ISSN 0867-3888

AKADEMIA WYCHOWANIA FIZYCZNEGO
IM. BRONISŁAWA CZECHA W KRAKOWIE

FOLIA TURISTICA

Vol. 28(2) – 2013

KRAKÓW 2013

ISSN 0867-3888

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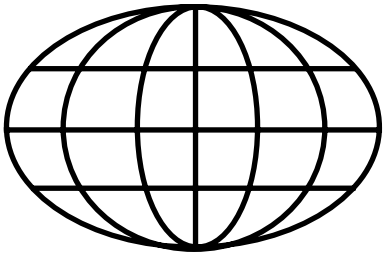

KRAKÓW 2013

Address:
Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego
al. Jana Pawła II 78, 31-571 Kraków
tel. 12 683-12-78

This publication is funded in part
by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education

Declaration concerning publication of primal version of the journal

We wish to inform that in relation to all papers published in Folia Turistica,
the version which is considered to be primal is the printed one.

Print: Drukarnia Cyfrowa Alnus sp. z o.o.
ul. Cechowa 51, 30-614 Kraków
Nakład: 150 egz.

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THE HOME AND THE WORLD. ON THE PATHS OF CONTEMPORARY NOMADS

*Maria Zowisło**

Abstract: The article outlines the most important discussion threads led in contemporary humanities regarding the issue of nomadism as a rhetorical figure of the postmodern condition of man and culture. Thereupon it apposes the conceptions of G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, M. Maffesoli, Z. Bauman, M. Heidegger and K. White. Intellectual nomadism, as named and developed by the latter author, goes beyond a pure rhetorical meaning of the category and indicates a vivid presence of human nomadic experiences in postmodern culture. The nomad proves to be a living topos of human mobility, in which a pilgrim, a voyager, and a tourist meet in their real walking tours and enter into an inspiring dialog. Conversely, Heidegger's philosophy seems to emphasize two existential poles present in all travels: the home and the world, both marking fundamental senses and values regarding man's dwelling in the world.

The article attempts a comparative hermeneutics of chosen concepts and aims to point out some existential senses and values that are present in the travel practices of human beings. This hermeneutic analysis refers to both various philosophical concepts (Heidegger and postmodern philosophers referring to the Heideggerian overcoming of metaphysics) and real liaisons between theory and practice (an example of K. White's life and writing). It leads to the conclusion that the world experience of contemporary nomads is far deeper and more complex than is described by some philosophers. In particular, the postmodern rhetoric seems to be here a great simplification of the phenomenon. The nomadic status does not entail precluding the pilgrim attitude; on the contrary it includes it (as seen in Heideggerian *Hüter des Seins* or White's *homo candidus*). The contemporary nomad appears in the dialectics of mobility and settlement, traveling/tourism and dwelling, a taste for exoticism and homeliness, reverence both to detail and to space (geographic and cultural). The work of this dialectics yields the result of a more attentive and responsible human attitude towards life and the world that sets the habitation for being.

Keywords: pilgrim, nomad, tourist, postmodernity, existential analytics, intellectual nomadism

The Home and the World. On the Paths of Contemporary Nomads

A nomad functions as a popular and useful symbolic figure in at least two areas of the contemporary humanistic reflection upon culture: in postmodern philosophy and tourism studies. Both uses are bounded in a seman-

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tic tie that is marked with senses relative to human mobility, being en route, traveling across open space of obscurely outlined topography or, finally, with a nomadic life style. In both hermeneutic perspectives, however, the topos of a nomad carries a rhetorical meaning and becomes a focal point of contemporary dilemmas about man and the current condition of culture. In light of these dilemmas, the path of a contemporary "nomad" is a peculiar one. It is a path that is tangled up, riddled with uncertainty, deprived of maps and permanent signposts, lacking clearly defined causes and aims. It meanders errantly across an obscure landscape of redefined meanings and values, the landscape whose skyline was opened at the outset of our contemporary world by the notions of "God's death" (Nietzsche) and "the Death of a Man" (Foucault). While traveling around the world and experiencing its ontic and axiological changeability and nondescriptiveness, a contemporary nomad unearths at the same time his own ontological unsteadiness, liquidity, and weak identity that is ceaselessly built anew and *ad hoc* through temporary experiences and endeavors (Welsch, 2005; Vattimo, 2006; Bauman, 2007).

The symbolic figure of a nomad understood as a stranger and guest in his own world is commonly contrasted, in both the jargon of philosophy and tourism studies nomenclature, with a classical *topos* of *homo viator*—a traveler and a pilgrim, who on his way experiences countless adventures and dangers, but nevertheless does not wander off the beaten track of the measured and mapped world. The cartography of pilgrim routes is a mapping of a well-established, stable, and real terrestrial (cosmos) and human (culture) world under the dome of sacred transcendence and divine revelations of ideas, values, and destinies. In such a structure of being, at the intersection of the world's horizontal space and the vertical vector of the promise of heaven, philosophers have placed the man-traveler: Aurelius Augustine (*homo irrequietus* and his pilgrim hardships and nostalgia for love), Gabriel Marcel (*homo viator* on the tracks of metaphysical hope), Karl Jaspers (human existence in relation to the codes of transcendence), or Józef Tischner (the drama of a human-person on the world scene open to the transcendence of the person-God). The road of the pilgrim, although riddled with bends and turns of attempts, hardships and a fear of danger, is not deprived of signposts showing the way to a particular destination. Even if it leads along the initiation labyrinth, it has its own "Ariadne's thread", its leading trail. This trail, this leading thread, is man's life line, determined by the potential of his being, the process of *entelechy*, i.e. the overwriting of destinies, the human self-fulfillment of ontological and axiological completeness inscribed in an overriding manner in human fate.

Homo viator is both Odysseus, toiling away (Greek *álgos*, "agony") at his in-side *nóstos* ("return" in Greek), the nostalgic journey back home, back to his homeland, his past, and traditions, as well as Aeneas, the migrant,

discovering new worlds during his out-side explorations and penetrations of foreign lands in order to name, tame, domesticate, express them through depiction and explication, and finally transform them with the sheer power of creative metamorphosis.

The world of a nomad is "barbaric" because it suspends the universal validity of laws (ideas, values, principles, exemplars, norms, and codes) of culture whereas the world of the pilgrim is a "classical" one as it incessantly legitimizes, confirms, and replicates the culture of laws and universals. The world of a nomad is neither a cosmos ("order" in Greek), nor actually a reality as—similarly to the nomad himself—he is neither a being, nor a collection of bodies, nor a sum of facts. Instead, he is a fusion of interpretations, a game of metaphors of volatile, perishable, and transient experiences, associations conditioning not essence, but existence, not nature, but the contextual *conditio humana* (Arendt, 2000; Plessner, 1988; Vattimo, 2011). The world of a pilgrim is different—it is his dwelling, familiar surroundings, as well as the bedrock of his existential ontological identity.

Philosophers nowadays argue that the world of pilgrims has gone away together with the end of modernity supported on the foundations of the absolute principles of metaphysics, theology, and advancements in biological sciences. With the onset of the "postmodernist" era, the nomads-migrants' time has come. A common denominator for the cultural and philosophical components of the outlook of the postmodern socio-cultural formation is, undoubtedly, the experience of contingency, i.e. fortuitousness. Contingency appears to be the single permanent element, determinant, or a "constant" (Marquard, 1994, pp. 119-142) in the world of human life (German *Lebenswelt*). This fortuitousness is an inevitable consequence of refuting absolute principles of thought, which having been inscribed insofar in "grand narratives" of knowledge (Lyotard, 1997), have been at the same time the rationale for understandable, unified recipes for life, giving it *ipso facto* the form of a stable, universal order—the cosmos. In a landscape deprived of a skyline and frameworks everything slips through—there are no clearly defined goals of the journey and routes leading to them, and the traveler roaming here is a migrant, a nomad of the boundlessness and unbeaten tracks. This is how the condition of contemporary man was depicted by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (Deleuze, Guattari, 1988, pp. 221-237, 239-251). The war machine of wild, savage and sensual nomads is targeted against the machine of the state—an atomized and hierarchical, social and political body, the creation of the long past epochs. The approach paths of nomads meet in a disorderly fashion with one another creating tangled *rhizomes* (Greek *rhízōma,* "mass of roots"), a rootstock. The authors contrasted *rhizomes* with the symbol of a tree. The image of a tree, an archaic and pan

cultural archetype of life and human self-knowledge, is based upon a legible morphology and stratification of layers of roots, trunks, and branches. A rootstock is a tangle of passages, a chaos of paths with no clear beginning and purpose, where questions such as "where from?" "where?" and "where to?" remain utterly "pointless." A tree locks in itself all parts and branches in a "centric" manner. It is their "f i l i a t i o n"; it determines the affinity and community of "their own" that can be reduced to superior unity. A rootstock opens up "acentricaly" an area of errant travels, passages, "intermezzos" that remain in a fleeting, temporary "a l l i a n c e."

A nomad on the tangled roads of his travel is a basic postmodern metaphor, or even a complex topos, of the condition of contemporary man, his nihilistic and absolute freedom as well as a rudimentary experience of fortuitousness, eradication, the randomness of existence in the world of "broken slabs" of traditional epics, and decalogues of old times. The nomad is no longer a classical or modern hero (like *homo viator*) as the epic heroic narrative, which next to other epic poems, stories, and narratives has justified insofar the sense of human self-understanding and creative activity, and has gone out of use and "expended itself." The collapse of "grand narratives" or "metanarratives" is a differentiator of postmodern times. As the diagnostician of the fall of "grand narratives", J.-L. Lyotard wrote the narrative function has nowadays become afunctional as it has lost its four underlying functors: a great hero, great dangers, great initiatives, and a great aim (Lyotard, 1997, p. 20).

With their works, Deleuze and Guattari initiated a philosophical and sociological discourse on nomadism as a specific modus of the postmodernist condition of man. Other cultural sociologists, Michel Maffesoli and Zygmunt Bauman, also joined the discussion. Maffesoli has combined the figure of a nomad with the one of mythological Dionysus. Just like in Nietzsche's terms, Dionysus is understood as the god of de-individualization, excessiveness, and ecstasy (Maffesoli, 1982). He is a figure that symbolizes new tribalism characteristic of postmodern times. Nowadays, the word "ecstasy" has a wide meaning. It can denote an "ex-tasy", surpassing their own egos by individuals, which occurs not only during the "orgy" of sexual, emotional, hedonistic, and carnivalesque experiences, but also in "allonomy", i.e. adopting and adjusting externals laws, *doxa* (judgment, belief, opinion in Greek) of collective opinions and emerging solidarity and practices of masses-tribes. New tribes are nowadays fleeting, nebulous in their blurred contours, temporary crystallizations of human masses, whose homelands are *megapoleis*—big cities, and a global community of the "network paradigm" (Maffesoli, 2008, p. 217). The rhizomes of contemporary nomads form "intertwinements", junctures, *connectedness*, collective bonds, amal-

gamations which, in essence, bring back to life the old myth of community. A postmodern community is, however, quite peculiar as it is based not on the reasoned contact groupings, characteristic of modernity, but on emotional tribalism, dominated by vitalism, the primacy of experience, pictorial imagination and qualitative valuation, an organic vision of cosmos, *Einfühlung,* i.e. "the logic of touch", of affective and sensual empathy. Maffesoli has contrasted modernity and postmodernity by emphasizing distinct types of sensitivity and styles of interpersonal relationships prevailing in these two "epochs" or paradigms. What makes modernity stand out is the domination of a society with a mechanical structure and the stratification of stable groups. In such a society, by performing a function, an individual conserves his personal, clearly outlined identity. The order of a modern society is an order of a *polis*, a city-state with a plainly explicated and practiced political order. Postmodernity expresses itself through superficial socialization of the masses and an organic and complex communal structure in which man, by performing different roles both professionally and by participating in tribal groups, loses his individuality and becomes a persona putting on successive masks. Day in day out, in accordance with one's own congenial, cultural, religious, and sexual inclinations, a person/persona is offered an opportunity to perform anew their role in "the spectacle of *theatrum mundi*" (Maffesoli, 2008, p. 123). In the conditions of postmodernity, modern, well-ordered and steady *polis*, transforms into a "nebulous" and "emotional" *thiase*, a Bacchic community of masks.

Neo-tribal nomadism manifests itself in the tendency for swift and energetic transformations, moving from one tribal group, consolidated by one dominant, conformist *unisono* of one passion, mood, *doxa*, to other tribal constellations. The socialization of our times is characterized by uncontrollable flows and ebbs of masses-tribes as well as an unfettered movement of postmodern, masked vagabonds of impressions between them (Maffesoli, 2008, p. 122). Here, Deleuze's rootstock transforms itself into an amorphous space of infinite motion, with no center and periphery, marked by a spontaneous play of waves of successive personal and collective transgressions and travesties.

Nomadism as a metaphorical figure of postmodern life also appears in Zygmunt Bauman's writings. He underscores social determinants of the "new order" by linking them to globalization processes, which he sets against modernist tendencies towards universalism that generate law and order (Bauman, 1994; Bauman, 2000, pp. 71-83). To accentuate this difference, the author evokes the figures of a pilgrim and a nomad, bestowing the latter, however, with much more complex references. According to Bauman, the symbol of a pilgrimage is a universal one as it refers to both a "zealously

religious" outlook on life and secular life. It was Max Weber who noticed the ideal model of a life strategy of modern man in the attitude of a pilgrim (Bauman, 1994, p. 12). In a secularized and disenchanted modern world, the pilgrim becomes a symbol of a "fulfilled vocation" of human nature, the realization of the inherent potential of being of a human as a subject of conscious and rational actions in the world. The world of a secular, modern pilgrim is such a rational and horizontal structure, which despite being deprived of a dimension of vertical, sacred transcendence, is not devoid of value, meaning, laws, order, and the geographical outline of pilgrim routes: "Just like the original, religious version, the secular version assumes a pilgrimage through previously mapped areas, with roads equipped with mileposts and signposts. Life can be seen as a pilgrimage, but only in an orderly world: in a society with a s t r u c t u r e that is relatively fixed and independent of an individual (...)". (translated from Polish, Bauman, 1994, p. 12)

The postmodern reality is different. It develops beyond any patterns. It lacks both "a deep structure" and a chain linking plurality and diversity. "Episodic character and inconsistency" as well as "kaleidoscopic" and "liquid" identity of postmodern man require employing new life strategies. Can it be a strategy of nomadism? Bauman quite rightly observes that the use of the metaphor of a nomad here is "imperfect and misleading." The culture of nomads is a culture of established traditions, fixed and immutable migration routes along which people follow animals in their search for pastures, water, and natural conditions that facilitate survival. Such picture is therefore an inadequate metaphor of postmodernity that is deprived of homogeneity, monotony, and regularity. Therefore, Bauman splits one dominating model of a nomad and replaces it with four ideal models: a stroller (*flâneur* of the urban jungle, a pedestrian and observer in the crowd of other passers-by), a wanderer (a contestant of stability in life and sedentary lifestyle, a connoisseur of a tireless pursuit of change), a tourist (a thrill-seeker and consumer of the world), and a player (a cunning contestant and gambler in the theater of phantom beings unrestricted by coincidence and necessity, a wrestler of freedom). Disjunctive and mutually exclusive in the past, these attitudes can coexist today simultaneously in "one" personality. This corresponds to both the "kaleidoscopic" identity of postmodern man as well as the multitude and variety of stimuli originating from a fractured, heterogeneous reality. This is how the absolute freedom of a postmodern vagabond of the postmodern world makes itself real. Admittedly, Bauman modified his concept of four ideal models of postmodernity in his subsequent publication (Bauman, 2000, pp. 92-120) by reducing them to two: a wanderer and a tourist. However, he did not diminish the significance of the heterogeneity of the postmodern experience of reality.

Cultural anthropologists and civilization historians indeed point out a noticeable order embedded in the migrations of nomads. Until the sixteenth century, i.e. the decline of culture of migrating tribes, the lifestyle of nomads was shaped by the seasons; it depended upon climate while the pattern of their movements across vast spaces of tundra, steppe, savanna, or desert were adopted to the geomorphology of space and time cycles. Today the culture of nomads, more than anything else, resembles an ethnographic curiosity while behind the catchy symbolic figure of a nomad, semantic misuse and stereotyping are hidden. One can essentially distinguish two stereotypical attitudes towards the culture of nomads: contemptuous and romantic. As Romuald Wojna writes, common knowledge about nomads is very scarce. "What do we know about those ancient people, who now and then emerge from the mists of time like a crimson lightning (translated from Polish)?" Nomads evoke connotations of either "a seething mass of tribes", or "a migration of people", or ultimately "the barbarians who toppled the worldwide Roman system (translated from Polish)." Expressing an ethnocentric disdain for nomads, we notice in their world only "primitiveness, dirt, savagery, social deficiency, aggression, captivity, violence (translated from Polish)." Conversely, a romantic attitude, founded on an indiscriminate admiration for idealized millennial arcana possessed by Asian people, brings out from the world of nomads the elements of the Arcadian myth by discerning in it a naturalistic, healthy contrast with an ailing contemporary civilization controlled by the omnipresent technology (Wojna, 1983, p. 5).

The notions of "a nomad" or "nomadism" are used by ethnologists to describe migrating tribes of shepherds. It is also consistent with the etymological origins of these words. A Greek *nomás* is a nomad, a person leading a nomadic life whereas the Latin *nomios* denotes a shepherd. While we can distinguish three types of nomadism, each of them indicates that the itinerant mode of life is inscribed in a regular migration pattern. "Meridional" nomadism refers to north-south migrations, where herds are driven meridionally in the summer-winter cycle. "Desert" nomads like contemporary Tuareg people practice nomadism along the chain of oases and wells. There is also "vertical", mountain nomadism whose rhythm is determined by migrations between valleys (winter) and mountain pastures (summer herding) (Wojna, 1983, p. 18). Considering the above, it is clearly nature that determines migrations of nomads. What is crucial to their lives is an affirmative attitude, adaptation to natural conditions instead of combating the environment, as has been the case with expansive, sedentary, and urban civilizations.

This pro-environmental feature of nomadism allows us to use a metaphoric figure of a nomad yet again. A point of departure for this use is the Heideggerian existential analytics of man as a shepherd of being (*Hüter des*

Seins). The philosopher contrasts the shepherd of being with a master of being, an attitude which is manifested in a technical mastery of being, pragmatic and calculating approach of man towards things. In such perspective, i.e. nomadism as the shepherding and watching of being is an attitude that attunes to the sense of being, its truth (understood by Heidegger as unconcealedness, Greek *aletheia,* German *Unverborgenheit*) that is brought out, extolled, and carefully protected. Concerned about the being of things (objectified existence), man frequently forgets about this horizon of being (existence). Yet being itself is the basis for being. Absorbed with everyday life, subject to requirements of social conventions, man lives his life inauthentically and incogitatively surrounded by things and evading fundamental questions pertaining to his own finitude, time, and the potential of his own being. However, there are moments of existential boundary experiences when man realizes his unavoidable end. The trepidation he experiences opens up a prospect of nothingness and a permanent horizon of being. Man starts to comprehend and protect the value of being, both his own and the world's. Then he understands himself not as a being, but as *Dasein* "being-here", *Mitsein*, among things and other people.

Understanding of being is a basic *modi* that determines man's being as only man is capable of asking questions about being. Only man has a cogitative and distanced consciousness. The essence of man is his ex-sistence (German *Ek-sistenz*), ecstasy, the ability to go beyond himself, beyond his being towards the truth of being which underlies all beings—man and things in this world. In the famous *Letter on Humanism*, Heidegger wrote: „Die Ek-sistenz, ekstatisch gedacht, deckt sich weder inhaltlich noch der Form nach mit der existentia. Ek-sistenz bedeutet inhaltlich Hinaus-stehen in die Wahrheit des Seins" (Heidegger, 1967, p. 158). How does the shepherding of being manifest itself? First and foremost, it is expressed through language. However, it is not a conversational language, which is most often "empty talk" that fills the common and pragmatic everyday bustle undertaken solely for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the hand-to-mouth existence. It is more about a source language resulting from the openness of man to his own fragility and being-toward-death – nothingness. It is a language that opens up to being in all its fragility; the source language is a language of wisdom and poetry: „Die Sprache ist das haus des Seins. In ihrer Behausung wohn der Mensch. Die Denkenden und Dichtenden sind die Wächter dieser Behausung. Ihr Wachen ist das Vollbringen der Offenbarkeit des Seins, insofern sie diese durch ihr Sagen zur Sprache bringen und in der Sprache aufbewahren" (Heidegger, 1967, p. 145). In a poetic language, the very being reveals itself, and speaks undisguised through the words of the poet. Being is imparted to the poet in its truth, in its being and existence.

In turn, the truth of existence reveals its sacredness – the deepest dimension of existence. However, this sacredness is associated with no personal and absolutized god-demiurge, an object of rational and dogmatic onto-theology. It is the holiness of divine entities, but also equally of earth, nature, the life of the cosmos and man. It is expressed by the idea of „the fourfold" (German *das Geviert*), the habitation of being, whose vertices are: mortal people, earth, heaven, and divine entities (Heidegger, 2002, pp. 127-181). The fourfold links all these elements in unity and reciprocation, consolidates them in mutual and dependent being, which denotes that authentic openness to being, the shepherding of being, and "poetic dwelling" in the world are not possible without man being open to gods and heaven. These gods are the "last gods", who can return to earth because of the sensitization of man to their absence that results from their "escape" from the world due to man's alienating attitudes. The return of the last gods is possible due to the re-collection of sacrum and the awakening of a consciousness of sacredness in man through his openness to unconcealedness, i.e. the truth of being. While such openness offers man a gift of the language of being, man becomes its transmitter through his own human understanding of wisdom and poetry.

"Building, dwelling, thinking" are the three dimensions of man's being, of that *doch dichterisch wohnet der Mensch auf dieser Erde* (verse from the poem by Friedrich Hölderlin, adopted by Heidegger) (Heidegger, 1999, p. 294; Heidegger, 2002, p. 170), and of poetic dwelling on earth. Building, practice, technique are supposed to be like the Greek *techne* – neither a pure craftsmanship, nor art itself, but "eliciting", allowing being to manifest itself in its natural conditions, boundaries, dimensions, and values. Greek architecture presented for instance a perfect unification between landscape and nature. Building a habitation should be associated with the thinking of truth, nature, landscape, space, and place. „The edifices guard the fourfold. They are things that in their own way preserve the fourfold. To preserve the fourfold, to save the earth, to receive the sky, to await the divinities, to escort mortals – this fourfold preserving is the simple nature, the presencing, of dwelling. In this way, then, do genuine buildings give form to dwelling in its presencing and house this presence" (Heidegger, 1971, p. 158-159).

The Heideggerian project of man as *Dasein* and *Hüter des Seins* can be understood as an original ontology of nomadism which, instead of being oriented towards traveling around the world, is directed inwards the world, towards discovering the senses of habitation and dwelling in it and in the truth and authenticity of life. In this perspective, the home and the world become one. Heideggerian *nomás* is a guardian taking heed of the wellbeing, harmony, proper interpretation, arrangement and use of the place, home, earth, and things in the world. He is the shepherd of existential senses and

values. Only man can adopt an understanding and solicitous attitude towards reality. This constitutes both an immanent challenge and the purpose of human existence – to make amends to this power and fulfill the human vocation of being among others, among things, in the world, in the face of passing and the finitude of being.

A middle way, between traveling and dwelling, has been practiced for years by Kenneth White, a contemporary nomad, philosopher, and a poet, an originator of the concept of "intellectual nomadism", who draws upon Martin Heidegger's philosophy. Interestingly, in his understanding and his own style and practicing of travel both across and inside the world, nomadism does not dissociate from values and patterns determined by the traditional archetype of pilgrimaging. A postmodern *nomás* and modern *homo viator* (as understood by Weber and Bauman) meet harmoniously in Kenneth White's writings and travels.

Over 70-year-old Kenneth White is of Scottish origin (he was born in 1936 in Glasgow). However, due to his deep connection to the places he has traveled to, he has expanded his own genealogy by calling himself a "French-Breton-Buddhist Scotsman" (White, 1998; White, 2010). His travels have made him a multicultural man, seeking or rather building his new identity at the crossroads between the European Atlantic coastline, toposes (places and archetypes) of Asian cultures and wild Labrador. Undoubtedly, the shaping of his multicultural identity was greatly affected by his literary and philosophical studies in hometown Glasgow, Germany, and Paris-Sorbonne where he later became a professor of contemporary poetry. White is a founder of both Institut International de Géopoétique (1989, the International Institute of Geopoetics, with offices in several countries), and a scientific journal, *Cahiers de Géopoétique* (*Notebooks of Geopoetics*). In between his travels, he used to live on a farm in Pyrénées-Atlantiques. Recently, he has lived in a stone house in Trébeurden, Brittany. He is a widely known and acclaimed author of travel and philosophical essays, including his already legendary *La Route bleue*, 1983, a philosophical and poetic itinerary, a book of his travel to Labrador (Polish edition: White, 1992), as well as poems, lyrics and contemplative records of moments and details of the world in the form of Japanese-stylized *haiku*.

It is a metaphysical journey. White himself writes openly about traveling as a type of "metaphysics brimming with physicality" (White, 1998, p. 8). In his travels, he is not only interested in cultures, but more essentially in cosmic elements, the *physis* of the world, the sensual aesthetics of stones, rocks, seaweed, illusions created by light in water... This metaphysics is essentially hylozoistic, in the spirit of pre-Socratic tales, Anaximander, Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Heraclitus (similar links and references, particu-

larly to Heraclitus, can also be found in Nietzsche and Heidegger who are inspirationally present in White's contemplation). By means of *arche*, the matter of the world, Kenneth White searches for a source principle governing the life of the cosmos and man, the rule behind their unity (extrapolated further to the unity of nature and culture) and brotherhood. He therefore propounds to "go out of history" and "enter geography" to create "cosmography." He believes that Europe "is suffocating from its history." It should therefore distance itself from its political and civilizational history in order to find, first and foremost, the sense of space (White, 1998, p. 16). Cultures decline, losing their powerful impact on common history. Therefore, in order to rekindle their vitality, it is necessary to seek other more primary sources outside culture. It turns out that geopoetics, i.e. the language that extols earth, its matter, substances, things, and phenomena, can be of help here. Such spatial and substantial opening of the world is mostly available to a poet, which is akin to Heidegger's existential contemplations.

However, in order to become a geopoet, a poet of earth, one has to go through a phase of personal transformation, the result of which is *homo candidus*, a "white man"; in other words, a pure, honest, and reliable man who is capable in his simplicity and innocence of immediate and spontaneous perception of the world in its wholeness and details. Practicing the attitude of an intellectual nomad results in the power of writing geopoetry. He is neither a tourist, nor a hitchhiker, nor a free vagabond on the communication routes of the world. According to White, a tourist is someone who is satisfied with just tasting the food, seeing historic buildings, touching "this and that" with a hand or capturing them with a camera – sliding over the surface of the visited world (White, 1998, p. 15). An intellectual nomad is, essentially, a pilgrim traveling around the world physically and intellectually, carnally and spiritually (White, 1998, p. 10). In his travels, he merges, clashes cultures in order to go beyond the limitations of locality, regionalism as well as the misconception of universalism understood as unification and reductionism that are characteristic of globalization processes. Done in the sphere of reflexive (intellectual) consciousness of a nomad, the clashing of cultures, their traditions, ethoses manifested in their philosophical and religious outlooks, artistic and social practices, is aimed at reviving these traditions through opening them to other cultural articulations of similar problems and at the same time enables the motion of ideas and the building of man's new identity. All cultures are fragmentary and refer to selected aspects of humanity; hence the imperative of "nomadising" cultures (White, 1998, p. 18). It is obviously an implication of a more fundamental, superior imperative of synthesis, i.e. striving for entirety, micro- and macrocosmic holism; in other words, a complete integration of man with his personal

self-realization and his contact with nature. The new identity is not an egotistic self, but rather a "concentration of energy", "extended existence" that manifests itself in communication, not essentiality (White, 1998, p. 23). Akin to Heidegger, White transcends theology and ontology concentrating on being, and focuses his attention and sensitivity of a traveler on being, happening, dynamism, and communication. However, he is more interested in communication with nature rather than other human beings. In his view, the interpersonal dialog should be rooted in a more primary understanding between man and earth, Mother Nature, her elements, and the matter of life. Hence, for White the archetypal journey is his travel to Labrador, to "the soil of Cain" that strikes the traveler with austere space, where time (history) fades away and things appear in a pure form, "bare-naked" (White, 1992, p. 7). That "nakedness of things" resembles Heideggerian *aletheia* – the unconcealedness of the truth of being. The traveler and the world meet one another and discover layers, meanings, existential values in experiencing innocent (authentic and immediate) trust and understanding. Man opens up to the language of being whereas being speaks to man and through man. This is where White and Heidegger meet again. Geopoetics is experiencing unity between man and the world. It is a supreme cultural tool of reconciliation.

According to White, poetry is a medium of transcending a single consciousness into the world. In Greek, *poiesis* denotes creation, a demiurgic activity of man, and creative dynamics. Poetry is therefore an instrument of action, transformation, which leads to the birth of "spatial I", "nomadologic subject", or "a white man", *homo candidus* (White, 1998, p.34). A "sensory bond" is created with the cosmos and the immediate landscape: irises, poplars, mist over the hill, seashore, the cry of seagulls... (White, 1998, p. 37). The nomad longs to reflect the entire complexity of life tissue in words, to manifest being in poetic language. This language is a guardian of the sacredness of being whereas the nomad, revealing and cultivating this sacredness, becomes a pilgrim of the earth.

The life of the Scottish-Breton-Buddhist nomad, Kenneth White, runs in a "double game", in a dialectics of movement and stillness, road and sedentarity, world and home, space (Greek *atopos*) and place (Greek *topos*), nature and culture. White travels around the world and returns home for longer periods of time. Finally, in old age, the whole world becomes a home for him, a shrine of vivid memory of the world, recorded and read out in poetic verses. While creating and developing in reflexive essays the philosophy of geopoetics and intellectual nomadism, Kenneth White writes poems and *haiku*. In his literary works—in accordance with the assumptions of White's poetic cosmography—aesthetics replaces ethics (White, 1998, p. 38). How-

ever, aesthetics here has a very broad meaning and is not solely limited to artistic expression or the capturing of moments and sensual perceptions. It is a source *aisthesis*, sensitiveness and response (and therefore also a responsibility) for the world and its values. We can say that this is where intellectual nomadism converges with postmodern nomadism, for which the Nietzschean replacement of ethics with aesthetics and a new, situational, anti-essential understanding of responsibility constitute a formational distinguishing mark. It needs to be noted here that many postmodern thinkers in their deconstructive analyses alluded to or even started from surmounting metaphysics done by Martin Heidegger in his fundamental ontology and existential analytics. This is particularly noticeable in the ontology of the "weak thought" by Gianni Vattimo that utilizes Heideggerian ontology of being and happening as a premise for emphasizing historicity, the finitude and fluidity of life and its understanding. "Liquid life" is also a supreme concept of Zygmunt Bauman's postmodern philosophical projects. Liquidity, changeability, variety, and fragility of life underlie the only possible rule that sanctions "morality without ethics", i.e. without rigid and universal ethical principles, which, however, do not preclude human responsibility for the course of their lives. In "liquid reality", every detail, thing, piece, experience, or encounter matters. The lack of hierarchy brings out the values of the living world that more insistently demand human attention and care. In White's philosophy and nomadologic practice, one can notice neoromantic motives present in contemporary philosophy (like Gaston Bacherad's or Charles Taylor's) constituting an original "postmodern contrast" that portrays man as an expressivist subject, in which nature manifests itself most completely and discloses its power and values.

Practicing intellectual nomadism by Kenneth White, i.e. traveling around the world, staying in various exotic and homely places through writing philosophical treatises and the creative artistic development of the geopoetics project, does not reduce the figure of a nomad to a rhetorical topos being a metaphor of the condition of man in postmodernity. Nomadism becomes a living experience of many travelers and tourists. Following Kenneth White's footsteps, Mariusz Wilk, a Polish nomad of northern lands, set off on an unusual journey to Labrador. His journey bears the resemblance of White's "blue road", but also an in-depth and geopoetic "metaphysical touring" (Wilk, 2012). Although Kenneth White himself contrasted a nomad with a tourist, it appears quite obvious that many contemporary tourists can find in the vision of intellectual nomadism both an inspiration to experience their own travels more consciously and deeply and, quite often, a record of nostalgia, motives, ideas congenial to his own intentions and travel projects.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

JOURNEYS DEEP INTO ONESELF AND THE WORLD. PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTION

*Tomasz Sahaj**

"There is a conventional wisdom that journeys educate, primarily the educated people, who are able to get the most out of these journeys."
Kazimierz Krzysztofek

Summary: The task set by the author of this article is the presentation of "journey" (assertively distinguished from "tourism", especially mass tourism), as a uniquely comprehended philosophical adventure, which allows a person to meet oneself and others as well as a deepened experiencing of the world. The aim of such journeys is not only taking pleasure in them, but also genuine cognition, acquisition of knowledge about oneself. The work takes into consideration both the investigations of professional philosophers and sociologists, and the experiences of reflective travellers. Especially ones who are humanists by profession.

Key words: philosophy, travelling, tourism

In the first volume of Marcel Proust's famous *In Search of Lost Time* there is a few-page-long description of reminiscences and sensations caused by an intense sensual experience. They are generated in the memory by the recollection of a delicious, tea-dipped cookie (aromatic "madeleine") (pp. 46-49). The hundredth anniversary of the publication of this book, which is actually a mega-narrative, is celebrated this year. The main character, who is bedridden and nostalgic, takes a sentimental journey deep into himself and in time. He penetrates the intimate, mental world; his private microcosm. Just like Jerzy Pilch, who is immobilized and confined to his armchair because of depression wreaking havoc in his life, and the burdensome symptoms of Parkinson's disease, he meticulously – but with disgust – describes in his *Journals* (Pilch, 2012, *passim*) the train journeys which he hates.

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A similar, immanent "journey" was taken by a completely paralyzed British historian, Tony Judt, when he was nearing the end of his days. Throughout the day he dictated his childhood and adolescent recollections to his assistant. *The Memory Chalet*, which was also published in Poland, consists of his train journeys and cycling reminiscences[1] as well as his travel and adventure memoirs. In Judt's words: "Being afflicted with a neurological disorder I quickly lose control over words, although my contact with the world is limited to them. Still with impeccable discipline, they still formulate in the silence of my thoughts, and their combination did not diminish. A look from the inside is rich as always, but conveying it causes difficulties. Shapeless vowels and hissing consonants slip out of my mouth and they are incomprehensible even to my close coworker. The vocal muscle, which has been my unfailing *alter ego* for over sixty years, inevitably weakens. Communication, public speeches and asserting my rights are currently my *greatest weaknesses*. The transmission of existence into a thought, a thought into words and words into communication will be to difficult for me soon. I will be trapped in the rhetoric landscape of my inner reflections" (translated from the Polish edition of Judt, pp. 143-144). Like the peculiar, contemplative individual deep in the amber of literature, the snail immobilized in his shell, a human monad.

In his classic work, *The Sociology of Travel*, Krzysztof Podemski remarks: "**writing about 'the journey', 'the journeyer', 'the journeying one', I always think about the spatial mobility of the human being, which results in leaving 'home' and changing the current environment, at least the social one (...) the geographic (...), frequently the cultural (...) and the natural one.** The consequence of this relocation is that we find ourselves in at least a *different* (which is the same, however not the same) 'world'. (...) **In the meaning accepted here, *the journey* does not encompass the forms of spatial mobility – known from the dawn of humanity and described by anthropologists, historians or literary scholars (...) – like vagrancy, roaming, being a vagabond. Vagrants do not have *home*, or if one prefers, their home is *the road*" (p.** 8**).** According to the distinction made by this sociologist, journeying is something completely different from tourism. It is additionally emphasized by the classic sociologist of physical culture – Zbigniew Krawczyk – that "journey" is a category much broader than "tourism" (p. 18).

This article focuses on this specific kind of "journeying". First, it will mostly happen in the mental space of the "journeyer". Second, it will take

[1] The American philosopher, Robert Rowland Smith, accurately wrote about cycling reminiscences: "a bicycle is recognized as the inseparable attribute of childhood and the element of the most vivid recollections of salad years" (translated from the Polish Edition of *Driving with Plato: The Meaning of Life's Milestones*, p. 59)

him to the places where there is "nothing" to see (especially "to sightsee"), thereby making the journey "senseless" (at least from the standard tourist point of view). For the "journeyer", understood in this peculiar way, it is the course of the journey that is more meaningful. It does not necessarily have to take him to any particular destination. What really matters is what he experiences and comes to know on the way, including about his inner self. In that sense such sketchily characterized "journeyers" ("vagabonds", "vagrants") resemble philosophers, who desire cognition through self-reflection and by treating the world as an object, a generator of kaleidoscopic sensations.

In ancient times, many of those who sought knowledge travelled not only to the Egyptian priests for schooling but also to the native Temple of Apollo in Delphi, which was decorated with the inscription: "know thyself" (Greek *gnothi seauton*). In ancient Greece and medieval Europe, philosophers, who mostly travelled on foot, were recognized by a beard (however "a beard does not constitute a philosopher"), a cane (used to support the weary body and for protection from wild animals), light luggage (a few rolls of paper, some cheese, bread and wine) and modest travel clothing. This appearance roughly resembles the way in which *backpackers* look today (despite the similarities, their intentions are different than the philosphers' motives were). It is also similar to the *reporters* and the accounts of their own mental landscapes. In the eighteenth century, Jean Jacques Rousseau in *Emil, or On Education* interestingly wrote: "One time, wandering in the mountains and the valleys, longer than usual, we got completely lost in a place where there was no path. There was nothing wrong with it, because ultimately all paths are good, wherever they take us" (translated from Polish edition of Rousseau, p. 303). Robert R. Smith states: "Jacques Derrida, a French philosopher and a car enthusiast, created a neologism *destinerrance*, promoting that it is neither possible to turn aside from the road, nor to reach the destination. In order to be able to set out on a journey, you must consider both possible outcomes. This is meant by a journey – surrendering to the spirit of adventure, which also encompasses the possibility of being wiped out from the path, even when having the best maps in the world. Saint Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, will never defeat that spirit of unpredictability" (translated from Polish edition of Smith, pp. 105-106).[2]

In that sense and in the philosophical meaning, the journey might take place even *before* it physically starts. It is superbly expressed by Ryszard Kapuściński, who gets to the bottom of the matter: "After all, the journey does not start the very moment we set off on the road and it does not finish when we reach its end. In reality, it begins much earlier and practically never

[2] French *destination* – direction, place of destination. French *errance* – to wander, to roam.

ends because the memory tape still runs within us, although we physically have not moved anywhere for a long time. Indeed, there exists a phenomenon of being infected with the journey and this kind of disease is incurable" (pp. 79-80). It is also pointed out by R. R. Smith, the American philosopher previously quoted who relies on his French colleague's example: "There is one more interesting issue: you may be on holiday, while staying home. And what I mean here is in not the passing fashion of not going anywhere while being on holiday. I mean the idea of being on permanent holiday by staying away from oneself, which was described by the philosopher and globetrotter Jacques Derrida. He elaborated on this subject in his book *The Post Card*, a collection of imaginary postcards on philosophical themes. Derrida proves that our sense of existence comes from the messages that we send to ourselves e.g. when we hear our voice" (translated from the Polish edition of Smith, p. 112).

We "go on holiday", travel, or move across the world in search of exciting experiences or intensive sensations associated with exotic places that evoke certain impressions in our mind. For instance, it is easy to imagine a situation in which these impressions are evoked earlier; in "awaiting them", e.g. during intensive penetration of travel agent catalogues. "Before we even get on the plane, we have preconceived images of our travel destination. When talking to our friends or browsing travel catalogues and guidebooks, we ponder over what it is going to be like when we get there" (translated from the Polish edition of Dielemans, p. 78). We distance ourselves mentally from the common and vile edge of everyday life. In the nippy acts of transcending we insistently expect a "promised land", a mythical paradise of leisure, the golden fleece of *all inclusive*, the land of eternal pleasures visualized in Technicolor and remastered in the latest version of *Photoshop*. It is that kind of cognitive perspective, which John Urry calls "the tourist gaze" (pp. 13-35). That gaze is implemented institutionally and socially, it is tuned and programmed to a certain reception of "tourist goods".

Per analogiam, to exemplify this theme and to add variety to this disquisition, we may bring to mind a situation when we feverishly await the date and ideas about meeting a partner, which is at that moment still imagined. Let us also think about the actual encounter with that person, and about all the accompanying physiological, organic and cognitive consequences. Robert R. Smith states: "And since even when you are sitting at home in your armchair, you are simultaneously in two time zones, a question over journeying in time arises. It is presumably the real peak of journeying. Obviously, we will still broaden the boundaries of our space journeys (...) the real Holy Grail of holidays is not the space, but time. Undoubtedly, we have already mastered the gift of travelling in time thanks to our memory: the lightest

perfume scent is enough to take us back to the date from before years" (translated from the Polish edition of Smith, p. 113). Just like Proust's aromatic, tea-dipped "madeleine".

A long journey, a long weekend or a trip, holidays or vacations might all serve as a great opportunity to reflect. Setting out *on the road*, quite naturally requires concentration, intense intellectual effort and increased attention, and at the very least to think about whether all the seemingly necessary items have been prepared and packed: camera, tickets, documents, high factor sunscreen, credit cards, cell phone, guidebook, map, insurance policy, vouchers. Awareness reaches its limits and self-awareness intensifies (Why do I need so many things? Are they all necessary?). And when we reach our destination a peculiar thinking process occurs. Smith put it very well: "Holidays should be associated with bliss. The vitality of holiday fantasies shows that their charm is significantly a matter of the language. One of the reasons we turn our eyes away from the beggar waving her stump and we can 'immerse' ourselves in 'ancient' streets with 'exotic' root markets, is because travel catalogues do not depict ugliness. The moment we land we begin our search for elements that match the description. We feel great joy when these two worlds, the language and the reality, are compatible; when the phrase 'gentle white sand' matches a spongy mass under our feet. We see reality corrected by advertisements and we reconstruct it when writing about gentle sand to our family, photographing the sunset over the palm trees or when taking home a piece of indigo silk – just like the one in the guidebook. Holidays happen to the same degree in the language sphere as well as in physical space. Precisely defined vocabulary related to travel enchants reality, protecting it, like the guidebook, from the unpleasant interjections of reality. Luxury is nothing but a breach of reality, a drug numbing the senses" (Smith 2012a, p. 42).

Those who made the decision to immortalize the perceived reality on their camera's memory card, when returning home or soon after, may to their amazement notice that what they perceived is different from what they remembered. It is reflectively and poetically expressed by Dariusz Czaja: "A click of the shutter capturing the moment might as well be the kiss of death. (...) In the original there was more of everything, let alone everything was *different*"(p. 96). As noticed by essayist Susan Sontag, it is not so strange that already in the nineteenth century, the German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach recognized the appearance of photography as the beginning of a new epoch, which "prefers the image over the thing itself, the copy over the original, the symbol over the reality, the illusion over the being" (p. 140).[3]

[3] The author called the photographer "a thin layer of space and time". Her friend and life partner – Annie Leibovitz – converted the real world to a virtual one in her photographic nar-

It is perfect for an illustration of Plato's metaphor of the cave, a digression about the similarities and differences between the world of ideas and their material, earthly reflections (photographic prints?).

Ryszard Kapuściński vividly describes journeyers as bearing resemblance to Leibniz's monads, perceiving the surrounding reality at different ontological and metaphysical levels. "Living, we are surrounded by many inaccessible worlds that cannot be seen with the naked eye. We are not aware of their existence and it is probable that we will never reach them. Our imagination is too impoverished, out intuition too fallible and our knowledge too partial as well as limited. Therefore, we are frequently unaware that, at least theoretically, we could know many riches and oddities that are within our reach. But not many people have the willingness for that kind of cognition, it is an adventure undertaken by only few, a passion that rarely appears in man" (p. 114). Leszek Kołakowski, a "static" philosopher, put it epistemologically and touristically different from the mobile and intrusive reporter. Using a cane to move around for decades he described the journey and the cognition in the following manner: "No, we do not go on a journey to gain knowledge. Neither do we go to get away from our daily worries or to forget our problems for a brief moment. (...) No, it is not the thirst for knowledge or the desire to escape that we are driven by. It is curiosity, and curiosity seems to be a separate impulse that cannot be brought down to any other instincts" (Kołakowski 2004, pp. 44-45).

Standing in theoretical cognitive opposition and repeatedly disagreeing with that, taken out of the wider context, excerpt from philosopher's narrative, I would place his statement neither as the description of philosophical journeyers, who will be discussed further, nor their nostalgic and reflective penetrations of themselves and the world surrounding them, but rather of tourists devoid of deep reflection greedily consuming offers delivered by the thrifty "tourism industry". According to Piotr Rymarczyk and Joanna Femiak, such a nosy "traveller", who is rather a mass consumer of "offers" and "tourist products", has a slim "chance to understand the external reality or himself. The possibility of entering new discourses or dialogue situations with people who frequently represent a different world of patterns, norms and values is rejected. Striving for predictability and the reluctance to give up daily habits eliminates tourism-related elements of adventure, the real [not stereotypical] exoticism, the surprise and the contact with the unknown, also the unknown in oneself" (p. 169).

It is repeatedly noticed by Jennie Dielemans, a famous mass tourism critic, that regardless of which "trendy" destinations are considered all over the world, the *majority* of mass tourists most gladly choose *all inclusive.*

rations. She created oniric, thought-provoking images with the participation of famous sportsmen.

During their stay in the most exotic countries most of them spend their free time at the hotel: by the swimming-pool, at the beach or in a bar. Frequently, all three can be found within one hotel complex. Tourist activities organised in a way that is most profitable for travel agencies, *tour operators* and chain hotel owners, "(...) ceases to be an expression of the individual's interests, a means of expression, the source of inspiration and development of 'self' or identity creation, yet it becomes **identity in itself.** There is no self-knowledge, self-determination or free will behind the act of travelling, merely the urge to realize the social values that classify the individual by giving him/her a 'suitable' status" (p. 168). I would define such tourists as 'vacationers', calling them, just like Dean McCannel did, as a new leisure class. According to Thorsten Veblen, while this class used to be represented by the upper class, today it is the lower class that wants to maximize their (two-) week long holiday – social prosperity gained by trade unions – and spend it on eating, drinking, relaxation and commonly understood fun. Such willingly bought "souvenirs", T-shirts with a local beach imprint or postcards, are so delusively similar, as if they have been massively made by one global producer. Like the pictures in "exotic countries" under palm trees, taken with digital or mobile phone cameras: they are almost identical regardless of whether they were taken by the hotel swimming pool in Egypt, Turkey, Majorca or Tenerife. The more similar they are to the catalogue pictures ("clean water", "gentle sand", "sunny beach"), the better. A complete unification.

