

A basket full of Poland with a taste of shopping desire and imaginations of Europe

A study on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in the Polish Tri-city



(Source: the author)

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Dedicated to my parents, Beate and Wolfgang, my brother Pierre,
Sarah and Nora

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Abstract

The vast increase of Kaliningrader border-crossings due to the Small-border traffic regulation for shopping and leisure purposes is a recent phenomenon in Poland. The Kaliningrader neighbors have reached the Tri-city consisting of the cities, Gdańsk, Gdynia and Sopot in large numbers to shop in Western-styled shopping centers. This paper intends to describe the Kaliningrader identity, the mobility, in how far people are aware of the shopping facilities of the Tri-city and the motivations of Kaliningraders to come to the Tri-city. Since Kaliningrader cross-border shopping is a novelty, this research attempts to shed light on the Kaliningrader cross-border shopper in a descriptive way. Questionnaires and observations serve as tools for understanding the Kaliningrader client. The Chi-square test examines the motivational factors of Kaliningraders. The research reveals that the identity and characteristics of Kaliningraders help Kaliningraders to feel well in the Tri-city surroundings and make them mobile. A significance of the analyzed motivation factors could be discovered on the price level and the larger product and service assortment.

Keywords: *Tri-city, cross-border shopping, Kaliningrader identity, (un)familiarity, (im)mobility*

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Acronyms and Glossary

EU	<i>European Union</i>
ENPI	<i>European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument</i>
GDR	.....	<i>German Democratic Republic</i>
Königsberg	.....	<i>Former German name for Kaliningrad</i>
Oblast	.....	<i>A federalist unit within the Russian Federation</i>
SBT	.....	<i>Small-border traffic</i>
SKM	<i>Abbreviation for “szybka kolej miejska”, SKM is a fast-train system linking the Tri-city</i>	
Tri-city	.....	<i>Agglomeration of the Polish cities of Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia</i>
USSR	.....	<i>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</i>
Voivodship	.....	<i>Division unit in Poland</i>

Chapter 1: Introduction and the value of the study

1.1. Sketching the situation

Western-styled shopping with huge malls and a vast product range reached the Russian Federation after its foundation in the 1990's. The Soviet counterpart provided a different picture of a shopping landscape with a lower product range and lower quality (Rubin, 1989; Montaigne, 1990, Domaniewski, n.d., p.8). With the fall of the Soviet Union, the Russian market opened and the shopping facilities grew, but besides the changing nature of shopping, the Soviet Empire fell apart. The new political structure of the region created a Russian exclave, Kaliningrad Oblast, between the independent states of Poland and Lithuania. In Soviet times, the border between Poland and the Soviet Union was a no-contact-zone (Komorniki and Mischczuk, 2010, p.56).

In line with the independence of Poland, the Russian Federation started relations with the Polish Republic and agreed with the sovereign Polish government to intensify their efforts to revive the borderlands (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Rules of Local Border Traffic, n.d). Visa facilitation agreements stipulated cross-border movements between Poland and Kaliningrad Oblast and smooth the way for Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in Poland. In 2012, both parties reached an agreement on a no-visa zone. The so-called Small-border traffic (SBT) allows citizens from Kaliningrad Oblast and the two neighboring Polish Voivods to cross the common border without a visa. The consequence of this agreement was an abrupt increase of border crossings from citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast towards Poland, whereas the visits were limited most in the border-close area of Braniewo (Domaniewski, n.d.). But just with the arrival of Kaliningrader shoppers in the polish Tri-city (Gazeta Wyborcza, 2013), the public discovered the new phenomenon of the Kaliningrader cross-border shopper. The glorification of the cross-border shopping in Poland is expressed in the song, Biedronka, of the local Kaliningrader band, Pavoroz, chanting of the feeling to be able to shop in Poland in “Western” shops like Biedronka and Lidl (Piotrowski and Filipiak, 2013). But why do Kaliningraders come to the polish Tri-city to shop? What are their motivations to cross the border to Poland for shopping purposes? Another aspect regarding the Kaliningrader cross-border shopper needs clarification. In a recent poll of the Russian government, citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast stated that they are “Kaliningraders” and not Russians (Neuer Volkstamm in Russland: Die „Kaliningrader”, 2010). Thus, what is the Kaliningrader identity and in how far is the Kaliningrader identity important with regard to Kaliningrader cross-border

shopping?

The recent phenomenon of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in Poland and especially in the Polish Tri-city is reflected upon by few researchers. The article of Bar-Kořelis & Wiskulski (2012) was the step stone of the study on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in the Polish Tri-city. The paper comprises a rough discussion on the characteristics of this new phenomenon. A complementary paperwork is provided by Anisiewicz and Palmowski (2014), who link Kaliningrader tourism with the enactment of the Small-border traffic law. This study attempts to connect those studies and reveal a deeper insight into the topic. The study includes a list of cross-border factors from Timothy (2005) used by Bar-Kořelis & Wiskulski (2012). But in contrast to the proposed influence of the factors, the research intends to underpin the factor analysis with empirical results. Further, the study comprises a set of concepts, which might have an effect on the Kaliningrader identity. The Kaliningrader identity as a growing issue will be discussed. In this respect, the study makes an effort to describe the “Kaliningrader”. Other concepts comprise (im)mobility and (un)familiarity.

In the next chapters, the paper will outline the research questions, the theoretical and methodological framework and will shed light on the shopping in different eras, the Tri-city shopping facilities and SBT law and will go on with the analytical chapter.

1.2. Research question and sub-questions

New regulations facilitated the travel between border regions and allowed for more interactions. Those interactions cover mostly tourism and therein included shopping purposes. Kaliningrader shopping in Poland was fostered by the changing border regime. The magnitude of Kaliningrader shoppers is overwhelming and soars continuously. The hot spot of Kaliningrader shopping drifted to the Tri-city instead of keeping at the edge of the border in cities like Braniewo. The question arises *why* Kaliningraders come to Poland for shopping and more evidently why Kaliningraders come to shop to the Tri-city (Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia), when they can shop in cities, which are closer to the border as well. What are the reasons for Kaliningraders to come to Gdańsk, Gdynia and/or Sopot?

This question becomes even more interesting with regard to the developing online shopping offers. Products can be ordered from all over the world and are delivered directly to one’s own house door. Consequently, the main research question is the following:

Which factors attract Kaliningrader cross-border shopping tourism to the Polish Tri-city?

Besides the main research question, a set of sub-questions will help to understand Kaliningrader shopping and Kaliningraders as such. The questions will partially answer the main research question, but mainly support the theoretical framework of the study. The sub-questions are footed on the concepts of (im)mobility, (un)familiarity and the Kaliningrader identity. These concepts derived from academic literature are used in the attempt to explain the Kaliningrader cross-border shopping.

Due to historical disharmonies in the Kaliningrad area, a mixture of people from different Soviet Republics was settled in Kaliningrad Oblast. Recently, newspapers and academic articles published papers on a distinct identity of people in Kaliningrad Oblast in contrast to Russians from “mainland” Russia. Thus, clarification is needed on the (current) state of the Kaliningrad identity. What is the current Kaliningrader identity? What are the people like and what are their characteristics? Those questions are evident to understand the nature of the “Kaliningrader”.

A further question aims to shed light on the (im)mobility of Kaliningraders for crossing the border to shop. What is the current situation with regard to (im)mobility? What are the requirements to cross the border and what hinders the mobility of Kaliningraders? The question on (im)mobility is a fundament since without mobility, cross-border shopping cannot exist. Further, the knowledge of a certain place or the unknowingness can attract or repel decisions to come to the Tri-city. The question appears to what extent the Kaliningrader shoppers are familiar with the Tri-city and the shopping facilities. Does the novelty of the Tri-city and its shopping facilities make Kaliningrader shoppers mobile and does mobility has an effect on the feeling of familiarity with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities? In how far does the familiarity with the Tri-city has an effect on the developing Kaliningrader identity? Due to the unknowingness of the Kaliningrader identity and its characteristics, another question arises. Is the Kaliningrader identity a tool for feeling familiar in the Tri-city since the Kaliningrader identity needed to be flexible to serve as a basis for the multicultural society? Further questions on the relationship between the Kaliningrader identity and mobility will scrutinize this reciprocal link.

The next chapter introduces the concepts of (im)mobility, (un)familiarity and identity and provides an overview of the proposed links between the concepts at the end of the chapter. In the analytical part of the thesis, the above mentioned relations between the different concepts will be accessed on behalf of descriptive data gathered by questionnaires.

1.3. Social relevance

The rising cross-border shopping travel of Kaliningraders to Poland or specifically to the Tri-city enlarged the market on tourism. Even so, the first waves of Russian shopping tourists to Poland can be dated back to the period of 1994-1997 (Komornicki and Miszczuk, 2010, p. 65), the changed border regime resulted into a voluminous stream of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping tourists. The increase of cross-border shopping tourism of Kaliningraders benefits hugely Polish Communities reaching from border cities like Olsztyn and Elbląg to the Polish Tri-city. It is estimated that “Russians spent over 62 m złoty (\$20m) in Poland in the first half year of 2013 alone” (A.C., 2013). Russian tourists pose one of the largest groups of tourists in Poland and the Polish Tri-city (own stress on Bar-Koślelis & Wiskulski, 2012, p.45). This study is relevant with regard the serving the customized needs of Kaliningraders since the study attempts to reveal the main motivations of Kaliningrader shoppers to come to the Tri-city. Therefore, the research intends to visualize the “Kaliningrader customer. The results of the study can be used by the Tri-city Municipalities and companies to optimize their facilities to attract more customers from Kaliningrad Oblast. The customer approach can have a positive effect on feeling more comfortable.

1.4. Scientific relevance

Cross-border studies attracted some resonance in the academic world (Timothy and Butler, 1995; Di Matteo and Di Matteo, 1996; Spierings and van der Velde, 2012; Izotov and Laine, 2013). However, the discourses of cross-border shopping tourism differ. The stress in some studies is laid on the border state or the border itself (Bufon, 1995; Timothy and Tosun, 2003), whereas other approaches involve concepts like identity (Domaniewski, n.d.) or (un)familiarity (Spierings and van der Velde, 2012; Izotov and Laine, 2013). In their research, Spierings and van der Velde (2012) attempted as well as Izotov and Laine (2013) to explain cross-border shopping in the realm of (un)familiarity. In difference to Izotov and Laine (2013), Spierings and van der Velde (2012) detected a set of cross-border shopping motivations. This research attempts to unite those approaches to find a more varied picture of cross-border shopping. The embedding of the concepts can show a possible mutual interrelation for cross-border shopping studies.

Another scientific relevance is posed by the geographical position. Whereas cross-border shopping studies between EU and Third states exist (Izotov and Laine, 2013), there seem to be no cross-border shopping research on exclaves. Exclaves can have their own dynamics as

exemplified by Lundén (2012) and thus poses a new case of cross-border shopping. This study will shed light on the new case of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping under the Small-border traffic agreement with Poland. Despite the articles of Bar-Kořelis & Wiskulski (2012) and Anisiewicz and Palmowski (2014), the case of Kaliningrader shopping is a white spot in academic cross-border shopping studies. This study will set a novelty by providing an approach to describe the Kaliningrader identity deepening the cross-border shopping studies incorporating identity (Izotov and Laine, 2013; Domaniewski, n.d.).

Chapter 2: Framing the Theoretical Foundation

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework applied in this study and diffuses insights on the areas of cross-border shopping, (im)mobility, (un)familiarity and identity. Furthermore, the sections on borders and borderlands serve as background knowledge for cross-border shopping. At the end of the chapter, a graphical visualization of the theoretical framework is provided and argumentative founded.

2.1. Borders and Borderlands

2.1.1. What is a border?

[...] “a world *without* borders is unimaginable”[...] – Thomas Diez (2006, p.237)

There exists a vast body of literature about border studies (Kristof, 1959; Baud, 2000; Van Houtum and Naerssen, 2002; Diez, 2006; Newman, 2006; Paasi, 2010). Studying borders have attracted many scholars with a different disciplinary background. The study on borders has been and is still a joint interdisciplinary project, whereas each discipline has a special focus framed by their disciplinary view (Newman, 2006; Paasi, 2010). Despite the traditional history of those studies, border studies shifted their focus and variety over time. In the first theories on borders, a border was perceived in its essential meaning as a physical obstacle (Kristof, 1959). The physical appearance of borders played a central role. But borders are diverse even in its physicality, which can be, as mentioned before, a wall (e.g. China in ancient times) or a(n) (electric) fence (e.g. at the Polish-Belorussian border on the Belorussian border side). Further, the physical shape of the border can have a wide range in the degrees of thickness, solidness, length and height (own stress on Anderson and O’Dowd, 1999). The border itself was denoted by different concepts like “frontier” or “boundary” and lacked a clear conceptual foundation as argued by Kristof (1959). With the attempt to introduce a clear-cut in use between the concepts of a “frontier” and a “boundary”, Kristof (1959) achieved the acknowledgement of different states of borders with different functions. The use of frontiers as an appropriate concept to describe a border and the discourse on the physicality of borders can be traced back on the historical reality of the Cold War. In contrast to Kristof (1959) stating that a boundary is under full sovereignty of the central government and is unable to create own dynamics (p.272), post-Cold War studies on borders consider a different discourse for border studies. In the wake of new nation-states in Eastern Europe, some scholars focused on nation-state borders. National borders were created and are strongly

related to the appearance of nation-state. Its ideology was exploited for the justification of the state foundation and its borders (Baud, 2000).

Due to the constructed character of nation-state borders, national borders have to be understood as individualistic beings with an autarkic life (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). A tie of the old discourses and the new discourses is presented in the dualistic nature of borders, which is denoted by Anderson and O'Dowd (1999) as the paradoxical character of the border itself (p. 596). On the one hand, a border can be threatening and protective against foreign influences. The border can therefore be an instrument of exclusion protecting the "national imaginary" of the nation, whereas national identities are denoted by Anderson as "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983, p. 15). On the other hand, a border can also be comfortable and welcoming to the people and the state for reasons of security against the outside world (e.g. the preservation of culture and identity) (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). For instance, the European Union (EU) as a supranational entity grants the right for the citizens of the Member states in relation to the Schengen Agreement that reshaped the significance of national borders, to move freely within the territory of the Union. Citizens from so-called *Third states* (non-Schengen states) need to have a special visa for granting access to a certain country, but at the same time they profit from the free movement principle within the EU once they are permitted to stay in a Member state (Walter, 2002). The Schengen Agreement led to a "borderless" phenomenon within the area of certain state cooperation. Nevertheless, borderlessness does not imply that the meaning and the validity of the political borders vanished entirely with the enforcement of Schengen, but it rather had its impact on the visibility of borders between states (see also Diez, 2006).

A fundamental reformation in border studies has been the inclusion of borderlands in relation to the border. Van Houtum and van Naerssen (2002) reinvented the state of border studies. Instead of a rigid border with different meanings and physicality, van Houtum and van Naerssen (2002) focused on the process of border shaping. The process of remaking and reshaping the border is called "bordering" (Van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2002; Newman, 2006). In addition, van Houtum and van Naerssen (2002) expressed that borders are not "a fixed point in space and time, rather they symbolize a *social practice of spatial differentiation*" (p.126). Therefore, the concept of bordering implements the living of the border citizens *with* the border instead of living *at* the border. Thus, the state of bordering insists on a direct relationship between so-called *borderlands* and its people. The theory of bordering from van Houtum and van Naerssen (2002) thus show that the border and borderlands are no sterile areas without life, but social interaction shapes the relationship

between borderlands and render the appearance and meaning of the border. The theory is fundamental for this study since cross-border shopping poses a social action on the border and the (other) borderland(s) creating another state of the border regime. The frontier thesis is based on the view of an external enemy, but in the Kaliningrader case, cross-border shoppers cannot be regarded as enemies expanding their spheres of power.

2.1.2. Border regions - Living on their own?

Capitals are imagined by reasons of state power seats to mirror the soul of the country and to exemplify the purification of the national identity. Despite the fact that capital cities are globalizing, capitals do not represent the life and identity of other parts of the country (Donnan and Wilson, 1999; Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). The border area, which is usually far away from the capital, seems to have its own rhythm (Baud, 2000, p. 45; Newman and Paasi, 2006, p. 197). This is currently observable with the political power play of regions attempting to reach the nation-state status and a certain level of closure at its borders (e.g. Scotland or the Northern Spanish region of Catalonia).

The institutionalization of the border as outlined in the previous section is a central point in borderlands. Firstly, it means the materialization of the border, how the border is visible or non-visible and in what way the border is shaped and still shaping. And secondly, besides borders, borderlands consist of a population living next to the border. Relations of the border region with its neighbor are a necessity to stimulate exchange and to reduce the meaning of the border as a division. Different outward influences impact the relation between the border people on both sides and reorganize the common border (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999, p.597). Baud (2000) termed this changeability, the "dynamics of change" (p.45), which can be "abrupt and quite contradictory" (Baud, 2000, p.46). For border studies, cross-border behavior is an interesting issue. It shows the dynamics of the borderlands and in some cases even the growth of cross-border region linkages. Linkages can be established between state elites (regional governments), who cooperate on mutual agreed sectors such as technology exchange, police cooperation or economic cooperation. The EU fosters the cooperation between EU border regions in a special program from its Regional policy. Under the umbrella of the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), projects with EU and non-EU members on cross-border cooperation are launched to establish new ties between those regions (see Diez, 2006). Milan Bufon (1996) found in his study on the Italian-Slovene border region that the intensity of cross-border interactions depends on particular factors, whereas contacts with ethnic-akin people were more intense.

The frame of borderland interactions is set by legal and illegal practices. Illegal actions are “smuggling of illicit goods and the trafficking of people as well as illegal immigration (Diez, 2006, p.241). In contrast, legal actions may involve cross-border shopping (Bufon, 1996).

2.2. Cross-border shopping

In recent years, cross-border shopping studies have enjoyed attention in academic literature (Timothy and Butler, 1995; Spierings and van der Velde, 2012; Izotov and Laine, 2013). Studies entail cases from many regions world-wide. Cross-border shopping is the actual crossing of an international border for shopping purposes. Motivations and reasons for cross-border shopping are focus of many current cross-border studies (Guo & Wang, 2009; Wanwisa & Badaruddin, 2013), but recent studies entail concepts like (Un)familiarity as well (Spierings and van der Velde, 2012; Izotov and Laine, 2013). Cross-border shopping combines studies on borders and border regions and adds an economic and touristic value. Most of the literature depletes cross-border shopping cases from Europe and North America (Timothy and Butler, 1995; Di Matteo and Di Matteo, 1996; Bufon, 1996). Recently, some researchers focused on cross-border shopping in Asia (Guo & Wang, 2009; Wanwisa & Badaruddin, 2013). Timothy (2000) argued on the growing importance of borderlands as a touristic destination and the touristic infrastructure of the border regions next to the border (p.57). In this respect, the increasing tourism recreates the borderland space. In some cases, the border as such can be a sight already¹ (Timothy, 2000, p.58). Cross-border shopping is a consequence of economic differential (Anderson and O’Dowd, 1999, p. 597). The range of difference is not fixed and depends on the neighboring borderlands. Some borderland regions differ vastly, whereas others are more alike (Anderson and O’Dowd, 1999, p.597). In the case of the Italian-Slovene border, Bufon (1996) mentions that “the area of Nova Gorica attracts the inhabitants from the Italian side with its cheaper petrol and foodstuff, restaurants, duty free shops and casinos, while the Italian border area is more attractive for the Slovene neighbours because of its job and shopping opportunities” (p.250). A range of new products and different brands, lower price levels², different shops and better services³.

