 which is 16.03%

Number of active+complimentary units: 1570 which is 15.74%

Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 25.13

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.	
31	3.	9.	33.33	2.05	N culture+
47	3.	3.	100.00	15.85	N museum
51	4.	5.	80.00	15.42	N palace+
56	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	N relation+
62	3.	7.	42.86	3.82	N square+
64	52.	302.	17.22	2.63	N the
67	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	N villa+
68	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	V boire.
69	2.	5.	40.00	2.16	V chang+er
75	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	V mari+er
78	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	V riv+er
81	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	Y appreciat+ion
98	3.	4.	75.00	10.45	advise
101	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	against
146	6.	18.	33.33	4.22	by
151	6.	19.	31.58	3.61	center+
157	5.	6.	83.33	20.54	chopin+
178	3.	9.	33.33	2.05	definitely
198	2.	5.	40.00	2.16	else
209	6.	14.	42.86	7.80	example
224	38.	63.	60.32	112.40	first
226	41.	135.	30.37	33.98	for
230	37.	48.	77.08	154.49	friend+
249	2.	3.	66.67	5.76	half
259	3.	8.	37.50	2.80	hill+
260	2.	5.	40.00	2.16	him
280	43.	191.	22.51	13.43	is
284	34.	34.	100.00	197.63	itinerary
290	2.	5.	40.00	2.16	known
291	9.	28.	32.14	5.88	know+
329	3.	6.	50.00	5.23	museums
342	3.	7.	42.86	3.82	obviously
356	2.	5.	40.00	2.16	own
359	8.	8.	100.00	42.89	park+
364	3.	7.	42.86	3.82	piazza
375	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	rather
378	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	ready
384	35.	42.	83.33	161.00	recommend
389	3.	4.	75.00	10.45	romantic
390	21.	89.	23.60	5.10	rom+
394	3.	5.	60.00	7.28	san
416	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	spagna



417	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	spanish
424	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	step+
432	3.	4.	75.00	10.45	summer
434	10.	22.	45.45	15.11	take+
456	39.	62.	62.90	123.47	time+
457	46.	228.	20.18	8.66	to
461	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	top
467	3.	5.	60.00	7.28	trastevere
486	4.	8.	50.00	7.02	view
488	5.	14.	35.71	4.20	visit+
489	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	walking
490	7.	17.	41.18	8.40	walk+
493	19.	83.	22.89	3.82	warsaw
500	12.	46.	26.09	3.99	well
503	38.	126.	30.16	29.51	what+
505	10.	36.	27.78	4.12	where
509	37.	59.	62.71	115.31	who+
511	2.	4.	50.00	3.47	wide
524	39.	95.	41.05	61.08	would
530	33.	88.	37.50	40.51	you+
531 *	42.	226.	18.58	3.20 *	a
537 *	44.	221.	19.91	6.93 *	0 in
547 *	2.	5.	40.00	2.16 *	I oh
572 *	37.	190.	19.47	3.74 *	*sex_male

Number of selected words: 66

Vocabulary specific for cluster 2

first(38), friend+(37), itinerary(34), recommend(35), time+(39), who+(37), would(39), park+(8), you+(33), for(41), chopin+(5), what+(38), museum(3), palace+(4), take+(10), advise(3), example(6), idea+(2), romantic(3), san(3), summer(3), to(46), trastevere(3), view(4), relation+(2), villa+(2), boire.(2), riv+er(2), appreciat+ion(2), half(2), know+(9), reserved(1), by(6), visit+(5), well(12), where(10), square+(3), mari+er(2), against(2), obviously(3), rather(2), ready(2), spanish(2), step+(2), wide(2), chang+er(2), hotel<(1), problem<(2), already(4), definitely(3), else(2), him(2), known(2), own(2), start(2), value+(1)

Tool words specific for cluster 2

a(42)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 2

none

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

294 58 #rather the maximum mark, the maximum. #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? #trastevere, hills, #villa borghese, galleria #villa borghese.

130 55 #take #for #example #summer concerts of #chopin, out in the open at lazienki #park, #where certainly the music is particular, but I #would describe it as #romantic. #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw?

267 54 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? #for the #first #time? #well, #obviously coliseum. it is the symbol of rome. #trastevere, #trastevere #square, #spanish #steps, places #where our #romantic writers used #to meet, like cafe greco, close #to piazza di spagna.

80 51 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? no #idea.

195 51 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? I don' t #know.

302 47 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? so I #would #definitely #recommend #san lorenzo and #trastevere areas. and I could #advise #you #against some things, like parioli #for #example.

75 45 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? I #would #take a #friend #to famous #parks or royal residences because they demonstrate the grandeur of the history of warsaw.

187 45 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? I #know #where #to go and #where not #to go, I #know the places I like, #for #example praga, not very #well #known and not properly evaluated #by poles themselves.

64 42 only the sea is missing! #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? if I had #to #take a #friend #for a #half day walk in warsaw, I #would #definitely #take #him #to see different #parks, lazienki, wilanow and the royal castle, as #well as the #chopin' s #park.

289 41 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? I #would #advise them #to walk and #to keep eyes #wide open.

209 40 #well, I think that now we can get #ready #for lunch, right #maria? #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw?

11 31 altogether, #what is your evaluation of the city? I don' t #know how #to reply. #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw?

139 31 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? #to be honest, I am not very fond of being a tour guide.

337 31 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? #who' s here #for the #first #time. #well, I think that in general most things are in.



233 25 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? it' s a difficult question #to me. normally if someone comes #for the #first #time they #already have their plans of #what #to #visit.

4 24 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? as I have #already done it so many #times #for my italian #friends, I #would #visit the main museums, such as the new #museum of #chopin, the #museum of world war II and the new #museum of technology.

310 24 #what #else can I tell #you? #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? of course #san pietro, all the monuments, vatican, the center, there are many nice #parks.

326 24 #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in rome? I #would #advise everyone #to #start their #visit in rome #by climbing on a top of one of the hills that has a #view on the entire rome or most of it, in order #to gain an impression of #what it looks like, how it is built, how it is shaped.

32 22 so, I find a considerable reduction of #values, which I used #to #appreciate in the past, especially the family #values. #what #itinerary #would #you #recommend #to a #friend #who is #for the #first #time in warsaw? the important phenomena of wild capitalism are a threat #to faith.

Analysis of cluster 2

Places to visit both in Warsaw and in Rome are numerous and diverse. Among “10, 100, 1000 places”, one can distinguish certain types of answers, some common for both cities, while others specific for only one of them.

In cases of both cities many subjects recommend visiting parks and green spaces, such as Lazienki Park in Warsaw or Villa Borghese in Rome. While in Warsaw parks are popular due to artistic (“summer concerts of Chopin, out in the open at Lazienki Park”) and historical reasons (“I would take a friend to famous parks or royal residences because they demonstrate the grandeur of the history of Warsaw”); in Rome parks are seen as offering a possibility of admiring the panorama of the city from a hill (“I would advise everyone to start their visit in Rome by climbing on a top of one of the hills that has a view on the entire Rome or most of it”).

Other type of places mentioned includes neighborhoods, with a special attention dedicated to trendy, old districts popular especially among young people. In Warsaw, Italian residents mention Praga, a neighborhood that used to be considered as dangerous and quite run down, but has recently become a place filled with clubs, alternative



theaters and trendy bars. Although it cannot be found in most official guidebooks, foreign residents in Warsaw appreciate it and would recommend it to their friends (“for example Praga, not very well known and not properly evaluated by Poles themselves”). Similar types of neighborhoods are recommended by Polish residents in Rome, who find fascinating Trastevere and San Lorenzo (“I would definitely recommend San Lorenzo and Trastevere areas”).

There are also two types of general answers similar in cases of both Warsaw and Rome. Some subjects enlist together a number of places without any specific comment, while others say that they are not capable of giving a list of places. Especially some Italians in Warsaw, when asked about places to recommend to a friend, dismiss the question by saying, “I don’t know”, “No idea” or “To be honest, I’m not very fond of being a tour guide.” In case of Rome, some Poles give general answers that also avoid mentioning specific places: “Normally if someone comes for the first time, they already have their plans of what to visit” or “I would advise them to walk and to keep their eyes wide open.”

Finally, there are places specific to each city. For Rome, it is the Colosseum (“it is the symbol of Rome”), while for Warsaw Italians recommend museums, which are new, interactive and attract large audience (“I would visit the main museums, such as the new museum of Chopin, the museum of World War II and the new museum of technology”). On the one hand, in Rome there is the ancient, unchanging monument; on the other hand, in Warsaw there are modern, technological museum complexes.

No particular illustrative variable is relevant for the cluster “10, 100, 1000 places”, as it gathers replies of many different types of interviewees, both Italian and Polish.

As the name of the cluster implies, there is a sense of infinity when speaking of places in Rome and in Warsaw. Any list given to a friend will always remain open; there is no strict itinerary that has to be respected. According to the interviewees, the choice is also very personal and depends on what each person considers important or fascinating, as summarized by one of the subjects: “I would advise them to walk and to keep eyes wide open.”



4.2.2.2.1.7. Cluster 3: Everything says Rome

The last cluster, paired with cluster 3 as both of them talk about places, is dedicated entirely to Rome. Polish residents share their personal favorites and explain why certain places in the eternal city hold a special value to them, impressed with the history, art and religion evident throughout Rome.

Lexemes of cluster 3

 Cluster n° 3 => Context C

Number of elementary context units: 52 which is 15.16%
 Number of active+complimentary units: 1467 which is 14.71%
 Number of words analyzed by elementary context units: 25.23

Number	Actives	Percent	Chi2	Ident.
1	2. 4.	50.00	3.82	A america<
22	4. 5.	80.00	16.59	N art+
30	4. 11.	36.36	3.97	N course+
41	7. 22.	31.82	5.07	N lot+
46	5. 11.	45.45	8.11	N monument+
54	13. 40.	32.50	10.58	N place+
58	2. 3.	66.67	6.24	N ride+
65	6. 17.	35.29	5.64	N these+
88	7. 12.	58.33	18.02	Y import+ant
94	6. 15.	40.00	7.52	about
97	2. 3.	66.67	6.24	actually
103	14. 47.	29.79	9.06	all
106	13. 36.	36.11	13.73	also
111	6. 9.	66.67	19.06	amazing
112	42. 216.	19.44	8.32	and
113	4. 6.	66.67	12.60	another
120	21. 79.	26.58	10.41	are+
126	3. 6.	50.00	5.76	basilica+
127	7. 25.	28.00	3.46	beautiful
139	2. 3.	66.67	6.24	books
140	3. 4.	75.00	11.27	borghese
149	16. 57.	28.07	8.86	can+
151	7. 19.	36.84	7.35	center+
158	11. 14.	78.57	45.63	church+
164	5. 8.	62.50	14.27	coliseum
180	7. 10.	70.00	24.08	di
208	7. 20.	35.00	6.50	everything
225	5. 6.	83.33	22.07	fontana
228	4. 4.	100.00	22.65	forum
259	5. 8.	62.50	14.27	hill+
261	2. 3.	66.67	6.24	his
262	4. 11.	36.36	3.97	historical
263	4. 12.	33.33	3.19	history
276	4. 5.	80.00	16.59	inside
288	14. 15.	93.33	74.53	just

301	3.	7.	42.86	4.26	left
306	26.	63.	41.27	40.90	like+
307	6.	20.	30.00	3.64	little
318	5.	18.	27.78	2.35	maybe
325	7.	18.	38.89	8.32	most
326	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	mother
328	7.	23.	30.43	4.47	much
329	3.	6.	50.00	5.76	museums
336	5.	17.	29.41	2.82	new
337	6.	10.	60.00	16.10	nice
346	6.	11.	54.55	13.71	old+
347	20.	65.	30.77	15.19	one+
358	3.	3.	100.00	16.94	painting+
364	4.	7.	57.14	9.79	piazza
372	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	probably
376	2.	3.	66.67	6.24	re
380	4.	12.	33.33	3.19	really
383	2.	3.	66.67	6.24	recently
386	5.	7.	71.43	17.59	remember
390	19.	89.	21.35	3.58	rom+
394	2.	5.	40.00	2.43	san
397	4.	4.	100.00	22.65	seeing
401	18.	36.	50.00	37.96	see+
409	23.	74.	31.08	18.59	so
410	9.	31.	29.03	5.10	some
412	4.	7.	57.14	9.79	someone
416	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	spagna
427	5.	11.	45.45	8.11	street+
436	5.	7.	71.43	17.59	tell
439	28.	151.	18.54	2.40	that+
441	5.	17.	29.41	2.82	them
444	30.	71.	42.25	51.10	there
446	11.	37.	29.73	6.84	they+
447	12.	36.	33.33	10.33	thing+
448	7.	25.	28.00	3.46	think
455	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	through
461	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	top
465	2.	3.	66.67	6.24	town
467	2.	5.	40.00	2.43	trastevere
469	5.	6.	83.33	22.07	trevi
474	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	understand
483	6.	11.	54.55	13.71	vatican
486	3.	8.	37.50	3.18	view
487	3.	5.	60.00	7.93	visiting
488	4.	14.	28.57	2.04	visit+
489	2.	4.	50.00	3.82	walking
490	7.	17.	41.18	9.41	walk+
502	6.	19.	31.58	4.22	were
506	9.	33.	27.27	4.16	which
508	3.	9.	33.33	2.37	whole
513	4.	14.	28.57	2.04	will
523	4.	5.	80.00	16.59	worth
534 *	11.	41.	26.83	4.93 *	or
535 *	18.	63.	28.57	10.79 *	s



539	*	2.	3.	66.67	6.24	*	6	car
555	*	32.	122.	26.23	18.04	*		*age_secondg
558	*	34.	97.	35.05	41.60	*		*duration_onetofv
563	*	49.	184.	26.63	40.60	*		*nation_pl
569	*	28.	42.	66.67	98.72	*		*prof_prof
571	*	45.	153.	29.41	43.62	*		*sex_female
577	*	38.	131.	29.01	31.60	*		*spouse_single

Number of selected words: 96

Vocabulary specific for cluster 3

just(14), there(30), church+(11), like+(26), see+(18), di(7), fontana(5), forum(4), seeing(4), trevi(5), art+(4), import+ant(7), also(13), amazing(6), another(4), borghese(3), coliseum(5), hill+(5), inside(4), nice(6), old+(6), one+(20), painting+(3), remember(5), so(23), tell(5), thinking(2), vatican(6), worth(4), monument+(5), place+(13), about(6), all(14), and(42), are+(21), can+(16), center+(7), most(7), piazza(4), someone(4), street+(5), thing+(12), visiting(3), walk+(7), lot+(7), ride+(2), these+(6), actually(2), basilica+(3), books(2), everything(7), his(2), museums(3), re(2), recently(2), some(9), town(2), course+(4), historical(4), left(3), much(7), which(9), america<(2), history(4), little(6), mother(2), new(5), probably(2), really(4), spagna(2), them(5), think(7), through(2), top(2), understand(2), walking(2), clos+(2), concert+(1), dependre.(2), again(1), both(1), ease(1), everyone(2), going(2), happened(2), house+(2), if(7), look+(2), many(10)

Tool words specific for cluster 3

car(2), certain(2), he(2), or(11)

Illustrative variables specific for cluster 3

Age: second group – 26 to 39 years old (32)

Duration of stay in the city of residence: 1 to 5 years (34)

Nationality: Polish (49)

Profession: professor (28)

Sex: female (45)



Spouse: single (38)

Selection of elementary context units (u.c.e.)

370 50 #there #are #many #places in rome, but #these #are the #most #important #ones: the #old #town, the #historical #center, the #basilicas, #vatican, #coliseum, #everyone has to #see #them #and visit #them.

419 40 I #like #vatican #also; I #think it' s #amazing. #there is #one #place I would still #like to #see very #much, #which #are the #vatican gardens, but to #see the #vatican #museums #and #all the #art that is in rome.

378 36 #and maybe #also #some #monuments or something? oh, the #monuments #are beautiful! it' s. I mean, in general I have visited the entire italy, not only rome. in rome #there is #vatican, #coliseum, #forum imperiale, #piazza navona, #piazza #di #spagna, #fontana #di #trevisi #these #are the #ones I #liked very #much.

422 35 #and #just #walking around the #historical #center #and the #amazing #things that you #can #see, #like certain #little #things. #like, #close to the pantheon #there is this bernini' s elephant at the #piazza della minerva, #and then the #church #there is #also very beautiful, with the #paintings of filippino lippi #inside.

404 33 #like #recently I was #thinking #about how #many times I #can #walk #through certain #places #and #think #about certain #things, #like: I #walk around capitoline every day but only #recently I saw what' s #inside #and it' s #just #amazing, #all the #things that #are #inside.

384 29 the #whole touristic #center: #vatican, #coliseum, #fontana #di #trevisi, #piazza del popolo, #forum imperiali, #coliseum, #which I have already mentioned. #and #which #ones do you #like best? well. I #like best #fontana #di #trevisi.

427 28 it was #amazing! #so, #there #are #all #these #amazing #things that you #can #see in rome when you #just #walk around. #and finally: rome as you #can define it in #one word? I don' t know. you surprised me. magnificent!

352 26 they #are #hills, #so not #churches or #monuments, #which #are #actually the #most #important in rome, but I love giannicolo #and I #think that it is #worth a trip.

269 24 at the end I would definitely recommend #visiting, #seeing #fontana #di #trevisi, throwing a coin #through #one' s #left arm, in #order to come back #and #see #all the remaining #things laughs.

418 24 then on the #top they built their #basilica, #and now #again #there is #another #new #church, #which has a beautiful mosaic on #top. #so I #like this kind of #things, where you have a #whole #history in #one #place. I #like catacombs #also, because I #think that you #can learn a #lot #about how life was when the first christians were #there.

223 19 I would especially recommend #everything that #can be found in #all guidebooks, #so the #vatican city, #coliseum, #museums depending on what draws #one' s attentions #and what #one #likes.



311 19 #there #are #many #things #worth #visiting; I #like #everything #so it is hard to decide what concrete #monument to recommend.

317 19 #if #someone is in the city for the first time it is hard not to #tell him to visit #coliseum or #vatican, etc. only for the second visit #one #can try to #look for #some nuances #and particular flavors, but the first time, as I said it is a touristy city #and #there #are #so #many such #places, above #all in the #historical #center.

407 19 or. #recently I was #thinking #about castor #and pollux, pollux in polish, #and I was wondering. OK, they' #re at the capitol #hill but they #are #also at/ quirinale #and what' s the story behind #them, #and #so I researched this detail.

413 19 #so, it #depends on a person' s character. #if it were #someone #like me, I would #probably choose a #little mixture of #everything, because I #like a #lot the mix of the #old #and the #new.

414 19 I don' t #like #seeing only ruins, #just standing #like that, #like #forum romanum doesn' t #tell me #much because maybe I know too #little #about it, #just the columns, #so #there is #little I #can maybe imagine #about that.

424 19 #and then #just #walking #and while you #walk you #can find #amazing #things! when I was #walking with my #mother, #there was a university, I #can' t #remember, or.

423 18 #so, #there #are #just #so #many #churches, but I would recommend not #going to ten #churches a day because you will not #remember #everything, but maybe choosing #one or two #and #really studying their #history #and #art #and learning #about it.

399 17 they #are beautiful; they have #old #things #inside #and #so #many antiques. I #just was very impressed with it. #and the stories that people have. to me, the city is the people that live in it. #and I #can #see that people in the #whole italy love rome a #lot. #and #there #are #so #many people #like alberto who know #so #much #about the #history of the city #and #can #tell you #so #many interesting #things #about it.

Analysis of cluster 3

When Polish residents speak about places in Rome, they mention a wide variety, as if to state, “Everything says Rome.”

First, many of the places mentioned can be classified as religious. Vatican plays certainly a very important role, not only for spiritual reasons, but also historical and artistic (“the Vatican Gardens, but to see the Vatican Museums”). Churches and basilicas are also very dear to Polish residents in Rome who pay attention to masterpieces of art displayed in many of them, such as Santa Maria sopra Minerva, “with the paintings of Filippino Lippi inside.” However, the interviewees do not recommend to exaggerate with the number of churches visited in a day: “I would



recommend not going to ten churches a day, because you will not remember everything, but maybe choosing one or two and really studying their history and art.” This approach to churches in Rome (very different from quick tours, such as “Rome in a Day”), has probably been influenced by reading already mentioned lengthy books about the city, written by Polish authors. It seems that Polish residents definitely prefer quality above quantity; they savour multiple aspects of one place instead of touring as many places as possible. Considering religious aspects of Rome, Poles also mention the catacombs due to their importance for the history of Christianity (“I like catacombs also, because I think that you can learn a lot about how life was when the first Christians were there”).

Second, Polish residents in Rome appreciate the historical center of the city, with its characteristic places remarkable for their architecture, such as the Trevi Fountain, the Spanish Steps, Piazza del Popolo, Piazza della Minerva, etc. These well preserved treasures of more recent history appeal to the romantic spirit, appreciation of art and architecture. In fact, as one of the interviewees stated, Rome is full of this kind of places and one visit is certainly not enough, so “at the end I would definitely recommend visiting, seeing Trevi Fountain, throwing a coin through one’s left arm, in order to come back and see all the remaining things.”