A declared anti-tourist – Daniel Kalder – moved further than others in his "pointless" and "senseless" peregrinations and in his iconoclastic and provocative statements. One of the points made in "manifesto" discusses the cognitive responsibilities of the "anti-tourist": "It is the journeyer's, the vagrant's duty to discover new fields of experience. In the world trampled down by tourists, these new fields are, out of necessity, landfill sites, various black holes and disgusting slums – all of which are in the normal course of events avoided. (…) anti-tourists are the only real discoverers" (p. 13). Kalder expressed his disgust with tourists in unceremonious words: "I really can't stand western townies who hang around the villages searching for faux-folk products faking authentic folk. This version of tourism grows out of nostalgia and the conviction that out there, somewhere, in a jerkwater town, in poverty, in faraway lands, the inalterable truth and beauty survived. I'm telling you it's rubbish. There is as much of the truth in the graffiti on the wall of a flat in Manchester, as there is in a filthy supermarket in Dundee. Encounters with noble peasants have nothing to do with discovering anything. It's escapism" (p. 208). "The philosophy of action" adopted by Daniel Kalder led him to places where there was really "nothing to see", especially to "sightsee". In these infertile, post-industrial locations, in post-

Soviet states, on the steppe-desert border, his mind, deprived of inspiration and sensations, had a brush with nothing(ness) and became suspended. This author usually welcomed this with peace or even with unconcealed joy. He permanently sought such places with premeditation and usually found them intuitively. Contrary to Kalder, a Polish journeyer and reporter, who is also a researcher of post-Soviet states, Jacek Hugo-Bader, is more anthropological in his approach. In *Dzienninki Kołymskie* he writes: "(...) I believe that you've got to have cancer or a seriously sick heart or head to live here. Have nothing to lose or no other way out to settle down in the atrocity pole. This is what people say or write about Kołym. Other times they talk about the worst nightmare of the twentieth century, the most dreadful, the cursed or the furthest island of *The Gulag Archipelago*, its severe pole, the Russian Golgotha, the white crematorium, the arctic hell, a Soviet labour camp without the furnaces or – pardon the expression – a meat-grinding and bone-crushing machine" (pp. 13-14). Why did the reporter go there, not once but many times, including hitchhiking during a severe Siberian winter? He answers the question himself: "I go to Komyła to see how people live in such a place, in the longest cemetery. Can one love, laugh and scream with joy here? And how do you cry, procreate, raise children, make money, drink vodka and die here? This is what I want to write about. And about what they eat here and how they pan gold, how they bake bread, pray, heal, dream, fight, punch..." (p. 22).

The phenomenon of journey cognition

The intensified reflectiveness during a journey is probably supported by a couple of aspects, among which is the mobility of perceiving the subject, overlapping with bypassed land(scapes); conversion of the movable image with a stream of thoughts, the penetrating movement of consciousness. Moreover, free time – out of necessity and at least to some extent – forces our reflectiveness. It is not without meaning that these journeyers with philosophical attitude towards each other and the world, quite often travel alone or with a few similar companions, at the most. They usually well understand the need to stay alone, at least *from time to time*, as the essential element of psychological hygiene, a mental reset, intellectual rectification, "catching one's breath". In addition, there is the natural and spontaneous openness of mind to new experiences that, in the journey, come from different people, from oneself and the world. When reading the journals, notes or recollections of some journeys written by reflective authors, those with philosophical provenance in particular, one gets an impression, which

seems symptomatic, that the words pour out from their works, that narration flows like the waves of the world that come to their mind – like circular ripples moving on the surface of a windswept lake. It is rather intentional that Plato's dialogues came into existence as a new genre, "a by-product" of his walks with students from his Academy. Maria Zowisło, a philosopher, expressed it synthetically and precisely: "Philosophy, that incredible human expression of the love of wisdom, goodness and beauty, is a process, an effort, a journey – the path of cognition, a peregrination towards the real being and the goodness of man" (p. 5).

A contemporary philosopher Krzysztof Środa, ironically enough, hates journeys. His idol is the ancient Cynic thinker, Diogenes of Sinope, who idly lies in the sun next to his barrel. Środa maintains: "I write about the things that happened, and I write about them in the order in which they happened – or in the order that I remember them in. Because I am not inventing anything I have great freedom of creating its content. I have to wait until the events sort themselves out and connect themselves. In that sense my book is neither a novel, nor just a journey diary" (a note from the cover). While reading his numerous travel novels, one might have the overwhelming impression that this philosopher, who peacefully and attentively observes the world, allows things to happen right in front of his eyes, to get out of the metaphysical matrix. He allows their natural coincidences to occur, the facts happening according to their own internal logic of phenomena, the eternal causative Aristotelian *logos*; the form overlapping the content on the way to the invisible teleological aim. The truth, whose relentless search is declared by almost all the adepts in philosophy, is nearly born in front of the attentive philosophers' eyes. Środa concludes: "Even if the world holds some mystery, whose understanding is our vocation, the journey is probably not the appropriate way to discover it. For if such a riddle exists, it should be accessible to the same degree as it is inaccessible, from any place in the world. I have come to this conclusion several times, but despite the fact that I cannot find a mistake in this reasoning, I do not believe it to be true. The problem has more than one formulation. If I take a picture to capture the truth about the world, it shouldn't matter where I point the lens. I will always photograph the world – the same world with its truth. Meanwhile, it always matters" (p. 51).

Interestingly, of the many possible oriental places for enlightening and spiritual observations on nature (2012, p. 79),[4] as well as the philosophical reflections and encounters with transcendence, Krzysztof Środa chose his

[4] This author believes that communing with nature supports entering the timeless dimension of spirituality and allows a deepened feeling of transcendence. He thinks that theological academies and seminaries should have lectures on natural science.

ancient idol's – Diogenes of Sinope – hometown. In Środa's words about this town: "It is harder to find a better place for parting with large-scale projects, not just journey projects. One can imagine that in Sinope, every single act of resignation not only ceases to signify the hallmark of life's failures, but gains the aspect of philosophical choice that is, quite naturally, free from dilemmas and regrets. That is the reason why when I was looking at satellite pictures of the Turkish coast, I looked closely at Diogenes's town. It seems, that contrary to some other towns, it has not grown much since ancient times. (...). I got to like this about Sinope" (2012, p. 26). Similarly to the author of this excerpt, who stood thoughtfully on the track of the ancient stadium in Olympia, at the remains of the splendour of Aristotle's school and Plato's Academy in Athens, confronting the images presented in the "subject bibliography" with the actual state, this is what Środa did, in a certain manner writing about himself as "a foreigner". "Scepticism is scepticism, but a foreigner did not use to read the Greek philosophers for nothing. So fifteen minutes later he walks down (...) and he remembers what it felt like to be a long dead stoneworker. It occurs to him that perhaps he is under an illusion. He thinks he experienced what Plato meant when he described the idea of a triangle, in which the real triangle took part. And maybe it was not about the ideal triangle, but equally ideal – as it is accessible in any place and at any time – is the state of the human mind that is thinking about the triangle or is drawing it on the sand. This is what a foreigner reads about these kinds of matters in scholarly books, and now he begins to suspect that he has just become convinced of their reality" (2012, p. 124).

It is equally well described by Magdalena Skopek, who is not a philosopher, but holds a doctorate in physics. She illustrates the phenomenon of cognition during a journey, especially in regions of the world that culturally differ significantly from our familiar axiological and socioeconomic contexts. Not only does she go on a journey using all possible means of sky, water and earth travel, and being moved by the simple directive – "the further away to the north of Europe, the better" – but she also inhabits, along with the modestly living natives, these parts of the world that interest her. Therefore, her reports are anthropological in their nature and neither Bronisław Malinowski or Claude Levi-Strauss, nor Victor Turner would be ashamed of them. They have indispensible cultural and philosophical value. Skopek assertively remarks: "How many factors have an influence on the way we feel or only on the way we perceive the world, let alone cognition. Cognition is such a complicated issue, that I doubt it is even possible. Mood and attitude will be in first place. Right after that, singularity will leave its mark. We will visit many places one time only, but that one time, that moment will be remembered forever. It will not be the town, the country, the tree or

the people who were passed by, but the subjective sensations and the ideas about them. If we could be there yesterday or today instead of tomorrow, if we passed by somebody else, if there was no sun, rain, fog or the hole in your shoe, then something else would sprout in our internal universe of ideas and because of that somehow we would be a bit different. What about the influence that time has on memories? What about the experiences we have already had? How do they shape what we perceive? Because how and why we see has an impact on how we see it, and ultimately that determines what we see" (pp. 91-92).

The Czech philosopher Karel Čapek, like Krzysztof Środa hates journeys, although their descriptions played a significant role in achieving his fame. Čapek writes: "I neither had any useful information, nor any plan on my journey; I planned it out by pointing my finger to some place on the map, quite often I was deluded by the beautiful name (...); yet in accordance with Hegel's belief that the Absolute Mind fulfils itself in a world in motion, these coincidences and whims led me to almost all the places, which (...) 'are must sees'" (translated from the Polish edition of Čapek, pp. 7-8). During the journey, a sharp mind rectifies the multitude of facts by ordering and systemising them as well as extracting their essence. This process is intensified and deepened as a result of strenuous physical activity (dopamine and endorphin release, systematic brain oxygenation), which is unanimously confirmed by the following bike travellers: Andrzej Bobkowski, David Byrne, Kazimierz Nowak, Tomasz Węcławski vel Polak and Piotr Dunak. Dunak wrote: "The road hypnotises, it completely cleanses the senses, takes the brain out and washes it in the rain, and then puts it back through the nostrils. It happens over and over and over again. Nothing else counts at that moment, I feel like a non-human, like a human hybrid with a bike, a machine that swallows kilometres" (p. 79).

Authors who kayak have similar opinions – such as Marek Bieńczyk for instance – and also Jacek Hugo-Bader who penetrates the world on his cross-country skis. The latter comments on the culture-making power of such expeditions: "I'm never bored. I like looking at the trees. I always have lots of things to think over. When I reach an impasse and can't move forward with the text, then running around the forest is my last resort. (...) All of a sudden new ideas come to me" (2013, p. 15). This journeyer and reporter "infected" his whole immediate family and his friends with cross-country skiing. They are addicted to physical effort which supports reflections on the world. Most often they ski in the forest near their home, but they also enjoy going on long distance trails, which has a similar cognitive result that is so familiar to cross-country skiers. It was in the backwoods and forest clearings where Friedrich Hölderlein, a German romantic poet and a sophisti-

cated wanderer, sought truth. He inspired numerous philosophers, including Martin Heidegger who sought the meaning of human existence thrown into this world, or Hans-George Gadamer who wished to clarify that being-in-the-world. An interesting thought which might crown this article was expressed by the philosopher and traveller, and author of many travel books, Marek Kamiński: "Sometimes you must go very far in order to find what is close and meaningful. The most captivating journeys are the ones deep into oneself – but oneself as a human being" (pp. 28-29). Journeys understood in this way can be the ideal ally for subjects with a philosophical and reflective mindset, who desire both the cognition of the world as well themselves.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

TOURISM AS XENOLOGY? APORIA OF STRANGENESS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PHILOSOPHY AND TRAVEL

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Abstract: The article presents strangeness as one of the key categories in tourism and in philosophy. The main feature of strangeness is its aporetic nature, which makes strangeness impenetrable to human perception and knowledge. The article uses philosophical instruments, including the phenomenological approach, to analyze the impenetrability of strangeness. At the same time, the author strives to decide whether tourism can be understood as xenology. The author comes to the conclusion that the very impenetrability of strangeness makes this impossible. Nevertheless, tourism sciences could and should continually analyze the phenomenon of strangeness, grounding their research in anthropological, ethnological, and philosophical studies. In this way, in spite of the aporetic nature of strangeness, one can at least counteract ethnic pride and ethno-chauvinism, even if one can never acquire full knowledge of a stranger.

Key words: strangeness, xenology, aporia, culture, tourism, ethnology, anthropology, postmodernism

> Das Fremdem (ξένον) bildet kein Grundbegriff der klassischen Philosophie. Es gibt hier nichts was, sofern es überhaupt ist und so oder so ist, sich als fremd erweist. Auch der Mensch hat seinem Wesen gemäß einen Logos, der allen Menschen gemeinsam ist; je mehr der Mensch sich in seinem Tun und Denken vom Logos leiten lässt, um so weniger unterscheidet er sich von seinen Mitmenschen. Im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Kommt bei der Griechen zwar der Unterschied zwischen Griechen und Barbaren auf, doch dabei handelt es sich um einen vertikalen, nich um einen horizontalen Unterschied. Der Fremdheistkegel verjüngt sich nach oben hin, je mehr man sich der Vernunft annähert.[1] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 9)

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[1] "Strangeness (ξένον) is not a main concept in classical philosophy. There is nothing in there that appears to be strange, supposing that such things exist or exist only in one way. A man also has, according to his nature, a logos (λόγος) that is common to all men. The more man allows his logos to influence his thinking and activities, the less he is different from other people. In the fifth century BC, distinctions between Greeks and barbarians emerged, but it was a vertical difference, not horizontal. The cone of strangeness narrows towards the top as man is getting close to reason" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 12).

> Tourism should be planned and practised as a privileged means of individual and collective fulfillment; when practised with a sufficiently open mind, it is an irreplaceable factor of self-education, mutual tolerance and for learning about the legitimate differences between peoples and cultures and their diversity. *(Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*, Article 2, Paragraph 1)

Introduction

The term "xenology" was created by Leopold-Joseph Bonny Duala-M'Bedy, a Cameroonian political scientist and sociologist, who had been working and publishing his writings in Germany. He was a visiting professor at universities in Düsseldorf, Bremen, and Bochum. In 1977, Duala-M'Bedy published a book entitled *Xenologie – Die Wissenschaft vom Fremden und die Verdrängung der Humanität in der Anthropologie*. In this book the author makes a critical assessment of the approach to the stranger while problematizing mostly cultural differences. The work of Duala-M'Bedy is considered to be the beginning of xenology as a discipline of science. The main fields of interest of xenology are currently the forms of manifestation of strangeness, the evaluation of cultural strangeness, the relationship between familiar and strange, the issues of intercultural understanding, stereotypes, prejudices, and xenophobia. The etymology of the word xenology is also interesting. Duala-M'Bedy reached for the Greek ancient word *xenios*, which means the stranger and guest, and to the mythical definition of strangeness that has its origin in the *Odyssey*, where Zeus was presented as "Zeus Xenios" – the god who protects strangers.

The concept of xenology in political science and sociology was quickly adapted in philosophy, where it extends above the **science of strangeness**, reaching a deeper and meta-theoretical analysis of the **philosophy of the Stranger** (viewed from the perspective of an individual as well as in the perspective of community – especially in a cultural context). Obviously, the analytical approach both to strangeness and to the categories of strangeness did not emerge in philosophy recently. However, we are currently witnessing a renaissance in interest of this particular issue – already categorized as a subject of xenology. Contemporary phenomenologists such as Bernhard Waldenfels, as well as postmodern philosophers such as Julia Kristeva, are especially keen to consider the concept of xenology. Although the motif of the stranger also appears in the works of other thinkers, such as Emmanuel Levinas and Martin Buber, in their case the focus was more on **the other** rather than on **the stranger** (a subtle but important difference). Furthermore, in Levinas's work, the other is at the same time the Other (the face

of the other is the face of God); whereas in Buber's work, the fundamental point is not the explication of strangeness, but the principle of dialogue and the category of "Between."

The presented text intends to explore neither the area of metaphysics nor the philosophy of dialogue. We will mainly be interested in the presence of strangeness in the perspective of post-Husserl phenomenology, philosophical anthropology, and the philosophy of culture as well as ethnology and science of tourism. This, then, explains the selection of the authors whose works will be used in our analysis.

Aporia and utopias

The two passages quoted in the opening of this paper present two utopian visions. However, in spite of their utopian character, each of them also contains (hidden) aporia or, at least, the beginning of aporia that is related to strangeness. In philosophy, aporia denotes a serious difficulty or a matter of argument (Greek *aporema* – to make helpless, or to raise doubt). Aporia understood in a classical way appears in epistemology (e.g., in ancient times, the logical aporia of the Megarian school). However, it is also observed in metaphysics (e.g., the aporetic dialectic of J. Maritain as a method of metaphysics). But if the concept of aporia is understood in a slightly less scientific and more metaphorical way, as helplessness or doubts regarding weighing two different reasons that appear to be equally strong and valid, then one can also encounter it when assessing various phenomena. This includes the phenomenon of strangeness, which can be viewed not only from the perspective of philosophy, but also from the perspective of journey (in the strictly touristic sense).

Bernhard Waldenfels, in his interpretation of xenios, which was described as a balanced concept (or even defused) with the help of logos, reaches to popular utopia, in which ancient Greece, or more accurately ancient Greek philosophy, is shown as a forever lost Arcadia of reason. In the Hellas world, which is full of sun, beauty and perfect proportion, everything is in such rational order that it can neither be disturbed by any irrationality nor, therefore, by any phobia, i.e., **a morbid, irrational** fear of something (e.g., of a stranger). Logos unites everything and everyone in harmonious community. Although B. Waldenfels admits that in the fifth century BC Greeks had already been making a distinction between them and those who they called barbarians, he immediately minimizes this dichotomy: "dabei handelt es sich um einen vertikalen, nich um einen horizontalen Unterschied"[2]

[2] "…it is about a vertical difference, not horizontal (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 12).

(Waldenfels, 1997, p. 16). Meanwhile, the matter is neither trivial nor simple. Gernot Böhme, who perfectly analyzes it, points out that the etymology of word "barbarian" carries a negative connotation. The Greek word *barbaros* refers to a "foreigner," but its literal meaning refers to a person who "mumbles" – a stranger whose language we do not know. Therefore, it suggests that language that is **unintelligible** is at the same time **nonsensical**. G. Böhme writes:

> Wo der Hellene nichts verstehen kann, da gibt es auch nichts zu verstehen. Die Barbaren gelten als ungebildet, roh, feige, als gewalttätig. Am stärksten drückt sich die Disqualifizierung der anderen Menschen in der Gleichsetzung von Sklaven und Barbar aus. Diese Gleichsetzung hat ihren Grund darin, dass die Sklaven in Hellas meistens Angehörige anderer unterworfener Völker waren. Sie wird aber bei Aristoteles zu einem Wesensmerkmal hochstilisiert und auf die Formel gebracht, dass von Natur der Barbar und der Sklave dasselbe sei.[3] (Politik 1252 A 8) (Böhme, 1998, p. 223)

According to Waldenfels, problems with perception of strangeness began with the modern age, where "die große Gesamtordnung zersplittert"[4] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 16). The geographical discoveries contributed to that, since with the discovery of new lands, new cultures were naturally encountered. Thus, according to Waldenfels, contact with radical strangeness becomes a challenge for us. Why a challenge? Because we realize more clearly that "daß es keine Welt gibt, in der wir völlig heimisch sind, und dass es keinen Subjekt gibt, das Herr im eigenen Hause wäre"[5] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 17). What is worse, before the modern age it was unknown "wieweit diese Herausforderung angenommen, wieweit sie verdrängt wird"[6] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 17). Although Waldenfels's evaluation of the modern age is accurate, the author does not seem to notice that the aporetic difficulty, in relation to the inconceivable meaning of strangeness that results from its

[3] "Where Hellen cannot understand anything, there is nothing to be understood. Barbarians are considered uneducated, uncouth, cowardly, and brutal people. Disqualification of people different than Hellenes is strongly expressed in degrading a barbarian to the role of slave; for in Hellas slaves were frequently recruited from foreigners, members of conquered nations. However, Aristotle raised this fact to the rank of important feature and concluded that 'barbarians are slaves by nature'" (*Politics*, 1252 A8) (translation based on Polish edition of Böhme, 1998, p. 192).

[4] "an overall great order is falling apart" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 12).

[5] "world in which we would feel at home and would makes us masters in our own house does not exist" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 12).

[6] "to what extent such a challenge was taken or rejected" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 12).

interpretation as nonsensical, begins in the golden era of Hellas. Already then, the logos that was present in the alien, who was understood as a barbarian, sufficed only for the alien to be a slave, that is, to serve as a "speaking tool." Without a doubt, ancient times witnessed the instrumentalization and objectification of the alien, including his depreciation and exploitation. Even the reformist view of the Stoic school does not change that. Already in ancient times a stranger was considered as a sub-human who was radically different from "the right people." An alien was different from "the right people," that is, from free man (Greek citizens, and later Roman citizens), who did not have to earn a living and who were able to cultivate their logos thus to intensify their humanity. In the 20th century, which specialized in defying the degrees of humanity (*Übermensch, Untermensch*), Tadeusz Borowski, prisoner of Auschwitz, wrote: "Only now I realized the price of ancient times. (...) These ancient times that were a huge concentration camp (...) You remember how I liked Plato. Now I know that he lied. (...) We were dirty and we were dying for real. They were aesthetic and were pretending to discuss" (translation based on Polish original of Borowski, 2009, p. 70).

The second motto, the fragment from the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, can be also read in light of aporetic utopia. The assumption that learning about the differences between nations and cultures increases an individual's tolerance resembles the Socratic utopia, according to which getting to know Good is sufficient to want to pursue it, or the modern communicative utopia of Jürgen Habermas, who assumes that understanding is equal to agreement, and that it is a primary goal for all human endeavors. Meanwhile, unfortunately, learning about ethnic and cultural differences can lead to the cultural pride of one nation and to ethno-chauvinism. Furthermore, getting to know an alien may cause a shock of alien-experience, which makes tolerance even more difficult. At best, instead of being completely tolerant, a person may **tolerate the** strangeness while having a sense of paternalistic superiority or hidden (or not) dislike.

At last, we may ask the question: What is the meaning of the phrase "tourism that is practiced with a sufficiently open mind?" When we assume that tourism practiced with a sufficiently open mind refers to the extent to which a person gets to know a alien, then, in such case, tourism at first glance may be considered as xenology (science of strangeness), especially when we consider the idea in which the Code above shows tourism to be an "irreplaceable factor of **self-education**" (emphasis by A.S.-R.). But is this epistemological perspective of tourism not utopian itself? Another issue is that self-education can possibly shape one's self-reinforced conviction containing negative stereotypes and prejudices, which may be

intensified with each subsequent trip. From this point of view, should the phrase "travel broadens the mind" be followed by the question "How does it broaden the mind?"

Tourism relies on contact with a stranger and at the same time refers to the process of getting to know a stranger. Aporia take place when we realize that we cannot fully comprehend strangeness while, at the same time, strangeness will keep its status of being strangeness.

Over the course of time and the development of history of humankind, the status and definition of strangeness is changing; things are becoming more complicated rather that simpler. The creation and development of this wide-ranging interaction, which we call tourism, does not solve the problem of strangeness. However, we may formulate a hypothesis that the analysis of strangeness undertaken by philosophers, ethnologists, and writers may bring, if not the solution of aporia of strangeness, but instead a better understanding of what is the aporetic overtone (and often a paradoxical overtone as well) of strangeness that confronts us during trips and while practicing tourism. When talking about trips and travelling, we refer to travels that require of a traveler or tourist to make contact with remote cultures that exist far from his world and are not well known by him.

Phenomenology of alien

When we study tourism, it would be especially worthwhile to deploy interesting ideas found in the previously cited work of Bernhard Waldenfels, entitled *Topographie des Fremden. Studien zur Phänomenologie des Fremden*. Clearly, we won't conduct an in-depth study of the author's subtle or even sophisticated phenomenological analyses; rather, we will try to identify the keynote or thrust of his work. The "map" of an alien created by B. Waldenfels doesn't allow us to understand the complexity of strangeness, but instead it provides an opportunity to realize the presence of such complexity.

Therefore, we may question if and how the perception of strangeness would change during travels if we thought about strangeness and the alien as something/someone who has certain **claims** that need to be answered. In spite of the fact that these claims needed to be answered, however, they can never be formulated. Why is that? Because alien/alien-experience is, at the same time, an **event** that is absolute and final. It means that strangeness affects us (as the entity experiencing strangeness) in a real and direct way, yet at the same time it does not allow us to go beyond the line of strangeness in order to look at it from the objective perspective. According

to B. Waldenfels, the same absolute and final nature in every man's life has the event of his own birth. We cannot look at the fact of our birth objectively, as we are not able to determine what is the right approach to refer to our own birth. The absolute and final nature of strangeness offers one of the main explanations of the existence of the irremovable aporia related to strangeness. Strangeness is notoriously hard to comprehend due to the fact of its unfamiliarity.

The challenge issued by strangeness – treated here as an **intentional phenomenon** – is thus about understanding the **identity of the cognitive subject** and not about understanding **outside-the-subject strangeness**. It could be argued that in this way xenology (the science of strangeness) is transformed into the study of "ipse" (learning about ourselves). The alien defines me. Familiarity of one's identity can be discerned only because beyond one there is strangeness. Therefore, a basic question that we can ask is: Who or what we are meeting during our travels around the world? Aliens? Or, are we instead meeting ourselves? According to Socrates' words "know thyself," can we conclude that all travels are ultimately brought to the one, the interpersonal journey? (From this perspective, we may look differently at "Kant's case," having never left Königsberg).

According to B. Waldenfels, strangeness is something that **comes over** or sometimes (depending on the kind of strangeness, which will be discussed later) is something that **comes as surprise** and somehow **shakes** the foundation of our entity. However, the thesis that during such shock we get to know ourselves not strangeness is still valid, as there is no real possibility of comprehending strangeness.

Thus, from the phenomenological point of view introduced by B. Waldenfels, the problem of globalization, including the process of mass tourism, would consist of making self-exploration difficult or even impossible for an individual. In the world of globalization, the study of ipse is put to question, although for different reasons than xenology. In this case, it is not about internal conditions (the aporetic quality of xenios), but about the consistent realization of an external process called globalization. Globalization, as Jean Baudrillard repeatedly indicated in his brilliant analysis, establishes global mass *dis-culture*, which is indifferent to axiogenic tensions present in the axiosphere. Thus, it leads to gradual annihilation of cultural diversity (see Smrokowska-Reichmann, 2008). Destruction of strangeness and cultural non-reducibility weaken the sense of one's own familiarity, and even the sense of identity. In the preface of B. Waldenfels' *Topography of Strange*, Stanisław Czerniak claims that Waldenfels' works contains a warning against familiarization with strangeness that is too far reaching.

B. Waldenfels (2002) states: "Etwas zeigt sich ihm, indem es sich ihm entzieht"[7] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 9). This "something" is a strangeness the author wants to describe in terms of place (hence the title). Strangeness is understood as a place that is **non-place** (*Nich-Ort).* Thus, B. Waldenfels clearly refers to Husserl, since when intentionally referring to strangeness one refers to something that is originally unavailable for him. Therefore, we are facing an **availability of unavailability** that refers to the place regarded as a territory of speech, time and figuratively understood boundaries, connections, ties and paths and not the to place understood as a geographical area. Accordingly, we can indicate here Waldenfels' reference not only to Husserl's phenomenology, but also to the theories of G. Deleuz and F. Guattari (a nomad who leaves no traces of his journey). Waldenfels also refers to W. Welsch (transversal reason and transversal subject), P. Virilio (speed-space that replaces time-space and dromology), and to Z. Bauman (postmodern entity as vagabond or tourist).

The aforementioned absolutism and finality of strangeness requires that this phenomenon must be understood as non-place, since according to Waldenfels (2002): "Das Fremde befindet sich nicht einfach anderswo, es ist ähnlich wie Schlafen von Wachen, Gesundheit vom der Krankheit, Alter von der Jugend durch eine Schwelle vom jeweils Eigenen getrennt"[8] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 21). Therefore, the phenomenon of strangeness is eventually named by Waldenfels (2002) as a hyper-phenomenon, because "das Fremde seine Phänomalität, seine Sinngestaltung und Regelstrukturen, sein Fürunssein sprengt und uns selbst in unserer Eigenheit in Frage stellt"[9] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 18). Thus, hyper-phenomenality of strangeness will rely on pushing the cognitive exploration of familiarity to its limit, outside of which familiarity, or even identity, turns out to be a quasi-epiphenomena of strangeness.

Therefore, Waldenfels proposes two binary structures: intersubjective and intrasubjective strangeness, as well as intercultural and intracultural strangeness. Perceiving the strangeness that is external in relation to the cognitive subject may lead the subject to a disturbing discovery of an inscrutable alien **inside** the subject. The same applies to cultural perspective. In

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[7] "Something appears to us when it slips away" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 3).

[8] "Strangeness does not simply exists somewhere else and, from what is in particular case considered as one's own, is separated by a certain threshold - like sleep is separated from wakefulness, health from sickness, adulthood from youth" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 17).

[9] "Strangeness expands its phenomenality, its forms of meaning and structures of rules, and its existence for us. It makes us question ourselves and our sense of ownership" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 13, 14).

fact, strangeness is a phenomenon that is inseparable from the cognitive subject. It always accompanies the subject, no matter from which point of view it would be perceived. Irremovable and inscrutable strangeness introduces to Self and to native culture some internal distance between selfness and non-selfness. In order to find an analogy, we may say that J. Derrida, on the hermeneutic level, calls such distance a *différance* and J. Baudrillard, on the ontological level, refers to it as an inevitable dis-placement. These are only other (in truth, more attractive) names for an observation that has been already made by others. As Waldenfels (2002) states: "Freud und andere vor ihm und nach ihm haben mit dem Gedanken aufgeräumt, das Ich sei Herr im eigenen Hause"[10] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 24). Strangeness in us and in our culture, understood as an irremovable and incomprehensible distance, is another form of non-place. Such experience is expressed in the fragment of a poem of the Japanese wandering poet Basho, who is cited by B. Waldenfels (2002): "Im Kyoto wohnend sehne ich mich, beim Schrei des Kuckucks, nach Kyoto"[11] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 33).

B. Waldenfels' phenomenology of strangeness thus presents strangeness as a plural phenomenon, since we can assign to each order of reality (therefore of different cultures, lives of individuals, and communities) different forms of strangeness. He also presents strangeness as a gradual phenomenon. In the first place, we can indicate normal or daily strangeness, i.e., a passerby on the street can be an alien to us, although we all belong to one order of reality. Secondly, there is a structural strangeness, which belongs to the other order of reality that is different than ours. It is a different calendar, ritual, language, or even a different way of non-verbal communication, such as gestures and facial expressions. Thirdly, there is a radical strangeness that remains outside of any order, i.e., beyond the order of consciousness (the strangeness would be dream) or even beyond the order of life (the strangeness would be death) (Waldenfels, 2002, p. 35). To the radical strangeness also belongs the so-called phenomenon of breakthrough, in which there is transition from one order to another. This is exemplified by Waldenfels with the idea of revolution. Radical strangeness gives the impression of being a timeless and non-spatial phenomenon; this, of course, is only an impression. Dream, death, revolution and eroticism (another example of Waldenfels') are also realized in time and space; as radical non-places, however, they are completely hard to comprehend for the subject experiencing them.

[10] "Freud, and others before him and after him, questioned the idea of Self being a master in self's own house" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 24).

[11] Living in Kyoto when I hear the cuckoo, I miss Kyoto" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 33).

Depending on the destination, a tourist when travelling mainly encounters normal and structural strangeness; less often radical strangeness. Countries protect their citizens from experiencing the consequences of this particularly dangerous form of strangeness, warning them about travelling to places of political conflicts or at risk of natural disasters. It should be kept in mind, however, that despite all the security measures and precautions, radical strangeness might also strike us and catch us by surprise, giving further evidence of the contingent and dispensable nature of human existence.

Ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism

Strangeness can also have various vectors (Waldenfels, 2002, p. 37), since an individual may feel an outsider among others, or he may experience others as strangers in comparison to him. It seems that in the case of Western civilization, vectors of strangeness are mainly directed from strangers towards myself. Those others are strangers to me. It happens not only when we are exposed to strangeness in our own culture (i.e., to immigrants), but also while traveling, when we perceive the local inhabitants as strangers instead of feeling alien ourselves. Western civilization, with its sense of self-confidence and superiority, successfully protects us from experience of being strangers to others. We usually consider our behavior to be "a model of normality" (*Maßstab der Normalität* (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 45), but the behavior of others (those strangers) appears to be "als Anomalie, als Abweichung vom Normalen"[12] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 45). Understanding strangeness as an anomaly is in ethnocentrism's favor and is defined by B. Waldenfels as Europocentrism. We expect other cultures to adapt to our culture, not vice versa. Our order is seemed as the only proper one, a universal order. Not only can this be observed in the participants of mass tourism, but in the works of prominent philosophers (even of the modern age) as well. In this context, B. Waldenfels recalls the opinion of Hegel, who in his *Encyclopedia* stated that Chinese ideograms, as compared to our letters, are vague and confusing. Waldenfels is not trying to prove that Chinese ideograms are more precise and "better" than our alphabet; instead, he notices that:

> Doch fragwürdig ist und bleibt der Überlegenheitsgestus, mit dem verschiedene Schriftarten einem einzigen Maßstab unterworfen werden, als wäre nicht denk-

[12] "…an anomaly, a deviation from what is normal" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 43).

> bar, dass etwa der pikturale Schrifftyp in seiner mehrdimensionalen Bildlichkeit und Räumlichkeit gegenüber Linearität der Buchstabenschrift eigene Vorzüge bewahrt und dass diese umgekehrt eine gewisse Verarmung der sprachlichen Ausdrucksmittel bewirkt.[13] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 81)

Ethnocentrism is not only characteristic of our culture. Perhaps the whole difference lies in the fact that other cultures can express their cultural pride in less direct (more elegant?) ways than we do. An excerpt from Herman Hesse's *Bilderbuch*, a chronicle of his close and distant journeys (Italy, India), can be used as an example of Waldenfels' observation. In the chapter entitled "Night on the Suez Canal," Hesse (2005) recalls:

> Auf dem Hinterdeck treffe ich einen kleinen, eleganten Chinesen aus Schanghai. (...) Er kann das ganze Schi-king auswendig, er hat alle chinesischen Examina gemacht und jetzt auch noch einige englische, er spricht über das Mondlicht über dem Wasser zart und nett in geläufigen Englisch und macht mir Komplimente über schönen Landschaften Deutschlands und der Schweiz. Es fällt ihm nie ein, China zu rühmen, aber wenn er Lobendes über Europa zu sagen hat, klingt es bei aller Höflichkeit so überlegen, wie wenn große Bruder nett ist und dem kleineren zu seinen starken Armen gratuliert.[14] (Hermann Hesse, 1987, p.)

According to Gernot Böhme, the essence of ethnocentrism depends on the evaluation of others from the perspective of one's own culture. It is a natural and typical behavior of human beings, as natural and typical is also the preference of familiarity rather than strangeness. However, ethnocentrism characteristic for our civilization should be identified as exceptional due to the fact that we evaluate other cultures with the use of scientific methods. According to G. Böhme, it is a main cause of the expansiveness and domination of our ethnocentrism. What is more, any efforts to weaken ethnocentrism are doomed to failure because "selbst der Versuch der Überwindung des Eurozentrismus eurozentrisch bleibt, denn er wird

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[13] "Gesture of superiority, that compares different types of writings according to one measure, remains questionable. As it was impossible to think, for example that pictograms, in their multidimensional figurativeness, have some benefits, in compare to linearity of alphabet that contains certain impoverishment of linguistic means of expression" (translation based on Polish edition of Waldenfels, 2002, p. 85).

[14] "On the back deck I meet a short, elegant Chinese man from Shanghai. (...) He knows all the Shijing by heart, passed all the Chinese exams, recently even a few English ones. With the moon's reflection on the water, he speaks gentle, pleasant, and fluent English while he tells me compliments about the beautiful German and Swiss landscape. He would never think about glorifying China, but when he praises Europe he express it with such courtesy that is underlined with superiority, as if an older brother was trying to be nice and congratulate his younger brother strong arms" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 64).

mit den Mitteln der Wissenschaft unternommen"[15] (Böhme, 1985, p. 222). Therefore, we confuse ourselves with similar aporia and paradoxes, as it has happened to many postmodern philosophers, who in order to negate the existence of modernist rationality were using for this purpose tools that belonged to… modernist rationality.

It can be argued that despite the rapid development of the science of tourism, the practice of tourism is conducted without using scientific methods (unlike ethnology); hence, tourism might indeed be the only area in which Western people escape the limits of their ethnocentrism. Therefore, is a tourist a person who "das Fremde als solche anerkennt und mit ihm umgehen kann"[16] (Böhme, 1985, p. 222)? In light of the previous analyses, this question would mean that tourist could accept the aporetic and inscrutable nature of strangeness, while refraining from any evaluation. It would also mean that a tourist knows how to overcome hierarchical thinking about alien and can achieve self-understanding by accepting different manifestation of human existence (Böhme, 1998, pp. 191, 192). Perhaps some tourists happen to behave this way, but this seems to be an exception. Most of the "regular," so-called mass tourists unfortunately belong to the type of tourist presented by Jennie Dielemans in her famous book *Welcome to the Paradise. Reports on Tourism Industry*. Even if none of the tourists or the trip organizers would make the fatal mistakes mentioned by Dielemans, or if all travelers around the world would be as sensitive, ethical, and intelligent as Herman Hesse or Claude Levi-Strauss, the ethnocentrism (also the one of tourism) could not be avoided. This again stems from the aporia that is characteristic for the phenomenon of strangeness. Ethnocentrism means that cultural and national differences are perceived as anthropological differences; the irremovable preference of familiarity is the factor that facilitates a depreciation of strangeness. G. Böhme (1998) proposes two explanations for the phenomenon of this inevitable anthropological differentiation. First, generally speaking, to recognize human being one must do it only through recognizing his particular cultural manifestations. Secondly,

> Gerade weil Menschsein in kultureller Ausprägung besteht, wird es in der Regel erfahren als etwas, das man leisten muß. Das man sich anbringt, das durch eine bestimmte Steigerung zu erreichen ist (...) Weil wir uns, was wir sind (und worauf wir stolz sind) erarbeiten und anbringen müssen, führt die Differrenz von uns und den anderen zu einer Hierarchie der Fremdbilder. Das andere wird

[15] "an attempt to overcome Eurocentrism remains Eurocentric, since it is made with the help of scientific methods" (translation based on Polish edition of Böhme, 1998, p. 191).

[16] "accepts the strangeness as it is and knows how to cope with it" (translation based on Polish edition of Böhme, 1998, p. 191).

> gesehen als dasjenige, was zu überwinden ist, das, was wir bei uns nicht zulassen, oder was nur als eine Vorstufe zu unserem eigenen Sein anzusehen ist.[17] (Böhme, 1985, p. 227)

If we look at tourism from the perspective of the above quote, we may conclude the disturbing assumption that contact with an alien for most travelers would reassure them in their ethnocentrism rather than leading to the relativization of it. It is partially connected with some irremovable feature of human existence that strengthens the effect of aporia of strangeness. The aforementioned feature refers to a desire to create structure and order, while avoiding the chaos that ignites strong anxiety in people. Let us now examine this interesting issue a little more closely.

Chaos and disgust

We may propose a thesis that one of the main motivations behind tourism (or, even more generally, travel) is the desire to meet something new, unknown, and different from everything that surrounds as every day. However, the new, unknown, and different mostly turns out to be simply **strange** with all the consequences of the phenomenon of strangeness, with its integral aporetic characteristics. It turns out that we are unable to get to know strangeness in the way we (consciously or unconsciously) had hoped. What is more, strangeness appears to be fascinating, but at the same time dangerous, because it poses a threat to the reality familiar to us and that is a part of us. Strangeness is at the same time temptation and threat. The first contact with a stranger makes one realize this risky duality, yet still we are tempted by the idea of travelling or philosophizing. This is because, according to B. Waldenfels (2002), travel and philosophy have something in common:

> Bedrohlich ist sie, da das Fremde dem Eigenen Konkurrenz macht, es zu überwältigen droht; verlockend ist sie, da das Fremde Möglichkeiten wachruft, die durch die Ordnungen des eigenen Lebens mehr oder weniger ausgechlossen sind. Diese Ambivalenz durchdringt auch den Ursprung der Philosophie, die

[17] "…because of the fact that humanity depends on cultural articulations, it is usually perceived as something that has to be achieved, get, reached at the certain path of development (...) **Since we, the way we are (what we are proud of), have to improve ourselves, since we have to achieve our own identity, the difference between us and others creates hierarchy of images of what is strangeness. Strangeness is considered as something that needs to be overcome, something that we do not tolerate within ourselves, or as something that we consider an initial step to our own existence** (translation based on Polish edition, p. 196) (highlighted by A.S.-R.).

> sowohl aus dem Staunen wie aus der Angst geboren ist und die mit dem Eros wie mit dem Tod im Bunde steht. In beiden Fällen entzieht sich das Fremde der bestimmenden Einordnung.[18] (Waldenfels, 1997, p. 44)

Whereas Waldenfels refers to strangeness as non-place, Zygmunt Bauman (2000) takes a different approach and describes strangers as people "who cannot be put on a cognitive, aesthetic, or moral map of a world that is being experienced – on one of these maps, or on all at once" (translation based on Polish original, p. 35). The isomorphic theme is somehow continued in Bauman's work, but this time the thing that is impossible to perform is not to recognize "the map" of strangeness but to place the stranger on any "map," that is, to put him in any order familiar to an individual. In the end, by using a different approach we realize the same: we cannot fully understand strangeness by means of epistemological methods.

Can we find the reason for which strangeness remains difficult to be established as a structure or to be defined within a familiar structure? Perhaps the most accurate answer to this question has been given by Gernot Böhme, who stated that self-understanding has reached the level at which we perceive ourselves in the category of the whole world, and thus it "closed" its borders (it is worth noticing that in Wittgenstein, the process of closing is realized by language!). "Alles, was ist, gehört demnach zu unserer Welt. Fremdes erscheint deshalb als Mangel. Es ist dasjenige, was sich unserer Welt nicht hinreichen fügt"[19] (Böhme, 1985, p. 22). Z. Bauman (2000) also points out that we still tend to draw borders (in aesthetic, moral, and cognitive senses), which is why sooner or later we will meet people who "refuse to honor the divisions that decide about an organized life, and thus a reasonable one" (translation based on Polish original, p. 35). In Böhme's opinion (1998), even ethnographers experience anxiety and fear in contact with the unknown, which sometimes may turn out be a shock since "im Fremden zunächst nahezu alle gewohnten Orientierungsmuster versagen"[20] (Böhme, 1985, p. 228).

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[18] "[Strangeness] is a threat because strangeness poses competition to familiarity and is able to overcome it; it is a temptation because it creates new opportunities that, to a greater or lesser extent, were excluded from our order of reality. This ambivalence also infiltrate the beginning of philosophy, since philosophy was equally created from the puzzlement as well as from the fear, and it equally relates to Eros as it relates to death. In both cases, strangeness escapes from the defining order" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 42).

[19] "(...) everything that is belongs to *our* world. Strangeness appears as an absence, as something that cannot be adapted to this world" (translation based on Polish edition of Böhme, 1998, p. 197).

[20] "in the face of what is strange, all the accepted patterns of orientation fail" (translation based on Polish original, p. 35).

Strangeness, associated with chaos and lack of meaning, stands in opposition to peace. On the other hand, peace is associated with purity and order (Bauman, 2000, p. 13). The encounter with the stranger may cause us flinch or feel instinctive disgust. Xenophobia as a fear of the stranger may stem from the feeling of disgust. Overcoming disgust is more difficult than overcoming intellectual reluctance. The former is atavistic. It is not so much about aesthetic issues as about the level of physiological response. Travel, especially to remote areas or to exotic cultures, often confronts us with images that fill us with disgust and so increase the shock of strangeness. This applies not only to the issues of hygiene and sanitation. In fact, as noted by Herman Hesse (2005), modern Europe learned the rules of hygiene from East Asia (p. 107)! Disgust may be also caused by customs and traditions. While we can be ready for it intellectually, and understand their meaning and legitimacy, the majority of us may feel some discomfort upon seeing our city guide, a young man from the Far East, who eats fried caterpillars with delight (just as we eat chips) that he bought at the local stand and being nice he wants to share them with us. We can surely get used to this kind of situation, but it requires work and overcoming, and even then some part of strangeness remains.

Z. Bauman (2000) notices that the stranger is often associated with dirt and is compared to bugs and germs (p. 21). He refers here mainly to the situation in which strangers come to live in close proximity to our community. But let us remember that we as travelers or tourists have long been spreading dirt and disorder all over the world. In *Tristes Tropiques*, the work that could be called a big book of demystification, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1961) writes:

> The great civilization of the West has given birth to many marvels; but at what cost! As has happened in the case of the most famous of their creation, that atomic pile in which have been built structures of a complexity hitherto unknown, the order and harmony of the West depend upon the elimination of that prodigious quantity of maleficent by-products which now pollutes the earth. What travel has now show us is the filth, our filth, that we have thrown in the face of humanity. (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, p. 39)

After many decades, a similarly embarrassing picture of our culture is described in the aforementioned book by Jennie Dielemans. Residents of the countries to which we travel, often the descendants of ancient cultures such as the Maya, today associate strangers-tourists with piles of plastic trash in the middle of a jungle, with which they do not know what to do. Moreover, they associate foreigners with a sea contaminated with wastewater from hotels and thus a sea without fish, with beaches full of empty cans,

bottles, cigarette butts, and syringes left there by backpackers partying at night (Dielemans, 2011, pp. 162, 196, 204). Our garbage thrown in the face of the world...

Incredibility and depersonalization

Finally, another feature of strangeness should be mentioned. It effectively prevents assimilation with strangeness and its integration within Self. It is related to the incredibility that can cause a true terror within a cognitive subject. We observe this incredibility of strangeness when we find the prints of something that we consider as familiar within alien. However, since being found in an alien, these indications of familiarity already belong to another order of reality and appear to as gruesomely disfigured and deformed, though still recognizable.

