

# Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring the forgotten city past

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## Abstract

This paper investigates collective memory in inhabitants of two twin cities, Lviv (Ukraine, previously Lwów, Poland) and Wrocław (Poland, previously Breslau, Germany). Due to territorial changes in Eastern and Central Europe after World War II, the two cities changed their state belonging and—consequently—their populations. This study focused on memory of residence place and on its relationship with place identity and place attachment.

A sample of 200 participants from three districts of Lviv and 301 participants from four districts of Wrocław were investigated on a number of issues, including reported place identity (city district, city, country region, nation, Europe, world, human being), place attachment (apartment, house, neighborhood, city district, city) and place memory (memory of the city, the city district, the street, and the house). Collective memory showed a powerful ethnic bias, equally strong in both cities, but with different underlying mechanisms: predictors of the bias were national identity in Lviv and demographic variables (age) and lack of place identity in Wrocław. Place (city) was constructed as national symbol in Lviv, and as an autonomous entity in Wrocław. Some evidence was also obtained that the degree to which place attachment is associated with the higher-order (national) or lower-order (local) identity predicts the amount of ethnic bias in perceptions of the pre-war past of the two cities. The findings are interpreted within the dual-process models of perception, here applied to perception of places.

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## 1. Introduction

After World War II, agreements between members of the anti-Nazi coalition changed the pre-war borders of Central and Eastern Europe. Names of some states disappeared from the map, other states changed their territories. The country that changed the most was Poland. Fig. 1 presents Poland's "shift westward", due to which about one-third of its territories was annexed to the Soviet Union (and changed into the Lithuanian, Belorussian and Ukrainian Soviet republics), while it in exchange obtained an equivalent in the form of the lands that previously were a part of the German state (among them, East Prussia, parts of Pomerania, and Lower Silesia).

This shift meant massive migrations of people evicted from their cities, towns and villages, Poles, Ukrainians,

Germans, etc., which they had inhabited for generations. The emptied cities and towns underwent profound population changes as new residents took over houses of former inhabitants. Names of cities and towns changed as well: Lwów changed into Lviv, Allenstein into Olsztyn, Wilno into Vilnius, Breslau into Wrocław, etc.

This huge political experiment had enormous psychological consequences. First there was stress due to relocation and to having to leave places, which were homes to many generations. Then came feelings of an uncertain future among the settlers: particularly in the western lands of Poland the prevalent belief was that the territorial changes are not final and that it does not pay to invest in the present home. These feelings could not be diminished by massive propagandistic efforts exerted by the post-war communist powers. Their explicit purpose was interruption of the mental continuity of these territories, the "mnemonic decapitation", as Zerubavel (1997, p. 85) put it, and creation of new social identities. Official history was

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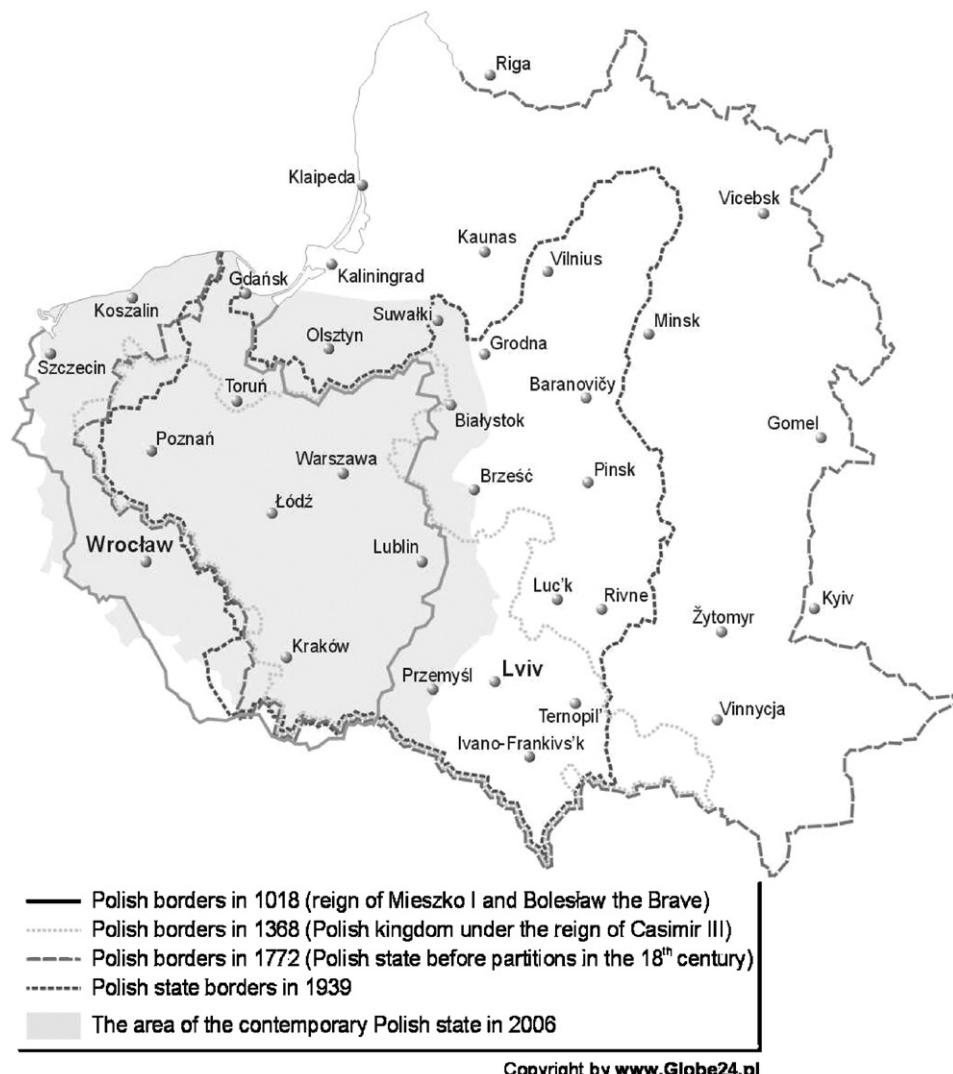


Fig. 1. Polish borders throughout centuries.

written anew: highly selective, with missing pages that could not be filled in public discussions or in official publications. This did not mean that the “other” history ceased to exist. As is known, political repressions tend to exert a reverse effect on collective memories by consolidating the repressed events (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). In consequence, the repressed memories, in the form of family myths or underground publications, were transferred to younger generations, without possibility of their critical evaluation and correction.

The social consequences of the post-war territorial changes were largely discussed by historians, sociologists, and regional geographers, that is, by researchers whose main interest lies in the role of historical and social contexts in shaping people’s beliefs and behaviors. They were, however, rarely (if ever) investigated by psychologists. In this paper the focus is on the little researched issue of how the present inhabitants of the cities that underwent an almost total population change after 1945 feel about their present residence place and how they construct the

past of their cities, city districts, streets, and houses. The research sites are two cities, one located in western Ukraine (Lviv/pre-war Lwów), another in western Poland (Wrocław/pre-war Breslau). Both cities changed their state belonging after 1945 and, in consequence, their populations (cf. Fig. 1) but their histories for over 600 years were created mostly by these nationalities that are no longer present there.

What is remembered or known of the collective past, depends on many factors, including written, oral, and material sources. Memory contents are shaped by official ideologies transmitted through media, history lessons in schools and the school textbooks, circulated legends and songs, architectural and urban traces, family stories, and finally by numerous psychological factors that facilitate curiosity and stimulate interest in the history of the present place of residence. It is the latter set of factors, which is the main focus in the present paper. The main question is whether and under what conditions the emotional bonds that the present inhabitants of Lviv and

Wrocław developed with their new residence places may stimulate their interest in the places' multicultural history and help restore the “decapitated” place memories. Since the focus of the paper is on memory of *places*, the second question concerns the role of the preserved physical features of places (“urban reminders”) in recovering the lost place memory.

## 2. Place attachment and place identity

“Place” is the core concept in environmental psychology. However, while there is a consensus concerning definition of place and how it differs from the related concept of space (place is space endowed with meaning—Low & Altman, 1992; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977), there is much less agreement on how one should define and measure people's bonds with places (place attachment, place identity, sense of place, place dependence, etc.). The relations between these constructs are not clear (for a review of different approaches see: Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004), and there is no agreement, either, whether they predict similar or different phenomena. Because of this confusion many researchers have expressed worries about state-of-the-art in place research (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Manzo, 2003; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Stedman, 2002; but see Patterson and Williams (2005), for a more relaxed attitude). Regardless of these differences, the majority of authors agree that development of emotional bonds with places is a prerequisite of psychological balance and good adjustment (Rowles, 1990), that it helps to overcome identity crises and gives people the sense of stability they need in the ever changing world (Hay, 1998), that it may facilitate involvement in local activities (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Guardia & Pol, 2002; Vorkin & Riese, 2001), and that no matter how mobile a person may be, some form of attachment to places is always present in our life (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Gustafson, 2001a; Williams & McIntyre, 2001). Of the plethora of concepts used to define people's relations with places, two are hypothesized to predict people's attitudes towards the history of their residence places, and therefore will be given closer attention: place attachment and place identity.

### 2.1. Place attachment

*Place attachment* refers to bonds that people develop with places (Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Low & Altman, 1992; Manzo, 2003; Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003; Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992). Of the three components of place attachment: affective, cognitive, and behavioral (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kyle, Mowen, & Tarrant, 2004; Low & Altman, 1992), the most frequently measured is the emotional component. To this aim numerous place attachment scales were constructed (e.g., Bonaiuto, Aiello, Perugini, Bonnes, & Ercolani, 1999; Félonneau, 2004; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Kyle, Mowen et al., 2004;

Shamai, 1991; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Stedman, 2002; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989; for a review see Giuliani, 2003). The instrument employed in this study (Lewicka, 2005; Appendix 1) also belongs to this group.

Apart from the demographic (residence length) and social (social ties in residence place) factors, place exerts its influence on place attachment through physical features and symbolic meanings, with the former often being a cue to the latter (Stedman, 2003). In this paper the emphasis is on those physical features of places that are cues to the place's history. Research in environmental aesthetics shows that people generally prefer historical places to modern architecture (Nasar, 1998). Historical sites create a sense of continuity with the past, embody the group traditions (Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Hay, 1998; Hayden, 1997), and facilitate place attachment (Low, 1992). In the present study, it was predicted that people inhabiting city districts that are endowed with more historical traces (historical sites, pre-war architecture) or pre-war houses will show stronger place attachment to their neighborhood, city district and to city in general than those living in modern city quarters and modern post-war houses.