Third, contrary to the more recent history’s monuments, Polish residents have mixed feelings towards the ancient Roman places. On the one hand, some say, “I don’t like seeing only ruins, just standing like that, like Forum Romanum doesn’t tell me much because I know too little about it.” On the other hand, some mention many monuments of ancient Roman history, especially Colosseum.

Common to all the above types of places is the overwhelming feeling that the subjects want to learn and remember as much as possible, find out in depth about every detail of each place. Certainly, life is too short to do it all, but they enjoy the attempts, enriched by solid reading and conversations with those who are more knowledgeable (“who know so much about the history of the city and can tell you so many interesting things about it”).

The illustrative variables for the cluster “Everything says Rome” include the age group of young adults, residents in Rome from one to five years, Poles, professors, females and singles. Especially significant for the approach to the places in Rome is the



subjects' profession that probably justifies their love of learning about the city, studying its curiosities and details. Being female may further explain attention to detail and a romantic approach present in some interviews. Young adults, as singles, maybe have more time to dedicate to getting to know the city, to freely explore it and to read about it. Finally, the period from one to five years probably is just about the right amount of time to understand that much has already been seen, but much more remains to be discovered and rediscovered.



5. Unveiling conclusions

5.1. *Ars inveniendi* – some reflections on the nature of research

While the previous chapter presented in details the results of research step by step, the ambition of this chapter is to offer some general considerations and reflections as an outcome of the modeling approach (de Rosa, 2012) used in each step of the project. The main goal of any research is “finding something new and original” (Moscovici, 2012). This *ars inveniendi* has to do with invention, demonstrated primarily through a set of hypotheses to be verified. The next step is the “art of proof” (Moscovici, 2012), which also provides an occasion to implement creative solutions, seeing the problem in a holistic way, from multiple angles.

The modeling approach is a paradigmatic approach to the theory of social representations, which ensures that the use of different techniques for the collection of data is accompanied with the use of different strategies for analyzing the same set of data, “guided by different objectives and hypotheses, using different procedures and statistical software” (de Rosa, 2012). It is empirically modeled through multi-methodological approach research design and allows considering the interaction between the dimensions under investigation and the tools designed to study them (de Rosa, 2012).

5.2. A panoramic view of the cities of Warsaw and Rome

To speak about social representations of Warsaw is certainly a huge topic. This research narrows it down to still very rich and articulate representations present among the first visitors from seven different nationalities (American, English, French, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish) and by Italian residents in Warsaw. Moreover, the social representations of Rome among Polish residents have also been investigated.



5.2.1. Portrait of the subjects

Before looking at the social representations of the cities, in line with the previous research on European historical capitals, it is useful to look at the subjects' place identity. A social representation is generated by a subject or subjects that function in certain unique conditions of time and space (Jodelet, 1984). Therefore, the link with memory, especially social memory, appears significant. In a similar way to social memory, collectively constructed and undergoing frequent transformations, social representations stem from events experienced socially, not necessarily personally. Thus, tourists who come to visit a city that they had never seen with their own eyes already possess a "memory" of it, thanks to the social memory available to them. Through social representations that act as "a form of socially elaborated and shared knowledge" (Jodelet, 1984), a common reality is constructed for a social group, in line with its interests, worldview and goals. There are two instruments that have been implemented to gain insight concerning the subjects' character and memory previous to seeing the city: the place identity timeline and the assessment of their "psychological luggage".

First, considering the places important in the subjects' lifetime, overall specific geographic names of cities and countries seem much more often enlisted than their own home. However, this is due to the division of the home-related places to five categories (own home, domestic environment, parents' home, relatives' home and friends' home). When summed up, all the home-related places are in fact the most important to the subjects, which confirms other findings concerning place identity (Proshansky et al., 1983; Duncan, 1993; Giuliani, 1991).

Second, the "psychological luggage" gives further insight to who are the subjects, apart from their demographic characteristics. The first visitors claim to gain most of their information about the city of Warsaw from the Internet, followed by tourist guides and interpersonal information. This crucial finding gives us a portrait of a contemporary traveller who, when going to a fairly unknown city as Warsaw first of all looks it up on the Internet, then also gets a guidebook and talk about the city to some friends. Concerning the Internet, which stands out as the number one source of information, it is not enough to see it in general terms. One can browse websites, for instance the official



website of the city, use social network to exchange information by actually chatting online (this is where the two sources of information, the Internet and the interpersonal communication, are combined in one tool), see images of the monuments, etc. For instance, the institutional website of the city of Warsaw can be considered as its online business card, presented to both citizens and tourists, according to de Rosa, Bocci and Picone (2012), who have launched a whole research program dedicated to the official websites of European capitals. Apart from the Internet, which in case of residents does not play a major role as a source of information about Warsaw and Rome, a crucial way of finding out about each city is the interpersonal communication. It is much more difficult, in not impossible, to have access to spontaneous conversations at a café, at home or in the bus, where people talk about the city in a natural way. However, the interviews performed with the residents offered the researcher a glimpse into this type of a source of information. As described by Jodelet (2012), during the interviews “the subjects discover that through their narrations they elicit things they never imagined they would think, or become conscious of forms of reasoning or processes that were unclear to them”. Finally, the third source of information that appeared as relevant to the residents is school, probably because it encompasses many other sources (literature, songs, movies and documentaries). In fact, it is mostly at school, in particular in high school, when both Polish and Italian subjects learn about art and history of the cities, with the difference that Italian subjects do not learn very much about Warsaw.

Concerning demographic characteristics, traditional sets of data have been gathered about each subject: nationality, sex, age, city of origin, city of residence, duration of current residence, reason why of residence, whether or not the subjects have changed residence (if so, how many times and why), educational level and profession. While the first visitors are approximately equally distributed in terms of different variables, the residents belong to a group of professionals with a high level of education.

Especially among expat communities, both Italians in Warsaw and Poles in Rome, the status differences generate some interesting phenomena. Highly qualified businessmen and diplomats constitute a high-status group that is likely to express in-group favoritism, according to Tajfel’s theory (Tajfel, 1981). Evident especially during the



interviews, Italian community in Warsaw displays a consistent ego, group and status justification. These subjects conceive themselves as a group, which is the basis of their social identity as Italians in Warsaw. Applying the social identity theory when considering the results of the research confirms in-group favoritism but does not confirm out-group discrimination. The lack of evidence of discrimination may be due to the researcher's own background. Since a Polish national administered the questionnaires, it could be that the Italian subjects avoided negative comments about Poles. However, the methodological approach considers subjectivity to be one of the essentials for the process of interpretation of results (Melucci, 1999). Nevertheless, in order to overcome this condition, the interviews with Italian residents in Warsaw were conducted by someone who himself belongs to this category. Properly trained in the technique of the interview, as a native speaker, this person ensured also the quality of communication and ease of expression in terms of language. Under these conditions, no discriminatory statements have been found among the subjects, which reinforces the finding based on the questionnaires administered to the residents. From the theoretical point of view, the above findings demonstrate that the theory of social identity by itself does not offer sufficient tools to explain certain phenomena. However, some light is brought into the picture when, as suggested by Breakwell (2010), social identity theory becomes a basis for identity process theory that emphasizes the two-folded role of social representational process for the identity, as well as identity processes for the evolution of social representations.

To sum up, before actually considering the content of the representations, this research identified different aspects of the context in which representations emerge or are transformed, before the actual experience of visiting the city. These aspects include the subjects place identity, their "psychological luggage" of sources of information about the city and their numerous socio-demographic characteristics.

5.2.2. Heart of the matter

The main concern of this research, the social representations of the cities of Rome and Warsaw – how do they unfold, based on the findings collected by multi-method approach? While the previous chapter presents in detail single factors and clusters



identified using different tools, the challenge now is to bring them together, highlighting the most important and frequent representations. The hypothesis of verifying differences of representations among different nationalities has been confirmed by the findings, as presented in the following paragraphs.

5.2.2.1. Warsaw, torn between past and future

Firstly, the social representations of the city of Warsaw articulated by the first visitors belonging to seven different nationalities have been identified through the use of five factors, organized along different dimensions: the first factor juxtaposes the “Patriotic Warsaw” of Poles with the “Anonymous Warsaw” of Italians and Germans; the second factor contains only one dimension of “Dangerous but interesting Warsaw” seen as such by English and Polish visitors; the third factor juxtaposes Warsaw as “Symbols of Poland” of English and Spanish visitors who instead of focusing on the city mention stereotypical aspects of the entire country, with the “City of reflection” of Italians and Poles who mention specific aspects of the Warsaw; the fourth factor concerns the dimension of time, on the one hand “Looking ahead” to the future of the city as Italians and Poles, on the other hand “Looking back” to its past as Germans and Frenchmen; and the fifth factor juxtaposes pleasure with work - “Artistic historical Warsaw” enjoyed by Spanish and German first visitors, and “Bustling workplace” of Italian and Polish first visitors.

Secondly, the Warsaw in the eyes of residents demonstrates some similarities with the vision of first visitors, while the nationality of the subjects (Italian or Polish) also weighs on their social representations, although to a lesser degree than in the case of first visitors. Thus, the representations are organized in the following way: the first factor contains “Rallying symbols”, bringing together symbolic places in Warsaw not characteristic to any nationality, juxtaposed with “Dividing sensations” in the form of adjectives, shared by both Italian and Polish residents; the second factor concerns the dimension of time focusing on the past and opposing “My past” with “The city’s past”; the third factor juxtaposes “Profound” representation of Italian residents with “Superficial” representation not specific for any nationality; the fourth factor concerns issues quite similar to the previous factor, opposing Warsaw “At a glance” of Italians



with “An intense gaze” at the city of Poles; and the fifth factor, as the second one also concerns the dimension of time, portraying Warsaw as “Fantasy of the past” versus “Reality of the present”. Moreover, the clusters identified on the basis of interviews with residents to a certain degree correspond with the above factors. Two of the clusters describe the city of Warsaw only, “Human DNA of the city” that concerns characteristics of Poles who live in Warsaw and “Why Warsaw?” that justifies the choice of coming to live in this city. The “Human DNA of the city” has some similarities to the third factor that opposes profound and superficial characteristics, while “Why Warsaw?” may be likened to the “My past”, as both of them contain elements of personal stories of coming and starting one’s life in this city.

Overall, the comparison of the social representations of the city of Warsaw of first visitors and of expat residents can be grouped taking into account *themata* of superficial versus profound, past versus future, pleasure versus work, and symbolic versus personal. It demonstrates that social thinking about a city is often based on antinomies and polarities, which demonstrated the dialogical nature of human mind (Markova, 2003). According to Jodelet, *themata* “allow an understanding of how social representations are structured and at the same time draw attention to the role of memory and tradition, in conjunction with emotion and subjectivity” (Jodelet, 2008). This role of *themata* is evident in case of the social representations of the city of Warsaw described above, in line with Moscovici’s (1993) vision of considering them as prototypes of common sense knowledge.

5.2.2.2. While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand

Analyzed in an analogical way as Warsaw, Rome appears quite distinct and the subjects tend to focus on different aspects of each city.

Firstly, among five factors identified for the city of Rome, the first one called “Absolute values” has only one dimension and concentrates on work, home and friends, as well as Colosseum and the figure of Pope. In this way, it contains both elements important for personal life, as well as some symbolic, unique features of Rome. The second factor juxtaposes the personal aspects of the first factor (work, home and friends) that focuses on the “Inside” with more general aspects of Rome (especially art) that focus on the



“Outside”, important to Italians and male subjects. The third factor contains on the one hand a very narrow social representation of Rome shared especially by Poles, summed up as “Colosseum says it all”, and on the other hand a richer and more general representation typical of Italians named “Everything says Rome” (with the special focus on museums and culture of this colorful city). One of the dimensions of the fourth factor, called “10, 100, 1000 places” has some common elements with “Everything says Rome”, such as culture, museums and history. However, it also contains the word *home*, which demonstrates that to both Italian and Polish subjects, male and female, Rome is an infinite collection of all kinds of places. The other dimension of the fourth factor, named “Unique pieces” contains the Vatican and Colosseum, obviously unique for Rome, which is moreover seen in a descriptive manner, as a colorful, romantic and beautiful city. The fifth factor juxtaposes religious values of “The city of the Pope” with artistic values of “The city of art” considered as such by Italian subjects and females.

Secondly, based on the analysis of the interviews, two clusters emerged that concern Rome: “Why Rome?” and “Everything says Rome”. While the first cluster concerns the reasons and personal stories of coming to the city, the second factor focuses on places specific to Rome. Compared with the factors mentioned above, “Why Rome?” can be likened to the “Inside” dimension of the second factor, as both of them concern personal aspects of life in the city, such as work, home and friends. On the other hand, “Everything says Rome” is the same name for one of the factors and one of the clusters. Each one of them describes the city in a slightly different manner, concentrating on culture and history, as well as their tangible proof – the monuments present in Rome.

As in case of Warsaw, also among the social representations of Rome some *themata* (Jodelet, 2008) can be identified: symbolic versus personal and unique versus general. The dimensions of “Inside” and “Outside” identified in the second factor, illustrate personal aspects of work and home (present also in other factors) and impersonal, symbolic places that belong to the public sphere, such as Colosseum. Similar *themata* can also be found in the case of Warsaw, while unique versus general is specific to Rome due to the specific places truly unique for Rome. Among general characteristics and places one can find the dimensions of “Everything says Rome”, “10, 100, 1000 places” and “The city of art”. On the opposite end there are basically two crucial aspects



of Rome, Colosseum and Vatican (also personified as the figure of the Pope), present in the dimensions of “Colosseum says it all”, “Unique pieces” and “The city of the Pope”. The main difference, however, is that these iconic and symbolic aspects of Rome have been engraved in the imagery of people from all over the world for centuries, through pilgrimages to the Holy See, as well as through the tradition of the *Grand Tour*, as pointed out by de Rosa (2012). Warsaw cannot be as easily objectified, as it is much harder to identify its universal symbols that could be recognized all over the world.

To mention some similarities between the two historical capitals, some of the clusters identified as a result of analyzing the interviews, refer to both cities. Their descriptions, named “Different rays of sunshine” and “At a glance” consist of an attempt to characterize the cities, in a way that is more or less specific, taking into account especially their features. Moreover, the cluster “10, 100, 1000 places” that concentrates especially on generic places (such as museums) applies to both cities, demonstrating that the importance of artistic and historical dimension is quite high for each one of them.

5.2.2.3. Ideal city, from utopia to Paris

Each subject, both first visitors and residents, have been asked to produce an associative network (de Rosa, 2002) stimulated by *ideal city*.

Firstly, among the first visitors, the factors that emerged for the most part contain only one dimension. The first factor identified, named “Abstract and universal ideal city” is basically contained in one word – perfect, typical for first visitors ages 41 to 60. Then as the second factor follows “Utopia”, characterized as not existing, related to the neutral polarity index. The third factor that contains only one dimension and equates Paris with the ideal city, unsurprisingly shared by the French. Much more elaborated vision of the ideal city emerges in the fourth factor, called “Pleasant to live”, highlighting the attributes such as nice places, good people and nice architecture. The subjects who imagine the ideal city in this way are English and Polish, as well as over 60 years old. The only factor organized around two dimensions, the fifth one, on the one hand contains the “American dream”, a very rich representation focused on prosperity, resources, dreams, home and pretty girls – a vision of an ideal city shared by Americans



and young adults ages 26 to 40. On the other hand, as opposite to a dream there is a “Down-to-earth ideal city”, quite rich description with such main aspects as suitable, tidy and nice, preferred by the Italian and French visitors, as well as the youngest subjects (up to 26 years old) and the age group of 41-60 years old.

Secondly, the residents demonstrated social representations of an ideal city that can be grouped according to two-dimensional factors. The first factor juxtaposes the dimension of “Collective welfare benefits”, significant to Italian and Polish residents, both males and females, with “Individualistic values”, focused on individual well-being granted by friends, prosperity, work, family, etc., not specific to any nationality. The second factor, organized in a similar way, comprises “Traditional values” (of free time, family, friends, etc.) shared by Polish subjects, as well as a “Modern and efficient” ideal city, with such aspects as prosperity, monuments and efficient transportation. In the third factor is organized along the opposing dimensions of a “Prosperous and safe” ideal city desired by Italians, and a quiet and sunny ideal city named “The value of nature”. The fourth factor has a philosophical character and it juxtaposes Plato’s idealistic vision where a *politeia* is tolerant and beautiful (among other values) with a “Pantheistic optimism” that instead of abstract values prefers tangible characteristics, such as sun, sea, work and healthcare, popular among women. Lifestyle is the key to understanding the fifth factor with the dimension of “Hedonism” concentrated on beauty, architecture and free time (shared by Polish residents and women) and the dimension of “Asceticism” concentrated on work and equity.

Comparing the representations of an ideal city of first visitors and residents, it can be noticed that they are organized on the basis of *themata* that juxtaposes tangible, practical (for example natural and architectural) aspects and intangible, abstract characteristics. The former comprises the ideal city that is a real city, like Paris that to some subjects is their ideal city; moreover, “Pleasant to live”, “Down-to-earth”, ensuring “Collective welfare benefits”, “Modern and efficient”, acknowledging “The value of nature”, making it possible to look at the world with a “Pantheistic optimism”, while leading a life that can be described as “Hedonism”. The latter, on the other hand, includes the realm of a dream, often not existing, focused on abstract ideas and values, intangible and different from what we know, such as described above “Abstract and



universal ideal city”, “Utopia”, “American dream”, “Individualistic values” and “Traditional values”, “Plato’s politeia” and “Asceticism”.

Overall, in order to understand the differences among social representations of Warsaw, Rome and an ideal city, *themata* play a crucial role. Especially the difference between the practical, tangible and functional aspects of life can be juxtaposed with the idealistic, intangible and values-related aspects. According to Liu (2004), *themata* can in fact be considered as the basis of social representations and a concept that allows for an exploration of the underlying structure of social representations and who they are socio-historically embedded in a non-reductive way.

Thus, the hypothesis concerning the existence of *themata* in the social representations of Warsaw, Rome and an ideal city is confirmed by identification of particular different *themata*, in many cases actually common to all three objects of representations under scrutiny.

5.2.3. When fantasy meets reality

The hypotheses concerning the social representations of the cities and their historical centers, as well as significant places in each city, are different in the case of first visitors and the case of residents.

Firstly, it was expected that the first visitors would imagine Warsaw focusing on the past of the city (World War Two, ghetto, Communism), but after visiting the city they would tend to see it more as a modern city, oriented towards development, both cultural and economic. In fact, the adjectives used to describe the imagined Warsaw (prior to visiting the city), apart from envisioning it as big, point to the negative past of the city, through the use of adjectives such as “communist”, “grey”, “historical”, “old” and “poor”. The Old Town is also perceived focusing on the past, using such adjectives as “historical”, “old”, “monumental” and “Jewish”. As predicted, when confronted with the reality of the city, the subjects recognize more future-oriented features of the city, using such adjectives as “modern”, “lively”, “well connected”, while for the Old Town the new feature of “rebuilt” appears, alongside such descriptions as “beautiful” and “colorful” that gain more importance over time. It is important to stress that after



visiting the city and its Old Town, the new does not replace the old. Instead, descriptions focused on certain aspects of the past still remain (such as “historical”), with the exception of communist history that appears as important before the visit and not after. The following graph that summarizes the findings extensively presented in Chapter 4, besides illustrating the abovementioned confirmation of the hypothesis, also gives some interesting information on characteristics attributed to Warsaw and its Old Town before and after visiting it. Thus, certain characteristics are more salient on the imaginary level, while others – on the experienced level. For instance, before the visit: Warsaw is considered as bigger, colder, more crowded and poorer; while after the visit is appears more beautiful, cultural, grey, historical, interesting, modern and tidy. On the basis of these descriptions, it can be deduced that visiting Warsaw has a positive effect on how the subjects evaluate the city.