The feeling of incredibility very often has much in common with the species barrier, so in this context B. Waldenfels (2002) gives an example of a chimpanzee's almost-human facial expression (p. 43). G. Böhme (1998) notices that the so-called Wild Men were perceived as creatures, which in comparison to the technical civilization, still lay in a state of animal-ness (p. 193). Was such an assumption a form of self-defense against the shock of strangeness? Feeling that we shared humanity with the strangers did not, however, soothe the shock. On the contrary, G. Böhme (1998) cities a quotation from Conrad's material, which Fritz Kramer included in his afterword to Bronisław Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*: "Sie heulten und hüpften und drehten sich um sich selbst und schnitten fürchterliche Grimassen doch was einen erschaudern ließ, das war gerade Gedanke an ihre Menschlichkeit – unserer gleich"[21] (Böhme, 1985, p. 235). In turn, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1992) notices a penetration to the bone, an incredible feeling of strangeness, that became a part of the explorers of the New World: "…never had the human race been faced with such a terrible ordeal; nor will one such ever recur, unless there should one day be revealed to us another earth, many millions of miles distant, with thinking beings upon it" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, pp. 78, 79). Both groups, the Spanish conquistadors and Indians, were placed under the test of incredible and terrifying strangeness. Both sides doubted that the strangers they encountered belong to the same species as they. But there was a crucial difference: "...whereas the white men took the Indians for animals, the Indians

[21] "They were howling, jumping, spinning around and making terrible faces, but what was really terrifying, was the thought about their humanity – the same that we posses..." (translation based on Polish edition p. 197).

were content to suspect the white men being gods. One was ignorant as the other, but the second of the two did more honour to the human race" (Levy-Strauss, 1961, p. 80).

Therefore, the problem of our civilization, our cultural circle, is not the inability to cope with strangeness. As proven in the previous analyses, strangeness constitutes an insurmountable challenge for every person. On the other hand, our problem is that the impenetrability and inexplicability of strangeness often triggers in us ethno-chauvinism and this what ancients called *hybris* (and ultimately, as prophesied by J. Baudrillard, what can bring our civilization to collapse) rather then humility or admiration.

Certainly, such radical questioning of species affiliation has never taken a place in tourism. Fortunately, the times when Swedish tour guides (even from the 1930s!) presented cruises to the West Indies as an opportunity to learn about the primitive lives of representatives of mixed races, or to watch locals working on plantations while being rebuked by a supervisor, are long gone (Dielemans, 2008, pp. 95, 96). However, as Jennie Dielemans points out, in modern tourism we still have to deal with the depersonalization of strangers. It is not about denying the strangers' humanity (even for the most fanatic racist in the 21st century that would be nonsensical), but about what I would call a "functionalist reduction." Accordingly, as we read in Dielemans's work, a review of the publications of tourist material may make us realize that in the majority of pictures, residents are shown as people who serve tourists. Masseuses, waitress, vendors, taxi drivers, and possibly dancers dressed in ethnic costumes. It is a kind of reification. Obviously, advertising has its rights and simplifications are inevitable, but disqualification of people and their culture to the role of dummies and tourist attractions may create barriers equally hard to overcome as those built by incredible strangeness. Strangeness still exists in postmodern consumer societies and its feature – non-assimilability – remains the same. However, there has been some change.

Strangeness in the (post)modern world

Tourism is a complex, never-ending process that currently takes place in the context of what we used to call postmodern culture. Postmodern culture is deeply marked by a number of antinomies. And so, globalization is opposed to locality; the postmodern dispersion of the subject faces attempts to reconstruct and strengthen its original status; the subject is sometimes viewed from the perspective of dialogical process, or other times through the prism of self-reflection, etc. (Kalaga, 2004, p. 5). The world is undergoing

constant condensation (mainly caused by the computer revolution), which causes that difference, otherness, strangeness are closer to us and infiltrate the settled orders of our local reality. The world is becoming more heterogeneous, yet is still undergoing the processes of globalization. Heterogeneity and differentiation seem to encourage unification. This postmodern paradox was noticed and described by Jean Baudrillard (see Baudrillard, 2001).

Tourism in the postmodern world can be understood as a medium of a participation in a cultural and social polyphony, or even more broadly: in the polyphony of the postmodern world of life. Despite this, tourism could never be transformed into xenology, in the strict sense of this word. As we have indicated, strangeness cannot be examined by the scientific methods we use to study the arcana of language, the human body, atoms, or the solar system. However, tourism could successfully present and make us aware of the strangers' non-assimilability and non-reducibility, while indicating strangeness as a sovereign value that builds the identity of a cognitive subject. Such reflection should take place in the science of tourism. This would take advantage of the achievements of ethnology and philosophical anthropology, strengthening tourism's humanistic area and shifting the focus of this science from the economic and legal dimensions.

As a component of the postmodern world, tourism is still exposed to the similar dangers of postmodernism that are part of the whole culture. It is very likely that under the influence of globalization, the issue of structural strangeness will soon disappear along with its aporia, because the structural strangeness will itself disappear. Philosophical anthropology observes this process of disappearance through the example of ethnology, as ethnology

> Sie ist nicht nur die Wissenschaft von den anderen, d.h. nichteuropeischen und nichtamerikanischen Völkern, sondern sie ist im wesentlichen auch eine Wissenschaft von den kleinen Völkern. Man kann sie deshalb schon fast eine archivarische Wissenschaft nennen, insofern diese kleine Völker, im Prozeß der Entwicklung einer Weltzivilisation, als kulturell besondere gerade im Schwinden sind. Die Wissenschaft gesteht ihnen ihr Eigenrecht gerade in dem historischen Moment zu, in dem sie es praktisch verlieren.[22] (Böhme, 1985, p. 229)

This process cannot be stopped; hence, all activities taken in good will turn out to be peculiar. The most famous example, one that was mercilessly mocked by J. Baudrillard, of such hopeless and paradoxical action was given

[22] "…is not a science of others, i.e., non-European and non-US people, but in its essence – a science of small nations, hence almost outdated, since those small nations tend to disappear in terms of their cultural diversity, as a result of the development of world's civilization. Science acknowledges its raison d'être in the historical moment, in which they virtually lose this right (translation based on Polish edition of Böhme, 1998, p. 198).

on the case of the government of the Philippines. The government decided in 1971 to ban ethnologist and tourist access to a small tribe of the Tasadays, who had been living in the jungle for eight centuries without contact with the rest of the world's civilization. The Philippine government was motivated by the request of ethnologists, who decided to deprive themselves of having an "object of study" and to stop tourists from contacting people from the tribe in order to keep those people in a state of intact authenticity (Baudrillard, 1996).

The absurdity of postmodernism refers to the fact that these kinds of problems are insoluble. Strangeness is strangeness only if it is authentic. Therefore, when we visit remote cultures we expect to encounter "authentic" Maasai, Maya, Akha, and Hmong. Colorful and original people uncorrupted by civilization. In a situation where they are not like that, we would consider them an insufficiently attractive tourist attraction (Dielemans, 2011). Does it mean that those strangers cannot improve their quality of life in order to make their lives as comfortable as ours? Should we lock them alive in a museum under the guise of preserving their culture? On the other hand, by becoming similar to us as a result of globalization and dominant trends, they may actually lose their uniqueness. Hence, can we talk about someone's fault? And what would this fault be about?

Massification, reification, simulation, commercialization – these postmodern phenomena should be constantly investigated and analyzed by philosophy, sociology, anthropology, ethnology as well as by the science of tourism. This should be done not in order to reverse some trends that cannot be reversed, but instead in order to better understand them and thus know how to avoid the risks associated with them. Just as in the case of strangeness, the analysis of its aporia at least allows us to confront it, although it remains unsolvable.

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HOMO LEGENS AS HOMO TURISTICUS: TOWARD THE METHODOLOGY OF LITERARY TOURISM

Joanna Roszak, Grzegorz Godlewski***

Abstract: The authors of the present article raise a question about the purpose of integrating literature and tourism. They perform an overview of literary tourism (a secular pilgrimage) on the Polish grounds and verify the destinations to which literature points them. A point of reference for them is good practices of the remaining European countries. Their intention is to propound certain means that can be used to develop the methodological apparatus for this interdisciplinary subfield of cultural tourism. Doubtless, some of the methods will be of heritage tourism provenance (heritage inventory, querying) while others will have their origins in the literary studies (geocriticism, geopoetics).

Keywords: literary tourism, cultural tourism, geocriticism

In a sense, nearly all literary masterpieces are guide-books.
Hermann Melville, *Redburn*
(translation based on Polish edition, *Atlas literatury*, 2002, p. 10)

In *Turystyka*, edited by Włodzimierz Kurek (2008), cultural tourism is described as a form of cognitive tourism, with the adherent criteria including "cognitive motivation pertaining to the development of the inner self" (translation based on Polish edition, p. 197). In the aforementioned publication, cultural tourism is also described in terms of "an alternative and opposition to commercialized mass tourism" (translation based on Polish edition of Kurek, 2008, p. 207), whose aim, according to the author, is visiting and experiencing places of "historical and cultural value" (translation based on Polish edition of Kurek, 2008, p. 210). Like the majority of Polish studies on

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this topic (Jędrysiak, 2008), the notion of literary tourism has not been singled out in the monograph, despite the fact that *literary tourism studies* in Western countries have accumulated a comprehensive and interesting body of academic papers in library catalogs.

The all-important references in the indigenous literary works that allude to literary tourism as an integral part of cultural tourism emerge in the publications of Mikos Armin von Rohrscheidt and Karolina Buczkowska. Various researchers classify it as part of the high culture, right next to cultural heritage tourism (although literary tourism can be considered its integral part), museum tourism, and event tourism (Cymańska-Grabowska & Steblik-Wlaźlak, 2011, p. 38). Hence, in the present article, we wish to raise a question about the purpose of integrating literature and tourism while being acutely aware that guided literary tourism in Polish in reality enjoys lukewarm interest. Literary trails are roamed by either fastidious tourists of the *homo legens* type or students on their school trips, which are part of the Polish language and cultural education.

An attempt to justify the magnitude of literary tourism on the Polish ground would be to include it in the group of the so-called brand name products (next to active, business, rural, border, transit, and urban tourism), which are the springboard for creating product offers that drive the entire industry. Literature stimulates and generates touristic potential, which is, however, missing from the organized and structured tourist offers of many destinations in Poland. This, in turn, can be directly linked to the far from satisfactory level of readership. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the most elaborate essays on literary tourism were written by authors such as Claudio Magris or even Andrzej Bobkowski (*Z dziennika podróży*), especially that on a greater scale tourism has served as an inspiration since the Romantic period (Glendening, 1997; *Literary Tourism*, 2009).

Everyone for whom the word "reader" has become an essential element describing one's identity discerns a tangible influence of literature on the emerging tourist market and believes that literary tourism lends support to the book-selling market. Considered a special representative of modernism by the historian and sociologist Hasso Spode (Heitmann & Schröder, 2013, p. 9), *homo turisticus* encounters *homo legens*, an avid reader, genuinely immersed in literature and experiencing the world through the medium of literary works. However, *homo legens* becomes *turisticus* when he follows an often-overused formula by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: "Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen" (translation of the quote into English based on Polish source text: Who wishes to understand the poet, must go to the poet's land).

A direct contact with a place known from literature or a writer's biography will become for these tourists a means to accompany literature and forge life "to live up to it" (Markowski, 2008). The attractiveness of literary tourism, an instrument of cognition of both the reality and the masterpiece, is rooted in its utilitarian and aesthetic character. A journey happens to provide a context for the book, becomes its extension, reinforcement, and preservation; it procrastinates the inevitable end to communing with a masterpiece and introduces literature to the world of tangibility. Seeing with the naked eye the space that has been imitated in literature will allow some readers to "recreate verbatim" and others to "imagine more vividly" the world known from the pages of a book.

Taking the opportunity, it is worth mentioning here that the category of textual "navigation" has been borrowed from the realm of travel. In diverse concepts of reading, the phenomenon of ergodism (in Greek, e*rgon* means work, and *hodos*, path) reemerges, as well as the discourse on traversing a text (Aarseth, 1997) and immersion in a book, similar to submerging in the world. In the introduction to *Tourismus als literarische und kulturelle Praxis. Skandinavistische Fallstudien*, Annegret Heitmann and Stephan Michael Schröder (2013) make the following observation: "First and foremost, two issues can be distinguished from the fruitful intersection between literature and tourism: a special attitude to the category of time and space, and also a performative attitude to the conceptualized authenticity" (own translation, p. 16). David Herbert (2001) devoted his all-important passages in the article "Literary Places, Tourism and the Heritage Experience" precisely to the issue of authenticity of a place associated with a writer. He based his findings on the studies of two literary places in Great Britain: the Jane Austen's house at Chawton, where visitors can see a wisp of hair of the author of *Sense and Sensibility* and her patchwork quilt and hear the creak of the door; and the house in a seaside town of Laugharne where the poet Dylan Thomas used to live with his wife (pp. 312–333).

Touristic Product

The overview of literary tourism enables us to classify it also in terms of a touristic product (a comprehensive offer or other small accompanying products), where the following categories can be distinguished:

- **Item**: maps, plans, souvenirs (magnets, key leashes, pads, notebooks related to the literary works produced in a given place).
- **Profiled guide books and tourism literature** (Bauner, 2002; Maurer & Maurer, 1988; Straub, 2007).

In recent years, there has been a boom in literary guide books, maps, and trips. The answer to it is a book by Franco Moretti, *An Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*, and other literary works known in Poland: *Atlas literatury* by Malcolm Bradbury, *Paul Celan. Miasta i miejsca* by Helmut Böttiger, *Dublin z "Ulissesem"* by Piotr Paziński, *Wieża Hölderlina i inne miejsca* by Wojciech Dudzik, *Paryż śladami pisarzy* by Jean-Paul Caracalla, and *Haruki Murakami i jego Tokio* by Anna Zielińska-Elliott.

- **Service (for instance, tour guiding)**
- **Route**

The Świętokrzyski Literary Trail includes sites associated with the eminent writers in Polish literature: Stefan Żeromski, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Mikołaj Rej, Witold Gombrowicz, and Wincenty Kadłubek. Conversely, the Mickiewicz Trail in the Greater Poland runs through Kopaszewo, Kościan, Lubiń, Śmiełów, Krzekotowice, Konarzewo, Poznań, and Objezierze. The compulsory reading of the Polish national epic, *Pan Tadeusz*, in Polish schools can be supplemented nowadays—particularly in the schools of the Greater Poland region—with a multimedia presentation during which the following website can be used: http://podrozezpanemtadeuszem.pl/idea.html.

Readers eagerly roam "literary Krakow," following in the tracks of the poem *Zaczarowana dorożka* by K. I. Gałczyński, along with the sites and places associated with Przybyszewski, Wyspiański, Boy-Żeleński, Jama Michalika, Czytelnia Liberatury; "literary Lublin" (places inspired by *Sklepy cynamonowe* by Brunon Schulz; plaques celebrating places associated with Mikołaj Rej, Wincenty Pol, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, or Józef Czechowicz at the Old Town); Vilnius of the Polish Romantic poets; or Poznań, by following in the tracks of the characters of the series *Jeżycjada* by Małgorzata Musierowicz.

Far from the Madding Crowd, to quote the title of the novel, leads the Thomas Hardy Trail. By taking the route of 212 miles, one can visit the birthplace of the writer in Dorset and the cemetery where his heart lies. Enthusiasts of Cervantes's novels can visit nearly 150 Spanish towns roaming along the Don Quixote Route, while fans of Tolkien can enjoy the walking path and the cycle path in the neighborhood of Stonyhurst College, where the writer often stayed together with his family (a number of names that appear in the trilogy *The Lord of the Rings* were inspired by the names originating from the local landscape).

Literary strolls and excursions ("literarische Spaziergänge," "Dichter-Spaziergänge," "literarische Wanderwege," "Literatouren") have their appreciative audiences in the German- and English-speaking countries

alike. The longest and most renowned ones include the German Fairy-tale Route (die Deutsche Märchenstraße), originally established in 1975 and running from Hanau, the birthplace of the Grimm brothers, to Bremen; the Swabian Poet Road from Bad Mergentheim to Meersburg; and the Nibelungen Route (Nibelungenstraße). Established in 1970s, the Goethe Way is a 19-kilometer trail in length that runs through the Thuringian Forrest, with a starting point at the monument of the German representative of the Pre-Romantic period in Ilmenau, through the Schwalbenstein rock, by which Goethe wrote the fourth act of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, to the writer's museum in Stützerbach. Meanwhile, the cycle path devoted to Friedrich Schiller, Goethe's contemporary poet, spans across 10.9 kilometers, linking Mannheim and Ludwigshafen.

On the website Literaturlandschaften.de, a visitor can learn about the offers of literary excursions available in Germany. By clicking on Berlin, we will read about an aesthetic death of Heinrich von Kleist by the Wannsee Lake; when selecting Lubeck, we will learn about the Mann's Buddenbrook mansion and the house of Günter Grass. When we click Worpswede, we will read about the local artistic colony, in which Rainer Maria Rilke was actively engaged.

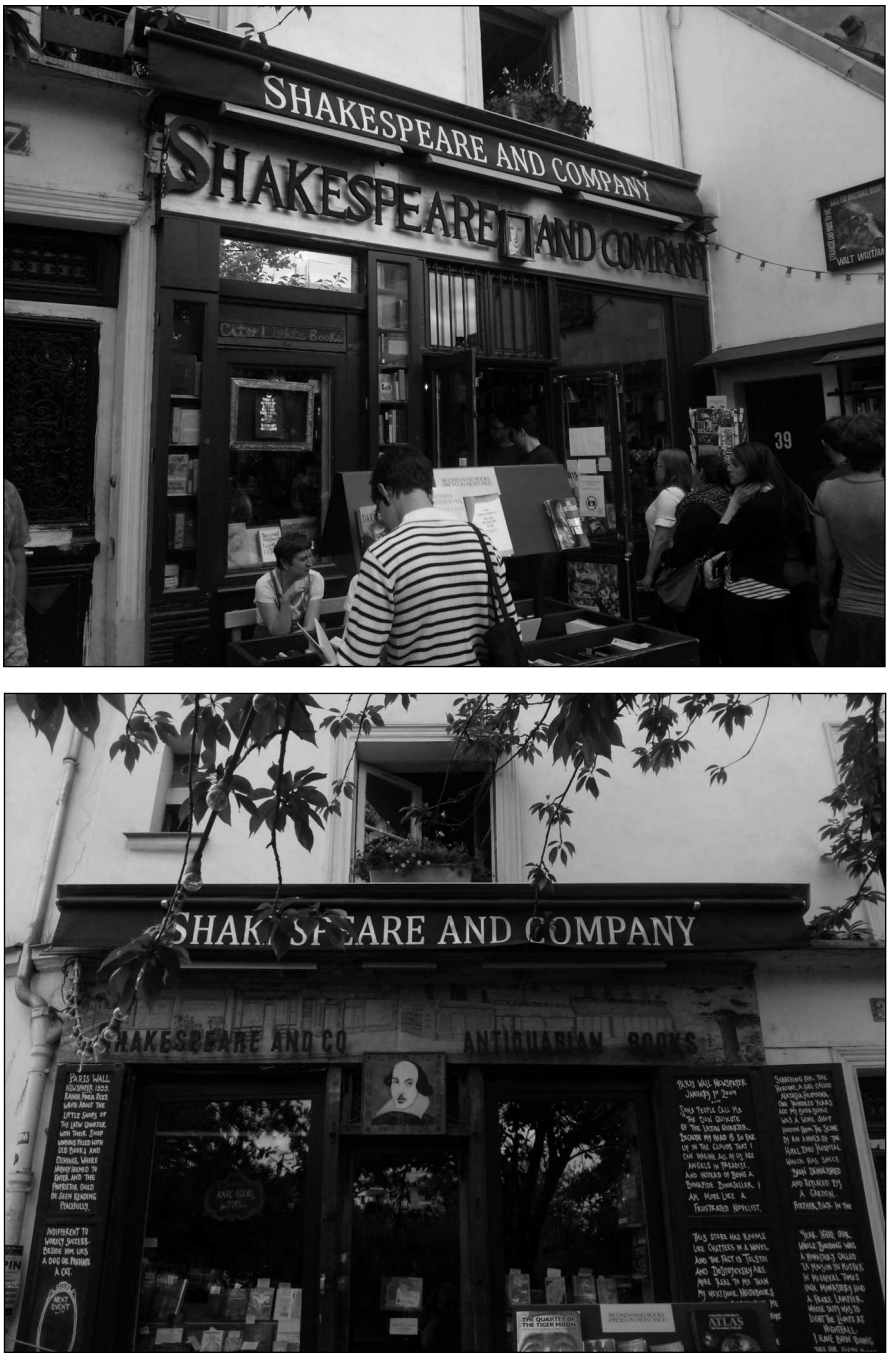
- **Event**
  Lectures, meetings with authors, and temporary exhibitions, such as *Bolaño Archive in 2013 in Barcelona.*
- **Festival**
  Singer's Warsaw, Conrad's Festival in Krakow, the City of Poetry in Lublin, and Poets' Poznań.
- **Object**
  a. Museums—for instance, the Sienkiewicz Literary Museum in Poznań (Kordaczuk & Ujazdowska, 2011); the Henryk Sienkiewicz Museum in the manor house in Oblęgorek, which the society gave to the writer as a gift in recognition of his literary achievements; the Museum of Stefan Żeromski's School Years in Kielce; Mikołaj Rej's Manor House in Nagłowice; Dostoevsky Museum in St. Petersburg, which has its premises in the flat that belonged to the author of *The Brothers Karamazov*; the Literary Museum in Zurich; and the Kafka Museum in Prague. The House-Museum of Balzac in Paris (La Maison de Balzac), to which the writer moved in October 1840 in order to hide from creditors and assumed the pen name of Monsieur de Breugnol, deserve special attention. The collection of showpieces includes manuscripts, first editions, and the library of the author of the *Human Comedy*. In Lisbon, the reader can visit Casa Fernando Pessoa Museum, established in the former flat of

the author of *The Book of Disquiet*. Opened to the public on May 17, 1997, the house of Margaret Mitchell, where she wrote her novel *Gone with the Wind*, is nowadays one of the most important tourist attractions of the city of Atlanta, while the replica of Henry David Thoreau's cabin invites tourists to have a walk in the woods near Concord, Massachusetts (in March 1845, the writer decided to move to the woods where he built a small house in which he lived for two years working on his book, *Walden*).

An interesting example of creating reality through literature is associated with a Turkish writer, Orhan Pamuk. Kemal of Istanbul, the main character of his first post–Nobel Prize novel, *The Museum of Innocence*, shows the readers around his museum, in which he gathered evidence of his great love of Füsun. Interestingly, Pamuk himself purchased subsequently a tenement house where he established an institution that he had previously described in his book. He has been collecting showpieces associated with the novel: ashtrays, figurines, tooth brushes, shaving accessories, and postcards.

b. Places of birth, living, and death (e.g., 23 Fitzroy Road in London, the dwelling place of William Butler Yeats and the place where subsequently Sylvia Plath committed suicide; Nietzsche's house with a library of his literary works in Sils-Maria in Switzerland; and 10 Bagatela Street in Warsaw where the poet, Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, was born).
c. Monuments
d. Locales where either the author or his character would frequent (e.g., the Bois de Boulogne or the Avenue des Champs-Élysées described on the pages of the series of novels by Marcel Proust).
e. Cemeteries (e.g., Montparnasse with graves of Baudelaire, Ionesco, Sartre, and Cortazar, the grave of James Joyce at the Fluntern cemetery in Zurich).
f. Area (specific places associated with the life and work of a writer that are concen-

The grave of James Joyce. Photo by: JR



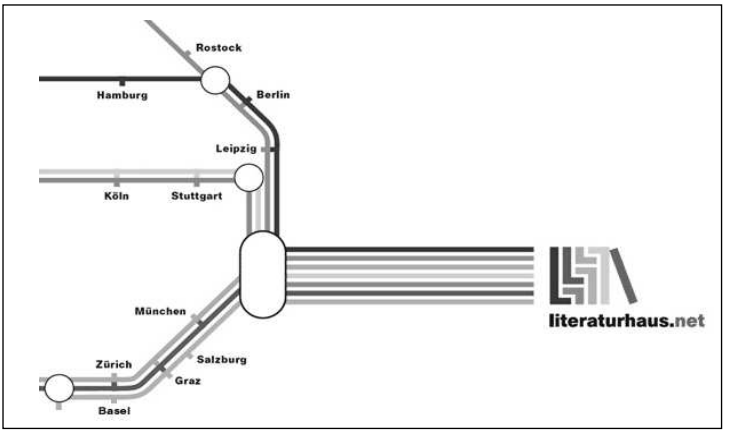
One of the most famous bookstores in the world, Shakespeare and Company in Paris. Nearly every day there is a long line of people standing in front of it. Photo by: JR

trated over a particular, space-limited area)—for instance, the Latin Quarter of Paris being discovered while following the tracks of Paul Celan; Ashdown Forest, mirrored in the Hundred Acre Wood, with the Pooh Corner where A. A. Milne would take walks with his son, Christopher.

g. Special accommodation base—for example, an apartment in Paris that resembles a Hobbit hole (http://www.leniddanslesbruyeres.fr/).

h. Bookstores (an American initiative launched in 2003 by Larry Portzline is particularly worth mentioning: along the routes, apart from independent bookstores to visit, there are houses where writers used to dwell or places that are associated with them).

i. Houses of literature have a well-established and rich tradition in German-speaking countries and the Scandinavian region. The first German house of literature was established in 1986 in Berlin. Since then, houses of literature have been set up in every large town or constituent state where they are the centers of culture and education, as well as a platform for meetings of readers and authors from all over the world. Numerous houses of literature choose to have a particular profile of their activity. Hence, for instance, the house of literature in Prague, the Czech Republic, popularizes specifically the literary works of German-speaking writers. Another example of a good practice is Passa Porta House of Literature in Brussels.



The biggest houses in German-speaking countries have built up a network within which they prepare together a number of events, such as awarding a prize to an author who subsequently holds meetings with the reading audience in all the houses that are part of the network. Their day-to-day ac-

tivities include the organization of literary meetings and workshops and the launching of literary initiatives (contests, courses, etc.). Numerous houses of literature run residential programs for writers. Combining a house with a museum (in Geneva, an apartment is located in a tenement house in which Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born) or a bookstore and a restaurant (Hamburg) has proven to be a successful practice.

A signpost to the House of Literature in Hamburg. Photo by: JR

The Mikołowski Institute in Poland performs a similar function by running publishing and organizational activities (author meetings, scholarly sessions, etc.). Since 1997, the apartment at 1 Maja Street, number 8, where Rafał Wojaczek was born and lived with his parents has been the premises of one of the most interesting culture-forming institutions in Poland.

The tenement house in Mikołów bears a plaque devoted to the Polish poet and stunt man. It reads: "There must be someone I do not know, who took possession of me, my life, my death, and this piece of paper." (own translation) Photo by: JR

Literature becomes a textual representation of space or a method for experiencing and reading it. Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen (2002), editors of *Literature and Tourism*, argue that learning about a writ-

er's life happens to inspire people to discover his or her writings (p. xiv). And places immortalized in literary masterpieces generate new touristic products. Hence, the Kronborg Castle in Denmark is better known as the Hamlet castle. Literature indicates destinations to readers—they travel to places they know well from books or experience them with a book in their hands. Literary tourism can therefore be perceived as a form of a secular pilgrimage. Hence, the reader visiting Lisbon will make himself acquainted with the city by being shown around by the words of Fernand Pesso; Chicago, by Carl Sandburg; Zurich, by Robert Walser; Jerusalem, by Amos Oz; and Venice, with *Watermark* by Josif Brodsky in the reader's hand. The reader will visit the houses of Shakespeare in Stratford-Upon-Avon and of Ernest Hemingway in Cuba. He or she will drink a cup of coffee at famous Antico Caffè Greco in Rome, frequented by Norwid, Stendhal, Byron, Goethe, Ibsen, Andersen, and Miłosz.

It is therefore impossible to equate this branch of tourism and mass industrial production marked by standardization—even in times when tourism becomes increasingly rooted in and contingent upon countries' economies, which economists often underscore in their publications. It is worth bearing in mind that places visited by tourists can be both treated as destinations that are merely a stage in the course of a journey and as long-term tourist migrations that assume prolonged staying and leisurely sightseeing. Large towns and cities that enjoy numerous advantages in terms of a well-developed tourist infrastructure (accommodation, dining locations, and other facilities, as well as accessibility to internal and external communication networks) can appear to local communities as products that yield socioeconomic benefits due to a multiplier effect (Gałecki, 2004, p. 114). Gaining in-depth knowledge about a place requires time. Hence, the tourist will need somewhere to stay over, eat, and use transport means within the agglomeration. Since his or her motivation in this respect will be strong enough, it will be possible, with high likelihood, to match him or her to specific types of visitors known from literature, whose behaviors resemble those of alternative tourists—displaying a passion for culture, sightseeing, or education (Różycki, 1997 , pp. 37–40).

Literary Syndromes

At this point, it is justifiable to mention two touristic syndromes named after a couple of writers. The Stendhal syndrome, also known in literature of the subject as hyperkulturemia, the Florence syndrome, or "suffering from art" *(Leiden an der Kunst)* (Smoltczyk, 1990), refers to a strong reac-

tion to immense beauty. Having paid a visit to the Uffizi gallery in Florence and the grave of Dante, the Romantic writer suffered from headaches and high temperature. In 1989, a local doctor and psychiatrist, Graziella Magherini, was the first to describe the syndrome. She was a doctor of Marie Henri Beyle (Stendhal), who, having visited the Basilica of Santa Croce, where Machiavelli, Michelangelo, and Galileo are buried, was overcome with extreme emotion mixed with ecstasy and palpitations of the heart. The sublime beauty made him feel dizzy.

Another syndrome was named after the author of *Steppenwolf* (as most of the sources suggest, "Hermann Hesse syndrome" was conceived by a Florence professor, Emilio Becheri, an authority in the field of tourism), who became the patron of conscious tourists (Różycki, 1997 , p. 32) who experiment and depart from mass tourism and trails marked out by the Baedekers. Becheri initiated this paradigm in 1901, after visiting the Uffizi Museum at Piazza Singora in Florence. Tired of the clamor, he threw away a guide book and having liberated himself from the duty of visiting all the noteworthy attractions, he walked as a *flaneur*, melting into the city and its residents in an attempt to understand the space.

A literary tourist is typically an enthusiast, expert, and engaged reader who consciously seeks intellectual stimuli, which distinguishes him or her from a recipient of a mass touristic product. In this particular case, a well-known touring motto, "Less is more," is perfectly justifiable—it is better to see less, but more in-depth. Such sightseeing modus requires time, financial resources, and suitable infrastructure that the visitor can use while staying over in a place, including reading rooms, libraries, Internet cafés, etc. It needs to be noted, however, that in economic reckoning, literary tourism fights a losing battle with a mass product (with a hedonistic undertone), which should trigger the search for alternative solutions, including the creation of interdisciplinary products or thematic trails, and patrons (Alejziak, 1999, pp. 41–47).

Methodology

The inspiration for creating a common methodology for the issue in question can be traced to the methods utilized in regional and cultural studies. Heritage inventory, i.e., registering the up-to-date state inventory of objects and valuable assets, appears to be of special importance. The results are important for the preservation of historic monuments, provide an inspiration for research (Kruczek, Kurek & Nowacki, 2003, pp. 79–84; Bieńczyk, 2003, pp. 106–117), and can serve to enhance tourism infrastructure of ar-

eas, particularly the creation of tourist attractions and marking new routes. At the same time, they are a valuable source of information, indispensable for authors of touring publications, tour guides, or event organizers. Heritage inventory should not only include the content that stems from the topographic classification and itemization, but also the bibliographical, iconographic (photographs, drawings), and cartographic (maps, plans, routes) documentation. One has to be aware, however, that conducting inventory research, particularly a comprehensive one (there are also shortened or partial forms of such research), poses quite a challenge, even if it was supposed to be about investigating the life and/or writings of a single writer only. The creation and storing of tourism databases (vertical, horizontal, and selective) are considered a result of cataloging and should be a sign of good practices implemented by museums, cultural centers, tourist associations such as the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK) or Polish Youth Hostel Association (PYHA), and travel-oriented (in this case, literary tour–oriented) individuals. Querying and gathering information directly or indirectly related to tourism in a particular area from a variety of sources (dining locations, accommodation base, travel agencies, and tourist information centers) is no less important.

In the assessment and presentation methodology of the potential spatial units of tourism (region, district, area, locality, route, object) associated with literary journeys, it is worth, apart from the aforementioned methods, propounding the creation and use of maps of tourist attractions and *point bonitation*. While the first one presents an image of spatial layout of all or selected tourism assets, the other one is about allocating a numerical value (points) to particular elements (for example, places in which a writer lived and created his or her masterpieces), according to an adopted point grading scale. Despite a certain degree of subjectivity, point bonitation enables a comprehensive picture of "the issue" in a given area to be created. To visualize the phenomenon, the cartographic symbols method, or a choropleth map, is utilized (Kaczmarek, Stasiak & Włodarczyk, 2002, pp. 38–45).

Literary tourism lies at the intersection of humanistic geography, semiotics of space, anthropology, biographical novel writing, geocriticism, methods of reading literature, and theorizing about the relationships between geographical spaces and their artistic representations. Frenchman Bertrand Westphal has laid the foundations for this research orientation, which encompasses studies at the intersection of geographical and literary spaces as well as their mutual permeation and surpassing.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

SPECIFIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS OF SPORT TOURISM

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Abstract: Nowadays, sport tourism is something more than the passing trend of taking up sports activity during free time spent far away from home. This paper aims to identify the specifics of sport tourism, particularly from the socio-cultural perspective, as we learn as little about sport tourism from the science of physical culture as we do from tourism sciences, i.e., history, sociology, psychology, geography, and economics. The article consists of three parts. The first part is devoted to the origins of sport tourism and to the conceptual range of terms in sport tourism. An outline of the main discussions on sport tourism in English and German literature in the 1980s is presented here as well. The discussions revolve around the basic definitions of a concept as well as the subject and a degree of autonomy in relation to their components. A review of the most important understandings in Polish literature about sport tourism is also presented. They are distinguished from the related notions of sportified tourism, qualified tourism, and active tourism. The second part of the article focuses on the specifics of sport tourism according to Schwark. The final part describes sport tourism events, including the most important developmental trends in sport tourism in recent times.

Keywords: tourism, sport, sport tourism, event

The increasing influence of contemporary travel on sport tourism, which is the fastest-growing segment of the tourism industry, is confirmed by dynamic changes experienced by mobile people who want to improve their bodies. Doing sports in a natural environment and during different seasons of the year has vastly increased the scope of tourism mobility among most of the world's inhabitants. These sports include hiking, swimming, gymnastics, mountain climbing, skiing, cycling, jogging, rollerblading, golf, tennis, etc. On the path to self-realization and to the fulfillment of a desired quality of life, sportspeople and tourists alike face the challenge of the ever-progressing commercialization of sports and tourism. These people face key questions in sports and tourism sciences: a) How do sports- and tourism-assumed objectives, which are marked

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by responsible attitudes towards natural and cultural heritage, relate to the ways of fulfilling that quality of life in the post modern world? and b) Do they deepen cultural identity, which is understood as identification with the values and lifestyles that reflect the condition of contemporary *homo-sportivus* or *homo-turisticus*? A fundamental issue would be finding the answer to the following questions: Does the combination of sport and tourism –regardless of ever-progressing commercialization – have a significant reservoir of principles, rules, and values essential for the socio-cultural development established in the programs of progressive societies? If yes, to what extent?

Sports in the form of professionalism, great feats, amateurism, and tourism (including sports activity) are frequently becoming inherent parts of the logic of the commercial market that is characterized by a clear changeability of offers. What is defined as sport often turns out to be the effect of blending sports elements with cultural forms from fields such as fashion, pop music, movies, videos, and dancing (see Gebauer, 2002). The term *eventizing* (see Wopp, 2002) was coined in the 1990s, and refers to various kinds of arranged events – mainly sports events –publicized in the media. This leads to the question of how trends in contemporary sport tourism develop. Furthermore, which factors determine the fact that trends not only become something more than a passing trend in sports and recreational activities undertaken in free time far away from home, but also an indispensible component of lifestyle.

Sports activity, as well as tourist activity in the form of sports tourism, results from the following observed tendencies: independence in the shaping of the travel and the subsequent, spontaneous decisions regarding the place of destination; increasingly mobile behavior linked with the effective use of free time; shortening or dividing travel time; and seeking increasingly comfortable travel. Social preferences change these links. This is manifested in the demand for satisfying needs oriented to maximizing experiences and incredible sensations (see Schulze, 1992). The accepted game rules trigger the need among participants of various evolving tourism sports to increase physical activity as well as to individualize and authenticate the participation in sport culture. Participants are challenged with the tendencies to increase free time and thereby decrease the workload burden. The mediating and stimulating role of sport is invaluable in this process. The intriguing issue of the socio-cultural potential of this relationship emerges. This potential is worth clarifying, especially that we learn as little about the specifics of sport tourism from science of physical culture as we do from tourism sciences, i.e., history, sociology, psychology, geography, or tourism economy. Understanding the relationships and interdependencies between these spheres of human activity would allow us to penetrate the process of shaping and establishing the cultural and sports landscapes in which a modern sport-tourist and the non-sport tourists are immersed.

A reflection on the phenomenon of sport tourism in the modern world, in the face of the ambiguity and divergence within its objective scope, begins with an attempt to establish the difference between doing sports during a trip and doing sports on a daily basis. It seems to be the simplest way leading to the discovery of sport tourism specifics and the essence of sports tourism. Only a few attempts to define *sport tourism* explicitly can be found in literature. It seems that frequently, at least from the perspective of the tourism economy, research on sports within the tourism sector does not require further study. In this light, an interesting theoretical proposal is presented in Schwark's work on sport tourism (2002, 2006). His analyses led to recognizing cultural, social, and environmental determinants and interactions created through sport tourism (*Sporttourismous)*. His research got closer to defining these specifics in a certain way. In this paper, Schwark's view is the main point of reference for evaluating the condition and developmental trends of contemporary sport tourism.

In the first part of this paper, which is devoted to the origins of sport tourism and the conceptual range of terms in sport tourism, the outline of the main discussions on sport tourism in German and English literature in the 1980s is presented. Analyses encompass models, various classifications, and divisions included in literature, which in a pragmatic way lead to defining the place and the role of sport tourism when considering its broad and narrow understandings. It is an opportunity to recognize the basic definitions of the notion as well as the subject and a degree of autonomy in relation to the components. In the context of these notional distinctions, a review of the most important perspectives in Polish literature on sport tourism is presented. They are distinguished with regard to the related notions of sport tourism, qualified tourism, and active tourism. The second part of the article begins with an attempt to define the specifics of sport tourism established by Schwark. The presented research concept continues through the use of a specific category called *appropriation (Aneignung)* in the third part of the article, which is devoted to the most important and the most recent developmental trends in sport tourism.

Sport Tourism: Origins, Conceptual Range, Terminological Differences

Sport tourism appeared in ancient times. In the Homeric age, stories about Odysseus's journeys were, par excellence, adventure and sport tourism (Zauhar, 2003, pp. 27-48). In ancient times, the Olympic Games attracted strangers from the far reaches of Greece who felt secure both during their

journey and at the destination thanks to the announcement of Divine Peace. Lured with the magic of the great event, they behaved like contemporary event tourists: free in their mobility, though immeasurably more numerous than contemporary event tourists, they expressed their admiration for sports stars and Olympic feats. In explaining the origins of sport tourism in modern times, physical culture historians used to refer to the mutual roots of sport and tourism. In the 1850s, alpinism was born in Western Europe, the cradle of modern tourism. This process was accompanied by a fascination with "wild" nature and the appearance of unprecedented forms of physical activity, all of which was referred to as the "Playground of Europe." For example, the original heralds of modern cross-country skiing developed in Norway (Neuerburg, 2003, p. 31). It is worth adding that not only was tourism in its infancy at that time, but sport was as well. The latter grew in accordance with a famous slogan "Faster, Higher, Further." Its European roots were composed of three fundamental elements: English martial arts, German Turner gymnastics, and Swedish gymnastics. Modern sport tourism that developed in European civilization marked its beginnings in the 1970s. This occurred when two main tourist trends that intensified in Western Europe after World War II become well known. The first trend was connected with tourists' "conquest" of the Mediterranean beaches in Italy, Spain, and France. The second was linked with the development of Alpine tourism thanks to the construction of climbing devices, i.e., cable cars, chairlifts, ski lifts, as well as the ski resort infrastructure. This allowed even less physically fit tourists to conquer the mountains (Neuerburg, 2003, p. 31).

In German literature, the notion of sport tourism (*Sporttourismus)* did not appear until the 1980s (Schwark, 2006, p. 13). Notions that had functioned formerly, i.e., *Freizeitsport, Sport und Urlaub* and *Sport für alle* (Dieckert, 1974, ss. 177-183), were oriented more towards the normative explanation of sports: the emphasis on its recreational and leisure roles. The pedagogical impulses related with doing "sports for everyone" were stressed, as with the demand for enterprises leading to expand the sports offer beyond exclusive and expensive specialty sports (Schwark, 2006, p. 14). Schwark (2006) notes that in the 1980s both the number of publications devoted to sport or tourism and interest in sport tourism increased significantly. This occurred with no scientific explanation for the phenomenon at that time. Up to that point, the definitions of tourism were superficial. The definitions determined, pragmatically and arbitrarily, how the concept of tourism should be understood. At that time, new definitions started appearing. They referred to the earlier trend called *soft tourism (sanften Tourismus),* which emphasized "the desired values" pursuant to ecological and socio-ethical norms. The demand for soft tourism emerged, and its sensitiv-

ity to changes as well as its social features became apparent (2006, p. 27). In that spirit, Neuerburg and Wilken (1988) promoted environmentally friendly hiking as a *soft* alternative to *hard* sport tourism (pp. 6-7). From their perspective, "the possibility of studio journeys" is attributed to hiking, and it means discovering and getting to know a space on one's own initiative, "independently" (translated from Polish, Schwark, 2006, p. 27). However, sports such as tennis, squash, and golf and the infrastructure they required were criticized for using the alpine landscape as a mere backdrop. The foundation of the assumptions posited by Neuerburg and Wilken concerning *soft sport tourism* was the conviction that respectful and understating attitudes toward different lifestyles and cultures needed to be developed. They also believed in the inseparability of sensual, physical, emotional, and spiritual processes as the foundation of "a holistic view of the human being" (translated from Polish, Neuerburg & Wilken, 1988, pp. 6-7).

Over time, an attempt has been made to differentiate the following terms: *Sporttourismus, Sportreisen,* and *Sport im Urlaub.* This is because in the 1970s, *Sport und Urlaub, Urlaubsport, Sport im Urlau,* and *Sport und Tourismus* were frequently treated as synonymous (Neuerburg & Wilken, 1993, pp. 35-46). The collective work *Sporttourismus. Management und Marketing-Handbuch*[1] was published in 1995. It focused mainly on business economics. Its two main chapters were "Bases of Market Behavior in Sport Tourism" (translated from Polish) and "Selected Economic Problems of Service-Providing Companies in Sport Tourism" (translated from Polish). Two additional understandings of sport tourism were presented in Freyer's *Sport-Tourismus—Eininge Anmerkungen aus Sicht der Wissenschaft.* The first one defines sport tourism as: "Temporarily leaving one's permanent place of residence to stay in a strange place because of sport motivations" (translated from Polish, Freyer, 2002, p. 20). Being aware of the ambiguity of the notions of time, place, and travel motivations, Freyer considered the difference between two groups of sport tourists in the second definition: "Sport tourism of active sportspeople (*Sport-Aktiven*): people who leave the location of their permanent residence and travel to a destination in order to do sports" and "Sport tourism of passive sportspeople, sport spectators in particular: people who leave their residence and travel to their destination in order to watch sports" (translated from Polish, Freyer, 2002, p. 21).

Faced with the lack of an "acknowledged" definition in literature, Dreyer (2004) made another attempt to define sport tourism. He took a broader perspective on sport tourism, however, which meant combining physical activity with professions such as sport journalism, sporting goods manufac-

[1] Dreyer, A., & Krüger, A. (1995), *Sportourismus*, (Ed.) München.

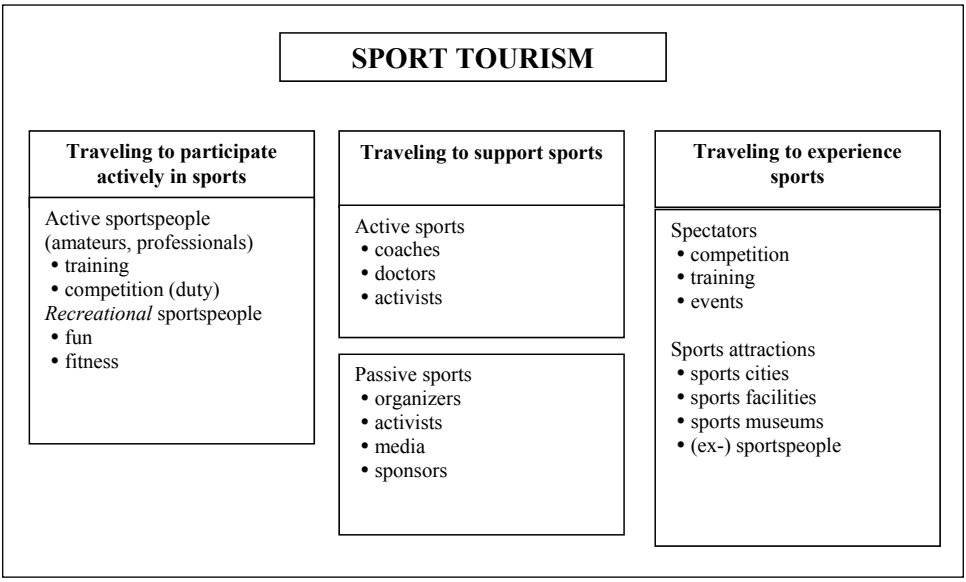

Figure 1. Freyer's Sport Tourism. Adapted from Freyer, W. (2002) Sport-Tourismus—Einige Anmerkungen aus Sicht der Wissenschaft. In: A. Dreyer (Ed.), *Tourismus Und Sport*, Wiesbaden; translated from Polish

turers, sport officials, and sport museum visitors. This allowed representatives to find themselves in the area of influence of sport tourism. "Sport tourism encompasses all forms of temporary absences from one's residence that essentially aim at sport activity " (pp. 327-376).

The visible growth of understanding of the concept of sport tourism can be seen in German literature, and it is indicated by the different emphasis placed with reference to the assigned functions. In the 1960s, the recreational role of sport tourism was emphasized along with the focus on free time sports (*Freizeitsport*); in the 1980s, its economic function in relation to a country's economic growth came to the fore. As time went on, the term sport tourism (Sporttourismus) began to function in parallel to *Sport und Tourismus* and *Sport in Tourismus*. Research in the 1990s on sport events and sport tourism were dominated by the study of economic consequences of sport events in terms of economic benefits for tourist destinations. In recent times, sport tourism has become a mirror of sport and tourist trends that are emerging in the postmodern, globalized world. A reflection on the phenomenon of sport tourism must include a broad spectrum of different, continually appearing forms of sports and tourism. The aforementioned broad and narrow perspectives can be useful in categorizing them.