Awareness of the place history intensifies place attachment, however, probably also the reverse holds true. Lewicka (2005) showed that people attached to a place expressed more interest in the place's past and in their own roots than people with fewer emotional bonds. The second prediction then posits that emotional attachment to a place will be related to interest in the history of the present city of residence, and—in consequence—to the amount of knowledge about the city past.

### 2.2. Place identity

Along with place attachment, *place identity* is another important concept that refers to people's bonds with places. The word “identity” means two things (Jacobson-Widding, 1983): sameness (continuity) and distinctiveness (uniqueness), and therefore the term “place identity” should incorporate both aspects. Let us notice, though, that the concept of “identity”, when applied to a place, may carry two altogether different meanings. In the first meaning “identity” refers to the term “place” and means a set of place features that guarantee the place's distinctiveness and continuity in time. The concept of “genius loci”, used to describe the impalpable but generally agreed upon unique character of a place (Norberg-Schultz, 1980; Stedman, 2003), reflects this meaning of “place identity”. However, “place identity”, the way it is used by psychologists, conceives of it as a feature of a *person*, not place. Proshansky (1978, p. 147) defines place identity as “those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment ...”. According to Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), place is a means to distinguish oneself from others, to preserve a sense of continuity, to build positive self-esteem, and to create a sense of self-efficacy.

In this paper, place identity (in the psychological sense) will be understood as *self-categorization in terms of place*. In analogy to place attachment (Low & Altman, 1992; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001), bases for place identity may differ in scale. One may feel foremost a resident of a “city district” (from the London Docklands), city (Londoner, New Yorker, etc.), country region (Catalonian, Silesian), country (Polish, British), continent (European, African), or even a “citizen of the world”. There are of course possible self-identifications in terms other than places (a woman, a psychologist, a guitar player, etc.) but these are not considered in this paper.

Instruments assessing place identity through rank ordering of place-related self-categorizations have been used in different countries which allows for comparisons of data (Bartkowski, 2003; Czernysz, 2003; Drul, 2001; European Commission, 2001; Kohr & Martini, 1992; Lewicka, 2006). The usual findings are that local identity is high (Kohr & Martini, 1992; Lewicka, 2005), that regional identity tends to be lower than national or local identity (Bartkowski, 2003; Lewicka, 2006), that the majority of people in all European countries prefer national to European identity (European Commission, 2001), and that national identity is stronger in the Eastern than in the Western European countries (Kohr & Martini, 1992). In a study run on representative samples of three regions of Poland (about half of the country population), the respective percentages selected in the first three choices were: city 57%, country region 26%, country 89%, and Europe 27.6%. Analogous data from two representative samples collected in western and eastern Ukraine were: city 69.2%, region 43.3%, nation 78.8%, and Europe 10.7%, with western Ukraine more similar to the Polish sample than eastern Ukraine (Lewicka, 2006).

### 2.3. Place attachment and place identity—mutual relationships

There is no agreement in literature on how place attachment and place identity are related. Sometimes the two concepts are used interchangeably (e.g., Williams et al., 1992), sometimes affective (place) attachment is considered at the same phenomenological level as place identity (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kyle, Mowen et al., 2004; Stedman, 2002), at other times it is subsumed under the concept of place identity (Puddifoot in: Pretty et al., 2003), or—according to still another view—it precedes formation of place identity (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007). The latter means that one may feel attached to a place but it takes more than liking or attachment to incorporate the place as part of one's self.

In this paper, it is assumed that place attachment and place identity are two different, although related, phenomena, and therefore that place attachment may be independent of the specific content of place identity. One may feel attached to a place for different reasons i.e., the emotional bonds that people develop with places may be a product of

different symbolisms and thus of different identities. I may be attached to a place because my friends live here, or I spent my best years here, or my family roots are from here, and therefore the place is important to my personal identity (Gustafsson, 2001b; Low, 1992; Manzo, 2003; Milligan, 1998; Relph, 1976). I may also feel attached because it is an integral part of the city with which I identify (Félonneau, 2004), and therefore a product of local identity. Attachment may also result from higher-order identifications: cities are parts of regions and countries, hence national or regional identities may also contribute to the formation of emotional bonds with places (Bialasiewicz, 2003; Paasi, 2003). Many cities are construed by their inhabitants as national rather than local symbols. For instance the coat of arms of the pre-war city of Lwów held the inscription that promised that the city will always stay faithful to Poland. Mazumdar and Mazumdar (1993) describe place attachment which is religion related, and Possick (2004) speaks about ideological place attachment that may be particularly salient when two ethnic or national groups are involved in an open conflict over the land that is sacred to both of them (like conflicts between Israeli and Palestinian residents over the West Bank in Israel or between Albanians and Serbs over Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia).

Different perceptions, or constructions, of places, due either to local or to national identity, should have different cognitive and motivational consequences. One may reasonably expect that motivation to accept the historically multicultural and multiethnic character of a city (i.e., acknowledge its unique and distinct *identity*) will be stronger if attachment to the city is due to local rather than national identity.

### 3. Place and place memory

Human memories are basically social memories (Paez, Besabe, & Gonzalez, 1997). What we remember is often less a product of direct personal experiences and more of our embedding in social structures (family, nation, ethnic groups, etc.). Halbwachs (1925) talks about social frames of autobiographical memories and Zerubavel (2003) about socio-biographical memories. Sociologists and social psychologists use the terms “collective memory”, i.e., the memory shared by groups or societies, or “social memory” (Connerton, 1989; Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Fentress & Wickham, 1992; Paez, Basabe, & Gonzalez, 1997). Social memories may concern events that happened during our life or that took place before we were born and therefore belong to the history of the family, ethnic group, state, or the world. In the latter cases, what we “remember” depends not on personal experience but on oral traditions, cultural transmissions or own motivation to do the detective work in discovering the past.

There is some analogy between autobiographical and collective memory processes. In both cases what is remembered are those events that evoked strong emotional

reactions, that had significance for the party concerned, required adaptation (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997), or happened during the period of identity formation (Conway, 1997). It is not surprising then that events that happened before the group settled down in a place are assigned less significance and are less frequently recalled than events that are a part of the group past. In the study by Liu, Wilson, McClure, and Higgins (1999) carried out in New Zealand, the native inhabitants of the islands put more weight on the Polynesian period of their country than did the British settlers.

Recent events are recalled much more often than are events happening in more ancient times. In a large study by Liu and coworkers (Liu et al., 2007) carried out in 12 countries of Europe, Asia and South America, by far the most important event in world history mentioned was WWII, the most important person throughout world history—Hitler, and the great majority of the mentioned important persons and events dated from not later than 100 years, i.e., either belonged to contemporary times or could be remembered by parents or grandparents of the student participants.

Although the usual target of research in collective memory are national histories (Connerton, 1989; Conway, 1997; Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Zerubavel, 2003), or world history (Liu et al., 2007), in this paper the focus is on memory of specific *places*: the city, the district, the street, and the house. Undoubtedly the history of places is not independent of the history of higher-order entities, e.g., nations, states, or the world (Jackson & Penrose, 1993). Nevertheless, places have their own unique identity, independent of any single group of inhabitants. Different people, different ethnic or religious groups who live or lived in one place, all contribute to the place's distinctiveness and continuity in time. This makes it possible to speak both of place identity and of place memory as phenomena separate from national, ethnic, or any other group identities or memories.

### 3.1. Ethnic bias in place memory

Social memories tend to be biased: some events or historical figures are remembered, some are absent, still some are distorted or fabricated to make a “better story”. Most historical reports are reinterpretations done in the service of the present identity of a group, filtered through the group “charter”, i.e., an account of the group’s “origin and historical mission” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 538), the core of the group identity. Charters act as filters of group memories which they modify accordingly, either in a explicitly blatant way (like in totalitarian regimes) or in a more subtle way through selective forgetting of some or reinterpretation of other events (Baumeister & Hastings, 1997).

Cities or towns that changed their national composition and state belonging or that were destroyed by war, are important research targets for investigators of collective

memory. It is often taken for granted that memories of these places have to be biased and support the place's present status quo (national, ideological, etc.). This is undoubtedly true for the cities' general population. However individual and group differences in this respect exist. A particularly interesting research target for a psychologist is psychological mechanisms through which biased historical knowledge is acquired but which also enable arriving at more many-sided interpretations of place history. A similar view has been expressed by the sociologists, Fentress and Wickham (1992) who wrote: “what distorts memory is not some inherent defect in the process of mental recall, but rather a series of external constraints, usually imposed by society (...). Indeed the transmission of “true” information is only one of the many social functions that memory can, in different circumstances, perform” (p. xi–xii).

In cities that changed their state belonging the natural bias in interpretation of city history is ethnic bias, i.e., a tendency to overestimate the impact, significance, size, and contributions of the presently dominant ethnic group, compared to other groups inhabiting the same place in the past. The main function of this bias is appropriation of a place by providing evidence that one's own group has always been its rightful owner. Ethnic bias can be observed in one-sided presentations of history in school textbooks and history books, in messages conveyed by local guides to tourists visiting the city, in removal of traces left by past residents (architectural ornaments, street names, foreign monuments or inscriptions on graveyards), finally in biased memories of present inhabitants.

Despite the prevalent role that extra-individual factors play in shaping contents of place memories, there are some variables that may contribute to individual differences in how much people know about the past of their city and how accurate this knowledge is. In this study the focus was on three groups of variables: socio-demographic, emotional bonds with places (place attachment and place identity), and presence of urban reminders. They will be described consecutively in the following sections.

### 3.2. Predictors of place memory

#### 3.2.1. Socio-demographic variable

Accurate historical knowledge depends on easy access to reliable sources of information. Direct contacts with previous residents of the city, being a witness to the post-war political attempts to wipe out undesirable traces, or simply having access to books and historical reports, should all contribute to a heightened awareness of the multicultural and multiethnic history of the city. Therefore variables like education, age, length of residence in the place, or having parents or grandparents born and raised in the city should be positively related to knowledge of the place's past. However, Lewicka (2006) in two representative studies carried out in Poland and in Ukraine obtained a systematic finding suggesting that it is the newcomers to

the cities or towns and not those who are more firmly rooted there (representatives of older generations), who were the most interested in the place history and in their roots in general. And since interest in place history should be positively related to place knowledge and accuracy, one may carefully predict a reverse relationship between generation or being born in the city and place memory.

### 3.2.2. Emotional bonds with places

Attachment to a residence place should stimulate interest in the place's past (cf. Lewicka, 2005) and this in turn should result in richer historical knowledge (e.g., more recalled historical facts or famous city residents). However, it does not follow that this knowledge will be less biased and will take into account the multicultural past of the place. The latter will probably depend on factors other than mere intensity of attachment. In previous sections, it was hypothesized that place attachment may be a product of different place identities and thus of different place meanings: from personal, through local, to national and supranational. It is plausible to expect that attachment due to national identity (place as national symbol) should result in more ethnic bias than attachment due to local identity (place as autonomous entity).