¹ For instance, crossing the North Korean border (from South Korea) can be an attraction as a sign of exclusivity since not everyone is allowed to cross this border was introduced.

² As a frequent cross-border shopper on the German-Dutch border, a price difference is experienced only in a small number of products. Especially, from the German view, cross-

Figure 1: Illustration of cross-border shopping



(Source: accessed from http://kaliningradka.ru/site_pc/region/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=12483)

Great neighbors' hunger for shopping and food is allayed short after crossing the Polish border

Figure 1 shows the Kaliningrader cross-border attractiveness for buying food in Polish cities. Supermarkets became a favorite destination for Kaliningrader shoppers⁴.

Bufon (1996) stressed that not economical reasons make people cross the border; he assumes rather the social common stance as the motivation for cross-border shopping (p. 250). In relation to the theory on economic motivations and the Bufon's theory of social motivations, the study will approach both sets of motivations in the analysis. The combination of social and economic factors is performed by Spierings and van der Velde (2012) presenting a full picture on cross-border shopping motivations instead of deciding cross-border shopping to be a mere economic and social process.

Nevertheless, the ground for cross-border shopping is viable in time and space. It is driven by needs and trends of people. Often cross-border shopping seems to be one-directional favoring a place (Timothy and Butler, 1995). But the attractiveness of a destination can also shift its direction (e.g. the case of cross-border shopping between the U.S. and Canada (see Timothy

border shopping was famously connected with the products that were bought due to its lower price level ("Butterfahrt" (butter tour) or "Kaffeeahrt" (coffee tour)).

³ Based on own knowledge

⁴ Due to the ban on particular products, cross-border shoppers can only transport a limited range of products legally to Kaliningrad Oblast. This restricted choice of products to buy made supermarkets a less favorite destination than before this policy.

and Tosun, 2003)). Thus, difference can be an appealing factor for cross-border shoppers over a particular point in time, but can also lose its attractiveness with the appearance of another, more pulling differential across the border (Timothy and Tosun, 2003).

As argued by Timothy (1995), cross-border shopping is often not a single source of motivation to cross the border, but is often aligned with recreation (p. 529).

A combination of travel purposes is mentioned in several studies (see Timothy, 1995; Timothy and Butler, 1995; Bar-Koçelis and Wiskulski, 2012).

2.3. (Im)mobility

The concept of (im)mobility is widely domiciled in migration studies (Schapendonk, 2012) and (cross) border studies. Lately, the concept of immobility reached the grounds of cross-border shopping studies (see Spierings and van der Velde, 2012).

In migration studies, mobility has been regarded by the movement of migrants towards a particular destination in its traditional way. Recent literature delivered a change in this one-dimensional way of thinking. Schapendonk (2012) as well as Spierings and van der Velde (2012) disclosed that another dimension of mobility has to be acknowledged to describe a state of rigidity termed as *immobility*. Schapendonk (2012) distinguishes in his study of sub-Saharan migrants on their way to the EU, different states of (im)mobility. The categorization into stranded, stuck and settled in Schapendonk's research (2012) bares the physical immobility in one or more directions. The last category of migrants shows a shift in their sensation of immobility. Van der Velde and van Naerssen (2011) contributes with felt dimension towards the physical concept of (im)mobility making a link to (un)familiarity. The "mental border threshold" draws on the feeling of otherness in relation to people across the border, which may stop people to cross the border (Van der Velde and van Naerssen, 2011, p. 221). Whereas the imagined difference between borderlands and its people hold people back from crossing the border, another dimension of van der Velde's and van Naerssen's model (2011) assesses the differences of places on a rational basis. The desirability of the evaluated factors of the local and distant place serves as a further decision-making process.

An exemplifying case of this interplay of the dimensions of immobility is sketched in the German-Czech border region. Deer on both sides of the border do not cross the national line, where once an electric wire marked the beginning of a new ideological system. But even the disappearance of the obstacle on the border, did not show effect by an increase of border crossings (Cačtk, 2014). The border here is a "mental border". A physical border, which is built up in the subconscious over years, thus became part of the behavior. This kind of

(im)mobility is not limited to animal behavior, but can be found in human actions as well. Despite the fact that Germany celebrated 25 years of Reunification last year, still many people of the former Western German population have not visited Germany's new East since then, even so there is no wall or there are no controls anymore. Despite of the "learned" immobility, other factors like money, documents, political struggles, no or bad transportation influence the chance to be mobile. In some circumstances, immobility is wished for. In the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) or nowadays in North Korea, people should not come into contact with the enemy and thus were not allowed to travel. Only people, who were loyal to the authorities, were granted the chance to travel.

2.4. Are you familiar with...? The concept of (un)familiarity

The concept of (un)familiarity derived from psychology and centralizes the knowledge and feelings of the human being.

In the early study of Erik Cohen (1972), he notes that "[...] *novelty and strangeness are essential elements in the tourist experience*" (p.166). Cohen speaks of certain continuum of familiarity and unfamiliarity, whereas both states can be attracting and undesirable in kind (Cohen, 1972). Cohen therefore categorizes different types of tourism with a diverse limit of (un)desirability of (un)familiarity. The idea of a polarization of familiarity and unfamiliarity is picked up by Spierings and van der Velde (2008) and is named the "bandwidth of unfamiliarity" (p. 501). The bandwidth of unfamiliarity scales the extent of people's unfamiliarity with people's willingness to become mobile. Thus, novelty of Spierings and van der Velde (2008) is the consideration of (un)familiarity as a possible cause of cross-border shopping. Despite, the bandwidth of unfamiliarity inherits a two-dimensional concept. The first dimension describes the "rational" differences or commons, whereas the second describes "emotional" differences or commons between places for becoming mobile (Spierings and van der Velde, 2008, pp.501-503). The dimensions are judged on factors of (im)mobility of the home place and the foreign place. The mobility decision derives from rational and emotional comparisons of the home and the foreign place. As Spierings and van der Velde (2008) note, the perception of the desired level of (un)familiarity is not a fixed point, but is rather driven by one's own ideal (p.502). But the recognition of what is different to their identity and what is part of their "heritage" is subjective (Prentice, 2004, p.926). The weighting of the dimensions and factors thus remains largely a mystery of the unconscious. Prentice (2004) adds several types of familiarity grounded on Baloglu (2001) to the conception of (un)familiarity. Those types differ in the source of familiarization.

The reproduction of a place achieves a degree of novelty even for people with a high familiarity to the place⁵. Cross-border shoppers or tourists as such appear as the modern version of the adventurous discoverer of the old days. Every tourist is a Columbus exploring the unknown world.

2.5. Identities: What/Who do think you are?

Within the realm of border and borderland studies, identity (formation processes) and the cultural impact of borders and bordering through the opening and closing periods were taken up rarely by scholars (Donnan & Wilson, 1999). Identity in relations to borderlands is thus still a blind spot in the scientific consciousness. Studies on identity go mainly hand in hand with the process of state-building and the binary construction of the “us” and the “other”. The conception of identity is a fuzzy affair in social studies, whereas the issue granted more attention in other scientific disciplines like Psychology, in which different layers of identification exist.

Identity is not only about the self, but depends also on the other. “Boundaries both create identities and are created through identity” (Newman and Paasi, 1998, p.194). Based on the argument of Newman and Paasi (1998), identity is thus relational to the border and its social interactions.

To tie oneself to a common pool of characteristics, one needs confirmation by others to reflect the expression of the self (Sen, 2006; Domaniewski, n.d.). Identities are vital and often this vitality makes identities an issue that is hard to study on.

Identities are common denominators among its followers. In the descriptive study on European identification, Delanty (1996) describes the important role of frontiers as demarcations of a common cultural area throughout history. Exclusivity as part of the frontier shaped the unity of identities.

Delanty and Rumford (2005) pointed out four set-points of the concept of identity. The first aspect of identity is expressed in the natural alterability via a continually-shaped social process with no end in sight. The ever-changing reproduction of the self reflects shifts in the social status quo of the societal life. Therefore, identity as a social reality is per se underpinned by a steady new fashion. Secondly, identity is socially practiced in daily live per conversation, in which the memory and the individual existence is ensured to be continuative. The individual in a society shapes a common identity in interacting with others defining a

⁵ Own stress on the relationship of the concept of bordering (Van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2002) and the concept of familiarity (Spierings and van der Velde, 2008)

common moral stance. A code shared among their entourage that is just understood by “people of the same kind”. This code encompasses habits and beliefs in their common narrative. The third corner post concerns the relational role between the other and the self. It is the direct consequence of an identity clash between the self and the other. It is noteworthy that distinct identities on different or same levels are not necessarily rival, but surely have influence on one’s own identity. The extent of exchange or impact on identity cannot be scaled rationally. The absorption of identity elements from the other cannot be controlled, but is willingly or unwillingly taken over by society. The fourth identity feature contains the multitude of identities itself. As mentioned before, identities can appear in multiple ways throughout the daily life. Everybody has to deal with identity issues daily. Making choices in a certain way can be channeled by identities. Identities are social expressions of doing things leading to a particular group belonging (Delanty & Rumford, 2005, pp. 51 & 52).

2.6. Reflection on theoretical framework

Cross-border shopping is a scientific field of growing interest (Timothy and Butler, 1995; Spierings and van der Velde, 2012; Izotov and Laine, 2013). Early studies of cross-border shopping focused on the US-Canadian border (Timothy and Butler, 1995; Di Matteo and Di Matteo, 1996), but also sporadic on European borders (Bufon, 1996). Timothy and Butler (1995) revealed that cross-border shopping is not a mere economic gain, but cross-border shoppers can have (sole) touristic motivations to shop across the border. The study of Timothy and Butler (1995) argue for a directional cross-border stream depending on the more favorable economic place. In contrast to Timothy and Butler (1995), Bufon (1996) did not see the economic differential or the proximity of the border as a reason for cross-border actions, but regarded the approaching of the borderlands and the resulting cultural proximity as a more evident reason. He found that the lower the feeling of having similar/common values has been the more people hesitated to cross the border.

To improve the understanding of cross-border movements, this paper enriches the study on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping with the concept of (un)familiarity as a possible attraction or repulsion force. Spiering and van der Velde’s conceptualization of a “bandwidth of familiarity” (2008) seems to be a feasible theoretical underpinning due to the fact that Spierings and van der Velde show that familiarity does not necessarily picture comfort, particularly with regard to the Polish-Russian border. As mentioned by Izotov and Laine (2012), the impermeable Finnish-Russian border disunited the former Karelian country and created thus unfamiliarity among a former united region (p.104). The state of the Polish-

Russian border has been coined by a strict absence of interactions (Komorniki and Miszczuk, 2010, p.56). The inclusion of (un)familiarity will provide an insight of the comfort level of the Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers with the place and serves as an additional source of motivation. But the level of comfort implicates the relationship between identities as well. As argued by Delanty and Rumford (2005), identities are based on a set of common values, meanings and cultural habits, which are questioned and redefined by inner and outer influences. The ability of adaptation can have effects on (un)familiarity since identity changes the patterns of feeling (un)familiar. The internalizing of the foreign and the novel can lead to lower attraction levels.

The complexity of the concepts of cross-border shopping in this research can be visualized best by providing a graph. As outlined in the previous sections of the theoretical framework, cross-border shopping can be approached differently. It is argued before, that the study will include the concepts of (un)familiarity, identity and (im)mobility. The single approaches of the concepts in different cross-border shopping studies suggest that each concept has a direct influence on cross-border shopping (see Figure 2). The study first needs to define the state of (im)mobility, the state of identity and the level of (un)familiarity. The state of (im)mobility will be aligned with the introduction of the SBT agreement and will mainly focus on the dimension of mobility, but also attempts to present a short insight of immobility. A description of the Kaliningrader identity as followed in the analysis is necessary to define before testing interrelationships with other concepts. The degree of feeling (un)familiar with the Tri-city environment and its shopping facilities of the Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers is addressed in the study to ascertain the degree of (un)familiarity necessary to become mobile. Not only direct effects of the concepts are assumed, but the relationships between the three concepts will be investigated in this paper.

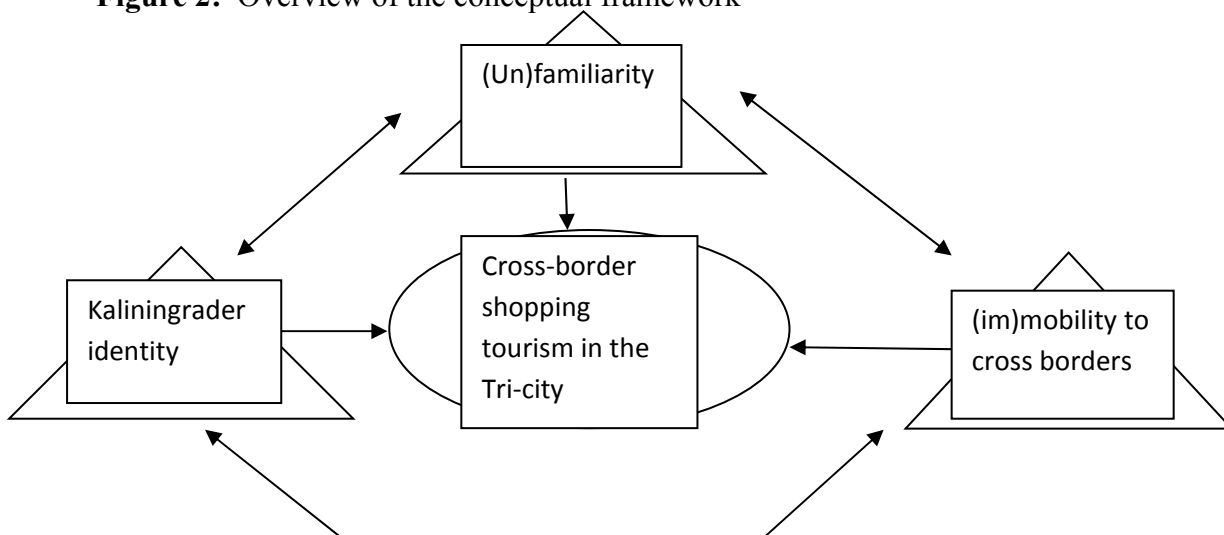
Based on the conception of Spierings and van der Velde (2008) of a “bandwidth of familiarity” (p. 501), the level of (un)familiarity can shift from a desired to an undesirable familiarity. An undesired (un)familiarity can lead towards immobility (Spierings and van der Velde (2012). But on the other side of the medal, it can be questioned whether the actual travel to the Tri-city has an effect on the degree of familiarity. Therefore, Figure 2 denotes the possible relationship between the concepts of (un)familiarity and (im)mobility with a double-directional arrow.

Based on the argumentation that (un)familiarity seems to be dependent on the Kaliningrader identity on reasons that feeling familiar or unfamiliar demands for patterns of identification to compare with the known or unknown. In the opposite direction, the Kaliningrader identity can

be impacted by the foreign influences of the Tri-city (based on Domaniewski, n.d.). The foreign influences can be internalized willingly or unwillingly by Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers and can affect the feeling of (un)familiarity. The incorporation of foreign culture or views can shift the pattern of crossing the border. In consequence, the study will test the mutual relationship between (un)familiarity and identity.

The last tested mutual relationship in the study is posed by the concepts of identity and (im)mobility. On the basis of Kaliningrad Oblast's geographical position and the long-lasting absence of relations between Poles and Russians (Komornicki and Miszczuk, 2010, p.56), the interest to familiarize with the other arose and may be a trigger for cross-border movements (Izotov and Laine, 2012, p.104). In contrast, (im)mobility can have effects on the Kaliningrader identity as well. The confrontation with the Other may confirm or question the Kaliningrader identity.

Figure 2: Overview of the conceptual framework



(Source: the author)

The three concepts with their proposed direct relationships to cross-border shopping in the Tri-city and interrelationships describe possible motivations for Kaliningrader shoppers to come to the Tri-city. The conceptual framework is thus directed to answer the main research question of what Kaliningrader shopper's motivations are to cross the border and shop in the Polish Tri-city. The motivations drawn from the conceptual framework are complemented by a set of motivations outlined by Timothy (2005) in the analytical part.

To give a clear overview of the proposed research questions discussed on behalf of Figure 2, the questions are outlined as follows:

- What is the current situation with regard to (im)mobility?
- What is the current state of identity in Kaliningrad Oblast and what is the Kaliningrad identity?
- To what extent are Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers (un)familiar with the Tri-city (facilities)?
- What effect does the Kaliningrader identity have on familiarity and vice versa?
- What effect does (un)familiarity have on the mobility of Kaliningrader shoppers and vice versa?
- What effect does the Kaliningrader identity has on the (im)mobility and vice versa?
- What makes the citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast mobile to shop in the Polish Tri-city?

Chapter 3: Methodological tools – The scientific pillar of the study

This chapter lays down the methodological approach of the study on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping. The methodological build-up contains the research strategy, the data collection and the proposed analysis of the collected data.

3.1. Research Strategy

The research is based on a case study of Kaliningrader shopping in the Tri-city. Survey research or surveys as a tool for data collection is part of the case study and complements its design. (Kaliningrader) shopping tourists as a focus group are difficult to sample. Due to short-duration stay, a fixed sample cannot be used. A more vital strategy for sampling is needed. The sample size influences the validity and reliability of the study. A high number of participants are desirable to ensure reliable data. The sample size is sensitive to the size of possible recipients and to external factors during the collection of data.

For this study, a dual path will be taken by utilizing the snowball method and an opportunistic sampling strategy since the population pattern is not known. The snowball method is used for achieving a large sample in a short period of time, in which the sampling is led by a domino-effect. A disadvantage of this sampling method is that it generates a largely homogenous sample that does not necessarily represent the general population. A further hurdle has to be taken to be sure that the snowball grows bigger. In contrast to the snowball method, the opportunistic sample strategy avails oneself of the randomness of the possible respondents. This method serves the needed flexibility, but due to self-collection of the respondents by coming to the Tri-city, the sample can turn out biased and does not represent the real imprint of the population. Therefore, on the one hand the sample will not picture the population parameters correctly, but on the other hand, the self-collection process forms the population parameter of Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers. In result, this data collection strategy does not embrace the Kaliningrader population, but for the study more suitable group of Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers. Thus, both strategies seem to be most appropriate to the study. Both approaches will be approached in the city surroundings in Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia. Since opportunistic sampling requires knowledge on where Kaliningrader shoppers can be found, the settings within cities may differ as well as the intensity of Kaliningrader shopping flows between the three cities.

3.2. Data collection

In this study data will be accessed by carrying out questionnaires. Questionnaires as part of survey research, has some powers, but pitfalls as well. The strength of survey research and thus questionnaires derives from 1) its ability to describe phenomena of larger groups, 2) can easily generate a high sample of answers, 3) can entail many different kinds of questions and 4) due to a standard format, the measurement of the variables is easier than in interviews.

Weaknesses contain that 1) survey research due to its standardized form may not truly represent the thoughts and feelings of the respondents 2) the research is mostly blind to see the dynamics of the social context and 3) survey research erect a non-real picture via standardization. On the one hand, survey research further hampers on the validity of the study since categorization can mislead the real feelings and thoughts of the respondents. On the other hand, survey research is highly reliable due to a standardized form (Babbie, 2007, pp.276 & 277).

The choice in favor of a questionnaire rather than carrying out interviews is argued its more standardized answers of questionnaires. Interviews are gain more insights for the exploration of a topic, but are less useful when research demands particular answers.