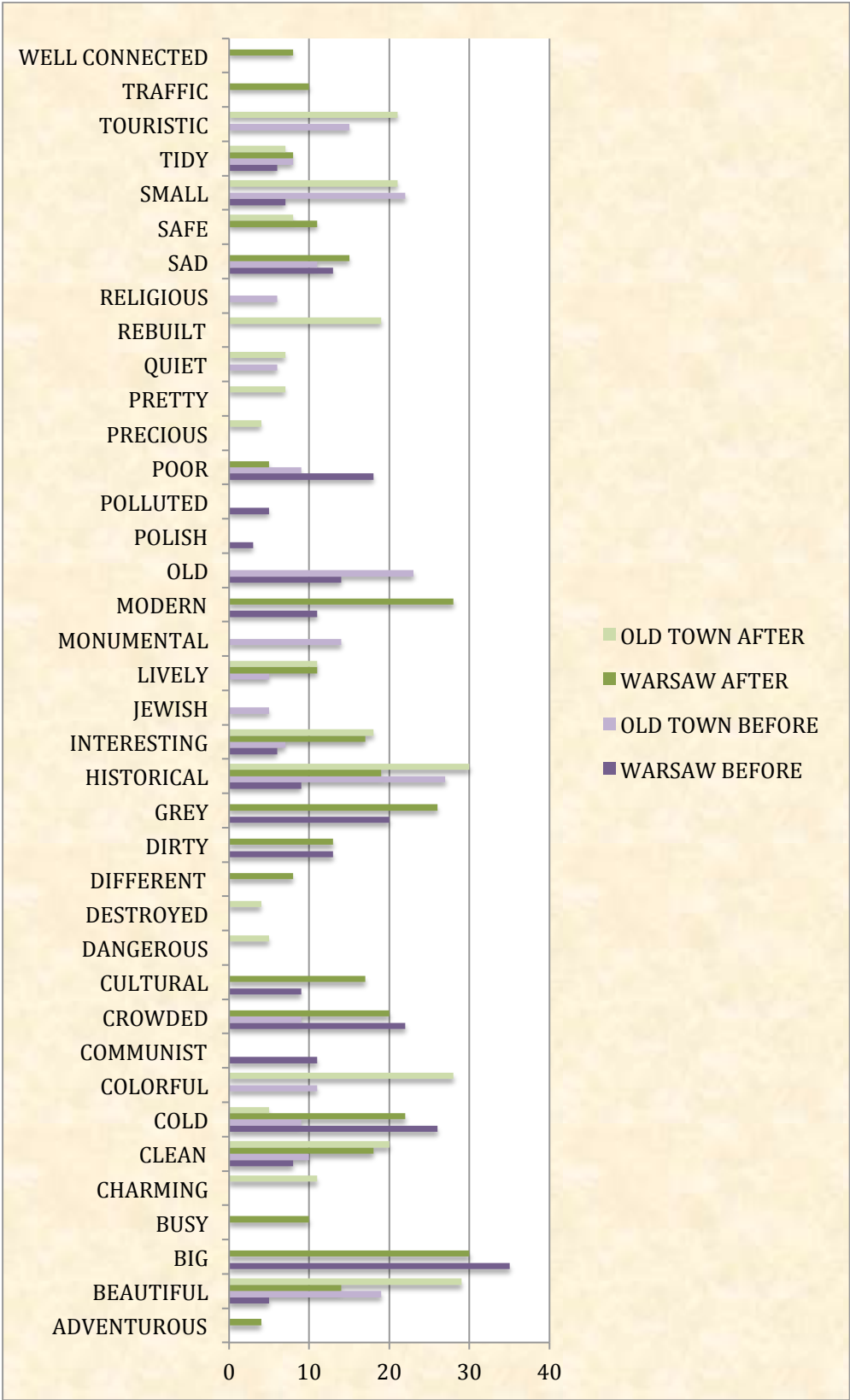


Fig. 117. Comparison of Warsaw and its Old Town before and after



Regarding places that first visitors imagine as important to visit in Warsaw, the above hypothesis of focusing on the past has again been verified. The three most frequently mentioned places all relate to different epochs of the history of the city: Old Town with the royal castle brings to mind the period of the kings, Palace of Culture ordered to be built by Stalin without doubts focuses on the communist past, while ghetto recalls the tragedy of Holocaust. After the visit, the majority of subjects identify parks and public gardens as top places on their list, while Old Town and Palace of Culture are still present, but not anymore the most important. It demonstrates, as expected, that new, modern aspects of life gain more significance after visiting the city.

Moreover, the hypothesis that the difficulty of Polish language will influence the way in which subjects who are not Polish call different places, has also been confirmed. While Polish subjects enlist specific places with their original names, such as Lazienki Park or Wilanow, other subjects simply say “park” or opt for a more detailed description “park with the Chopin’s concerts on the fresh air”. This is also the case concerning street names: while Poles say Swietokrzyska Street, Nowy Swiat Street, Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street; such names are almost impossible to be remembered by subjects who do not speak Polish (and very few foreigners do). However, after the visit slightly more specific names of places are enlisted in tables, which is further confirmed in the findings of mental maps. Proposed after visiting the city, the itineraries prove the hypothesis of the difficulty of Polish language, interwoven with another hypothesis of similarity of places enlisted after the visit and suggested for the itinerary. In fact, when drawing an itinerary the subjects mention places that can be classified as above all else as districts, streets and squares, then as monuments and museums, followed by nature, shops, meeting points and entertainments. A similar pattern has been detected concerning the choice of the most important places, thus confirming the hypothesis concerning this projective technique.

Secondly, the hypotheses that guided the research among the expat communities of Poles in Rome and Italians in Warsaw differed from the hypotheses presented above due to a different character of subjects’ experience. While for the first visitors the imaginary level was in fact imaginary (they have never been before in Warsaw), the



residents had to recall their impressions before visiting the cities. Thus, the imaginary level in case of residents is based on their memories.

The hypothesis concerning descriptions of the cities and their historical centers, as well as places mentioned for each city, is based on the assumption that there would be a higher number of adjectives and places after living in the city than before. From a theoretical point of view, it stems from the importance of practice and experience for transmission and transformation of social representations. In fact, the results demonstrate that the hypothesis was correct, as considering both cities together; there has been an increase of the amount of descriptions. Thus, there has been an increase of 43% of adjectives when comparing the first impression of the cities with the current impression, and an increase of 48% of adjectives when comparing the historical centers. The same is true when it comes to places in Warsaw and Rome – their number increases after living in the city. In the case of Warsaw, the new places include the airport, Warsaw mermaid (a monument and a symbol of the city), ministries, pubs, theater, the Monument to the Unknown Soldier and the Uprising Museum. In the case of Rome the new places are not as numerous and tend to be generic; they consist of museums, parks and Parioli neighborhood (where the Polish embassy is located).

The related hypothesis of mentioning more personal places after living in the city than before has also been confirmed. As mentioned above, among new places in Warsaw, Italian residents mention ministries (probably due to professional reasons and personal career that requires dealing with official Polish structures), pubs and theater (also related to personal life and free time); while Polish residents speak of Parioli, which is a workplace for many diplomats and it thus personally related. Moreover, the importance of home, the most personal place, demonstrates a high increase among Italian residents, compared with before they had lived in Warsaw. Thus, the expats after living in the new city, see it as more personal, a part of their daily life and in a way a part of themselves.

5.2.4. Similar or different?

The open questions concerning the differences/similarities between Warsaw and Rome resulted in some interesting answers. The hypothesis was that there would be more subjects who opted for differences rather than similarities, due to a different position of

Warsaw and Rome in collective imagery. While most everyone can associate Colosseum, Vatican and many other monuments with Rome, it is not the case of Warsaw. The Polish capital appears much more as a place to explore, a sort of *tabula rasa* that before experiencing the city seems largely unknown to majority of non-Polish visitors. As demonstrated by the following pie chart that summarizes data presented in detail in chapter 4, it can be clearly seen that in fact the majority of subjects consider Warsaw and Rome as different.

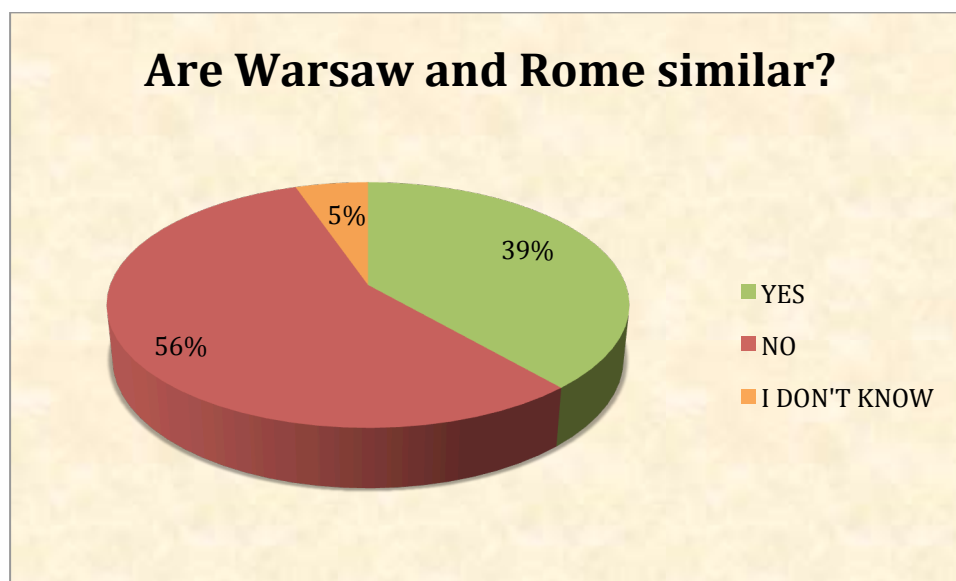


Fig. 118. Comparison of Warsaw and Rome

A close look at the specific answers to the question “Are Warsaw and Rome similar?” shows that especially the Italian subjects not only say “no”, but they make a strong point by saying “Not at all!”, “I really don’t think so” or “They are completely different”. On the other hand, Polish subjects tend to look for both similarities and differences between the cities. Among the most common similarities they identify Warsaw and Rome as two capital cities, big cities and cultural and economic centers. Differences include two different histories, diverse cultures and worldviews.

Finally, the last hypothesis concerns the interviews with Italian residents in Warsaw and Polish residents in Rome. It was expected to detect further details of the experience of living in each city over different time periods. The subjects have been divided into five groups based on their period of residence in the city. In line with the modeling



approach, questionnaires and interviews combined allow to have a more detailed picture, including motivations and additional dimensions of representations of the cities. Thus, the interviews contain further information considering the experience of the city not only before and after deciding to live in it, but also gradually over time. Such missing pieces help to understand the process of transformation of social representations, which occurs as a result of living in a city as an expat. The following statements extracted from the interviews help us to identify some crucial factors that influenced the transformation of social representations of the city. An Italian businessman who has lived in Warsaw for 32 years talks about foreign language as having a significant influence on his impression:

Today it is easier to describe the city of Warsaw in a positive way than in the past. It seemed very hostile to me; today I can't say that anymore. The language was very difficult, today I speak it fluently thanks to a lot of effort and patience of my wife and all the poor people who have helped me to learn it.

Other Italian businessman, in Warsaw for 13 years, identifies religion/spirituality as an important aspect that influenced his impression of the city over time, considering Polish religious practices and values as deteriorating over the years, especially with the passage to capitalism: "I find a considerable reduction of values, which I used to appreciate in the past, especially the family values."

Related to values, the question of ideology also has a strong influence on transformation of social representations of the city. The communist past is seen as a factor that has multiple negative effects, like in the short description of an Italian diplomat who has been in Warsaw for only 6 months, "when I came I had many prejudices and I had thought that Warsaw was an ex-communist city, cold and grey." The past tends to be seen as weighing heavily on the psychological dimension (distrust and sadness of the inhabitants), as well as in practical terms, including dominant grey architecture.

In fact, when asked about monuments and places to visit in Warsaw, many Italian expats do not know what to say, the touristic dimension seems to be often overlooked when freely talking about the city. For example, a lawyer who has worked in Warsaw



for 17 years states, “I have to confess that I have never been a guide to anyone”, refusing to enlist places worth seeing in the city.

It is easier to find out about interesting places not in a touristic setting, but when talking about changes. Italian residents who have lived in Warsaw for many years are in general very positive when they compare the present situation with the past, such as in the case of an Italian professor (in Warsaw for 4 years) who says:

The city is growing a lot, maybe too much, and who has been here ten years ago finds it hard to recognize; it is beautiful, clean and safe. The buildings are really developing, the GDP is growing and the city is growing and in fact everything is developing, like culture and science. A Copernicus Center has been inaugurated; it has a high scientific value...

Finally, relations with people seem to be very important, as in general Poles are considered by Italians as reserved, distrusting and melancholic. These features transfer to the city in some cases, using a personification, such as this the one below, expressed by an Italian businessman, in Warsaw for 19 years:

I would define Warsaw as more melancholic than sad or maybe too heavy due to its history, not exactly joyful. Even young people, although always less than before, tend to be pessimistic but realistic.

Overall, from the interviews emerges a complex picture of a city with a heavy, difficult past, which is facing rapid changes and quickly developing as a young European capital. It tends to be identified with its people, not its monuments.

On the other hand, Rome in the eyes of Polish residents is seen from a completely different angle than Warsaw. The interviews confirm the findings of questionnaires concerning differences between the two capital cities. When talking about Rome, Polish expats tend to highlight two aspects: practical difficulties of daily life, especially related to transportation, and an endless list of places worth seeing in Rome.



Concerning functional dimension, Polish residents see negative features of dirtiness and chaos. As expressed by a professor who has lived in Rome for 3 years, “it is a chaotic city and quite messy.” These practical difficulties often cause an emotional reaction, as in the case of a diplomat (in Rome for 8 years) who states, “the traffic makes me nervous, but on the other hand it is beautiful and charming.”

As already mentioned, the initial feeling of being lost tends to be accompanied with awe inspired by the beauty of the city. Emanating from its monuments and grandeur, in most cases it gives an overall very positive impression of a place containing many treasures waiting to be discovered.

Thus, Warsaw and Rome appear as much more different than similar. Both findings of the questionnaires and the interviews demonstrate that the root of this difference is the approach to each city. Even though Italian expats in Warsaw and Polish expats in Rome were asked the same questions about each respective city, each group highlighted completely different aspects. As demonstrated above, while Italians focused on the recent history, ideology and values in Warsaw (in short, its people), Poles mainly considered physical surrounding in Rome.

5.3. Practical implications

The previous section demonstrates that the hypotheses proposed in the beginning of this dissertation have been confirmed on different levels, in line with the modeling approach.

Close looks at the social representations of Warsaw among first visitors, as well as comparison of Warsaw and Rome in the eyes of expat communities, are a small step to explore different dimensions of meaning of a city. Alongside producing knowledge, unveiling some new and often surprising aspects, verifying hypotheses, etc., certain practical implications tend to stem from a sound research.

5.3.1. Missing icon of Warsaw

In case of Warsaw, it is clear that most first visitors do not have a clear idea of what to expect. Their previous knowledge, largely based on the Internet and interpersonal communication, tends to be anchored to the history of Poland (especially World War II



and Communism), but there are not very many clear symbols. From a large set of data, single symbol emerges for Warsaw as clear as Colosseum for Rome or Eiffel Tower for Paris. The strong appreciation of development and economic growth of the city, combined with scientific and cultural progress, as well as still attractive lower prices than in other European countries, are all used in marketing strategies. What is missing is a symbolic place or monument that contains all these positive characteristics and could draw tourists and other types of visitors to Warsaw. As in case of Rome, where many visitors initially come to see Colosseum and Vatican, and then discover all the other places, so in case of Warsaw this one symbolic place should be identified and introduced to collective imagery on an international level. In line with the strong impression that Warsaw gives as a modern, economically advanced city of opportunities, its icon could be a contemporary structure, prepared to receive a high number of visitors from many different countries. In this way, the goal would be to identify (or create?) in Warsaw a building such as Sidney opera, which even little children in the Western world can recognize.

5.3.2. Making life easier for businessmen

Many of the first visitors in Warsaw do not come as tourists, but as businessmen. Attracted by cheaper costs and a general good reputation of Poles as hardworking and honest, they too often realize that the language is a significant barrier. Even though tourist information seems quite available, specific information center for the businessmen tends to be perceived as missing in Warsaw. It would be a successful tool to encourage foreign investments by offering a structure (physical and virtual) that gives first a basic information in different languages concerning laws, regulations and details specific to Poland and Warsaw territory in particular, and then offers a list of contacts (preferably with prices) necessary to develop a business activity. Thus, as one of the interviewed Italian residents in Warsaw stated, “I would like to have a possibility to know right away which notaries, lawyers, accountants and architects in Warsaw know both Polish and Italian norms.”

COMPARISON WITH THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH

6. Missing puzzle

The research concerning Warsaw presented in previous chapters is a part of a wider research project launched by de Rosa in 1992 that gradually has been extended to the total of eight European historical capitals. Even though there are some significant differences regarding the number of subjects, the administration of the questionnaires and the time period of research in each city, it may be interesting to compare Warsaw with the other capitals.

The same questionnaire has been used to explore the social representations of the city among first visitors in Helsinki, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Paris, Rome and Vienna.

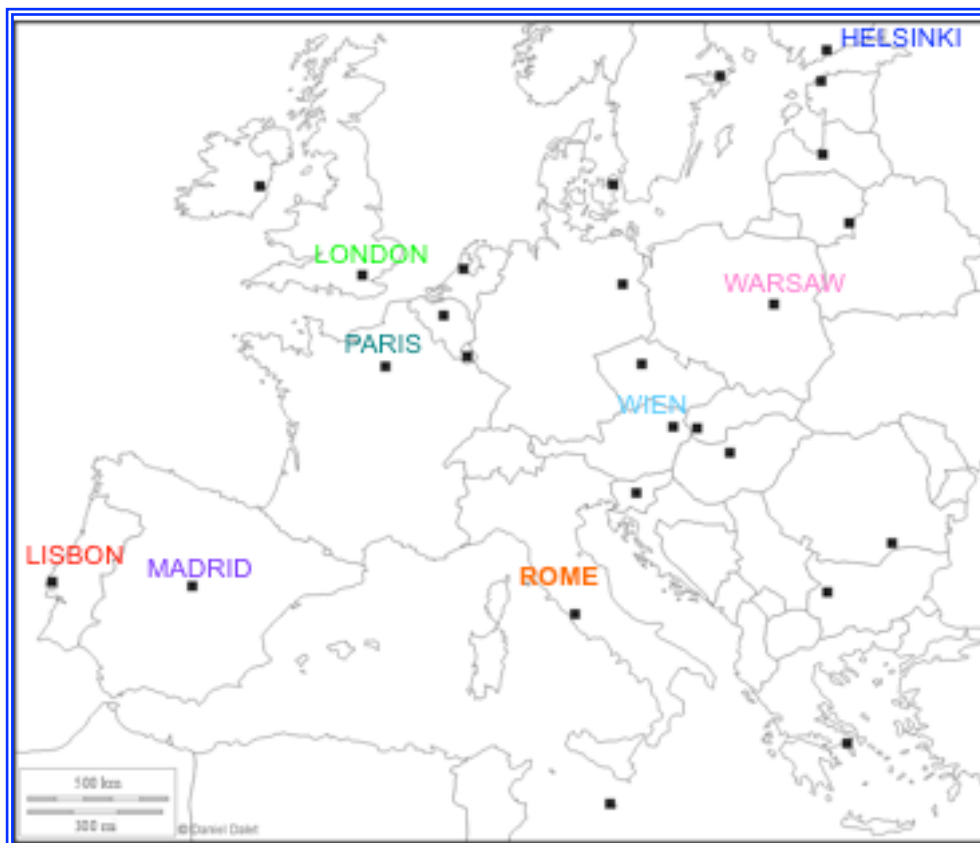


Fig. 119. European historical capitals under scrutiny

These European historical capitals each year draw many tourists and other types of visitors. The subjects of this research have some common characteristics:

- They are first visitors (for the first time in the city);



- They belong to one of the following nationalities: Italian, British, American, Spanish, French, German or Polish.

6.1. Where do I come from?

Due to the fact that in the majority of the capital cities university students who benefitted from the exchange Erasmus scholarship contacted the subjects, the overall number of first visitors is not balanced according to nationality. Except for Rome and Warsaw, most nationalities in most cities are underrepresented. Only first visitors from Italy and from the United States reach or actually surpass the minimum number of 30 subjects for every city. The following table demonstrates that Germans are the least represented, probably due to linguistic difficulties of the students who contacted the subjects.

CITY	ITALY	UK	USA	SPAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	POLAND
Helsinki	49	29	30	29	24	2	0
Lisbon	35	20	30	29	10	20	0
London	30	0	30	0	0	0	0
Madrid	36	28	34	35	31	11	0
Paris	30	29	30	8	31	8	0
Rome	30	30	30	30	30	30	0
Vienna	47	16	31	19	10	26	0
Warsaw	30	30	30	30	30	30	30

Tab. XLVIII - Number of subjects by city and by nationality

In order to have some more specific information about first visitors in each European capital, separate socio-demographic characteristics of first visitors are presented below, particular to each city.

6.1.1. Helsinki – second home to young adults

The first visitors to Helsinki who participated in the research are from six nationalities. Since Italian Erasmus exchange students distributed the questionnaires, unsurprisingly the majority of subjects are Italian. The following charts demonstrate main socio-demographic characteristics of the subjects.