Within social psychology there is a family of theories that emphasize different consequences of higher- vs. lower-order categorizations of perception targets (mostly people) for biased stereotypical judgments (Brewer, 1988; Brewer & Harasty Feinstein, 1999; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). In these models, biased perception is conceived of as a product of the top-down, category-based processing whereas the bottom-up, attribute-based processing, is hypothesized to lead to less stereotype-driven judgments.

Any automatic transference of theories and concepts from one research area to another should be made with caution. Nevertheless the existent distance between social psychological and environmental approaches is due more to differences in philosophical traditions of these two research areas (positivistic and experimental in the first case and constructivistic and phenomenological in the other) than in the objects of their studies. Places, like people, are social objects and as such are targets of perceptions, emotions, and stereotypical judgments. The various meanings ascribed to places, analyzed by place researchers (Gustafson, 2001b; Hay, 1998; Low, 1992; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 1993; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977) may be classified and categorized according to theoretically meaningful criteria derived from theories other than environmental ones.

In this paper it is assumed that meanings attached to places may be distinguished according to whether they follow from higher-order place identities (ethnic or national) or whether they are due to treatment of places as autonomous objects of attachments. It is further predicted that the amount of ethnic bias in memory of multicultural places may be a joint function of place attachment and type of place identity: the closer associa-

tion of place attachment with national identity and the weaker with local identity—the more ethnic bias. Place attachment is thus considered a “driving force”, it motivates people to inquire into the place's past. The direction of the motivation, however—whether it will lead to an ethnically biased or to an accurate overall representation of the place's history—will depend on type of place identity and thus on the place's meaning.

Another set of predictions concerns place memory of those people who do not feel attached to their residence place. In such a case a low expressed interest in history of the place is expected and—in consequence—little overall knowledge. However, size of ethnic bias cannot be easily predicted. According to the elaboration likelihood model of Petty and Caccioppo (1986), low importance of a target object should facilitate peripheral information processing, i.e., processing based on available superficial cues. Therefore we may hypothesize that if cues related to the place national belonging are readily available, answers of these people who are unmotivated may reveal a temporary, purely cognitively driven, ethnic bias.

### 3.2.3. Urban reminders

Like “place identity” is a term with two meanings, so is “place memory”. The term refers to the contents of people's memories but is also descriptive of a place. Places remember and they do it through their monuments, architectural style of their buildings, inscriptions on walls, etc. (Hayden, 1997). For people who reside there, the traces play the function of “urban reminders”, the “mnemonic aids” to collective memory. Some of these physical traces are intentionally produced by political authorities, like historical monuments, commemorative plaques on walls, streets named after famous persons, but the majority are natural traces: architecture from different time periods, graveyards with graves carrying different names (sometimes written in different alphabets), characteristic public buildings, etc. In times of political transitions or revolutions, the first step that the new leaders usually take is wiping out all reminders of the “bad history”. For instance, after 1945 traces of the German presence on the annexed western and northern Polish territories were systematically removed: wall inscriptions were painted over, monuments and even cemeteries irretrievably destroyed (Thum, 2003).

“Urban reminders”, the leftovers from previous inhabitants of a place, may influence memory of places either directly, by conveying historical information, or indirectly—by arousing curiosity and increasing motivation to discover the place's forgotten past. A very personal report offered by a historian and journalist, Andrij Pavlyshyn (2001), born and living in the now Ukrainian Lviv, is a good example of both:

...I grew up in this beautiful place where one could always find lots of strange things. Old bits and pieces in the attic written in an unknown language; walls where

the plaster peeled off and names made up of foreign words appeared—later I learned that it was Polish, Jidish, German. It was a city with strange architecture. After years, during which I tried to think everything over, to take it in, a dream was coming often to me, a dream which I dream even now, sometimes, that I am in a city, in which walls stayed, buildings stayed, everything stayed, only people were not there. It is only a dream, only an impression because the streets of the today's Lviv are filled with crowds of people.... But why was the city from my dream deserted? (Pavlyshyn, 2001, p. 145)

The present study sought to investigate whether people living in those parts of cities that are particularly rich with "memory aids" (pre-war architecture, vicinity of meaningful historical buildings, etc.) will be more interested in the place history and will have broader and less ethnically biased historical knowledge than people living in historically sterile settlements, filled with modern architecture.

#### 4. Research sites: Lviv and Wrocław

Although geographically distant, located 600 km apart, the two cities, Lviv and Wrocław, share a parallel fate and a portion of a common history. As can be seen from the map (Fig. 1), the two cities have always been historical satellites of the Polish frontiers but when one was within the Polish confines, the other stayed outside. Both cities were located at crossroads of trade routes and hence fell victim to invasions and were subject to multicultural influences from neighboring countries. Lviv was ruled by Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Poles, Hapsburgs, again Poles, after 1945 by Soviets, and after 1991 again by Ukrainians. Wrocław rulers included successively: Poles, Czechs, Hapsburgs, Germans, finally (after 1945) again Poles. In both cases, a history made a circle—the cities' first historic rulers returned as their last sovereigns.

Along with changing fate and winding history, the cities changed their populations and national character. Lviv's original Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population was soon enriched by strong German and Armenian minorities, later by Poles and Jews, and since the turn of the 18th and 19th century by Austrians and Germanized Czechs, respectively. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century Lwów was the flourishing city within the Austro-Hungarian empire, the capital of the province of Galicia, with its own parliament, and a big university center (the world known Warsaw-Lwów logical-mathematical school originated here). In terms of the dominant culture and language, the pre-war Lwów was Polish.

During the interwar period, when Lviv was a part of the independent Polish state, the population of the city increased to over 312,000 residents. The major change in the city population came with the Second World War, as it meant the almost total obliteration of the city's Jews and the exodus of the Polish population in 1944–1946. The

empty places were filled by Ukrainians and Russians (the latter in the 1950s amounted to about 30% of the city population). At present Lviv with its population of almost one million is an almost homogenous Ukrainian city. The demographic changes in Lviv (after: Drul, 2001) are presented in Fig. 2.

Wrocław, until the 12th century, was ethnically Polish with minor representatives of other nations (Czechs, Germans, Flemish, later Jews). The city became clearly multiethnic in the 13th century, after its establishment on the basis of German statute. After that time, Germans held the most important positions in the town and the dominant language was German. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century Breslau was the third biggest German city, an important university center (eight Nobel prize winners worked at Breslau University). By the time the war started in 1939, the city's population was mostly German. The Polish minority was less than 1% of the city population. The Jewish minority diminished after 1933, as the anti-Semitic terror created by the Nazis forced Jews to leave the city. Those who stayed were mostly exterminated during the war.

As a result of the Postdam agreement, Wrocław found itself within the new Polish borders. The city population changed entirely (Fig. 3). The emptied city, the second most ruined Polish city after Warsaw (it was converted into Festung Breslau in 1944), whose destructions were comparable to those of Berlin, accepted people from various parts of the country, among them those from the eastern parts of the former Poland, including Lwów. The city also accepted major Lwów institutions (the University and the Technical University, the Ossolineum Library, etc.), leading to a widely shared belief that "Wrocław is another Lwów". The winding, strangely parallel, histories of the two cities finally crossed.

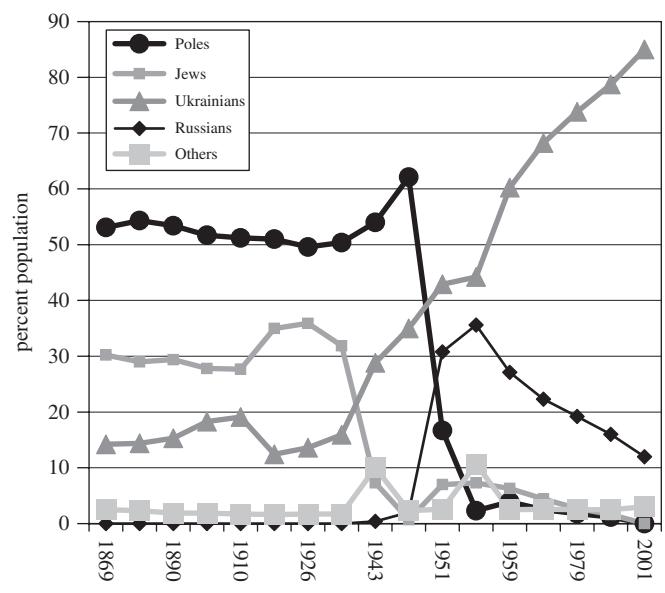


Fig. 2. Population changes in Lviv.

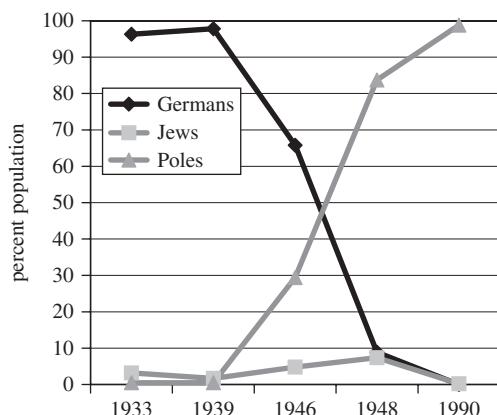


Fig. 3. Population changes in Wrocław.

During the last 15 years, attempts to retrieve the forgotten city pasts were undertaken both in Poland and in Ukraine. The Lviv publishing house “Center of Europe” publishes books, guides, and monthly magazines devoted to the history of the city. In Wrocław local authorities sponsor publications on city history, including the monumental city monograph “Microcosm: A Portrait of a Central European City” by Davis and Moorhouse (2002), published simultaneously in three languages in three countries (Poland, Germany, and Great Britain). The intellectual elites of both cities are thus involved in restoring the forgotten memory and in overcoming possible national biases. However, whether this is reflected in memories shared by average citizens is an open question.

Despite similarities, the two cities also differ and the differences may bear on contents and predictors of social memory. The major difference concerns the stronger connection of the pre-war Lviv to the Ukrainian culture than of the pre-war Wrocław to the Polish one. In contrast to Wrocław, which lost its close associations with Poland and Polishness already in the 14th century, Lviv in the 19th and at the turn of the 20th century played the function of an Ukrainian Piemont. Additionally, although the pre-war Lwów was inhabited by the Polish majority and its dominant culture was Polish, the surrounding villages were mostly Ukrainian, in contrast to the mostly German villages surrounding the pre-war Breslau.

The second difference concerns the unequal distribution of urban reminders. In contrast to Wrocław, Lviv mostly escaped war destructions and thus has the almost unchanged historical downtown—a great tourist attraction.