In the English sport tourism literature of the 1980s, a study on *Sport and Tourism in Eastern Europe* by Glyptis deserves attention, as it encompasses five main fields of sport tourism (1982, p. 63). *Training camps* belong to the first field. Trip organizers, who are responsible for finding better infrastructure and weather conditions for training purposes, arrange them. *Specialist or generally active holidays* belong to the second segment. They include both commercial and non-commercial offers for individual customers as well as for whole families. Special disciplines related to expensive sports fall under the category of *expensive sport holidays*. The next ones are *holidays with available sport offers*; club holidays predominate. S*porting events spectators* belong to the fifth category. This segment is filled with individual and group sport events tourism; events are of national or international significance. Hall (1992) in his article "Adventure, Sport and Health Tourism" presented a definition of sport tourism that was oriented to formal criteria: "Sport tourism is divided into two categories: traveling to do sports and traveling to watch sport" (translated from Polish, Hall, 1992, p. 147). A controversial issue arises whether passive ways of doing sports – visiting sports museum or watching a sporting event, for instance – deserve to be called sport tourism. If sport is to be understood as physical activity requiring the movement of one's body, than passive forms of spending free time seem to go beyond the conceptual range of the definition of sport tourism. Thus, they may be viewed as tourist activities loosely linked with sport.

In their article "Sport and Tourism: A Conceptual Framework," Gammon and Robinson (1997) posed the question of whether sport and tourism should be joined in every possible way, or whether their objective ranges should be separated by clear cut parameters (pp. 21-26). Figure 2 shows the twofold specifics of tourism. Sport tourism is a sector that refers to individual and group travel outside one's permanent residence in order to participate actively or passively in sports competitions and/or recreational sports disciplines. In this case, the main motivation for travel is the sport and tourism component that, in a way, reinforces general experiences and sensations. In its *hard definition*, the main motivation to travel is sport as well as the active or passive participation in a sporting event. The most important factor differentiating the event is its orientation to competitiveness. In its *soft definition*, the main reason for travel is sport as well. However, the differentiating factor is the recreational aspect of traveling in relationship to sports. The second sector, *Sport in tourism,* refers to the participation of tourists in sport – away from one's residence – for recreation or competition, passive or active. The primary motivation is *holiday or visit*. In its hard definition, sport is a secondary reinforcement to travel. A tourist starts doing sport actively or passively regardless of whether or not it

is competitive. The soft definition encompasses tourists who exhibit little interest in undertaking sport activity during their holidays; their participation in sports is random.

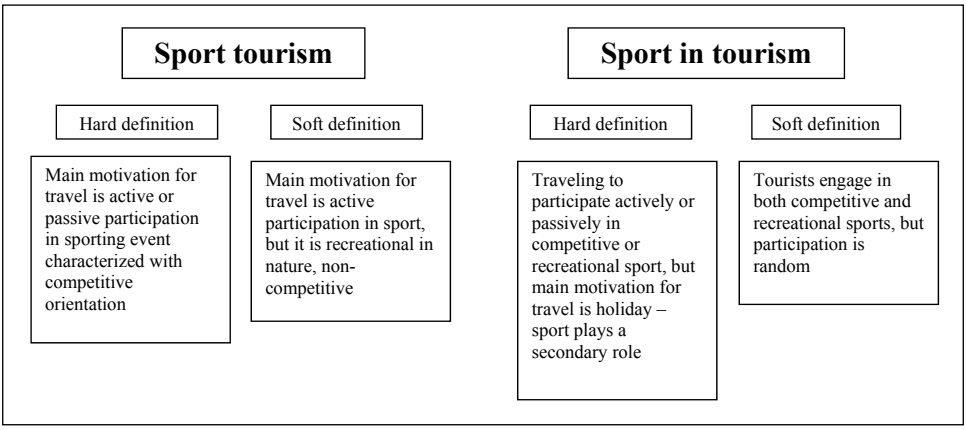

Figure 2. Gammon and Robinson's Sport Tourism and Sport in Tourism. Adapted from "Sport and Tourism: A conceptual Framework," by S. Gammon and T. Robinson, 1997, *Journal of Sport Tourism,* 4 (3), pp. 21-26; translated from Polish

Hinch and Higham (2001) noted the lack of consensus regarding the definition of sport tourism. They derived their own definition of this phenomenon. They acknowledged the fact that the only difference between the definition given by Gammon and Robinson for *tourism sport* and *sport tourism* and their definitions was the fact that sport plays a secondary role in traveling. They defined sport tourism as "Sport-related travel that lasts for a certain amount of time and occurs far from one's usual environment; sport is understood as a set of unique rules and competition requiring physical fitness and game activity" (translated from Polish, Hinch & Higham, 2001, p. 49). In 2004, Robinson and Gammon partially modified their model. In the hard definition of sport in tourism – which had thus far covered active and passive participation in sport activities – they included sightseeing at famous attractions, i.e., sport museums, famous stadiums, halls of fame, etc. (Robinson & Gammon, 2004, p. 227). It was influenced by Gibson's definition of sport tourism from 1998: "Sport tourism is traveling from one's residence in order to undertake recreational or competitive sport activity, to watch popular or exclusive sporting events, and to sightsee at sport attractions like sport halls, halls of fame, and water parks" (translated from Polish, Gibson, 1998, pp. 155-179).

In Standeven and De Knop's *Sport Tourism* – the main book on sport tourism – sport tourism is defined as: "Traveling that includes active or passive participation in sporting events, happening outside an individual's

usual environment" (translated from Polish, Standeven & De Knop, 1999, p. 58). Sport tourism is divided into two categories: 1) traveling to (actively) participate in sporting event and 2) traveling to (passively) watch sporting events.

Kurtzman and Zauhar (2003) present a model of sport tourism that highlights the complexity of this phenomenon (pp. 35-47) (Figure 3).

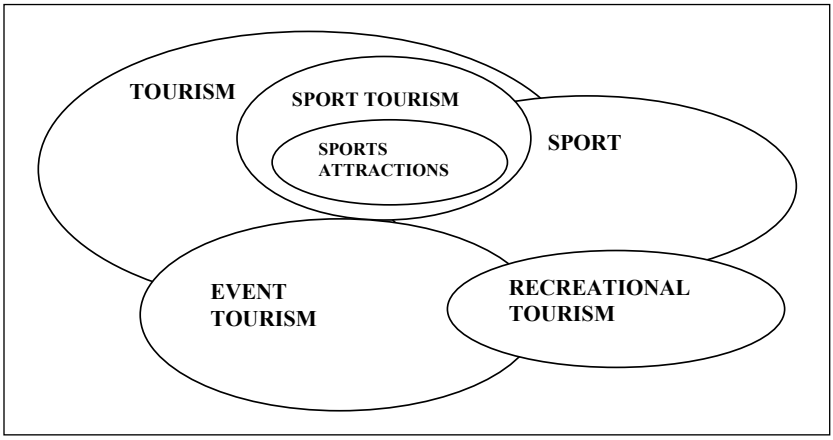

Figure 3. Kurtzman and Zauhar's Model of Sport Tourism. Adapted from "A Wave in Time — The Sports Tourism Phenomena," by J. Kurtzman and J. Zauhar (2003), *Journal of Sport Tourism,* 8 (1), pp. 35-47; translated from Polish

Sport tourism sits between sport and tourism, whereas recreational tourism is outside the range of sport tourism. Sport tourism encompasses events and other sporting activities (sport museums, etc.). In "Historical Perspectives of Sport Tourism," Zauhar (2004) listed the following categories of sport tourism: attraction tourism (i.e., museums, sport-related facilities); resort tourism (sport activity is the main component of tourists' activities); cruise tourism (physical activity services are main component of the offered products); holiday/trip tourism (tourists' interest in physical activities is apparent); event tourism (pp. 5-10).

In "Sport Tourism or Event Tourism: Are They One and the Same?", Deery, Jago, and Fredline (2004, pp. 235-245) critically analyzed Zauhar's model of sport tourism, claiming it was too extensive. They proposed a new perspective and posed the question of whether the forms of sport tourism presented by Zauhar should be included within its range. According to Deery et al. (2004), activities like strolling are not recreational activities; therefore, they should not be classified as sport tourism. When skiing does not include competitive factors it should not fall under this category ei-

ther. Sport tourism should only be rooted in sport activities. Since the previous model encompasses virtually all tourists, it offers little differentiation between the sport tourism market and the recreational or cultural tourism markets. Researchers made a decision to create a new model and to improve practical studies. Deery et al. (2004) maintained that sport tourism can only refer to tourists who actively or passively (fan tourism) participate in professional or recreational sporting events. They were convinced that visiting famous sports facilities (e.g., sports museums) is not really sport tourism but cultural sport tourism. Physical activity that is undertaken in an attractive natural environment or at a resort and that does not include competitive factors should instead be classified as recreational, not sport, activity.

In English scientific research, sport event tourism[2] has been defined as: "Traveling to watch, support, or compete in an organized sport event" (translated from Polish, Gibson, 1998, p. 12). Sport event tourism can be found within the framework of sport tourism in research by different authors, such as Standeven and De Knop (1999). However, less research about sport tourism exists in comparison to the number of sport events. The leading researchers are Getz (2004) and Deery et al. (2004). Other authors, e.g., Chalip (2004), explored the subject of sport event tourism and left aside exhaustive descriptions. In his analysis of trends in sport event tourism, Getz lists the possible benefits and objectives: attracting affluent visitors, especially ones revisiting destination places; generating a positive image of a destination place; the development of new infrastructure; using media to expand regular communication; generating higher tourism income; increasing the organizational, technical marketing, and strategic capacities of local governments; securing financial resources in order to build new kinds of sport facilities and buildings; and increasing a local government's support for sports and sporting events (Getz, 1998, p. 9).

In English literature in the 1990s, a focus of research on sport events and sport tourism was to research the beneficial economic impact of a sport event on a tourist destination. As with German research, the lack of research devoted to sport tourism is observed in English literature. This refers to re-

[2] Getz (1997), Deery et al. (2004), and Preuss and Solberg (2006) wrote about sport events from the tourism perspective concerning sport event tourism. Gibson (2004) and Kurtzman and Zauhar (2003) conducted research on the quality of service and the satisfaction levels of event participants. Research on the general conceptualization of sport event tourism was conducted by Getz (1997), among others. Chalip (2004) and Hallmann (2010) explored strategies for creating the image of destinations through sport events. The main focus of the presented research was economic and ecological impact; the socio-cultural impact has been omitted.

search that would analyze the socio-cultural impact of sport tourism from the standpoint of both active and passive participation in a sport event. The same problem arises in the analysis of Polish literature.[3]

Similarities between the concepts of qualified tourism, active tourism, and sport tourism are apparent in Polish literature. "The relationship between sport and tourism is evident and multifaceted. The foundation of this relation are tourism and sport objectives, which are frequently the same" (translated from Polish, Gaworecki, 2008, p. 13). In Poland, qualified tourism is considered to be the main form of active leisure (Łobożewicz, 1983, p. 7). This concept was first mentioned in the 1950s when, within activities sponsored by the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK), traditional forms of tourism developed, e.g., hiking, lowland, mountain, and skiing tourism. In addition, the popularity of cycling, kayaking, speed boating, and sailing tourism also grew. The purpose of the nomenclature was to find a common name for these forms of tourism and to distinguish them from other traditional types of sports. *Pure sports* were left to sports unions, which had popularized the aforementioned disciplines since 1951; the PTTK took care of recreational forms of sport. In order to distinguish new sport forms from mass tourism, sports nomenclature was used. The term *qualified tourism* was coined; it was accepted and commonly used (Merski & Warecka, 2009, p. 11). In 1983, Łobożewicz wrote that

> "qualified tourism is the highest form of tourism specialization, as it requires psycho-physical preparation, toughening the body, skill sets needed both in the natural environment and in sports facilities, and in some cases, the ability to use the equipment (bicycle, sailboat, skis, diving equipment) which has to be confirmed by properly appointed organizations. A qualified tourist aims at leisure, recreation, health, stamina, and fitness improvement, as well as at getting to know the country well. Qualified tourism brings people closer to nature the most and thereby restores their psychophysical condition most efficiently." (translated from Polish, Łobożewicz, 1983, p. 8)

The PTTK attempted to create conditions for this type of tourism. It was clearly distanced from sport by eliminating the sports achievement component from skiing, kayaking, and sailing tourism. Instead, the ability to get to know one's country, its monuments, nature, and its current situation was offered; in other words, sightseeing. Elements of sport competition were occasionally introduced in programs in qualified tourism events in order to increase their attractiveness.

[3] A lack of extensive studies on sport tourism focusing on socio-cultural aspect of research can be seen in Polish literature. It also refers to studies that further explore related phenomena: active tourism, qualified tourism, and sportified tourism

In the 1980s, the term *active tourism* was introduced. It referred to active forms of tourism and it meant "forms of tourism whose main component was to undertake specific types of recreational activities and hobbies" (translated from Polish, Alejziak, 1999, p. 218). Over time, this notion has been used interchangeably with qualified tourism, which does not seem proper, as the latter has different physical and mental requirements for participants. Treating these concepts synonymously would mean equating "a mushroom picker with a mountain hiker, or a kayaker in the supine position with his feet overboard with a tourist on his kayak stroll in the Dunajec River." The nomenclature should be organized to prevent the death of the most perfect form of all tourist forms: qualified tourism (Łobożewicz & Kogut, 1999, p. 5). Bieńczyk stated "active tourism is a forerunner of – an introduction to qualified tourism" (translated from Polish, Bieńczyk, 2007, p. 21). "A qualified tourist is also an active tourist, but not every active tourist is a qualified tourist" (translated from Polish, Merski & Warecka, 2009, p. 24).

Merski (2002) in his paper "Qualified tourism" pointed out similarities and differences between sportified and qualified tourism as well as the great latitude in the use of these term by Polish researchers. He writes, "What is called sportified tourism abroad, is called qualified tourism in Poland" (p. 22). According to Merski, sightseeing never played as important role in foreign sportified tourism as it did in Polish qualified tourism. Moreover, "there is little presence of recreational movement components in qualified tourism. However, observing current trends, it will have to increase over time; it is when it will be equal with sportified tourism. It will be PTTK's decision to decide what will happen with the cognitive component of qualified tourism" (translated from Polish, Merski, 2002, p. 22). Łobożewicz and Bieńczyk (2001) had a similar opinion on which direction Polish qualified tourism should take. They maintained,

> "by way of analogy between Polish qualified tourism and sportified tourism around the globe, the forms of activities are similar, outdoor environments play similar roles, and the role of health and fitness is appreciated similarly. In the Polish model of qualified tourism, cognitive and upbringing elements or the ones that shape people emotionally and intellectually should not be overlooked. It is probable that qualified and sportified tourism will gravitate towards each other. However, it is important that qualified tourism, which is starting to look like a unified global movement, takes as much of its content as possible without losing its own individual values." (translated from Polish, Łobożewicz & Bieńczyk, 2001, p. 157)

The analysis of Polish, German, and English literature in this paper leads to the conclusion that the notions of sportified tourism, and – to some

extent – qualified and active tourism, semantically resemble the concept of sport tourism that has appeared in foreign literature for many years. Polish researchers point to the fact that sport tourism means active and passive participation in sporting events. Some authors stress the differences between sportified and recreational tourism, viewing the sharp intensification of physical or psychophysical efforts and changeable goals as the sources of these differences; namely, a measurable score (record) and direct or indirect competition with other people. According to Kosiewicz and Obodyński (2006), sport tourism manifests itself in three variants: active tourism, qualified tourism, and extreme tourism. The transition from one form to another is frequently under-defined (p. 35). In 2008, Gaworecki, inspired by the definition proposed a decade earlier by Gibon, wrote, "Sport tourism means traveling to participate in recreational or professional sports activities, to watch sports events, or to visit famous sports attractions, such as sports museums" (translated from Polish, Gaworecki, 2008, p. 17). In 2011 Godlewski pointed to three components of sport tourism: event (sport) tourism, cultural (sport) tourism, and sportified tourism (Godlewski, 2011, p. 131). Polish research on sport tourism should instead be defined as scientific reconnaissance, as the discussion on the specifics of sport tourism rarely appears there.

Schwark's Perspective on the Specifics of Sport Tourism

Both contemporary sport tourism and its components are conditioned by economic, ecological, and socio-cultural determinants. These are linked with different emotional, sensual, esthetic, and intellectual motivations and needs that are influenced by ongoing commercialization, the dictates of fashion, and social prestige. The simple division of sport tourism into the one whose main goal is undertaking sports activity in free time, and the other one where motives for sports activity are secondary to the manner of spending free time, does not justify the specifics of sport tourism, but merely classifies it formally (Dreyer, 1995, pp. 9-10). The practitioners, who use this notion rather effectively, usually do not need a theoretical framework for what in their opinion functions more or less well. Schwark posed an intriguing question that is addressed to sport tourism: Where is the line between sport tourism with its own specificity and sports undertaken within tourist space? (Schwark, 2002, p. 23). Schwark believed that qualifying and differentiating sport tourism in accordance to whether sport is the main or secondary motive refers to the range and intensity of travel. Along with the main motive as a more or less dominant component of travel,

nothing has been determined about the specifics of sport tourism. Regardless of the primary or the secondary motives for travel, the same motives may apply to doing sports. An elementary question is therefore: What is the difference between doing sports "at home," that is, in the daily routine of one's cultural sport surroundings, versus doing sports "during holidays," preferably during the trip? According to Schwark (2006), the crucial issue is the way of appropriation (*Aneignung)* to sport and tourism reality, which can be understood as all forms of experiencing, capturing, getting to know, understating, changing, and shaping the reality (pp. 68-77). Four main ideal types of this appropriation (i.e., practical, theoretical, esthetic, and ethical) cannot be separated from environmental, social, and cultural contexts in which the appropriation occurs.

The category of appropriation (*Aneignung*) plays a crucial role in the attempt both to capture the socio-cultural potential of experiencing the world during the trip and to get to the bottom of the tourist and journey experiences. It also refers to capturing what is referred to as the meaning of individual and collective sensations. As a philosophical category, which goes back to German post-Kantian philosophy, it describes a specific relation between the *self* and the world, between an individual and material or spiritual objects. The appropriation is understood as *the penetration, the assimilation, the embodiment, the spiritualization,* or *the processing* of what is adapted. It means the transformation of both sides participating in this process, thereby influencing the one who appropriates (Jaeggi, 2002). With reference to Kaptein's social tourist space, four ideal types of appropriation, which intersect in practice, are enumerated: *practical appropriation* – "actions undertaken within the subject sphere that are oriented towards using the reality in accordance with one's own needs"; *theoretical appropriation* – "recognizing reality through semantic signs"; *esthetic appropriation* – "sensual and spiritual activity supported by esthetic signs"; *ethical appropriation* – "the relationship between human beings and their environment shaped by normative criteria" (translated from Polish, Kapteina, 1998, pp. 3-11).

According to Schwark, a sharp line between sport tourism and doing sports within the tourist reality cannot be drawn. However, recognizing its cultural, social, and environmental contexts brings us closer to defining the specificity of sport tourism. This is supported by recognizing the differences between the narrow sense and broad sense of sport tourism. The definition of sport tourism is:

> "Sport tourism, in the broad sense, is the appropriation of sport activity undertaken in *one's own* environment under the circumstances that are different from the daily surroundings or, in the narrow sense, the double development of

> the performance, so to speak, or the appropriation of different sports activity in unusual settings, which normally do not occur in everyday life." (translated from Polish, Schwark, 2006, p. 73)

The specific character of sport tourism is proven by the fact that their participants move beyond their daily living space, which results in the appropriation of a frequently strange and different socio-cultural space. The question of the different forms of this appropriation (practical, theoretical, esthetic, and ethical) cannot be separated from environmental, social, and cultural contexts in which this appropriation occurs. Doing sports in a natural environment and in the vicinity of natural landscapes creates a new quality, of which sports done in one's traditional scenery – that is, an artificially "constructed" space – are deprived. This specificity is settled by the context in which these artificial spaces have a relationship to nature, culture, and to anything that is called social. It is close to the thesis that sport tourism (in certain forms of sports) provides more opportunities for high intensity experiences on sensual, vital, emotional, and social levels than sports played in traditionally formalized forms (e.g., at the stadium). This high intensity and authenticity of experiences, with which sport tourism is accompanied by the scenery of a natural environment, results from the peculiarity of social and cultural relationships between sport tourist and natives inhabiting travel destinations, along with their own sport and cultural traditions.

Table 1 presents certain types of ideal behaviors that are modified in practice. In the narrow sense, cultural relationship means a comprehension and appropriation of regionally specific sport and movement cultures in which sport tourists find themselves. In the narrow sense, social relationship means interaction and cooperation with local resident communities. This stands in contrast with the isolated features of the place, e.g., a tourist resort closed to local communities. Nature relationship, in the narrow sport-tourism definition, means the appropriation of the natural environment with its anthropologically formed cultural landscape. The furthest possible and, therefore, the least intensive cultural, social, and nature appropriation of sport tourism are presented in the broad sense fields of sport tourism in Table 1.

Allocentric tourists fall under the category of sport tourism. They are geared towards innovation and adventure. When they travel, they prefer new forms of sports, frequently extreme, and they do them in faraway places that are not easily accessible to the average tourist. More cautious tourists, who choose well-proven and tested forms of controlled tourist experience, also belong to sport tourism. The number of the latter will

Table 1. Specifics of Sport Tourism

	Sport tourism in the narrow sense	**Sport tourism in the broad sense**	**Beyond the scope of definition of sport tourism**
1 cultural relationship	Comprehension and appropriation of regionally specific sport and movement cultures	"Pure" practicing in the sense of copying	Purely spatial transformation of own sport culture as implanted parallel culture
2 social relationship	Inter-action and co-operation with locally resident communities	Provision of service relationships with locals	Compartmentalization (quasi culturalization)
3 nature relationship	Appropriation/internalization of the natural spacious conditions inclusive of the anthropologically formed cultural landscape	Functional usage, surmount, conquering	Stage function of the natural and cultural landscape/ nature syntheticization

Note. Source: "Sport tourism: introduction and overview," by J. Schwark, 2007, *European Journal for Sport and Society,* 4(2), p. 121. Retrieved from: http://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/2487050/sport-tourism-introduction-and-overview-jurgen-schwark

increase considering the general ageing of societies. From the perspective of intensity of experience, the type of sport tourist who is focused on participation in sports events, either as an active participant or as a spectator, is equally uninteresting. Sport tourism, which encompasses sport event tourism, can be considered as a certain continuum, where the center of gravity is either on active sports holidays (Dreyer, 1995; Gammon & Kurtzman, 2002; Gammon & Robinson, 1997; Gibson, 1998, 2002; Standeven & de Knop, 1999) or on sport event tourism (Brösel, 2002; Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2004; Getz, 1998).

The analysis of types of behavior of sport tourists, when confronted with the consumption-oriented model, refers to their cultural heritage and sports practice. These can either be educational – that is, open to relationships and open to cultural dialog with a conscious acquisition of values and with the acceptance of different cultures' values and traditions – or it can be distanced from that approach. The question then arises as to the alignment of these behaviors with the tendencies that can be distinguished in the development of modern forms of sport tourism and which Schwark calls trends (2006, pp. 162-166).

Contemporary Trends in Sport Tourism

Transformations taking place in sport tourism in numerous Western European countries, along with all the developmental and civilization differences and disproportions, are visible in many developmental trends; that is why sport tourism specifics should be expanded with the presentation of the fundamentals of this growth. One of these trends is the ongoing commercialization linked with the development of the sports service industry and the sports equipment market. This has caused sports to become the subject of consumption and the sport-tourist to become the consumer in this relationship. This phenomenon is accompanied by the presence of differentiated and multi-optional sport tourist offers. One of the examples of this transformation is the division that has recently occurred between *jogging* and *Nordic walking*, *mountain climbing* and *free climbing*, and *surfing* and *kite surfing*. The list is growing, and one can expect that it will expand in the future. "Everything is allowed" is a rule that prevails in certain areas of sport activity and which frequently leads to the phenomenon of *desportifying sport.* That is what happens when sport activity becomes secondary and when it is deprived of sports features. This phenomenon can go along with sport events that are oriented towards "show" and entertainment, and which are subordinated to producing business and marketing results, rather than sport results.

An important limitation in doing sport tourism in the natural environment, a limitation which influences its range of impact, is the ongoing local and global climate change caused by the wasteful natural resources economy. It can affect sports such as kayaking, mountain climbing, skiing, mountain biking, etc. Diminishing freshwater supplies in some regions of the world, as well as global warming, play a significant role in further development of sport tourism. It is alarming, especially in situations with exacerbated demographic problems caused by dramatic population increases in places amateur sportspeople visit, e.g., Kenya and South Africa. Global climate change may, over time, threaten winter alpine sports.

An apparent trend in contemporary sport tourism is the increased orientation to a well-defined target audience interested in sport and tourist activities. The number of sport tourism participants is increasing, especially in target groups of older people (aged between 40 and 60 years) for whom sports is becoming an increasingly more important lifestyle component and is also playing an integral role for them. Together with the ongoing segmentation of the sport tourism market regarding age groups, there is a tendency to individualize and specialize sport and tourist activities. These are accompanied by increased sport infrastructure and increased demands for sport

and pedagogical counseling. In general, the more educated and more demanding participants in sports and recreational activities will require more individualized and specialized ways of meeting their expectations.

Responses to the increased individualized tendencies regarding these expectations are sport and tourist offers that include self-reflection and liminal experiences as inspiring components. Such is the situation in case of East Asian sport and recreational activity offers, or various "adventure-oriented" offers, in the case of extreme tourism. A typical "adventure" tourist is a professionally active person with college or university education, aged between 25 and 40 years (Standeven & De Knop, 1999). The range of commercialized offer in "extreme" area reaches the boundaries of survival experiences. The physical and mental requirements are, in this case, very high.

In the process of tourism supply and demand in sport tourism, it is the culture that indicates the social sphere of joining and differentiating. Whether or not they want it, tourists (strangers) transmit their native culture to the regions they visit. It happens during social interactions with inhabitants who react, in a certain way, to increased demands for a tourist appropriation of their own culture. The variety of behaviors and reactions to them are expressed in individual and group attitudes towards different cultures. They create a certain tension between *appropriation of tourist space* on one side of the spectrum, while on the other side, the attitudes of hospitality, tolerance, and openness to others who are frequently perceived as the strange ones.

Among the far-reaching impact results of tourist events that are socio-cultural, economic, or ecological in nature, the strongest response comes from the economic sphere, which mainly refers to the material profits of tourist events. Scientific studies on this subject are therefore dominated by research on the impact of large events on employment, the number of visitors, destination image, increase of media interest, etc.

Sport events are subject to the rituals and principles of particular sports discipline, and they are becoming increasingly popular. In fact, their commercial use began at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly in the final two decades. The most influential and media-publicized events are still large sports events. They gather the greatest number of spectators in one place, and they frequently turn into mega-events, special events, or hallmark events.

Summary

One of the most essential areas of socio-cultural quest, which is still undervalued in scientific studies on sport tourism, is the dimension of this area that would enrich sport and tourism research practice with cultur-

al and axiological spheres of people who frequently play the dual role of sportspeople and tourists. It should coincide with a reflection on current and potential threats coming from both commercial and pure contemporary market trends. The point is that the axiological potential included in sport tourism should support self-realization in the sphere of physical and spiritual activity. The intensity of sport experiences within that sphere goes along with the abundance of esthetic and cultural experiences related with tourist world of nature and culture.

From the standpoint of the active and passive tourist, sport tourism turns out to be the product of socio-cultural reevaluation occurring within the leisure time sector, especially within the segment associated with sports activity. Individual motives underlying specific choices and the consequences of undertaking sport and tourist expeditions are diverse. However, the extent to which tourist activity has been sportified plays an increasingly important role in making these choices. If modern leisure time culture was transformed into experience culture (*Erlebniskultur*), then this state would be reflected in the practice of participation in sport tourism.

Economic forecasts and sport tourism experts look at new branches of human experience economy and at contemporary consumers who don't ask: *What would I want to have?* or *What is it that I don't have?* Instead, they ask: *What would I want to experience?* and *What is it that I haven't experienced yet?*

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

THE ROLE OF EXPERIENCE IN CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN THE TOURISM MARKET: THE CONCEPT OF EXPERIENCE ECONOMY AND EXPERIENTIAL MARKETING

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Abstract: The article explores the role of experience in the shaping of tourism consumer behavior and looks at the extension of the concept of "experience economy" to the tourism sector. Experience-oriented consumer behavior is a consequence of cultural changes generally referred to as "postmodernism" and has much to do with "escapism"—that is, the desire for physical and mental diversion from daily routine, which, in tourism, is manifested in the transition from traditional traveler to the modern tourist. The influence of experience on tourism activity—specifically, on the choice of tourism offers and on tourist behavior during a journey—is discussed in reference to different contemporary behavior patterns (MacCannell, 2002; Bauman, 1994; Lipiec, 2009). In the "experience economy," the role of experience is expressed in the need for individualization and personalization of offers and involvement of both the consumer and producer in the service delivery process. Experience has become a fundamental value purchased by a tourist-consumer. The article also discusses the concept of experiential marketing, a relatively recent theme explored in the theory of marketing, whose main feature is the exploitation of emotional and other noneconomic factors influencing consumer behavior.

Keywords: the tourist, experience economy, consumer behavior

Introduction

The role of human experience during a journey plays undeniable role both for the tourists and service providers; it influences the way in which the offer is composed as well as its marketing success. From an economic standpoint, the role of experience might be analyzed from two perspectives: the shaping of consumer behavior on the tourism market and the extension of experience economy to tourism market. The first point of view allows the analysis of consumers' willingness to buy services that will satisfy their needs through certain experiences, sensations, and impressions during a journey.

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The second point of view examines (tourist) consumer experiences gained when using the tourist product (along with former experiences) in shaping the extra value of these products as well as customer benefits.

Consumer behavior is defined as "a group of consumer actions and perceptions included in decision making process, making a product choice and consumption " (Own translation, Rudnicki, 2010, pp. 7–8). The decision-making process in tourism sector is complex, and it encompasses many decisions regarding both the place of destination and tourist product components. These decisions are influenced by various frequently interdependent factors. The increase in purchasing power broadens the scope of consumer decisions, which are more heavily influenced by psychological and social factors. These factors determine tourist activity, and through their influence on buying and selling processes, they shape tourism demand. The influence of noneconomic determinants of consumer behavior justifies the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach to research. The analysis of tourist behavior from the sociological and psychological perspectives should be considered as well.

Both consumer and customer experiences that are incorporated into the product may change the economic effect. This article aims at analyzing the relation between the process of (tourist consumer) experiencing and the shaping of the tourist offer. A thesis is advanced that a desire to experience something is an important source of motivation to go on a journey. Therefore, the impact of experience on the shaping of offers is not a new phenomenon. However, from an economic standpoint, relatively new relations are explored during the transfer of "experience economy" to tourism sector. They could only appear in the process of economic development, when the following offer components on the market were improved: materials, goods, services, and only then experiences.

The Role of Experience in Consumer Behavior

The notion of experience belongs to the category of praxeological science. It ranks above the "action" category, meaning that it refers to all aspects of activity and determines that activity. As long as people gain and expand experiences without any obstacles, the so-called progress of culture exists (Ryszkowski & Ryszkowska, 2006, p. 319).

The foundation of taking up tourist activity is the motivation to travel. A desire to experience something appears in travel motivations regardless of their classifications. Experience is necessary so that the journey can correspond with holiday, educational, cognitive, entertainment, social, religious,

and even professional motivations. Historical analysis also shows that a desire to experience something during a journey was always the inspiration to take it up. A person traveling from one place to another experiences different levels of technology on the way; he or she feels the variability of means of communication, road conditions, and ways of communicating, etc. Mączak (2001) maintains that the "attentive and intelligent traveler - through his own experiences - is more likely to notice the differences in lifestyles, ways of thinking or socio-political systems, than his neighbor who stayed home" (Own translation, p. 21). A desire to experience something makes the tourist stress these differences, in order to feel the journey more fully, to enjoy it, and even to brag about it. Experience process may also refer to peculiar "time traveling." Experiencing the extremely different life conditions of South American inhabitants enables the traveler to feel the living conditions of pre-European civilizations. Experiencing life in highly developed places also enables the tourist to "experience the future." However, it should be pointed out that the processes of globalization decrease the differences and standardize the conditions in which tourist experiences occur.

According to Mączak (2001), "traveling means alienating in time, moving into unknown territory for a relatively short period of time" (Own translation, p. 23). It is not only about geographic, but also about the social and cultural unfamiliarity. Owing to that, a tourist experiences stress that grows out of the necessity to solve problems and the need to adjust to new conditions. There are tourists who find this kind of stress attractive. They consciously want to get to know and try the lifestyle, as well as the way of living and eating of people who inhabit the destination country. For other tourists, the necessity of adjusting to new conditions is an obstacle. Thus, they prefer to travel in conditions they are used to. This phenomenon is defined by Cohen (1972) as an "environmental bubble" (p. 166). Hotels, restaurants, and trip organizers create the conditions of tourist stays that resemble the conditions of life in the visited country. This allows tourists to experience environmental stress and alienation as the results of different sleeping and eating conditions. Tourists using package holidays frequently travel between such bubbles (from the airport to the hotel, from the hotel to the arranged tourist attraction, etc.). A desire to have the tourist experience is, in such situations, limited to "collecting tourist attractions."

Consumer behaviors in the tourism market are influenced by broad civilization changes referred to as postmodernism. In narrow perspective, this phenomenon refers to the movement in arts, culture, and architecture that denies twentieth-century modernism. In broad perspective, postmodernism means the popularization of new values that significantly influence choice behaviors and attitudes toward free time (Myśliwska, 2011, p. 155).

The nature of postmodernism is conveyed in the statement "Everything has already happened." People act according to some behavior patterns and schemes. For instance, a desire to know and experience the beauty of nature was the foundation of taking up a journey in romanticism. The romantic journey grew out of the need "to be on the road" (Own translation, Żok-Soroczyńska, 2010, p. 41). The need to take up a journey is dear not only to romantics but also to contemporary tourists.

Bauman is one of the most frequently quoted authors who presented the concept of postmodern man. He made an attempt to define fundamental personality types of contemporary man. They are a stroller, a tourist, a tramp, and a player (Bauman, 1994). The need to have an experience during a journey, in reference to the above-mentioned classification, is typical for a tramp, a player, and a tourist. For a tourist, collecting sensations and seeking experience are the point of a journey (Bauman, 1994, p.31). He or she demands more excitement, as he or she quickly gets bored. Similar to a tourist, a tramp constantly seeks change, but contrary to a tourist, he or she knows what he or she escapes. For a player, experience is the foundation of change and existence. A tramp wants to escape daily routine through experiences in a different place, whereas a tourist seeks new experiences for their own sake. The sense of daily life activities for a tourist is a desire to seek sensations, which are provided during his or her constant journeys.

In the postmodern view, each person who travels is a tourist, who gets to know the world through "stepping into it," experiencing its entire offer, constantly seeking new sensations and experiences, so to speak. A tourist continuously expects new information from the world. Being a tourist means a certain way of spending free time, collecting sensations. He or she seeks new experiences, and these can be provided only through something he or she has not seen yet, obviously different from daily routine.

Therefore, participation in tourism is not only typical for narrow social groups. According to MacCannell (2002), "Traveling is becoming a social imperative; everybody needs to go somewhere to spend their money in a foreign place, so that people who live in that place can also go somewhere else in order to spend their money" (Own translation, p. 7). This statement is emphasized by the economical dimension and massive character of tourism, which encompasses the whole society.

Postmodernism seems to be closely related with consumer behavior, and it is concerned with behavior in tourism. Lifestyle changes, reflected in different attitudes toward work and free time, are important factors influencing consumer behavior in the tourism market. According to Winiarski and Zdebski (2008), "More and more people will live not merely to work, but they will work to be able to fulfill their dreams in free time" (Own transla-

tion, p. 25). Travel and leisure patterns will be individualized as the result of diversified needs and interests, as well as a higher possibility of realizing them in free time (Niezgoda, 2010 b, pp. 22–23). Postmodernism is characterized by an increased importance of play and pleasure in human life. This might result in increased demand for tourist goods and services.

A desire to have a tourist experience is the manifestation of "escapism," which is a psychological escape from daily routine. Many tourists travel not merely to get to know new countries, but also to take a break from daily routine. These people want to travel, so that they can forget their everyday life. According to Winiarski's concept of tourist motivation (Winiarski, 1995, p. 17; Alejziak, 2009, p. 187), escape from daily routine belongs to behavior motives that aim to restore disturbed psychophysical balance. Its purposes are drive, overburden, and lack or excess reduction, which all occur in everyday life. The mere detachment from usual routine is an indicator of tourism. Kazimierczak (2012, p. 23) maintains that breaking routine requires a tourist to take up activity that is a certain kind of an "experiment." Hence, the whole trip might be acknowledged as an experience.

Escape from daily routine puts the tourists back in bondage of of what is the right thing to do, to see, and to experience on the road, what they should have with them and what they should know upon returning home (Mączak, 2001, p. 26). This kind of behavior is characteristic not only for a contemporary tourist, but also for people who traveled in earlier times. Fashion is a determinant that makes the choices correspond with the "what is right" criterion. Serving different social functions, fashion influences behaviors of individual people as well as whole social groups. The basis of this influence is the fact that fashion conformity gives people self-confidence and a sense of belonging to a particular social group or class. Fashion, as a factor determining consumer decisions in the tourism sector, may concern the choice of travel form, place of destination, and types of activities during a journey. Tourist experiences are exposed through choosing many frequently unusual activities (i.e., bungee-jumping, surfing, swimming with dolphins, etc.). Researchers of fashion phenomena noticed that, through imitation, the lower class forces the upper class to change fashion, so that the proper distance between them can be maintained. Therefore, the foundations of fashion are (a) a desire to distinguish oneself and (b) a desire to imitate those who distinguished themselves prior to other people (Niezgoda, in press). That distinction must be noticed by others in order to serve its purpose, because its function is to be distinguished and to contrast (König, 1979, p. 142). If a journey is to be noticed, it has to astonish people with its otherness. For instance, it can be a journey to entirely wild regions in Papua New Guinea or meditation with the lamas in Tibet.

Prinke (2004) observes that the postmodern-era tourist is aware of false "authenticity" created by the media of attractions but still accepts it (p. 45). The author also points out the fact that encountering something that used to be attractive and unique is becoming more popular; thus, tourism is losing "the otherness factor." One might suspect that the more familiar tourist attractions are, the more attractive experience they become. In the era of quick access to information that is possible thanks to the popularization of the Internet, contemporary tourists seek attractive, yet well-known places. MacCannell (2002) calls this process "sight sacralization."

The discussion leads to the conclusion that experience is inextricably linked with the contemporary tourist's travel motivations. One might also give some thought to the role of experience in different kinds of journeys taken by different kinds of tourists. From a marketing standpoint, the analysis of potential customer behavior is a starting point for creation of tourist offers. Tourist behavior during a journey focuses on the consumption process resulting from service features; in the process of service delivery, a simultaneity of production and consumption occur along with active and parallel participation of both service producer and service consumer. The way of delivering service and customer satisfaction are influenced by so-called post purchase behaviors and decisions to repurchase. Therefore, it is a fundamental issue in marketing to know the tourist's profile.

Features of Contemporary Consumers of Tourist Services

The process of exchanging longer holidays for shorter ones is typical of contemporary tourists. It reflects a desire to escape daily routine and seek various experiences, both of which have already been discussed in this article. According to "Forschungsgemeinschaft Urlaub und Reisen," German people were declared travel champions in 2011, as 75 percent of them traveled for at least five days (Marschall, 2012, p. 41). Psychologists recommend relaxing frequently and for a short period of time. Research proves that thinking about holidays elevates the mood, and the post-holiday state of relaxation is sustained for about a month at the most (Mehmetoglu, 2004, p. 34).

A noticeable transition from a traditional "journeyer" to a "tourist" proves a tendency to shorten the stay. A journeyer is someone who works on something, for whom a journey is a certain process and a way to aim high, whereas a tourist seeks pleasure, new experiences, and adventure. A journeyer is active and does not want to be served. A tourist passively waits for events and service. For a journeyer, the path is the goal and a journey is taken up in order to experience sensations in a strange place, whereas

a tourist is merely a passive and impassionate observer "collecting" visited places. A tourist expects that "everything will be prepared for him and because of him" (Own translation, MacCanell, 2002, p. 16). A journeyer works on something, while a tourist is a pleasure seeker. Many studies on journeys and travels set them in opposition and repudiate the second type of mobility (Banaszkiewicz, 2012, p. 33). MacCannell (2002) remarks that the notion of tourist is used as an ironic nickname for people who are satisfied with "nonauthentic" experiences (p. 145).

Seaton's typology (2002) can be referenced in the analysis of changes in tourist behaviors. It takes both time perspective and social conditioning into consideration:

1. metempsychotic—a tourist exhibits nonlinear behaviors; during a journey, he or she expresses him- or herself as a clearly defined person who is constantly the same.
2. metensomatosic—during one journey, a tourist plays different roles (chameleon-like behavior).

According to Seaton, this model emphasizes specific stages in the motivation process through examining the dynamics of change in tourist behaviors. People become tourists not through the aspiration to satisfy their needs, but through social conditioning to seek personal development. This development occurs through performing different culturally approved social roles. Therefore, people should be asked, "Who would you like to be during the journey?" instead of, "Where would you like to go?" (Niezgoda, 2010b, p. 26). Ways of traveling and types of services used during the trip influence the shaping of tourist self-image.

From the philosophical standpoint, Lipiec (2009) emphasizes two perspectives on travel motivations. First, people travel in order to surrender to the objective influence of values. According to this concept, "The world shapes a man." The second theory has subjective character, and it assumes that a person does not go out into the world, but shapes it as a background, as scenery, and as a way to test oneself. The cognitive benefits emerge on the way, and they constitute changeable complements. It does not matter for a tourist whether he or she is in the Alps or in the Tatras; rather, it is mountain climbing that is crucial. It is unimportant for this type of tourist which Greek island will be visited; what is important is windsurfing and using an all-inclusive offer in a five-star hotel. Lipiec enumerates three types of tourists that best reflect subjective attitudes toward traveling. They are as follows: a collector, a conqueror, and a professional.

According to Lipiec, a collector "collects experiences, people and specific attractions" (Own translation). Each journeyer who is interested in a journey as the element of the greater whole instead in the journey itself

can be a collector (Lipiec, 2009, p. 12). Tourists belonging to this category dream about reaching the summit of Rysy for the sole purpose of reaching the highest mountain in a particular country and adding it to the collection of such peaks. These tourists do not visit the Louvre for the sake of aesthetic experience, but to expand the collection of the world's most important museums they have visited. One might think that these tourists will seek the best restaurants in a specific country or the world's highest waterfalls and buildings. It is not only the individualization of experiences that a collector values, but creating a whole from individual experiences gathered during different journeys.

A conqueror is a person who is happy with each trophy, much more in terms of the level of performed feat than in the dimension of its purpose and values (Lipiec, 2009, p. 15). These tourists do not place a high value on standard, everyday products or on the products owned by many people. Objective and subjective priority, authenticity, difficulty level of the accomplishment, and high-task risk are what matters for them. Experiences (and the possibility of bragging about them) play an important, if not fundamental, role in making a choice of a place to stay and the way of spending the holidays. Therefore, they do not value presumably exploratory holidays spent at a seaside resort or on the air-conditioned bus.

According to Lipiec (2009), a professional is a person for whom "the level of personal presence in the world" is what matters the most (Own translation, p. 18). This type of tourist does not travel for pleasure but for feat, in order to show how exceptionally things can be done. In this case, a desire to experience new sensations is a priority in making travel decisions. This kind of person wants to astonish him- or herself and others with the manner of achieving goals.

The behaviors of the above-described types of tourists relate to the so-called ostentatious consumption phenomenon. Also in the tourism sector, people buy services "to show off." Many tourists would not take a journey if, for instance, their stay on the exotic island or climbing a challenging mountain stayed unnoticed.

Contemporary consumers in the tourism market are more experienced and aware of their needs. In Western Europe, we deal with the second, third, and fourth generation of tourists born after World War II. These tourists, when they were children, got used to spending their holidays abroad. The life possibilities, purchasing power, and freedom to travel that these tourists have at their disposal are things their ancestors could only dream of (Pender & Sharpley, 2008, p. 136).

In search of new values and ideology potential, tourists act according to their own internal preferences and aspirations. They require a wide range

of possibilities to satisfy their needs, and at the same time, they demand instant access to information, reservations, and quick decision making. The processes of globalization and the accompanying development of communication, as well as widespread Internet access, facilitate offer searching and ensure independence in making a reservation. Consequently, tourists manage their time more independently, and more frequently they make a decision to organize their holidays on their own. Tourists want to spend their time "efficiently." That means that during their journey, they want to gain as much experience as possible. People want to maximize experiences in that time period.

Experiences during a journey cause intense emotional arousal and, according to Winiarski and Zdebski (2008), "a strive to diversify and expand tourist offer contents is oriented toward the activation of various sensational experiences" (Own translation, p. 68). Emotional experiences can be acknowledged as a sought-after goal in contemporary tourism.

In order to achieve economic efficiency on the supply side of tourism, the variety of experiences sought by the tourists must not be at odds with providing the best quality service. Tourism reception areas must, as a consequence, guarantee a high standard of basic services. In order to enhance the tourist stay to the greatest extent, a wide variety of additional services should be offered as well.

A tourist wants to experience as much as possible in the shortest period of time. "Chameleon-like behaviors" grow out of the necessity to make quick choices regarding many experiences (Roth & Schrandt, 1992). These processes correlate with the changes described in postmodern culture, which cause a juxtaposition of opposites and fragmentation in behaviors. During one journey, tourists may perform many roles. For instance, they may use cheap accommodations and expensive means of transport or save money on food and spend it on expensive clothes, and so forth. "Chameleon-like behaviors" can be displayed in fast pace of change in means and ways of traveling. During one journey (even during one day), a tourist might contemplate the silence of the desert, only to admire the hustle and bustle of the city soon after. In response to that, a transition from *service-oriented economy* to *experience-oriented economy* can be noticed on the supply side of tourism. The analysis of customer behaviors reveals an orientation toward the most favorable and pleasant offers, with relaxation of social obligations and routine behaviors (Niezgoda, 1996).

To sum up current deliberations, it might be assumed that from psychological, sociological, philosophical, and historical points of view that a desire to experience something is important (for some groups of tourists—fundamental) element of travel motivation. Various types of journeys can

result from this motivation and influence the behavior of the contemporary consumer of tourist services. It results from the fact that consumers do not adhere strictly to the principles of economic rationality as it is commonly understood. The process of making a decision is, to a large extent, influenced by noneconomic determinants of customer behaviors.