NATIONALITY

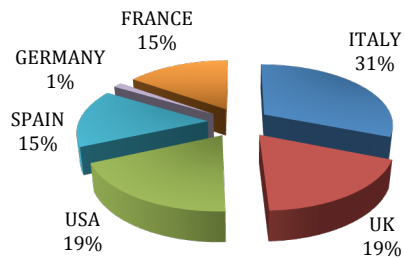


Fig. 120. First-visitors to Helsinki by nationality

SEX

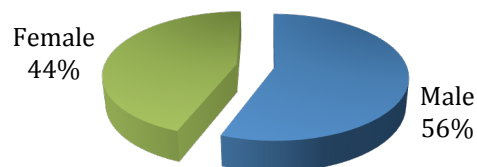


Fig. 121. First-visitors to Helsinki by sex

Among first-visitors to Helsinki, young adults, often students, were certainly a majority. Possibly due to the fact that the city is considered cold and thus more ideal to people with good health and physical strength, the number of first-visitors over 30 was significantly lower.

AGE

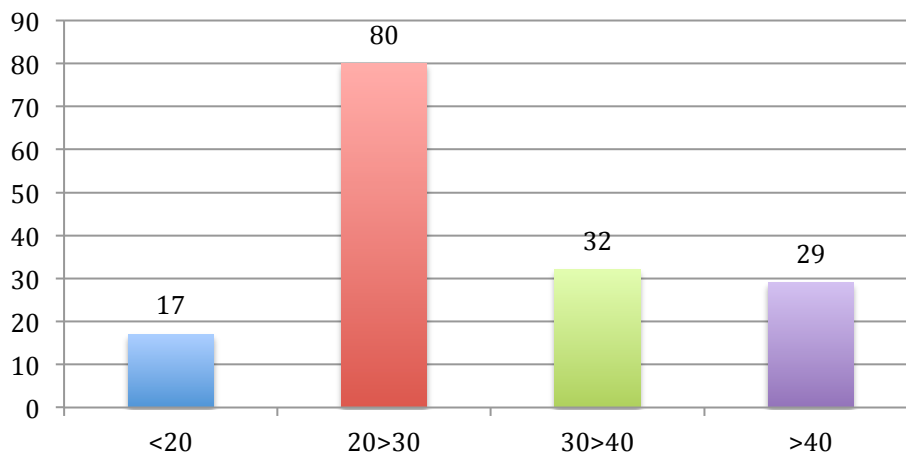


Fig. 122. First-visitors to Helsinki by age

Moreover, the young age of the vast majority of the subjects is linked with their professional situation – almost half of them define themselves as students, often other exchange students from foreign countries who chose Helsinki as a place to study for a year or six months. Moreover, educational level of degree refers to subjects' perception of the fact that as university students they are close to obtaining the degree, and thus 53% of all subjects describe their education as higher.

6.1.2. Lisbon – youth-friendly

The subjects recruited were fairly evenly balanced among six different nationalities, with first visitors from France slightly underrepresented. The majority was female, probably due to the fact that in general young women tend to be more willing to participate in this kind of research, requiring rather lengthy answers.

NATIONALITY

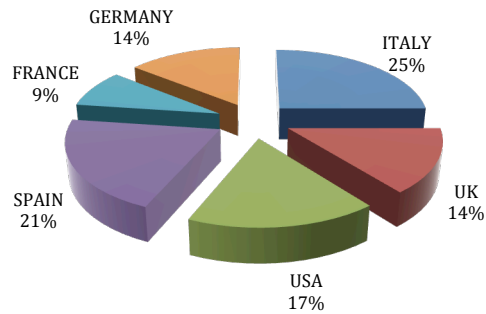


Fig. 123. First-visitors to Lisbon by nationality

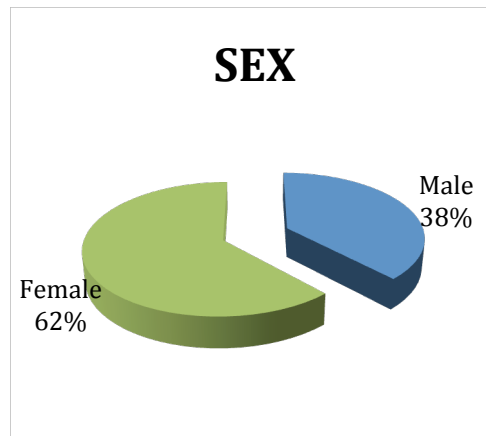


Fig. 124. First-visitors to Lisbon by sex

The first visitors who visited Lisbon and participated in the research were predominantly young, the majority of them younger than 20 years old, followed by a considerable number of young adults.

AGE

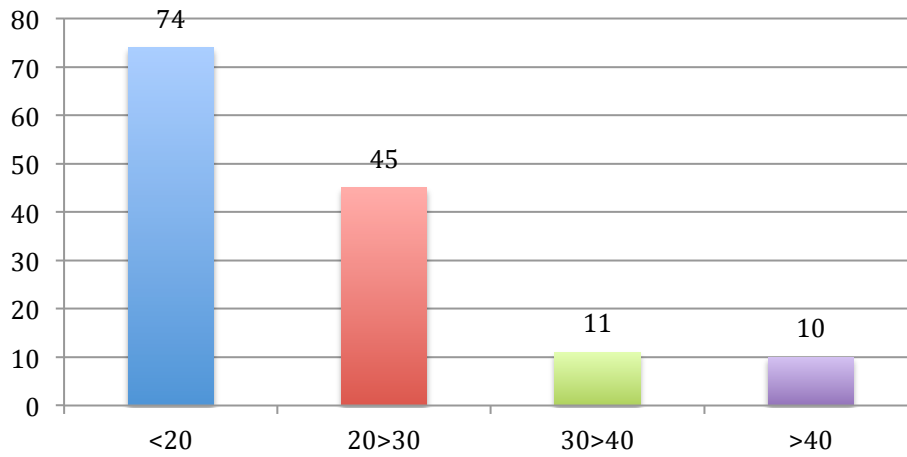


Fig. 125. First-visitors to Lisbon by age

6.1.3. London – where old and new worlds meet

Concerning research in London, only the subjects from Italy and the USA have participated, due to the practical reasons of the lack of human resources to administer the questionnaires. The choice to focus on these two nationalities is due to the assumption that they represented the most significantly different cultures, coming from two different continents. The majority of subjects were female, probably due to the fact that the person who administered the questionnaires as female assisting a course with the majority of female participants had more contact with women willing to participate in research.

NATIONALITY



Fig. 126. First-visitors to London by nationality

SEX

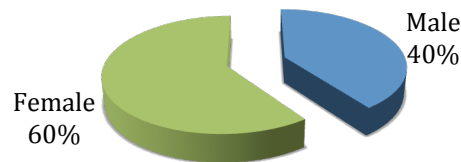


Fig. 127. First-visitors to London by sex

Concerning the age of subjects, majority who visited London belonged to the age group of young adults. The reason why in London, as well as in other European capitals the participants in research tend to be young is because of the requirement of being first visitors, and thus visiting the city for the first time. At a more advanced age, usually people who come to London have already seen it before.

AGE

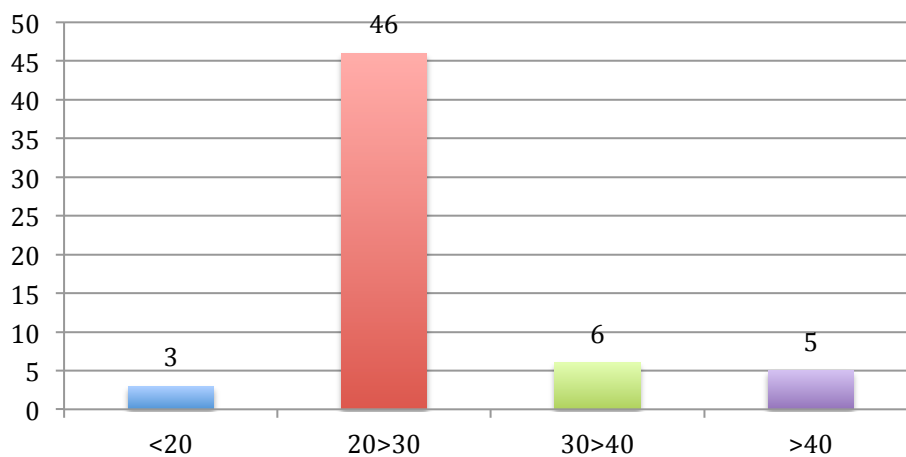


Fig. 128. First-visitors to London by age

6.1.4. Madrid - not very many visitors from Germany

The first visitors to Madrid who participated in research belonged to six different nationalities, fairly well balanced except for the subjects from Germany. There were more female participants, although in terms of gender the balance has been maintained.

NATIONALITY

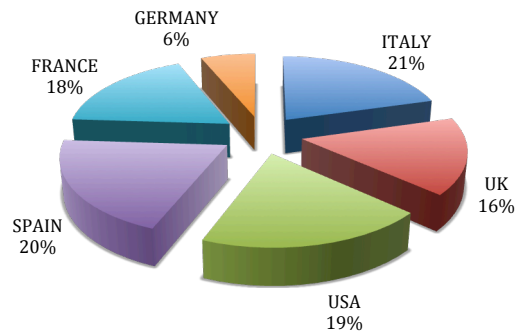


Fig. 129. First-visitors to Madrid by nationality

SEX

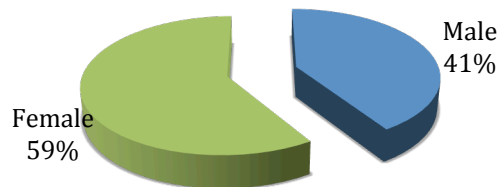


Fig. 130. First-visitors to Madrid by sex

Concerning age, more than 85% of the subjects were young adults, mostly students who came to Madrid as tourists, for a fairly short time. Often their motives for coming to the city included work and studies, which further explains why this particular age group was so well represented.

AGE

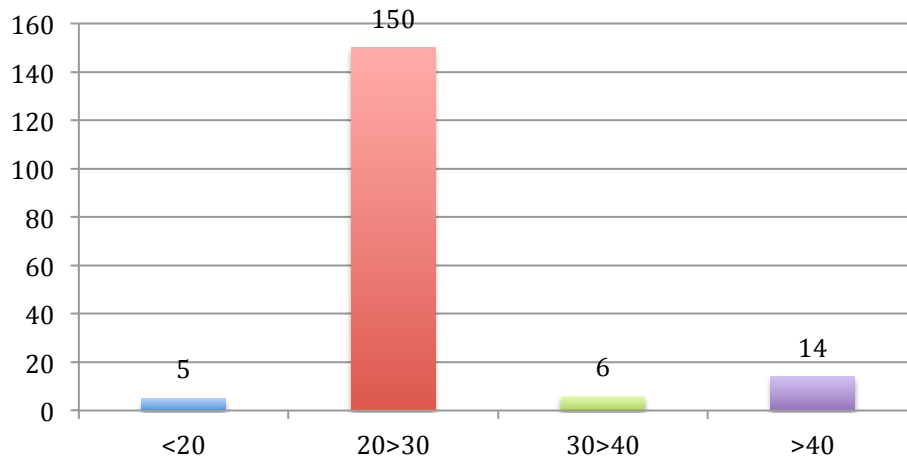


Fig. 131. First-visitors to Madrid by age

6.1.5. Paris - where it is harder to find Germans and Spanish

Among first visitors in Paris who participated in the research project as subjects, the nationalities of Spanish and Germans were underrepresented compared with other ones. The distribution of subjects according to age was almost equal, with the difference of 1%.

NATIONALITY

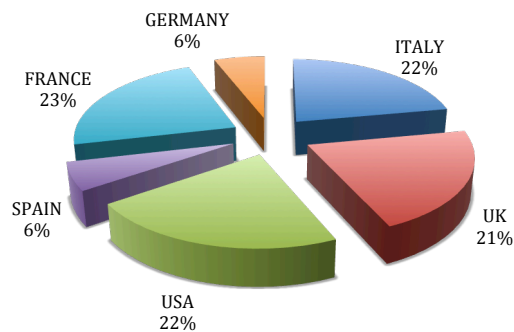


Fig. 132. First-visitors to Paris by nationality

SEX

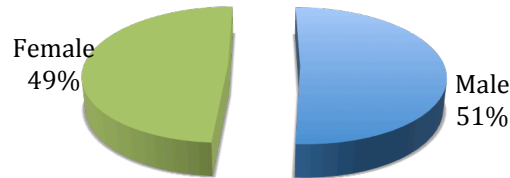


Fig. 133. First-visitors to Paris by sex

Concerning age groups, the highest percentage of subjects (63%) were young adults, followed by first visitors between 30 and 40 years old who constituted 16% of subjects. As in case of other European capitals, the majority of the subjects correspond to the demographic profile of students who administered the questionnaires.

AGE

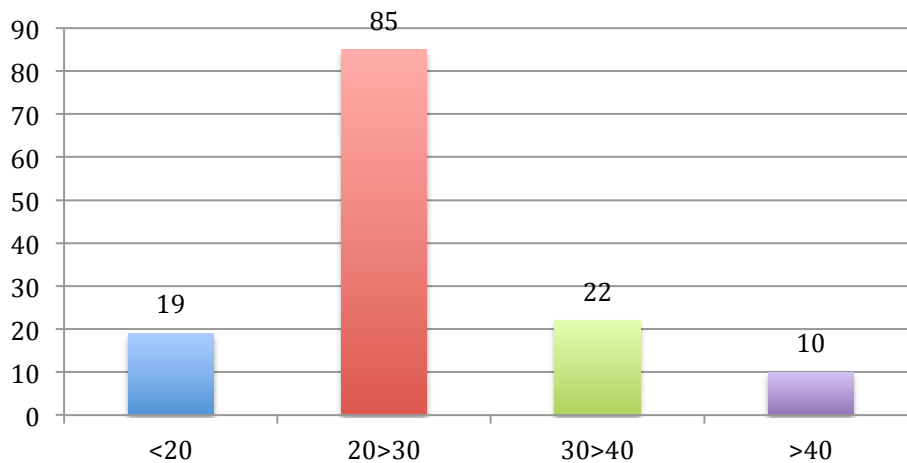


Fig. 134. First-visitors to Paris by age

6.1.6. Rome - ideal for comparison

The first visitors to Rome were perfectly balanced in terms of nationality (30 subjects from each country) and in terms of sex, with a slight majority of males. Due to fewer

limitations concerning practical aspects of administering the questionnaires, it was possible to contact the subjects before and after the visit.

NATIONALITY

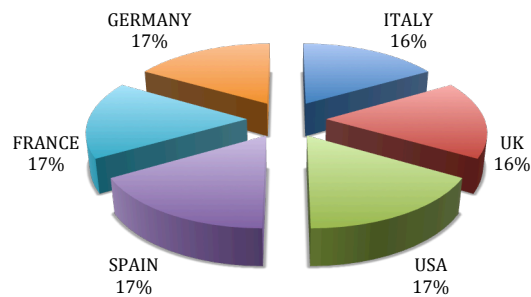


Fig. 135. First-visitors to Rome by nationality

SEX



Fig. 136. First-visitors to Rome by sex

Concerning age, 63% of all subjects belong to the age group of young adults, probably due to the fact that university students administered the questionnaires and they found it easier to contact young people. Moreover, since Rome appears as one of the most popular European capitals among tourists, unsurprisingly many visitors see it for the first time at a fairly young age. However, the number of subjects over 40 years old was quite high.

AGE

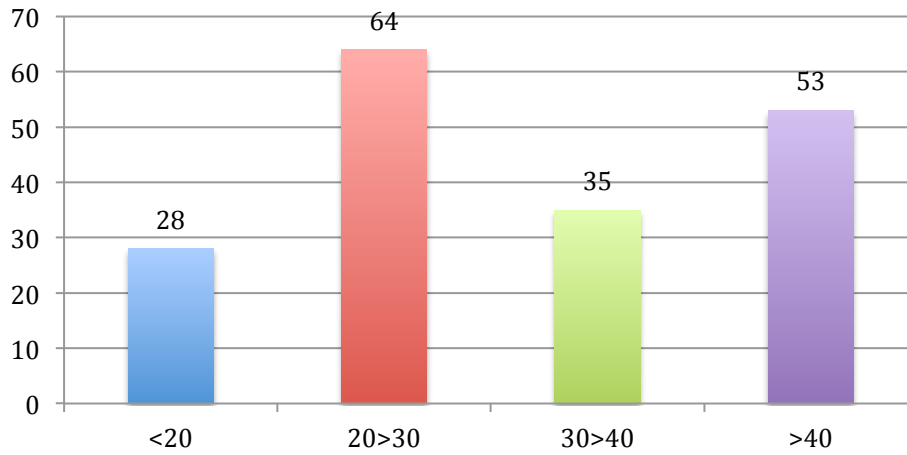


Fig. 137. First-visitors to Rome by age

6.1.7. Vienna - where French visitors are a minority

The first visitors who participated in the study concerning Vienna were fairly well balanced in terms of nationality, with the exception of subjects from France who constituted a minority. On the other hand, especially Italians were numerous, probably due to the fact that the Italian students administered the questionnaires. Slightly more than a half of the subjects were female.

NATIONALITY

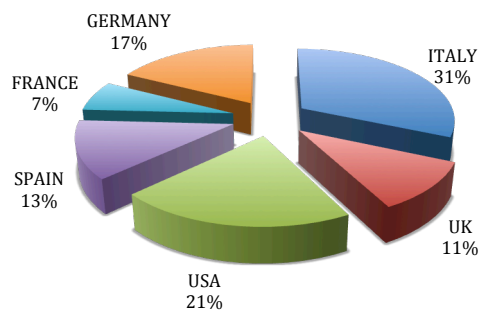


Fig. 138. First-visitors to Vienna by nationality

SEX



Fig. 139. First-visitors to Vienna by sex

As in case of the majority of other European capitals, also in case of Vienna the subjects were predominantly young adults. First visitors in their thirties were also fairly well represented. Again, the age group of young adults corresponded to the age of students who administered the questionnaires, and thus were probably easier to contact by them.

AGE

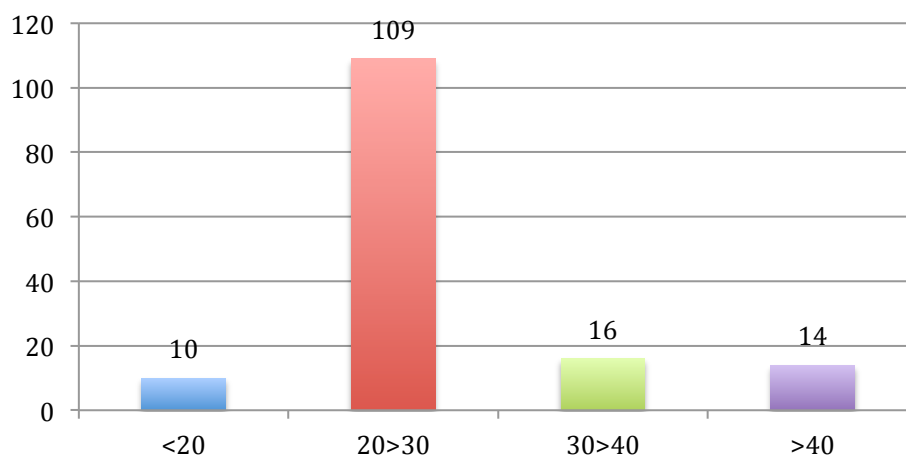


Fig. 140. First-visitors to Vienna by age

6.1.8. Warsaw - new group of first-visitors

Warsaw is the only city so far where the first visitors from seven different nationalities have been asked to participate, including Poles who were not considered in case of other cities. Perfectly balanced number of subjects in terms of nationality (30 from each

country) is also well balanced in terms of sex, with approximately a half of female and a half of male participants.

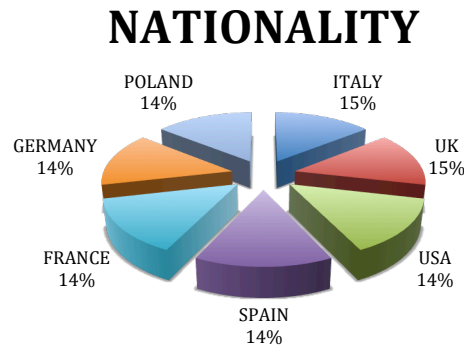


Fig. 141. First-visitors to Warsaw by nationality



Fig. 142. First-visitors to Warsaw by sex

Concerning age, the first visitors to Warsaw were fairly well distributed, with the majority of subjects who were young adults, followed by much older subjects, significantly underrepresented in case of other cities. The fact that in each city young subjects are the most numerous group makes the comparison easier. It is also unsurprising, as already mentioned, because at an older age much less visitors come to any city for the first time in their lives.