The third difference concerns the unequal contemporary status of the two countries. Ukraine is a newly born state in which citizens strive for common identity (Ukraine is bilingual and split between two different geopolitical orientations). Western Ukraine with its capital in Lviv is known for its strongly nationalistic (but also: pro-European) orientation. In comparison, Poland has a long (although interrupted) history of statehood and a relatively strong national identity.

Considering both, similarities and differences between the two cities, cautious predictions can be formulated as to how and whether the collective memories in the two cities should differ. The higher presence of urban reminders in Lviv than in Wrocław should contribute to a better general knowledge (more recalled facts) in the former than in the latter city. However, considering the tighter historical bonds of Lviv with the Ukrainian culture and with the Ukrainian politics than Wrocław’s bonds with the Polish culture and politics, I predicted that, compared to Wrocław, Lviv will be construed more as a national symbol and less as an autonomous place of attachment which in turn may result in more ethnic bias in Lviv than in Wrocław.

## 5. Research questions

The study was largely exploratory, although a number of specific predictions were also tested. The exploratory part concerned the content of memories shared by residents of Lviv and Wrocław, analyzed from two points of view: qualitative, i.e., what they knew about the place’s past (which events, which names, which facts were recalled the most often) and quantitative (how much they knew and how ethnically biased their knowledge was).

The specific hypotheses concerned predictors of place attachment and of place memory (expressed interest in place history, place historical knowledge, and ethnic bias). More specifically, it was predicted that:

**Hypothesis 1.** In both cities ethnic bias in interpretation of the city history will be observed.

**Hypothesis 2.** In both cities residence time, age, being born in the city and generation in the city, as well as presence of urban reminders in the residence place (living in historical districts and/or pre-war houses) will be positively related to place attachment. Additionally, because of the higher number of urban reminders in the city, and the higher percent of people representing older generations, a generally higher place attachment was expected in Lviv than in Wrocław.

**Hypothesis 3.** In both cities residence time, age, and education will be positively related to expressed interest in city history and to knowledge of the place history (number of recalled facts from the history of city, district, street, and house), and negatively to ethnic bias, while generation in the city and being born in the city may stand in a negative relationship to expressed interest in the city history and to knowledge of the place history.

**Hypothesis 4.** In both cities a positive relationship will be observed between place attachment, on one hand, and expressed interest in place history and place historical knowledge, on the other.

**Hypothesis 5.** The two cities will differ in historical knowledge and size of ethnic bias, as well as in the degree

to which they are treated as national rather than local symbols. It was predicted that Lviv residents will have a better knowledge of their city but also will categorize their city in more national terms and thus display stronger ethnic bias.

**Hypothesis 6.** People whose place attachment is mostly due to national symbolism of the place (i.e., whose place attachment is associated with national rather than local identity) will show stronger ethnic bias than will people who are attached to the place mostly for local reasons (whose place attachment is associated with local rather than national identity).

**Hypothesis 7.** Residents of places rich in urban reminders (districts with pre-war architecture or pre-war houses), compared to residents of modern districts or post-war houses, will show more accurate memory of the place history, as manifested by less ethnic bias and higher number of recalled facts from the place history (city, district, street, and house).

## 6. Measures

Collected were four groups of measures: (1) measures of place memory, (2) socio-demographic measures, (3) measures of emotional bonds with places (place attachment and place identity), and (4) presence or not of urban reminders in the place of residence.

### 6.1. Place memory

#### 6.1.1. Declared interest in the history of the city

This was measured by a response to a single question ("Are you interested in the history of Lviv/Wrocław"), rated on a 5-point scale (from 1—"not at all" to 5—"very much").

#### 6.1.2. Famous city persons, important events, pre-war street names

Participants were posed three open-ended questions: "Can you mention names of famous city persons—which ones?", "Which events in the history of the city do you consider important?", "Are you familiar with the pre-war names of the city streets—which ones?". Answers to the three questions were rated with respect to number of the listed items, i.e., number of persons/events/streets mentioned, and the content of the answers.

Famous persons were rated with respect to their nationality, their profession/type of activity, and historical period. Historical events were rated with respect to the historical period in which they occurred. Two measures were used: one was the number of separate items in a category (e.g., number of mentioned Ukrainian names or number of the 19th century events) and the other was their "impact", i.e., number of times this specific item was mentioned. To give an example: the Ukrainian writer, Ivan Franko, was one unit on the first measure (he represents

one name), but his impact was 65, since he was mentioned by 65 participants. In both cases, the results were presented as respective percentages of all items/sum of impact scores of all items listed.

The three measures of city memory: number of listed famous persons, number of listed historical events, and number of the pre-war street names, when factor analyzed, yielded one factor both in Lviv ( $EV = 1.847$ ; 61.58% variance explained) and in Wrocław ( $EV = 1.723$ ; 57.43% variance explained) and the factor values were used in further analyses.

#### 6.1.3. Ethnic bias in estimation of national composition of the pre-war city

Participants were provided with the list of different nationalities and asked to rate (as a percentage of the total pre-war city population) the relative size of each nationality. In Lviv the list comprised: Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, Czechs, and "others". In Wrocław the list included: Germans, Poles, Jews, Czechs, Austrians, Hungarians, Dutch, Italians, and "others". The estimations were then compared with official statistics and two measures of ethnic bias were computed: the difference of the estimate for own nation from the official figure, and the difference of the estimate for own nation from the estimate for the dominant nation (Poles in Lviv and Germans in Wrocław). The two measures when factor analyzed yielded one factor of ethnic bias both in Lviv ( $EV = 1.765$ ; 88.27% explained variance) and in Wrocław ( $EV = 1.89$ ; 94.54% variance explained). In further analysis the factor values were used.

#### 6.1.4. Memory of city district, neighborhood, house

Analogous to questions asked about the history of the city, we asked a number of questions concerning the history of respondents' closer surroundings. The information included: the approximate time when the district appeared, the origin of its name, kind of people that inhabited the district in the past, and what made the district famous in the past (if anything). With respect to the neighborhood, participants were asked about the time their street appeared, the pre-war name of the street, and what made the street famous in the past (if anything). With respect to their house, the participants were asked about the date the house was built, name of the person/institution that built the house, type of people who lived there in the past, and who lived in the apartment before the participant. Answers to all questions were scored 0 (no answer or clearly wrong answer) or 1 (adequate response to the question).

## 6.2. Socio-demographic measures

Socio-demographic measures included: age, sex, education (five levels: higher, incomplete higher, secondary, vocational school, elementary), place of birth (1—born in the studied city, 0—born in another place), generation in

the city (0—newcomer, 1—only the participant born in the city, 2—participant's father or mother born in the city, 3—at least one of the grandparents born in the city), and length of residence (in years) in the present apartment, house, neighborhood, district and the city. The five measures of the length of residence when factor analyzed revealed one-factor solutions in both cities ( $EV = 3.85$ ; 76.97% explained variance in Lviv,  $EV = 3.93$ ; 78.57% explained variance in Wrocław). In further analysis the factor scores were used.

### 6.3. Emotional bonds with place

#### 6.3.1. Place attachment

Place attachment was measured with the author's Place Attachment Scale that consists of nine items, rated on 5-point scales, describing positive feelings towards place and three buffer items describing negative feelings (Appendix 1). Each of the items is rated as many times as there are places selected for the study. In the present investigation, the items were evaluated with respect to five places: apartment, house/building, neighborhood, city district, and the city. The scale has a satisfactory reliability, ranging in Lviv from  $\alpha = .69$  (city) to  $\alpha = .84$  (house) and in Wrocław from  $\alpha = .71$  (apartment) to  $\alpha = .80$  (house and city district). The scale was tested previously in several studies carried in Poland and in Ukraine, including two large representative surveys in the two countries (Lewicka, 2006). The measures used in computations were mean values on each of the five scales.

#### 6.3.2. Place identity

Participants were offered a list of possible objects of identification, ranging from city district, through city (Lviv or Wrocław), region (Galicia or Lower Silesia), country (Ukraine or Poland), Europe, the world ("citizen of the world"), and finally a "human being". The category "other" was added as well. Participants were asked to rank the first three objects with which they identified the most (Appendix 1). Objects selected in the first three choices were scored "1", and objects not selected were scored "0".

### 6.4. Urban reminders

Two indices of the presence or absence of urban reminders in the residence place were used: type of the district (modern vs. pre-war) and type of the house (post-war modern apartment building vs. pre-war tenements and/or individual house).

In Lviv we selected three districts: the city downtown, with historic tenements built mostly before World War I, the historical district of Lychakiv, and the Shevchenkivskij region, filled mostly with the post-war high-rises. Of particular interest, apart from the city center that is rich in tourist attractions, was the district of Lychakiv with its impressive cemetery—one of the oldest in Europe, where

the most prominent citizens of the city are buried. The cemetery is a clear reminder of the Polish presence in Lviv throughout the centuries and of the multicultural history of the city.

In Wrocław we selected four districts: apart from the city center with mixed architecture (after the destructions from the war, large gaps were filled with modern buildings), we chose two residential districts closely associated with the German past, the district of Sepolno, built in the shape of the German eagle, and Karłowice—a former garden city. The fourth district, Kozanów was a modern district filled entirely with post-war high-rise architecture.

Since "district" was a nominal category with three values in Lviv and four values in Wrocław, district membership was coded using an orthogonal coding method (Pedhazur, 1982; see also Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). In Lviv two orthogonal vectors were created: District1\_L—the difference between Group 1 (modern district Shevchenkivskij) and Groups 2 and 3 (two historical districts); and District2\_L—the difference between Groups 2 and 3 (downtown and Lychakiv). In Wrocław three orthogonal vectors were created: District1\_W—the difference between Group 1 (modern district Kozanów) and Groups 2–4 (three historical districts), District2\_W—the difference between group 2 (city downtown) and Groups 3 and 4 (Sepolno & Karłowice), finally District3\_W—the difference between Groups 3 (Sepolno) and 4 (Karłowice).

Type of the house was scored 0 (modern buildings) or 1 (pre-war building).

## 7. Participants and samples

Participants were inhabitants of Lviv ( $N = 200$ ) and Wrocław ( $N = 301$ ), recruited from different city districts and different types of housing, reminiscent or not of the city past. The distribution of pre-war and post-war houses in the selected districts is presented in Table 1.

All participants were interviewed individually in their homes with students as interviewers. Interviews lasted about 1 h. The samples were drawn from selected city districts (with urban reminders present or not) and the criterion was living in the district selected. In districts in which new buildings coexisted with pre-war ones, we tried to interview participants living not far from each other. Otherwise the criterion was ease of access and whether the participant agreed to give an interview. The studies in both cities were run in 2002.