The role of experience in the shaping of consumer behavior in the tourism market is noticeable in the process of making purchase decisions. It is about the influence of previous experiences on the subsequent purchase decisions. Consumers interpret information coming to them on the grounds of their previous experience. Contemporary tourists are more aware of both the possibilities to satisfy their needs and their demands for the world-class service standards.

Tourism and Experience Economy

Experience in economic science is included in the so-called experience economy theory. According to Pine and Gilmore (Marciszewska, 2010, p. 11), this type of economy is a new opportunity to maintain and boost economic growth. The authors see the need to enrich new products with the human experience. Experience occurs during the consumption process, and in the case of services, it is the source of customer satisfaction. Employees create experiences, e.g., an incredibly pleasant conversation with a hotel receptionist or being treated in a brusque manner by a taxi driver. Different types of experiences created by tourism employees are deliberate behaviors aimed at the shaping tourist emotions (working as a leisure time organizer, a hotel singer, etc.). In highly nonmaterial services such as tourism, experiences are valued for their own sake and increase consumer satisfaction. The mere process of setting out on a journey is the source of numerous sensations and experiences. Tourists seek experiences during a journey, and sharing stories about them is frequently a valuable and rewarding thing they do after coming back home. If these experiences are positive, the offer will be repurchased or recommended to friends, which will lead to positive economic effects.

Economic potential of experiences is activated as soon as the consumption starts (Marciszewska, 2010, pp. 13–14). The more complex the product is, the bigger role experience will play in creating customer value. Customers not only seek the intangible benefits, but also experiential sensations. Tourists may even be addicted to these experiences, which makes them constantly seek new sensations. The act of buying service differs from the act of buying potential experience with respect to transaction purposes. Custom-

ers do not only buy prepared products; they want to actively experience new situations. Customers co-create the product, and the offer requires individualization. Marciszewska (2010) indicates that "to enhance the experience a customer must be engaged in both the process of creating (and experiencing) a service as well as in the active co-creation—not just the reception—of experience" (Own translation, p.16). Experiences are not only the components of a service product that is offered on the market, but they largely determine the value of this product. The contemporary tourist's behavior is closely linked to the development of mass tourism. The fact that tourism is no longer reserved for privileged social groups is the reason why some tourists are unwilling to participate in package holidays or buy ordinary offers. They want to make their travels meaningful, and they seek exclusive ways to travel in which experience will play a distinctive role. It happens as the result of fashion's influence on the desire to distinguish oneself (Niezgoda, in press). It is noticeable that the need to have and gain experiences during a journey is becoming increasingly common. The popularization of tourist offers including experience as an important component is caused by the desire to imitate.

The discussion leads to the conclusion that tourism is a field in which the experience economy may have wide application.

Supply and demand in tourism fluctuate depending on changes in both customer preferences and widely understood processes of globalization. Peters and Weiermair (2002) list fundamental changes in supply and demand, which arise out of these processes:

- a decrease in "fragmentation" of tourist products in favor of global products and complex package services;
- a shift in consumer preferences: from simple "mono-attributive" products to "multi-attributive" products and multioptional experiences (pp. 157–158).

A tourist product can be interpreted by consumers in a very random, individual, and unique way, because experiences and sensations become a fundamental value purchased by the consumer-tourist. It is the consumer-tourist who determines which product components are the most important in order to satisfy consumer needs in the most suitable way. This assumption is the starting point of the experience economy concept.

Marciszewska (2010) lists the following types of experiences as being fundamental to the experience economy: leisure, education, escape from daily routine, and aesthetics. All of these forms may occur during different types of journeys. Even all-inclusive holidays at the seaside resort may include the elements of experience, when, for example, a tourist participates in evening entertainment and contests or admires the sunset. "Escape from

daily routine" as a type of experience allows us to place experience as a product component in various forms of tourism. That confirms the hypothesis presented in the introduction—that experience is the foundation of various travel motivations.

Owing to the fact that tourist services do not belong the category of basic services, consumers have more time and willingness to consider the possible ways to satisfy particular needs, and they can afford to analyze their sensations and experiences. The concept of so-called experiential marketing[1], which corresponds with the concept of experience economy, will be discussed now.

Experiential marketing can be defined as marketing that aims at customer feelings. Its role is to convince a customer that a particular product, service, or business conversation will be ideal and the most suitable way to satisfy customer needs.

"Tourism sells dreams"—the essence of experiential marketing is perfectly reflected in this slogan. A mere purchase of accommodation, for instance, can become a sensation and an experience. Marketing actions are supposed to shape the emotional setting for the purchase of particular product. The perception abilities of customers are conditioned by their emotions; thus, specific emotions should be created (or reduced) to bring about positive customer evaluation. Such actions, on the supply side of tourism, correlate with the experience economy theory. Opportunities for experiential marketing actions depend on customers' sensual sensitivity. Sociologists emphasize the role of senses in perception and evaluation of a journey (Urry, 2009). Some people react intensely not only to visual stimulus, but also to smell, sound, and even touch. That leads to two conclusions. First, new customer segments can be analyzed; however, these segments might be difficult to distinguish. Second, the role of senses, which can either strengthen or weaken the perceived brand, should be taken into consideration. In contemporary market conditions, brand names determine the standards associated with high quality. If tourist products are to stand out in the market, they should be unique, and they should ensure a high quality of emotional experiences.

Weiermair points out the value of attention devoted to consumer sensations and experiences, with reference to the development of tourist products in place of tourist reception. According to Weiermair (2004), if the pioneer companies cared for their customers' "tourist experiences and sensations" (p. 10), they could grow regardless of mass tourism limitations.

[1] The term *sensation marketing* could also be applied. See Niezgoda, 1996.

Summary

To conclude, experience plays a significant role in the creation of a tourist product. There is a view that "tourists spend the most money on purchasing experience" (Own, translation, Alejziak, 2009, p. 72). It is connected with the component of experience in different tourist motivations. This correlation results from the following phenomena: "escapism" (which is escape from daily routine); the transition from traditional "traveler" to the contemporary tourist; emergence of new tourist types, for whom social roles and factors are crucial when making decisions regarding tourism activities; and a desire to experience as much as possible in the shortest period of time (chameleon-like behavior). The role of experience can be noticed in all stages of the consumer behavior process beginning at the moment of making a decision to travel and choosing a place of destination as well as the offer components. It continues in the process of consumption (co-creation of service) until the holistic experience is received, which determines so-called post purchase behaviors and decisions to repurchase. Experience influences consumption habits and can determine other people's behaviors.

From the economic standpoint, the role of experience in product creation is best described in experience economy theory. It arises from the necessity to both individualize and personalize the offer as well as to actively engage consumer and producer in the service delivery process; the result should be exceptional experience. The role of experience on the supply side of the market is also reflected in the concept of experiential marketing. Numerous references to customer sensations and experiences can be found in tourist offers. Customer experiences can be taken into consideration in all aspects of marketing mix (Niezgoda, 2010a; Niezgoda, 1996).

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

HONEYMOON AS A RITE OF PASSAGE: SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN THE PHENOMENON

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Abstract: Although a honeymoon appears to be a well-known phenomenon, finding traces of scientific reflection upon it poses a significant challenge. Certainly, its uniqueness stems from the fact that it constitutes a part of the wedding ceremony (unique by itself) and that it is gone on only once in a lifetime. Therefore, similarly to the wedding, considerable attention is devoted to it. Contrary to the wedding ceremony, the honeymoon is taken only by the couple and the presentation of the reminiscences of the trip (photographs, souvenirs) can occur only to a very limited extent. Following a lavish, family wedding ritual, the time comes for the newly-married couple to set off on a journey to a distant place, after which they return to their own, new house. Although the scheme portrayed above may be a pattern not necessarily followed by all newly-wed couples, it nevertheless lays down a framework within which a decisive majority of honeymoons can be fitted.
The article presents examples of honeymoons from different parts of the world, attesting to similar functions such trips perform. Rites of passage are therefore part of our daily social life, integrating the society and introducing ritually new members. They help establish clear boundaries of the social group and the status of its members and facilitate the separation of the public and private spheres.

Keywords: honeymoon, rites of passage

Honeymoon as a Rite of Passage

A honeymoon typically begins right after or even during the wedding ceremony when a newly-married couple sets off for holidays to a distant destination, leaving behind—both symbolically and literally—their old lives. The end of this journey is marked by the return of the newlyweds to their own household, where they slowly settle into the normal, daily routine of life. [1] This is how, in a nutshell, we could summarize the course of this

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[1] Certainly, the transformation accompanying the journey and the return is an inherent element of not only honeymoons, but of every, even temporary, change of the place of residence. Anna Wieczorkiewicz writes about this in her book *Wędrowcy fikcyjnych światów. Pielgrzym, rycerz i włóczęga* (1996).

unique journey. Its extraordinary character (happens only once in a lifetime) and prevalence (difficult to find prospective newlyweds who would not make honeymoon plans) makes the honeymoon an interesting springboard for a closer analysis of changes occurring in the contemporary culture and the role travel plays in it. The honeymoon can also be seen as a barometer of social change as it is not only the trip itself that undergoes transformation, but also its social significance. Nowadays, young parents with their little children may go on a honeymoon if they happen to become part of their relationship prior to the wedding or come from previous relationships or marriages. Eventually, the honeymoon may only bear the name of a "honeymoon" while being taken by people who decide—for various reasons—to live together without being married.[2] Sometimes honeymoons are repeated due to sentimental associations or occasions, such as on another wedding anniversary or at spouses' senior age when they often visit places in which they previously spent their vacation or, simply, go again on their honeymoon as they did years ago in their youth.

According to various sources, the origins of social regulations pertaining to the first post-wedding months of life of newly-married couples can already be found in the Bible. The Book of Deuteronomy talks about a man who stays at home for a year after the wedding so that he "shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken" (24:5). During that period he was also released from military and public service. The above-mentioned, sweet as honey postnuptial period, enriched with a trip taken together by the newly-married couple, emerged in the later historical period and can be traced back to the beginnings of modern times, including the development of guided tours organized in the mid-nineteenth century.

However, the question that arises is whether a honeymoon can still be perceived as a "rite of passage" involving status change. Very often a honeymoon is not the first trip a young married couple will take together, since young people—individually or in pairs—belong to the most active

[2] The reasons for not getting married are innumerable—starting with the outlook on life of one or both partners, through formal obstacles (most often a previous marriage that was not formally ended or cannot be ended in a formal way due to religious reasons), to a situation that seems to be gaining ground in the contemporary world—namely, when the religious background of one of the parties impose a certain limitation that hinders marrying a nonreligious person or a person representing a different religion. In addition, social scientists mention a number of other reasons behind the reluctance to marry, some of them being intensified spatial mobility, changes in the sphere of work and personal career (single persons), and many more. It therefore transpires that in the sphere of family life, which is alluded to by many theoreticians examining the phenomenon, we currently observe very dynamic changes relative to the institution of marriage both as a formal act and an indissoluble union of two people, which can be described in terms of crisis.

and mobile social and demographical group. Furthermore, when analyzing honeymoon deals available on the market to potential young spouses, it is hard to detect any particular elements related to status change; more frequently, the honeymoon signifies a trip that is more attractive than others and that just costs more money than "ordinary" vacation. Notwithstanding, it seems that despite the changes occurring in the contemporary culture, the honeymoon has retained its attractiveness and its core part has remained unaffected despite the lapse of time. Although we are witnesses to very dynamic changes to the outlook on marriage and its place in social life, the prevalence of honeymoons appears to contradict a simple diagnosis that sees marriage and its manifestations as threatened by crisis. However, in order to verify this view, it is worthwhile to examine scientific accounts of honeymoons and the transformations they have undergone over time.

Breaking out of the routine of everyday life that the honeymoon brings can be analyzed by applying a number of sociological concepts. Therefore, one has to mention the need to highlight and accentuate certain elements of social roles of newly-married couples—dramatization of the role with the aim to render the performance more credible and infusion with emotional content appearing in abundance during the first days of married life. "The individual typically infuses his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent and obscure" (Goffman, 2000, p. 60; Rapoport, 1964, p. 43). By utilizing the concept of rites of passage, the problem of social status change affecting individuals is analyzed, for instance, by Bossard and Boll (1948). The authors describe a situation of status change of young girls in local communities in the first half of the twenty-first century. As they grow up, in place of former, noncommittal "play," they are given new duties and responsibilities concerning the choice of school they go to or a prospective career path. Another, already classical text that can be referred to here is *Homo Ludens* (1998), by Johana Huizinga, which drew attention to the socializing context of play that provides training preparing for the performance of future social roles; as the author himself puts it, "the play is not 'ordinary' or 'real' life. It is rather a stepping out of 'real' life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own" (Huizinga, 1998, p. 23). Such understanding of play evokes images typically associated with a honeymoon and the atmosphere that accompanies it. Further "formal characteristics of play" listed by Johana Huizinga include voluntariness, disinterestedness, freedom, and "a tendency to be beautiful." (Huizinga, 1998, p. 55). The definition of play he formulated denotes that "play is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely

accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life'" (Huizinga, 1998, p. 55).

Honeymoon as a Rite of Passage (Rite de Passage) and Social Initiation: Historical Context

The importance of a honeymoon together with all the customs and rituals that accompany it can be most adequately analyzed by utilizing Arnold van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage*. Its author stressed the significance of culturally sanctioned and socially controlled rituals during which members of a given social group were first subject to seclusion from their community so that after a period of isolation they could be again incorporated into the group—but this time assuming different social roles, rights, and duties. Both the timeliness and universality of the theory regardless of the cultural context gives a perfect opportunity to utilize it when reflecting upon the spatial mobility that is inherent to honeymoons.

Through the prism of status change ceremonies, Arnold van Gennep drew attention to the position held by an individual in a local community and its importance. According to the author, the existence of elaborate rituals regulating what is in-between the *sacred* and the *profane* occurs in every corner of the world. The existence and celebration of passages also results from the fact that "each larger society contains within it several distinctly separate social groupings" (van Gennep, 2006, p. 29), and van Gennep adds further that "as we move from higher to lower levels of civilization, the differences among these groups become accentuated and their autonomy increases." (van Gennep, 2006, p. 29). Although it is difficult to consider this observation valid after one hundred years, the author argues that the symbolic meaning of passage ceremonies preserve their significance also with reference to modern societies. The change has a complex character: "So great is the incompatibility between the profane and the sacred worlds that a man cannot pass from one to the other without going through an intermediate stage" (van Gennep, 2006, p. 29). The transition has always created a disturbance of the existing social order; therefore, each time it required giving very explicit signals that would provide both an excuse for people crossing the so-far impassable boundaries and the information about the participation of other members of the local community.

The theory divides the culturally sanctioned rite of passage into distinct elements, ascribing a separate meaning to each of them. Hence, it comprises (a) the phase of seclusion (*separation*), (b) transition (*limen*), and (c) incorpo-

ration (*re-aggregation*) (van Gennep, 2006; Turner, 2005, p. 164). Transition rituals occur during social status change and are accompanied by a spatial change as well—this pertains not only to the phase of separation from the former social structure and the position held in it, but also to the moment of reincorporation with a new social role (and related statutory social expectations, rights, and duties toward the community the new position entails).

The scope of the first phase, separation, "comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions" (Turner, 2005, p. 196). The next phase involves a moment of "suspension," often combined with a physical seclusion from the former social group and a lack of unequivocal status. In the last one, "the transition is completed and the ritual participant undergoing initiation . . . returns to the social structure . . . with a higher status" (translated from the Polish edition of Turner, 2005, p. 196; Gersuny, 1970, p. 261; Podemski, 2004, pp. 44–45; Rapoport, 1964, p. 37).

The Honeymoon and Wedding Customs in Light of the Concept of Rites of Passage

Among a number of authors drawing upon van Gennep's theory, we can mention Pickering, who applied the concept to examine the modern society (1974, p. 72) and at the same time tried to answer the question about the reasons why members of increasingly secularized societies still attach so much importance to the religious dimension of rites of passage, such as baptism, wedding, or funeral. In his view, there are several important factors that render the theory of *rites de passage* still up to date. Among them is the fact that during basic transition rituals, individuals take upon themselves new roles in a social group, and while the separation, transition, and incorporation rituals can differ among one another, their fundamental function is to provide support to individuals experiencing difficult and stressful moments in life (Pickering, 1974, p. 72). Next, the author enumerates more up-to-date functions that these rituals currently perform: highlighting important moments, defining social reality, corroborating to the individual their symbolic transformation, or reinforcing their self-confidence in times of personal crisis, and helping define the scope of future responsibilities. Finally, among rites of passage, the author mentions "the separation of roles" in the society, which is particularly important in small-scale societies in which a limited number of actors have to perform many different roles (Pickering, 1974, p. 72). This is also a reason why modern societies create poor social demand for rites of passage. In addition, the author emphasizes that nonliterate societies displayed a higher

level of ritual infusion than industrial societies in which a number of periods traditionally marked by rites of passage, like reaching puberty, practically lost their importance. To recapitulate, among the most important reasons for the self-sustaining of rites of passage, Pickering mentions providing support and information to individuals in difficult moments of their social status change, whereas the main cause behind their prevalence is their capability to fulfill inner, deeply hidden needs of the individual (Pickering, 1974, p. 73). The author points to another difference characterizing contemporary societies—namely, that rites of passage are no longer coercive and a failure to fulfill them is not threatened with social sanctions. As the author writes, in traditional societies, rituals were part of daily life, with individuals passing through them somewhat "automatically" after having achieved a certain age or a stage in life. Nowadays, although they perform similar functions, their presence is contingent upon the personal choice of the individual (Pickering, 1974, p. 75).

Despite quite a detailed portrayal of functions performed by rites of passage and the analysis of changes occurring in this area, the author evades an unequivocal answer to a question posed at the beginning about the reasons for the social timelessness of rites of passage. At the same time, however, he calls attention to the fact that rituals are more common among societies with closer, often religiously sanctioned ties, giving examples of rarely touched upon, but equally important from the religious point of view, rites of passage, such as confirmation in Christianity and bar mitzvah in Judaism (Pickering, 1974, p. 74). Another argument is that rites of passage, despite their social setting, sometimes entailing the participation of a great number of people, are related to rituals involving selected people who symbolically change their status in the presence of their immediate family and members of the local community (Pickering, 1974, p. 76). In his conclusions, the author points out two major factors related to the functioning of rites of passage in the contemporary world: the involvement of the family and relatives as well as a religious dimension of the rituals, still present despite progressive secularization of modern societies (Pickering, 1974, p. 78).

A honeymoon in modern times, similar to its institutionalized form—the wedding tourist industry—is a "secular ritual," as was observed by a number of different authors (MacCannell, 2002; Hummon, 1988, pp. 179–180). Among a number of social functions it serves, some deserve to be mentioned here: taking the newlyweds through status change rituals and gaining both financial and social independence as well as autonomy in the eyes of the society (family, friends, and relatives). Gaining these qualities happens through the celebration of rituals that are aimed at "proving oneself" (or being tested by others) in a new social role.

The topic of the wedding and wedding customs has been analyzed in a number of ethnographic studies. As Barbara Ogrodowska writes in her study on folk traditions in old-time Poland, "the first intercourse of the newly-married couple, which in consequence was to lead to giving birth to a legitimate offspring, should possess certain features of openness and take place under social control" (translated from the Polish edition of Ogrodowska, 2008, p. 215). The openness mentioned above was not only secured by the presence of wedding guests escorting the newly-married couple to the bedroom door during the wedding (and a group of wedding-related customs called *pokładziny*), but also the public display of the evidence of defloration on the next day (Ogrodowska, 2008, p. 217). *Przenosiny* (i.e., moving into a new house) can also be viewed as a custom that displays features of a social ritual of incorporation into a new community. The abundance of prewedding and wedding customs proves the significance of this event in folk cultures. Although most of them are on the wane, the honeymoon is still living proof of the importance attached to the change of place in which the newly-married couple is staying.

The topic of the honeymoon attracts attention of researchers examining social life and changes that occur in this field. August Hollingshead (1952) writes about the honeymoon in an article based on a survey study conducted in the United States that involved carrying out 900 interviews with couples who married between 1951 and 1952. In the sociological analysis on marriage, the author presented data on the proportion of couples who decided to go on a honeymoon after the wedding: in the case of betrothed couples who married for the first time, the proportion reached 94.5%.[3] Conversely, amid spouses who had been married before, the proportion totaled 75.8% in the case of remarrying women (with men who married for the first time), 79.3% in the case of remarrying men (with women entering into marriage for the first time), and 61.5% in the case of spouses who both had had either a wife or a husband. Newlywed couples were also inclined to spend more money on the honeymoon if they married for the first time (approximately $320), whereas in the case of remarrying, it was only half of the amount.

One of the first studies available in the body of literature documenting sociological research on the honeymoon was carried out by Theodore Johannis in the 1950s in the United States. The questionnaire on the basis of which the survey was conducted included questions about whether the couple went on a honeymoon, who planned it and what the destination was, and

[3] The importance of the "first time" is also analyzed by van Gennep, who highlights not only fear and anxiety before going through the first ritual or ceremony in life, but also calls attention to culturally sanctioned means of dealing with the situation (see also van Gennep 2006).

how long it lasted and who paid for it; there were questions about the means of transport being used, visits to relatives and friends (if any), and hints and tips for prospective couples planning similar travel (Johannis, 1959, p. 39). In this way, the quantitative and qualitative research obtained interesting results that captured both the ubiquitous character of the phenomenon the honeymoon is, as well as individual impressions of the couples reflected in the above-mentioned tips on "what to avoid during trips like that." Nearly 84% of respondents declared going on a honeymoon following a wedding ceremony. The honeymoon usually lasted no longer than 7 days, or for 25%, even shorter, whereas in only 14% of cases, it lasted 8–13 days. More than 13 days was indicated by only 14.9% (Johannis, 1959, p. 39). The most frequent means of transport during a honeymoon was a car—as many as 90% of couples used it. The train was chosen far less often (only 6%), similarly to a bus, a plane, or a "mountain trip on horseback." Interestingly enough, only 13.6% of respondents declared spending their entire honeymoon in one place; in the vast majority of cases, it was a touring trip, which in one-third of cases was combined with visiting relatives [4] (Johannis, 1959, p. 40).

In the text, we will find exact information on tips the respondents—who had already returned from their honeymoon—would give to other newlywed couples about to have this one-of-a-kind experience. Among the tips there were some related to the costs of travel (according to the respondents, too high costs could potentially lead to financial trouble after the return from holiday, whereas cheap travel would not guarantee exciting experiences worthy of remembering), then to the type of tourist activities experienced during the honeymoon itself (in this case, two opposite suggestions dominated: one recommended focusing on things already known and therefore liked by both spouses, whereas the other said to have the courage to try out something new). In addition, among the tips the respondents would give to their fellow travelers were those related to the duration of the trip; in this case, external factors played a principal role, such as the length of annual leave, and most of the tips suggested methods of accommodating these limitations (Johannis, 1959, p. 40).

The body of literature on the subject includes a description of wedding customs practiced by the American Amish—a Christian group whose followers persistently pursue the ideal life of living in small societies, in accordance

[4] Visiting relatives is a very interesting part of the honeymoon, which, after all, is taken by only two people and takes place beyond the sphere of influence and control of the immediate and distant family or neighbors. As the analysis of available texts on the topic demonstrates, planning honeymoon travel that would incorporate the element of contacting relatives living, for example, in the visited region is characteristic of rather small and more closely integrated communities, such as the Amish in the United States, which I describe further in the article (Schreiber, 1960).

with the rules of the Bible, while cultivating social customs that date back to the seventeenth-century Germany and Switzerland. In his text, William Schreiber portrays the wedding customs of the Amish, embarking on an attempt to provide their anthropological analysis. Research on the basis of which the author wrote his text had been conducted in a similar period of time and on the territory of the same country as the study discussed above. Despite many similarities, there are also clear differences not only in the course of the ritual itself, but also in the functions it performs. They pertain to both the trip taken together by the couple after the wedding and the customs accompanying the status passage of the newly-married couple, as well as social functions fulfilled by particular components of the ritual. As the author reports, the wedding and wedding ceremonies of the Amish are regulated in every detail by the custom and traditions that are obligatory in a given community. Similar to a number of traditional rural cultures, Amish weddings take place in the autumn and winter when the crops are harvested and there is less work than in the spring and summer period; moreover, bumper crops guarantee a proper hosting of all the wedding guests, who, in rural cultures, gather from not only the immediate family, but also neighbors and other members of the local community. The author mentions weddings attended by 200–300 revelers, eating "meat, potatoes, bread and cakes" (Schreiber, 1960, p. 12). Elaborate rules applying to the organization of wedding receptions go as far as specifying days of the week when they are allowed to take place—it is Tuesday and Thursday (days that are not reserved for religious celebrations or the preparations for them, such as Saturday and Sunday, but also providing one day to cook dishes for Tuesday or Thursday festivities and cleaning once they are over). Giving too much time could be interpreted as encouragement to waste God's gifts. The tradition of having wedding ceremonies on Tuesdays and Thursdays has its origins in pre-Christian times (Schreiber, 1960, p. 14). However, the most interesting customs are related to the honeymoon. In this case, during their first trip together, the newly-married couple is obliged to visit a wide circle of friends and relatives—generally, "all who have to be visited" (Schreiber, 1960, p. 13). The honeymoon is a perfect opportunity for intergenerational meetings and passing down life experiences and wisdom of older generations of "aunts and uncles" to the newlyweds. The advice offered pertains to living together, farming methods, and other aspects that could be helpful to the newly-married couple in gaining economic independence. This example clearly shows that in the ceremony described above, the emphasis is placed upon the phase of integration into a new community—the newlyweds "introduce themselves" to the local community, and relatives who having not participated in the wedding ceremony also take this opportunity to pass down practical, real-life knowledge.

An interesting overview of honeymoon examples from the second half of the twentieth century can be found in Wilhelm Gersuny's text from 1970. By presenting results of different studies, the author demonstrated the process of gradual commercialization of the honeymoon, which, after World War II, became an element of the honeymoon industry (Gersuny, 1970, p. 260). The author also showed how the academic approach to research on honeymoon was changing over the years. And so, in the previously mentioned article by Rapoport from 1964, we encounter "honeymoon goals," involving preparations for successful sexual life and living together in a permanent, intimate relationship with another person—"the less anticipatory socialization, the greater the significance of this passage" (translated from the Polish edition of Gersuny, 1970, p. 262), the author claims. Further on, Gersuny presents in detail research carried out several years later that indicated the importance of the "socially sanctioned withdrawal" of the newlywed couple, for whom comfortable conditions are created to fully enjoy intimate married life, free from external duties and other disturbing factors, with its privileges that are inaccessible to unmarried individuals (1970, p. 262). Thus, as the author writes, it is "expected" from the newlywed couple to symbolically and literally escape to a remote place, away from the collective social life, and free from duties and responsibilities (Gersuny, 1970, p. 262). The escape facilitating seclusion is a *sine qua non* for laying solid foundations for successful, married life.

Gersuny also presents the results of his own research on the contents of the honeymoon advertisements addressed to prospective couples. He calls attention to the commercial exploitation of motives associated with intimacy and sexual relationship by providing a description of beds as a decorative element of the hotel room: "From wall to wall, there are heart-shaped beds, circle-shaped beds, canopy beds and super-size beds" (translated from the Polish edition of Gersuny, 1970, p. 264). Although apparently the sexual motif was not the only one used to convince the newlyweds to take the offer, it is indicative of both the social definition of a honeymoon and the potential needs of individuals who make a decision to organize it with the help of the tourist industry.

In another study on a honeymoon, we read about three subphases of the social process of entering into marriage. The first one is the engagement phase that ends with rites of passage related to the wedding and wedding customs. Then come the "honeymoon" and the phase of "early marriage," which—according to the author—lasts two to three months after the wedding. The author makes the division into the above-mentioned phases taking into account social expectations vested in the couple at each stage (Rapoport, 1964, p. 46). Besides the social sanctioning of the procreative role of

the family, the wedding itself—to repeat after Sylvia Rapoport—comprises an important element of transition to a completely new social status, sealed with "moving together to a new place of residence" (translated from the Polish edition of Rapoport, 1964, p. 38). The author also alludes to the honeymoon as one of the key elements securing the continuity of a successful marriage (i.e., preventing the disintegration of marriage and divorce), and the role of the honeymoon in a context of "establishing a fundamental sense of harmony" (translated from the Polish edition of Rapoport, 1964, p. 40). In her view, "the impressions evoked in the early stages of married life" (also during the honeymoon) and subsequently sustained in the course of further interactions are of key importance to the type of relationship between the spouses and the durability of their marriage (Rapoport, 1964, pp. 43–44).

Despite undergoing some major transformations in the second half of the twentieth century, the traditional wedding ceremony in Japan also abounds with customs pertaining to the departure of a newly-married couple for a honeymoon (Edwards, 1987). As Walter Edwards posits in his article, in Japan, to a much greater extent than it can be observed in Europe, the wedding is regarded as the "entry" to the "adult society." The author conducted his empirical research during the 1980s. Edwards gives an account of a whole range of new customs that emerged in recent years in Japan, swiftly gaining both popularity and the status of "local customs," particularly among young people—a concrete example of them being "wedding vows" and the exchange of wedding rings, absent in former Japanese wedding ceremonies (Edwards, 1987, p. 53). According to the author, a vast majority of the new customs reflects the commercialization of wedding ceremonies and the development of market-based wedding services. The ceremonies observed by the author comprised the preparations for the honeymoon (Edwards, 1987, p. 56), whose average cost amounted to slightly above 10% of the costs of the wedding ceremony.

Another example from France indicates a similar meaning ascribed to the wedding ceremony as a symbolic act of social status change. Deborah Reed-Danahay (1996) described the *la rotie* custom, presenting its sociological analysis. The ritual took place after the religious ceremony, wedding reception, and wedding night when wedding guests barged into the newlyweds' bedroom, bringing a chamber pot with them. It had an eye painted at the bottom and was filled with champagne and chunks of chocolate. The concoction was drunk by all the participants of this merry custom. Its sexual and coprophagic contexts (Reed-Danahay, 1996, pp. 751–756) varied depending on the region of France, but the custom itself, similar to a number of other local rituals, is nowadays on the decline, bearing witness to the richness and diversity of the old folk wedding customs.

From the sociological point of view, extremely interesting is the significance of the custom itself: a public character of the one of the most intimate acts—i.e., the wedding night and the sexual intercourse of a newly-married couple is linked to the couple's privacy being under control of the local community. Here the author seeks out motives of Bakhtin's carnivalization (Reed-Danahay, 1996, p. 751). The custom underscores the role of the family in the local society and the importance of the control the local community has over it. The collective dimension of this control connotes a socializing role of control exercised by the local community, or even its totalizing function—to follow Erving Goffman's understanding of the concept. In his view, the effectiveness of total institutions in exercising their impact on their members was possible through simplification and homogenization of the community as well as the equal treatment of all "initiates" and a lack of reference to the social roles they previously performed (Turner, 2005, pp. 168–167). The collective power is expressed in the above-described ritual, *la rotie*, mainly through the numerousness of the group consisting of unmarried boys and girls who "search for" the newlyweds wandering about from house to house and drinking alcohol with neighbors (Reed-Danahay, 1996, p. 753). At times, finding the newly-married couple ends up with "them being thrown out of their own bed," which evokes their feigned astonishment and surprise, with the whole incident concluding in merry entertainment. Completing the above-mentioned rituals crowns the transformation of the newlyweds' social status and allows them to take possession of their new house.

Another example of research on honeymoons is the account of wedding customs in the early-twentieth-century Netherlands by Matthijs Kalmijn. The author meticulously examines the honeymoon phenomenon, embarking on an attempt to both describe the contemporary ritual and point out its social significance, firmly rooting his analysis in a sociological theory. Based on a sample of nearly 600 married couples and utilizing the theory of rites of passage (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 583), the author examines data related to the presence and importance of the wedding ceremony and the church wedding as well as going away on honeymoon as a final element of the ritual. As the author points out, the honeymoon is precisely the ritual that, despite being the most private part of wedding celebrations, is also most exposed to commercialization (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 586). "By celebrating the marriage in an elaborate fashion, newlyweds are helped to define their new identity, they obtain information on how to act in the new role" (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 582). According to Kalmijn (2004, p. 583), the honeymoon "symbolizes the departure of the children from the two families of origin and is a way for the couple to present itself to an unknown outside world as married." In his study, the author propounded a hypothesis that marrying at a young age

increases the probability of having a church wedding and going on a honeymoon (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 584). Also, living in the rural area is conducive to celebrating a honeymoon and a lavish wedding ceremony. The decision to go on a honeymoon is made by 34% of couples; a decisive majority chooses to go abroad to distant countries (57.8%); considerably fewer couples decide to travel within the Netherlands (28.2%) or to the adjacent countries (14%). The honeymoon itself lasts shorter than a week (31.4%), a week (29.2%), two to three weeks (37.1%), or a month and longer (2.2%) (p. 586). The destination and the length of the honeymoon are also affected by the socio-economic status of parents (Kalmijn, 2004, pp. 591–592). The author also writes that honeymoons became more popular after 1970, which is connected to the development of the tourist industry in Western societies—for the Dutch society, the rate increased by 50% between 1970 and 1996 (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 589).

Another interesting topic concerns a social influence on the decisions made by the newly-married couples. He continues that "the socio-economic status of the newlyweds' parents" affects the honeymoon to a larger extent than the wedding ceremony, whereas the financial situation of the newly-married couple has a greater impact on the wedding ceremony than on the honeymoon (Kalmijn, 2004, pp. 591–592). The author puts forward a hypothesis that wedding celebrations are a much better opportunity to demonstrate the social status of the new family; therefore, its members are more willing to spend significant sums, in contrast to the honeymoon, which involves only two people and does not offer the possibility to display the newlyweds' social status. Interestingly, in contrast to the research results presented above, the author demonstrated that the likelihood of going on a honeymoon increases together with "premarital cohabitation" as well as "marrying at a later age" (Kalmijn, 2004, p. 592). The author observes that this might result from the fact that the honeymoon is a reflection of a more individualistic orientation toward marriage and does not serve as a source of information about socially accepted behaviors (contrary to the church wedding ceremony and the family wedding reception being a perfect example of the degree to which social norms and values are present in the life of the newly-wed couple).

Among articles on honeymoons in different parts of the world, interesting conclusions can be found in John Goodkind's works where he writes about wedding ceremonies in Vietnam. In this case, the sociocontrolling function over the newly-married couple is performed not only by the members of the local community, but also government agencies. And so in communist Vietnam (Goodkind, 1996), an evolution of wedding customs is portrayed following deliberate practices of the communist regime in this

country intended to devalue the importance of the family and family creation ceremonies, i.e., the tradition of parent-arranged marriage (Goodkind, 1996, p. 725) and local community control over the spouses—from betrothal to the wedding day and also in the later period. In this case, the wedding ceremony and potential honeymoon are subject to state control, and the efficient exercise of this control is perceived as an effective means to, on the one hand, curb former influences of the local community and old customs and, on the other hand, enable political indoctrination of citizens of this undemocratic country. This example also proves that wedding-related rituals being under social control have a special role ascribed to them, which also proves how a culturally sanctioned ritual can be used to perform new functions.

The book by Geri Bain, *Modern Bride: Honeymoon and Wedding Away*,[5] is another source of interesting information about the contemporary wedding customs. She mentions "destination weddings," a popular trend that is gaining ground in the U.S. and involving the organization of a wedding in a place where the honeymoon begins. In such a case, the bride and groom take all their wedding guests to a honeymoon, not necessarily participating in the costs of their travel.[6] As the author reports, an offer like this does not necessarily has to be much more expensive than a "traditional" wedding since a destination wedding will be—by necessity—less lavish and elaborate. Aside from such spectacular locations such as the Grand Canyon or Florida, the most popular destinations include tourist resorts of the Caribbean, Mexico, and Hawaii, as well as Tahiti, Fiji, and New Zealand. According to the author, a honeymoon lasts 8 days on average, but the preparations for it are as carefully made as for other parts of the wedding ceremony. The average cost of a honeymoon fluctuates around $3,000, with over a half of couples choosing to go on a package tour arranged by a travel company whereas one-third goes to a tourist resort. However, as the author indicates, it does not mean the newlyweds are required to take a standard package offer available on equal terms to all tourists since the tourist industry is capable to provide a bespoke offer tailored to the needs and requirements of newly-married couples. Moreover, the offer has one fundamental advantage—it does not incur additional costs as all is included in the package. It also gives the newly-married couple an opportunity to respite and relax after organizational hardships involving preparations for the wedding ceremony and wedding reception for a number of guests.

[5] See Sardone (n.d.).

[6] However, it is worth keeping in mind that this number as well as the time it takes can be very limited—for instance, an offer of a wedding taking place onboard a helicopter flying at the sunset over the Great Canyon allows for the presence of only two guests at the wedding ceremony that is a peculiar combination of a wedding and honeymoon that lasts 90 minutes.

Authors of another article, Paris Permenter & John Bigley (n.d.), emphasize the magnitude of honeymoon costs. According to the research results they published, an average sum being allocated by couples for the honeymoon is approximately $1,400, whereas the average cost of the annual vacation of "a statistical American" is only $420. According to the authors, newly-married couples, aged 18–24, spend over $1,800 on their honeymoon, while one-third of all newlyweds going on honeymoons spend over $2,500. Such significant sums result from the conviction that the honeymoon can only be taken once in a lifetime; hence, the pursuit for exotic experiences and culturally distant places so that they can be reminisced upon throughout their life. The tourist industry, particularly package deals, also include offers of a free Caribbean wedding as an addition to an all-inclusive holiday package (the price covers the wedding officiant fee and the cost of a marriage license). Beside the Caribbean or Europe, a number of newly-married couples from the Unites States decide to go on "adventure honeymoons"—i.e., trips that abound in adrenaline and danger and choose out-of-the-box solutions being a far cry from those offered in standard travel package deals. However, also in this case, the tourist industry can offer options such as a safari in Alaska or river rafting in Mexico with lodgings at a tent camp.

As one of the researchers writes, organized tourism, including tourist deals targeted at newlyweds, is "a ritual transformation of ordinary reality into an extraordinary one" (translated from the Polish edition of Hummon, 1988, pp. 199–200). David Hummon calls tourism a "social ritual," providing the individual with "an experience of otherness" that defines the meaning of everyday life (translated from the Polish edition of Hummon, 1988, p. 200). This occurs in the presence of a whole range of efforts stressing the dissimilarity of between the world portrayed during the honeymoon and everyday life; in the case of honeymoons, the emphasis is placed upon "romantic" elements, symbolic and physical intimacy, and a contact with similar wedding customs in visited places, while the difference between the exotic and the ordinary underlies the importance of rituals being performed by the newlyweds.

In another study on the current condition of the overseas honeymoon industry, its authors point to the increase in the affluence of people and the economic development of the country as the primary reason for its growth (Kim & Agrusa, 2005, p. 890). Over the last few years, this development has been so significant and involved so many people that they decide *en masse* to have that "once-in-a-lifetime" experience and go to an overseas, exotic destination for their honeymoon (Kim & Agrusa, 2005, p. 890). The authors of the text cite data that indicates this type of travel has gained unprecedented popularity in recent years. For instance, out of 190,000 Korean people who

visited Australia in 2002, 63,000 were honeymooners, and this number has doubled since 1999 (Kim & Agrusa, 2005, p. 890). Tourists are willing to spend considerable sums of money on such trips. According to a survey conducted in 2003 by *Chonsu Daily Newspaper*, 61% of respondents declared they wanted to spend from $800 to $1,699 whereas 20% wanted to spend from $1,700 to $2,699. According to research conducted by the Korea National Tourism Organization, among the reasons for the popularity of exotic and distant places for honeymoons, the respondents mentioned satisfaction from a previous exotic vacation, insignificant difference in costs between national and international tourism, interest in special destinations, and being curious about foreign countries and their cultures (Kim & Agrusa, 2005, p. 890). Amid the most interesting places the respondents mentioned Thailand, Philippines, and Hawaii, but also Australia, Europe, Japan, and China. Data collected during the study also suggest that respondents for whom the honeymoon was their first long-haul voyage more often chose Australia and closer destinations whereas those who traveled to similar places several times would choose Europe as an ideal place for honeymoon (Kim & Agrusa, 2005, pp. 899–900). Europe was also most frequently chosen by those who would like to spend the highest amount of money ($3,000 and more) on their honeymoon.

In conclusion, the authors of the study point out a range of interrelationships between organized tourism (international) and the choice of place for the honeymoon: previous tourist experiences signify a greater interest in going on a long and exotic honeymoon for which newlyweds are ready to spend significant sums in order to experience an extended stay among members of a more exotic culture (particularly taking into account local customs pertaining to nuptial and wedding ceremonies). This happens to be one of the most interesting manifestations of the specificity of honeymoons.

Conclusion

The honeymoon and the changes to it affecting its functions, course, and accessibility are a good illustration of changes occurring in the modern culture. Given its widespread practice and special meaning, the ritual lasting several days is a good example of social change accompanying modern times. Examples from different parts of the world show similarities of this form, indicating a special meaning attached to travel and the change it entails. Hence, it is both the honeymoon participants who are changing by collecting first common experiences and proving themselves in their new social roles far from the prying eyes of the community members and their

status that also undergoes a symbolic change (after returning from the honeymoon, they are regarded as a new family). Being in the sphere of interest of the tourist industry and a recurring element of the couple's reminiscence, a honeymoon is not only a link that brings generations together, but also proves a special social role of marriage—both a symbolic and pragmatic start of "new life" on one's own account, and at one's own responsibility. The above-mentioned research demonstrates the social character of a largely private experience the honeymoon provides. Although it involves the newly-married couple, who most frequently are the exclusive participants in its planning, the honeymoon also constitutes a perfect example of an idealized trip that the newlyweds dream of and that is considered one of the privileges that come with the wedding ceremony. The moment is interesting from a purely sociological point of view: The relationships between the spouses themselves and the spouses and their parents, the stratified nature of honeymoons, along with the information about the tourist infrastructure determining the course and location of honeymoons, constitute a perfect illustration of changes that take place in social life. It transpires that the all-important factor affecting the change in the stratified importance of a honeymoon as a rite of passage is the fact that it rarely is the "first time" (van Gennep, 2006, p. 174). Therefore, despite the symbolic name and time when the honeymoon takes place, the newlyweds usually have previous common traveling experiences. After all, it corresponds to observations made by van Gennep: "The rites of passage occur in a full form only when we encounter the first transition from one category to another and from one situation to another" (translated from the Polish edition of van Gennep, 2006, p. 174). A round-the-world trip, popular in Western countries and taken only by a couple is the best example, in many cases replacing a honeymoon and depriving it at the same time of its symbolic dimension and uniqueness. Something that was earlier reserved for a small number of couples, usually belonging to a wealthier social class, in modern times has lost its uniqueness also because taking an extraordinary trip is hardly imaginable when the spouses, often working professionally, have a very limited possibility of going away on a long trip. Hence, the honeymoon travel—this unique and first joint experience of the married couple—has nowadays become yet another holiday time spent together, resembling more of a "long weekend" rather than a "honeymoon."

The psychological and sociological components of the honeymoon I have mentioned earlier (i.e., the relationship between the spouses and the new social roles they perform) enable negotiation and achievement of marital status for the couple. Particularly the sociological component of their new social roles provides an insight into the changes occurring in the contempo-

rary culture and affecting the relationships between men and women and between younger and older generations. The attractive trip taken only by the couple right after the conclusion of wedding ceremonies for the family and friends is an extension of the ritual itself—this time intended only for the couple alone. The intimacy that accompanies the honeymoon impedes producing scientific account and analysis of the phenomenon; however, its resemblance to a whole range of similar tourist experiences allows description of the phenomenon in more accurate terms.

Perhaps the account of a modern honeymoon could look as follows: by means of the Internet, the newlyweds book bargain holidays for two and post a link to photos from vacation on a home page of their favorite social networking website. The honeymoon appears to retain its attractiveness regardless of the changes occurring to marriage and common life. Doubtless, the secret lies in the fact that it combines the attractiveness of a tourist trip with a successful, proven throughout centuries, and immutable form of a tangible social status change.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

THE USE OF DESTINATION ONLINE REPUTATION MODEL TO EVALUATE A TOURISM DESTINATION. THE CASE OF PODKARPACKIE REGION

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Abstract: Understanding Internet users' opinions about a tourism destination (TD) is crucial for destination management organizations (DMOs). The aim of this study is to map the online image of the Podkarpackie Province and the Bieszczady Mountains in Poland as TDs.
Analysis of user-generated content (UGC) gathered through online search engines shows that the majority of subjects addressed online are related to products and services. Both areas taken into consideration in this study – the Podkarpackie Province and the Bieszczady Mountains – are rather willingly and positively commented by internet users.
The study discusses research implications for DMOs in the conclusions section. First of all it seems that the potential of the internet and especially the power of eWOM is not completely used. Tourists should be encouraged and provided with appropriate tools where they could leave comments, write reviews, and upload photographs related to their stay in a given place. Moreover the online dialog should be permanently tracked and monitored by people responsible for destination's image. Besides some common activities, such as web positioning and optimization, analysis of website statistics, as well as undergoing e-tourism trainings should be always undertaken.

Keywords: tourism, online reputation, social media, user-generated content (UGC), online content analysis

Online Reputation of a Tourist Destination in East Central Europe

With the development of new technologies, in particular the Internet, online reputation has become one of the most important factors that determine individual brand and image (Marchiori et al., 2011, March). The above is true

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for all domains of life and human enterprise, including, therefore, tourism. Future tourists usually learn the majority of information about their destination from the Internet. Such information may determine the choice of destination or even motivate tourists to change their previous decision.

According to Sheldon (1997), tourism has always been regarded a strictly information-based domain. Tourism may also be understood as an experience that needs to be shared (Inversini & Cantoni, 2009). The Internet is today's primary source of information and means of communication. As a result, we can also observe its influence in the chain of values related to tourism during such processes as gathering information, booking and purchasing, reliving memories, and gathering feedback (Marchiori et al., 2011, March). The influence of the Internet is a crucial issue for persons in charge of tourism destinations (TDs) and those responsible for creating the tourism product. As Buhalis (2003) mentions, "The Internet has become the basic means of communicating with potential tourists by Destination Management Organizations" (translated from Polish), or, to put it in the Polish context, regional and local tourism organizations (RLTOs).