The study will entail different kinds of questionnaires. One questionnaire is designed for Polish citizens and intends to collect view of Polish citizens on Kaliningrader people. The first questionnaire comprises Polish views on the Kaliningrader identity. The incorporation of Polish views on the Kaliningrader identity is reasoned on the basis of Delanty's view of "self-identification through exclusion" (Delanty, 1996, p.94). The Polish questionnaire functions as a tool of concreting the lines of the Kaliningrader identity through the self-definition of difference. In result, the Polish questionnaire is solely on purpose for identity issues. The Polish questionnaire posses 9 questions in total, whereas the questions are of closed and open-ended design. The first two questions ask for a relationship between the respondent and Kalinindergraders followed by the question whether the respondent believes that Kaliningraders are different in identity from other Russians. A further question demands an argumentation in how far the respondent believes that Kaliningraders are different from other Russian people. Question 5 is designed to address the three most important characteristics of the Kaliningrader identity. The last 4 questions constitute personal information such as age, gender, education level and place of living. The questions are entirely nominal in measurement level. The questionnaire was designed originally in English and was translated into Polish. The selection of the Polish respondents occurs in the strategy of opportunistic

sampling as well like the Kaliningrader respondent selection.

The Russian questionnaire poses the heart of the study. The questionnaire is built on 22 questions. Those questions comprise open-ended and closed questions on nominal and ordinal scales. The first question identifies the purpose of the Kaliningrader movement, whereas the second question aims to answer the frequency of travels. The frequency and the self-evaluation should allow showing whether more travels will lead automatically to an increase in familiarity. A deepening picture on (un)familiarity is drawn by asking the degree of familiarity and the source of familiarity. Question no.6 asks whether gained knowledge (increased familiarity) has a direct effect on the mobility of Kaliningraders. The followed question asks for the felt familiarity with the place (Tri-city). Further questions intended to reveal the respondents identity self-reflection and the description of the typical Kaliningrader (Questions 8 and 9). The relationship between identity and (im)mobility is covered by question no.10 and 11, in which respondents were asked whether cross-border shopping is part of the Kaliningrader identity and in what way. A possible relation in the direction from identity to (un)familiarity is intended in questions 12 and 13. It is asked whether identity is a trigger to feel more comfortable in the Tri-city. Questions 14 and 15 investigate whether the respondents think that Tri-city shop customized products or services for Kaliningraders, which attract them on the basis of identification. A reverse-directed question (no.17) draws on the influence of mobility on identity. The last part of the questionnaire apart from personal information entails a set of cross-border shopping factors. The factors that possibly influence the motivations of Kaliningraders to come to the Tri-city are designed into a 5-point Likert scale (1: not important at all; 2: not really important; 3: important; 4: quite important and 5: very important). Alike the Polish questionnaire, the questionnaire for the Kaliningraders was translated into Russian.

A pre-test phase would have been beneficial to achieve an overview of the response reactivity and to obtain an insight into possible outcomes, but was not realizable to perform due to a lack of time and finances. It was planned that the research should be performed on different times and places throughout the Tri-city for gaining data from visitors of each city in the agglomeration. This approach should have been followed to receive an accurate picture of the Tri-city shopping tourists from Kaliningrad Oblast.

3.3. Proposed analysis

To make an evident analysis, the sample population needs to be known and checked on their characteristics to interpret results. The analysis intends to use inferential statistics to scrutinize

the data from the questionnaires. Due to the measurement levels of the collected data (nominal and ordinal), a Chi-Square test (χ^2) to identify the most important motivations of Kaliningrader shoppers to come to the Tri-city seems to be the appropriate method. The motivations of Kaliningrader will be measured on a possible association between the variables purpose of travel and the different factors. To test a significant association between the variables, a confidence level of 90% ($\alpha = .10$) is chosen. Due to the small sample-size, the assumption of the Expected Cell Frequency Condition is harmed. But even so the results are slightly incorrect, the results of the study will show a certain direction.

The most qualitative data, despite the characteristics of the Kaliningraders, will be translated into numeric values to make the data useable for statistic programs. The analysis on the gathered data set will be supported by the graphical and statistical program SPSS to handle the amount of responses.

The association or non-association of the factors will be interpreted in the realm of the main research question. Data taken for regarding the relationships between the concepts of (im)mobility, (un)familiarity and identity will be assessed on a descriptive basis due to the plurality of questions on the relationships. The descriptions are linked to the sub-questions of the study and will be analyzed on a logical interpretation in relation to the outlined theoretical framework. The data will be presented by descriptive statistics as collected from the questionnaires.

The descriptive data allow only to conclude the relevance of the data output and does not test the significance of the conceptual relationships. This relevance is argued on the highness of the resulted percentage. On the contrary, the performance of the Chi-square test produces significant results when the associations between the variables are below the used α -level. The results of the descriptive statistics of the research questions and the tested association based on the Chi-square test will be explained in a separate analytical section and seek contextual relevance and significance for Kaliningrader cross-border shopping.

Chapter 4: The political influence on social and economic space

The following chapters will approximate the border situation between Poland and Kaliningrad Oblast, show the shopping realities of today's Kaliningrad in comparison with Soviet times and the Polish Tri-city shopping facilities. The outline serves to gain a deeper knowledge on before touched topics.

4.1. The way to the Small-border traffic and its key characteristics

The years between 1989 and 1992 did not solely represent the breakdown of the Soviet Union, but in its deeper sense it marked a re-ordering of Central and Eastern Europe. This restructuring process contained the recognition of independence of several states, which were formerly affiliated with the Soviet ideology. New strings needed to be established. The new founded Republic of Poland and the successor state of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation enacted the Treaty on Friendly and Good-Neighborly Relations on 22 May 1992 (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Rules of Local Border Traffic, n.d). The Treaty on Friendly and Good-Neighborly Relations constitutes the first legal document between these two states. It comprises different areas of cooperation, contains the recognition of the special geography of Kaliningrad Oblast and in its beginnings, it tackles the issue of cross-border travelling for citizens living in the border areas. With regard to the definition of the border area, the first legal basis sets out the concrete area of the Voivodships, Pomorskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie on Polish territory and Kaliningrad Oblast on Russian ground.

Article 14 of the Treaty picks up the efforts that have to be made in case of an indifference of interpretation of the border traffic law, which should be solved by diplomatic and consultative means. The Treaty further entitles regional authorities to possess a legal basis for cooperation of the Polish-Russian borderlands (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Rules of Local Border Traffic, n.d.). The cooperation on cross-border relations was accompanied by the development of common institutions like the Polish-Russian Council (Anisiewicz and Palmowski, 2014, p.80).

At this point in time, Poland had the full sovereignty to administrate its borders. This has changed with the prospective of joining the European Union. Poland had to tighten their border procedures for becoming a member of the EU club since it posed and still poses an Eastern outpost of the Union neighboring the non-EU members, Ukraine, Belorussia and

Russia. The process and the implementation of the Schengen Agreement needed stricter border controls at the EU external borders. The Schengen Agreement was expected to have huge impacts on the Polish-Russian border that was assumed in a visible drop of “border traffic of individuals [...] as well as social and economic difficulties in the cross-border regions” (Anisiewicz and Palmowski, 2014, p.80).

Along with the Schengen Agreement, the border between Poland and Russia’s *Kaliningradskaya Oblast* hardened. To ease the situation within the isolated Kaliningrader population, the Russian Federation and the Polish Republic were eager to find a solution for the enclave problem of Kaliningrad Oblast. The so-called “Small-border traffic”- law (SBT) was agreed on. The SBT agreement is a legislative act comprising a facilitated border-crossing for citizens living in Kaliningrad Oblast and the two neighboring Polish Voivods, Pomorskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie.

Originally, the agreement was bound to an area 30 kilometers from the border. The fact, that some areas in Kaliningrad Oblast were uncovered with this rule, let to pressures for an extension of the SBT scope. Under the new agreement, the SBT area embraces 50 kilometers left and right from the border (Anisiewicz and Palmowski, 2014, p.80).

Further conditions regard the duration of stay. The citizens who are covered under the SBT-law can enter the neighbor country several times under the conditions that the duration of a single visit does not exceed 30 days at a stretch. Moreover, the overall stay does not last more than 90 days from the first day of entrance within a 6 month period. The SBT cannot be regarded as a visa due to the fact that it is limited to a special area. The costs for the SBT permit is far lower than for a visa and whereas, a visa differs in categories of travel purposes, the SBT permit covers different travel purposes like tourism and social- or family-related purposes. On the individual level, it is noteworthy that the SBT agreement lays down the legal fundament for citizens living in the border regions for at least 3 years, but it does not automatically lead to a permit to visit the other border region (Dudzińska & Dyner, 2013, pp. 1&2).

4.2. What is the current situation with regard to (im)mobility?

Table 1: Individual border-crossings of the Polish-Russian border towards Poland in the years 2007-2014

Years	Foreigners to Poland
2007	712.539
2008	385.820
2009	339.442
2010	431.746
2011	668.476
2012	1.015.384
2013	1.648.531
2014	1.670.095

Source: <http://www.strazgraniczna.pl>

The Small-border traffic eased the state of immobility of Kaliningraders in the Russian exclave as outlined in the previous section. The introduction of this regulation has a direct effect on the count of border-crossings of the Polish-Russian border. The border crossings of [strazgraniczna.pl](http://www.strazgraniczna.pl) are divided into Poles and foreigners. Kaliningraders fell under the category “foreigners”, but represent the majority group of this category.

The border-crossings of foreigners to Poland doubled from 668.476 to 1.015.384 in 2011 towards 2012 (Table 1). A further increase is registered in the following two years. In 2014, the border-crossings reached 1.670.095 and portray a quadruple of the number of border-crossings in 2008. Thus, a long-standing immobility due to inanimate borderlands transformed through the reviving of the border areas into a certain state of mobility.

Nevertheless, it has to be reminded that the Small-border traffic agreement covers only a certain area, in which under certain conditions free movement of Kaliningrader tourists is possible. The Polish region beyond the line of the agreed terms in the Small-border traffic has a different character. Kaliningraders, who want to go further into the territory of the European Union and Poland, need to demand a visa. For those travels, the conditions had been tightened by the Polish authorities (n.a., 2013).

Moreover, cross-border shopping in the Polish Tri-city seems to be a privilege of the elite of

⁶Kaliningrad (Oblast) or the upper middle class. Some people stated that they are not even able to bear the costs to travel to the Tri-city⁷. Those people try to spare some money to drive to Braniewo. Braniewo is the first Polish town across the Polish-Russian border. Cheap supermarket chains like Biedronka and Lidl were built not far away from the border to await hordes of Kaliningrader shoppers. The bus price from Kaliningrad to Braniewo is 350 rubles (⁸approx. 6,60 €) one-way, whereas a one-way ticket to Gdańsk costs 650 rubles (approx. 12,30 €). A trip forth and back to Gdańsk would cost around 24,60 € without considering the costs for the visa for the Small-border traffic. Eligible persons need to hand in certain documents to request permission and need to pay a fee of 20 €. Therefore, the costs of travelling to the Tri-city or Poland set a barrier for some people and make them immobile (Mam prawo, 2013).

4.3. Moscow's embargo on Western food products and its first effects on cross-border shopping

The interaction between border regions depends not only on the local authorities, but is hugely influenced by state politics. The introduction of policies can make cooperation and interaction more open as happened with the agreement on the Small-border traffic. But they can also shrink the open windows of opportunity. Moldovan wine (T.J., 2013) or Polish meat (Rettman, 2007) fell prey to Russia's politics. In the "war of sanctions" between the "West" and Russia, the latest episode delivered a ban on several products from the European Union, Norway, Canada and the United States of America. The list covered agrarian products like fruits, vegetables and milk products (Russland gibt Boykott-Liste für Lebensmittel bekannt, 2014). The ban vastly hit Poland. Poland is the biggest apple producer within the EU. The ban is not only a financial loss for the Polish peasants, it influences the Small-border traffic between Poland and Oblast Kaliningrad as well.

The Russian crush on Polish supermarkets as reported by several Polish newspapers can come to an abrupt break or to a close-to-an-end scenario since the Russian citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast are not allowed to take Polish vegetables or fruits across the border. The embargo on

⁶ The word "Oblast" is put into brackets due to the fact that most people in this tiny Russian territory reside in the capital of the Oblast.

⁷ Informal conversations

⁸ The conversion of rubles into euro is based on the exchange rate in the period of the 17th and the 21st of October 2014. Due to the Ukraine crisis and oil price problems in December 2014, the Russian people had to pay the doubled amount of rubles for a euro than in October of the year.

those products restructures the social life of the Polish-Russian border region. Nevertheless, the embargo will not end the Small-border traffic entirely since it is not based on shopping vegetables or fruits solely. There is no reliable forecast on how the embargo will influence the cross-border region and whether it affects the increasing cross-border movements of citizens from Kaliningrad. But it nevertheless restricts the shopping opportunities of the Kaliningrader citizens.

Chapter 5: Shopping in the Soviet Union and in current Kaliningrad

To understand the cross-border shopping case of Kaliningrader shoppers in the Tri-city, one has to be familiar with the shopping facilities in Soviet Union times. This section offers an insight of consuming goods within the era of the Soviet Union and illuminates the array of products in Soviet supermarket shelves. This chapter intends to show the shifted paradigm of shopping between the times of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, whereas the transition from socialism to capitalism reveals another kind of shopping.

5. 1. Planned Shopping: A communist reality of shopping

The Soviet Union has been the guardian of communism since the October Revolution in 1918. Along the victory of the Communists in Russia, the public order was remodeled into a Russian-Leninist interpretation of Marx's and Engels' thoughts drawn from the *Communist Manifesto*. The recasting enfolded sweeping policies on the public social sector. An important reformation under the communist vision has been on the agricultural sector. Acreage was restricted in size and some lands were under the custody of the state. The agrarian Soviet territory was divided into state-owned farms and collective farms for producing fruits and vegetables. Especially, the agricultural sector has been regarded as an important tool in the ideological competition race with capitalism. The state-owned parcels added up to a huge apparatus, which needs to be planned to function. The Soviet leaders thus introduced policies for a *planned* economy contrasting the free floating market system on the other side of the iron curtain arguing on the Smithsonian liberal-market model. The economic market relied on the decisions taken by the Communist party. Already in the 1970s, the Soviet system revealed their first illnesses. Food demands did not match the food supply anymore and hence, food shortages resulted in some cities and villages. The reasons for this shortage were manifold. Mismanagement⁹ and crop failure seem to be the most evident.

Due to a continuing shortage of food, the Soviet leadership had to launch policies to distribute the available food. Coupons were introduced to ensure that citizens may buy only a certain product to a fixed quantity. Those cards were deployed solely on products threatened by scarcity. Basic products used daily such as sugar or wheat, ingredients for instance for bread, were the scarcest resources (Karnaukhov, 2013, p. 301; Rubin, 1989). Its control with coupons should ensure the dispersion to all Soviet citizens. The firstly dotted food shortage of some cities and villages pullulates across the country with a culmination in the last years of

⁹ Mismanagement has to be understood here as an action of corruption.

the Soviet Union (Montaigne, 1990). The quantity of goods declined rapidly in the “supermarkets¹⁰” and long queues expressed the situation in places of the country. A special situation arose in times of the food coupon, where the search for better quality or slightly different products led to an imbalance in the food supply, which needed to be corrected by Moscow.

The increasing black markets gained importance as a side effect of the shortage. The prices at the black markets have been far lower than in state shops and currencies to pay the goods had many faces. Trading became a part of culture in this time. Alcohol and tobacco reached a high trading status and thus many non-drinking families kept their assigned alcoholic beverages for either trading them in or just as a possession (Karnaukhov, 2013, pp. 314&315). A “grab-what-you-can-get” culture was created. As an alternative to the black markets, border crossings to Russia’s satellite states, Latvia and Estonia, were approached to secure oneself rare produces (Karnaukhov, 2013, p.307). Thus, cross-border shopping of Russians is not specifically a phenomenon of these days.

Due to the manual planned market system, the deepening process of the commodity shortage needed to be controlled. With policies of introducing city-checkpoints or coupons, which are valid only in the hometown or city, Soviet leaders attempted to make the shortage more predictable (Karnaukhov, 2013, p. 308). The shortage could not be handled in the last years of the USSR. The food shortage can be regarded as one of the first signs determining the Soviet breakdown.

¹⁰ Rubin (1989) expresses that the Soviet state shops cannot be named supermarkets. The association of a supermarket is the Western fashion of offering huge quantities and diversity of goods. In comparison with the Soviet shops, the term “supermarket” seems to be not appropriate (Rubin, 1989).

Figure 3: Shops in scarcity times: Empty shelves in a Soviet Union supermarket



(Accessed from: http://predicthistunpredictpast.blogspot.de/2013/08/how-photographs-of-markets-revealed_18.html)

5. 2. Products, variety and production

“You can’t even get a bar of soap to wash with” (Rubin, 1989)

With regard to products and its variety in supermarkets, it is worth to note that due to the socialist planned economy, the production of goods were solely based on the ideology to feed the Soviet population. Consumerism of luxurious goods was officially not designated in the Soviet Union. The premise of being equal restricted the choice to produce many different substitutes contrasting its capitalist counterpart. In the age of food shortage, the quality of product suffered. Fresh products such as meat, vegetables, fruits or dairies perished fast in the Soviet state shops inter alia through bad cooling facilities (Rubin, 1989; Montaigne, 1990). The shops were nearly empty and in large spaces of the shop, the shelves were left bare¹¹. Soon, some products could not be delivered anymore in the state shops. The quantity of products as well as the product assortment lessened appreciably (Vendik, 2014). Daily products faded away from Russians daily life. People needed to be creative finding substitutes for daily goods.

¹¹ The same result of the planned economy occurred in Poland and other Communist States as well (observed at the long-term exhibition of the European Solidarity Center in Gdańsk)

Despite the state shops, other shops popped up delivering a slightly better quality (Karnaukhov, 2013). One shop has been the so-called Beriozka shop. Western-made cloth and food was the hallmark of those shops. Thus, Beriozka shops were unique in its kind in the Soviet Union. Later on, electronics from Japan, Germany or other industrial-capitalist countries were offered. As well as the uniqueness of the shops, they were also exclusive. Citizens with foreign currency were the single source of customers. In practice, the foreign currency was traded in to receive special coupons for shopping in Beriozka stores. The vouchers were the only accepted currency in these stores (Ivanova, 2013). Beriozka has been no alternative for most of the Soviet citizens and cannot be considered a phenomenon of the masses. Production and the diversity was left to the political will and decisions, but were influenced by the limits of production facilities.

5.3. Shopping facilities in Kaliningrad

Shopping Centers in Kaliningrad mushroomed around the central place at the Leninskij Prospekt, where several shopping centers are next to each other. The Victory square is circled by those shopping malls. The most known is the Europe Shopping Center stretching on three levels. The Europe Center is a high-priced shopping mall and offers like its Polish counterparts, international and national brand products. It is a hyper-modern shopping mall picking up the motto of Europe in its interior design. The different corners and hallways of the Center are named for instance Berlin or Paris. The Europe Shopping Center thus conveys the impression that the center is an open gate to Europe.