Full demographics are offered in Table 2. As shown, the two samples were not fully balanced on some of the demographic variables. Both samples were identical with respect to the length of residence in the present place, but they differed somewhat in age, gender, and generation in the city. Some differences are partly attributable to natural differences between the two cities. For instance, Lviv has more newcomers than Wrocław and thus fewer participants who were born in the city, but it also has more people representing the third generation (before World War II

Table 1

Distribution of post-war apartment houses and pre-war tenement buildings and individual houses over studied districts differing in number of urban reminders (percentages in the district)

	Modern residential districts		Downtown		Historical residential districts		
	Lviv (Shevchenkivskij)	Wrocław (Kozanów)	Lviv	Wrocław	Lviv (Lychakiv)	Wrocław (Sępolno)	Wrocław (Karłowice)
Pre-war	16.4	0	87.1	73.5	55.6	75.8	76.2
Post-war	83.6	100	12.9	26.5	44.4	24.2	23.8

Table 2

Demographic composition of studied samples

	Lviv	Wrocław
Age	38.72 (SD = 15.2)	34.9 (SD = 16.0)
Sex (%)		
Female	51.0	61.1
Male	49.0	38.9
Education (%)		
Elementary	1.0	5.3
Professional	17.0	7.3
Secondary	15.0	30.2
Higher uncompleted	8.5	28.9
Higher completed	58.5	28.2
Length of residence		
Apartment/house	16.65 (SD = 11.5)	16.3 (SD = 11.88)
Neighborhood	17.67 (SD = 12.57)	17.7 (SD = 12.41)
City district	20.79 (SD = 13.62)	20.2 (SD = 13.11)
City	29.22 (SD = 14.96)	28.8 (SD = 13.73)
Generation in the city (%)		
0 (newcomer)	45	30.0
1 (first generation)	25.5	36.0
2 (second generation)	14.0	29.0
3 (third generation)	15.5	4.0
Born in the city (%)	53.0	67.1

Ukrainians were present in Lviv and in the Lviv region to a higher extent than were Poles in Wrocław or in the Wrocław region—for city statistics see Figs. 2 and 3). The two groups also differed in education, the Lviv sample had a clear overrepresentation of participants with completed higher education, twice as much as the official statistics for the Lviv city (27.3%—cf. Sadovyj, 2001), and twice as much as the respective percent in the Wrocław sample (Table 2). On the other hand, the Wrocław sample included more people with incomplete higher education, mostly students, and this partly compensates for the difference. Since education and other demographic variables may be relevant predictors of historical memory, the effects of these variables were controlled for in all statistical analyses.

## 8. Results

The results section is structured as follows. The first part presents descriptive data illustrative of the contents and size of ethnic bias in city memory (memory of famous city persons, important events in the city history, estimation of national composition of the cities before WWII). The second, the third, and the fourth parts are devoted to quantitative analyses of predictors of, respectively, place attachment, collective city memory, and memory of district, street and house.

### 8.1. Ethnic bias in content of responses

#### 8.1.1. Ethnic bias in recall of famous city persons and historical events

As Table 3 shows, in accordance with predictions formulated in Hypothesis 1, a clear ethnic bias was observed in both cities. In Lviv the majority of all persons mentioned were Ukrainians and in Wrocław the majority were Poles (Table 3). Persons belonging to the pre-war dominant nation (Poles in Lviv and Germans in Wrocław) were mentioned significantly less often. In Lviv the third nation were Russians, and the fourth were Jews. In Wrocław the third and the fourth places were taken by German and Polish Jews.

Categorization of famous city persons according to their profession showed that in Lviv the majority of the mentioned figures were writers and poets, musicians and national politicians. In Wrocław the dominant professions were scientists, local politicians, and actors or theater directors. In terms of the life period, the majority of the persons mentioned in Lviv were historical figures living before the Second World War, a respective figure much smaller in Wrocław. Particularly striking is the difference in the impact measure of contemporary persons in the two cities (Table 3).

Ethnic bias was also observed in the content of historical events. In order to have an overview of how the history of the city was represented in participants' memories, all mentioned events were distributed over consecutive time intervals. The data are presented in Table 4.

In Lviv the remembered city events were spread somewhat more evenly across different historical periods. More emphasis than in Wrocław was placed on the beginnings of the city, which dates to the legendary Ruthenian king

Danylo, and the following three consecutive periods were represented by several percent each. Two periods, however, were almost totally empty: one is the interwar “Polish” period, and the other is the post-war time of the Soviet Republic. Unlike the Soviet time, what happened after the

proclamation of the Ukrainian state (1991) is rich in memories. In comparison, the memories of Wrocław participants, apart from a short period of Polish rules at the very beginning of the city, were filled almost entirely by the Second World War and by the post-war period.

**Table 3**  
Famous city figures as mentioned by inhabitants of Lviv and Wrocław (percentages)

Famous city figures	Lviv		Wrocław	
	% Items	% Impact	% Items	% Impact
<b>Nationality</b>				
Own (Ukrainian/Polish)	70.9	84.1	79.8	80.8
Dominant before WWII (Polish/German)	10.2	6.1	12.1	4.3
Jewish	1.7	.5	6.4	14.4
Other	3.9	4.8	1.6	.5
<b>Profession</b>				
Writers and poets	24.8	27.8	8.9	9.3
Painters, artists	9.4	6.5	7.3	3.3
Musicians, composers	20.5	29.5	8.1	3.6
Politicians	14.5	12.4	15.3	18.9
Scientists	6.8	7.7	27.4	22.5
Actors, theater directors	7.7	7.6	12.9	13.2
Sportsmen	5.1	1.8	9.7	8.6
Bishops, priests	4.3	4.0	3.2	3.8
Others	6.0	2.3	7.3	16.7
<b>Historical period</b>				
Before 19th century	7.8	4.2	2.4	1.3
19th century—1st half	44.3	59.3	17.7	13.1
20th century				
2nd half 20th century	47.8	36.5	79.8	85.6

**Table 4**  
Percentages of mentioned important events in the city history

Historical period	Lviv	Wrocław
Until 14th century	14.1	9.5
Until 18th century	5.3	.75
19th century to the First World War	7.8	4.5
1918	10.3	0
Inter-war period	0	.33
Second World War	9.3	23.7
Until 1989/1991	.9	25.45
After 1989/1991	52.16	36.5

**Table 5**  
Estimations of national composition of cities before WWII compared to official statistics

	Estimated values				Official statistics		Difference from official statistics	
	Lviv	Wrocław	SD <sub>L</sub>	SD <sub>W</sub>	Lviv	Wrocław	Lviv	Wrocław
Own nation	40.23	21.91	19.93	22.40	15.9	1.0	24.32	20.91
Nation dominant before WWII	30.36	57.96	16.10	24.36	50.4	97.3	-20.04	-39.34
Jews	13.47	12.34	8.80	10.52	31.9	1.7	-18.43	10.64
Others	22.78	7.04	6.09	2.39	1.7	0	21.08	7.04

## 8.2. Place attachment and place identity

### 8.2.1. City differences

In line with Hypothesis 2, place attachment was generally higher among inhabitants of Lviv than Wrocław. These differences were significant for attachment to the house,  $M_L = 3.90$  vs.  $M_W = 3.64$ ,  $t(499) = 3.32$ ,  $p < .001$ , and to the city,  $M_L = 4.10$  vs.  $M_W = 3.94$ ,  $t(499) = 2.69$ ,  $p < .01$ .

In terms of place identity, inhabitants of Lviv, compared to Wrocław, identified themselves significantly less with the city district (17.5% vs. 26.2%),  $\chi^2(N = 501,1) = 5.23$ ,  $p < .05$ , and Europe (18.0% vs. 30.2%),  $\chi^2(N = 501,1) = 9.50$ ,  $p < .01$  and significantly more with their city (76.0% vs. 68.4%),  $\chi^2(N = 501,1) = 3.37$ ,  $p = .07$ , and the country region (29.0% vs. 18.3%),  $\chi^2(N = 501,1) = 7.92$ ,  $p < .01$ . Overall, the dominant identities in both cities were city (76.0% and 68.4%, respectively), nation (72.0% and 67.7%), and human being (57.5% and 52.8%).

### 8.2.2. Predictors of place attachment

Hypothesis 2 predicted that place attachment will be positively related to demographic variables like residence

length, age, generation, or being born in the city, as well as to presence of urban reminders in residence place. Hypothesis 5 predicted that mutual relationships between place attachment and place identity, i.e., the degree to which place attachment is due to higher-order (national) or lower-order (local) place identity, may differentiate the two cities, with the former stronger in Lviv than in Wrocław. In order to test these predictions, a step-wise regression analysis was run on five measures of place attachment separately for each city, with three groups of variables included as predictors: demographic variables, place identities, and presence of urban reminders. Results of the regression analysis are presented in Table 6.

In line with Hypothesis 2, in both cities the most consistent predictor of place attachment was residence time, and in Lviv, additionally, the represented generation in the city: the older the generation, the higher the place attachment. The remaining variables (age, sex, education, the fact of being born in the city) were of less importance.

Hypothesis 2 also predicted a positive relationship in both cities between presence of urban reminders and place attachment. As can be seen in Table 6, the role of both, district and type of housing for place attachment was lower in Lviv than in Wrocław. Contrary to predictions,

Table 6

Predictors of attachment to five places (apartment, house, neighborhood, city district, and city) in Lviv and Wrocław (significant  $\beta$  values)

Lviv					Wrocław						
	Apartment	House	Neighborhood	District	City		Apartment	House	Neighborhood	District	City
<b>Demographic variables</b>											
Born in city					.15*						
Generation	.16*		.17*			.23***					
Res. time	.22**	.31***	.23***	.25**			.23***	.19***		.16**	
Age					.26***						
Education				-.19**							
Sex						-.13*					
<b>Identity</b>											
District						.17**		.19***	.21***	.21***	
City						.14*					.19***
Region		.16*		.16*	.23***		.16**	.14**		.14**	
Nation		.17*	.17*	.21***	.21**						
Europe											
World											
Human being	-.15*					-.12*					
<b>Urban reminders</b>											
Housing	.18**						.17**			.13*	
District1_L				-.16*							
District2_L											
District1_W						-.16**		-.23***	-.21***	-.36***	
District2_W								.14**		.13*	
District3_W									.13*	.11*	
$R^2$	12.6	12.1	12.9	20.8	17.6	11.7	26.3	21.8	25.1	3.8	

Note: District1\_L: modern vs. historical; District2\_L: historical downtown vs. historical residential.

District1\_W: modern vs. historical; District2\_W: historical downtown vs. historical residential\_1 and 2.

District3\_W: historical residential\_1 vs. historical residential\_2.