A TD can be viewed as a complex structure that constitutes the central reference point for other companies and stakeholders operating within it (Inversini & Cantoni, 2009). It is also a geographical area with the necessary infrastructure that provides all services needed for tourists to arrive and spend their time there. Furthermore, any visitors' experiences will relate to a given TD (Cooper, 1998; Buhalis, 2000). As with all organizations and enterprises, TDs need to be competitive in the market by drawing the client's (in this case, the tourist's) attention and encouraging them to visit. The ways in which RLTOs can achieve these aims include characterizing a given product and demonstrating the benefits of purchasing it, providing special offers, or simply taking advantage of a good brand and reputation of their tourism products (Dowling, 2001).

Reputation may be viewed as the main asset for individuals, companies, organizations, and countries (Inversini, Marchiori, Dedekind, & Cantoni, 2010). According to Solove's definition (2007), reputation is the basic component of identity, the society's opinion formed through the behavior and character of a given enterprise and country. Dowling (2001) adds that due to the inseparable (production and consumption are concurrent) and heterogeneous (clear differences between the provided services due to human factors during the production phase) nature of tourism products, clients choose service providers based on the latter's reputation. For reasons stated above, companies that provide services related to ensuring positive experiences, such as those that operate in the field of tourism, should invest more

resources into developing their own image and reputation, especially in the modern world, where the Internet constitutes the main source of information and thus affects the entire tourism sector (Buhalis, 2003). Therefore, RLTOs should pay special attention to Internet dialogue, as knowing people's opinions about a given destination may significantly contribute to the destination's future development and provide a means of encouraging more tourists to visit.

This study is an attempt at analyzing online opinions about the Podkarpackie Province in Poland with respect to tourism. To achieve this aim, we focused on user-generated content (UGC)—that is, content created by Internet users and published in social media—and formulated the following secondary aims: (a) to assess the current opinions about the Podkarpackie Province on the Internet, (b) to identify the main problems related to online reputation and image, and (c) to suggest potential solutions and adjustments with the goal of eliminating the identified problems.

We posed three research questions in order to analyze online comments and opinions about the Podkarpackie Province as a tourism destination: What types of websites do Internet users find when using online search engines? What are the opinions expressed in the analyzed content? And do the addressed subjects and opinions vary depending on keywords used to search for them?

The article is divided into five sections. Section 2 describes such terms as Web 2.0, social media, electronic whisper, and destination management organizations based on subject literature. Section 3 presents the research project, including the case study of the Podkarpackie Province, by providing basic information about the region, especially in terms of tourism. Furthermore, the section describes the research methodology. Section 4 presents the results of the analysis. Finally, section 5 contains research implications for the tourism sector and suggestions for future studies.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

Web 2.0 and social media.

Today, in the age of information and communication technology (ICT), the phenomenon of Web 2.0 becomes prominent (O'Reilly, 2005). This means that information available online comes from official as well as unofficial webpages (Anderson, 2006). These two types of sources provide almost identical information and compete with each other for the attention of the end user—the viewer (Inversini & Buhalis, 2009).

Official pages, called Web 1.0, usually comprise services, companies, and so forth that present their offer, sell products, or integrate business processes (Cantoni & Di Blas, 2002). Web 2.0 sites, also called *social media*, can be understood in general as online applications that allow individual users to create, share, and archive information (experiences, feelings, and emotions), referred to in short as *user-generated content* (UGC) (Inversini et al., 2010). Thus, we can also interpret Web 2.0 as a type of public venue for the exchange of information (Cantoni & Tardini, 2010). Another appropriate term is the *read and write web* (Nicolas et al., 2007), whereby the end user of information combines the roles of its receiver, intermediary, and supplier (Buhalis, 2003).

UGC can be extremely useful and helpful from a tourist's point of view, as it addresses practically all stages of a tourist trip (Gretzel et al., 2006): (a) before departure (e.g., selecting a service and purchasing it or gathering information about the course of travel), (b) during the stay (e.g., up-to-date information about events and recommended venues), and (c) after the trip (e.g., memories and sharing experiences) (Marchiori et al., 2011).

Electronic word of mouth and destination management organizations.

Social media allow users to distribute what is called the *electronic word of mouth* (eWOM) (Litvin, Goldsmith & Pan, 2008); another popular term is w*ord of mouse*, meaning the computer mouse. As Blackshaw and Nazzaro (2006) put it, eWOM is "a mixture of fact and opinion, impression and sentiment, founded and unfounded tidbits, experiences, even rumors."

Some marketing managers and scientists try to use eWOM in promotional actions (Litvin et al., 2008). Such initiatives, including online promotion and creating the brand using eWOM and UGC, are becoming more and more popular. For instance, "the strategy of using blogs as an information channel involves communication, promotion, and distribution of the product as well as research and management" (translated from Polish, Schmallegger & Carson, 2008, pp. 99–110).

Many tourists consider UGC and eWOM the most reliable, up-to-date, and friendly source of information, especially in terms of buying tourism services and products that are by nature intangible and based on individual experiences (Gretzel, Hyan-Hoo, & Purifoy, 2007). Potential tourists, if they

have never been to a given TD, facilitate planning a trip and making decisions about it by browsing the Internet for opinions of those who have already visited the destination (Litvin et al., 2008).

As Solove (2007) observes, "it is impossible to prevent people from making judgments" (translated from Polish). Moreover, today TDs face challenges not only from their competitors, but also from the so-called information competitors (Inversini & Buhalis, 2009). However, tourism managers should be aware of Internet users' opinions and at the same time try to manage an increasing amount of UGC (Inversini et al., 2009). This is a demanding task and a growing challenge especially for RLTOs that manage a given region's brand (Li, Pan, & Zhang, 2009).

Destination management organizations and online image.

When UGC aggregates, it creates eWOM, which in turn contributes to building the online reputation of a given TD (Marchiori et al., 2011). In turn, reputation is strictly related to the notion of the image and brand of a TD.

As was mentioned above, tourists choose their travel destination mainly on the basis of its reputation. For this reason, organizations that operate in the field of tourism should pay special attention to developing the image of their respective regions (Dowling, 2001). Kotha, Rajgopal, and Rindova (2001) add that building the value of a brand is among the most important determinants of success for Internet-based companies. RLTOs can be considered such companies because they use the Internet for actions aimed at creating the brand and a positive image of areas they represent. RTLOs should therefore be aware of the current online image of their respective TDs as well as have the skill to shape and develop it.

This need is tied to the notion of place branding, which Govers and Go (2009) define as a marketing activity aimed at eliciting pleasant memories related to one's experiences in a given area in order to create an image that can influence the client's (the tourist's) decision to travel to that particular area instead of any other destination. In the age of the Internet and UGC, eWOM constitutes the dominant means of sharing opinions, experiences, and emotions related to one's stay in a given destination, all of which consequently build the image of the destination. For the aforementioned reasons, using this form of marketing to build a strong, clear brand of TDs is extremely important, especially for persons in charge of them.

Research Project

Podkarpackie Province and the Bieszczady Mountains.

This analysis concerns the Podkarpackie Province in Poland. The region is located in the southeastern part of Poland, bordered by Ukraine to the east and Slovakia to the south. The administrative capital of the province and its largest city is Rzeszów. The area of the province is 17,845 km^2 and its population amounts to 2,101,000 (Podkarpackie Province Office in Rzeszów, 2012).

This study, apart from the Podkarpackie Province as an administrative unit, distinguishes the Bieszczady Mountains as the province's most popular tourism area. The Bieszczady Mountains attract visitors with their natural, cultural, and landscape values as well as numerous forms of active leisure (Podkarpackie Province Office in Rzeszów, 2012).

Based on the *Nawigator turystyczny* guidebook for tourists (2009), three main groups of tourist attractions in the province can be named:

1. Natural heritage: two main mountain ranges run in the region, the Bieszczady Mountains and the Low Beskid, in which national parks have been created (the Bieszczady National Park and the Magura National Park).
2. Cultural heritage, represented first and foremost by tradition and historical monuments, such as castles in Baranów Sandomierski, Łańcut, and Krasiczyn; historical towns, such as Przemyśl, Sanok, Jarosław, and Krosno; and numerous wooden Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches.
3. Sports and recreation infrastructure, such as facilities available by the Lake Solina that offer water sports (e.g., sailing and canoeing) or simply an opportunity for recreation by the lake. Moreover, the Bieszczady Mountains are a good venue for gliding, paragliding, hang gliding, and parachute jumping as well as fishing and hunting. Slopes with ski lifts are available in winter, for instance, in Ustrzyki Dolne.

Because the aforementioned tourist attractions are considered the most important in the Podkarpackie Province, we can expect them to be broadly commented about on UGC websites. Therefore, topics related to these tourist attractions, found through search engines, were analyzed in terms of both number of occurrences and the expressed opinions.

Destination online reputation model (DORM) for classifying online content.

The analysis presented in this study was conducted based on the destination online reputation model (DORM), which enables researchers to

assess the online reputation of a given TD and is used by Webatelier.net, a laboratory of the Department of Communication Sciences at the University of Lugano, Switzerland.

This tool enables a partially automated analysis of information about a given TD, collected by online search engines from UGC websites. The process allows researchers to characterize the online reputation of the TD. The DORM structure was developed on the basis of two models presented by the Reputation Institute: the reputation quotient and RepTrak (2006), with Webatelier.net subsequently adapting the structure for the purposes of tourism. DORM has been defined thanks to a thorough literature analysis, surveys, interviews, and focus groups that involved experts on tourism and tourists themselves (Inversini et al., 2010).

Table 1. DORM Categories and Drivers

Categories	Code	Tourist Destination Drivers
Products and services (accommodation, food and drinks, attractions, active recreation, entertainment, events, availability and transport, infrastructure and amenities, other)	d1	Offers an attractive tourism product
	d2	Offers a pleasant atmosphere
	d3	Offers products and services that are good value for money
	d4	Presents accurate information about its products and services
Society	d5	Offers interesting local culture and traditions
	d6	Has hospitable residents
Management	d7	Organizations and the tourism sector cooperate in the TD
	d8	Presents innovative and/or improved products and services
Environment	d9	Shows high ecoawareness
	d10	Weather is favorable
	d11	Offers a safe environment
Meeting expectations	d12	Presents an accurate image
	d13	Meets my expectations
	d14	Offers a satisfactory tourism experience

Note. Marchiori et al. (2011).

The model consists of 5 categories, 9 subcategories within the products and services category, and 14 so-called *drivers* (Marchiori et al., 2011) (Table 1).

Content analysis is based on a list of searched-for keywords and takes into account the first three pages of results from selected online search engines (i.e., the first 30 URL addresses). In the next stage, the researcher (coder) analyzes each generated website manually. The analysis focuses primarily on UGC websites. The final stage involves presenting the results in the form of charts and interpreting the acquired data.

This project analyzed a total of 850 URLs generated by Google.com, YahooSE, and Bing.com search engines. The analysis was based on four groups of keywords related to the Podkarpacie (the Podkarpackie Province) as the main research area and Bieszczady (the Bieszczady Mountains) as

Table 2. Keywords Used for Analysis

Group of keywords	List of keywords
Bieszczady (English)	visit Bieszczady, Bieszczady restaurants, Bieszczady attractions, Bieszczady holiday, Bieszczady tourism, Bieszczady accommodation, Bieszczady activities
Bieszczady (Polish)	Bieszczady turystyka, Bieszczady pobyt, Bieszczady atrakcje, Bieszczady aktywny wypoczynek, Bieszczady restauracje, Bieszczady wakacje, Bieszczady zakwaterowanie
Podkarpacie (English)	visit Podkarpacie, Podkarpacie restaurants, Podkarpacie activities, Podkarpacie attractions, Podkarpacie tourism, Podkarpacie holiday, Podkarpacie accommodation
Podkarpacie (Polish)	Podkarpacie restauracje, Podkarpacie pobyt, Podkarpacie aktywny wypoczynek, Podkarpacie turystyka, Podkarpacie zakwaterowanie, Podkarpacie wakacje, Podkarpacie atrakcje

Note. Own design based on Inversini et al. (2010)

the most popular TD in the province. Seven secondary keywords were added to the above two keywords ("Podkarpacie" and "Bieszczady"). All keywords including secondary keywords were entered into the system in Polish and English, hence the analysis of Polish and English websites. Table 2 is the final list of selected keywords.

The first three pages of results from each search engine and for each key word were included in the analysis (i.e., the first 30 URLs). After automatically selecting a list of URLs and eliminating redundant results, the coder was able to begin the analysis proper.

Analysis of website content.

The first step of the analysis involved identifying URLs using the reputation codebook (Inversini et al., 2009) and the DORM structure. The coder's task was to classify a given website as UGC, non-UGC, not relevant, or not working. The coder was then asked to select several detailed pieces of information from the available options.

1. For UGC websites:
   - Language
   - Type of media:
     - Virtual communities (e.g., Lonely Planet, IgoUgo.com, and Yahoo Travel);
     - Client reviews (e.g., Tripadvisor.com);
     - Blogs and microblogs (e.g., personal blogs and blogspot);
     - Social media (e.g., Facebook and Myspace);
     - User-shared media (photo- and video-sharing services, e.g., Flickr and YouTube);
     - Wikis (e.g., Wikipedia, Wikitravel); or
     - Other.
   - Categories of reputation:
     - Products and services (with nine subcategories: accommodation, food and drinks, attractions, active recreation, entertainment, events, availability and transport, infrastructure and amenities, and other);
     - Society;
     - Management;
     - Environment;
     - Meeting expectations; or
     - NA.

Next, the coder was asked to assess opinions expressed on target websites in the following way: NA (not applicable), NF (opinion not found), 1 (negative feelings), 2 (more negative than positive feelings), 3 (negative as well as positive feelings), 4 (more positive than negative feelings), or 5 (positive feelings).

2. For non-UGC websites:
   - Language
   - Branch of tourism industry (selected from a list of companies and institutions related to tourism)
   - Opinion: NA (not applicable), NF (opinion not found), 1 (negative feelings), 2 (more negative than positive feelings), 3 (negative as well as positive feelings), 4 (more positive than negative feelings), or 5 (positive feelings).

Results

Types of Websites Found via Online Search Engines

Among the 850 analyzed URLs, 18.8% (160 websites) were classified as UGC. Two types of top domains were distinguished: general domains and UGC domains (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Top General Domains

General domain	Domain	Number of results (websites)
1	http://www.virtualtourist.com	19
2	http://www.youtube.com	17
3	http://www.slonecznebieszczady.pl	17
4	http://www.bieszczady.net.pl	14
5	http://www.podkarpacie.info	12
6	http://www.facebook.com	11
7	http://www.maplandia.com	11
8	http://secure.hospitalityclub.org	8
9	http://www.lonelyplanet.com	7
10	http://www.si.podkarpackie.pl	7

Note. Own design based on Inversini et al. (2009). Domains were accessed on September 9, 2011.

Table 4. Top UGC Domains

UGC domain	Domain	Number of results (websites)
1	http://www.virtualtourist.com	19
2	http://www.youtube.com	17
3	http://www.facebook.com	11
4	http://secure.hospitalityclub.org	8
5	http://www.lonelyplanet.com	7
6	http://www.addictedtotravel.com	5
7	http://en.wikipedia.org	4
8	http://www.mapofpoland.net	4
9	http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk	3
10	http://www.holidaycheck.pl	3

Note. Own design based on Inversini et al. (2009). Domains were accessed on September 9, 2011.

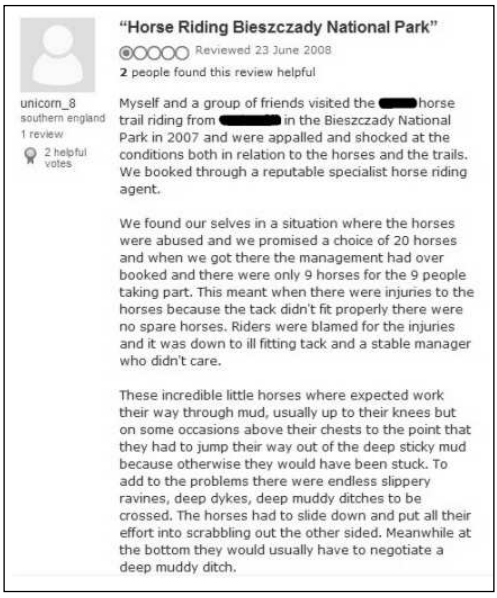

Figure 1. Example of a negative review at TripAdvisor. Retrieved September 10, 2011, from http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g274753-d286091-Reviews-Bieszczady_National_Park-Southern_Poland.html.

Figure 2. Example of a positive review at Virtual Tourist. Retrieved September 10, 2011, from http://www.virtualtourist.com/hotels/Europe/Poland/Bieszczady-505556/Hotels_and_Accommodations-Bieszczady-TG-C-1.html.

The tables presented above show that such domains as VirtualTourist.com, YouTube.com, and Facebook.com belong to UGC. Further analysis related to types of media indicates that virtual communities, such as Virtual Tourists, have the highest percentage share (43.8%), followed by user-shared media such as YouTube (21.9%), client reviews such as TripAdvisor (15%), social media such as Facebook (8.1%), wikis (5.6%), and blogs and microblogs (5%). Only 0.6% of websites were classified as other.

Feelings expressed in the UGC.

Among 160 UGS websites, content classified under the products and services category amounts to 74.4% and mostly relates to accommodation and tourist attractions. The remaining categories are meeting expectations (45.6%), society (29.4%), environment (26.3%), and management (3.8%). Websites marked as not applicable—that is, those topically related to tourism and the Podkarpackie Province but with not enough content for analysis (e.g., UGC websites that allow users to post a comment but on which this feature was not used yet)—amount to 23.8%.

Note that a great part of the online content belonged to more than one category, which is why the total percentage exceeds 100% (Figure 3).

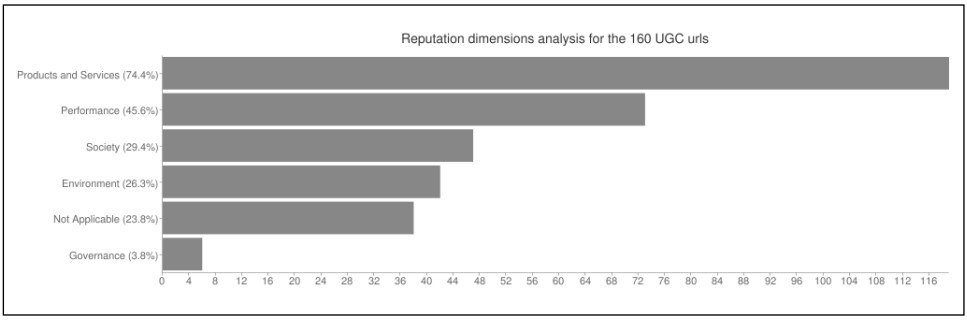

Figure 3. Number of occurrences of individual categories. Chart obtained using a tool for online reputation analysis created based on DORM (Inversini et al., 2010).

To present user opinions, all 14 drivers (Table 1) that corresponded to the five categories were rated on a scale from 1 to 5 according to comments found on UGC websites.

The results in individual categories were as follows:

Products and services.

Three dominant subcategories were observed within this category: attractions (44.5%), active recreation (21%), and accommodation (20.2%). The food and drinks subcategory corresponded to 5.9% websites, while only a few websites each belonged to other subcategories.

The mean rating of the products and services category can be divided into two groups of drivers:

- Drivers d1 and d2 received a high rating and the results can be regarded satisfactory;
- Drivers d3 and d4 were unsatisfactory and require improvement (especially the active recreation subcategory).

The most popular topics inside this category comprise those related to recommended venues, such as towns, villages, and historical monuments in the Podkarpackie Province such as wooden Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. These venues received an overall positive rating. Internet users also post their opinions about tourist trails as well as (to a lesser extent) other attractions such as horse riding (which has been criticized on Tripadvisor) and parachute jumping.

Furthermore, there are many videos and slide shows available online, mainly on YouTube, that constitute a souvenir from and a memory of vacation by themselves. These videos and images primarily show the Bieszczady Mountains, the Solina Lake and Dam, and mountain hikes. Opinions about hotels are usually positive and in the majority refer to less-known hotels, mainly in Rzeszów. UGC websites also include many positive comments about available rural tourism cottages, guest houses, and mountain shelters, primarily in the Bieszczady Mountains.

Society.

Opinions related to the society category were rated as positive (between 4.5 and 5.0). Tourists are fond of the local culture and tradition (that is, historical monuments, regional cuisine, and cultural events), as well as the residents' hospitality. However, it should be noted that visitors who commented on the residents' hospitality almost always did so in respect to persons with whom they had direct contact—that is, hotel staff, rural tourism cottage owners, and so forth.

Management.

Even though this category is the least commented on, the comments received the highest rating (5.0). In addition, the fact that there are few websites with opinions about the cooperation between the tourist industry and organizations and about innovations concerning products and tourism services may indicate that Internet users seldom comment about issues related to managing TDs or that the aforementioned phenomena are less frequent.

Environment.

Internet users consider the Podkarpackie Province clean and rich in natural values. This opinion primarily applies to the Bieszczady Mountains. Many users talk about the clean air and water and about the peacefulness, quiet, and the unspoilt character of the natural environment in the province. This is why the d9 driver, related to ecoawareness, has a high mean value (4.8). The d11 driver, related to safety, received a rating of 3.8, and the weather factor received a rating of 4.0.

Meeting expectations.

The meeting expectations category, as a measure of the overall tourist satisfaction and feelings following a visit to the Podkarpackie Province, also received a high rating (between 4.0 and 4.5). From a tourist's perspective, the region ensures a satisfactory tourism experience and presents an accurate image as a TD. The Bieszczady Mountains, thanks to their unique, isolated, and wild character, have an especially persistent and clear image in the view of visitors. The d13 driver, related to the congruency between expectations and the actual state of the region, received a high rating as well. However, some reviews complain that such a unique region as the Bieszczady Mountains is becoming increasingly commercialized, thus losing its special image.

Comparison of obtained results according to keywords used.

The preceding table shows results (mean ratings on a 5-point scale) obtained during analysis in relation to four groups of keywords that pertained to all five categories. The greatest differences between the results were observed in the products and services category, especially for the d3 (offers products and services that are good value for money) and d4 drivers (presents accurate information about its products and services). In addition, these two drivers received the lowest ratings, primarily in the Podkarpacie Polish keywords and Bieszczady English keywords groups. A detailed analy-

Table 5. Results by Groups of Keywords, Categories, and Drivers

Categories and drivers		Podkarpacie – English keywords	Podkarpacie – Polish keywords	Bieszczady – English keywords	Bieszczady – Polish keywords
Products and services	d1	4.2	4.5	4.0	4.6
	d2	4.4	4.7	4.4	4.8
	d3	4.2	3.5	3.3	4.3
	d4	3.0	3.3	2.3	5.0
Society	d5	4.8	5.0	5.0	5.0
	d6	4.3	4.7	4.3	5.0
Management	d7	5.0	–	–	–
	d8	5.0	5.0	–	5.0
Environment	d9	4.5	5.0	4.7	5.0
	d10	4.0	4.5	3.8	5.0
	d11	5.0	4.5	3.3	4.7
Meeting expectations	d12	3.9	4.0	4.5	4.6
	d13	4.3	4.3	3.6	4.4
	d14	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.9

Note. Own design based on Inversini et al. (2010).

sis indicates that the situation described above was mainly due to negative ratings in the active recreation, attraction, and accommodation subcategories within the first three groups of keywords related to the aforementioned drivers (d3 and d4).

Other categories show relative consistency, except environment (d10 and d11) and meeting expectations (d13) within the Bieszczady English keywords group. Ratings in these categories are also considerably lower than average.

The aforementioned differences between the Bieszczady English keywords and Bieszczady Polish keywords groups are especially interesting and most prominent in the case of d4, d10, and d11 drivers. These three drivers indicate that online comments in English are more critical than comments in Polish. This is caused to a great extent by a negative review of horseback tourism in the Bieszczady Mountain, which appeared several times in search results and lowered the mean rating for the entire group of keywords.

Taking into account the results presented in Table 5, we may observe that the Bieszczady English keywords group contains the lowest ratings.

Conclusion

The results of the research conducted show that eWOM plays an important role in shaping the general opinion about and image of a given TD—in this case, the Podkarpackie Province. Out of all the websites collected using three popular search engines (Google.com, YahooSE, and Bing.com), almost 20% were classified as UGC. Most categories analyzed received a positive rating. However, we identified several indicators that showed certain flaws and missing features within the image of the province as a TD that should be taken into account.

In relation to the expected results related to the main tourist attractions in the region, distinguished in the introduction, we may state that the attractions are noticeable and commented about online. In general, Internet users appreciate the uniqueness and diversity of the Podkarpackie Province, its natural environment and rich culture and history, and the residents' hospitality (especially in the case of rural tourism), as well as the fact that the province is clean. Comments can be found that address the beauty of castles, cottages, and churches in the province and the opportunities for active recreation, both in winter and in summer.

The Bieszczady Mountains are viewed first and foremost from the perspective of their wild character, distinctive atmosphere, and landscapes. Some Internet users are concerned about the permanence of these values and indicate the growing number of tourists as the reason for their deterioration.

A good solution for tourism companies and persons directly responsible for shaping the image of a TD is positioning and optimizing websites—for instance, through backlink campaigns and various other types of promotional actions online (such as using sponsored links)—to improve the destination's online appearance and secure a position within the top results in search engines. An analysis of website statistics (e.g., through Google Analytics) should be employed to support these actions. In addition, employees should undergo e-tourism training.

Another problem observed during the research is the fact that information about tourism offers, especially offers provided by small and medium companies in the Podkarpackie Province, is very similar. For instance, rural tourism cottages in the Bieszczady Mountains very frequently advertise their offer in the same manner. In today's age, this may not be enough.

Using the power of eWOM is one of the best ways to encourage potential tourists to visit a given destination through the support of persons who have already visited it. Entrepreneurs, managers, and representatives of RLTOs should encourage satisfied tourists to leave comments,

write reviews, and upload photographs related to their stay in a given TD. To achieve this aim, appropriate platforms and tools of Web 2.0 should be made available that allow tourists to express their opinions and share their experiences online.

Furthermore, decision makers and representatives of the tourism industry should keep constant track of eWOM to learn which aspects of a TD's image and brand are at an appropriate level and which require improvement. Internet dialogue can also be used to identify subjects and aspects that users do not comment on and that may require more attention and intervention on the part of the managers, such as the issue of innovation and cooperation between organizations and the tourist industry.

As far as limitations of this study are concerned, we should emphasize that content analysis is always subjective to some extent and depends on the coder's interpretation. For the reasons presented above, actions aimed at increasing the level of intercoder reliability are constantly being undertaken and will find application in future research.

Moreover, content analysis remains extremely demanding, which is why input and support from partially automated tools of reputation analysis can prove very beneficial for future studies.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

LEGAL DETERMINANTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INVESTMENTS IN SPA AND TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE IN POLISH SPA MUNICIPALITIES

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Abstract: Among the basic conditions determining growth of investments in tourism and spa infrastructure in Polish spa resorts we can distinguish legal regulations relating to the rules of the investment realization and financing by a spa resort's local government in Poland. The legal conditions connected with a number of the restrictions and prohibitions, which are more barriers than stimulants in making investment decisions by a spa resort's local government were analyzed. The article presents the characteristic of the investments implemented in spa resorts in the context of their spa and tourist functions. In addition, a in-depth analysis of European funds use for the implementation of programs and projects by spa municipalities, based on figures derived from statistical reporting conducted by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) for the period from 2010 to 2012, was made.

Keywords: investment, tourism and spa infrastructure, spa resort, European funds

The local development of resort municipalities takes place, for example, through the realization of particular investment enterprises, especially within resort and tourism infrastructure. The successfulness of these investments is determined to a considerable degree by legal regulations.

The aim of this Article is to characterize investments in resort and tourism infrastructure realized by resort municipalities, to make an attempt at identifying legal, economic, financial, strategic, and planning-related instruments that affect decisions concerning investments in resort and tourism infrastructure, and to analyze and evaluate the use of European funds by units of local government (ULGs) in resort municipalities. To achieve these aims, the diagnostic survey method was used, including the technique of investigating documents and the technique of observing the realization of investments in Polish resort municipalities. The main research material

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comprised secondary results based on numerical data from the Central Statistical Office (CSO) on the use of European funds by ULGs in resort municipalities and a review of the legal regulations in force.

Currently, there are 43 resort municipalities in Poland with 45 statutory spa resorts (as the spa resort in Czerniawa-Zdrój belongs to the city of Świeradów-Zdrój and Żegiestów-Zdrój is located in the municipality of Muszyna). The borders of areas that have acquired the status of a spa resort or of a resort protection area correspond to administrative borders of municipalities, cities, or municipal auxiliary units.[1] The borders of areas that have acquired the status of a spa resort or of a resort protection area correspond to the borders of resort protection Zone C. Spa resort municipalities[2] are only those municipalities (or parts of municipalities) that have acquired the status of a spa resort according to the Act of July 28, 2005 on Health Resort Treatment, Health Resorts, Resort Protection Areas, and Resort Municipalities.[3] Therefore, to acquire the status of a resort municipality, a municipality is required to[4]:

1) have a deposit of natural medical resources with confirmed curative properties as defined in the Act;
2) have a climate with confirmed curative properties as defined in the Act;
3) have resort centers and resort equipment available for resort treatment;
4) meet environmental requirements outlined in environmental protection laws;
5) have technical infrastructure related to public transport, water, sewage, power, and waste management.

The notion of real investment in Polish spa resort municipalities

Investment actions in resort and tourism infrastructure are required to increase touristic competitiveness and attractiveness of resort municipalities. As R. Davidson (1993, p. 149) defines, these actions involve increasing expenditures to attract tourists and satisfy their needs. As we can see, the term *tourism investment* is used broadly and includes real investments,

[1] Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 167, Item 1399, Article 33, as amended.

[2] *Ibid*, art. 2.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Ibid*, Article 34.

both tangible (investment in new facilities or modernization of existing facilities) and intangible (human resources). Investments realized in resort municipalities stem from the multifunctional character of these areas. Currently, resort municipalities are considered to perform two basic functions: the resort function and the tourism function. Polish resort municipalities differ considerably in terms of intensity and development of these functions. A municipality may show a dominance of the resort function, a dominance of the tourism function, or a balance between the two, as A. R. Szromek (2012, pp. 187-211) describes in detail in his indicator-based analysis of the resort and tourism functions.

Contemporary resort municipalities perform additional functions that stem from the resort and tourism functions (cf. Gospodarek, 2007, p. 50):

– the prophylactic function,
– the heath function,
– the leisure function,
– the sports and recreation function,
– the cultural function,
– the educational function,
– the social and entertainment function, and
– the ecological function.

The resort municipalities analyzed in this article also include those with a high degree of development of non-resort functions that are often not related to tourism: residential, service, agricultural, and industrial functions (Groch, 1991, pp. 54-64).

In the context of the functions performed by resort municipalities, investment in these areas is construed to mean expenditures on resort and tourism infrastructure. According to the definition of tourism infrastructure,[5] (Kowalczyk & Derek, 2010, p. 18) two main investment groups can be named in resort municipalities that correspond to basic touristic facilities: resort and tourism investments *stricto sensu*, designed for tourists and resort clients, and semi-tourism investments related to processes of a much greater scope that affect tourists, investors, and the local population (Jędrzejczyk, 2004, pp. 84-85; Gołembski, 2002, pp. 243-244).

Resort and tourism investments *stricto sensu* in resort municipalities correspond to direct expenditures on resort and tourism infrastructure. These are investments in:

[5] Tourism infrastructure (touristic facilities, material base of tourism) is a system of functionally connected equipment and services (in some cases, equipment or services alone) present in a given area that were created to make geographical values (the environment) available to tourists and that serve to satisfy the broadly defined recreational and tourism needs of a human being. Tourism infrastructure comprises tourism and semi-tourism facilities.

- accommodation for tourists (hotels, guest houses, leisure centers, etc.),
- gastronomic services in resort and tourism centers,
- tourism transport infrastructure (hiking, water, and cycling routes, cableways, funiculars, bus and train stops, benches and roofs at overlooks, sailing facilities, and parking lots),
- resort infrastructure (resort hospitals, sanatoriums, natural therapy centers, pedestrian zones, mineral water drinking rooms, graduation towers, spa hotels, and concert halls),
- sports and recreation infrastructure (thermal pools, golf courses, tennis courts, aqua parks, and amusement parks),
- cultural and entertainment infrastructure (night clubs, casinos, entertainment arenas),
- cultural and educational infrastructure (conference halls, exhibition halls, and amphitheaters),
- cosmetic and regenerative infrastructure (spas and fitness clubs),
- trade and services infrastructure (souvenir shops),
- organizational and informative infrastructure (tourist information points and travel agencies overseeing inbound traffic).

Semi-tourism investments correspond to facilities that significantly complement resort and tourism investments *stricto sensu*. These are investments in:

- technical infrastructure (municipal infrastructure, i.e., facilities related to public transport: roads, railway, airports, and passenger water transport), power, gas, central heating, water, and sewage networks, ecological infrastructure (municipal waste management), postal services, and cable and wireless communication services,
- social infrastructure (health centers and pharmacies),
- public and administrative infrastructure (units of local administration and their subordinate facilities),
- financial and insurance infrastructure (banks, insurance companies, and automated teller machines),
- safety and order infrastructure (police, fire, and city guard departments), and
- trade and services infrastructure (household items and food retail network as well as services such as hairdressers, photographers, and shoemakers) (Kowalczyk & Derek, 2010, p. 29).

To improve their competitiveness on the European market, resort municipalities need to make investments in resort and tourism infrastructure, including the construction of new resort , tourism, and semi-tourism facilities and equipment (e.g., thermal pools, cable cars, pistes, and waste treat-

ment plants), restoring existing infrastructure (e.g., facilities with specific resort architecture), and modernizing existing infrastructure (e.g., mineral water drinking rooms).

Conditions for investment in resort and tourism infrastructure in Polish resort municipalities

One of the basic reasons why ULGs undertake investment actions is to improve the competitiveness of resort municipalities on the national and European markets and to stimulate local development in these areas. Taking into account the importance of decisions on investment in resort and tourism infrastructure of resort municipalities, it seems indispensable to indicate the basic factors that determine these decisions.

The main factors of investment in resort and tourism infrastructure that affect decisions made by ULGs in resort municipalities are spatial conditions in resort municipalities and legal, economic, financial, planning, and strategic instruments.

It should be emphasized that resort municipalities possess a much broader range of assets than other touristic municipalities. What differentiates resort municipalities from other tourism municipalities is the specific resort (treatment-related) infrastructure in the form of health parks, mineral water drinking rooms, pedestrian zones, graduation towers, and so forth. Moreover, the level of technical infrastructure related to water, sewage, power, and waste management as well as safety and environmental protection is much greater in resort municipalities than in other touristic municipalities in Poland. It is also worth noting that resort municipalities, as opposed to other touristic municipalities, possess special statuses and resort protection zones that secure the high quality of the natural environment. The majority of Polish resort municipalities are located in regions with the greatest touristic and (especially) natural values. Many resort municipalities are close to the most valuable protected areas: national parks, landscape parks, nature reserves, nature parks, and Natura 2000 areas. Such neighborhoods, which often comprise vast forest complexes and other biologically active areas, also ensure that ecological parameters in resort municipalities are maintained at high levels.

Resort municipalities are subject to especially rigorous standards related to the realization of investments that pertain to:

– environmental protection,
– land management and municipal space management,
– landscape protection,

– forest- and vegetation-covered areas,
– technical infrastructure, and
– resort infrastructure.

Legal conditions related to a number of limitations and prohibitions prevent, rather than stimulate, ULGs in Polish resort municipalities from making decisions on investment actions.

Municipalities that have acquired the status of resort municipalities find it difficult to make certain investments due to constraints imposed by law. Investment limitations in resort municipalities are due to the wording of many Acts.

Article 38, Paragraph 1 of the Act on Health Resort Treatment, Health Resorts, Resort Protection Areas, and Resort Municipalities[6] establishes three types of resort protection zones (A, B, and C) within the area of a health resort or a resort protection area. For each of these zones, the Act lists the types of investments and construction activity that are allowed within their boundaries. The Act was amended on March 4, 2011. The amendment introduced regulations that are more liberal for investors than the previous wording of the Act. The amendment reduced the minimal surface of green areas within resort protection zones from 75% to 65% in Zone A and from 65% to 50% in Zone B. On the other hand, it increased the number of parking spaces to up to 15% of the accommodation capacity in Zone A, and up to 50 parking spaces in Zone B (Article 38 a). The Act allows investment actions in Zone A related to resort and municipal infrastructure (drilling for mineral water, construction of water, sewage, and gas networks, and construction of gas boilers). In Zone B, the Act allows investment actions related to tourist accommodation, trade and services infrastructure, sports and recreation infrastructure, and municipal and residential infrastructure.

The amendment also redefined a biologically active area in Zone C as one that covers at least 45% of the resort protection zone (Article 38). This change should be regarded as counterproductive to investment-related decision-making.

Moreover, the amendment includes a stipulation that requires a municipality, after it has acquired the status of a resort municipality, to pass a local land use plan only for Zone A of the resort protection area, in accordance with separate regulations and with a two-year deadline, starting from the day the municipality acquired the status (Article 38 b). The local land use plan does not have to be consulted with the Minister of Health (Article 19). As a result of the requirement to prepare a local land use plan within two years following the acquisition of the status of a resort municipality (as per Article 38, Para-

[6] Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 167, Item 1399, as amended.

graph 2 of the aforementioned Act), administrative procedures related to the conditions for construction are postponed until the land use plan has been passed (Article 62, Paragraph 2 of the Act on Area Planning and Land Use).[7] The deadline is too short to consult the project of the plan with all necessary bodies, units, and institutions. Prior to the amendment, this regulation caused a deceleration in the investment process, especially in zones B and C, as a number of applications for a decision on land development and use conditions had to be halted in municipalities that did not have such a plan ready prior to the acquisition of the status of resort municipalities.

After the amendment to the Act on Health Resort Treatment, Health Resorts, Resort Protection Areas, and Resort Municipalities, Zones B and C are now subject, in terms of passing the local land use plan, to rules of investment localization similar to in other areas. This will allow for an acceleration of investment actions in zones B and C, which to some extent compensates for the remaining limitations on the types of investment actions allowed in Zone A that serve to protect the resort function of resort municipalities.

In respect to public-purpose investments[8] localized in resort municipalities, decisions concerning the choice of location for these investments are issued, according to Article 53, Paragraph 4 of the Act of March 27, 2003 on Act on Area Planning and Land Use,[9] after consultations with the minister in charge of health issues, the District Mining Office, the Director of the National Park, the Nature Preservation Officer, and the Environmental Protection Department. Tasks related to land management, including resort treatment, are also governed by the Act on Forests,[10] which creates areas of protected forests around resorts. Similarly, the Act of February 3, 1995 on the Protection of Agricultural and Forested Areas[11] and the Act of April 16, 2004 on Nature Protection[12] create nature parks, national parks, and landscape parks in resort municipalities.

Resort municipalities are also required to develop a mining area plan[13] and to create cultural heritage protection zones for buildings in their area.

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[7] Journal of Laws of 2003 No. 80, Item 7171, as amended

[8] Article 6 of the Act of August 21, 1997 on Real Estate Management (Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 102, Item 675).

[9] Journal of Laws of 2003 No. 80, Item 717, as amended.

[10] Article 15 of the Act on Forests of September 28, 1991 (Journal of Laws of 1991 No. 101, Item 444, as amended).

[11] Journal of Laws of 1995 No. 16, Item 78, as amended.

[12] Article 23 of the Act of April 16, 2004 on Nature Protection (Journal of Laws of 2004 No. 92, Item 880, as amended).

[13] Article 6 of the Geological and Mining Law Act of June 9, 2011 (Journal of Laws of 2011 No. 163, Item 981).

Based on the Geological and Mining Law Act of June 9, 2011, mining areas are created to protect mineral waters and other curative resources in resort municipalities.[14] Special economic limitations are in force within a mining area, and every active facility is subject to the primary goal of protecting mineral waters. This means that even the smallest construction project needs to be consulted with the District Mining Office. If this project is an investment located near a mineral water borehole, or if the influence zone of this project reaches a mineral water borehole, the investor has to develop an operation schedule and consult the investment with the appropriate mining supervision body and the Minister of Health.

In addition, certain rules related to environmental protection are in force within a mining area. These rules state that the mining area needs to have a sanitary sewer system, special septic tanks, an extremely efficient waste treatment plant, and landfills located outside water source protection zones (Golba, 2001, p. 58).

Special requirements for investments in resort municipalities are also governed by the Environmental Protection Law Act of April 27, 2001 (Article 86)[15] and by the Ordinance of the Minister of Environment of March 3, 2008.[16] The Act and the Ordinance state unambiguously that resort municipalities are areas of special protection subject to lower norms (e.g., dust pollutant deposition) than other municipalities.

Apart from funds coming from private investors, public financial instruments (income- and expenditure-based) from the municipality budget are crucial for the process of investing in resort and tourism infrastructure in resort municipalities. However, some investment actions can be realized from the central and regional budgets. Investment actions undertaken by private investors in resort municipalities most notably include investments in tourism infrastructure *stricto sensu* (accommodation, gastronomy, etc.).

Many duties of ULGs in resort municipalities enforce semi-tourism investments. Such investments are especially costly and take a long time to realize. Moreover, they do not constitute a direct source of income; rather, they serve the good of the local community. Investments on the part of local authorities in resort municipalities related to the realization of public tasks stem from individual tasks of ULGs in resort municipalities that are governed by the Act of March 8, 1990 on Municipal Local Governments[17] and by the Act of July 28, 2005 on Health Resort Treatment, Health Resorts,

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Journal of Laws of 2001 No. 62, Item 627, as amended.

[16] Journal of Laws of 2008 No. 47, Item 281.

[17] Journal of Laws of 1990 No. 16, Item 95, as amended.

Resort Protection Areas, and Resort Municipalities.[18] Resort municipalities and municipalities with the status of resort protection areas[19] carry out own tasks related to maintaining the resort function in addition to tasks listed in the Act of March 8, 1990 on Municipal Local Governments. Own tasks include[20]:

1. area management, including management for the purposes of resort treatment, protection of deposits of natural curative resources, and actions forbidden in given protection zones;
2. protecting the natural environment of the resort or the resort protection area, and meeting the requirements concerning norms of air pollution, noise intensity, discharging sewage into the water and the ground, waste management, and emission of electromagnetic fields (all these norms are provided in separate regulations);
3. creating conditions for the functioning of resort treatment centers and equipment and for the development of municipal infrastructure in order to satisfy the needs of persons who are undergoing resort treatment in the municipalities; and
4. creating and improving municipal and technical infrastructure designed for resorts or areas of resort protection.

The aforementioned tasks mainly correspond to land management and investments in semi-tourism infrastructure, which comprise technical infrastructure: municipal infrastructure (facilities of public transport, such as roads, railways, airports, and passenger water transport, and power, gas, central heating, water, and sewage network), ecological infrastructure (municipal waste management, including collection, disposal, and recycling of municipal waste), social infrastructure (health centers and pharmacies). These tasks are important for the local community because they improve its quality of life. They are also important for investors because they create an investment climate for private capital (tourists) by motivating tourists to choose a given travel destination.

Local authorities of resort municipalities together with private investors spend increasingly more funds on tourism infrastructure *stricto sensu* that is meant *a priori* to generate income. This spending involves investments in the construction, expansion, and modernization of facilities and equipment of tourist transport infrastructure, resort infrastructure, sports and recreation infrastructure, cultural and entertainment infrastructure, and cultural and educational infrastructure in resort municipalities.

[18] Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 167, Item 1399, as amended.

[19] *Ibid*, chapter 6.

[20] Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 167, Article 46, Item 1399, as amended.

Financial resources that are available for ULGs in resort municipalities and designated for the realization of the aforementioned investments can be divided into individual income of resort municipalities and external sources of funding. The first category mainly comprises taxes, local fees, income of municipal budgetary units, payments from municipal budgetary enterprises and auxiliary units of municipal budgetary units, income from municipal property, inheritances, bequests and donations, income from fines, and shares from the income tax of individuals and legal entities.[21] Because own revenue of resort municipalities is usually not enough to finance the full scope of their investments, they have to acquire funds from external sources. These sources include[22] (based on Kachniewska, 2008, pp. 79-93):

- general subventions and designated subsidies, called complementary revenue of local governments. These are non-refundable, free of charge, and objectively specified. General subventions are reserved for financing own tasks, while designated subsidies are used to finance own tasks as well as relegated tasks,
- non-refundable funds from the budget of the European Union and other non-refundable foreign capital,
- refundable and non-refundable budget revenue, including bank loans and credits, loans and donations from earmarked funds, and revenue from municipal bonds, and
- funds from the public-private partnership (PPP; this partnership can be treated not only as a form of cooperation and pooling of skills between public and private units, but also, from the financial perspective, as a potential, more effective form of financing investments that are part of local government tasks).

In order to realize investments in resort and tourism infrastructure undertaken by ULGs in resort municipalities and to make use of the available external resources in the form of European funds designated for infrastructural investments, resort municipalities should possess up-to-date planning and strategic documentation (such as a municipal development strategy, a local development plan, a resort development plan, and a long-term investment plan) that would provide information on the subject of realized projects. Planning and strategic documentation constitutes an important and obligatory element of the procedure of acquiring funds for investment projects realized in

[21] Act on the Income of Units of Local Government of November 13, 2003 (Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 80, Item 526, as amended).

[22] Based on Article 3 of the Act of November 13, 2003 on the Revenue of Units of Local Government (Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 80, Item 526, as amended) and Article 203 of the Act of August 27, 2009 on Public Finances (Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 28, Item 148, as amended).

resort municipalities. Any resort municipality that wishes to acquire funds for projects of this type is required to have a planning document called the *resort development plan*. In addition, during the programming period of 2007-2013, the local development plan constitutes an optional document. Nonetheless, even though this document is optional, a great part of the application-related documentation refers to the local development plan as the basic planning document for ULGs in resort municipalities. The local development plan is proof that a municipality is well prepared to realize projects that are going to be financed from European funds. Therefore, having a local development plan strengthens the position of a resort municipality within the process of applying for funds from the European Union.

Currently, some resort municipalities either lack an up-to-date development strategy (e.g., Krynica-Zdrój) or their development strategy is vastly outdated, sometimes having been developed as early as in 1998 (e.g., Uście Gorlickie). It is worth pointing out that almost all resort municipalities have a local development plan, except, for example, Sękowa and Rabka-Zdrój. As far as the level of statutory resort is concerned, almost all statutory resorts have a resort development plan, except, for example, Rabka-Zdrój, Piwniczna-Zdrój, and Krynica-Zdrój.