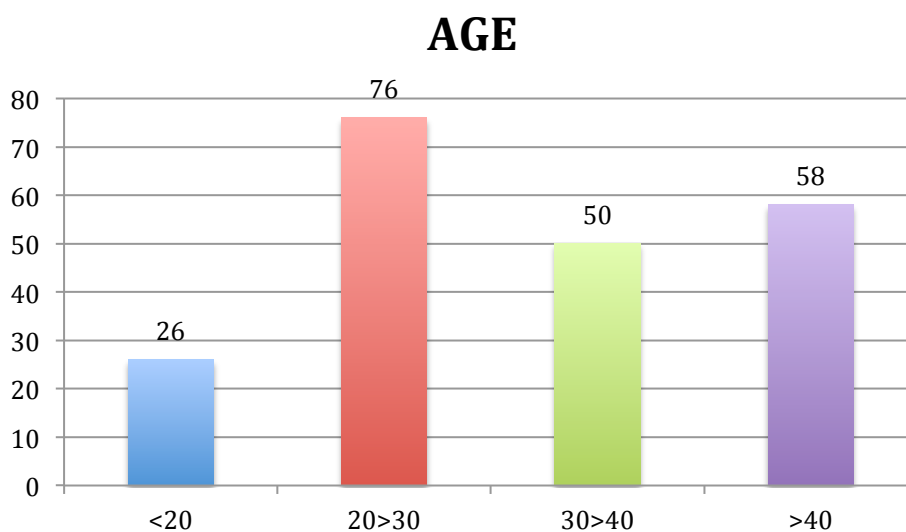


Fig. 143. First-visitors to Warsaw by age

Overall, in spite of different numbers of subjects in each city, it is interesting to compare the social representations of historical European capitals among predominantly young first visitors from six different nationalities (seven in case of Warsaw). An average subject is a young adult, a student in her twenties, visiting the city as a tourist.

6.2. What do I bring with me?

A typical question that one asks before taking a trip is: what should I bring with me? The same question can be applied in a metaphorical way to knowledge about a place. It encloses the fundamental issue of the relationship between individuals and society (Markova, 2003), which is also vital for the theory of social representations, expanded to a triadic relationship discussed in Chapter 1. The exchange of information about the city through formal schooling, art, and in general virtual and interpersonal communication appears as an example of these fundamental relations, which are also crucial for the genesis, dynamics and functions of social representations (Jovchelovitch, 1996). The first visitors come to a new city with a whole set of ideas and assumptions, based on information gained from different sources, such as books, conversations with friends, tourist guides, etc. It is normal to accumulate knowledge in various ways, while the importance of each one can be different to each individual. The following chart

demonstrates the importance attributed to different sources of information in case of each European capital.

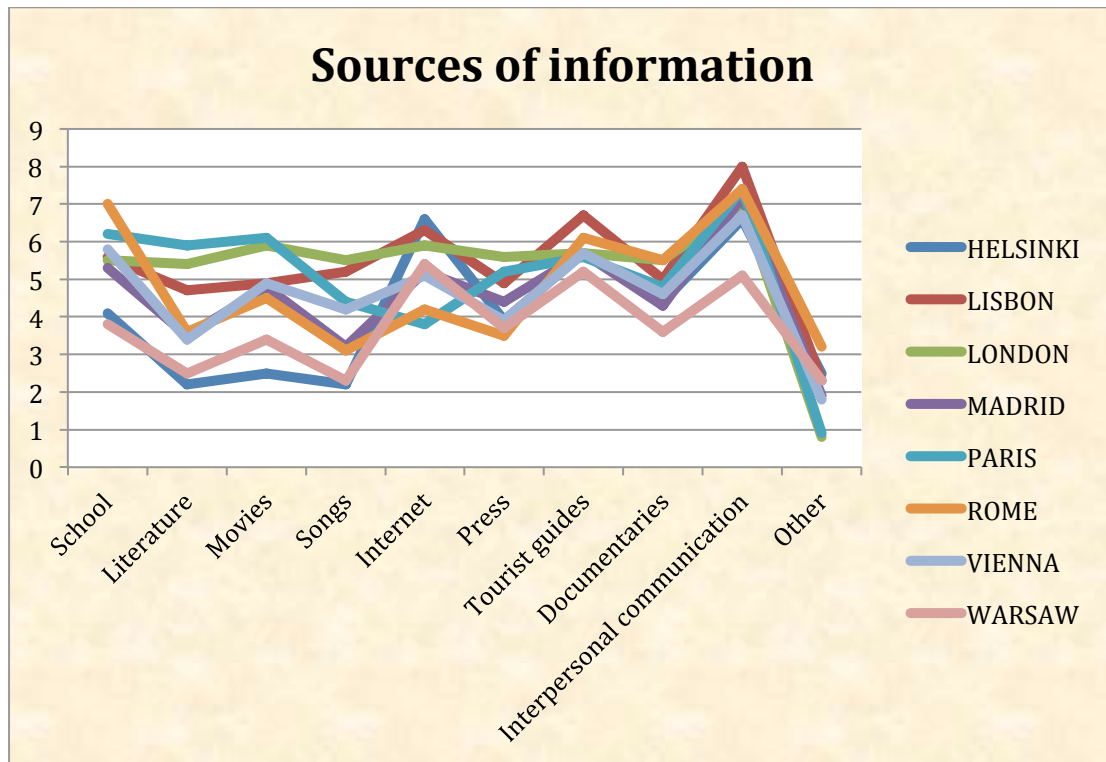


Fig. 144. Average importance of sources of information about each city

Overall, first visitors tend to attribute the highest importance to interpersonal communication. It is the most important source of information for all cities, with the exception of Helsinki and Warsaw; only in these two European capitals the subjects declared Internet as the main source of information.

Quite surprisingly, the first visitors to Lisbon generally attribute the highest values to their sources of information about the city. Also the subjects who visited London and Paris rank higher their previous knowledge concerning these two European capitals. Warsaw appears as the least known city, followed by Helsinki.

Considering separately each source of information among all first visitors, school is ranked the highest for Rome, literature and movies – for Paris, songs and press – for London, documentaries – for both London and Rome, Internet – for Helsinki, while tourist guides and interpersonal communication – for Lisbon.



To sum up, an overall similar trend of the importance of various sources of information can be observed for the historical European capitals. Interpersonal communication and tourist guides appear as the main ways of gathering knowledge about the cities before visiting them. To a lesser degree school and movies also tend to be important, while the Internet appears as an important source of information about all cities except for Paris. Not taking into account the “other” category, generally the least importance is attributed to songs and literature.

6.3. Which place is a must-see?

Another typical question that one asks before taking a trip to a new city, especially when it is a tourist trip, but also in case of business travel, is: what are the most important places to see? It can be expected that European historical capitals have much to offer; yet there is always a question of choice. As described in Chapter 4, this research program stresses the difference before and after visiting the cities. However, it has to be pointed out that only in case of Paris, Rome and Warsaw there was a possibility to administer the questionnaires before and after the visit. In case of the rest of the European capitals, first visitors had to think back about their impressions previous to experiencing the city.

An interesting way to present the summary of findings for each European capital includes a map of the city with the most important places that are marked both before the visit and after.

6.3.1. Helsinki – do not miss the harbor

The first visitors to Helsinki identified the harbor as the most important place in the city, both before and after the visit. The harbor probably appears so often due to the fact that numerous cruise ships embark there each year. It also contains colorful and busy marketplaces, attractive to young visitors.

Some places gained importance after experiencing them, such as clubs, the cathedral, Suomenlinna, railway station, the Orthodox cathedral, Seurasaari and the market. The first visitors also mentioned as important certain places that they did not consider at all prior to their visit: Esplanadi, Sibelius monument and sauna. On the other hand, certain

places lost their importance after experiencing them, such as the Senate Square and museums; or did not appear at all on the list after the visit, such as lakes and nature. Experiencing the city made it possible to identify more places. After the visit, the frequency of specific places increased by over 40% compared with the frequency of places mentioned before the visit, while generic places increased only by 0.06%.

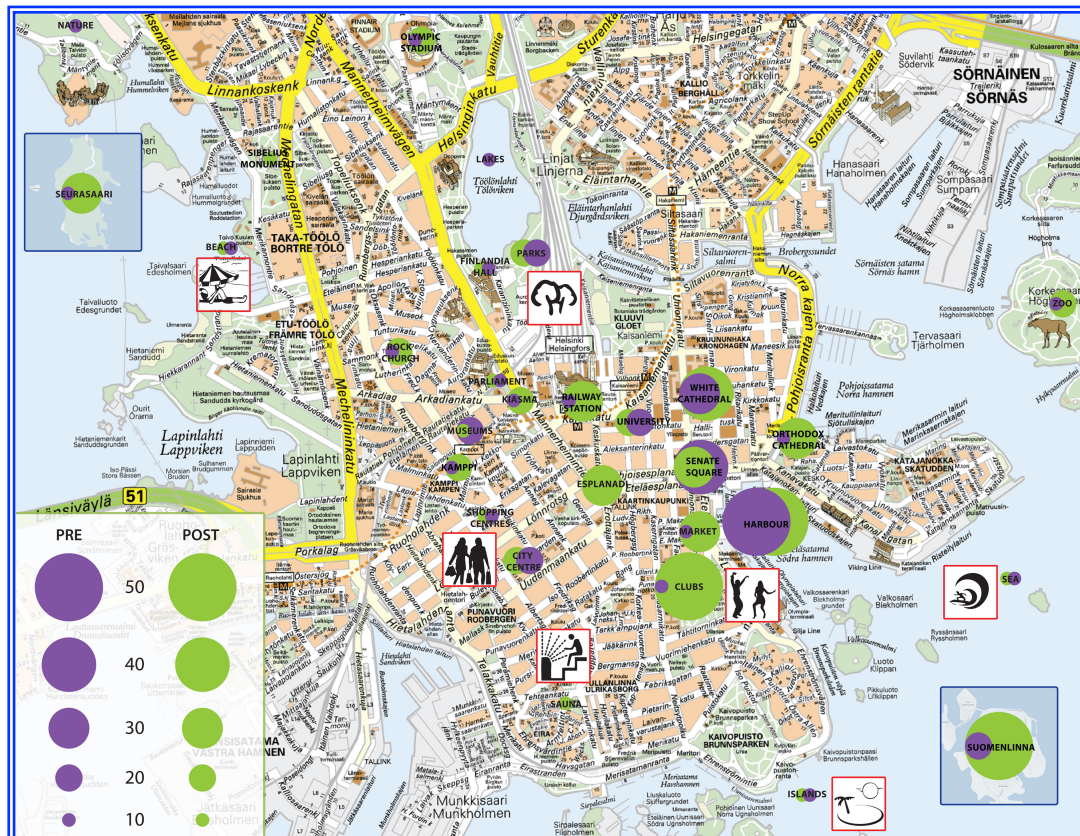


Fig. 145. The most important places to visit in Helsinki, pre and post

6.3.2. Lisbon - Belem Tower as a symbol of the country

Among numerous places in Lisbon, Belem Tower stands out as a very important monument, top ranked both before and after the visit. Often serving as a symbol of the whole country of Portugal and listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage monument, it is the only place that does not lose its importance in the eyes of the subjects after they see it.

Among the most popular places that gained importance after the visit to Lisbon, the first visitors identified Cascais, actually located outside of the map. A small port, popular for

its bay and the fortress, it was probably not taken into consideration before because it is not located in the city of Lisbon. Some other new places appeared as important after the visit, including Cristo Rei Statue, Oriente bus station and the Oceanarium.

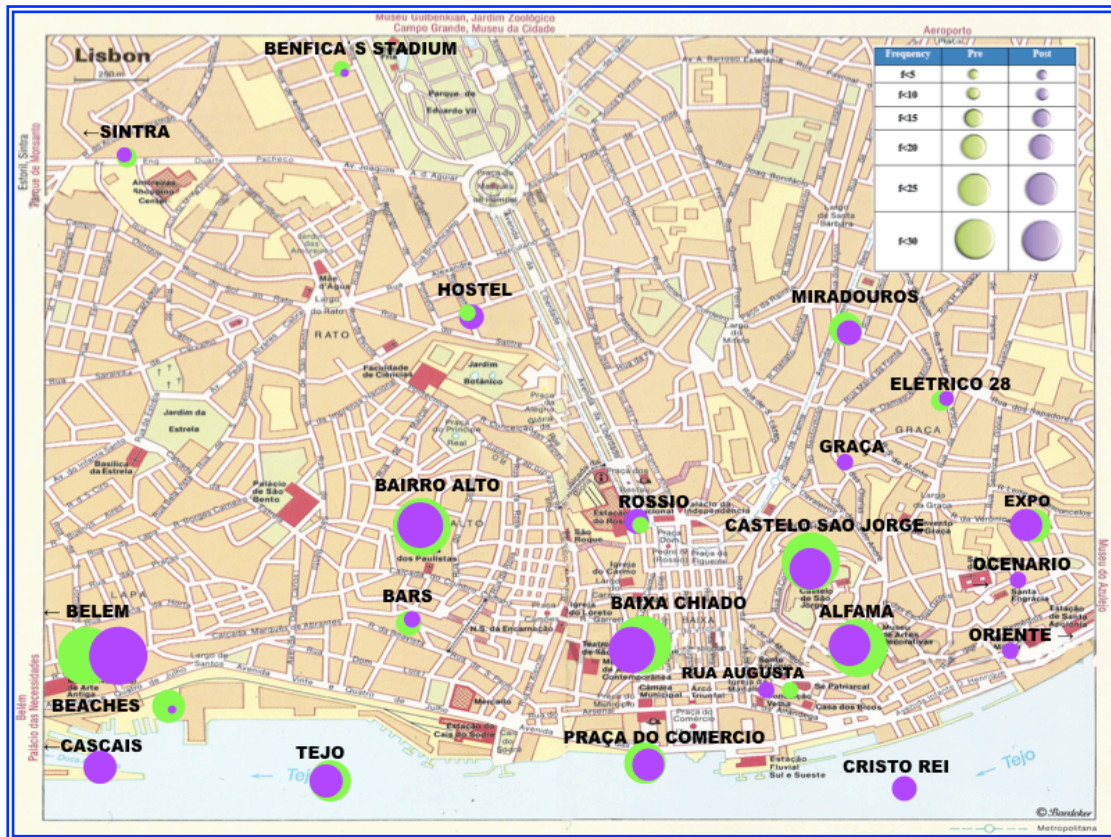


Fig. 146. The most important places to visit in Lisbon, pre and post

6.3.3. London – different preferences of Italians and Americans

Since the case of London is quite particular, due to the fact that the subjects who participated in research were only from Italy and the USA, it was decided to present two separate maps of London, one for each nationality, in order to see the differences between the nationalities.

The map below demonstrates the most important places in London before and after the visit, as identified by Italian subjects.

Among the most important places before the visit Italians identify the Tower of London, Buckingham Palace and Big Ben. Each one of these places loses some of its importance after the visit. Only Covent Garden and British Museum are attributed the

same importance both before and after the visit. Moreover, some new places appear as important after experiencing the city: Soho, Portobello and Borough Market. Italian subjects also mention such generic places as pubs (recalled as important before the visit) and parks (quite important especially after the visit).

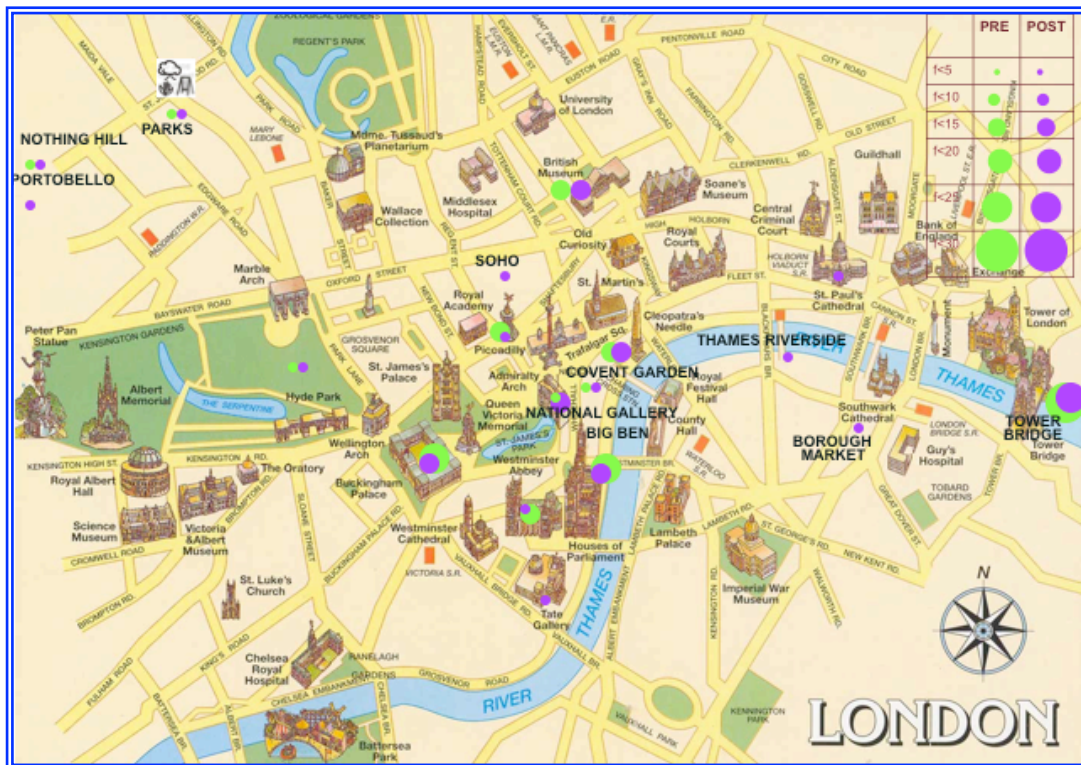


Fig. 147. The most important places to visit in London according to Italians, pre and post

Concerning visitors from the USA, important places before and after the visit are quite different from those identified by Italians. Oxford is identified as the most important place to see in London, followed by Nothing Hill and Soho. Among generic places the subjects mention restaurants, more important after than before the visit.

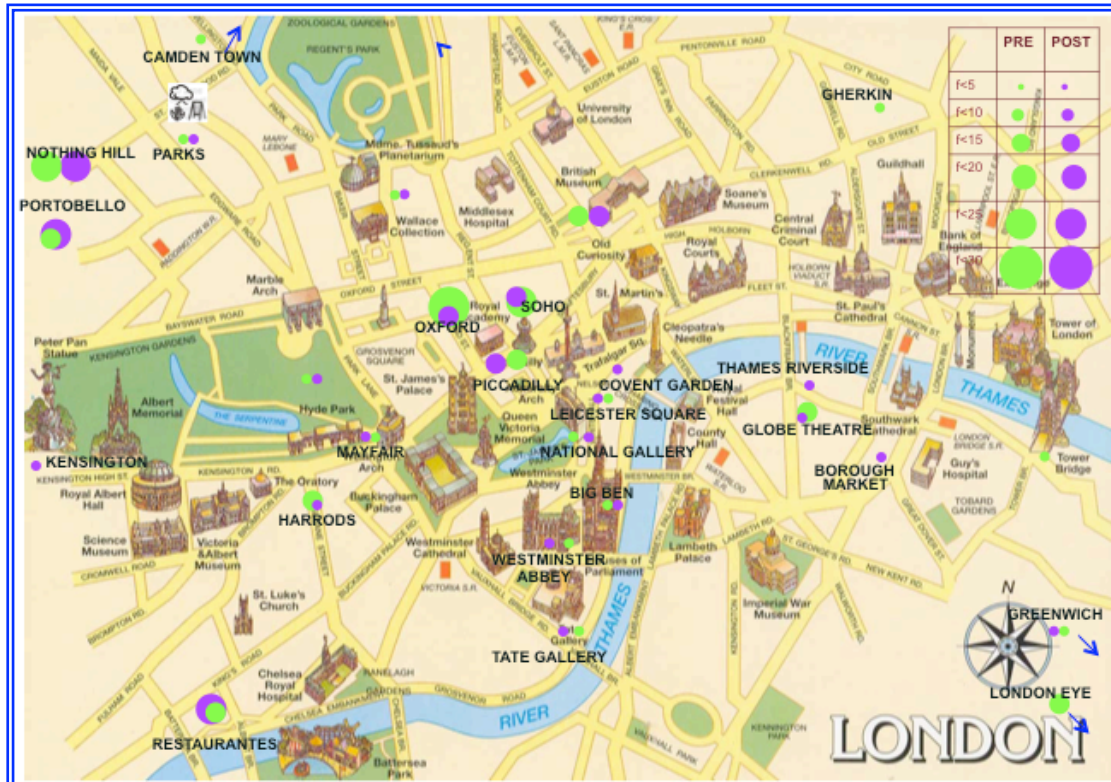


Fig. 148. The most important places to visit in London according to Americans, pre and post

6.3.4. Madrid – from Prado Museum to the park

Among the most important places before the visit, the subjects identify Prado Museum, Parque del Retiro, Puerta del Sol and Plaza Mayor. Among these places only Prado Museum appears as a little bit less important after the visit, while other places gain importance after experiencing them. In particular, Parque del Retiro is perceived as the most important place after the visit, probably because of the beauty and peace of the scenery, with lake and nice architecture.