L—Lviv, W—Wrocław.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

attachment to one's own apartment was in Lviv positively related to living in the post-war apartment building but—in line with predictions—attachment to city district was positively related to living in a historical district (downtown or Lychakiv). In Wrocław the pattern of results was stronger and more consistent. Wrocław participants felt more attached to their apartments, houses, neighborhoods and city districts when they lived in a historical district rather than in a modern one; of the three historical districts they felt more attached to neighborhood and to city district when they lived in the two residential districts than in the city downtown, and of the two historical residential districts they felt more attached to the eagle-shaped district of Sępolno than to the garden city of Karłowice. In terms of housing, they felt more attached to pre-war houses than to modern apartment buildings but they also felt slightly more attached to their city district if they lived in modern rather than in pre-war houses. It should also be noted that in neither city was presence of historical traces in the residence place associated with attachment to the city. Overall, presence of urban reminders in the form of living in a historical district or in pre-war house had less impact on place attachment in Lviv than in Wrocław.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that the two cities should differ in the extent to which place attachment was mostly predicted by national or by local identity. As seen in Table 6, in Lviv place attachments were positively related to national (Ukrainian) identity and to regional identity (it has to be noted that the region of Galicia in Ukraine is highly loaded with nationalistic sentiments as testified by the recurring theme of the “autonomous Galicia” in political discussions in western Ukraine, see also Bialasiewicz (2003) for description of the resurgent national significance of this historical region). In contrast, in Wrocław attachments to all five places were predicted mostly by local identities (city and the city district), and—at most—by regional identity (Lower Silesia), the latter in Poland having no national associations. Place of residence thus appears to be more of a national symbol in Lviv than in Wrocław, which corroborates Hypothesis 5.

### 8.3. Collective memory of city past: interest, knowledge, and ethnic bias

Three quantitative measures of collective city memory were used in the analysis: declared interest in city history, a compound index of city knowledge (factor value of three measures: number of mentioned famous city persons, number of mentioned events in city history, and number of remembered names of pre-war city streets), and ethnic bias in estimation of city's pre-war composition (factor value of two measures: difference of estimate for own ethnic groups and the correct value, and difference of estimate for own ethnic group and that of the group dominant before WWII). Correlation coefficients between the three measures revealed a positive relationship between declared interest and knowledge,  $r(191) = .29, p < .001$  in

Lviv, and  $r(301) = .24, p < .001$  in Wrocław. Interest in city history was weakly negatively correlated with ethnic bias in Wrocław,  $r(289) = -.14, p < .05$ , and this correlation, although in the same direction, was insignificant in Lviv,  $r(186) = -.10, p > .05$ . Knowledge and ethnic bias were negatively correlated in both cities,  $r(193) = -.27, p < .001$  (Lviv) and  $r(289) = -.29, p < .001$  (Wrocław).

#### 8.3.1. City differences

Lviv participants, compared to Wrocław participants, declared significantly more interest in city history,  $M_L = 4.02$  vs.  $M_W = 3.18, F(1,490) = 81.93, p < .001$ , and scored higher on the general factor of knowledge,  $M_L = .43$  vs.  $M_W = -.27, F(1,471) = 66.25, p < .001$ . The two cities also differed with respect to ethnic bias, with participants from Lviv scoring higher ( $M_L = .38$ ) than participants from Wrocław ( $M_W = -.26, F(1,466) = 49.42, p < .001$ ). All differences persisted after the effects of education were partialled out. Overall Lviv participants had a better knowledge (recalled more items) but they were also somewhat more biased in their estimates of the city pre-war ethnic composition. This corroborates predictions formulated in Hypothesis 5.

#### 8.3.2. Predictors of interest in city history and of knowledge of city past

Table 7 presents results of step-wise regression analysis with three measures of collective city memory (interest, knowledge, and ethnic bias) as dependent variables, and four groups of independent measures as predictors: demographics, place attachment, place identity, and urban reminders.

According to Hypothesis 3, residence time, age, and education should be positively related to expressed interest in city history and to city memory, and negatively to ethnic bias, while generation in the city and being born in the city were expected to be negative predictors of expressed interest in the city history and of the place memory.

As seen in Table 7, the most consistent demographic predictors of city memory were age and education—in both cities they were positively related to city knowledge, and in Wrocław age was a negative predictor of ethnic bias. Overall the demographic variables were better predictors of expressed interest in city history in Wrocław than in Lviv. Consistent both with Hypothesis 3 and with other findings (Lewicka, 2006) generation in the city and the fact of being born in the city were negatively related to measures of place memory. In Lviv people born in the city were less interested in city history and people who represented older city generations had less knowledge about city history than did newcomers or those less settled in the city. Also in Wrocław people representing older city generations expressed less interest in city history. Although not revealed in results of regression analysis, correlational analysis showed that knowledge and generation in the city were weakly but significantly negatively correlated also in Wrocław,  $r(300) = -.14, p < .05$ .

Table 7

Predictors of interest in city history, knowledge of city past (number of pre-war streets, famous persons, important events), and ethnic bias in estimation of ethnic composition of pre-war city in Lviv and Wrocław (significant  $\beta$  values)

	Lviv			Wrocław		
	Interest	Knowledge	Ethnic bias	Interest	Knowledge	Ethnic bias
<b>Demographic variables</b>						
Born in city	-.25***					
Generation		-.20**				
Residence time				.15**		
Age		.20**				
Education		.14*				
Sex				.14*		
<b>Identity</b>						
District						
City						
Region						
Nation			.31***			
Europe						
World		-.17*				
Human being						.17**
<b>Place attachment</b>						
Apartment						.22***
House						
Neighborhood	.26***					
District						
City				.18***		
<b>Urban reminders</b>						
Housing						.14*
District1_L		-.16*				
District2_L		-.16*				
District1_W						
District2_W						
District3_W				.11*		
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	11.5	21.5	9.8	15.7	28.6	14.2

Note:

District1\_L: modern vs. historical; District2\_L: historical downtown vs. historical residential.

District1\_W: modern vs. historical; District2\_W: historical downtown vs. historical residential\_1 and 2.

District3\_W: historical residential\_1 vs. historical residential\_2.

L—Lviv, W—Wrocław.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

Hypothesis 4 predicted that place attachment should be positively related to expressed interest in city history and to overall knowledge. As seen in Table 7, the data provided some support for the hypothesis. Attachment to the closest neighborhood in Lviv and to city in Wrocław were significant predictors of interest in city history. Further evidence comes from analysis of raw correlation coefficients that revealed a systematic pattern of positive (although low) relationships between expressed interest in city history and attachments to all five places in Lviv,  $r(198) = .18$ ,  $p < .05$  (apartment),  $r(198) = .20$ ,  $p < .05$  (house),  $r(198) = .24$ ,  $p < .05$  (neighborhood),  $r(198) = .19$ ,  $p < .05$  (district), and  $r(198) = .16$ ,  $p < .05$  (city), and to four places in Wrocław,  $r(299) = .12$ ,  $p < .05$  (house),  $r(299) = .14$ ,  $p < .05$  (neighborhood),  $r(299) = .13$ ,  $p < .05$  (district), and  $r(299) = .18$ ,  $p < .01$  (city). Also in line

with the prediction, place attachment was positively related to the measure of knowledge (Table 7), however, this was true only for Wrocław and not for Lviv.

Hypothesis 7 predicted that presence of urban reminders would be significantly related to all three measures of memory: positively to interest and knowledge, and negatively to ethnic bias. As shown in Table 7, the results provided partial confirmation of the predictions. Although (contrary to expectations) the three districts of Lviv did not significantly differ in declared interest in city history nor in ethnic bias, in line with the hypothesis, inhabitants of historical districts (the residential district Lychakiv and the city downtown) displayed greater historical knowledge than did inhabitants of the modern district (Shevchenkivskij), and inhabitants of Lychakiv showed significantly better knowledge than inhabitants of the city downtown.

In Wrocław, inhabitants of two historical residential districts (Sepolno and Karłowice) displayed significantly better knowledge than did residents of the downtown. Particularly knowledgeable in all respects were residents of Sepolno who—when compared to the other residential district (Karłowice)—scored significantly higher on expressed interest in city history, and general historical knowledge and significantly lower on the measure of ethnic bias.

Type of housing (post-war vs. pre-war) was on the whole unrelated to city memory, with one exception: in Wrocław residents of new houses displayed a stronger ethnic bias (Table 7).

### 8.3.3. Predictors of ethnic bias

Hypothesis 3 predicted that demographic variables like age, education, and residence time would be negatively related to size of ethnic bias while generation in city and being born in the city may be positively related to it. As shown in Table 7, among demographic variables only age turned out to be a negative predictor of ethnic bias and this was true only for the Wrocław sample. Additional analysis of correlation coefficients, however, showed that whereas in the Lviv sample indeed no demographic variables were significantly correlated with size of the bias, in Wrocław—in line with Hypothesis 3—ethnic bias was also positively correlated with generation in the city,  $r(301) = .24$ ,  $p < .001$ , and with the fact of being born in the city,  $r(301) = .14$ ,  $p < .05$ . The younger participants, those born in the city, and those whose parents or grandparents were born in the city overestimated the Polish presence in pre-war Breslau more.

Among variables that relate to people's emotional bonds with places (place attachment and place identity), the only significant predictor of ethnic bias in the Lviv sample was national identity, while in the Wrocław sample—attachment to own apartment and human identity (self-categorization as “human being”) (Table 7).

“Ukrainian” identity in Lviv and the place-unrelated “human” identity in Wrocław thus turned out to be positive psychological correlates of ethnic bias. While the former is easy to understand, the latter is puzzling. Using the data collected in this study, I probed somewhat deeper into correlates of self-categorization as “human being”. Wrocław inhabitants who defined themselves as “simply human”, compared to those who did not, were somewhat younger,  $t(299) = 1.77$ ,  $p = .08$ , lived shorter in the city,  $t(298) = 2.33$ ,  $p < .05$ , reported lower place attachment to their present apartment,  $t(299) = 3.15$ ,  $p < .01$ , their house,  $t(299) = 3.18$ ,  $p < .01$ , their neighborhood,  $t(299) = 2.27$ ,  $p < .05$ , the city district,  $t(299) = 2.45$ ,  $p < .05$ , and the city,  $t(299) = 1.84$ ,  $p = .07$ . The self-definition as “human being” was also negatively related to national identity,  $\chi^2(1, N = 301) = 11.30$ ,  $p < .001$ .

It appears then that national identity among Lviv participants had a different psychological profile than did human identity among Wrocław participants. Whereas

Lviv participants who defined themselves as Ukrainians felt more attached to their place of residence (cf. Table 6), the Wrocław participants who defined themselves as “simply human” were less fond of their residence place. Ethnic bias of a relatively similar size in both cities thus may be underlain by qualitatively different mechanisms.