Figure 4: Europe Shopping Center



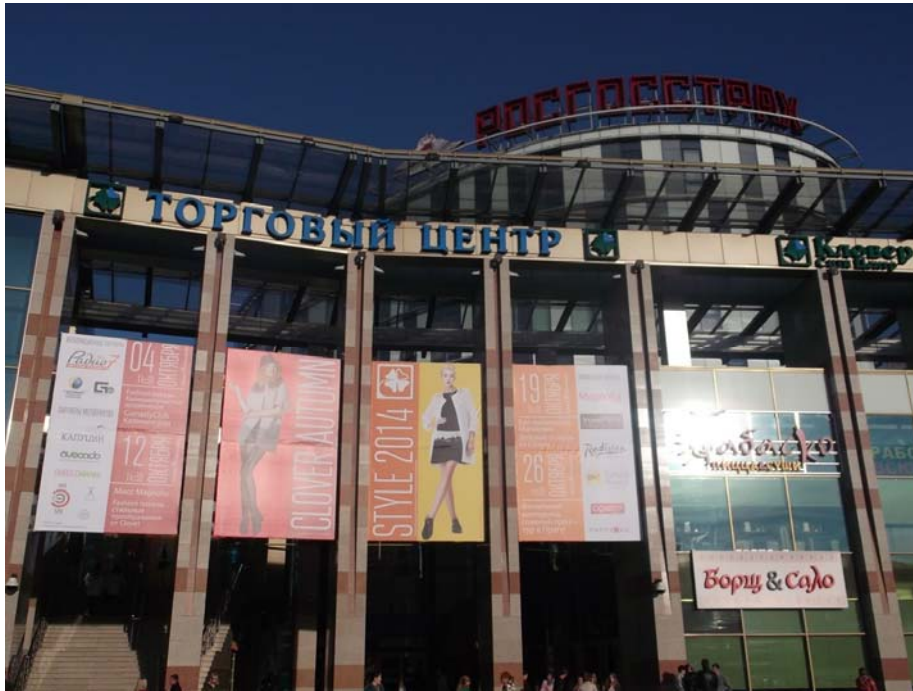
(Source: the author)

A shiny sign of consumerism in Kaliningrader nights

Despite the glittering effect of the Europe Shopping mall, Kaliningrad inherits other shopping centers. The Kaliningrad Plaza, Mega, Epizentr, Akropol and the Klover City Center are some of them. Those shopping centers are smaller in size and offer a different product range. The products or brands are usually national and the pricing is lower. The appearance of the shopping centers differs largely. Some shopping centers seem to be leftovers from the Soviet Union, especially in relation to the Europe Shopping Center.

Another source for shopping is the “open market”. Dairies, other food and clothing of casual products can be obtained for cheap prices at those markets. The markets can be visited in some places across the city and among many Kaliningraders those markets are popular for doing their daily purchasing (Kaliningrads Kudamm: Shopping, Souvenirs und Supermarkets, n.d.).

Figure 5: The Klover City Center



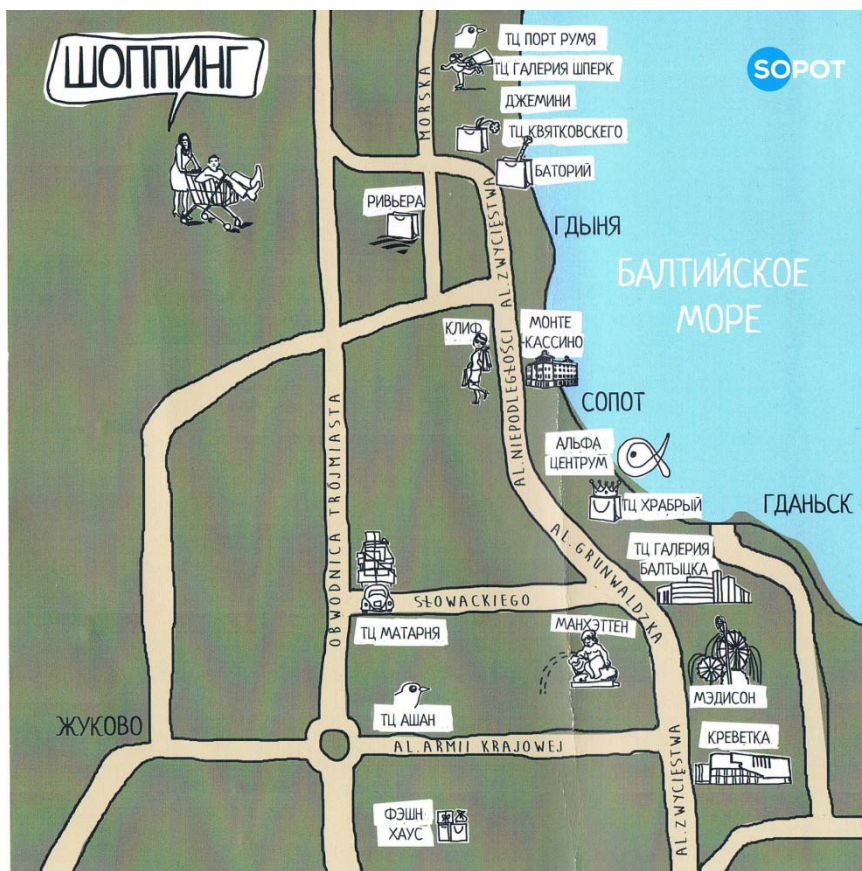
(Source: the author)

A huge shopping mall next to the Victory Square in Kaliningrad

Chapter 6: Shop till you drop: Shopping facilities within the Tri-city and Kaliningrad

The essence of cross-border shopping is the infrastructure of shopping facilities in the three cities. The number of shopping facilities, their location, interconnectedness and the innovation of the shopping temples will be touched upon. This chapter entails a description of the shopping facilities in the Polish Tri-city. Each city will be illuminated individually.

Figure 6: Shopping facilities in the Tri-city



(Source: Tourist Information Sopot)

An informational leaflet in Russian about the Shopping facilities in the Tri-city provided by the Tourist Information in Sopot

Figure 6 delivers an overview of the shopping facilities for Russian cross-border shoppers in Russian language. Mapping the shopping facilities helps to familiarize Kaliningraders with low knowledge about the Tri-city. This map is created solely for Russian shoppers and highlights the importance of cross-border shopping of Kaliningraders in the Tri-city region. The shopping facilities will be described city-by-city below.

6.1. Gdańsk

The largest of the three cities has much to offer when it comes to shopping or amusement. Shopping facilities are spread around the whole city. The city center attracts tourists with a diversity of restaurants and shops. Especially, the main street in the core of the city, the *Długi targ* (“Long market” in English), is famous for its atmospheric mix out of restaurants and shops. In the city center of Gdańsk, the Madison Center next to the Tram- and Railway station offers a large range of shops and products, both national and international. It is located close to the pulsating Długi targ. Following the close situated Aleja Grunwaldzka next to the center in the direction to Sopot, tourists cross two shopping malls, the Manhattan and the Galeria Bałtycka. Both shopping centers are seated in the district of Wrzeszcz. The Manhattan shopping center is rather small in comparison with its counterparts such as the Galeria Bałtycka in Gdańsk, the Klif Center in Gdynia or the Riviera Shopping Center in Gdynia. Further, the Manhattan Center hosts temporary art galleries or other cultural events. Thus, the Manhattan Shopping Center is different in this respect. The Galeria Bałtycka is located near the SKM station “Wrzeszcz” and the bus station in the district of Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz. This shopping center sprawls about three levels suiting the interests of clients for international and national well-known brands with over 200 shops, cafés and includes a fitness center in the upper area. The Galeria Bałtycka is a huge round building hosting a food area with different restaurants in the middle of the center created for shopping rests.

Figure 7: Galeria Bałtycka



(Source: the author)

One of the most known Shopping temples: The Galeria Balticka in Gdańsk

The Matarnia Center seated not far away from the Lech Wałęsa Airport cannot be really considered a “classical” shopping center. Rather it is a kind of shopping park centralizing parking space surrounded by a squared formation of different shops. Media Markt, Obi or Ikea are the most appealing and well-known shops. Especially this center enjoys much popularity from Kaliningrader shoppers. As well as the Matarnia Center, the Auchan Shopping Center and the Fashion House Outlet Center are located some kilometers away from the city center. The Auchan Shopping Center owned by the French-based supermarket chain possesses 47 different shops including services, fashion shops, banks, a supermarket and restaurants. The Fashion House Outlet Center embraces more than 100 shops for clothing.

6.2. Sopot

In contrast to Gdańsk, Sopot cannot offer a substantial shopping infrastructure, rather the city is known for their recreation facilities. Restaurants, luxurious hotels and the beach attract tourists to come to Sopot. The Monte Casino Street is the single shopping source in the city. It comprises a street with shops, bars, restaurants and cafés. Shopping centers like in Gdańsk cannot be found in Sopot. In consequence, shopping tourists need to come either to Gdańsk or to Gdynia. Sopot is thus far a dark spot in relation to shopping facilities in the Tri-city.

Figure 8: Monte Casino Street in Sopot



(Source: the author)

Almost empty on the Monte Casino Street in Sopot in late autumn

6.3. Gdynia

In recent years, the Rivera Shopping was built a few hundred meters away from the Świętojańska Street, the central street with shops, bars and restaurants in Gdynia. The Rivera Shopping Center is the central point for shoppers. The two-leveled Shopping Center offers like the other shopping centers national and international products and brands. Close to the city border between Sopot and Gdynia, the Klif Shopping Center was built in 1996 and has been “one of the first shopping malls in Poland” (Klif Shopping Center website:

<http://gdynia.klif.pl/en/about-center/>). The futuristic-white Klif Center offers a wide range of different products. It is a two-leveled complex with a highly-modern outlook. Moreover, in the north of Gdynia, there are still other shopping facilities like the Batory Shopping Center or the Galeria Szperk.

Figure 9: Shopping in Gdynia - Riviera Center



(Source: the author)

The Riviera Shopping Center is well-visited even on working days

Additionally to the shopping facilities of the three Polish cities, the exploration of the shopping facilities in Kaliningrad appears to serve as a comparison to the Tri-city shopping facilities. This direct comparison can show that due to a lack of shopping facilities in Kaliningrad, Kaliningrader shoppers search for enhanced shopping infrastructures resulting in cross-border shopping in the Tri-city.

Chapter 7: Geographical positioning and the description of the studied population

Chapter 7 introduces the studied area and provides in the aftermath a description on the sample population. The chapter commences with the Polish-Russian borderlands leading over into a geographical description of Kaliningrad Oblast and the Tri-city area. Subsequently, a reflection on the data collection process is stimulated and descends into the description of the studied sample. The next chapter will in consequence embrace the data description and the analysis on the gathered data.

7.1. The Polish-Russian border and its borderlands

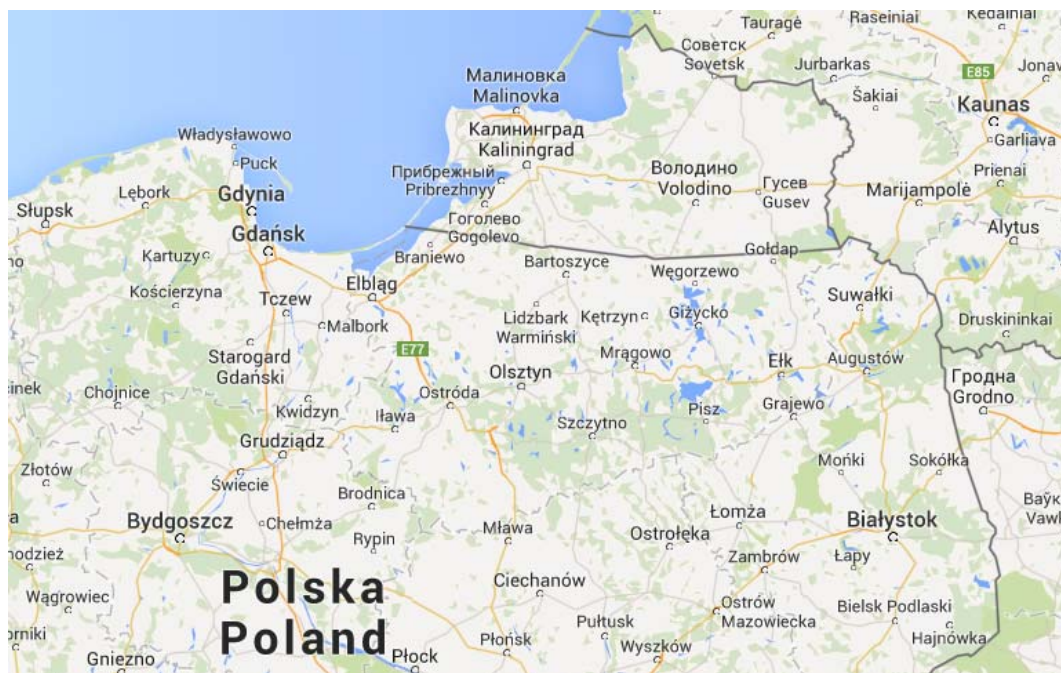
The Polish- Russian border and the resulting borderlands have been traditionally variable. The border and borderlands has been shifted across time and space between those two neighboring countries. The neighborhood was interrupted by the disappearance of Poland from the world map twice. In times of the non-territorial state of Poland, parts of the former country were transformed by different parties such as the Prussians or the Russian Empire. The new defined (political) boundaries between Russia and Poland as in the current territorial status has been created and formalized in the third state of Poland, the Republic of Poland (*Rzeczpospolita Polska*). The formal-sovereign state was nevertheless tied to the USSR until 1990, where the Soviet Union fell apart and disclosed a bunch of states willing to reach independence. In the communist time, the impenetrable Polish-Russian border hindered a communication and interaction with the other side. Komorniki and Mischczuk (2010) described this period as the “*second iron curtain*” (p. 56). The Polish-Russian border was even more impermeable than the Western border of Poland to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Komorniki and Mischczuk, 2010, p.56). The fall of the Soviet Union left cracks in their border regimes to their (former) satellite states such as Lithuania, Latvia or further South, Ukraine, but also Poland, who gained independence in 1991.

Poland’s governance was directed to regain a place in the concert of liberal, European states. Poland strived towards a membership to the NATO and to the European Union. The border management has been dealt with Russia on a bilateral agreement. With the accession of Poland to the EU in 2004, the entity of the Polish-Russian border shifted and hardened the border since Russia became a Third country overnight. From this time on, Polish border guards had to follow EU rules as the Polish border represents the external border of the EU. Regulations on crossings of people, services and goods were stated under a bilateral

agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Poland before Poland's EU accession. Despite the border restrictions, the step of Poland's EU membership had an important social and political consequence on the other side of the border: Kaliningrad Oblast became a European enclave¹² located between Poland and Lithuania. The border land has shifted radically and created a new status quo. In first instance, this meant a status of rigidity and isolation.

7.1.1. Kaliningrad Oblast

Figure 10: Kaliningrad Oblast



(Source: Accessed from Google maps)

Kaliningrad is sandwiched between the North-East of Poland and the South-West of Lithuania and is an exclave of the Russian Federation. Russia's capital city is more than 1000 km beeline away from the city of Kaliningrad and travelers to the Russian mainland need to cross at least two countries on the country way. Both, Lithuania's capital Vilnius (around 310 km beeline) and Poland's capital Warsaw (around 280 km beeline) are far closer than Moscow in geographical distance. Kaliningrad Oblast was established in the aftermath of WWII and is the roughly successor of East Prussia. The capital, Kaliningrad (former *Königsberg*), is the biggest city in Kaliningrad Oblast with half a million of inhabitants. Kaliningrad is seated in the South of the Oblast and there exists only a gap of 35 kilometers between the city and the Polish-Russian border (Open Europe, 2011).

¹² Or a Russian exclave depending on the view

Figure 11: Transformations to the city of Kaliningrad



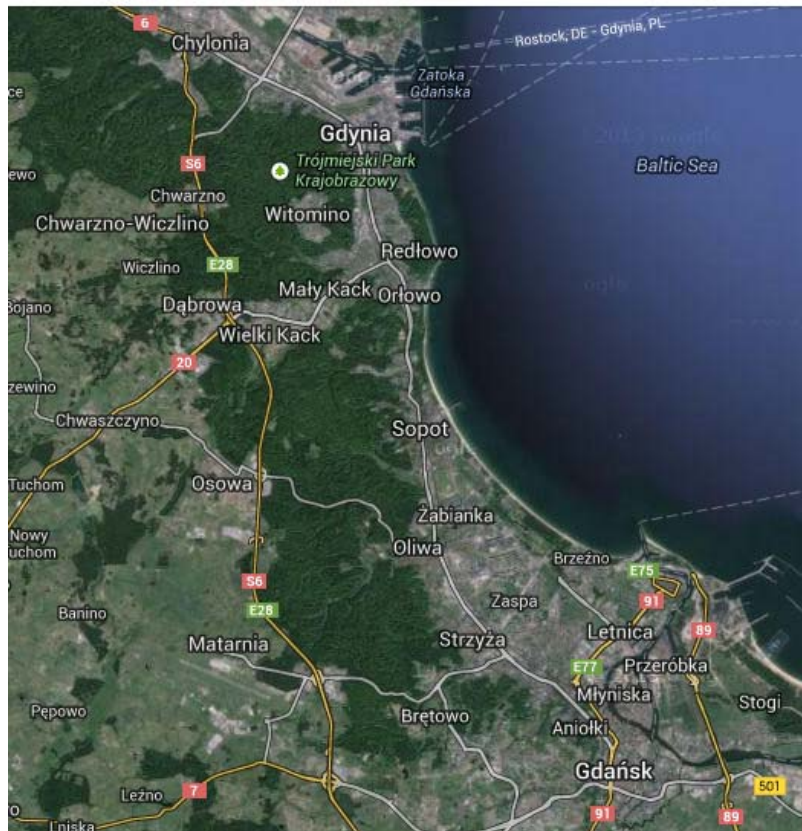
(Source: the author)

The former city center in times of Königsberg

The Pregolya River runs through the city and bisects in the inner city to the Old and the New Pregolya River. The former city center of Königsberg is an island surrounded by the Pregolya River (*Figure 11*). The Pregolya River discharges into the Baltic Sea and bestows direct access to the sea on Kaliningrad. Kaliningrad Oblast inherits several military areas, especially the Russian sub-marine due to access to the Sea, for controlling parts of the Baltic Sea (Open Europe, 2011). With the end of the Soviet Union and Poland's independence, Kaliningrad Oblast had to accept the new status quo of being a Russian exclave circled by Poland and Lithuania.

7.1.2. A short classification of the Tri-city

Figure 12: Map of the Tri-city region



(Source: accessed from Google maps)

The Tri-city stretches from Gdynia to Gdańsk

The Polish Tri-city (*Trójmiasto* in Polish) is seated in the North of Poland with a direct connection to the Baltic Sea (*Morze Bałtyckie*). The Tri-city¹³ is an association of the cities Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia and stretches along the Bay of Gdańsk. The Bay of Gdańsk spreads to the East until it crosses the Russian Oblast of Kaliningrad on a land bridge along the beach. Following the Bay of Gdańsk towards the West, there is a land connection to the peninsula of Hel. The Polish capital Warsaw is around 280 km (beeline) away South-East from the Tri-city. In relation, Kaliningrad Oblast and the city of Kaliningrad are distanced half to the Tri-city than Warsaw (less than 130 km beeline). The Tri-city is an increasingly economic hotspot in Poland, but is treasured for its touristic and cultural elements as well.

¹³ The term “Tri-city“ is to a huge extent only locally recognized. The people from Kaliningrad Oblast were not aware that there exists a term describing the aggregation of the cities of Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia.