Use of European Funds in Polish Resort Municipalities

In the context of EU funds, one can encounter the terms *regional policy*, *cohesion policy*, and *structural policy*. However, in practice, these terms are often used interchangeably. Therefore, we may assume that the regional, structural, and cohesion policies of the European Union have the same aim of reducing economic and social differences between regions of the European Union. This aim determines a uniform development of the European market. The accession of Poland into the European Union has opened a new perspective to ULGs in resort municipalities related to the realization of investment actions in the expansion and modernization of tourism and semi-tourism infrastructure, thus contributing to the economic development of resort municipalities, improving their competitive advantage, and reducing the disproportions between the quality of life in urban and rural areas. This perspective manifests itself in practice through the opportunity to acquire much greater finances under EU programs than under former pre-accession programs. The opportunity of obtaining funds from the budget of the European Union and other foreign sources is reflected in Polish law. The Act of November 13, 2003 on the Revenue of Units of Local Government[23] and the

[23] Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 80, Item 526, as amended.

Act of August 27, 2009 on Public Finances express the official legitimization of this opportunity.[24] Article 3 of the Act on the Revenue of Units of Local Government classifies funds from the budget of the European Union and non-refundable funds from other foreign sources as part of the revenue of ULGs. Conversely, Article 203 of the Act on public finances governs the use of funds from these sources by ULGs in resort municipalities. On January 1, 2010, the Act of August 27, 2009 on Public Finances entered into force. The Act introduced fundamental changes in the system of implementing European funds. The new system excludes European funds from the national budget. Instead, the European funds budget was created[25] to finance programs and projects realized with the help of European capital. The beneficiary receives the money in the form of payments (rather than developmental donations), which constitute the contribution of the European funds,[26] and designated subsidies, which constitute the contribution of the budget of a given country.[27] In addition, own funds of local governments, designated for co-financing of the realization of programs and projects supported by European funds, are another non-EU financial contribution. According to the regulations of the Community Support Framework,[28] support from European funds is realized under the additionality principle (also called the co-financing or complementarity principle). The total amount of support that resort municipalities can acquire from European funds between 2007 and 2013 can equal up to 85% of the eligible costs, while between 2004 and 2006, the support could not exceed 75% of the eligible costs. For most investment projects in resort municipalities, ULGs need to secure own funds to finance part of these projects (up to 15%) as well as to cover the remaining amount, as support from European funds for their realization is given once the project is complete.

The indicator-based analysis of the degree of use of European funds by resort municipalities did not include the municipality of Kraków with the statutory resort in Swoszowice due to the specificity of Swoszowice, because the corresponding numerical data could have distorted the accuracy of assessment in respect to other statutory resorts in Poland. The analysis also

[24] Journal of Laws of 2009 No. 157, Item 1240, as amended.

[25] Article 5 of the Act on Public Finances defines European funds and funds coming from the budget of the European Union and non-refundable aid given by member countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

[26] Article 187 of the Act on Public Finances.

[27] Article 127 of the Act on Public Finances.

[28] A document prepared in cooperation with the European Commission, approved by the High Commissioners of the European Council on December 10, 2003, and accepted by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland on December 23, 2003.

did not include the municipality of Solina due to a lack of numerical data at the Central Statistical Office. Conversely, the analysis included data on the municipality of Uniejów from 2012 and after because the municipality acquired the status of a resort municipality in 2012.

In 2012, resort municipalities accepted the sum of PLN 317,695,582 in their budgets as the basis of the financing plan for programs and projects realized with European funds (cf. Table 1). This sum amounts to 11.36% of the total revenue of resort municipalities and is considerably higher than in 2010 (PLN 222,848,649) but lower than in 2011 (PLN 356,641,319).

As far as the year 2012 is concerned, the share of finances that corresponded to European funds amounted to PLN 303,040,598, while designated subsidies (the contribution of the national budget) and own funds of ULGs amounted to PLN 14,654,984. The share of European funds in the financing of projects on average amounts to 95.39%, while the share of the national budget and own funds of ULGs amounts to 4.61%.

The municipality of Jelenia Góra received the highest amount of European funding. The total value of national and European finances stated in the municipality's budget in 2012 was PLN 58,766,382. The municipality dynamically increases (on an annual basis) the amount of funds designated for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds. In 2010, Jelenia Góra generated only PLN 23,010,181, while a year later, this sum amounted to PLN 37,595,169.

The municipality of Uniejów occupies the second place with PLN 32,809,946. The municipality of Sopot, the leader of 2010, spent only slightly less on the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds in 2012 (PLN 31,686,909). However, the municipality of Sopot does not show a dynamic increase in these funds: the amount from 2012 is only 9.92% higher than the amount from 2010. It is worth noting that in 2012, the municipality of Kołobrzeg placed fourth in terms of the amount of European funds acquired, while in 2011, it occupied the second place in the ranking with PLN 38,834,462. The municipalities of Augustów, Horyniec-Zdrój, and Supraśl occupy the other end of the ranking. The amount of money allocated for programs and projects realized with European funds is significantly lower and equals PLN 249,995, PLN 266,694, and PLN 402,438, respectively.

However, the disadvantage of comparing absolute amounts of money is that such comparison does not take into account the financial capacities of individual resort municipalities. One of measures that can illustrate this financial potential is the total value of a municipality's budget on the side of income. A comparison of the amount of money designated for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds in respect to each

Table 1. Use of the income of spa municipalities for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds between 2010 and 2012

Name of the spa municipality	Total income of spa municipalities			Financing of programs and projects realized with European funds									Share of European funds in the general revenue of spa municipalities		
				Share of European funds			Designated subsidy (share of the national budget) and the share of own funds of ULGs			TOTAL					
	2010	2011	2012	2010	2011	2012	2010	2011	2012	2010	2011	2012	2010	2011	2012
	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	PLN	%	%	%
Uniejów (3)			63 454 038			29 047 164			3 762 782			32 809 946			**51,71%**
Solec-Zdrój (2)	20 599 787	29 207 460	30 310 767	6 070 769	11 341 570	10 521 266	634 476	962 209	1 709 986	6 705 245	12 303 780	12 231 252	32,55%	42,13%	**40,35%**
Muszyna (3)	57 886 477	47 693 855	53 616 496	12 713 851	8 941 949	14 612 941	701 278	446 668	2 967 300	13 415 129	9 388 616	17 580 242	23,17%	19,69%	**32,79%**
Sękowa (2)	15 539 149	17 252 271	22 052 618	720 204	2 783 747	5 559 093	64 859	36 379	9 391	785 064	2 820 126	5 568 484	5,05%	16,35%	**25,25%**
Piwniczna-Zdrój (3) *	32 230 826	36 956 789	40 343 112	1 100 563	7 001 698	9 588 850	20 860	53 732	105 970	1 121 423	7 055 431	9 694 821	3,48%	19,09%	**24,03%**
Goldap (3) *	76 066 696	72 674 133	84 092 145	11 076 166	8 762 172	18 521 781	48 373	65 073	42 767	11 124 539	8 827 245	18 564 548	14,62%	12,15%	**22,08%**
Nałęczów (3)	25 558 092	28 466 162	36 258 629	1 322 551	2 167 882	7 724 166	122 572	25 182	23 787	1 445 123	2 193 063	7 747 952	5,65%	7,70%	**21,37%**
Jedlina-Zdrój (1)	14 907 089	15 820 107	17 539 683	2 060 943	2 695 895	3 521 741	4 805	3 967	40 009	2 065 748	2 699 862	3 561 750	13,86%	17,07%	**20,31%**
Krasnobród (3)	18 323 126	22 699 348	25 502 265	300 259	2 828 181	5 000 879	29 408	22 647	18 004	329 667	2 850 828	5 018 882	1,80%	12,56%	**19,68%**
Świeradów-Zdrój (1)	22 306 464	23 905 889	26 785 508	3 475 891	2 585 406	4 055 356	39 873	30 020	569 068	3 515 764	2 615 426	4 624 424	15,76%	10,94%	**17,26%**
Ustce Gorlickie (2)	27 470 244	27 873 274	30 215 656	2 370 557	2 091 451	5 139 004	1 454	7 057	13 723	2 372 010	2 098 507	5 152 727	8,63%	7,53%	**17,05%**
Duszniki-Zdrój (1)	15 956 513	20 098 189	18 370 353	587 105	4 895 915	2 984 884	4 010	6 557	8 606	591 115	4 902 472	2 993 490	3,70%	24,39%	**16,30%**
Jelenia Góra (1)	313 036 277	340 560 991	372 676 348	21 113 392	36 660 987	56 648 468	1 896 788	934 182	2 117 914	23 010 181	37 595 169	58 766 382	7,35%	11,04%	**15,77%**
Kołobrzeg (1)	162 922 722	193 013 731	177 210 087	17 968 817	38 319 721	23 673 978	1 576 804	514 740	234 771	19 545 621	38 834 462	23 908 749	12,00%	20,12%	**13,49%**
Kudowa-Zdrój (1)	31 582 853	30 662 016	31 316 078	6 721 131	5 303 505	4 111 327	189 041	0	48 969	6 910 172	5 303 505	4 160 295	21,88%	17,30%	**13,28%**
Szczawnica (3) *	36 018 222	31 208 439	23 838 966	6 893 437	11 112 878	2 855 264	0	170 576	226 645	6 893 437	11 283 454	3 081 909	19,14%	36,16%	**12,93%**
Ciechocinek (1)	35 443 466	39 473 418	39 973 600	226 547	1 286 624	5 041 348	16 654	16 286	7 426	243 201	1 302 910	5 048 774	0,69%	3,30%	**12,63%**
Brześć Kujawski (3)	37 075 746	35 357 982	38 949 172	3 155 666	4 715 612	4 900 415	17 825	9 418	18 087	3 173 492	4 725 029	4 918 502	8,56%	13,36%	**12,63%**
Sopot (1)	331 658 339	280 220 202	271 779 755	28 187 029	25 765 913	31 561 833	640 630	70 015	125 076	28 827 659	25 835 927	31 686 909	8,69%	9,22%	**11,66%**
Iwonicz-Zdrój (3)	30 273 991	34 050 331	32 089 459	1 073 111	5 413 341	3 411 387	16 946	101 179	180 371	1 090 058	5 514 520	3 591 757	3,60%	16,20%	**11,19%**
Lądek-Zdrój (3)	25 011 984	24 576 164	25 097 116	1 573 586	1 361 495	2 190 397	0	4 457	9 328	1 573 586	1 365 951	2 199 725	6,29%	5,56%	**8,76%**
Kamień Pomorski (3)	41 809 134	42 311 287	40 186 967	822 240	5 463 514	3 440 566	90 144	21 543	54 521	912 384	5 485 057	3 495 087	2,18%	12,96%	**8,70%**
Polanica-Zdrój (1)	29 719 706	24 923 102	23 247 184	10 536 100	5 439 975	1 642 817	1 186 951	554 041	19 188	11 723 051	5 994 017	1 662 005	39,45%	24,05%	**7,15%**
Rabka-Zdrój (3) *	42 143 884	46 701 556	46 563 754	3 208 886	5 793 391	2 926 532	1 421	2 666	28 344	3 210 308	5 796 057	2 954 877	7,62%	12,41%	**6,35%**
Szczawno-Zdrój (1)	29 691 279	19 265 170	20 447 810	1 842 108	1 096 571	1 161 762	5 419	7 466	25 180	1 847 527	1 104 037	1 186 942	6,22%	5,73%	**5,80%**
Połczyn-Zdrój (3)	48 173 843	48 511 553	54 034 250	1 227 598	1 697 200	1 927 304	171 659	183 616	1 077 074	1 399 257	1 880 816	3 004 378	2,90%	3,88%	**5,56%**
Krynica-Zdrój (3) *	93 771 825	90 522 350	78 727 837	15 925 305	24 604 465	4 160 711	1 652	2 019	18 629	15 926 957	24 606 484	4 179 340	16,98%	27,18%	**5,31%**
Ustroń (1)	57 293 888	56 946 844	58 177 227	6 459 969	4 102 040	2 967 258	0	22 574	86 129	6 459 969	4 124 614	3 053 387	11,28%	7,24%	**5,25%**
Busko-Zdrój (3)	79 743 575	91 039 235	87 345 224	3 935 854	14 982 947	4 285 586	159 223	217 774	205 088	4 095 076	15 200 721	4 490 673	5,14%	16,70%	**5,14%**
Niemcza (3)	15 217 999	14 874 381	14 369 519	1 122 969	1 172 366	667 143	111 399	83 355	70 525	1 234 368	1 255 721	737 668	8,11%	8,44%	**5,13%**
Inowrocław (1)	206 888 196	226 870 256	224 944 304	16 844 099	17 237 236	11 444 102	28 533	30 783	33 764	16 872 632	17 268 019	11 477 866	8,16%	7,61%	**5,10%**
Bystrzyca Kłodzka (3)	46 819 395	56 989 416	51 539 931	1 608 442	5 213 075	2 547 220	41 459	19 796	20 593	1 649 902	5 232 871	2 567 813	3,52%	9,18%	**4,98%**
Goczałkowice-Zdrój (2)	38 788 979	26 841 349	29 983 671	253 062	109 622	1 355 466	6 569	8 530	15 431	259 631	118 152	1 370 896	0,67%	0,44%	**4,57%**
Darłowo (1)	54 795 712	92 819 313	56 355 569	2 827 115	37 152 795	2 233 978	12 295	11 734 190	145 526	2 839 410	48 886 985	2 379 504	5,18%	52,67%	**4,22%**
Rymanów (3)	42 442 361	50 137 184	44 129 549	2 691 205	7 343 644	1 815 472	9 868	39 527	28 472	2 701 073	7 383 170	1 843 944	6,36%	14,73%	**4,18%**
Świnoujście (1)	186 410 241	220 224 602	215 384 427	4 602 442	8 167 742	6 891 148	158 973	267 606	400 086	4 761 415	8 435 348	7 291 234	2,55%	3,83%	**3,39%**
Ustka (1)	46 019 673	52 762 104	47 416 742	5 102 468	2 206 489	867 284	180 822	177 792	91 251	5 283 289	2 384 282	958 534	11,48%	4,52%	**2,02%**
Horyniec-Zdrój (2) *	14 532 244	18 737 801	17 529 741	276 065	2 393 849	239 510	14 848	312 238	27 184	290 913	2 706 088	266 694	2,00%	14,44%	**1,52%**
Supraśl (3)	30 364 783	34 159 798	31 361 459	2 810 494	1 745 349	391 228	2 462	0	11 210	2 812 956	1 745 349	402 438	9,26%	5,11%	**1,28%**
Konstancin-Jeziorna (3)	101 139 246	119 901 672	119 755 753	3 084 688	4 995 373	1 188 875	36 650	31 517	21 910	3 121 338	5 026 890	1 210 785	3,09%	4,19%	**1,01%**
Augustów (1)	70 837 354	70 681 797	73 790 317	636 097	2 445 515	215 094	72 864	44 845	34 901	708 962	2 490 360	249 995	1,00%	3,52%	**0,34%**
	TOTAL												AVERAGE		
	2 606 471 382	**2 756 991 520**	**2 796 763 085**	**214 528 781**	**339 399 098**	**303 040 598**	**8 319 868**	**17 242 221**	**14 654 984**	**222 848 649**	**356 641 319**	**317 695 582**	**8,55%**	**12,94%**	**11,36%**

municipality's total income shows the relative scale of such investments. Viewed from such perspective, the position of the leading municipalities that acquired the highest amount of funds in 2012 becomes lower in the ranking, with the exception of the municipality of Uniejów. The aforementioned municipality of Jelenia Góra, which ranked first in the previous comparison, places (at best) slightly above the average relative to its budgetary income: the funds designated for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds amount to only 15.77% of the municipality's income. This value is greater in as many as 12 resort municipalities. Kołobrzeg ranks fourteenth with 13.49%, and Sopot ranks even further (nineteenth) with 11.66%.

The municipality of Uniejów is the clear leader in the income percentage rating. Its share of European capital and designated subsidies together with own contribution of its local government in the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds amount to 51.71% of its income. Solec-Zdrój and Muszyna occupy the second and third place with 40.35% and 32.79%, respectively. In contrast, income percentages in the municipalities of Augustów (0.34%), Horyniec-Zdrój (1.52%), and Supraśl (1.28%) rank among the lowest, which confirms that these municipality have difficulties with obtaining capital for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds. Konstancin-Jeziorna also obtained a low share of European capital: 1.01%.

Several resort municipalities can be named based on three-year data that showed a high share of money designated for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds in each consecutive year. These municipalities most notably include: Solec-Zdrój (32.55%, 42.13%, and 40.35%), Muszyna (23.17%, 19.69%, and 32.79%), Kudowa-Zdrój (21.88%, 17.30%, and 13.28%) and Szczawnica (19.14%, 36.16%, and 12.93%). This is certainly a good proof of developmental continuity in these municipalities. Some municipalities obtained funds in a more uneven manner. A good example is the municipality of Darłowo, which obtained money that amounted to as much as 52.67% of its income in 2011, compared to just 5.18% the year before and 4.22% the year after. Obviously, municipalities that ranked low in each analyzed year face the most difficult situation. Authorities of the municipalities of Augustów, Goczałkowice-Zdrój and Świnoujście must either regard the task of obtaining capital for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds as less than a priority, or carry it out in an unsatisfactory manner. The municipalities of Supraśl and Horyniec-Zdrój, which placed low in the ranking for 2012, had their good and bad periods: Supraśl obtained considerable funds in 2010 (9.26% of its income), as did Horyniec-Zdrój (11.48%).

Other indicators, such as per capita income, can be used to analyze the use of European capital by resort municipalities. However, there exists no single, perfect indicator that would show the core of the phenomenon. In the author's view, the value of income of a resort municipality is the best indicator of the area's potential that can be compared to the stream of capital designated for the financing of programs and projects realized with European funds.

Conclusions

Current limitations for decisions made by ULGs in resort municipalities related to investments in the resort and tourism infrastructure that stem from the specific legal protection of resort municipalities (which possess unique assets of the natural environment) have recently been liberalized under pressure from interested groups.

These limitations result in, on the one hand, a smaller range of resort and tourism infrastructure offered by resort municipalities compared to infrastructure offered by German, Slovak, Czech, or Hungarian resort cities that are also undergoing a period of transformation. On the other hand, the legal situation will serve to limit the infrastructural investment processes that could potentially contribute to the destruction of the natural curative resources and natural values present in Polish resort municipalities.

Moreover, ULGs in resort municipalities make increasingly frequent use of European financial instruments, which dynamizes the changes in resort municipalities and builds their competitive advantage on the European market.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

JOB QUALITY IN TOURISM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE COMPETITIVE POTENTIAL OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

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Abstract: Due to its dominant share of services, a characteristic aspect of the tourism industry is labor intensity. Whether carrying out a business activity on the tourism market or maintaining effective competition on the market, organizations not only require a sufficient number of employees, but employees that have both proper commitment and professional qualifications as well. The ability to acquire and retain qualified personnel is largely dependent on the attractiveness of employment provided by the economic entity. The aim of this article is to diagnose working conditions in the tourism sector in the context of being able to build competitive potential. The analysis uses the results of the European Working Condition Survey conducted in 2010 by Eurofound. Special attention was paid to remuneration levels, security of employment, job content, career prospects, interpersonal relations, and the ability to seamlessly connect professional and personal life.

Keywords: working conditions, competitive potential, tourism industry

Introduction

The main condition of success of any endeavor on the market, regardless of its organizational and legal form or the range of the scope of its operations, is having a properly selected set of tangible and intangible assets and the ability to use them effectively and innovatively. The source of *competitive advantage*, then, is the combination of unique abilities and resources that contribute to the creation of quality for the customer (Evans, Campbell & Stonehouse 2003, p. 48). Presently, a substantial increase can be noticed in the value of intangible assets, mainly because of the tangible elements of the product can be easily copied. This increase also includes labor assets, as they are the only ones that have autotelic skills and competences (Zając 2008, p. 90). The efforts of tourism organizations, then, should not only focus on acquiring employees with appropriate competences, but also on creating conditions that encourage employees both to stay with the company and to actively participate in realizing its strategic aims.

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Employees who are sufficiently satisfied with their working conditions show high levels of loyalty to companies. These employees' attitudes and behavior positively affect the delivery of high-quality service and maintains positive and long-lasting relations with customers (Heskett et al. 1994, pp. 165-168; Van Looy et al. 2003, pp. 182-183; Dawson & Abbott 2011, pp. 293-298). This increases the efficiency of creating competitive advantage through implementing a differentiation strategy.

The rising status of human resources in modern economies and an undeniable relation between work environment quality and the results of operating activities give sufficient reason to conduct an analysis of employment conditions in the tourism industry. The attractiveness of the sector as a workplace is a deciding factor in the ability to compete for the best employees and, as a result, translates into the competitive position of the various industries (Bednarska & Olszewski 2011, p. 38). The aim of this article is to diagnose the working conditions in tourism in the context of the ability to create competitive potential. Analysis in this research used the results of the European Working Condition Survey conducted by Eurofound. Particular attention was paid to phenomena that significantly influence the ability to compete for labor resources and can in effect be an important factor in increasing the tourism industry's development and competitive potential.

Human Resources in the Tourism Industry as a Basis for Competitive Potential

In the study of market economy, it is an undisputed fact that the *competitiveness* of an industry is a requirement for its sustainable development, or even the imperative of its existence (Stankiewicz 2002, p. 30). Despite the fact that competitiveness has been subject to many scientific inquiries, the subject literature lacks a clear and commonly accepted definition of the word. There is, however, agreement that competitiveness is a complex category. As a result, defining its essence requires splitting it into basic components, i.e., dimensions of competitiveness (Gorynia 2002, p. 61). The basic dimensions of competitiveness are (Stankiewicz 2002, p. 89; Bednarczyk 2006, p. 58):

- *Competitive potential*, or resources used by the subject in the conducted activities;
- *Competitive advantage*, or an effect of using own and external resources of subjects;
- *Competitive position*, or a result of competing in the given sector in comparison to other subjects.

The isolated dimensions of competitiveness remain in close cause-and-effect relations with each other. Competitive potential determines the kind, size, and stability of competitive advantage. Competitive advantage forms the basis for creating a market offer, which will enable a set competitive position to be acquired. A competitive position, in turn, is a starting point for verifying and reconfiguring the elements of competitive potential (Bednarczyk 2006, p. 58).

Competitive potential is the foundation for the ability to efficiently achieve the aims of economic entities. Competitive potential covers internal and external resources used in conducted activities in order to create values expected by the stakeholders. These resources should be considered in terms of quality rather than quantity. Different forms of resources are characterized by different levels of relevance in the process of creating a sustainable advantage on the market and increasing the subject's functioning effectiveness[1] (Wernerfelt 1984, p. 173; Amit & Schoemaker 1993, p. 38; Collis & Montgomery 1995, p. 120; Peteraf & Barney 2003, p. 317). In the tourism industry, due to its great labor requirements and the ease of copying tangible elements of the product, far more importance should be attached to human resources.

One of the leading factors of a company's competitiveness is its ability to provide a client with *value*, which is created both in the preparation phase and when providing a service. The value manifests itself in the form of sharing necessary information, establishing contact with clients, building a personal package, offering favorable terms of agreement, methods of reacting to clients' wishes, and the tangible means of providing the services. For the client, the value of a product is established by comparing its quality, which is understood as benefits, and price, which represents costs of its acquisition (Kachniewska 2009, pp. 55-58, 74-76). The quality of the industry's offer is dependent on the processes taking place within it, regardless of whether they are observed by the client or not. This regularity is especially important for the services activity on the tourism market, the essence of which, despite the development of modern technologies, is the direct contact between the personnel and the travelers. As a result, client satisfaction is often the result of the elements of the process of a service and the qualities of the people taking part in the process, rather than material evidence.

[1] It can be assumed that a resources assessment, in the context of being able to provide competitive advantage to the organization, should include the following aspects (Barney 1991, pp. 105-112; Collis & Montgomery 1995, pp. 120-123):

- value – resources should be valuable;
- availability – resources should be rare;
- susceptibility for imitation and substitution – resources should be resistant to copying;
- value appropriation – the value of using resources should belong to the organization.

The representatives of the resource-based view of the firm claim that human resources are a significant source of a sustainable competitive advantage, as employees with their knowledge, skills, and qualifications are a valuable and rare resource, resistant to imitation and substitution. Due to the heterogenic nature of supply and demand for work on the production factors market, human resources, through the impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of the use of remaining resources, increase the value of the company. The unequal distribution of the competences of the employee population makes the potential demand for labor resources with specific skills greater than the supply of such resources. Due to historical considerations, vagueness of causal links, and complexity, the difficulties of copying all the components of human resources and the conditions in which such resources function favor the limited susceptibility of the resources for imitation. Finally, due to numerous uses and immunity to wear and tear in the process of production, labor resources are difficult to substitute (Wright, McMahan & McWilliams 1994, pp. 305-313; Boxall 1998, pp. 267-273).

The contribution of human resources in the creation of competitiveness potential can also be explained on the grounds of the concept of economic rent, which refers to the abundance of production factors income above their alternative cost. Labor resources can generate Ricardian rent and entrepreneurial (Schumpeterian) rent. The basis of acquiring Ricardian rent is the disproportion in resource availability, resulting from the non-elastic supply of the labor factor connected with its heterogeneity, which manifests itself in diverse productivity. Schumpeterian rent is a benefit an organization obtains in respect to taking actions in uncertain conditions and results from the ability to introduce innovation, which will lead to strengthening of the heterogeneity of remaining resources and final products of the enterprise (Chadwick & Dabu 2009, pp. 255-257, 262-266).

In light of the considerations presented above, it is difficult not to agree with the statement that the ability of entities in the tourism industry to compete on the present-day market is dependent on acquiring and maintaining employees with proper skills, experience, knowledge, creativity, and innovativeness. At the same time, some researchers in the field pay attention to challenges facing modern tourism enterprises and that need to be faced in the process of competing for production factors, especially labor resources (Keller 2004, p. 16; Baum 2008, p. 727; Bednarska 2012, p. 58). The limited competitiveness in the studied area is the result of the features of tourism labor market, which directly or indirectly translate into employment conditions and impact the quality of work in the tourism industry.

Job Quality and its Determinants

The vast majority of available publications in the field of labor economics touch upon the topic of employment in a quantitative way. Studies using a qualitative approach for this topic remain in the minority of mainstream economics. However, the quality dimension of employment as a factor in the process of creating new workplaces is as important as achieving a high employment rate or a low unemployment rate (Bukowski 2010, p. 64).

The perception of the quality of work is important in both microeconomics and macroeconomics. Proper employment conditions are a source of employees' internal motivation and satisfaction. These conditions can also lead to increases in the quality and efficiency of conducted activities, decreases in rates of employee absenteeism, employee turnover, and, as a result, increases in the productivity of the involved resources and in the financial results achieved by the enterprise (Hackman & Oldham 1975, p. 161; Berry & Parasuraman 1992, p. 26; Heskett et al. 1994, p. 165; Grönroos 1994, p. 14; Zink 2011, p. 575). Individuals' subjective sense of satisfaction with their professional activity can result in the higher productivity of the entire economy by inducing employee creativity and innovativeness. Moreover, the satisfaction can affect the decision on whether to pursue employment (or not) in a given branch, which can influence structural changes of an economy (Bukowski 2010, p. 64).

The manner in which the quality of work influences both personnel behavior and the results of the economic activity (especially in the services sector) has been the subject of many empirical studies. Table 1 presents the results of the chosen projects regarding employment conditions in the service sectors and their direct and indirect consequences.

There is no consensus in the subject literature as to the conceptual range of the job quality and its determinants; many recommendations may be encountered in the choice of methods and tools for measuring it. However, researchers in the field agree that the job quality is a multidimensional category, and is affected by subjective (personal) and objective (situational) criteria (Martel & Dupuis 2006, pp. 342, 352; Dahl, Nesheim & Olsen 2009, pp. 8-9, Somarriba et al. 2010, pp. 3-4).

The discussion regarding job quality initially focused on the nature of the conducted professional duties (job content) and their organizational conditions with special regard for the differentiation of tasks, necessary skills, possibilities for development, and range of autonomy. Over time, the analyzed category has been extended to employment stability (security), prospects for career development, and work-life balance (Gallie 2009, pp.

Table 1. The Importance of the Job Quality in Services Activities in Light of Empirical Studies

Researchers	Sector	Independent variable	Dependent variables
Vanniarajan and Subbash Babu	banking	internal service quality	– consumer satisfaction – consumer loyalty
Testa	food services, passenger water transport	quality of work	– organizational commitment service effort
Silvestro and Cross	retail trade	internal service quality	– employee satisfaction – employee loyalty – productivity – service value – customer satisfaction – customer loyalty – financial performance
McPhail and Fisher	hospitality	working conditions	– organizational commitment – job satisfaction – intention to leave
Bieger, Laesser and Boksberger	hotels and restaurants, events and entertainment	working conditions	– cross–industry labor mobility
Efraty and Sirgy	gerontological care	quality of working life	– job satisfaction – job involvement – job effort – performance effectiveness
Tsaur, Yen and Yang	travel organization	working conditions	– employee creativity
Scotti, Harmon and Behson	health care	working environment	– employee perceived quality of services – customer perceived quality of services – customer satisfaction
Hallowell, Schlesinger and Zornitsky	insurance	internal service quality	– service capability – customer satisfaction
Schmit and Allscheid	security services	organizational climate	– employee perceived quality of services – customer satisfaction

From: Own work based on (Efraty & Sirgy 1990; Schmit & Allscheid 1995; Hallowell, Schlesinger & Zornitsky 1996; Silvestro & Cross 2000; Testa 2001; Bieger, Laesser & Boksberger 2005; McPhail & Fisher 2008; Scotti, Harmon & Behson 2009; Tsaur, Yen & Yang 2011; Vanniarajan & Subbash Babu 2011).

4-6). Particular focus in the studies on the qualitative factors of employment has been given to the matter of remuneration. Numerous researchers claim that remuneration level is what drives the ability to satisfy many needs and, as such, cannot be omitted in the assessment of quality of work (Sirgy et al. 2001, pp. 243, 246; Green 2007, pp. 13-15; Dahl, Nesheim & Olsen 2009, p. 14).

Job quality determines the image of an enterprise as an employer and affects its ability to compete for human resources. The effects of such competition have a noticeable impact on an entity's potential and, as a result, its competitive position in the economy. Many professions in the tourism industry are neither prestigious nor socially respected. What influences the negative perception of employment in the tourism sector is the activity's seasonal nature. As a result, there are a large number of fixed-term contracts with employees, relatively low remuneration levels, a large demand on people doing simple tasks, limited possibilities of long-term career development, and unsocial working hours (Riley, Szivas & Ladkin 2002, pp. 48-53; Wood 2003, pp. 56-57; Bednarska 2012, pp. 53-57). Due to the fact that the engagement and the loyalty of employees are closely related to an enterprise's ability of offer tangible and intangible benefits (Aselage & Eisenberger 2003, p. 492), an employer's image significantly affects the efficiency of the recruitment process. In this context, the analysis of perceived work attractiveness in tourism and its geographical heterogeneity should be considered especially interesting.

Working Conditions in Tourism in Member Countries of the European Union

The diagnosis of working conditions in the tourism industry is based on the fifth edition of European Working Condition Survey (EWCS) conducted in 2010 by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions as a part of European Working Conditions Observatory. The study takes place every five years and provides information regarding levels of satisfaction with work and phenomena that positively or negatively affect the perception of the quality of work. The first edition, conducted in 1991, included approximately 12,500 respondents from 12 countries. The fifth edition included almost 44,000 participants from 34 countries, including Poland, which was the third time the country had been included in the study (the study was conducted in all European Union countries and in Albania, Croatia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Norway, and Turkey) (Eurofound 2012, p. 141).

The analyses below use data on accommodations and food service activities, as well as travel agency and tour operator reservation services.[2] Activities associated with hospitality and travel agencies are not identical with the tourism industry: tourists are not the only ones to acquire these services. At the same time, the needs of visitors are satisfied not by one, but by a number of different services. The choice is partially justified by data availability and aggregation level (EWCS is based on NACE classification), and partially by the rank of accommodation and catering sector, as well as tour organization in the tourism industry.[3] Employees of hotel services comprise almost 1% of the studied sample; food and beverage services, 3.9%; travel agency and tour operator reservation services, 0.3%. Perception of work quality in tourism was compared to opinions of the conditions of employment in market services and in the entire national economy. The basic information on the respondents can be found in Table 2.

Table 2. Profile of the Respondents

Feature	Category	Tourism industry	Market services	Economy in total
Age	average	37.3 years	39.9 years	41.7 years
Education	primary secondary tertiary	8.2% 76.3% 15.6%	4.8% 68.4% 26.8%	6.3% 64.2% 29.4%
Years of service	average	6.5 years	8.4 years	10.0 years
	less than 3 years 3-10 years above 10 years	39.5% 40.9% 19.6%	29.7% 43.5% 26.8%	25.4% 40.5% 34.1%
Type of contract	indefinite temporary no contract	63.0% 17.6% 18.8%	76.1% 13.8% 9.5%	76.7% 13.7% 8.7%

From: Own creation based on Eurofound databases.

[2] Analysis included opinions of workers of three divisions of economy: 55 (accommodation); 56 (food and beverage service activities); 79 (travel agency, tour operator reservation service and related activities).

[3] According to the results of the tourism satellite account for Poland within the so-called tourism characteristic activities, accommodation establishments comprise over 30% of the workplaces; food serving facilities, 40%; travel agencies and tour operators, approximately 7%. In turn, the percentage of workplaces directly connected with tourism demand is, respectively, 70%, 34%, and 64% [IT 2010, p. 36].

When performing an operationalization of the categories studied, job satisfaction level was accepted as a measure of job quality,[4] while its main dimensions were chosen to be job content, remuneration level, employment security, career development possibilities, interpersonal relations, and work-life balance. These variables were assessed using a five-point ordinal

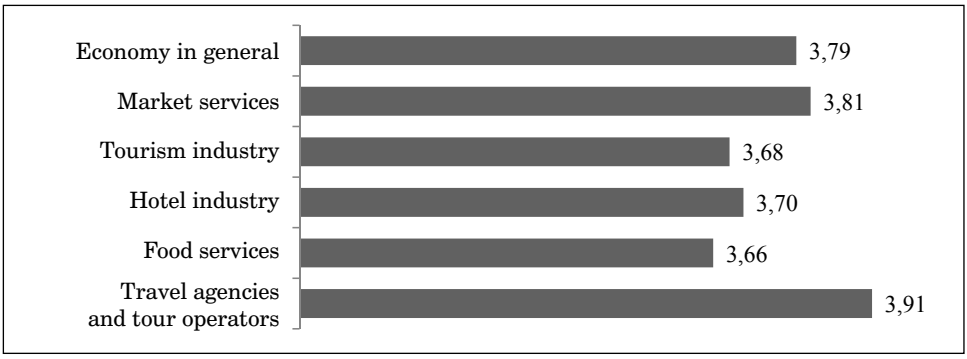

Figure 1. Job satisfaction level

From: Own work based on Eurofound databases.

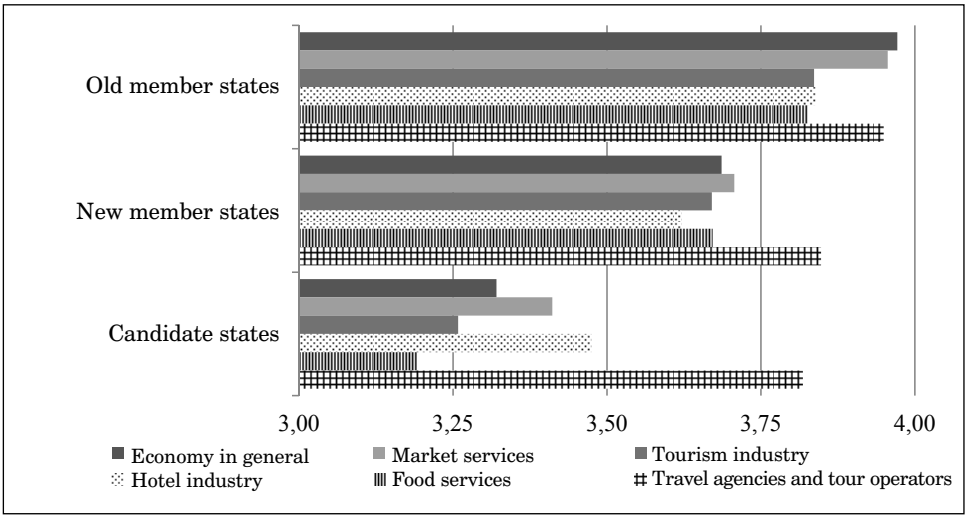

Figure 2. Job satisfaction level (countries groups)
From: Own work based on Eurofound databases.

[4] Considering job satisfaction level as a measure of its quality is a common practice in subject literature (Choy 1995, pp. 133-136; Galie 2009, pp. 7-9; Lillo-Bañuls & Casado-Díaz 2011, pp. 769-771), and it is in accordance with the concept of quality as an ability to satisfy needs (Sirgy et al. 2001, p. 242).

scale, where 1 means a *negative* score and 5 a *positive* score. In order to show geographical differentiation of the job quality and its determinants, analysis of the respondents' opinions was conducted separately for old member states, new member states, and candidate states of the European Union. The analysis results are shown in Figures 1-4.

The average job satisfaction level among employees in the tourism sector is lower than among employees of market services and the economy in general. This regularity takes place in all EU countries groups, with the relatively worst situation occurring in the EU-15 countries, although the absolute satisfaction level is higher in the old member states in comparison to new member states and candidate states. The highest grade in the tourism employment was given by the respondents in Sweden; the lowest, in Kosovo. Within the tourism industry, the highest job satisfaction was declared by employees of travel agencies; the lowest, in food service activities; and in new member states, in accommodations. Travel agencies and tour operators are ranked as best employers in Great Britain; hotel facilities, in Sweden; food service facilities, in Denmark. The lowest grades were given, respectively, in Greece, Turkey, and Romania. For comparative reasons, Table 3 shows sections of economy with the highest and lowest level of average job satisfaction.

Table 3. Job satisfaction Level and National Economy Sections *

Group of countries	Highest satisfaction	Lowest satisfaction
Old member states	R – Arts, entertainment and recreation	A – Agriculture, forestry, and fishing
New member states	M – Professional, scientific, and technical, activities	C – Manufacturing
Candidate states	K – Financial and insurance activities	A – Agriculture, forestry, and fishing
Total	R – Arts, entertainment and recreation	A – Agriculture, forestry, and fishing

* Sections T (Households as employers) and U (Extraterritorial organizations and bodies) are excluded.

From: Own work based on Eurofound database.

Analysis of the satisfaction determinants showed that tourism service providers consider interpersonal relations and job content as the main strengths of their work, whereas career development prospects and remuneration level are the greatest weaknesses. Interpersonal relations were the only variable to gain a higher rank than in market services and the economy in general; the other

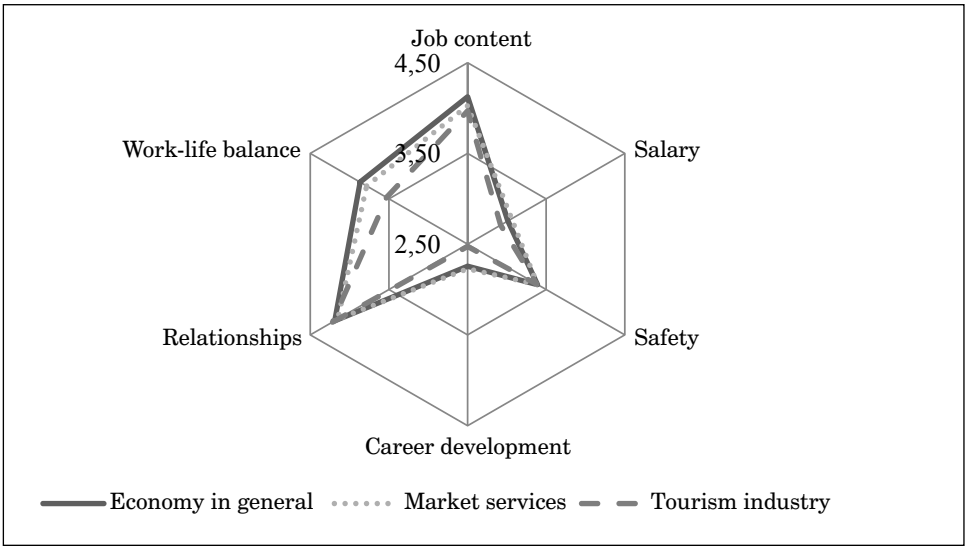

Figure 3. Working conditions (tourism industry compared to market services and economy in general)
From: Own work based on Eurofound database.

dimensions of work quality were assessed worse. The biggest differences, to the detriment of the tourism industry, can be found in the ability to seamlessly connect work and personal life and in career prospects. The geographical distribution of perceiving employment conditions corresponds to the one observed in the assessment of employee satisfaction. In absolute terms, the highest grades of the individual aspects of tourism employment are given by citizens of old member countries; the worst grades were given by citizens of candidate countries (excluding the career path, which is assessed negatively everywhere). In relative terms, the working conditions in tourism services are considered worst in the countries of the EU-15, where the average distance between the tourism industry and other types of economic activity is greatest.

Opinions about the individual quality of work dimensions are similar in employees of different sectors of the tourism industry. Statistically significant differences were noticed in the case of employees of travel agencies, who assess the range of professional duties, remuneration received, career prospects, and the ability to balance professional life and personal life better than their colleagues in accommodation and catering. The analysis of geographical differentiation shows that citizens of old member countries give higher grades to individual employment conditions in accommodation and catering (apart from job content), while lower grades are given to travel agencies and tour operators.

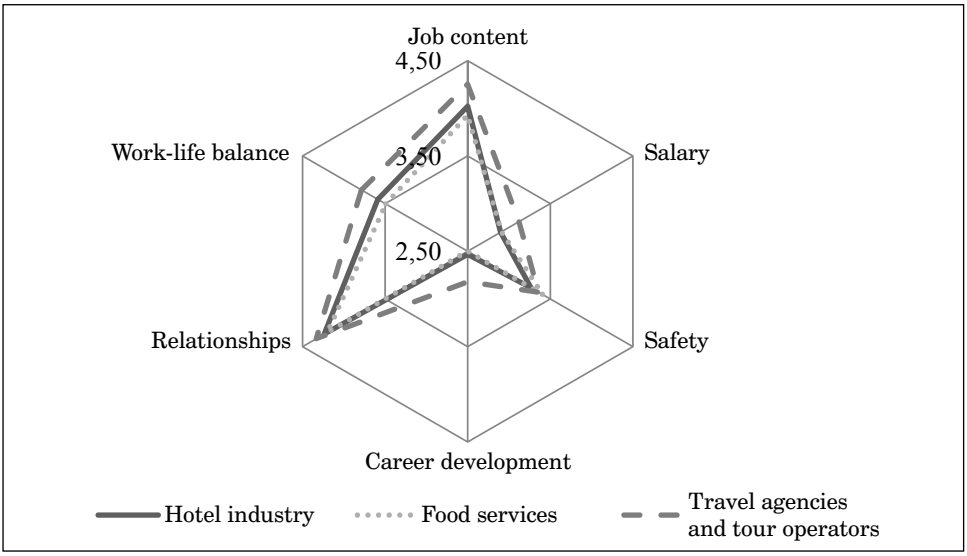

Figure 4. Working conditions (tourism industry sectors)

From: Own work based on Eurofound database.

Table 4. Main Job Satisfaction Determinants

Types of economic activity	Correlation coefficient 1st place	Correlation coefficient 2nd place
Economy in general	remuneration	career development
Market services	remuneration	career development
Food services	remuneration	job content
Travel agencies and tour operators	remuneration	work-life balance

From: Own work based on Eurofound database.

Table 5. Correlation Between Job satisfaction and Remuneration (Countries Groups)

Types of economic activity	Old member states	New member states	Candidate states
Economy in general	0.383	0.444	0.496
Market services	0.402	0.476	0.492
Tourism industry	0.441	0.440	0.497

From: Own work based on Eurofound database.

The analysis of interdependencies between the investigated categories showed that job satisfaction is correlated in a statistically significant way with all the dimensions under study. More information on the strongest correlations can be found in Tables 4 and 5.

In each of the studied sections, the strongest correlation takes place between job satisfaction and remuneration, though the strength of such a connection shows geographical diversification. Remuneration is ranked relatively highest in candidate countries, whereas it is ranked the lowest in old member countries. It is worth noticing that in the case of the tourism industry, the difference of the importance of remuneration between groups of countries is lower than in the case of market services and the entire national economy. This must be connected with lower remuneration conditions in the tourism industry: the relative fall of remuneration leads to the rise of the rank of financial determinants of job satisfaction.

In conclusion, the conducted study of the image of tourism industry entities as employers does not lead to positive results. Of the six analyzed factors determining the job quality, only one – interpersonal relations – proved to be an asset of tourism enterprises in comparison to other economic entities, while job content, remuneration level, security of employment, possibility of career development, and maintaining work-life balance are given lower grades. The resulting satisfaction levels of employees working in the tourism sector are lower than in market services and the entire market economy. What is more, the higher the level of economic development, the lower the relative satisfaction from working in the tourism sector.

Conclusion

Entities operating in the modern tourism industry face the challenge of constantly searching for and maintaining competitive advantages. The basis of competitive advantages lay in the differences between enterprises in the availability of resources, which are also a field in which enterprises have to compete (Godziszewski 2001, p. 98). The ability to obtain and retain competent and motivated employees is an unusually important determinant of the growth of a tourism organization. Human resources are a key element of competitive potential. This perception of the role of employees justifies the need for analyzing employment conditions in the tourism industry, as the job quality and the satisfaction derived from it are what determine the interest of potential employees in binding their career to a given industry.

The conducted analysis shows that employment in tourism has many features that are the source of the lack of satisfaction and loyalty to em-

ployers. This study of perception of employment in tourism points to the challenges that await modern tourism enterprises. The study also points to the challenges they face in the process of creating an image of an employer of choice and competing for human resources. The results of such competition are incredibly important for creating competitive potential and for the development of the tourism industry.

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SELECTED DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF JOB BURNOUT AMONG HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

*Aleksandra Grobelna**

Abstract: The aim of this study is to present the leading determinants of the hotel job burnout (associated with personality, job, and organizational characteristics) and its consequences in the behavior of hotel employees. The research problem is an attempt to seek answers to two questions: 1) What are the main determinants of job burnout among the employees of the hotel sector? and 2) What are the main factors that alleviate or significantly reduce syndrome of burnout among hotel staff? The expected results have a scientific nature. The application aspects of the study indicate practices that should be take into consideration by hotel managers to reduce or alleviate employee experiencing job stress and burnout. Research methods: literature analysis and assessment of previously conducted scientific research in the field.