The positive relationship between attachment to one's own apartment and ethnic bias in Wrocław (Table 7) is difficult to understand. The variable seems unrelated to other demographic or psychological variables. Apart from a positive correlation with residence time, additional analyses revealed only the above-mentioned negative relationship between attachment to apartment and self-categorization as “human being”. It was unrelated to age, education, generation in the city, the fact of being born in the city, or other types of place identity.

### 8.3.4. Place attachment and place identity—consequences for ethnic bias

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the degree to which place attachment would be related either to local or to national identity may influence individual place memories in that the more dependent place attachment is on local and the less dependent on national identity, the less ethnic bias. In order to test this hypothesis, the participants were first divided according to their declared identities into three groups: those with only local self-categorizations (in terms of a city district or the city but not in terms of the nation), those with only national self-categorizations (national, but not district or city), and those with mixed identities (national and local). Regional identities being the most ambiguous, and higher-order identities (European, world, human) were not taken into account. In consequence, each subject could be scored 0 or 1 on each of the three identities. The respective percentages of the three identities in Lviv and Wrocław were: local (23.0% vs. 23.6%), national (13.0% vs. 12.3%), and local plus national (59.0% vs. 55.1%). The figures do not add up to 100% because participants also declared other identities than the ones considered here.

In the next step a regression analysis was run with ethnic bias as a dependent variable, and the three types of identities, described above, attachment to city, and interactions of identities  $\times$  attachment to city, as predictors.

In Lviv the interaction of city attachment  $\times$  local identity predicted negatively the size of ethnic bias,  $\beta = -.267$ ,  $t = -3.67$ ,  $p < .001$ . No main or interactive effects of national identity were obtained. In Wrocław, the interaction between attachment to city and national identity predicted positively ethnic bias: the more nationally loaded place attachment was, the more bias was observed ( $\beta = .791$ ,  $t = 2.40$ ,  $p < .05$ ). No main or interactive effects of local identity were obtained. Overall, the results suggest that indeed the interaction of place attachment and type of place identity may be predictive of the size of ethnic bias.

#### 8.4. Memory of the district, the street, and the house

Questions concerning the memory of respondents' close neighborhood were focused on five themes: time (when was the district founded, when the street appeared, when the house was built), name of the founder (who founded the district, who built the house), name of the place (origin of the district's name, pre-war street name, origin of the street's present name), people (previous residents of the district, the house, and the apartment), and reasons for being known (district, street). The first three elements were thus factual (the answers could be compared with facts and scored as correct or incorrect), the remaining two had a social and psychological nature (the answers could be highly individualized and thus less easy to score). Altogether 14 indices of the memory of the close neighborhood were collected.

In contrast to measures of collective memory of the city, discussed in previous paragraphs, scoring of the memory of the district, street or house, presented a number of problems. First, it turned out that the participants understood some questions in different ways. The major problem concerned the high individualization of the participants' experiences. Altogether in this study we covered almost 200 different streets and many more houses and apartments. It is impossible to check in each case if the participant is correct in describing (for example) "the kind of people who lived in this house in the past" or "what was the street famous for" or even answers to such "factual" questions like "when was the house built". In a number of cases therefore the participants' answers were taken for granted, while the most absurd ones were eliminated. Whenever possible, particularly with respect to "factual" questions (like the pre-war names of streets or the time the street first appeared), the answers were compared with existent historical sources: histories of the cities; guides to the cities

published for Polish tourists in Lviv and for German tourists in Wrocław, pre-war city maps or the published lists of the street names throughout different time periods (Czerwiński & Malerek, 1995; Davis & Moorhouse, 2002; Kulak, 1997; Melnyk, 2001; Podhorodecki, 1993), and finally the internet sites devoted to the history of the cities. Nevertheless, it is obvious that what was scored in this study was less the amount of accurate knowledge than the amount of beliefs which the present inhabitants of the investigated districts hold about their places of residence. What was measured then was how much (if anything) they could say about their closest neighborhood: the district, the street, and the house.

**Table 8** presents percentages of positively scored answers to all questions in Lviv and Wrocław. As can be seen, in both cities the answers to most questions show a strikingly similar pattern and the significant differences obtained in some cases were mostly attributable to objective differences between the selected places (for instance in Lviv the origin of the historical districts Lychakiv dates further back (14th century) than the Wrocław districts of Sępolno and Karłowice which both were attached to the city in the interwar period and thus their history is probably better known).

Overall the participants seemed to know more about their house and the district than about their street. The majority could say when their house was built, and who lived in their apartment before them (if anybody), although they had some problems in describing who built their house. The majority could guess when their district first appeared but again had problems with providing the name of its founders. They relatively freely characterized the "type of people" inhabiting their district in the past and provided reasons for the district's fame. They had relatively few problems in deciphering the origin of their street's present name and they were convinced that they knew

Table 8

Differences between Lviv and Wrocław in memory of their district, street, house, and apartment (percentages of positively scored responses)

	Lviv	Wrocław	df	$\chi^2$	p
<b>District/ settlement</b>					
When founded	59.0	68.8	1.501	5.03	.05
Who founded/ built	16.0	17.9	1.501	.32	n.s.
What people lived here	57.0	57.1	1.501	.001	n.s.
Origin of name	38.0	42.2	1.501	.87	n.s.
What famous for	74.0	47.5	1.501	34.64	.001
<b>Street</b>					
When first appeared	50.0	56.1	1.501	1.83	n.s.
When first appeared—% correct answers	19.2	33.2	1.494	11.58	.001
Pre-war name	26.2	3.3	1.448	52.15	.001
Origin of present name	58.0	60.5	1.501	.303	n.s.
What famous for	11.5	13.0	1.501	.628	n.s.
<b>House</b>					
When built	81.0	91.7	1.501	12.50	.001
Who built	32.0	43.2	1.501	6.34	.05
What people lived in house	50.5	43.2	1.501	2.58	n.s.
What people lived in apartment	73.9	80.7	1.500	3.29	n.s.

when their street first appeared on the map. The latter belief, however, when confronted with historical sources, turned out mostly to be incorrect (see Table 8). Participants in both cities had problems with providing reasons for why their street should be considered famous, and did not remember the pre-war name of their street. The latter was particularly striking in Wrocław where only 10 persons (little more than 3%) could correctly mention the German name of their street, as compared to over 26% of Lvivians who correctly remembered the pre-war Polish name. This again corroborates the finding from the previous sections: residents of Lviv have a better knowledge of the pre-war urban layout of their city than do residents of Wrocław.

Subsequent analyses were run separately for each city. In order to reduce the number of measures, three summative indices of collective memory of the neighborhood were computed, separately for the district, the street, and the house, in each case consisting of the sum of positively scored responses. Table 9 presents results of the step-wise regression analysis with three compound memory measures as dependent variables and four groups of predictors: demographics, place attachment, place identity, and urban reminders.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that demographic variables of age, education, residence time, would be positive predictors, and generation in the city or being born in the city—negative predictors also of memory of the closest surroundings. As seen in Table 9, this hypothesis was supported most strongly for the variable of age, followed by residence time, and education. Attachment to city positively predicted memory of the district and the street, while attachment to apartment—memory of own house. This agrees with predictions formulated in Hypothesis 4, however, this was true only in the Wrocław sample. National identity was a negative predictor of district memory in Wrocław and regional identity—of house memory in Lviv.

Like in the case of city knowledge, Hypothesis 7 predicted the positive role of urban reminders also for the memory of the closest surroundings. The pattern of results (Table 9), however, is not that clear. In Lviv, in line with predictions, knowledge of the history of one's own district was lower in the modern district Schevchenkivskij than in the two districts rich in urban reminders. However, knowledge of the history of one's own street and house showed a reverse effect—this is probably due to the fact that new buildings and newly established streets have a shorter history which is easier to recall. Additionally, knowledge of the house history was better in the historical Lychakiv district than in the city downtown.

In Wrocław urban reminders were related only to house memory. In line with Hypothesis 7, residents of post-war buildings had a worse knowledge of the past of their house, inhabitants of two historical residential districts, Sępolno and Karłowice, knew more of their house history than did inhabitants of the downtown, and (somewhat surprisingly) residents of Karłowice had a better house memory than residents of Sępolno.

Table 9

Predictors of knowledge about the history of city district, street, and house (significant  $\beta$  values)

	Lviv			Wrocław		
	District	Street	House	District	Street	House
Demographic variables						
Born in city						
Generation						
Residence time		.22**		.23***	.28***	
Age	.25***	.20*	.16*			.19**
Education		.15*		.13*	.15**	.19***
Sex					.14*	
Identity						
District						
City						
Region					-.14*	
Nation						-.13*
Europe						
World						
Human being						
Place attachment						
Apartment						.14**
House						
Neighborhood						
District						
City					.15**	.13*
Urban reminders						
Housing						-.15**
District1_L	-.14*		.21**	.15*		
District2_L				-.30***		
District1_W						
District2_W						.29***
District3_W						-.12**
$R^2$	7.9	19.6	15.7	9.3	12.0	23.8

Note:

District1\_L: modern vs. historical; District2\_L: historical downtown vs. historical residential.

District1\_W: modern vs. historical; District2\_W: historical downtown vs. historical residential\_1 and 2.

District3\_W: historical residential\_1 vs. historical residential\_2.

L—Lviv, W—Wrocław.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

## 9. Discussion

The major hypotheses tested in this paper concerned the content and predictors of memories of two cities, with particular focus on ethnic bias. As noted in previous sections, place memory is mostly a social phenomenon (Connerton, 1989; Fentress & Wickham, 1992). As such it is more dependent on extra-individual factors, like dominant ideology or contents of media and school textbooks than on individually differentiated psychological factors. This is the main reason why the relationships with individual variables were weak and explained a small percent of variance of city memories. In contrast, the main effects of participants' national belonging were robust. All participants overestimated the pre-war presence of their own nation in the city, listed famous city figures predominantly of their own nationality and mentioned

historical events that were connected almost solely with the history of their own nation.

Ethnic bias was thus present in both cities. In both cities, too, positive relationships were observed between demographic variables like age, residence time, and education, and measures of place memory. A non-trivial negative relationship also appeared between the fact of being born in the city or the represented city generation and measures of interest in city history and city knowledge, i.e., less interest and worse city memory among those born in the city and representing older city generations (grandparents or parents born in the city) than among newcomers.