The association is not only a marketing strategy, but can be observed in the interconnectivity between the cities e.g. the train connections of the SKM.

7.2. Reflection on researching and the data collection process

Due to a time lack and the agility of Kaliningrader shoppers, the collection of questionnaires appeared to be difficult with Kaliningraders. Some misfortunes in the process of collecting data occurred “naturally” such as the crisis on Ukraine influencing the patterns for research on Kaliningraders in the Tri-city. The crisis on Ukraine and the resulting crisis in the EU- Russia relationship could have led to more patriotic views and feelings among Kaliningraders, which could have influenced the results of the study. Further, other occurrences like the bureaucratic and formal efforts that needed to be made (permissions and required documents) delayed and sometimes even hindered¹⁴ the collection of data.

Further problems of gathering data arose by the fact that the target group was hard to question since Kaliningrader shoppers were always in a hurry for shopping, leisure purposes or for catching the bus to return to Kaliningrad Oblast. Different research strategies did not work due to the vividness and the time lack of Kaliningrader shoppers. The main source to obtain Russian questionnaires has been the bus station in Gdańsk. The problem at the bus station was the low rate of filled out questionnaires due to few arrival and departure times (Only on weekends at three times a day). Drawn from experience, people who have been to the Tri-city knew more often the exact time when the bus is usually leaving and came a few minutes before the bus launched. Thus, those people could not be asked in consequence. Some Kaliningraders refused to fill out any questionnaire caused mostly by skepticism.

Not only external barriers disturbed the research, but also cultural novelties played a role.

The process of the construction of the questionnaires revealed a special form of questionnaires in post-socialist countries. It is common in Poland and Russia to put personal information at the end of questionnaire to avoid embarrassment and the neglecting of filling out the questionnaire¹⁵. This is a cultural sensibility one has to be aware of doing questionnaires in former Soviet or Communist countries.

An appropriate representation of the study is not possible to achieve since the target group

¹⁴ Permissions for research were hard to reach, especially for shopping centers since the Ukraine crisis, the management of the centers feared to risk a loss of Russian clients when granting permission for the research. Even so, it was only a research on shopping; Kaliningraders were regarded as “sensitive respondents”. A lot of institutions denied permissions for this research.

¹⁵ Recommendation from Mrs. Dominika Studzińska

was able to influence the results. The decision to cross the border to the Tri-city and as such to Poland created a pre-selection of the focus group, whereas younger people and older people are dependent on other family members to come to the Tri-city. There are certainly other factors involved like health constitution and costs involved. This pre-selection forms a more homogenous group of respondents.

In contrast to the Russian questionnaires, the data collection of the Polish questionnaires was much easier. The Polish questionnaires were gathered usually across the three cities of Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia on different places, days and in varying points in time.

Questionnaires were carried out in the centers of the three cities, at the bus terminal in Gdańsk and at different restaurants and hotels. Further, the major amount of the questionnaires was collected in Kaliningrad in restaurants and at the university. Many questionnaires could be gathered at the border control station Grzechotki-Mamonovo.

An accumulation of 123 Russian questionnaires ($n=123$) could be achieved during the data collection phase. The original data set embraced 61 Russian questionnaires, but through the assistance of the Geographical Department of the Kant University in Kaliningrad, 62 additional questionnaires could be gathered. An amount of 50 Polish questionnaires were obtained. In total, 173 questionnaires were filled out by respondents for this research.

The following section introduces the geography of the focus group to give background information of the geographical structure of Kaliningrad Oblast and the distances to European capitals. This geographical approach is followed by the description of the specific sample population of the study.

7.3. Sample description

The gathered sample delivers information that needs to be put into the context to avoid misinterpretation of the results. Therefore, the analysis of the study requires a detailed description of the sample. This description is necessary especially in this study, which due to the dysfunction of sampling techniques is largely unknown. With regard to age, the sample is skewed to the left favoring answers from younger people. The dominant age group in this research is posed by people in the age between 20 and 30 with 38, 2 %. The second largest respondent group is posed by people younger than 20 (22%), whereas rarely people between 51 and 60 and older than 60 were respondents in the study. Nearly the same number of people from the age categories of “31-40“ and “41-50” took part in this research. 2 respondents did not answer the question. The majority of the respondents indicated an academic education at a University (85 respondents corresponding to 69,1% of the sample). Three people abstained to

answer the question. 27 respondents (22%) obtained a Middle school degree and 8 people (6,5%) indicated a Vocational education. The sample is highly skewed to the right on Education. The dominant picture of place of living is the city. Only 7 respondents answered differently, in which one respondent marked no answer and the other 6 are living in a village. Slightly more than twice as many females have taken part in this research in contrast to males. 2 respondents did not indicate their gender. Due to the fact, that there exists no fixed Kaliningrader cross-border shopping population, it is not known if the collected sample matches a correct representation of the group. Nevertheless, the sample serves to project the picture of Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers.

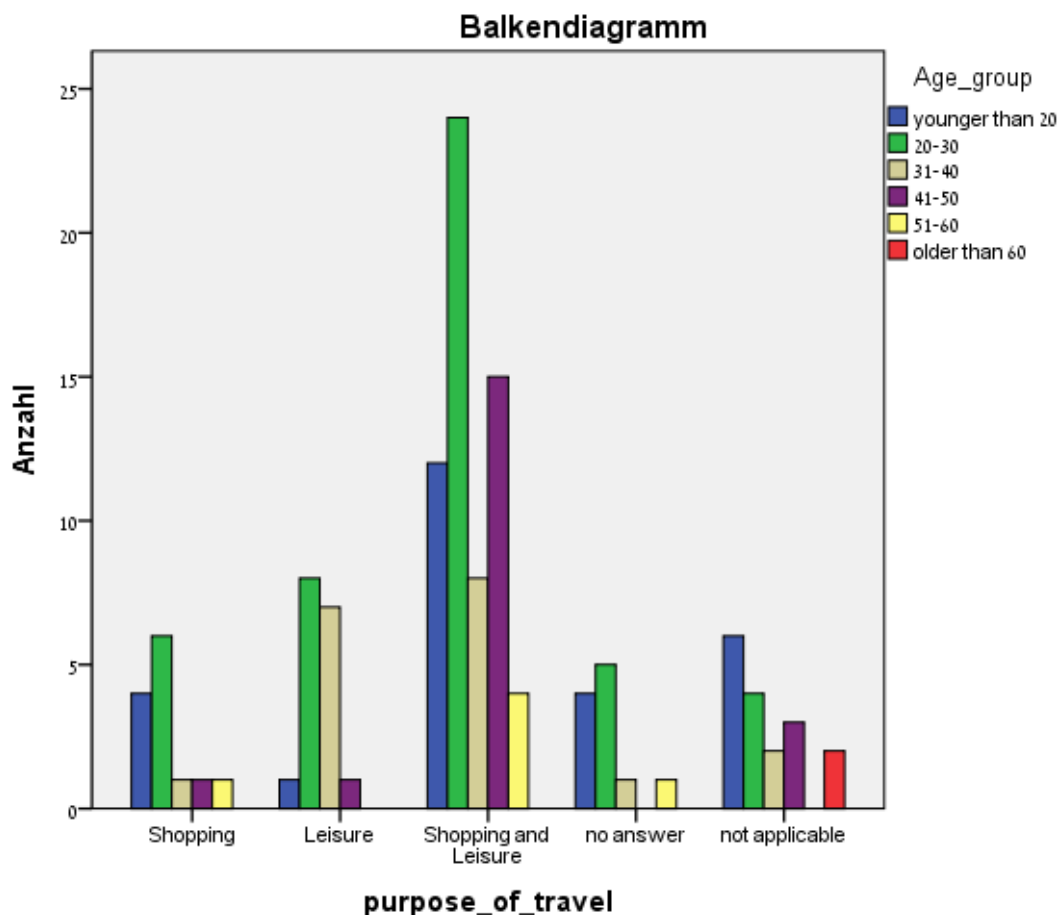
Despite the more general information about the sample, this section describes the responses on the survey questions as well. In the context of the purpose of travel, shopping combined with leisure was named the most frequent by more than every second respondent (52,8%). Leisure and the category “not applicable” reached the second highest number. Shopping as a single purpose was agreed by 13 respondents (10,6%). 11 participants of the study expressed no answer. In relation to the frequency of visits, most respondents answered that they come to the Tri-city less than once in a month, but more often than once in a year (34,1%). 18,7% come to the Tri-city on a regular basis of once a month. 17, 1% of the respondents visit the Tri-city less than once a year, whereas 11,4% travel more frequent than once a month. 1 participant denied answering the question.

Since this research is about (cross-border) shopping, a more nuanced picture will be provided on the different travel purposes. The groups of shopping and shopping and leisure illustrate a large share of female respondents (shopping (69,2%) and shopping and leisure (71,4%)), whereas representatives of the group of leisure as a single purpose were almost in a balance. The place of living is virtually exclusive cities. Only 2 respondents (each in leisure and shopping and leisure) lived in a village. As mentioned before, the many respondents of the sample population hold an academic degree (shopping 58,3%, leisure 82,4% and shopping and leisure 76,2%). Proportionally, sole shoppers have more Middle School degrees than the two other groups, whereas shopping and leisure have a share of 19% and leisure shares 11,8% of the respondents with a Middle School degree. The respondents with a Vocational degree are found most in the sole shopping category (8,3%).

In relation to the different travel purposes to the Tri-city, the shopping group possesses a high proportion of younger participants in the categories of younger than 20 participants and participants of the age group between 20 and 30 (both aggregate to 70%), whereas other age groups are less represented (*Figure 13*). The participants, who have chosen leisure as their

sole motivation of moving to the Tri-city is dominated by respondents aged between 20 and 40. In relation to the first two travel purposes, “shopping and leisure” is a group, in which the dominant shopping aspect is accompanied by recreation purposes. In contrast to the other travel purposes, respondents who ticked the box of “shopping and leisure” exhibit more dispersion in age groups. In common with the other travel purpose groups, the age group of 20 between 30 old respondents constitutes the largest group (38, 1%).

Figure 13: The purpose of travel by age groups

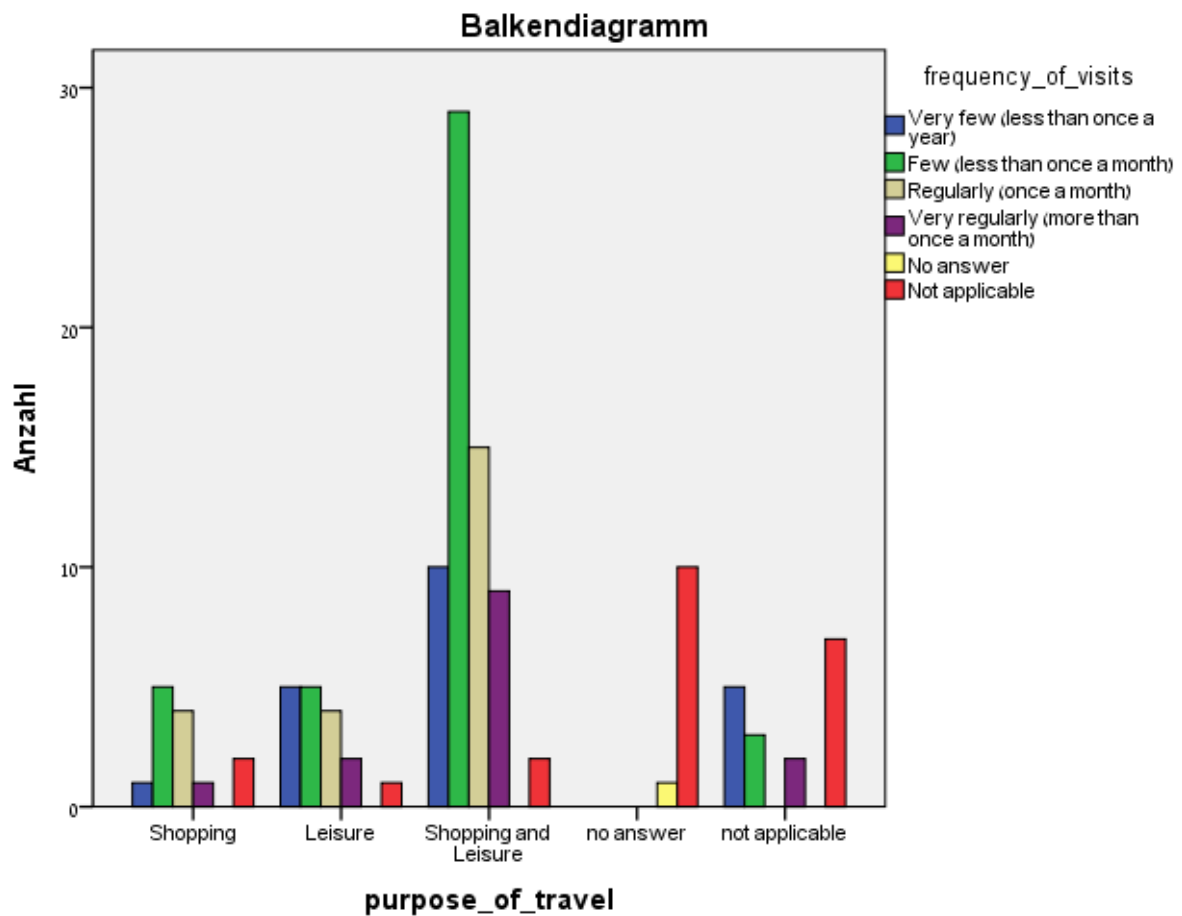


(Source: the author)

The frequencies of travels favor the response of travelling less than a month in the groups, shopping (38, 5%), leisure (29,4%) and shopping and leisure (44,6%) (see Figure 14). Besides, the sole shoppers answered in a similar high percentage that they travel regularly to the Tri-city (30, 8%). But only 7,7% indicated a more frequent travel. In contrast to the sole shoppers, more respondents from leisure (11,8%) and shopping and leisure (13,8%) state travels more than once a month. But at the same time, the turnout of very few visits is higher

than in the sole shopping category (leisure 29, 4%, shopping and leisure, 15,4% in contrast to shopping, 7,7%). The share of leisure and shopping purpose on the responds of a regular visit is at 23% in both groups. It is further noteworthy to remark that the category of sole shoppers possesses 15, 4% of respondents, who regarded the frequency of travels as not applicable, whereas in the other two categories, not applicable answers were less than 10 percent.

Figure 14: The purpose of travel by the frequency of visits



(Source: the author)

Chapter 8: Analyzing Kaliningrader cross-border shopping

Chapter 8 commences with the characterization of the Kaliningrader identity and entails the description and analysis of the tested relationships between the variables (im)mobility, (un)familiarity and the Kaliningrader identity. A significance test will further examine the motivations of Kaliningrader shoppers in the realm of the concept of immobility. The order to put the Kaliningrader identity first is argued to set the conceptualization of the Kaliningrader identity in this research.

8.1. What is the current state of identity in Kaliningrad Oblast and what is the Kaliningrad identity?

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, Kaliningrad Oblast has been added to the Russian state in 1945 after the Ally victory over Nazi Germany. Before, Kaliningrad and Kaliningrad Oblast belonged to East Prussia for centuries. The Nazi German defeat resulted in the agreement that the Germans had to resign their tenure to their Eastern lands. The city was hugely destroyed by war and was intended to change its face. The German population was largely expelled from the former East Prussian territory. People from all over the Soviet Republic were settled to the new-founded Kaliningrad Oblast to make the former German territory also culturally a part of the Soviet Union and later on the Russian Federation. Due to the ethnic diversity of the new population in Kaliningrad Oblast, spreading a cultural, Russian homogeneity turned out to fail. In the recent years, some people argued in a national poll to feel as “Kaliningraders” (Neuer Volkstamm in Russland: Die „Kaliningrader”, 2010).

Since research did not really capture the emerged identity of Kaliningraders yet, it is to ask: What is meant by being a Kaliningrader? What are their characteristics and do they differ from other Russians?

The problem of studies on identity is that they attempt to connect place and people in the context of history (see Sezneva, 2010). This nexus is broken in the case of Kaliningraders. Nevertheless, studies on Kaliningrad try to make a link to the German past, the kind of living and its leftovers in the code of conduct. Observations in Kaliningrad and Zelenogradsk revealed German traces in the space of the cities. The most obvious has been German-styled houses, manhole cover in German from the Pre-war era, but also signs in German. Figure 15 shows the picking up of the German word “König” (King) from Königsberg (King’s mountain).

Figure 15: The king is still alive or traces of Königsberg



(Source: the author)

A bakery in Kaliningrad combining the present and the past

Within conversations, many people showed an interest in German language and culture and have German friends or relatives living in Germany, but this study does not bare the “German” dimension of the Kaliningrader mind. Nevertheless, the glorification of the past of Königsberg can trigger a romanticized picture of Europe conflicting with the reality of Kaliningrad Oblast and may revive the feeling of Europeanness in the current identity reflection.

Sezneva (2010) found that Kaliningrader or how she calls them, “Kaliningradniks”, attributes themselves with ideals of “cleanliness”, “politeness” and “civilization” (pp. 54 & 55). Further, she found in her interviews that people reflect themselves as being cultivated. The level of cultivation is measured in comparison to a European standard (Sezneva, 2010).

The questionnaire revealed in relation to identity that 22,8% of the participants describe themselves solely as Russians contrasted by 16,3%, who identify themselves only as Kaliningraders. Further, 22% of the respondents stated that they are in first line more Russian than being a Kaliningrader, whereas 11,4% of the sample state the opposite direction. For 14,6% of the respondents, both, the Russian component as well as the Kaliningrader dimension, are equally important. 5,7 % mentioned that there is a switch in identity depending

with whom one speak. One person of the sample felt represented by another identity. The composition of the identity disclosed that males and females alike poses a similar percentage of responses in the categories “Solely Russian” (male 22,5% and female 23,5%) and “Solely Kaliningrader” (male 15% and female 16%). But females described themselves more often to be Russian in first line than males (males 17,5% and female 24,7%), whereas men rather identify first as Kaliningraders and just secondly as Russians (male 17,5% and female 7,4%). A further difference on gender is that females tend to level identities equally, whereas in contrast males chose between their identities depending on the situation.

Regarding the state of identification in relation to age groups, the research displayed that the participants younger than 20 regard themselves as Russians. 29,6% stated that they are Russian in first kind, but possess a Kaliningrader identity as well. 22,2% respondents of the same age group identify solely as Russian, whereas 14,8% of the respondents aged younger than 20 think that both dimensions of the identity has an equal status. Thus, citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast younger than 20 are dominantly Russian with a small taste of being a Kaliningrader. Other age groups are more controversial in their identity. It has to be noted that the Russian identity, regardless of an involvement of the Kaliningrader dimension as in the category, “In first line as Russian and then as Kaliningrader” or as “solely Russian”, the Russian dimension of Kaliningraders or of the Kaliningrad identity is dominant¹⁶. The result supports Sezneva’s point of view (2010) that the “Russian identity has not been weakened in Kaliningrad” (p. 53). Nonetheless, a Kaliningrader identity pattern can be found among the sample population. A high response on a sole Kaliningrader identity can be found the age groups of 31-40 and 41-50. Nevertheless, a Kaliningrader dimension is observed in each of the categories and suggests a deeper integration of a Kaliningrader dimension in the society of Kaliningrad Oblast.