Fig. 149. The most important places to visit in Madrid, pre and post

6.3.5. Paris – the power of the tower

The most important places in Paris is without doubt the Eiffel Tower, assessed as slightly more important before the visit than after. The second most important place before the visit, Louvre, appears just as important after the experiencing it. Notre Dame, Seine and Arc de Triomphe all lose some importance after the visit. As in case of all the other cities, the list of places mentioned after the visit is much longer than the list of places mentioned before the visit, since it includes some new elements. Among places that gained importance after experiencing them, the subjects enlist Montmartre, Champs Elysees, Sacre Coeur, Latin District and Pompidou Center. Overall, in case of Paris it is clear that the Eiffel Tower always appears as the most important place, without doubt - an icon of the city.

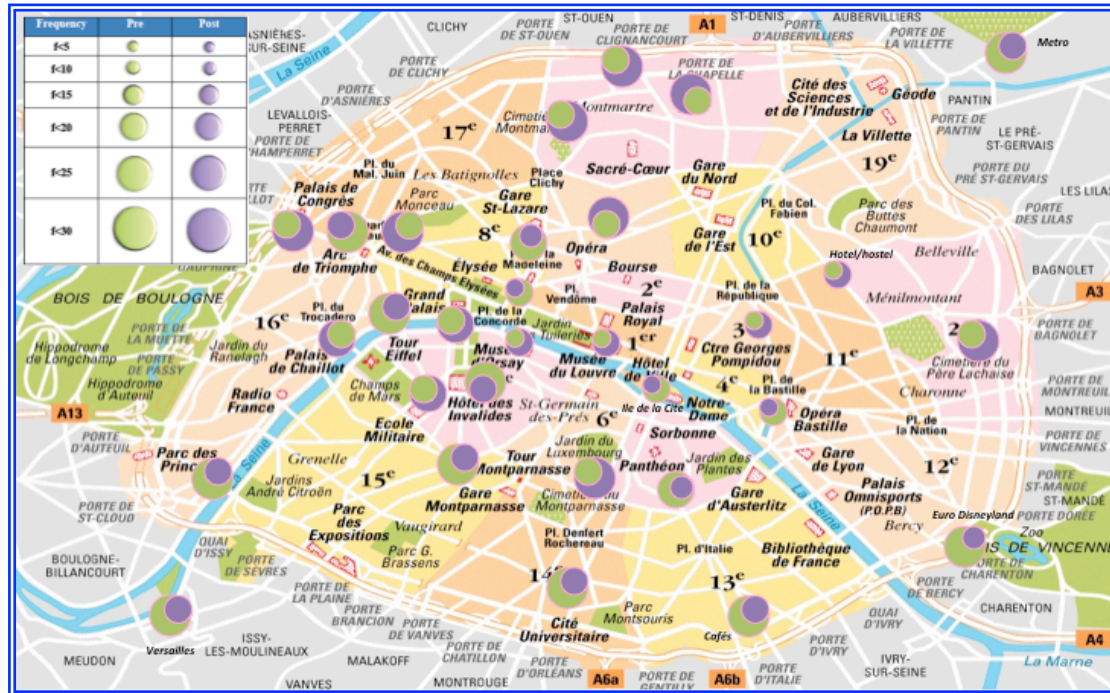


Fig. 150. The most important places to visit in Paris, pre and post

6.3.6. Rome – Colosseum reigns

Colosseum certainly appears as the most important place in Rome, both before and after the visit. Piazza di Spagna, Trevi Fountain and Saint Peter's Basilica follow it as the most important places before the visit. On the other hand, after the visit a completely new place appears as ranked the second – Trastevere. Probably due to the young age of the visitors, they tend to prefer this trendy neighborhood.

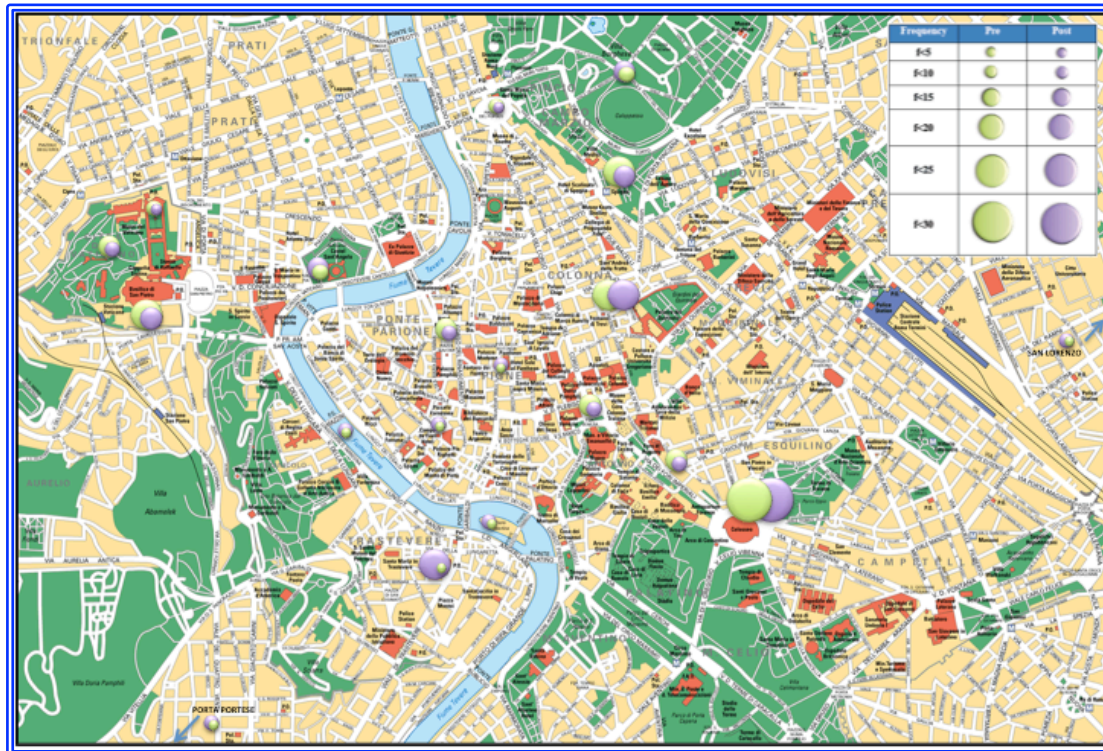


Fig. 151. The most important places to visit in Rome, pre and post

Some other new places that appear as quite important only after the visit, Porta Portese (a flea market) and San Lorenzo (a university area) are not typically touristic, but rather well known among students and in general young people who live in Rome. Among traditional tourist destinations in Rome that gain importance after experiencing them, the subjects mention Castel Sant'Angelo close to the Vatican, Villa Borghese Park, Pantheon, Tiber River, Campo dei Fiori and Isola Tiberina.

6.3.7. Vienna – fascinating Sisi

Schonbrunn, also described as “Sisi’s palace” appears as the most important place in Vienna, slightly more so after the visit than before. Follow Hofburg and the Opera, ranked as quite important places before the visit. The situation changes after experiencing different places: previously attributed scarce importance, Stefansdom, Danube River, Rathaus, Prater and Belvedere appear as more important after the visit. Among generic places in Vienna, the subjects mention museums, parks, theaters and discos, probably associated with leisure by university students.

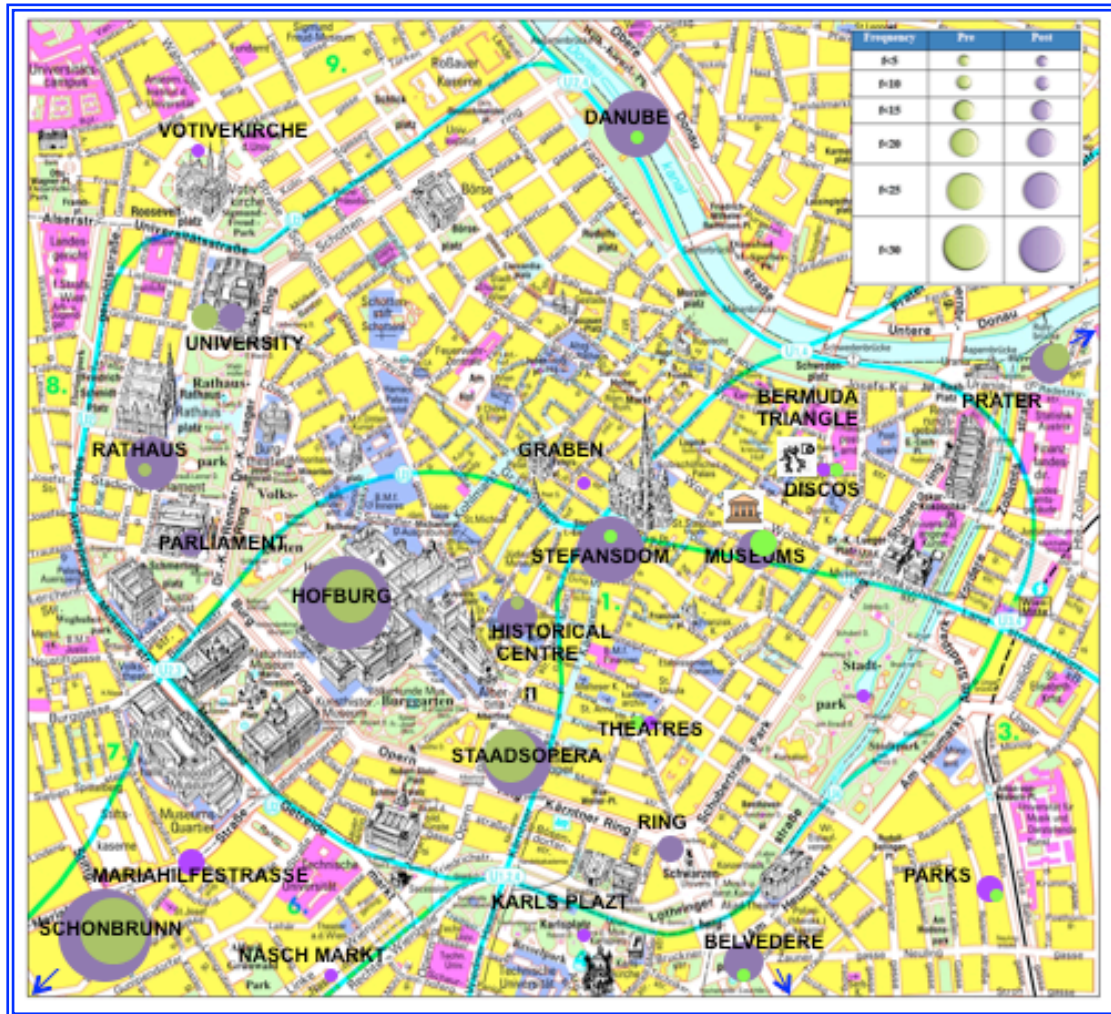


Fig. 152. The most important places to visit in Vienna, pre and post

6.3.8. Warsaw – between the Old Town and parks

In Warsaw, the most important places before the visit include the Old Town, Palace of Culture (especially important to first-visitors from Poland), ghetto (enlisted especially by first-visitors from Italy and Spain), parks, the Royal Castle and shops. The evaluation of importance changes after the visit, as parks become the most important (especially Lazienki Park known for open-air concerts), followed by the Old Town, Palace of Culture, streets (especially the main street), museums, the Royal Castle, university, monuments, neighborhoods (especially Praga), shops, Chopin related places and Vistula River. In case of Warsaw, experiencing the city results in mentioning many new places and being able to give some examples of generic places.



Fig. 153. The most important places to visit in Warsaw, pre and post

Overall, considering all eight capitals, some trends can be detected regarding the preferences of the subjects. Due to the predominantly student age of the visitors, university tends to be mentioned in case of each city. Also, young, trendy neighborhoods with clubs, nightclubs, bars and discos are often mentioned by the first-visitants who opt for places like Soho in London, Trastevere in Rome or Praga in

Warsaw. Nature present in parks or on the riverbanks offers inexpensive and active forms of leisure highly valued by young people in all capitals.

6.4. What are the social representations of each city?

In case of each capital city under scrutiny, the subjects produced associative networks (de Rosa, 2002) that made it possible to identify the most important components of social representations of the cities. Analyzed using SPAD-T, a lexical correspondence analysis software, social representations of each city can be presented as composed of different factors (based on Chi^2). Each factor can be interpreted as a juxtaposition of two different semantic universes. A histogram demonstrates the variance explained by each of the fifteen factors, in decreasing order. Concerning graphical representation across two axes, for the sake of clarity and conciseness two main factors for each capital are presented below. In fact, among the five extracted factors, those that explain the most of inertia rate are only the first two. In the analysis, the illustrative variables of the subjects' nationality, sex, age, educational level, profession and polarity index have been taken into account.

6.4.1. Helsinki – ideal for a recreational vacation

The histogram below presents the first fifteen factors extracted in the lexical correspondence analysis of the corpus of words associated with the city of Helsinki. Together, the first five factors explain 17.34% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE CUMULATIVE
1	.5048	4.24	4.24
2	.4356	3.66	7.89
3	.3873	3.25	11.14
4	.3793	3.18	14.33
5	.3597	3.02	17.34
6	.3354	2.81	20.16
7	.3270	2.74	22.90
8	.3264	2.74	25.64
9	.3190	2.68	28.32
10	.2987	2.51	30.83
11	.2893	2.43	33.25
12	.2853	2.39	35.65
13	.2773	2.33	37.98
14	.2648	2.22	40.20
15	.2622	2.20	42.40

Fig. 154. Helsinki, histogram

The most important five factors have been interpreted as follows:

1. Recreational activities in the city as a tourist attraction
2. Images of the city versus images of vacations
3. Stereotypes of Finland versus stereotypes of the North
4. Helsinki in plain air versus Helsinki as a Nordic capital city
5. Natural and cultural resources versus prototypical characteristics

The first two factors are further presented in the tables below, which include the most salient words, as well as illustrative variables.

F1 – Recreational activities in the city as a tourist attraction

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
SUMMER	+	24.5	0.59
HOLIDAYS	+	19.1	0.45
FRIENDS	+	14.1	0.35
PUBS	+	8.1	0.24
NIGHTLIFE	+	4.0	0.18
BEER	+	2.2	0.07
KAMPPI	+	1.3	0.06
NIGHT	+	1.2	0.05
PARKS	+	1.2	0.06
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, SPANISH, GERMAN SEX: FEMALE AGE: 26-35 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: DEGREE, HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. XLIX - Helsinki, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 - negative – Images of vacations

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FRIENDS	-	5.5	0.12
EXPENSIVE	-	2.6	0.13
SUMMER	-	2.6	0.05
HOLIDAYS	-	2.5	0.05
CLEAN	-	2.0	0.10
SMALL	-	1.7	0.07
BEER	-	1.5	0.04
WIND	-	1.3	0.05

DARK	-	1.2	0.06
ORDERED	-	1.2	0.05
SHOPPING	-	1.2	0.04
SILENT	-	1.2	0.04
QUIET	-	1.0	0.05
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, AMERICAN AGE: LESS THAN 25 YEARS OLD, 26 TO 35 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. L - Helsinki, factor 2 negative, first-visitors

F2 - positive – Images of the city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
MARKETS	+	11.3	0.27
ESPLANADI	+	6.4	0.16
HARBOUR	+	6.4	0.22
PEOPLE	+	5.1	0.19
TALLINN	+	2.8	0.09
REINDEERS	+	2.5	0.08
SUN	+	2.3	0.07
SEURASAARI	+	1.9	0.09
CAFES	+	1.8	0.06
ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL	+	1.8	0.11
SCANDINAVIA	+	1.8	0.11
SUOMENLINNA	+	1.8	0.10
SENATE SQUARE	+	1.7	0.06
SHOPPING CENTRES	+	1.7	0.05
SALMON	+	1.6	0.06
CATHEDRAL	+	1.4	0.08
FINLAND	+	1.4	0.10
PARKS	+	1.1	0.04
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, SPANISH, FRENCH AGE: 36 TO 45 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. LI. Helsinki, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.4.2. Lisbon – monumental melting pot

The first fifteen factors extracted from the textual corpus resulting from the lexical analysis of words associated with Lisbon are demonstrated in the histogram below. Summed up, the first five factors explain 16.68% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE (CUMULATIVE)
1	.7683	3.73	3.73
2	.7036	3.42	7.15
3	.6900	3.35	10.50
4	.6524	3.17	13.67
5	.6191	3.01	16.68
6	.6022	2.93	19.60
7	.5929	2.88	22.48
8	.5623	2.73	25.22
9	.5571	2.71	27.92
10	.5414	2.63	30.55
11	.5362	2.60	33.16
12	.5255	2.55	35.71
13	.4987	2.42	38.13
14	.4785	2.32	40.46
15	.4682	2.27	42.73

Fig. 155. Lisbon, histogram

The interpretation of the first five factors, each of them containing opposing dimensions, can be summarized in the following way:

1. Concrete, physical aspects of the city versus the symbolic dimension
2. Perceptual discomfort versus cultural resources
3. Prototypical elements of a cultural capital city versus stereotypical elements of city for students
4. Evaluation of material aspects versus atmosphere and contrasts
5. Current conditions of life in the city versus the past of the city

The tables that follow demonstrate the most salient words for the first two factors, as well as significant illustrative variables.

F1 - negative – Concrete, physical aspects of the city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DIRTY	-	15.8	0.23
MONUMENTAL	-	7.4	0.20
LITTLE	-	3.2	0.09
CHEAP	-	2.7	0.07
MULTIETHNIC	-	2.1	0.08
HISTORICAL	-	2.1	0.08
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, SPANISH EDUCATION: HIGH SCHOOL PROFESSION: STUDENT			

Tab. LII - Lisbon, factor 1 negative, first-visitors



F1 - positive – Symbolic dimension

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
BAIRRO ALTO	+	8.2	0.21
FADO	+	5.7	0.21
RIVER	+	5.0	0.17
BENFICA	+	4.2	0.10
AULEJOS	+	3.0	0.09
WINE	+	3.2	0.09
OCEAN	+	2.9	0.09
GREEN	+	2.4	0.07
BEAUTIFUL	+	2.3	0.08
TAGUS	+	2.1	0.09
SUNNY	+	1.7	0.05
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: UNDERGRADUATE, DEGREE PROFESSION: BUSINESSMAN, HOUSEWIFE			

Tab. LIII - Lisbon, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 - negative – Perceptual discomfort

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DIRTY	-	26.8	0.37
MONUMENTAL	-	5.5	0.14
CHEAP	-	4.5	0.11
FADO	-	4.0	0.14
NICE	-	3.9	0.12
TRAM	-	3.3	0.08
LITTLE	-	2.6	0.06
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, AMERICAN, FRENCH, SPANISH SEX: MALE AGE: 26 TO 35 YEARS OLD, 46-60 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: UNDERGRADUATE PROFESSION: UNEMPLOYED			

Tab. LIV - Lisbon, factor 2 negative, first-visitors

F2 - positive – Cultural resources

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
MULTIETHNIC	+	10.4	0.38
COMFORTABLE	+	3.9	0.20

COLOURFUL	+	2.8	0.15
CHAOTIC	+	2.6	0.12
MAGNETIC	+	2.6	0.17
BIG	+	2.1	0.09
NOISY	+	1.9	0.09
CLEAN	+	1.8	0.08
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN			
SEX: FEMALE			
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. LV - Lisbon, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.4.5. Paris – iconic metropolis

Textual corpus of words associated with Paris, grouped in lexical correspondence analysis, resulted in fifteen factors presented in the histogram below. The first five factors explain 16.26% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE CUMULATIVE
1	.5049	4.13	4.13
2	.4144	3.39	7.52
3	.3767	3.08	10.61
4	.3529	2.89	13.50
5	.3383	2.77	16.26
6	.3275	2.68	18.94
7	.3182	2.60	21.55
8	.3139	2.57	24.12
9	.2978	2.44	26.56
10	.2964	2.43	28.98
11	.2759	2.26	31.24
12	.2704	2.21	33.45
13	.2618	2.14	35.60
14	.2561	2.10	37.69
15	.2516	2.06	39.75

Fig. 156. Paris, histogram

The interpretation of the first five factors can be summarized as follows:

1. Metropolis in movement versus icons of Paris
2. Paris, capital city versus Paris, metropolis
3. Mundane Paris, the ephemeral capital of recreational opportunities versus the capital of cultural industry
4. Iconic Paris versus chaotic metropolis
5. Lifestyles and practices versus history and current affairs

F1 - negative – Metropolis in movement

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
COLD	-	4.2	0.22
DYNAMIC	-	4.2	0.17
EIFFEL TOWER	-	4.1	0.28
BRIGHT	-	4.0	0.16
MULTIETHNIC	-	3.9	0.20
ROMANTIC	-	3.7	0.17
MODERN	-	3.5	0.17
FUNCTIONAL	-	3.2	0.13
PARTY	-	2.3	0.12
BEAUTIFUL	-	2.2	0.10
FREEDOM	-	2.2	0.11
NOISE	-	2.1	0.11
DIRTY	-	2.0	0.06
MONEY	-	1.8	0.10
GARDEN	-	1.7	0.05
RICH	-	1.6	0.06
COLOURFUL	-	1.5	0.06
POLLUTION	-	1.4	0.08
PUBLIC TRANSPORT	-	1.1	0.06
GREY	-	0.9	0.04
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, FRENCH AGE: 31 TO 40 YEARS OLD, OVER 40 YEARS OLD EDUCATION: HIGH SCHOOL, DEGREE PROFESSION: JOURNALIST, ARTIST, HEALTHCARE SYSTEM WORKER			