This study replicated several basic facts known from research in collective memory. In both cities a curvilinear relationship was found between the time period and number of recalled historical events—origin of the place and first of all the most recent times were recalled the best (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu et al., 2007). Clearly visible was the phenomenon of “collective amnesia” (particularly notable in Wrocław) and uneven “sociomnemonic densities” of the cities’ history, described by Zerubavel (2003). Insight into contents of the memories confirmed the otherwise known fact (Baumeister & Hastings, 1997; Conway, 1997; Liu & Hilton, 2005) that these events from the city past that were particularly significant to the group ethnic identities were the best remembered. This was visible in Wrocław where the time between founding of the Wrocław cathedral in 1000 and the Festung Breslau in 1944 presented a huge empty gap—a sort of an interlude preparing the final “return of the city” to its previous owners. Mental gaps also existed during two contemporary periods in the Lviv history: the Polish period of 1918–1939 and the Soviet period from 1945 to 1991. Both were considered foreign rules in the time of the clear national awakening among Ukrainians.

These findings demonstrate that in both cities place memory was heavily loaded with national contents. If one adds to this that national identity was very high in both cities, then the natural conclusion would be that these results, although robust, are not very striking and support the otherwise known ethnic biases in collective memories. However, this is by far not the whole story. The main counterargument against this simple conclusion is that only in Lviv but not in Wrocław was there observed a positive relationship between ethnic bias and national identity. In Wrocław, ethnic bias was predicted mostly by young age, living in modern houses, and by lack of place identity, as revealed in choice of an elusive “simply human” identity.

It seems then that the same phenomenon (here, ethnic bias) may be driven by different mechanisms. In this paper, I formulated the hypothesis that place may be construed either in the top-down manner, as a national, ethnic, or religious symbol or in the bottom-up way, as an autonomous unique entity. Data presented in this paper suggest that the former may be present in Lviv, the latter in Wrocław, and thus that the two cities may represent two different ways of relating to a city.

The study provided some evidence for this interpretation. First, place attachment in Lviv was predicted almost entirely by national identity and in Wrocław—by local (district, city) identity. Second, place (city) attachment had more impact on knowledge of place history (number of recalled facts from the history of city and of close neighborhood) in Wrocław than in Lviv. Third, only in Lviv was ethnic bias predicted by national identity. Fourth, the contents of recalled facts seemed to have a more “national bias” in Lviv than in Wrocław. The most often mentioned famous city persons in Lviv were writers, poets and musicians, i.e., those professions that usually tend to convey national contents, followed by national politicians and national heroes. In Wrocław, the most often mentioned persons were scientists, local politicians, and local activists (city presidents, the directors of the Wrocław ZOO), as well as directors of two experimental theaters, all categories devoid of national symbolism. This difference was associated with differences in time perspective. Historical figures predominated in Lviv and contemporary figures in Wrocław and—as is known—national heroes usually belong to the past, not present.

An additional empirical argument that place has a more local character in Wrocław than it does in Lviv was the finding that urban reminders showed low but consistent significant relations to place attachment in the former but not in the latter city. This is in accord with implications of the dual-process models of perception, here applied to people’s relations with places. The theory predicts that if a place is categorized mainly as an example of a higher-order category (e.g., as a national, ethnic or religious symbol), the attitude towards it will be inferred from the general category and not from its specific features, which—in turn—should occur when the place has mostly local significance. Hence the more autonomous is the place in people’s minds, the more attachment to it should depend on its physical features, including presence of historical “urban reminders”. This agrees with the obtained results.

It is easy to understand why a positive relationship should exist between ethnic bias and national identity (like it was the case of Lviv). The finding that remains to be explained, however, is the positive relationship between ethnic bias and self-categorization as a human being, as observed in Wrocław. In the previous section, it was hypothesized that weak emotional bonds with a place may also facilitate ethnic bias. As mentioned in the Introduction, low importance of a target object should facilitate peripheral processing (Petty & Caccioppo, 1986). The concept of peripheral vs. central level of processing was used by Brewer and Harasty Feinsten (1999) in their dual-process model of person perception. One of their predictions is that if peripheral processing is combined with the bottom-up, object-based processing mode, then representation of the object will be formed on the basis of accidental salient information, like for instance a halo effect in person perception that is due to a mindless

inference from a salient initial positive information. However, peripheral processing may also facilitate use of category-based processing if the category (e.g. national category) is readily accessible. All this may explain why in our study participants who defined themselves in non-place-related categories (as human beings) and, as such, felt little attachment to their residence place, committed ethnic bias. The overestimation of the number of Poles in pre-war Breslau could be due to mindless inference from available salient sources—higher-order categories or more personally relevant experiences. The latter is plausible since in Wrocław a positive linear relationship was found between generation in the city and the amount of ethnic bias. Therefore when answering the question about ethnic composition of the pre-war city, Wrocław participants probably fell victim to a variant of false consensus effect and based their guesses on their own experience (since my grandparents or parents lived here before I was born, so probably did other Polish families as well). Their bias was thus of cognitive rather than motivational nature. Both high and low place attachment may thus lead to a biased representation of history but the mechanisms should be different in each case: motivational in the first and cognitive in the latter.

This study offered also a more direct corroboration of the postulated motivational mechanism of ethnic bias, that is of the prediction that high place attachment will contribute to ethnic bias only if associated with high national identity, but not if associated with local identity. Regression analysis revealed that indeed the interaction between type of identity (local vs. national) and attachment to the city showed significant effects on ethnic bias. In Lviv the amount of ethnic bias was negatively related to the degree to which attachment to the city was associated with local identity, and in Wrocław—it was positively related to the degree to which city attachment was associated with national identity.

There are several reasons why conclusions drawn from this study have to be treated with caution and should have the status of hypotheses rather than firm findings. The first reason is the un-representative character of studied city samples. Preliminary findings of the reported investigation suggest that the two cities may be treated as exemplifications of two different ways of relating to a place: as a national symbol vs. an autonomous entity, and of two different mechanisms of ethnic bias: motivationally vs. cognitively driven. These conclusions seem to be justified in light of what is known about the history and the present status of the two cities. However, final conclusions concerning differences between any two places can be drawn only after the investigation is carried out on representative samples of the places population.

The other word of caution concerns measures applied in this study. The first is the measure of category- vs. object-based place processing. In the absence of more direct measures of place meanings, in this study the measure employed was the predictive power of different kinds of

place identity (national vs. local) for place attachment. A much more direct instrument is needed, though, one that could account for the wide range of place meanings, from purely personal, through local, national, to supranational, and that could grasp their multidimensional nature (Gustafsson, 2001b; Hay, 1998; Relph, 1976). A preliminary version of such an instrument was already applied by the author in some recent studies (Lewicka et al., 2007). A more elaborated instrument that measures interest in city history is also due. In the present study the concept was measured by a single question, and this could be the reason why the relationships between interest, place attachment, and place memory, although significant, were not very strong.

With all these reservations in mind, this study can be treated as the first step on the way to uncovering psychological mechanisms of ethnic biases in collective memory of cities with a multiethnic past. The obtained findings, although very preliminary, appear to have interesting theoretical and practical implications. From the theoretical point of view, application of the dual-process models to account for people's relations with places is one more step in the direction of integrating environmental studies within a larger framework of social psychological theories. As such this attempt complements others, undertaken for example by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) who applied Breakwell's theory of identity to the concept of place identity, or by Kyle, Graefe et al. (2004) who employed Hovland's and Sherif's social judgment theory to explain the relationships between place attachment and place-related behaviors. This step is also in accord with Dixon and Durheim's (2000, p. 40) belief that "research on place identity may yet be a meeting ground between social and environmental sub-disciplines".

The findings presented in this paper may also have practical implications. Restoration of the forgotten past and coordination of different historical perspectives in this part of Europe is a prerequisite of a successful dialogue between Poles and Germans, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, Belorussians, not to mention Jews—the nation whose 1000 years' history on the Polish lands will soon be commemorated with the impressive Museum of the History of Polish Jews built in Warsaw. Will it stand isolated as a tourist attraction in the city whose Jewish population before WWII amounted to 30%, or will the history it presents become incorporated into the shared memory of the city? The shameful bidding on who suffered more after WWII—Poles or the relocated Germans—is another example of why coordination of memories is urgently needed. How to achieve this objective is also the question that comes to minds of many people who visit the historical Lychakiv cemetery in Lviv and who observe how Polish tours are guided solely through the graves of eminent Polish citizens of the city, and Ukrainian tours solely through the graves of famous Ukrainians. European integration also means integration of memories, not only institutions.

There are many theories on how to overcome ethnic stereotypes. The most effective measures appear to be those that help the prejudiced parties decategorize targets of their

prejudice, that is, perceive them not as representatives of higher-order categories but as autonomous individuals, and then to recategorize them again in terms of a new, usually superordinate, category ("us" instead of "us" vs. "them") (Pettigrew, 1998). Fiske's and Neuberg's (1990) continuum model of person perception and Brewer's (1988; Brewer & Harasty Feinstein, 1999) dual-process model offer similar predictions. The efficiency of this strategy lies in preventing the prejudiced parties from attributing to the group representatives the conflictual features of a stereotypical category (ethnic, religious, gender, etc.). A similar recipe is proposed here for overcoming ethnic biases in perception of place's past and for building its integrated image. The message of this paper therefore is that, instead of forcing people to confront the discrepant ethnic or national versions of place histories, and thus use the high

categorization level, perhaps it would be more efficient to step down to the level of individual *place*, and encourage the involved parties to carry the detective investigations *in situ*, in order to discover for themselves the place's unique and distinctive multicultural identity.

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### Appendix 1. Place attachment scale

Please, mark on the scale from 1 to 5 to what degree each of the statements reflects your feelings about your residence place

My feelings about the place	Definitely don't agree	Don't' agree	Neither agree nor don't agree	Agree	Definitely agree
	1	2	3	4	5
	Apartment	House	Neighborhood	City district	City
(1) I know the place very well	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(2) I defend it when somebody criticizes it	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(3) I miss it when I am not here	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(4) I don't like this place	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(5) I feel secure here	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(6) I am proud of this place	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(7) It is a part of myself	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(8) I have no influence on its affairs	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(9) I want to be involved in what is going on here	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(10) I leave this place with pleasure	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(11) I would not like to move out from here	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
(12) I am rooted here	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

### 2. Place identity scale

In case you were asked who do you feel first and foremost, which three features would you choose? Please rank order them from "1" to "3", beginning with the most important

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| ( ) Ukrainian            | ( ) Polish               |
| ( ) European             | ( ) European             |
| ( ) Citizen of the world | ( ) Citizen of the world |
| ( ) Simply human being   | ( ) Simply human being   |
| ( ) Somebody other?      | ( ) Somebody other?      |

Version for Lviv	Version for Wrocław
( ) Resident of my city district	( ) Resident of my city district
( ) Resident of Lviv	( ) Resident of Wrocław
( ) Galician	( ) Lower Silesian

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