8.1.1. Recognition of the unknown – The Polish view on Kaliningraders

26 Polish people out of a sample of 50 (52%) indicated that they have or had some contacts with people from Kaliningrad Oblast, whereas 24 people had no contacts with Kaliningrader people. A contact in this research means a conscious contact between Poles and Kaliningraders. The result shows that a lot people from the Tri-city did not even recognize Kaliningrader shoppers in their cities. This reveals still the status of Kaliningrader cross-

¹⁶ Further studies to a latter time point need to be made to confirm or reject the patterns of this outcome. A rejection of this outcome can proof the influence of the Ukraine crisis on the Kaliningrader identity.

border shopping as novel and/or discloses a lack of interest about Kaliningraders of the Polish people.

Since the questionnaire distinguished between different levels of contact, the respondents who answered with “No” could have been also just unaware of Kaliningrader people due to the fact that they do not care about their appearance. 7 respondents out of 26, who have or had contact, marked the lowest contact level with Kaliningraders. They only recognized them on the street or in shopping centers. Surprisingly, 50% of those who had contact had a small-talk with people from Kaliningrad. The closest contact category comprises 6 out of 26 (23,077%). This group has family or friends in Kaliningrad Oblast, work together with people from Kaliningrad, visited Kaliningrad or developed a friendship from the lowest to the highest level. From the whole sample, 12% have close relations to people from Kaliningrad Oblast. Remarkably is the fact that people who argued in favor of a difference between Kaliningrader and mainland Russians are not from the group with the closest relationship level. 6 out of 12, who answered with “Yes, they are different”, indicated that they only met them on the streets/shopping centers and/or had a small-talk. Only 1 respondent out of 12 with closer ties to people from Kaliningrad Oblast, who knows Kaliningraders from his workplace, experienced a difference between them and other Russians. Those who had contact with Kaliningraders can be predominantly found in the age groups from 20-30 and also from 31-40. Further, respondents with the highest level of contact were all male and mainly in between 20 and 30 years old. Due to the low numbers of participants, it cannot be argued that more men or women come generally into contact with Kaliningraders. In general, respondents from all age groups came into contact with Kaliningraders.

8.1.2. The Polish view on Kaliningrader identity

The Polish views on the Kaliningrader identity are mixed in a positive and negative tone. A lot of people in the Tri-city did not come into (closer) contact with Kaliningraders. Thus some people regard Kaliningraders as arrogant, vulgar, priggish, egoistic, dominant, reserved and condescending. People with closer ties to Kaliningrad and its people describe them as polite, open-minded, hospitable and tolerant as well as their kindness and friendliness. Further, they attach characteristics such as ambitiousness/hard-working and a sense of cleverness and interest into unknown subjects. Interestingly, some respondents describe them as economic. A further line that becomes obvious is that Polish people attach a patriotic and proud characteristic to the Kaliningrader identity.

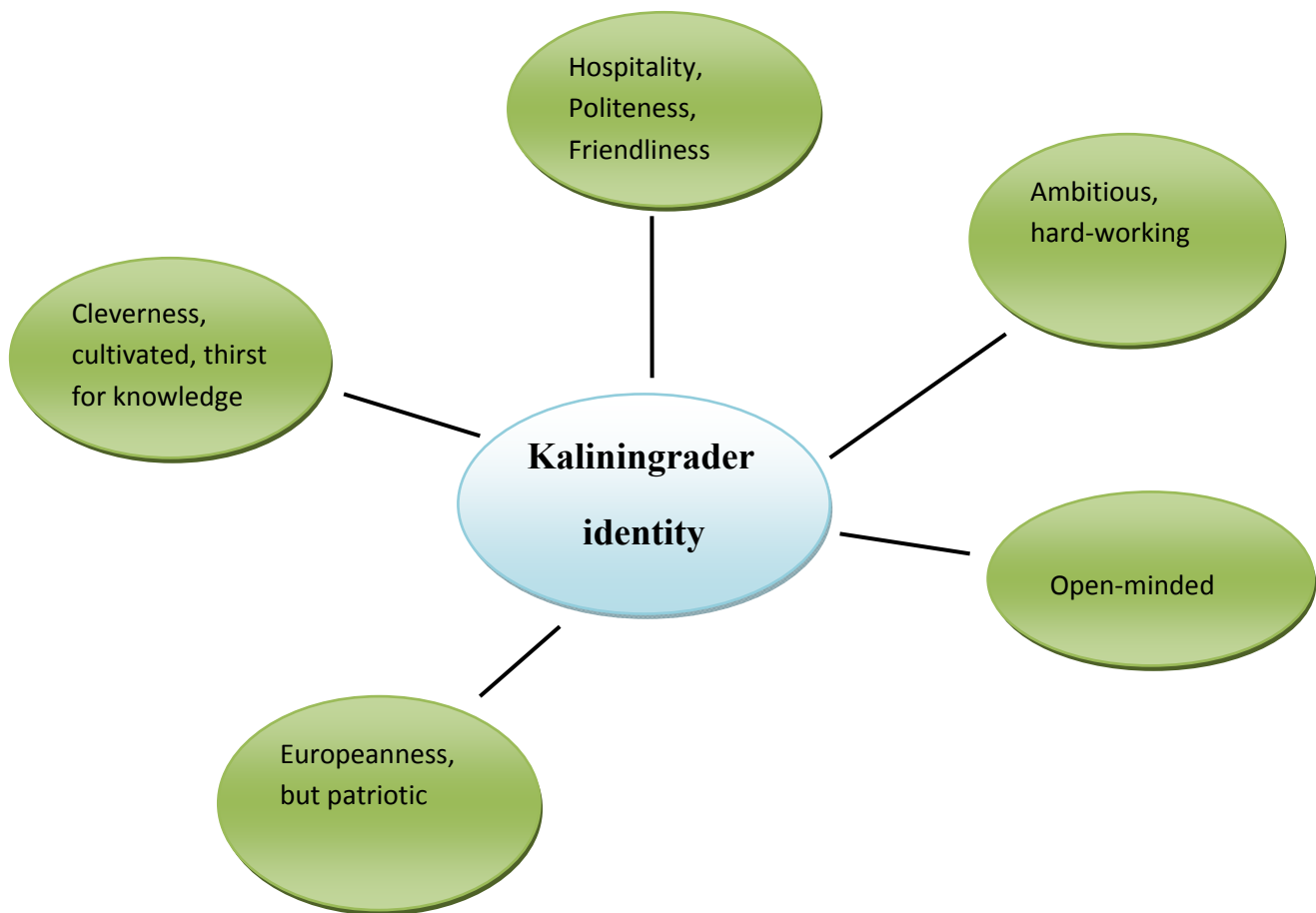
8.1.3. Self-reflection on the Kaliningrader identity

The question on the Kaliningrader identity has been attributed with many characteristics ascribed by Kaliningrader themselves. The self-characterization shows that being a Kaliningrader often means a more European-like or a Europeanized identity. But also cosmopolitanism, individualism, being democratic and being sovereign was named contrasted by patriotism and the characteristic of being “currently Russian”. One respondent argued that the Kaliningrader identity is not recognized by other people. Moreover, Kaliningraders feel attached to education. Many of them stated a “thirst of knowledge”, being cultivated or interest into subjects. But also noble characteristics like benevolence and hospitality were often used to express their identity. Additionally, many Kaliningraders indicated being friendly, being good (in the sense of friendliness), being polite and upright. Those characteristics as well as the stress on educative characteristics were numerously mentioned. Kaliningraders reflect themselves as being happy, funny and with a lust for life. The Kaliningrader is open-minded, tolerant and communicative. The open-mindedness is reflected in the many responses to be active and touristic. Kaliningrader people regard themselves as modern and peaceful people. Despite, Kaliningraders ascribe themselves to be hard workers, who are goal-oriented and quite accurate.

With regard to cross-border shopping, the money issue appeared as well in the responses. Some people stated that Kaliningraders are very economic, whereas another argued that Kaliningraders like to spend their money. This bipolarity of the responses on money issues is justified in the diverse clientele in the Tri-city. The behavior towards spending money is different between rich Kaliningraders and middle-class or lower-class Kaliningraders. Therefore, the personal economic situation plays a role. Other responses entail that they are beautiful people and that they are law-abiding.

Sub-conclusion: What is the Kaliningrader identity?

Figure 16: Characteristics of the typical Kaliningrader



(Source: the author)

A characterization of the Kaliningraders is the result of the Russian self-reflection and the Polish view on the Kaliningrader identity. The characteristics of Kaliningraders derive from the question of the three most important characteristics of the typical Kaliningrader. Figure 16 shows the named characteristics from Polish and Kaliningrader respondents. It is noteworthy to mention that figure 16 is an aggregation of the responses in the questionnaires and creates an ideal of Kaliningraders and identify just a part of the Kaliningrader identity. This idealization allows description of a generalized type of a Kaliningrader needed to fill the concept of identity with life. Nevertheless, despite the ideal Kaliningrader, Kaliningraders only partially conform to the above mentioned characteristics. Despite the fact, that these characteristics are mostly general in kind and can thus be transferred to other contexts, the characteristics in Figure 16 need to be seen as a matter of degree. Particularly in the characteristics of Europeanness and patriotism, the degrees are most different, which was

observed in the question on self-identification. Based on the questionnaire and on observations, the dualism between Europeanness and Russianness exacerbates in the context of the Ukraine crisis by taking position of both the EU and the USA or of the Russian Federation. However, many Kaliningraders inherit a degree of both, Europeanness and Russianness. Despite, friendliness, politeness and hospitality seem to be part of their open-minded character. Education and knowledge seem to be important in the Kaliningrader identity. Cleverness, interest in novel things and the inquisitiveness underpin the knowledgeable character of Kaliningraders.

8.2. To what extent are Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers (un)familiar with the Tri-city and its facilities?

The number of Kaliningrader transits to Poland and to the Tri-city increases steadily. Many people came to Poland and especially to the Tri-city for the first time, whereas other Kaliningrader travelers have visited the Tri-city before. But do Kaliningraders have knowledge on the infrastructure of the city and its shopping and leisure facilities? And if yes to what extent do they feel familiar?

The question on the familiarity of Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers revealed that 72,4 % of the respondents feel familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities, whereas in contrast only 8,9% of the respondents indicated that they are not familiar with the shopping facilities in the cities. 15 out of 123 respondents marked in the questionnaire that they are unsure about their familiarity with the shopping facilities in Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia. Eight respondents refused to answer the question.

Whereas the question on familiarity seems to deliver clear results in favor of familiarity, the extent of the felt familiarity is more dispersed. Question 4 of the Kaliningrader questionnaire demanded the degree of familiarity with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities. The question comprises a scale from “Very well” to “Not at all”. The largest group of responses within the realm of the extent of familiarity can be found in the category, “to some extent” (42,5%).

19,5% of the asked Kaliningraders indicated a good knowledge of the place and its facilities and 8,9% even claim to have a very good knowledge about the Tri-city and the shopping facilities. 12,2% of the sample mentioned that they have only little knowledge about the place and 3,3% marked that they have no knowledge about the Tri-city. It turns out that the percentage of non-responding people and those, who are unsure about their familiarization with the place is equally at 6.5%. Drawn from the data, the majority of Kaliningraders know at least the most important shopping facilities in the Tri-city; even so some places or facilities

in the three cities are still not explored.

To grasp the tools of familiarization, the next question intended to ask for the specific sources Kaliningraders achieved their knowledge from about the Tri-city. Many respondents ticked multiple answer possibilities. The knowledge about the Tri-city is obtained most by conversations with friends or by own experiences (each 51 respondents). Conversations are still very popular in Kaliningrad. Rumors are easily and fast shared among friends and even strangers in Kaliningrad. One of the most popular exchange sources seems to be the post office¹⁷. “Kaliningrad is a village” has been said by a Kaliningrader respondent in personal contact.

The internet is mentioned often as a source of information on the shopping facilities in the category “Else”. Internet pages informing about shopping and leisure facilities build a vast landscape. The domains of the internet pages are seated both in Russia and in Poland. Shopping-gdansk.ru and gdansk4u.pl (available in Russian language) are the most prominent internet sources to get information about shopping centers, sales and other worth-knowing facts about shopping. Whereas, the website shopping-gdansk.ru encompasses other cities like Olsztyn and Elbląg as well (links are on the webpage) and is designed to inform cross-border shoppers, gdansk4u.pl is rather a general city guide for Gdańsk.

Conventional print media like newspapers and brochures are rarely sources of information. Only 3 respondents out of 123 answered that a newspaper announce informed them about the Tri-city shopping facilities and 4 respondents availed themselves of brochures as a source of knowledge. But does this knowledge convince Kaliningraders to come to the Tri-city for shopping purposes? In question 6 of the questionnaire, it is asked whether familiarity is a motivation to come to the Tri-city. 48% of the Kaliningraders in the sample believe that the familiarity with the place and its facilities are more supporting to decide to come to the Tri-city. In contrast, 32,5% strictly refuse that knowing the place and its facilities is important for the decision, whereas 7,3 % of the respondents are not sure whether familiarity with the place influences their decision. For 12,2% of the sample population, the question was either not applicable or they did not provide an answer.

¹⁷ A result of long queues and the long waiting time at post offices.

8.3. What effect does the Kaliningrader identity have on familiarity and vice versa?

Kaliningraders responded to the question of an influence of the Kaliningrader identity on the state of familiarity with 21,1% that the Kaliningrader identity is a key for an easier exploration of the unfamiliar. 30,1% argues that to a certain extent the Kaliningrader identity helps in relation to unfamiliarity, but also 23,6% state that the Kaliningrader identity has no effect on the state of (un)familiarity. Remarkably is the high rate of respondents, who are not sure if there is an effect (19,5%). More people state no effect of identity on familiarity within its categories. Melting the first two answer categories of the question, every 2nd respondent feels at least to some degree an effect on the familiarity status. Reasons of why the Kaliningrader identity has an effect on familiarity are seen in the cultural and spatial closeness to Poland and Europe. As a respondent wrote, “Kaliningrad borders with Europe and that border underpins and concerns the Kaliningrader culture”. That is why Kaliningraders feel European to some extent.” The expression shows that there seems to be a reciprocal impact between the Kaliningrader identity and (un)familiarity. Other responses remarked that the frequencies of travels and the age of the traveler are more important. In addition to the frequencies of visits in the Tri-city, friendships in the Tri-city are a tool for familiarization. The openness, the hospital character and the cultural interest of Kaliningraders may help to establish friendships across the border. Despite the fact that identity can foster familiarization, the familiar can also have an impact on identity. This impact is expressed well by Erik Cohen (1972):

“It is understood that foreign travel can have a considerable impact upon the traveler himself and, through him, on his home country” (Cohen, 1972, p.179).

48% of the respondents in the study agreed at least to some degree to Cohen’s view that travelling brings new cultural elements to the familiar home place contrasted by 31,7% of the sample population arguing that travelling to Poland has no impact on the Kaliningrader identity. Around 13% are unsure whether the travel towards other countries and places has an influence on the Kaliningrader identity. Kaliningraders, who argued that the cross-border visits have an influenced, mentioned an influence on the open-mindedness, how people dress and the kind of contact and communication with Polish people. An expression of the larger open-mindedness is the interest to learn other languages (answer of a respondent), in this case Polish, to feel more familiar.

8.4. What effect does (un) familiarity have on the mobility of Kaliningrader shoppers and vice versa?

No knowledge about a certain place can make a city more appealing. The myth about the certain place attracts tourists and invites them to explore these landscapes. But at the same time, this unfamiliarity can make a city for some people a less favorable option. This question demands an answer, whether knowledge increases the motivation to travel.

In this regard, 53,7% of the respondents answered that knowledge on the Tri-city environment stimulate people to travel to Gdańsk, Sopot and/or Gdynia. In contrast, 27,6% of the respondents noted that familiarity does not influence their decision to come to the Tri-city. 4,1% of the sample was not sure about whether familiarity is a factor for mobility. Another 14,6% did not answer the question.

In respect to the directional relationship of mobility on (un)familiarity, the data of the combination of the frequency of travels and the question whether Kaliningraders discloses that Kaliningrader feel familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities regardless of the frequency of travels. A further result is approached by combining the frequency of travels and the degree of familiarity. Respondents travelling less than once a year are most to some extent (38,1%) or only very little (28,6%) familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities. 19% argue for a good familiarity and 4,8% mentioned that they are very familiar with the Tri-city. The group, who travel less than once a month as well as those, who travel once a month have similar patterns, but centralizes more in the category “to some extent” (less than once a month 52,4%, once a month 60,9%). A decrease in both above mentioned categories on less familiar levels can be observed, whereas a higher percentage shifts to more familiar levels. 8,7% of the respondents, who come once a month to the Tri-city indicate a very high level of familiarity. Kaliningraders coming more than once a month are at least to some extent familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities (28,6%). More often respondents from this category possess a high (21,4%) or even very high familiarity (42,9%). The data reveals that the higher the frequency of travels, the more Kaliningraders feel familiar with the shopping facilities and the city surroundings.

8.5. What effect does the Kaliningrader identity has on the (im)mobility and vice versa?

The Kaliningrader identity is argued above to entail a touristic, explorative aspect. The cultural interest and the thirst for knowledge suspect that the Kaliningrader identity may be a trigger for Kaliningrader mobility. In question 10, respondents were asked to state their

position on whether cross-border shopping is an expression of the Kaliningrader identity. 13,8% of the respondents agree to the statement that cross-border shopping trips are a part of the Kaliningrader identity contrasted by 30,9% of the asked Kaliningraders. The percentage of respondents who partly agree to the statement are 35,9% and holds the strongest answer category on this question. The participants argued in favor of the statement mentioned that Kaliningrader have more chances to cross a border and see other cultures and countries than Russians from the mainland. On the basis of the answers why the Kaliningrader identity has an impact on (im)mobility, the chance to cross a border due to the small size of the Oblast and its special location seem to make people mobile. The identification with the location and the closeness to the other country is part of the Kaliningrader identity.

The directional relationship between mobility and the Kaliningrader identity is incorporated in question 16 asking whether the respondents believe that cross-border trips bring new cultural elements to Kaliningrad Oblast and thus influence the Kaliningrader identity. 13,8% of the Kaliningrader shoppers believe that the cross-border trips have an impact on the Kaliningrader identity contrasted by 31,7% of the respondents, who see no influence by these trips to Poland. Most people answered that these trips affects the state of the Kaliningrader identity partially (35%). In total, 48,8% of the Kaliningrader respondents mention at least an influence to some extent. 13% of the sample was unsure whether there is an influence on the Kaliningrader identity.

Sub-conclusion

The majority of Kaliningrader tourists argue that they are familiar with the city and its facilities. Nevertheless, the extent of the familiarity varies greatly. Only a minority of Kaliningrader people feel not much familiar with the Tri-city. The knowledge gained for a familiarization with the place is mainly obtained by recommendations of friends or by exploratory travels to Poland, whereas internet pages serve as informational sources as well. Approximately half of the sample population decided upon their acquired knowledge about the places to come or come back to the Tri-city. A reciprocal effect is found on the Kaliningrad identity and the concept of (un)familiarity. It shows that the Kaliningrader identity with its open-mindedness and its interest for novelty make the place their own and take part of the culture with them back to Kaliningrad Oblast. Making the place known creates a more familiar feeling. The pursuit for knowledge and the closeness of the border motivates Kaliningrader to be mobile, whereas to some extent mobility is regarded as part of the Kaliningrader identity.