Tab. LVI - Paris, factor 1 negative, first-visitors

F1 - positive – Icons of Paris

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
VERSAILLES	+	4.2	0.14
BAGUETTE	+	4.1	0.21
CHEESE	+	3.6	0.14
NAPOLEON	+	2.9	0.10
NOTRE DAME	+	2.3	0.10
ARC DE TRIOMPHE	+	2.2	0.11
STADE DE FRANCE	+	2.0	0.07
CHAMPS ELYSEE	+	1.8	0.08
FRENCH PEOPLE	+	1.6	0.06
LOUVRE	+	1.6	0.10



MONTMATRE	+	1.5	0.07
BERET	+	1.0	0.03
FRENCH REVOLUTION	+	1.0	0.06
CREPES	+	0.9	0.05
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, AMERICAN AGE: YOUNGER THAN 20 YEARS OLD, 21 TO 25 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: UNDERGRADUATE PROFESSION: STUDENT, UNEMPLOYED, TEACHER			

Tab. LVII - Paris, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 - negative – Paris, capital city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
CAPITAL	-	5.1	0.24
CULTURE	-	3.6	0.17
HAUSSMANN	-	3.5	0.14
CROWD	-	3.1	0.09
BANLIEU	-	2.6	0.08
POVERTY	-	2.5	0.10
INTERNATIONAL	-	2.4	0.06
TOURISM	-	2.2	0.09
HISTORIC	-	2.1	0.08
POLLUTION	-	2.1	0.10
ARCHITECTURE	-	1.8	0.06
MONUMENTS	-	1.5	0.06
MUSEUMS	-	1.5	0.07
FRIENDS	-	1.4	0.05
POWER	-	1.3	0.05
VILLE LUMIERE	-	1.3	0.05
CENTRE	-	1.2	0.04
CINEMA	-	1.2	0.03
STORES	-	1.2	0.05
PEOPLE	-	0.9	0.04
NATIONALITY: FRENCH SEX: MALE AGE: 26 TO 30 YEARS OLD, OVER 40 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: DEGREE PROFESSION: STUDENT, JOURNALIST, SCIENTIST			

Tab. LVIII - Paris, factor 2 negative, first-visitors

F2 - positive – Paris, metropolis

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
MULTIETHNIC	+	4.4	0.18
GARDEN	+	4.3	0.16
COLOURFUL	+	2.8	0.15
CHAOTIC	+	2.6	0.12
MAGNETIC	+	2.6	0.17
BIG	+	2.1	0.09
NOISY	+	1.9	0.09
BRIGHT	+	4.2	0.14
FUNCTIONAL	+	4.1	0.14
ROMANTIC	+	3.9	0.14
COLD	+	2.8	0.12
MODERN	+	2.4	0.10
BAGUETTE	+	2.2	0.09
DYNAMIC	+	1.8	0.06
ORGANIZATION	+	1.7	0.07
CHEESE	+	1.6	0.05
SACRE COEUR	+	1.4	0.05
FREEDOM	+	1.1	0.04
ARC DE TRIOMPH	+	1.0	0.05
COLOURFUL	+	1.0	0.03
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN			
SEX: FEMALE			
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. LIX - Paris, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.4.6. Rome – freshness of history

The histogram below presents fifteen factors extracted in the lexical correspondence analysis of the textual corpus. Altogether, the first five factors explain 17.74% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE PROPRE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE CUMULATIVE
1	.5119	4.65	4.65
2	.4372	3.97	8.62
3	.3527	3.20	11.82
4	.3304	3.00	14.83
5	.3210	2.92	17.74
6	.3045	2.77	20.51
7	.2932	2.66	23.17
8	.2894	2.63	25.80
9	.2733	2.48	28.28
10	.2673	2.43	30.71
11	.2526	2.29	33.00
12	.2418	2.20	35.20
13	.2322	2.11	37.31
14	.2210	2.01	39.32
15	.2145	1.95	41.26

Fig. 157. Rome, histogram

The five most important factors identified for the city of Rome have been identified in the following way:

1. Rome as an archetype versus prototypical sites of Rome
2. Rome as a multicultural capital versus prototypes of Rome
3. The destination for a journey versus lights and shadows of the modern capital
4. The city as an expression of cultures and contrasting souls versus the city where art and history are part of ordinary life
5. Rome, the eternal city versus Rome in the XXI century

F1 - negative – Rome as an archetype

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
PASTA	-	2.0	0.11
CESAR	-	1.8	0.09
PIZZA	-	1.7	0.10
VENICE	-	1.4	0.02
VATICAN	-	0.9	0.06
BOYS	-	0.8	0.04
WINE	-	0.8	0.03
ARCHITECTURE	-	0.7	0.03
ITALY	-	0.7	0.03
MAFIA	-	0.7	0.03
POPE	-	0.7	0.04
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, AMERICAN SEX: MALE AGE: 21 TO 30 YEARS OLD, 51 TO 60 YEARS OLD			

Tab. LX - Rome, factor 1 negative, first-visitors

F1 - positive – Prototypical sites of Rome

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FRESH	+	11.0	0.24
WORK	+	5.9	0.35
FUN	+	5.2	0.31
HOME	+	5.1	0.21
EMOTIONS	+	4.9	0.23
GROWING	+	4.9	0.25
UNTIDY	+	4.8	0.06
CHAOS	+	4.5	0.16
DYNAMIC	+	3.5	0.15
FRIENDS	+	3.1	0.20
GOOD LIFE	+	2.1	0.13
PIAZZA NAVONA	+	2.1	0.08
JOY	+	2.0	0.07
STREETS	+	2.0	0.14
HOT WEATHER	+	1.9	0.10
LA SAPIENZA	+	1.6	0.08
MEMORIES	+	1.3	0.10
WALK	+	1.2	0.07
LOVE	+	1.1	0.07
PARKS	+	1.0	0.06
POLITICS	+	1.0	0.05
BIG	+	0.9	0.04
DISORGANIZED	+	0.7	0.03
POLLUTION	+	0.7	0.04
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN SE: FEMALE AGE: 31 TO 40 YEARS OLD, 41 TO 50 YEARS OLD			

Tab. LXI - Rome, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 - negative – Rome as a multicultural capital

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FUN	-	4.8	0.26
GROWING	-	4.3	0.21
WORK	-	4.3	0.24
PIAZZA NAVONA	-	3.3	0.11
JOY	-	2.5	0.08
STREETS	-	2.3	0.15



FRIENDS	-	2.0	0.12
GOOD LIFE	-	1.9	0.11
VIA DEL CORSO	-	1.7	0.06
PIAZZA DI SPAGNA	-	1.6	0.06
CENTURIONS	-	1.2	0.03
CATS	-	1.1	0.04
MEMORIES	-	1.0	0.07
LA SAPIENZA	-	0.9	0.04
LOVE	-	0.9	0.05
CONFUSION	-	0.8	0.04
TRASTEVERE	-	0.8	0.05
FONTANA DI TREVI	-	0.7	0.03
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, GERMAN			

Tab. LXII - Rome, factor 2 negative, first-visitors

F2 - positive – Prototypes of Rome

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
FRESH	+	21.3	0.43
DYNAMIC	+	7.3	0.30
UNTIDY	+	6.7	0.23
EMOTIONS	+	5.7	0.25
CHAOS	+	3.9	0.13
POLLUTION	+	2.4	0.13
HOT/ WEATHER	+	1.3	0.07
SISTINE CHAPEL	+	0.8	0.03
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, SPANISH, FRENCH			

Tab. LXIII - Rome, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.4.7. Vienna – past and present

The histogram below represents the values of the fifteen factors identified for Vienna, which explain 17.59% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE CUMULATIVE
1	.7002	3.98	3.98
2	.6362	3.62	7.60
3	.6273	3.57	11.16
4	.5877	3.34	14.50
5	.5426	3.08	17.59
6	.5396	3.07	20.66
7	.5231	2.97	23.63
8	.5015	2.85	26.48
9	.4798	2.73	29.21
10	.4647	2.64	31.85
11	.4572	2.60	34.45
12	.4420	2.51	36.96
13	.4296	2.44	39.40
14	.4269	2.43	41.83
15	.4144	2.36	44.18

Fig. 158. Vienna, histogram

The five main factors identified for the social representations of Vienna can be interpreted as follows:

1. Prototypical elements of the city versus royal capital city
2. Functional characteristics versus architectural characteristics
3. Modern versus antique
4. Historical capital versus speed
5. Yesterday versus today

Considering the first two most important factors, tables below enlist the words elicited, as well as present the meaningful illustrative variables.

F1 - negative – Prototypical elements of the city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
WIENER SCHNIZEL	-	2.3	0.14
PRATER	-	0.2	0.10
SISSI	-	1.9	0.10
HEURIGER	-	1.6	0.07
CAFFE	-	1.4	0.07
STEPHANS DOM	-	1.4	0.08
TRAM	-	1.3	0.05
SACHERTORTE	-	1.2	0.04
MUSEUMS	-	1.1	0.06
SPANISCHE SCHOOL	-	0.1	0.05
NATIONALITY: AMERICAN, GERMAN SEX: MALE AGE: 21 TO 25 YEARS OLD, 36 TO 40 YEARS OLD, 46 TO 60 YEARS OLD EDUCATION: MASTER DEGREE			

Tab. LXIV - Vienna, factor 1 negative, first-visitors

F1 - positive – Royal capital city

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
GRANDEUR	+	9.7	0.53
LEGASY	+	9.7	0.53
RULE	+	9.7	0.53
SIMPLE	+	9.7	0.53
COZY	+	8.9	0.11
SILENCE	+	7.7	0.32
CROWDED	+	4.3	0.23
TIDY	+	3.1	0.11
HISTORICAL	+	1.9	0.09
ARTISTIC	+	1.1	0.05
CLAN	+	1	0.07
WELL CONNECTED	+	1	0.05
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN SEX: FEMALE AGE: 31 TO 35 YEARS OLD, OVER 60 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. LXV - Vienna, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 - negative – Functional characteristics

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
COZY	-	48.6	0.53
WELL CONNECTED	-	3.9	0.17
GREEN	-	2.5	0.02
PRATER	-	1.7	0.08
HEURIGER	-	1.6	0.06
VINTAGE	-	1.4	0.04
NATIONALITY: GERMAN AGE: 46 TO 60 YEARS OLD, OVER 60 YEARS OLD EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: HIGH SCHOOL			

Tab. LXVI - Vienna, factor 2 negative, first-visitors

F2 - positive – Architectonical characteristics

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
TOURISM	+	1.6	0.06
CLEAN	+	1.5	0.10
BEAUTIFUL CITY	+	1.3	0.05

ARCHITECTURE	+	1.2	0.06
BUSY	+	1.0	0.03
NATIONALITY: AMERICAN			
AGE: 20 TO 25 YEARS OLD			
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: MASTER DEGREE			

Tab. LXVII - Vienna, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.4.8. Warsaw – worth exploring

The histogram below presents fifteen most important factors extracted from the textual corpus composed of words associated with Warsaw. Five first factors account for 12.75% of variance.

NUMBER	VALUE	PERCENTAGE	PERCENTAGE CUMULATIVE
1	.6613	3.08	3.08
2	.5925	2.76	5.84
3	.5128	2.39	8.22
4	.4914	2.29	10.51
5	.4780	2.23	12.74
6	.4679	2.18	14.92
7	.4490	2.09	17.01
8	.4416	2.06	19.06
9	.4256	1.98	21.04
10	.4169	1.94	22.98
11	.4066	1.89	24.88
12	.3899	1.82	26.69
13	.3856	1.80	28.49
14	.3810	1.77	30.26
15	.3753	1.75	32.01

Fig. 159. Warsaw, histogram

Finally, in case of Warsaw the first five factors have been interpreted in the following way:

1. Patriotic Warsaw versus anonymous Warsaw
2. Dangerous but interesting Warsaw
3. Symbols of Poland versus city of reflection
4. Looking ahead versus looking back
5. Artistic historical Warsaw versus bustling workplace

F1 - negative – Patriotic Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
UPRISING	-	5.7	0.20
KACZYNSKI	-	5.5	0.17
PALACE OF CULTURE	-	3.9	0.18
TRAIN STATION	-	3.4	0.10



CONCERTS	-	3.0	0.07
STUDIES	-	2.9	0.10
PATRIOTISM	-	2.7	0.11
PRESIDENTIAL PALACE	-	1.9	0.08
VISTULA	-	1.7	0.05
METRO	-	1.6	0.08
BUSINESS	-	1.4	0.05
POLITICS	-	1.3	0.04
DIRTY	-	1.1	0.06
PRAGA	-	1.1	0.05
TRAMS	-	0.7	0.03
MERMAID	-	0.6	0.04
RESTAURANTS	-	0.6	0.03
GOLDEN TERRACES	-	0.5	0.02
NIGHTLIFE	-	0.5	0.01
FLAT	-	0.4	0.01
NATIONALITY: POLISH			
AGE: LESS THAN 26 YEARS OLD			
POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE			

Tab. LXVIII - Warsaw, factor 1 negative, first-visitors

F1 - positive – Anonymous Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
SAFE	+	4.3	0.18
CLEAN	+	3.1	0.14
TIDY	+	3.0	0.10
STRANGE	+	2.1	0.06
QUIET	+	2.0	0.05
PROUD	+	1.8	0.07
YOUNG	+	1.7	0.06
BEAUTIFUL	+	1.6	0.05
INTERESTING	+	1.6	0.04
SAD	+	1.5	0.06
LIVELY	+	1.4	0.06
HOSTILE	+	1.3	0.04
SMALL	+	1.3	0.04
CHEAP	+	1.2	0.06
REBUILT	+	1.2	0.03
DANGEROUS	+	1.1	0.02
GREEN	+	1.1	0.04
RELIGIOUS	+	1.1	0.03
DIFFICULT	+	1.0	0.03



FRIENDLY	+	0.9	0.04
PRIDE	+	0.9	0.03
GROWING	+	0.7	0.03
OPEN	+	0.6	0.02
PAST	+	0.6	0.03
TRANSPORT	+	0.6	0.01
SERIOUS	+	0.4	0.02
WOMEN	+	0.4	0.02
NATIONALITY: ITALIAN, GERMAN AGE: 26 YEARS OLD TO OVER 60 YEARS OLD POLARITY INDEX: NEUTRAL AND NEGATIVE			

Tab. LXIX - Warsaw, factor 1 positive, first-visitors

F2 – Dangerous but interesting Warsaw

Word	Semi axis	Absolute contribution	Relative contribution
DANGEROUS	+	65.4	0.78
INTERESTING	+	9.0	0.21
GOLDEN TERRACES	+	4.8	0.14
COLORFUL	+	3.2	0.10
NATURE	+	3.0	0.10
BEAUTIFUL	+	2.0	0.06
NATIONALITY: ENGLISH, POLISH AGE: LESS THAN 26 YEARS OLD POLARITY INDEX: POSITIVE			

Tab. LXX - Warsaw, factor 2 positive, first-visitors

6.5. How does it all fit together?

Considering all different cities, analyzed on different levels, it is clear that the most important illustrative variable appears to be the nationality of subjects. Especially in the case of the most important places in the city before and after the visit, the nationality of subjects plays an important role. The places enlisted by all first-visitors in each historical capital have been demonstrated on maps in paragraph 6.3. Subsequently, in for each city they have also been categorized according to thirteen dimensions: cultural, functional-organizational, aesthetic-architectural, emotional-relational, value system, subjective, nature-ecology, mobility, places-monuments, political-economic, leisure, visual-perceptive and time-history-memory. Already in the first study concerning Rome

(de Rosa, 1992), certain typologies of places have been identified per nationality of subjects: Italian first-visitors opted for symbolic and iconic monuments (Colosseum, Trevi Fountain, etc.) and residential and functional places (friends' homes, Termini train station); English first-visitors in general preferred natural places (Villa Borghese, Tiber); French first-visitors often chose elegant places and artistic masterpieces (Piazza di Spagna, Sistine Chapel); while Spanish and German first-visitors tended to enlist places that offer a good setting for socialization (restaurants, language schools) and popular touristy places (such as Trastevere and Pantheon in Rome).

Although not exactly identical, the above results have been generally confirmed by the findings of the analyses of questionnaires concerning eight historical European capitals. The figure below presents the typologies of places preferred by each nationality.



Fig. 160. Preferences of places by nationality

As in the case of Warsaw, certain *themata* common to most of the cities tend to manifest themselves especially as a result of the analysis of associative networks. The majority of factors are in fact organized along opposing dimensions. The figures below demonstrate in a synthetic way three sets of *themata* detected in the social representations of the cities.

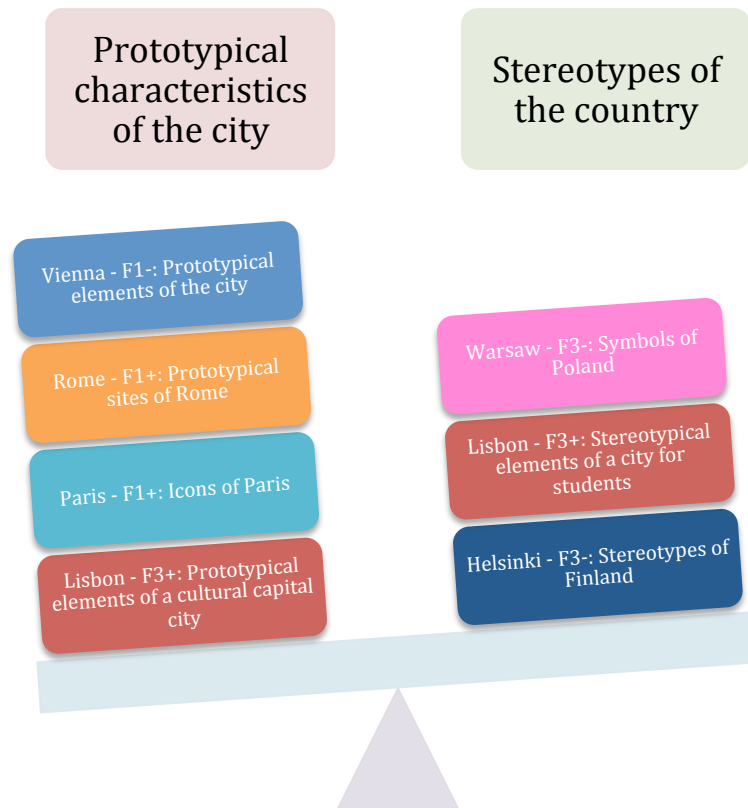


Fig. 161. Prototypes versus stereotypes

The above set of *themata* juxtaposes prototypical characteristics of the city, present in the social representations of Lisbon, Paris, Rome and Vienna, with stereotypes of the entire country, present in the social representations of Helsinki, Lisbon and Warsaw. For example, prototypical sites of Rome such as Piazza Navona or La Sapienza University are unique for this city. On the contrary, especially in case of less known cities such as Helsinki or Warsaw, social representations of the city “borrow” from social representations of the entire country. Thus, Helsinki is associated with wealth, punctuality and blond girls. In a similar way, the social representation of Warsaw that focuses on stereotypes of the entire country includes such associations as: alcohol, Poland, the Pope, amber and East. It is worth mentioning that virtually every capital city can be seen in terms of prototypical versus stereotypical, but in case of more well known capitals (such as Paris and Rome), the former appear as more salient, while in

case of less known capitals (such as Helsinki and Warsaw), the latter tends to be more important.

Another set of *themata* common to many capital cities juxtaposes ancient with modern. European historical capitals play a role of both a reminder of national history (settings of crucial events, museums, commemorations, etc.), as well as financial and political centers oriented towards the future. The figure below demonstrates this opposing dimensions of past-oriented versus future-oriented.