8.6. What makes the citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast mobile to shop in the Polish Tri-city?

Cross-border shopping is not only driven by the decision to cross the border to shop, but needs certain attractions or pull-factors. The factors resulting from differentials are not single in nature and can bring forward many reasons to cross the border (see Balogh, 2013). In this research about the motivations of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in the Polish Tri-city, a factor list from Kołelis and Wiskulski (2012, originated from Timothy, 2005) including the above mentioned factors is used. The factors will be described and enriched with the questionnaire data. Moreover, it will be tested on a possible association with the variable, “purpose of travel” on the dimensions, “shopping” and “shopping and leisure”. The hypothesis testing in this research fosters a deeper understanding of the concept of (im)mobility. The preferential attention on (im)mobility is argued in the indispensable necessity of mobility to achieve the state of cross-border shopping. Without mobility, cross-border shopping is not possible. To test the different factors, a null- and an alternative hypothesis are needed. The null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis are stated as the following:

H_0 = No association/ independence

H_a = association/ dependence

8.6.1. Price level

The prices in the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad Oblast are high for diaries in comparison with Polish prices. A croissant in a café costs around 130 rubles (around 2,50 €) and a small cup of coffee added up to around 100 rubles (approximately 1,90€), which is nearly on the same price level as in the Netherlands or Germany. Only gasoline and public transport are much cheaper than in Poland. The price level is coupled with the exchange rate between rubles and zloty. Prices are viable and special sales drift down prices. Statistics of the level of importance of the price disclosed linearity of the answers. 4,1% consider the price of products as not or not really important. 20.3% of the respondents regard the price level as important, 22,8% as quite important and 32,5% as very important. The notice of the price level as important or more important covers 75,6% of the respondents group.

8.6.2. Tax rates

Prices are partly dependent on the tax rates. Higher tax rates lead to higher prices and lower taxes to lower prices. Usually, products differ in their tax rates, for instance, alcoholic beverages have higher tax rates than books. Tax rates are determined by the government's legal frame. Responses of Kaliningraders show low importance levels of tax rates on the higher scale (important (12,2%), quite important (8,1%) and very important (8,9%)), whereas no answers poses the largest response group with 39% and no importance at all was circled by 19,5% of the respondents.

8.6.3. Opening hours

The Shopping Centers in the Polish Tri-city are opened daily, whereas opening times shift on Sundays. The Auchan Center, the Fashion House Outlet Center, the Galeria Balticka, the Manhattan, the Madison, the Alfa Centrum, the Klif Center and the Matarnia Center open from Monday until Saturday from 9:00 -21:00 and on Sundays at 10:00-20:00. The Riviera Center has three different opening times in the week, whereas the Auchan supermarket located in the Center has distinct opening hours. The opening hour landscape in the Tri-city is quite similar. Even so there does not exist an official law on opening hours in Russia, many shopping centers in Kaliningrad have similar opening hours (*Kaliningrads Kudamm: Shopping, Souvenirs und Supermarkets*, n.d.). Objectively, there is no or no big distinction between the Polish and the Russian opening hours, but in case, the Russian shopping malls can enlarge their opening hours.

The questionnaire reports a gradual decline from the category “not important at all” to “very important”. 22,8% answered that opening hours are no reason for them to shop across the border in the Tri-city, whereas 6,5% consider opening hours as very important. 13,8% regard the Polish opening hours as less important. In contrast, 10,6% indicated an importance and 9,8 % of the respondents give opening hours a higher importance for cross-border shopping motivations. There is a high rate of non-responses (36,6%).

8.6.4. Exchange rate

The exchange of money and the resulting gain or loss can influence the state of cross-border shopping as well. The downswing of the ruble made shopping trips more expensive since the Kaliningraders needed to pay more rubles to get a Polish złoty in return. The exchange rate seems to enjoy a controversial importance for Kaliningrader shoppers, in which a slight majority of the respondents (52,9%) answered that the exchange rate is important. Despite

that 34,1% of the participants abstained, 22, 8% attached importance to the exchange rate, 13,8% valued the level of importance of the exchange rate as quite important and 16,3% of the respondents argue that the exchange rate is very important. 13% adhere that the exchange rate is less or not important at all.

8.6.5. Larger product and service assortment

With the foundation of the Russian Federation, western products entered the Russian market. The shops offered a wider range in contrast to Soviet times. Nevertheless, the study faces a dilemma on this factor. The food embargo of Russia prohibits the imports of Western countries. The result is a seemed lower product range of the supermarkets with solely Russian products, products from non-Western countries and countries from Russia's customs union. Nevertheless, cross-border tourists can enjoy Polish or other products in Poland and even so, those products are prohibited to cross the way to Russia, some people still buy groceries or dairy products for personal use.

5,7% of the respondents ticked the boxes with no importance at all or not really important contrasted by 74 percent of participating Kaliningraders who declare that the larger product and service assortment is an important reason for Kaliningraders to come to the Tri-city. Around 20% of the respondents gave no answer to this question.

8.6.6. Fame and Marketing

To boost tourism in Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia, the marketing as a conglomeration called Tri-city was a step to bring fame to the region and make Sopot and Gdynia profit from its big neighbor city, Gdańsk.

A remarkably high-abstaining rate to question is expressed culminating to 35,8% holding the largest group of respondents on the question. 43,1% of the respondents sense an importance of Fame and Marketing.

8.6.7. Proximity to border

The distance to a place may play a role to become mobile. Short distances are often more appealing to travel to a place for a one-day or weekend trip. The crossing of the near border opens a new world behind the border and can be reached by short-travel times and often little transport costs. The categories, "Very important" and "no answer" amounted 26,8% of the respondents alike. In total, 59,3% argue that the closeness to the border is a point for

travelling to the Tri-city, whereas 13,8% mention that there is no real importance and that the proximity of the border is not an important motivation to visit the Tri-city.

8.6.8. Language proximity

Polish and Russian belong both to the same language group. Both are rooted in Slavic language heritage. Therefore, the word stems are similar or equal in some cases. By definition, Polish belongs to the Western Slavic language group shared with the Czech, Slovak and some minor languages such as Kashubian. The Russian language in contrast constitutes the biggest language of the so-called East Slavic language group. Russian is more related to such languages as Ukrainian or Belorussian. A further difference between Russian and Polish is the use of a distinct alphabet. The first version of the Russian (Cyrillic) alphabet was invented by Cyril in the 9th or 10th century and was named after him. The outlook of the Cyrillic letters were changed permanently and received their nowadays appearance in the reformation of Tsar Peter the Great. With his Europe-faced world view, he introduced a more Latin-based alphabet.

Only 44,7% of the respondents regarded the proximity of the Russian and Polish language as an important matter for their visit in the Tri-city, whereas 26% of the respondents (“not important at all” and “not really important”) expressed no importance. Approximately 30% of the respondents from the sample did not answer on this factor.

8.6.9. Atmosphere

Every place and every city has a certain flair or rhythm, which is largely influenced by (local) culture. This factor is influenced by feelings inherited such as in the concept of (un)familiarity. Atmosphere is subjectively and necessary ingredients to create an attracting atmosphere may deviate. The Tri-city attempts to please tourists and cross-border shoppers alike by playing with the balance between novelty (e.g. Kashubian or Polish dishes or habits) and feeling of home (Russian signs, Russian restaurants and so forth). Cultural activities or other events contribute to the flair of a city. Especially, Gdańsk offers many cultural events like the Dominican market in August.

With regard to atmosphere, Kaliningraders score approximately 9% in each category of no importance. Like opening hours, the importance level of atmosphere is gradual as well, but in contrast to opening hours, atmosphere rises with the importance heights of categories. In sum, 60,2% regard the level of atmosphere as an important factor for coming to the Tri-city. The category “very important” supersedes with 25,2% of the responding Kaliningraders.

8.6.10. Other factor(s)

It has been mentioned by one respondent that “quality” is another (important) factor to attract shoppers from Kaliningrad. Based on personal conversations with the focus group, some respondents mentioned that products, especially from supermarkets, are cheap and good in quality. Some Kaliningraders remarked that even if products are cheap in Kaliningrad Oblast, they are not as good in quality as their Polish counterparts or other “European-standard” products. The difference in quality has been already picked up by Stanisław Domaniewski (n.d., p. 8)¹⁸. Some products may have a lower quality, but sometimes the label E.U., Poland or Germany makes people believe to buy a “better” product. The image of Western products as better products could still be a relict from Soviet times. As mentioned earlier in the section on shopping in Soviet Union times, quality has been a marker during food shortages in the 1980’s. The quality of products was not good. Meat and diaries were often in a poor state. This lack of quality changed with the opening of the Russian market after the fall of the Soviet Empire. Foreign products entered the market and Russian products needed to compete with them in relation between price and quality. There is no difference with regard to international brands, because the quality is ensured by producing mostly in the same production plant. Thus, brand manufactured goods possess the same standard. Since only one person added this factor, the factor cannot be judged easily to be significant. It could be as well that people missed to mention this factor since they were in a hurry, that they are not aware of this factor or that the factor is unimportant for mobilizing cross-border shopping to the Tri-city. The count of no answers amounts to 85,4% and poses the largest answer category. The second largest group is set by no importance at all (6,5%). 7,3% of the Kaliningraders regard another factor as listed above as important.

¹⁸ Unpublished paper

8.7. Analysis of the descriptive data

The previous section described the statistical data in relation to the research questions. In this section, the descriptive data will be analyzed and interpreted in the realm of the research question(s) and the sample population.

The concepts of (un)familiarity, (im)mobility and the Kaliningrader identity are bound in different relationships among the concepts and deliver the researcher's frame of these concepts. Familiarity with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities is widespread according to the respondents. Since the degree of familiarity is difficult to indicate for the participants, most Kaliningraders positioned themselves in the center of the 5-point scale (3="to some extent"). The mere question on the familiarity with the Tri-city discloses their subjective assessment of the respondents. It mainly covers the emotional dimension of Spierings' and van der Velde's (2008) concept of (un)familiarity. With the introduction of other factors, familiarity of the Kaliningraders shows a differentiated picture. In combination with the frequency of travels, the degree of familiarity results into a gradual line. Respondents with fewer visits in the Tri-city indicate less familiarity. The level of (un)familiarity of each of the respondents is nevertheless subjectively acceptable as based on the "bandwidth of familiarity" (Spierings and van der Velde, 2008) expressed in their actual mobility to the Tri-city.

In relation to the sources of knowledge to achieve familiarity with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities, own experience and conversation with friends are the main drivers to familiarize with the Tri-city. Communication even between strangers is very popular in Kaliningrad Oblast. This source of familiarity does not only confirm the openness of Kaliningraders, but shed light on the connectedness of the Kaliningrader population.

Internet pages and other information sources are less involved in the familiarization process. At the same time, 48 % of the Kaliningraders accredit that knowing the city environments and facilities stipulate the decision to visit the Tri-city. The results reveal an important influence of familiarity on the subjective feeling of the Kaliningrader shoppers. Moreover, familiarity has an important impact on mobility since 53,7% of the Kaliningrader respondents indicated that familiarity motivates them to visit the Tri-city. The result that higher levels of familiarity triggers mobility overlaps with Bufon's (1996) findings in the Italo-Slovene Gorizia region. The relationship of the extent of familiarity with the impression that the state of familiarity can be a motivation for mobility reveals that especially Kaliningraders with a higher degree of familiarity see an effect.

An important impact can be found in the reversed relationship as well due to the fact that the overall pattern is that the more often Kaliningraders visit the Polish Tri-city, the more familiar

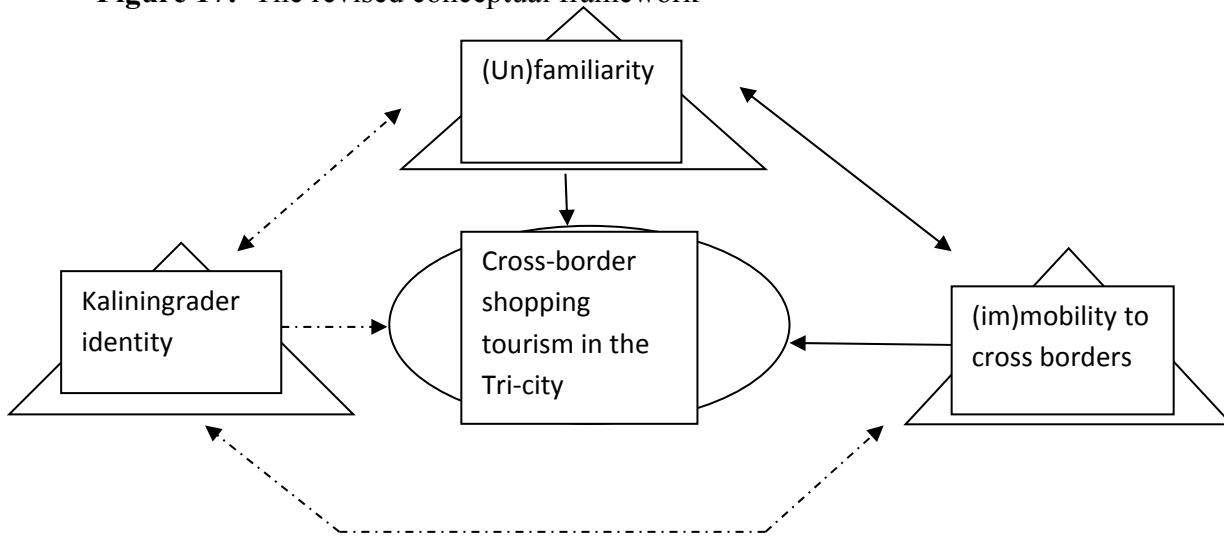
they feel with the city environment.

With regard to the link between familiarity and the Kaliningrader identity, the responses show a weak relationship in both directions. The Kaliningrader identity on familiarity was measured by the question whether the Kaliningrader identity is supportive to feel familiar in foreign places and cultures. 44,7% argued that the Kaliningrader identity has the ability to make Kaliningrader familiar with foreign cultures. The examination of the state of identification with the statement whether cross-border shopping brings new cultural elements into the Kaliningrader identity revealed that only people with a concrete statement of their own identity (Russian, Kaliningrader or both in hierarchical order) marked that cross-border shopping involve the souvenir of Tri-city cultural elements into the Kaliningrader identity. In all states of identification, respondents argue that the Kaliningrader identity is at least to some extent influenced by cross-border shopping.

A weak majority of 48% agree that cross-border travels influence the Kaliningrader identity. The mutual relationship between the Kaliningrader identity and mobility is weak. In both directions, the majority of answers can be found in the category of “to some extent”, but the amount of responses denying an influence of travels to the Tri-city on the Kaliningrader identity and the disagreement to the statement that cross-border shopping is an expression of the Kaliningrader identity, is quite similar to the responses of the “to some extent” category (at 30%). Therefore, the relationships are relevant, but do not seem strong in their relevance. Reasons for the absence of the Kaliningrader identity in any constellation as a motivation for cross-border shopping can be the vague conceptualization of the Kaliningrader identity. Regarding the multi-ethnic population of Kaliningrad Oblast (Karpenko, 2006), a common denominator for identity is difficult to determine. Another riddle of the Kaliningrader identity remains its function. It is unclear whether the Kaliningrader identity is complementary to the Russian identity (regional identity), or whether this identity functions as the dominant identity in Kaliningrad Oblast. The study shows that the Russian identity is predominant, but the Kaliningrader identity grants increasing popularity. This feeling of belonging can be influenced by the nationalistic turn in times of the Ukraine crisis.

The results of the study revise the theoretical framework model. In Figure 17, the relationships between the concepts are diagramed. The relationships between (un)familiarity and (im)mobility with the Kaliningrader identity by their weak relations are presented by dashed lines as well as the direct influence of the Kaliningrader identity on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping.

Figure 17: The revised conceptual framework



(Source: the author)

The testing on the associations between the dependent variable, purpose of travelling, and the enlisted factors revealed a significant result of the factors price level ($\chi^2 = 16,990$, $df = 8$, .030) and larger product and service assortment ($\chi^2 = 13,518$, $df = 8$, .095) at a significance level of $\alpha = .10$. The other factors of the list had shown no statistical significance for an association with the purpose of travel. In this respect, it can be argued that price level and the factor “larger product and service assortment” have in some way an association with the purpose of travel, but the test did not measure the strength or direction of the relationship. Since the variable purpose of travel entails the dimensions shopping and shopping and leisure, the significant association means a factorial importance for the Kaliningrader cross-border shopping.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and reflections

9.1. Conclusions

What is the current situation with regard to (im)mobility?

The strictness of the Polish-Russian of the Soviet past was unleashed by the Small-border traffic agreement in 2012. Citizens on both sides of the border were empowered to move across the common border. The number of cross-border visits from Kaliningraders to Poland increased steadily per year since the SBT. Nevertheless, border crossings were registered before 2012; even so the count of Kaliningrader border crossings was far lower. Despite the legal freedoms given by the SBT, citizens need to apply for the SBT card to cross the border. The application for the SBT involves fees and sets limits to mobility for lower class citizens. Additionally, the high travel expenses to the Tri-city hinder some Kaliningraders to become mobile and displace them in an immobile state. Thus, the state of mobility increases among Kaliningrader citizens in its ability and its actual border crossing, but does not include all citizens in Kaliningrad Oblast.

What is the current state of identity in Kaliningrad Oblast and what is the Kaliningrad identity?

Based on observations and conversations, this patriotic view seems to be highly based on the consequences of the Ukraine crisis. Gender seems to play a role on the identity. Males and females amounted to a similar feeling to belong either to an absolute identity category (sole Russian or Kaliningrader identity). Furthermore, women feel more Russian than being Kaliningrader and men rather identify themselves at first as Kaliningraders and then as Russians. Further, women chose more than men that both dimensions have an equal standing. “Depending on the situation” was chosen more by men than by women.

In relation to age, all age groups involved at least a degree of a Kaliningrader dimension, but especially the under 20 respondents regarded themselves as being Russian. The concept of “Kaliningrader identity” is controversial. In this study, the description of the typical Kaliningrader of Russian as well as Polish respondents created a general picture of the Kaliningrader. Ideally, the Kaliningrader is open-minded, culturally-interested, friendly and hospitable, patriotic, hard-working and inherits a good knowledge. Further, some of the Kaliningraders have a European world view, whereas others look towards mainland Russia. The controversy of the concepts is not solved, but was approached in a particular way. It is noteworthy that this characterization of “the” Kaliningrader is thus a constructed ideal.

To what extent are Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers (un)familiar with the Tri-city (facilities)?

The majority of Kaliningrader respondents argue that they feel familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities. The extent of feeling familiar does nevertheless depend on the frequency of travels. The data shows that the less Kaliningraders cross the border in frequency, the less familiar they are with the Tri-city. This result seems to be influenced by the sources of familiarization. Familiarity with the place is mainly grounded on own experiences and on recommendations of friends or family. The internet is another source of gaining knowledge on the Tri-city facilities. Traditional print media is rarely used as source of information. Mainly, the respondents show at least to some degree a familiarization with the Tri-city.

What effect does the Kaliningrader identity have on familiarity and vice versa?

The Kaliningrader identity is a fuzzy concept drawing largely on a subjective feeling of belonging. Kaliningraders show low agreement on the influence of identity on the state of (un)familiarity. The same pattern is found in the subjective feeling of whether familiarity has an effect on the identity formation process. Therefore, the reciprocal relationship between identity and (un)familiarity is found to be weak.

What effect does (un)familiarity have on the mobility of Kaliningrader shoppers and vice versa?

As drawn from the results from the directional relationship of (un)familiarity on mobility, Kaliningraders feel more confident to cross the border for shopping purposes when they are familiar with the place. The extent of familiarity influences the decision to travel. An effect of (im)mobility on (un)familiarity is observed in the direction that the frequencies of travels impacts the state of familiarity. The higher the frequency of travels to the Tri-city, the more familiar Kaliningraders will be with the Tri-city.

What effect does the Kaliningrader identity has on the (im)mobility and vice versa?

Kaliningraders feel to some extent that the Kaliningrader identity with its explorative character and the geographical closeness with the Tri-city have an influence on the decision to move to Poland. A partial agreement on an effect of mobility on the Kaliningrader identity through the inserting of new cultural elements is delivered.

What makes the citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast mobile to shop in the Polish Tri-city?

The preferential state of mobility due to the Small-border traffic removed the physical rigidity of the border and allowed an easier travel towards the Polish Tri-city. The study exhibits an importance of the state of mobility and the state of familiarity. The Kaliningrader identity plays rather a minor role in the decision-making process of Kaliningraders to shop in the Tri-city. Despite the influence of familiarity and mobility, the factorial analysis identified the price level and a larger product and service assortment as further motivations for Kaliningraders to shop across the border in the Polish Tri-city.

9.2. Limits of the study

Each study is framed in a particular way and has a limited scope that can be covered. This study intends to scrutinize the case of the citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast, who shop at their neighbor's place, the Tri-city. Due to the study on this particular region and people, the study results are limited to the Kaliningrader case. The influential factors in this study thus are no general factors for cross-border shopping mobility, but need to be seen in this particular context. In relation to the factors, it is further noteworthy that the Chi-square test discloses a possible significance of an association between the factor (independent variable) and the dependent variable (type of travel). Therefore, the statistical test cannot prove the strength or the direction of the relationship. Furthermore, the research does not deliver differences between the groups of Kaliningraders, for instance age or income in respect to the shopping motivations.

Furthermore, the research is taken once at a certain point in time and reveals solely the results for this specific time point. The results thus reveal only a snapshot of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping in the Tri-city. But the study cannot grasp the process of Kaliningrader cross-border shopping. The shopping motives can change/could have changed over time, which cannot be reflected in this study.

Additionally, this study was carried out during the Ukraine crisis. In consequence, this study is to some extent biased by this external factor, but the research does not incorporate any consequences of the Ukraine crisis in particular.

Moreover, the pre-selection of factors from former studies may miss some factors, which could be of importance as well. Subsequently, this study cannot be regarded as ideographic on the independent variables. Another important limit of the study is the description of the Kaliningrader identity. Within the study, the Kaliningrader identity is essentially used as a concept for the analysis. Nevertheless, the description of the Kaliningrader identity can only

partially picture an idealized Kaliningrader type. The revelation of the Kaliningrader identity shows solely a framed picture of Kaliningraders.

9.3. Recommendations for further studies

Cross-border (shopping) studies offer a multitude of potential for deepening knowledge. The region of Kaliningrad is still much exploited with regard to involvement of scholastic works. Since border lands, identity, (un)familiarity, (im)mobility and the whole process of cross-border shopping is vital, a repetition of the study in a longitudinal fashion might be beneficial. A longitudinal study on Kaliningrader cross-border shopping could expose a change of factors for cross-border mobility, a more concrete picture and a possible shift of identity, (un)familiarity and (im)mobility. Similar to this study, a study with the same patterns can be conducted for the other side of the border. Why do Poles cross the border to shop in Kaliningrad Oblast or why they do not? Are they familiar with the shopping facilities in Kaliningrad (Oblast)?

Concerning the Kaliningrad identity, a comparative identity study can be set up by comparing the identity of Kaliningrad Oblast with the identity of mainland Russia (the dominant Russian identity¹⁹) to reveal a possible distance between the identities.

Besides the few recommendations to conduct further studies deriving from this research, a lot of research possibilities cannot be enlisted due to plentifulness of issues in these research areas.

¹⁹ The dominant identity of Russia is largely a lens from foreigners. Russia itself inhabits hundreds of identities from Kaliningrad to Siberia and the variety of identities cannot be channeled into a single identity.

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Figures

Figure 1: http://kaliningradka.ru/site_pc/region/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=12483 accessed December 15, 2014.

Figure 3: http://predicthistunpredictpast.blogspot.de/2013/08/how-photographs-of-markets-revealed_18.html accessed December 30, 2014.

Figure 6: Leaflet from the Tourist Information in Sopot

Figure 10: <https://www.google.de/maps/@54.0635586,18.7313996,7z> accessed March 26, 2015.

Figure 12:
https://www.google.de/mapmaker?z=11&ll=54.435108,18.648605&spn=0.233632,0.937958&utm_source=mapseditbutton_tactile_fineprint&t=h&lyt=large_map_v3 accessed December 30, 2014.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The questionnaire for Kaliningraders in Russian language

Эта анкета не имеет персональные данные о вас, которые могли бы вам навредить. Поэтому анкета анонимна. Заполняющие эту анкету разрешают использовать свои ответы для исследования этой темы.

Анкета на тему заграничного шоппинга жителей калининградской области в гданьске, сопоте и гдынии

Ответьте внимательно, не торопись на следующие вопросы!

1. Что для вас значительное в триймясто (гданьск, сопот и гдыня)?
Шопинг ☐ развлечения ☐ Шопинг и развлечения ☐ нет ответа ☐ не подходит
не один из вариантов ответа ☐
2. Как часто вы посещаете триймясто для шоппинга?
очень мало (меньше чем 1 раз в год) ☐ мало (меньше чем 1 раз в месяц) ☐
часто (1 раз в месяц) ☐ очень часто (2 и более раз в месяц) ☐
не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐ ничего ☐
3. Известны ли вам места где можно сделать покупку в триймясто?
да ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐
4. Как хорошо вы знакомы с местами где можно делать покупки в триймясто? очень
хорошо ☐ хорошо ☐ определённой степени ☐ мало ☐ совсем нет ☐ не знаю ☐
нет ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐
5. Откуда вам известны места где можно делать покупки в триймясто?
газета ☐ друзья ☐ я уже был там ☐ брошюры ☐ другие источники ☐
нет ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐
6. Влияет ли ваша осведомлённость о местах где можно делать покупки на решение
поехать в триймясто для совершения покупок? да ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа
☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

7. Влияет ли ваше мнение (о местах где можно делать покупки, о жителях, о культуре, и так далее) на ваше решение посетить труймясто целью совершить покупки? да ☐
нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

8. Как бы вы себя описали?

просто как русский ☐

просто как калининградец ☐

в первую очередь как русский, а потом как калининградец ☐

в первую очередь как калининградец, а потом как русский ☐

одинаково ☐

в зависимости от ситуации ☐

другой идентичность ☐

нет ответа ☐

не знаю ☐

9. Как бы вы описали калининградца? Какие три наиболее важные характеристики?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

10. Согласны ли вы, что шопинг за границей это выражение калининградской

идентичности? да ☐ определённой степени ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐

не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

11. Если да, то в какой степени? _____

12. Верите ли вы в то, что калининградская идентичность помогает чувствовать себя

комфортно в труймясто? да ☐ определённой степени ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет

ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

13. В какой степени это выражается?

14. Сложилось ли у вас впечатление, что магазины в труймясто предлагают калининградцам специальные продукты, сервис и так далее?

да ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

15. Если да, то какие?

16. Верите ли вы, что шопинг в труймясто вносит новые культурные элементы, которые влияют на идентичность калининградцев? да ☐ определённой степени ☐ нет ☐ не знаю ☐ нет ответа ☐ не подходит не один из вариантов ответа ☐

17. Если да, то в какой степени?

18. Какие у вас мотивы для шопинга в труймясто? (возможны несколько ответов)
Шкала 1-5: 1 совсем неважно 2 немного важно 3 важно 4 очень важно 5 чрезвычайно важно

Пожалуйста отметьте подходящую цифру:

а. Цена	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
б. Налоги	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
в. время открытия	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
г. курс валюты	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
д. большой выбор продуктов и сервис	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
е. Репутация и маркетинг	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
ж. месторасположение от границы	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
з. языковая близость	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
и. Атмосфера	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
к. другое _____		1	2	3	4	5
л. нет ответа	<input type="checkbox"/>					

19. Возраст:

☐ младше 20 лет ☐ 20 - 30 ☐ 31 - 40 ☐ 41 – 50 ☐ 51 - 60 ☐ старше 60 лет

20. Пол: мужской ☐ женский ☐

21. Местожительство: Город ☐ Деревня ☐

22. Образование:

☐ среднее образование

☐ средне-специальное образование

☐ высшее образование

Поздравляем, вы зачислили эту анкету! Спасибо за участие!

Appendix 2: The questionnaire for Kaliningraders in the original English version

**Questionnaire on cross-border shopping motives of citizens from
Kaliningrad Oblast in the Tri-city**

In support by *Radboud University*, The Netherlands and *University of Gdansk*, Poland



Description of the research

The research is going to capture the phenomenon of cross-border shopping from citizens of Kaliningrad Oblast to the Polish Tri-city (Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia) that has been attracted attention in Polish and Russian media since the volume of the border-crossings increased respectively. Your participation within this questionnaire helps to understand the phenomenon in the context of cross-border shopping in Gdansk and the Tri-city and aims to better understand the needs of the people from Kaliningrad Oblast.

Ethical information

The data gathered within this questionnaire is taken in consent with the respondent and is carried out by the responding person voluntarily. The questionnaire does not ask for personal data that could be traced back to a specific respondent. Therefore, the questionnaire is anonymized. Further, the respondent gives with filling out the questionnaire his/her approval that the data can be used in scientific analyses.

Instructions

The order of the questions is purposely chosen to guide you through the questionnaire. Please follow therefore the chosen structure of the questionnaire and follow the instructions for the questions (if applicable).

Please take some time to complete the following questions:

1. Of what kind are your travels to the Tri-city (Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia)?
 In first line shopping and then leisure ☐ In first line leisure and then shopping ☐
 Both equally important ☐ No answer ☐
 Not applicable ☐

2. How often do you travel to the Tri-city for shopping purposes?
 Very few ☐ (less than once a year) Few ☐ (less than once a month)
 Regularly ☐ (once a month) Very regular ☐ (more than once a month)
 Don't know ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

3. Are you familiar with the shopping facilities in the Tri-city?
 Yes☐ No☐ Don't know☐ No answer☐

4. To what extent do you know the shopping facilities and the environment of the Tri-city?
 I know them:
 Very well☐ Well☐ To some extent☐ Only very little☐ not at all☐ Don't know☐
 No answer☐ Not applicable☐

5. From where did you obtain information about the Tri-city shopping facilities?
 Newspaper ☐ Friends ☐ Own experience (earlier trip(s)) ☐ Brochures ☐
 Else ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

6. Did the obtained knowledge influence the decision to come to the Tri-city?
 Yes☐ No☐ Don't know☐ No answer☐ Not applicable☐

7. Does familiarity with the Tri-city environment (knowledge about the places and facilities, the people and culture, etc.) supports you in your decision to come to the Tri-city?
 Yes☐ No☐ Don't know☐ No answer☐ Not applicable☐

8. Which of the following answers would reflect your identity most?
 Solely Russian ☐
 Solely Kaliningrader ☐
 In first line as Russian and then as Kaliningrader ☐
 In first line as Kaliningrader and then as Russian ☐
 Both equally important ☐

- Depending on the situation ☐
- Another identity ☐
- No answer ☐
- Don't know ☐

9. If you have to describe the typical "Kaliningrader", what are the three most important attributes of "Kaliningraders"?

10. Do you agree with the statement that cross-border shopping is partly an expression of the Kaliningrader identity?

Yes ☐ To some extent ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

11. If yes, in what way?

12. Do you think that the Kaliningrader identity especially helps to feel more comfortable in the Tri-city?

Yes ☐ To some extent ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

13. If yes, in how far?

14. Do you have the impression that the shops within the Tri-city offer special products, services, etc. for people from Kaliningrad Oblast?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

15. If yes, which ones?

16. Do you believe that the cross-border shopping trips bring in new cultural elements into Kaliningrad Oblast and that those elements influence the Kaliningrader identity?

Yes ☐ To some extent ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ No answer ☐ Not applicable ☐

17. If yes, in how far?

18. What are your reasons to come to the Tri-city in relation to shopping? (Multiple answers possible.)

Scale 1-5 : 1 not important at all 2 not really important 3 important 4 quite important 5 very important

Please circle the degree of importance.

a. Price level	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
b. Tax rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
c. Opening hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
d. Exchange rate (between currencies)	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
e. Larger product and service assortment	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
f. Fame and marketing	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
g. Proximity to border	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
h. Language proximity	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
i. Atmosphere	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4	5
m. Else _____		1	2	3	4	5
n. No answer	<input type="checkbox"/>					

19. Age:

Younger than 20 ☐ 20 - 30 ☐ 31 - 40 ☐ 41 – 50 ☐ 51 - 60 ☐

Older than 60 ☐

20. Gender: male ☐ female ☐

21. Place of Living: City ☐ village ☐

22. Education:

☐ Middle School

☐ Vocational School

☐ University

Congratulations! You have reached the end of the questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your participation!

Kaliningradczycy z polskiego punktu widzenia

1. Czy ma/miał Pan/Pani kontakty z mieszkańcami Obwodu Kaliningradzkiego?

Tak ☐ nie ☐ nie mam zdania ☐

2. Jeśli tak, jakiego rodzaju były to kontakty?

Spotkanie na ulicy/w galerii handlowej ☐

Krótką rozmowa ☐

Wizyta u rodziny/znajomych ☐

Inne _____

3. *Co Pan/Pani sądzi o mieszkańcach Obowdu Kaliningradzkiego? Czy Pana/Pani zdaniem mieszkańców Kaliningradu są inni niż "mieszkańcy Rosji kontynentalnej?"*

Tak, różnią się od pozostałych Rosjan ☐

Nie, są tacy sami ☐

nie mam zdania ☐

4. Jeśli tak, jakie Pan/Pani wskazałby różnice?

.....
.....

5. *Jeśli miałby/miałaby Pan/Pani opisać typowego mieszkańca Obwodu Kaliningradzkiego, jakie trzy cechy charakteru wskazałby/wskazałaby Pan/Pani?*

1.

2.

3.

6. Wiek:

☐poniżej 20 lat

☐ 20 - 30

☐31 - 40

☐41 - 50

☐51 - 60

☐powyżej 60 lat

7. Płeć: kobieta ☐ mężczyzna ☐

8. Miejsce zamieszkania: _____

9. Wykształcenie:

☐ podstawowe

☐ zawodowe

☐ średnie

☐ wyższe

Dziękuję za udział w badaniu!

Appendix 4: *Polish questionnaire on the Polish views of Kaliningrader's identity in English*

Questionnaire on the Polish views on the Kaliningrad identity

Please take some time to complete the following questions:

1. Do you have/had contacts with people from Kaliningrad Oblast?

Yes ☐ No ☐ No answer ☐

2. If yes, of what kind are/were your contacts with Kaliningraders?

Visibility on the streets and in shopping centers ☐

Conversation with Kaliningraders (Small-talk) ☐

Kaliningraders are (close) friends or family to me ☐

Else: _____

3. Do you think that people from Kaliningrad Oblast are different from "other Russians"?

Yes ☐ To some extent ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐ No answer ☐

4. If yes, in what way are they different?

.....
.....

5. If you have to describe the typical "Kaliningrader", what are the three most important attributes of "Kaliningraders"?

1.

2.

3.

6. Age:

☐ younger than 20 years

☐ 20 - 30

☐ 31 - 40

☐ 41 - 50

☐ 51 - 60

☐ older than 60 years

7. Gender: female ☐ male ☐

8. Place of Living: _____

9. Education:

☐ Basic school degree

☐ Vocational school degree

☐ Middle school degree

☐ University degree

Thank you very much for your participation!

Executive Summary

The main intention of the study is to provide a picture of the Kaliningrader cross-border shoppers in relation to the concepts of Kaliningrader identity, (im)mobility and (un)familiarity and Kaliningrader cross-border motivations to enhance the attraction effects of cities, shopping centers and tourism. The rise in border-crossings is the motivation to carry out this research. Border-crossings have been uneasy between Kaliningrad Oblast and Poland for a long time, in which borderlands were virtually dead. With the stipulation of the Small-border traffic, the Polish-Russian border began to live. A border inherits a bipolar function of protection creating an “us” and a “they”, which can either be threatening or welcoming. A border impacts and creates borderlands and their interactions. The Schengen agreement shifted the meaning of the state borders in the European Union. Border regimes can support mobility of citizens, whereas at the same time, the border regime hinders border land interactions resulting in a rigid state of immobility. The activities on the border, regardless of a Schengen- or non-Schengen border, involve cross-border shopping. Cross-border shopping is a mobile interaction of (borderland) citizens with a focus on a shopping. Identities play a role in the distinctiveness of borderlands and can influence the willingness to be mobile and the level of familiarity. The fuzzy concept of identity directs towards the social belonging and separates the “we” and “they” on the basis of an own shared social and cultural codex. The degree of distinctiveness to the neighbor across the border is captured by the concept of (un)familiarity. (Un)familiarity in relation to cross-border shopping identifies the familiar feeling with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities.

To examine the relationships between the concepts and the motivations, the study is backed up with 123 Russian questionnaires and uses observation for further information. The study intended to analyze the collected data (Snowball-method and opportunistic sampling method used) in a descriptive mode.

The Small-border traffic agreement has a limited scope entailing Kaliningrad Oblast and its two neighboring Voivodships under conditions of 90 days of visits with a total single visit up to a maximum of 30 days. The permit can be asked for citizens living at least 3 years in the border region and covers a distance range of 50 km into the Polish territory posing an exception to the rule. The Polish-Russian borderlands, where revived after a long-duration of a no-contact-zone. Whereas the SBT encourage mobility, the Russian embargo on food harms mobility and sets barriers. First observations show that some Kaliningraders nevertheless buy forbidden products. A result is a black market for Polish products in Kaliningrad.

The geographic and historical classification depicts many commonalities between the regions.

With regard to the shopping facilities, Gdańsk and Gdynia offer many high-class malls in contrast to Kaliningrad, has different pricing standards of shopping malls. The reflection on shopping in Soviet times discloses that shopping in today's form has not been possible. Scarcity, low quality and a small assortment coin the Soviet shopping picture.

The analysis of the Kaliningrad identity shows that many Kaliningraders regard themselves rather as Russians and then as Kaliningraders, which might be a part of the Ukraine-crisis effect. The Kaliningrader identity in the study is scrutinized by self-reflection and the Polish view on Kaliningraders and resulted in a noble characterization of Kaliningraders with a slight negative dimension. Many of the Kaliningraders are mobile, but costs of travelling and SBT permits exclude parts of the Kaliningrader population making it a middle-class and upper-class experience. Kaliningraders are to a certain degree familiar with the Tri-city and its shopping facilities mostly via own experiences or friend's recommendations. Familiarity is identified as a motivation for Kaliningraders to come to the Tri-city and thus has an effect on mobility. The Kaliningrad identity has an effect on familiarity and vice versa. The open-mindedness and explorative character is argued to support this effect. The Kaliningrader identity affects positively the mobility of the Kaliningrader citizens. At a descriptive level, the main motivations of Kaliningraders to shop in the Tri-city are the price level, exchange rate, larger product and service assortment, proximity of border and atmosphere. Language proximity and Fame and Marketing are less important, whereas opening hours have no importance since they are the nearly the same in Poland and in Russia. The significance test on the factors revealed that price level and the factor of larger product and service assortment have a significant association with the purpose of travel.