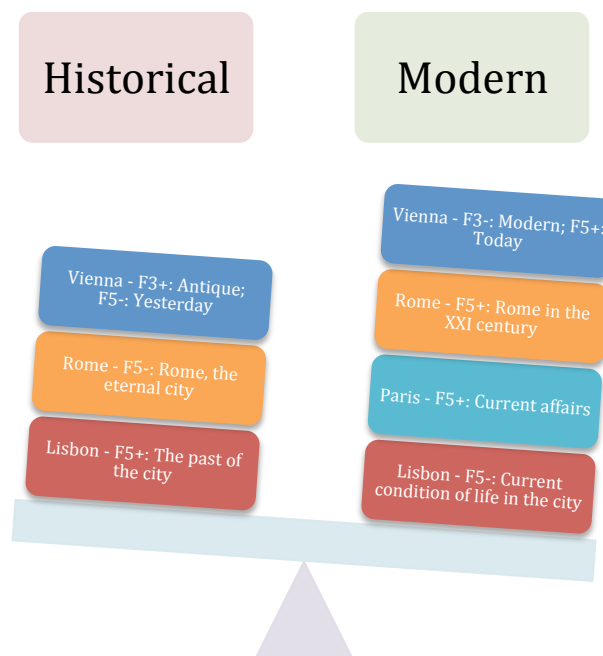


Fig. 162. Historical versus modern

Yesterday versus today, ancient and historical versus modern, past-oriented versus future-oriented – all these represent an old struggle of historical European capitals. On the one hand, each of the cities under scrutiny has played an important role throughout the history of the nation and Europe. As demonstrated by numerous monuments of the past (especially evident in Rome, for example), as well as by the destruction (Warsaw that has been destroyed during World War II, for instance), European capital cities are crucial for the social memory of many nations. On the other hand, especially with the development of the European Union, there is a clear trend towards economic growth,

architectonical and functional improvements, and development in general. Capital cities draw newcomers from other parts of the country, in general offer more opportunities, workplaces and a higher income. Thus, the tension between yesterday and today is evident in case of most of the cities, especially Vienna, where two out of the five most important factors concern this dimension (F3: modern versus antique and F5: yesterday versus today).

Finally, the third set of *themata* juxtaposes fun and leisure with work. Although each city offers both possibilities for enjoying free time and performing professional activities, some of them are more recognized for one more than the other. The figure below shows which cities fit more in each category.

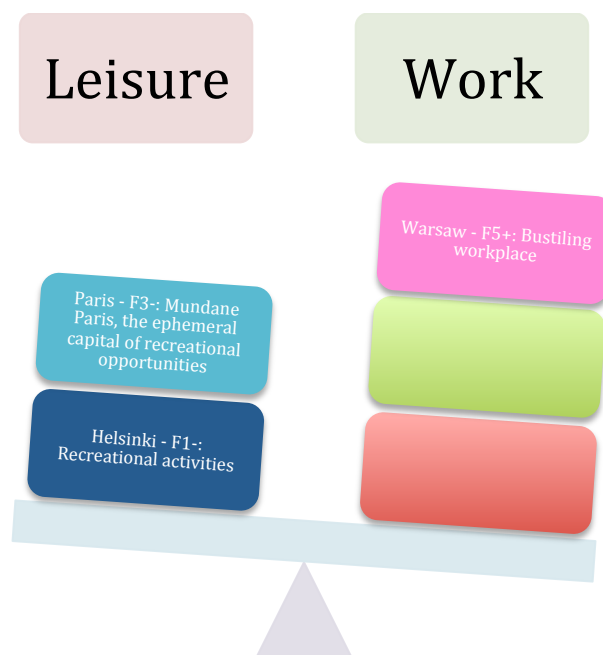


Fig. 163. Leisure versus work

Among all the historical capitals under scrutiny, Helsinki and Paris appear as ideal settings for spending free time. Helsinki, associated with summer, vacations and friends are seen as offering clubs, pubs, parks and nightlife much more than business development. In a similar way, Paris tends to be seen as a place to enjoy free time. On

the other side, Warsaw is valued for work and development. Evaluated as growing, it is considered a suitable place to look for a job or to start a business.

In spite of the existence of the sets of *themata*, none of the cities can be clearly characterized solely on this basis. The dimensions identified and presented below cannot be considered as set apart and monolithic. On the contrary, they are interrelated and manifest themselves in different ways, often depending on the belonging to a social group.

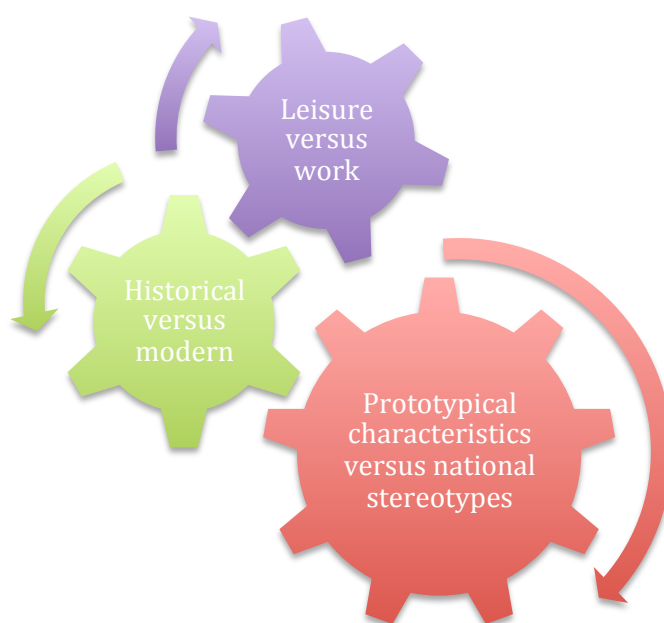


Fig. 164. Themata in different cities

Overall, European historical capitals demonstrate many similarities on the general level, expressed in unique ways on the basic level. Some common keys to understanding their social representations include approach that uses *themata*. The peculiar characteristic of the subjects, first-visitors, allows underpinning the first impression of each city, which usually persists and shapes all the subsequent experiences with the place.

Social representations of the cities contain personal impressions and reflections, as well as general names of places and people that form a part of social memory. The mixture of individual experience of a place with the entire cultural heritage and general information expresses the heart of social representations, which can be found on the top



of the semiotic triangle. To look at a city in this way offers a unique possibility of considering as a whole its physical structures, as well as its atmosphere, impression and personal experience of it.



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Appendices

A. Questionnaire

<p>UNIVERSITY "LA SAPIENZA", Rome</p> <p>Department of Development and Socialization Processes Psychology</p> <p>Chairman of Psychology of Attitudes and Opinions</p>
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We are conducting a research in Environmental Psychology to gain information on the importance of various "places" and "locations" frequented by people to learn about their personal and social identity.

We would be very grateful if you would collaborate with us by filling in this questionnaire. The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information about locations of interest that would be meaningful to you.

We thank you for being willing to help us in collecting this information. This questionnaire is anonymous. Please, if possible, answer to the best of your ability all the questions.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

Age: sex:

Profession: level of education:

Place of birth:

Place of residence: (city)
..... (country)

How long have you resided in your city? (indicate your answer with an x)
 ___ Less than 3 years, ___ less than 9 years, ___ less than 20 years, ___ more than 20 years, ___ from birth.

Why are you residing in your city? (indicate your answer with an x)

- 1) family tradition
- 2) work
- 3) life circumstance (ex. to get a house by inheritance)
- 4) affection for place
- 5) other (please specify)

Have you ever changed your residence?: Yes No

If yes, how many times? (please specify)

Why did you change? ()

- 1) affection for the place of your family origin or for the location of your partner's family origin
- 2) work
- 3) life circumstances (ex. to get a house by inheritance)
- 4) affection for a special location
- 5) other (please specify)

Reason for your stay in Warsaw

- 1) tourism
- 2) study
- 3) work
- 4) other (please specify).....

Have you ever visited Warsaw before? Yes No

If yes, how many times have you visited Warsaw? (please specify)

Why? (indicate your answer with an x)

- 1) tourism
- 2) study
- 3) work
- 6) other (please specify)

1

INSTRUCTIONS

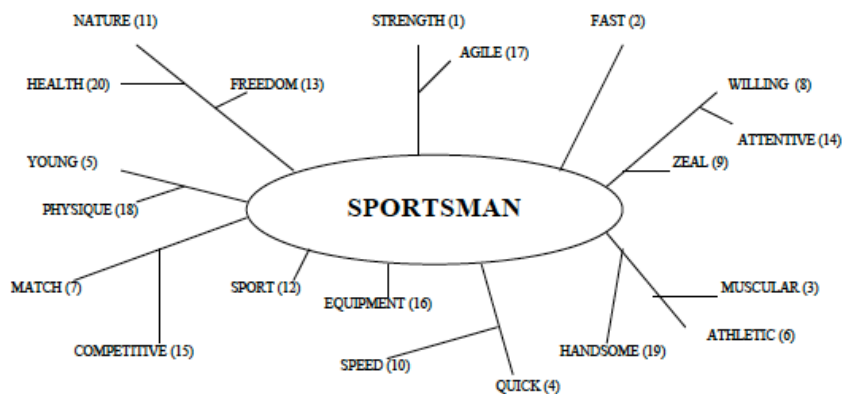
Stage 1

- Build a **'network of associations'** with respect to the keyword presented at the centre of each sheet by writing all the terms (adjectives or nouns) that come to your mind.
- Work as quickly and freely as you can, placing the **words or branching patterns between the words** on the whole page around the keyword.
- As you write each word, **put a number beside the word** to show the **order in which you thought of it**.

Look at the stage 1 example below

The keyword 'sportsman' in the centre of the page is linked with terms (adjectives or nouns) that might come to mind.

Next to each word is a number showing the order in which it was thought of.

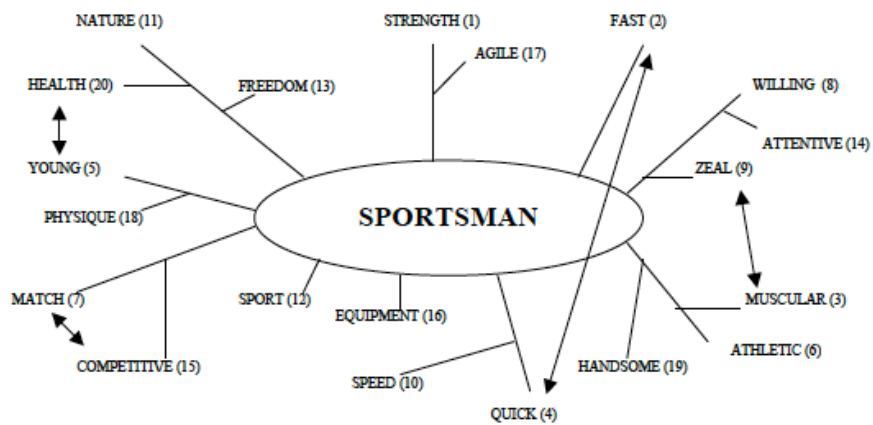


Stage 2

- Now look at the **associative network** you have made and, if you wish, show any further **connections between the words or groups of words** you have thought of by joining them with **arrows**.

Look at the stage 2 example below

The arrows show further possible connections between words or groups of words.

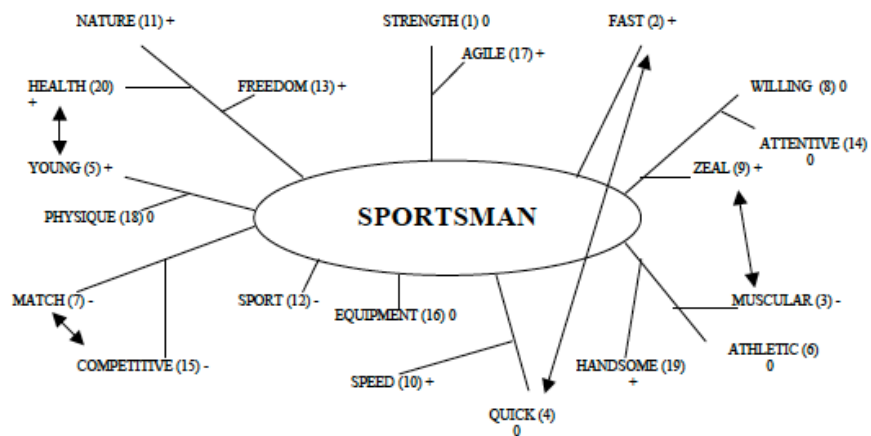


Stage 3

- Look at the words you have written and mark each word as **positive (+)**, **negative (-)** or **neutral (0)**, according to the meaning they have for you in this context.

Look at the stage 3 example below

In the 'associative network', each word is marked as **positive (+)**, **negative (-)** or **neutral (0)**.

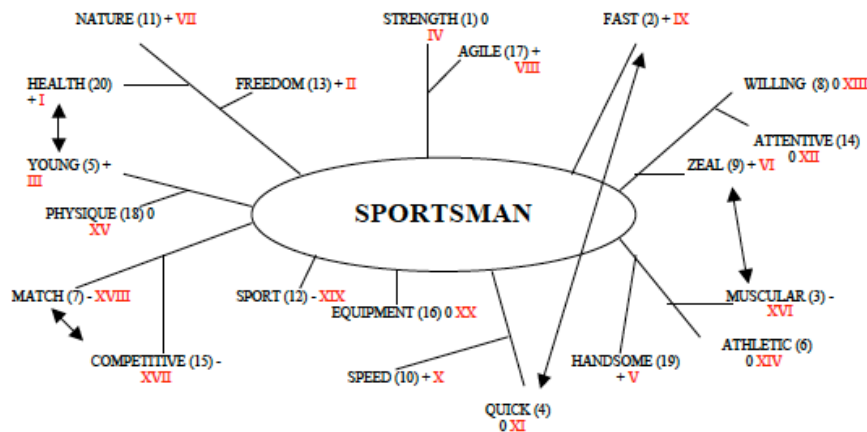


Stage 4

- Finally, **look again at the 'associative network'** that you have made.
- Classify the words in **order of importance**, by writing **I** next to the most important word for you in this context, **II** for the second most important, **III** for the third, **IV** for the next one **and so on** for all the words you have written.
- Please, use a **red pen** for this.

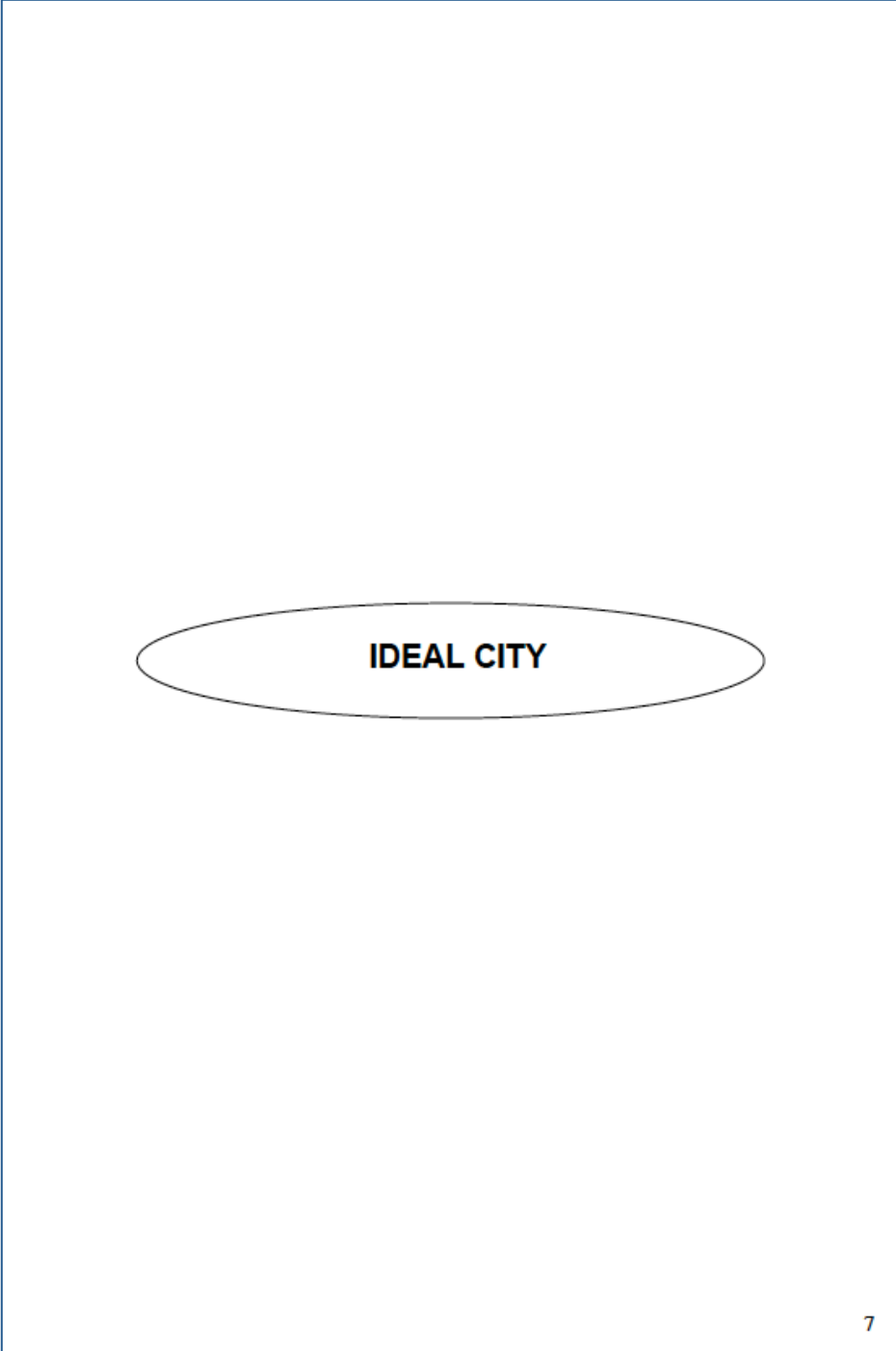
Look at the stage 4 example below

For each word there is a number showing the order of importance (**I, II, III, IV...**) which each has been assigned in this particular context.





WARSAW





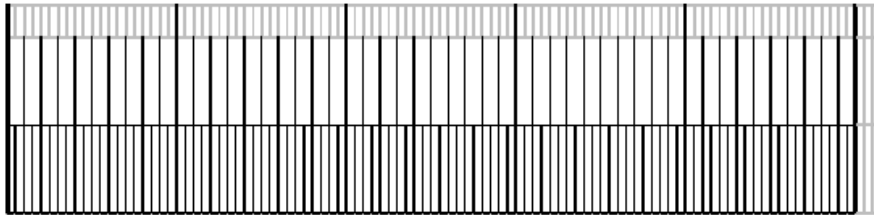
1. The graph below represents your life from birth until today.

Please divide it in segments that represent your childhood, adolescence, youth, maturity, old age.

Please Indicate only the stages of your life until now.

You decide the length of each segment according to the importance that each stage had in your life.

birth today



2. Now please write down in order of importance the places most meaningful to you during each stage using the corresponding columns.

We understand a "place or "location" as every kind of physical or natural environment (ex. Parks, gardens), social environment with historical or artistic (ex. Monuments etc.) and related to habitation (ex one's own home, parents home, etc.) characteristics or simply places to which people are bound by affection.

You need to consider these places without any space restrictions. That is to say these places can be either the whole environment or parts of them.

	CHILDHOOD	ADOLESCENCE	YOUTH	MATURITY	OLD AGE
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

3. Among all the places you indicated, please specify those you think are the most meaningful to you and give a short explanation why.

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. **Before coming to Warsaw, which places were of the most interest to you?**
Please make a list below in order of importance.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	

5. **Among all the places above, please specify those you think were of the most interest for you and give a short explanation why.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

6. **Before coming to Warsaw, what was your perception of the city and of the Old Town (Historical Centre)?**
 Describe your perception using the very first adjectives that come to mind.
 (If possible please use 10 adjectives for the city in general and 10 adjectives for the Old Town (Historical Centre)).

	CITY OF WARSAW	OLD TOWN
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

7. **Below is a list of information and ideas that may have contributed to your image of Warsaw.**

Please rate the importance of each source by drawing a circle around a value from 1 to 10.

	Not important	Very important
School/University	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Which subject in particular?		
	Not important	Very important
Novels and poetry	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Which piece in particular?		
	Not important	Very important
Movie	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Which movie in particular?		
	Not important	Very important
Songs	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Please try to indicate 3 songs linked to Warsaw.		
	Not important	Very important
Internet	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Which website, chat room, or forum in particular?		
	Not important	Very important
Newspapers and magazines	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
	Not important	Very important
Tourist guides	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
	Not important	Very important
Documentaries	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
	Not important	Very important
Friends' stories and comments.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
	Not important	Very important
Other	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
What in particular?		



8. After seeing Warsaw, which places do you find the most interesting?
Please make a list below in order of importance.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	

9. Among all the places you indicated in number 8, please specify those you feel are of the most interest and impressive.

Please give a short explanation of why you chose these places.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....



10. After seeing Warsaw, how would you describe the city and the historical Centre (old town)?
Describe them listing the very first adjectives that come into your mind.
(If possible please list 10 for Warsaw in general and 10 for the Historical Centre in particular).

	CITY OF WARSAW	OLD TOWN
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

11. Before leaving the city, imagine that you have an hour to have a walk in Warsaw.
Please draw a route on the following white sheet, designing a map of the city that contains places that are the most important to you.



B. Interview questions for residents

**Interview Questions for the Italian residents in Warsaw
/ Polish residents in Rome**

Name:

Date:

Place:

Duration of residence:

Age:

Profession:

Marital status:

1. How would you describe the reasons for your presence in Warsaw/Rome?
2. Please give me a brief description of the city.
3. What was your impression of the city at the beginning of your stay?
4. What is your impression of the city right now?
5. Altogether, what is your evaluation of the city?
6. What itinerary would you recommend to a friend who is for the first time in Warsaw/Rome?