Keywords: hotel services, hotel employees, personality traits, burnout

The role of the human component in the competitive and customer-oriented hotel market is becoming invaluable. It is a proven fact that service contacts play a fundamental role in the hotel industry and that customer relations have become an integral part of that service. One might say that the proper attitude, behavior, and actions of a hotel staff determine the fulfillment of customer expectations; in fact, they frequently exceed customer expectations. These determinants are often the source of unique experiences resulting from service consumption. The importance of the human factor in the creation of quality hotel services has been clearly identified in the results of empirical research (Grobelna & Marciszewska, 2008, pp. 303-304; Marciszewska, 2009, pp. 105-106). The human component becomes a vital attribute of hotel service as well as the factor determining its quality.

Undoubtedly, employees try to meet customer expectations and requirements; the more satisfied employees are with their job, the better their job performance becomes (Mazur, 2001, p. 58). The evidence weighs in favor

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of the correlation between customer satisfaction and employee satisfaction (Hill & Alexander, 2003, p. 303). Therefore, in order to have satisfied consumers, one needs to have satisfied employees in the first place; the reverse relation does not exist (Pantsuit, 2005, p. 151; Kachniewska, 2002a, p. 53).

Meanwhile, the phenomenon of job burnout – which is becoming more commonplace among employees in different fields, including the hospitality industry – poses a serious threat to the maintenance of high levels of satisfaction (Kim et al., 2007, p. 423). Extensive empirical research leads to the conclusion that burnout has negative effects on job satisfaction, as well as on the level of employee engagement and efficiency (Yang, 2010, p. 609, p. 611). Research conducted among line employees in Taiwan's hospitality industry (research samples were taken in 11 franchised or globally managed hotel groups such as Hyatt, Westin, and Four Points by Sheraton) demonstrated the critical importance of job burnout for employee satisfaction (Yang, 2010, p. 611, p. 615).

The specificity and character of hotel service creates many conditions for the development of burnout syndrome. It results from the following aspects:

- hotel service requires labor intensity; the possibility for its mechanization is limited;
- the high amount of personal contact in hotel services and its relational character cause a mutual and intensive impact on both customer and employee while in the process of providing services;
- providing services to guests who have different personalities, temperaments, and characters (frequently combative and problematic customers) might provoke the occurrence of many difficult and atypical situations;
- consumers with diverse and high expectations, which is especially stressful when the guests shape their requirements in an optimal manner and without knowing the reality and the difficulty of providing the service. A such, the customer's requirements cease to be legitimate, yet the customer is still convinced of their righteousness;
- The unity of place of production and consumption – the quality of service becomes visible in front of customer's eyes, so to speak. Customers, who are both sharp observers and strict arbiters of quality, take reliable service for granted and treat all shortcomings (which are frequently revealed in front of customers' eyes) as unforgivable (Kachniewska, 2002b, p. 28);
- the continuity and readiness to work. As a rule, hotels are open 365 days in a year, 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. While at work (including holidays and night shifts), the staff must be highly willing to provide service and to act immediately (Kim et al., 2007, pp. 421-422).

Additionally, literature shows (Kim et al., 2007, p. 422; Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009, p. 351; Yang, 2010, p. 609) that hospitality industry employees are underpaid, work long hours, and have to meet many demanding tasks. They receive improper training. Their work environment is deprived of friendly programs and social benefits. As a result, they become more vulnerable to experiencing occupational stress. Some even hold the view that working in a hotel frequently means working under constant stress (Górska-Warsewicz & Świstak, 2009, p. 178). Surely, it is not without meaning that the following employee predispositions are considered: immunity to fatigue, mental endurance, emotional stability, patience, self-control, and the ability to cope with customers' emotions (Górska-Warsewicz & Świstak, 2009, pp. 178-179).

The problem of burnout is becoming incredibly relevant, and it poses a threat to the competitiveness of hotel businesses. Working under constant stress is the main reason for burnout; a frustrated and unsatisfied employee is not ready to put much effort into providing service for customers. Furthermore, employee's emotions are transferred to the relationship with the customer(s) (Panasiuk, 2005, p. 152; Mazur, 2001, p. 58).

Theoretical framework of job burnout

Literature repeatedly indicates that a hotel's success generally depends on the staff's ability to provide optimal service under conditions of high stress. However, much empirical research has been conducted in relation to the issue concerning the influence of both individual personality factors and other work environment determinants on employee susceptibility to experiencing occupational stress (Kim et al., 2007, p. 422).

In this article, an attempt to present the phenomenon of job burnout syndrome in hospitality industry will be made. The problem of burnout and its threat to the competitiveness of hotels operating on today's market will be discussed. The aim of this article is to present the leading determinants of burnout (personal, environmental, and organizational) and their consequences on the behavior and intentions of hospitality industry employees. The research question is: What are the main determinants of burnout among hospitality industry employees, and which factors minimize or limit the occurrence of this phenomenon? The results will broaden the range of knowledge about human resources management in the context of leading determinants and the consequences of burnout among hospitality industry employees. In scope of application, they are the proposals – submitted for managerial consideration – that can be implemented in the hospitality

industry, though bearing in mind the limitation of this phenomenon. The research method is literature analysis, including the analysis of empirical research in subject reports and studies. Deductive and inductive reasoning was used as research methods, i.e., the methods of logical reasoning and scientific research.

The notion of burnout means a state of physical and mental exhaustion that is the result of prolonged negative feelings developing both at work and in self-image (Fengler, 2000, p. 85). Therefore, burnout is a kind of long-term reaction to chronic, emotional, and interpersonal work-related stress (Psychologia Społeczna, 2001, pp. 724-725). The phenomenon of burnout has become the subject of special attention, especially in relation to occupations connected with working with people and particularly when the nature of that work relates to personal relationships and emotional experiences (Psychologia Społeczna, 2001, p. 725).

In a broader view, literature defines burnout as a syndrome or state of physical, emotional and intellectual exhaustion, as well as cynicism towards work, that is a reaction to chronic occupational stress (Yang, 2010, p. 611). It is believed that burnout is multidimensional and that it manifests itself in three subareas:

– *emotional exhaustion,*
– *depersonalization,*
– *diminished personal accomplishment* (Maslach, 1998 quoted in Kim et al., 2009, p. 97; Kim et al., 2007, p. 422; *Psychologia Społeczna*, 2001, p. 725).

Emotional exhaustion refers to feeling overburdened and the depletion of personal resources. (*Psychologia Społeczna*, 2001, 725). It is a feeling of emptiness and loss of strength resulting from excessive psychological job demands (Kim et al., 2009, p. 97; Kim et al., 2007, p. 422). *Depersonalization* is a negative, distant, or indifferent reaction to other people (*Psychologia Społeczna*, 2001, p. 725). It refers to treating people like objects instead of subjects, which is expressed through cynical and negligent behaviors and attitudes of employees (Kim et al., 2009, p. 97; Kim et al., 2007, p. 422). *Diminished personal accomplishment* refers to the feelings of diminished competence, accomplishment, and success. It is a tendency to negative self-evaluation in the context of one's efficiency (Kim et al., 2009, p. 97; Kim et al., 2007, p. 422).

Burnout syndrome affects the representatives of occupations in which contact with other human beings is the constant attribute. Therefore, research on burnout initially revolved around service occupations in which the human component played a vital role. Next, it was stated that burnout cannot be limited to certain professions (pedagogues, teachers, and nurses),

because in reality it is observed in many other workplace environments and types of occupational activities (Kim et al., 2007, p. 423; Kim et al., 2009, p. 97; Psychologia Społeczna, 2001, p. 726). Hence, the definition and the determinants of burnout were broadened. "The Maslach Burnout Inventory" instrument (MBI) (Maslach & Jackson, 1986), which is commonly used to measure the phenomenon of burnout, was modified to a new version (Schaufeli et al., 1996): "MB – General Survey" (MB-GS) (Kim et al., 2007, p. 423; Kim et al., 2009, p. 97). Consequently, the notion of emotional exhaustion was replaced with *exhaustion,* which encompasses fatigue that does not necessarily refer to other people as the source of this state. Depersonalization, which was changed to *cynicism*, was understood as being distant and indifferent toward work. Personal accomplishment was replaced by *reduced professional efficacy*. It is characterized by low levels of self-efficacy as well as by a lack of accomplishment and productivity (Kim et al., 200, p. 97; Kim et al., 2007, p. 423).

New findings and approaches to burnout research (Schaufeli et al., 2002) justify and point to the possibility of analyzing professional efficacy in terms of extra components of job engagement instead of job burnout (Kim et al., 2009, pp. 97-98). Research by H. J. Kim et al. (2009) conducted gastronomic industry workers (Subway Restaurants, U.S.), show that there is a mutual, significant correlation between emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, whereas their correlation with personal accomplishment is low. This is contrary to job engagement, where more substantial correlations between personal accomplishment and the components of this dimension are observed. According to the authors, this might demonstrate the legitimacy of perceiving personal accomplishment in the category of engagement factors, rather than job burnout (Kim et al., 2009, p. 100).

Main determinants of job burnout among hospitality industry employees

Whether or not job burnout occurs depends on many factors and variables, both personal and environmental. The literature enumerates the following as particularly important: setting high requirements along with low possibility of influencing the situation, actions incompatible with personal values, wishful thinking, defensive attitude toward difficulties, exaggerating failures, perfectionism, hyper-responsibility, negligence of professional development, and poor time management (Starostka, 2012).

Job demands and job resources – organizational determinants

Job burnout might be determined by many variables: improper compensation system (including pay disproportionate to effort put into work), lack of organizational support and possibility of advancing, and lack of recognition from the manager (Yang, 2010, p. 611). The specificity of the contemporary market creates higher requirements and expectations regarding the quality of hotel services and the way they are provided. The literature on the subject indicates that, in spite of dealing with experiences related with relaxation and pleasure, workers in the broadly understood hospitality industry find their jobs stressful (Ross, 1997, p. 44). In research on work environment determinants and occupational stress, Faulkner and Patiar identified the following as the main sources of stress: work overload, undervaluation, and a lack of managerial consultation and communication (1997, p. 109). That research was conducted among the contact workers in the hospitality industry.

Stressors fall under the *job demands* category. They are defined as physical, social, and organizational aspects of job that require constant intellectual and physical effort from an employee. Therefore, they are accompanied by specific physiological and psychological costs (Kim et al., p. 433). Their occurrence increases a tendency to experience job burnout. Empirical research proves that there is a correlation between job demands and job burnout (Kim et al., p. 98). The correlation is positive as far as emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are concerned; it is negative in the case of personal accomplishment (Kim et al., p. 423).

Job resources are distinguished in contrast to stress-causing factors. They encompass social, organizational, and physical job aspects that might decrease job demands along with the physiological and psychological costs. They might also be functional in achieving professional goals as well as in stimulating learning and personal development (Baker & Demerouti, 2008, p. 211). Job resources include: *social support, work autonomy, performance feedback, skill variety,* and *learning opportunities,* which are required to manage high standards of job and simultaneously lead to *work engagement* (Kim et al., 2009, p. 98). A lack of these resources results in increased susceptibility to stress and job burnout. Unlike job demands, resources correlate negatively with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, and positively with personal accomplishment (Kim et al., 2009, p. 98). It has been pointed out that personal resources may reduce the stressful impact of job demands. The **JD-R** model (Job Demand-Resources model) shows that high job demands might cause intellectual and physical exhaustion, which leads to decreased energy levels and employee exhaustion (exhaustion process),

whereas resources support employee engagement and effective process of responsibility fulfillment (**motivational process**) (Kim et al., 2009, p. 96; *The influence . . .* 2011).

Summing up, both categories – *job demand* and *job resources* – influence burnout, but in reverse correlation (Figure 1).

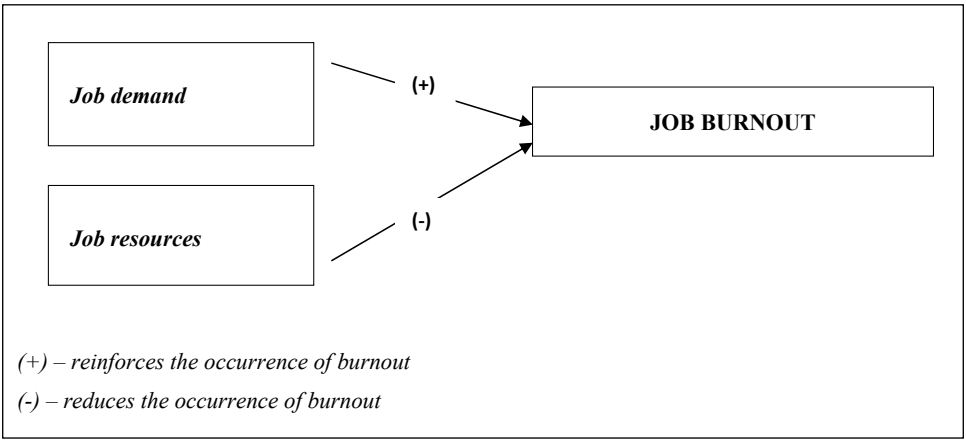

Figure 1. Correlation between job determinants and job burnout

Based on: Kim H. J., Shin, K. H., & Umbreit W. T. (2007). Hotel job burnout: The role of personality characteristics. *Hospitality Management*, nr 26, vol. 2, 423.
Kim H. J., Shin K. H., & Swanger N. (2009). Burnout and engagement: A comparative analysis using the Big Five personality dimension. *International Journal of Hospitality Management.* 28, 103.

High job demands, which frequently precede job burnout, are a leading factor (Kim et al., 2007, p. 423):
– *role conflict*
– *role ambiguity*
– *workload*
– *customer contact* and others.

Role conflict refers to discordant situations and contradictory expectations toward employees and the manner in which they are supposed to do their job (from managers, co-workers, and customers) (Karatepe & Sokmen, 2006, p. 256; Yang, 2010, p. 611). Consequently, it might lead to experiencing stress and emotional tension, a tendency to withdraw, or the disturbance of relationships in the organization, etc. The literature indicates that role conflict leads both to reduced individual employee satisfaction and to

the decreased efficacy of the whole organization (Rizo et al., 1970, p. 151). **Role ambiguity** occurs in a situation wherein the information regarding the way of carrying out tasks and the scope of duties or responsibilities are ambiguous (Karatepe & Sokmen, 2006, p. 256; Yang, 2010, p. 611). A lack of the specification of duties, guidelines, and suggestions brings about the inability of employees to know what is expected of them, what they are supposed to achieve, or how they will be evaluated. The result of this is hesitation in decision-making and an attempt to meet managers' expectations through trial and error. The consequences of role ambiguity can include: dissatisfaction, experiencing fear, uncertainty, decreased efficacy, etc. (Rizo et al., 1970, p. 151). **Workload,** in its general meaning, is interpreted as the enormity of work required of an employee (Spector & Jex, 1998, p. 358). Workload causes the inability to satisfy all requirements in a given time and at a certain level, which may be the leading cause of occupational stress (Terelak & Izwantowska, 2009, pp. 224-225). However, of all the aforementioned factors, **customer contact** requires special discussion, particularly with reference to the hospitality industry. This is where relationships with customers are perceived as the leading factor of occupational stress (Kim et al., 2009, p. 99). On the one hand, intensive and engaging interaction with a customer is, in fact, the essence of professional performance and determines the success of the process of providing a service. On the other hand, it is a source of huge stress. In customer service contacts, front-line employees are frequently exposed to a variety of difficulties and atypical situations. They are provoked by diverse demands from customers, relationship problems with aggressive customers, and the necessity to serve and cooperate with the differing personalities of customers. These situations cause intensified exposure to stress. The components determining stressful customer relations are disproportionate customer expectations, disliked customers, ambiguous customer expectations, and **verbal aggression.** The latter was pointed out as a factor having a particularly important influence on job burnout (Kim et al., 2009, p. 99).

Contrary to job demand, the job resources category should be referred to, especially **work autonomy.** It is a vital component of *employee empowerment*, defined as the degree to which employees have freedom and independence of task realization (Çekmecelioğlu & Günsel, 2011, p. 891; Padzik, 2002, p. 5). Because of the frequent need for immediate reaction to customer problems and needs, delegating tasks to employees in the hospitality industry seems to play a vital role in decreasing stress. It results in certain decision-making freedom and control over task realization. Empirical research proves that work autonomy has a significant impact on hotel staff satisfaction (Yang, 2010, p. 615); it reduced job burnout in the hospi-

tality industry (Kim et al., 2007, p. 430). Providing more autonomy brings about the following: occupational stress decreases (exhaustion reduction), employees treat customers personally (cynicism reduction), and employees feel satisfied and proud of their job (increased professional efficacy) (Kim et al., 2007, p. 432). Therefore, the possibility of autonomous decision-making, which results in more efficient satisfaction of customers needs, prevents job burnout. Authorized employees feel more satisfaction from the work they do; as a result, their professional efficiency and efficacy increases.

The Big Five personality dimensions and hotel job burnout

It is proved in the literature that personality traits significantly diversify susceptibility to job burnout (Kim et al., 2007, p. 422). It turns out that some personality traits increase employee's susceptibility to experience stress, while others increase the ability to cope with it. In other words, what is stressful for some people might be completely indifferent for others.

Attention in the literature revolves around the Big Five Personality Dimensions, a five-factor model describing human personality in five categories of personality traits. They are as follows:

- *neuroticism*
- *extraversion*
- *openness to experience*
- *agreeableness*
- *conscientiousness*

Neurotics are emotionally unstable people with a tendency to react with tension and fear (Costa & McCrae, 1998, pp. 13-14). The hospitality industry is characterized by high unpredictability and diverse expectations in service relations. In case of neurotics, they might cause a tendency to react with helplessness and panic in high stress, difficult situations. Unlike neurotics, **extraverts** are communicative, friendly, and positively interested with their surroundings (Costa & McCrae, 1998, p. 15; Mitura & Koniuszewska, 2006, p. 172). Employees' **agreeableness** is also defined as friendliness and empathy in social relations (Kim et al., 2007, p. 424). They are particularly important in the highly relational hospitality industry due to the demand for agreeableness, cooperation, and individualized service contact. The **conscientiousness** of staff also plays a vital role due to the complexity of multiple tasks given to employees as well as the constant motion and the specific dynamic of work in this industry. Components of conscientiousness include: reliability, competence, and work engagement (Costa & McCrae,

1998, p. 19). **Openness to experience** is not without meaning, as individuals driven by curiosity of internal and external world phenomena are creative and have vivid imaginations (Costa & McCrae, 1998, p. 90). The occurrence of this trait enriches creative potential and human capital in the hospitality industry.

Analyzing personality factors and job burnout dimensions, one might become convinced that extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness increase employees' ability to cope with exhaustion and cynicism and at the same time support employee efficacy. Meanwhile, neuroticism increases employee's susceptibility to exhaustion and cynicism, while diminishing efficacy. As far as openness to experience is concerned, it does not correlate significantly or explicitly with job burnout dimensions analyzed in the literature study or empirical research (Kim et al., 2007, p. 425). Due to ambiguity in research results, it is believed that openness to experience is not a significant determinant of job burnout among hospitality industry employees (Figure 2).

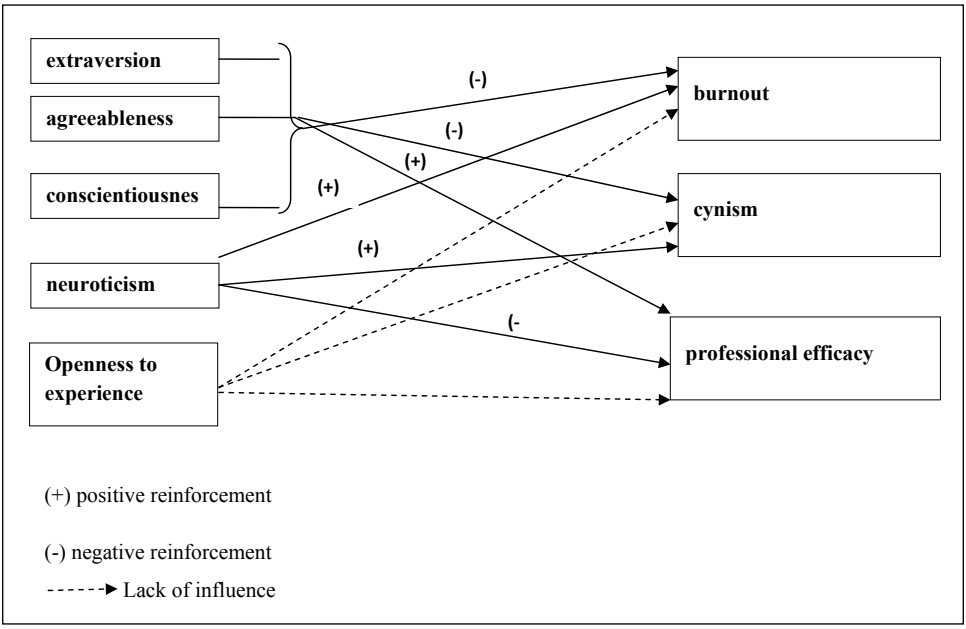

Figure 2. Leading personal determinants and job burnout – proposed correlation model

Based on: Kim H. J., Shin K. H., & Umbreit W. T. (2007). Hotel job burnout: The role of personality characteristics. *Hospitality Management*, nr 26, vol. 2, 424-425.
*Kim H. J., Shin K. H., & Swanger N. (*2009*).* Burnout and engagement: A comparative analysis using the Big Five personality dimension. *International Journal of Hospitality Management.* 28, 102-103.

Extraversion and neuroticism are revealed as the critical personality traits in the context of job burnout determinants. Empirical research conducted among chain hotel employees in the state of Washington shows that **extraversion** correlates negatively (-) with exhaustion, whereas **neuroticism** correlates positively (+) both with exhaustion and cynicism (Kim et al., 2007, p. 429). One might expect that individuals with a personality style characterized by high *extraversion* and *low neuroticism* have insignificant inclination to experience emotional exhaustion. Consequently, they are likely to be professionally active in their field for a long period of time, without experiencing job burnout syndrome.

According to the aforementioned research findings, **agreeableness** correlates negatively (-) with cynicism and, similarly with **conscientiousness;** agreeableness correlates positively(+) with efficacy (Kim et al., 2007, p. 430). It should be pointed out that, according to previous studies on personality traits and job burnout, agreeableness did not demonstrate an unequivocal impact on job burnout; hence, less attention was devoted to this category. Meanwhile, it turned out that in the case of hospitality employees, agreeableness is an essential dimension of personality, and it evidently correlates with job burnout (negatively with cynicism, positively with efficacy) (Kim et al., 2007, pp. 430-431). This is probably the result of the fact that agreeable employees, who are considerate of other people's well-being and needs, skillfully meet guests' expectations. The latter group requires in our times individualized, personalized attention and care. In that context, fulfilling requirements and market needs might determine customer satisfaction, recurrence of purchase and, as a result, the profitability of a business. On the other hand, customer satisfaction influences employee morale. When the results of work are visible to employees, their satisfaction and *professional efficacy* increase (Kim et al., 2007, p. 431) It is suggested that hiring highly agreeable employees is desirable in high standard hotels, where guests are particularly sensitive to personalized service (Kim et al., 2007, p. 431). On the other hand, empirical research findings show that – in customer perception – higher category hotels do not necessarily lead to a higher quality of service (Grobelna & Marciszewska, 2013, pp. 320-321). Similarly, when considering the purpose of the visit factor, research proves that guests who come for a holiday and cover the cost of their stay themselves are much more critical of service components dependent on hotel staff attitudes (empathy, sensitivity), than business guests (Grobelna, 2009, pp. 152-153). Thus, agreeableness may be a desirable trait, especially in resort hotel employees. The last trait – **openness to experience –** did not show any significant correlation with job burnout dimensions (Kim et al., 2007, p.

430). Although it seems (from the nature of this trait) that it should probably reduce an individual's susceptibility to experience stress and, above all, support professional efficacy.

J. W. O'Neill and Q. Xiao's research also proved that emotional exhaustion of managerial staff in hospitality industry is not only the result of the organizational aspects and the characteristics of the job, but also from personality traits, i.e., extraversion (negative correlation with emotional exhaustion) or neuroticism (positive correlation with emotional exhaustion) (O'Neill & Xiao, 2010, p. 652, p. 656).

Referring to other empirical research findings, research conducted on Nigerian hotels presented an interesting concept and interesting results. The influence of *negative affectivity* on *emotional dissonance* and *emotional exhaustion* experienced by hotel employees was analyzed (among other factors) (Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009). Individuals with high levels of negative affectivity perceive themselves and many aspects of the surrounding world as negative. They exhibit fear, nervousness, and anxiety (Karatape & Aleshinloye, 2009). They have a tendency to perceive their job as stressful, and they experience high levels of fatigue. At the same time, they are capable of imitating positive emotions when required (Karatape & Aleshinloye, 2009). Therefore, it was suggested in the analyzed research, that front-line employees in Nigerian hotels can manage their emotions by adjusting their external appearance to attitudes and emotions that are desired in the organization, while their internal feelings remain unchanged. Such a situation increases their susceptibility to experiencing emotional dissonance (the difference between felt and displayed emotions) (Karatape & Aleshinloye, 2009). Research conducted in Nigeria proved a positive correlation between negative affectivity and emotional dissonance as well as emotional exhaustion (Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009, p. 354).

Hotel job burnout – selected examples

A number of job burnout consequences, as well as the influence of stress on human component, are listed in literature. Some of them are decreased professional tension and anxiety, interpersonal difficulties, emotional disorders, diminished job engagement and, consequently, poor work performance. Job burnout is a vital element of the functioning of the whole organization. It negatively affects a sense of job satisfaction, leads to withdrawal behaviors, numerous absences, and frequently results in making a decision to walk away from the organization (Yang, 2010, pp. 611-612). Stress also leads to employees demonstrating diminished job efficacy and diminished creativity (Çekmecelioğlu &

Günsel, 2011, p. 891). Main symptoms and warning signs that indicate the job burnout phenomenon may be very diverse: lack of willingness to work, overwork, unwillingness to go to work, perceiving life as gloomy and hard, increased number of negative and mutual transference in contacts with customers or lack of patience, oversensitivity and irritability, etc. (Fengler, 2000, p. 87).

High personnel rotation deserves a special place in the discussion, as it is becoming a fundamental problem in the contemporary hospitality industry. Some even hold a view that high personnel fluctuation is becoming a part of the contemporary hospitality culture, so to speak, and it is referred to as *turnover culture* (Yang, 2010, p. 610). Research conducted among line workers in Turkish hotels (Yavas et al., 2008, p. 20) proved that emotional exhaustion correlates positively and significantly with the intention of walking away from an organization (*turnover intention*). Similar results were obtained in hotels in northern Cyprus (Karatape & Uludag, 2007, p. 661) and in Nigeria (Karatape & Aleshinloye, 2009, p. 355). High personnel fluctuation is a serious threat to the hospitality industry, because the human component plays a fundamental role in the process of providing a service. A characteristic feature of hotel service is its personal character (Górska-Warsewicz & Świstak, 2009, p. 95). Consequently, customers get used to the people who provide a service, and they expect its repetitiveness and optimal level during every stay, as it gives them a sense of security and trust. Employees get to know guests' preferences; therefore, they know how to provide services to optimally fulfill their needs and specific benefits. In a situation of high personnel fluctuation, a problem occurs when guests see a new employee. In this situation, guests may lose certainty and trust regarding the service; being accustomed to a certain level of service, customers may make the decision to leave. New personnel sometimes make a lot of mistakes that provoke numerous, difficult, and conflict-filled situations. These situations are peculiar moments of truth for customers, and a source of stress for employees.

To summarize: job burnout has a strong influence on organization and managing a business, as it causes an unwillingness to communicate, discourages teamwork and the sharing of ideas, and significantly reduces the creative potential of human resources in the hotel industry.

Conclusions and summary

A certain stress level is inseparably associated with certain professional situations. However, identifying and maintaining those levels in certain optimal and acceptable limits seems to be critical. This may even support organization efficiency by keeping staff in a state of readiness, which results

in the ability to act effectively. In certain circumstances, skillful stress management can positively influence the actions of individuals and entire organization (Faulkaner & Patiar 1997, p. 101). Some of the main preventive measures that alleviate job burnout syndrome include: delegating employee tasks appropriate to abilities and competence, evaluating work objectively and constructively, and creating opportunities for learning and progress (Starostka, 2012). Comprehensive training and development broaden personnel skills and provide personnel with tools and instruments used in many difficult situations, resulting in a sense of control over the course of the service process, decreased stress levels, greater commitment, and greater productivity. Ensuring employees certain freedom and flexibility in solving service problems often allows employees to put into motion the potential of both their abilities and their creative approach used for resolving conflict.

Personal satisfaction from work and the resulting diminished susceptibility to job burnout could be considerably strengthened, if only the hotel industry directs its managers' attention and concern to minimizing professional stress. This would also be possible if a well thought out recruitment system allowed for the hiring of employees with the desired traits and attitudes, and if effective training systems allowed employees to broaden and acquire new skills ("*Hire for attitude and train for skill*") (Chang et al., 2011, p. 812). In summary, alleviating work-related stress is supported by a well-considered motivational system, manager and co-worker support, managerial coaching, mentoring, and providing job autonomy. Ultimately, these actions will not only determine employee efficacy and organization efficiency, but industry competitiveness as well.

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Vol. 28(2) FOLIA TURISTICA 2013

EQUESTRIAN TOURISM IN POLAND: STATUS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND BARRIERS AFFECTING LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: This article is devoted to contemporary equestrian tourism in Poland: the factors determining its state of affairs, development opportunities, and barriers. Using extensive literature, statistical data, and estimates and opinions expressed by leading experts in the field (gathered through IDI's), the author tries to formulate conclusions and recommendations on the possibilities of equestrian tourism development in Poland and its impact on the local development. Starting by defining the tourism in question, the author analyses sociocultural, economic, legal, and institutional aspects of contemporary equestrian/horse riding tourism. One of the general conclusions is that there is limited knowledge about the equine industry in Poland – a weakness that should be removed as one of the preconditions of any strategic development. Other recommendations refer to the need for improved and standardized training for beginners, changed attitudes towards both horses and equestrianism as a precondition of institutional and legal changes towards the creation of an equestrian-friendly environment, and the improvement of the quality of the tourist offer. Finally, it should be stressed that the international marketing of equestrian tourism in Poland – which consists of quality equestrian services, horse trails, accommodation centers, and auxiliary tourist services – can only be successful when all of its elements are in place.

Keywords: Poland, equestrian tourism, state of affairs, opportunities and barriers, local development.

Equestrian Tourism in Poland

Tourism is one of the most complex socioeconomic phenomena. Because of this diversity, it is also an interest of many scientific fields (Kurek & Mika, 2007; Alejziak, 2000). However, tourism has become progressively more spe-

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The following people shared their knowledge and information for the purpose of this article: Łukasz Abgarowicz and his associates, among them Beata Supeł of the Polish Equestrian Union, Witold Rosa and Andrzej Ruta of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society, and Andrzej Stasiowski of the Polish Horse Breeding Association. All the in-depth interviews (IDI) were conducted between February and April 2013.

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cialized over time, from classic forms of recreation and leisure to active, shopping, cosmic, or even virtual forms (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006; Kozak, 2009a). In general, the tourism industry can be perceived either as a social phenomenon or as a sector of the economy, offering a wide range of services to a wide range of tourists. Over the last decades there has been a considerable increase in the number of supporters of the second approach. According to the common belief, tourism can be an important factor that stimulates development. However, does this thesis apply to every form of this industry?

The purpose of this article is to analyze the opportunities and barriers of a specific type of active tourism —that is, of equestrian tourism—in the local development in Poland. In general, equestrian tourism is considered to be a form of active tourism constituting a part of rural tourism (Kowalczyk, 2010). The observed change in the approach to define rural and urban areas as a result of expanding cities (urban sprawl) and of fluid functional boundaries requires a more flexible perspective. The main thesis of this article states that the greatest activity in horse-riding tourism occurs in the highly urbanized areas and their surroundings. In other words, people practice horse-riding tourism on the largest scale not in the areas with the most extensive wildlife conservation, but in the areas with the greatest number of horse riders and with highly developed infrastructure (stables, horse trails, shops, and services). The industry has also the greatest, but not always measurable impact on the local development of these particular areas (e.g., new jobs and new income possibilities).

Some people from the equestrian environment tend to perceive equestrianism as a set consisting only of seven sports approved by the International Federation for Equestrian Sports. It indicates the exclusion of recreational horse riding, horseback tours, endurance riding, polo, Hucul paths, *pony games*, knightly tournaments, mounted archery, races, TREC (Equestrian Trail Riding Techniques Competition), skijoring, and others. Jasiński, Pilis, and Pięta (2006, quoted by Durydiwka et al., 2010, p. 265) define horse-riding tourism as:

> voluntary travelling, a temporary change of living environment and place of residence, staying in different places with others. These activities are performed in a free time, without materialistic motivations; they may aim at acquiring knowledge about a country, a region, or a particular culture [translated based on the Polish original].

This definition applies to almost any tourist activity; however, the requirement referring to the lack of materialistic motivations is unclear. On the other hand, Durydiwka et al. (2010) proposed the differentiation

of horse-riding tourism (as understood by Jasiński, Pilis, and Pięta) from equestrian tourism. According to them, (2006) equestrian tourism constitutes a different type of the industry:

> Equestrian tourism is a form of active tourism consisting in recreational horse riding in horse riding centers or in the field. It is practiced outside the place of permanent residence for the purpose of leisure, recreation, and in order to acquire knowledge about history, culture, and nature of a new region, using tourist infrastructure, like accommodation and catering facilities, horse riding centers, horse trails, and stables in the forest. This form of tourism is practiced voluntarily and is not aimed at any economic benefits [translated based on the Polish original]. (Durydiwka et al., 2010, p. 265)

However, neither horse-riding tourism nor equestrian tourism can be practiced without a rider, a horse, or recreational horse riding in horse-riding centers and/or in the field, without using indispensable infrastructure (also constituting various services, which the authors of the definition forgot to mention, such as a purchase of horse food, veterinary products and services, and of other indispensable items). What is also important is that equestrianism can also refer to driving and skijoring. As emphasized by Andrzej Ruta (per IDI), a distinctive feature of horse-riding tourism is a ride to reach a particular destination, during which tourists visit interesting places.

There is no reason to differentiate equestrian tourism from horse-riding tourism. Therefore, I would like to propose the following definition of horse-riding/equestrian tourism in order to make it consistent with the letter and spirit of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), by describing it as all forms of horse-riding activities (on horseback, in a horse-and-cart, or behind a horse) by a person being outside her or his usual place of residence for no longer than 365 days, for the purpose of leisure, business or personal, other than being employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited.[1] This definition is consistent with the general notion of tourism, which is also used by the Central Statistical Office and many researchers. As a result, an activity (e.g., leaving a stable) lasting several hours would be compatible with the concept of same-day tourism.

The complex nature of the phenomenon requires diversified methods of research and multiple sources of information acquisition. Besides the analysis of literature, available statistical data, information collected by the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK), the Polish Equestrian Union (PZJ), the Polish Horse Breeding Association (PZHK), and IDI's with

[1] That is, referring to a situation in which an employer resides and operates outside an employee's usual place of residence.

the experts on the issues provided crucial information. The image acquired from the data analysis reflects the actual state of affairs, even if only approximately.

The article consists of three parts. The first part describes the characteristics of equestrian/horse-riding tourism as a sociocultural and economic phenomenon. In the next section, the research focuses on territorial distribution of equestrianism and horse-riding tourism practicing especially in the areas of Poland. The third part constitutes the analysis of the balance of opportunities and barriers in the development of horse-riding tourism in Poland, as well as conclusions and recommendations.

Horse Riding Tourism as a Sociocultural and Economic Phenomenon

Sociocultural Aspect

It is impossible to analyze horse-riding tourism in Poland as separate from centuries-old equestrian tradition, which was emphasized by all interviewed people. For centuries, horses have fulfilled various functions by providing support to the army (military function), by being used as workhorses (economic function), and by constituting an emblem of owners' wealth (social and demonstration functions). Since the gradual decrease of horses' significance in the army and economy, they have been used in other fields, such as sport, tourism, and science (horses enabled exploration of many unknown territories) (Krzemień, 2010). In general, many people perceive equestrianism as a permanent element of culture. In Poland, on account of the underdevelopment of infantry at first, then of artillery and armored troops, the cavalry performed a significant role in military structure, and the Cavalry Training Center in Grudziądz constitutes a role model of training to this day. The post-World War II period brought the elimination of the cavalry and institutional training, which also meant the elimination of uniform and high standards in equestrianism (Pruchniewicz, 2007). The Polish Equestrian Union, which was disbanded in 1946 and reestablished in 1956, to this day organizes training and equestrian races (PZJ, 2013). In the structures of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (Polish: PTTK)—established in 1950 as a result of the Polish Tatra Society (1873) and the Polish Sightseeing Society (1906) merging—a certain movement related to tourist, mountain, lowland, and Western equestrianism came into existence with its own training system. These different types of equestrianism are not fully integrated, as they differ when it comes to forms of equestrian practice. PZJ

focuses on dressage, jumping, Eventing (horse trials), driving, equestrian vaulting, endurance riding, and *reining* (related to Western riding), while PTTK concentrates on various trainings for horse-riding tourism, trips, and horseback tours, which employ various elements of training, riding techniques, regional and cultural studies, and topography. Nevertheless, they share the same equestrian practice basis (IDI's with Rosa and Stasiowski).

In general, equestrianism in modern Poland constitutes a declared object of national pride, and the repeated statements about the Poles being an equestrian nation may be proof of it. It is also reflected in reenactment groups' ability to mobilize hundreds of uniformed cavalrymen to reenact various cavalry skirmishes, e.g., the charge at Krojanty. Even though generally in Europe this particular skirmish constitutes an example of frantic bravery inclining soldiers to attack tanks with swords, the Poles to this day recreate this event (in a patriotic-religious convention) as a role model of heroism. The battle of Grunwald reenactment also gathers hundreds of horsemen and thousands of spectators, but in this case, the victory of Poland is unquestionable. On the other hand, it is odd that people forget about the last victorious Polish charge—the battle of Borujsko (today known as Żeńsko), which took place on March 1, 1945 (*Ostatnia szarża*, 2012).

Also worth mentioning is the popularity of horse rides on the trails of the cavalry combat operations. For centuries, people in Poland ascribed higher status to cavalry than to infantry, for example. As a result, cavalry became the element of the gentry tradition, just like the manor house—a preserved symbol of patriotism and tradition. Horses constituted one of the most noticeable elements of life in the manor house. The most highly valued animals, which were worth a proverbial king's ransom, often cost more than a village.

The traditional status ascribed to horses reflects the gentry, intellectual, and rural foundations of the Polish contemporary culture. For example, due to the cultivated myth of greatness, people only remember the victories of the Polish winged cavalry (*husaria*), even though this unit of Balkan origin suffered an equal number of defeats (see Sikora, 2010). Jarymowycz (2012), with all his liking for the Polish winged cavalry, remarked that it had been a heavy armed unit of a feudal type. The fact that no other country decided to imitate the Polish winged cavalry model is also quite revealing. The artifacts, stories, and legends about horses; certain expressions ("black horse"); and the following saying indicating certainty, "A horse is a horse," indicate the significance of these animals in the Polish culture (translated based on the Polish original; Chmielowski, 1745–1746, p. 229). The Polish literature would be impoverished without descriptions of the gentry's life (including horse-riding journeys) in the works of Mikołaj Rey, Jan Kochanowski, Jan Chryzostom Pasek, Adam Mickiewicz, and in the numerous memoirs of the

former gentry. The current canon of the memoir literature includes publications that mythologize the manor house and the social relations prevailing in this institution, even though they met with many critical voices in the Enlightenment era or the postwar period (Chłap-Nowakowa, 2007a, p. 262). The contrast of the dreadful city life and the idyllic existence in the country manor house presented in the Polish novel *Ziemia obiecana* (The Promised Land) by Władysław Reymont (1898) reflects the scale of this mythologization. In reality, however, people were leaving the "idyllic" country in order to live in the industrial city, not the other way round. According to Bohdan Jałowiecki (1996), values of the post-gentry intelligence of the former Russian partition, which diverged from cultural standards of the western Poland and Galicia, have dominated the pantheon of the Polish national values.

It is also impossible to imagine Polish painting without the motif of horses in various contexts (Chłap-Nowakowa, 2007b, p. 228; Jackiewicz, 1992, p. 58). However, culture does not only consist of symbols, but also of people's competence and behaviors. In a horse-riding context, it refers to the knowledge about horses and to being accustomed to them. Nevertheless, due to the fact that horses have almost disappeared from the Polish landscape, the majority of people are unaccustomed to these animals. For example, the irresponsible behavior of drivers on the road reflects the lack of knowledge; many of them do not reduce their speed when passing the riders, putting all of the road traffic in danger. Also, rather moderate achievements by our country representatives in competitive equestrianism do not make Poland a world power in this particular field (IDI with Stasiowski). If we also take the small number of riders into account, we should consider whether equestrianism is still a cultivated tradition or maybe just a national myth.

Economic Aspect

There are no exhaustive data providing information about the impact of horses on economy. The majority of stables belong to private owners, except for significant breeding enterprises (e.g., herds of stallions, studs of strategic importance), which are the State Treasury companies; today, there are approximately 20 of them (IDI with Stasiowski). Their owners are often, at the same time, the owners of agricultural holdings, formally making them farmers. Polish law exempts farmers from paying an income tax, as according to the law, farmers are not entrepreneurs and therefore some particular acts do not apply to them. Moreover, there is no obligation for them to maintain accounts; the majority of farmers are insured in the

Agricultural Social Insurance Fund (KRUS), which means they incur only 10% of the insurance cost, and their relations with customers are regulated by the Polish Civil Code. As a result, it is impossible to estimate the revenue and assess the impact of their businesses on local development. According to the informal interviews with horse breeders (who have studs and pensions for horses and often own agritourism businesses), as well as on the basis of approximate estimates of farmers' income (Mrozik-Kozak, 2010), the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the average income is much lower in comparison with average wages in the city; therefore, it only constitutes additional income (see Halamska, 2011). In the study conducted before the accession of Poland to EU among agritourism lodging owners, 81% of respondents noticed the increase of income (22.6%) thanks to the agritourism. It is important that agritourism had positive effects only in some of the regions, while to others it brought no change or even a decrease in income (Krzyżanowska, 2005). Researchers were unable to estimate how many of the respondents offered horse-riding services. Practitioners agree that only a stable with between 10 and 20 horses (belonging to an owner or to a pension), equipped with accommodation facilities for guests, can achieve enough income to support the family and employ one or two people (IDI's with Rosa and Ruta). The example of estimated finances of horse-riding centers presented below (a center with five horses) indicates a significant dependence of income on the adopted legal form: in agritourist business, the untaxed annual income would amount to approximately PLN 22,000, while in the private company, there would be a PLN 5,000 loss and, in the Polish limited liability company, there would be a PLN 40,000 loss (IDI with Ruta). Maintaining such a center would be impossible without some significant additional economic activity. People think that equestrian tourism centers improve the economic situation in poor districts (IDI with Ruta). Nevertheless, the available data about the location of these centers neither contradict nor confirm this opinion. "Large equestrian centers, which are, in general, sport, racing, or breeding oriented, usually employ more people (coaches, stablemen, security guards, restaurant personnel), and therefore become significant local employers" (translated based on the Polish original; IDI with Ruta). These centers, however, are usually located near big cities.

The available information about the income from horse breeding and horse racing do not clarify the impact of the industry on local economy. Moreover, it is difficult to analyze the expenses of the major equestrian institutions (PZJ and PTTK) due to their complex structures and the great financial independence of their offices. For example, PTTK constitutes a federation of 300 financially independent units with unknown expendi-

ture incurred on equestrianism.[2] In 2012, PTTK units (excluding numerous events organized by private equestrian centers) initiated 161 equestrian events and tours, which gathered 2,392 participants (GUS, 2013b, pp. 172–173).[3] In 2007, there were 127 lowland tourism trek leaders and 83 mountain tourism trek leaders (PTTK, 2007). According to data provided by the Central Statistical Office, in 2012 there were altogether 122 equestrian tourism trek leaders (2013b, p. 171). Nevertheless, in the experts' opinion, there are several times more of them. On the other hand, PZJ registered approximately 4,000 licensed riders (IDI with Abgarowicz).

Horses, Equestrian Centers, and Horse Trails in Poland

The population of horses in Poland consists of the horses intended for slaughter, workhorses in agricultural holdings, breed horses in stables and studs, and those that are kept in stables located usually on the outskirts of towns. The emphasis was put on traditional farming, as among farmers' community, there are also people running pensions, tourist services, horse breeding, trainings, horse-riding tours, etc. It is difficult to acquire information about the number of "townies" who moved to the country, where they offer equestrian services. Interestingly, draft horses, which until recently were used as workforce in the country—before World War II, there were 3.8 million horses (*Hej na koń*, 2013)—in 1979 numbered 1.9 million horses, of which 1.85 million were in individual agricultural holdings. Currently, depending on the estimate, the number of horses amounts to 250,000–310,000 (*Hej na koń*, 2013; GUS, 2013). Apparently, draft horses disappeared almost completely from the landscape of the Polish country during the lifetime of one generation.

Due to the numerous changes, it is difficult to collect comprehensive and comparable data on the number of horses in Poland in each region (reforms of territorial organization in 1975 and 1999 hinder this comparison). However, the obtained data provide a general outline of the changes over time (Table 1).

The data in the Table 1 refer to horses in agricultural holdings (horses used in recreation and tourism constitute their unknown part), and they depict a dramatic decrease in the number of horses between 1998 and 2010. Relatively, the most of horses (counted per 100 ha to obtain more objective

[2] When it comes to the expenditure of the PTTK General Board (excluding other units), Andrzej Ruta estimates it to an approximate annual amount of PLN 10,000. However, again, it constitutes only the fragment of the whole image (See PTTK, 2007; PZJ, 2010).

[3] The data include only those events and tours that were registered beforehand and included in the PTTK calendar of planned (and insured) activities.

Table 1. Horses by region in Poland (as of June, in thous.)

Region (voivodship)	1998[a]	2000[b]	2010[bc]	2010 per 100 of agricultural lands[bc]
Dolnośląskie	13,1	12,0	11,2	1,2
Kujawsko-pomorskie	15,7	17,1	9,6	0,9
Lubelskie	82,3	82,2	30,0	2,1
Lubuskie	6,6	4,7	6,1	1,3
Łódzkie	35,8	34,4	14,9	1,5
Małopolskie	58,0	56,9	21,3	3,2
Mazowieckie	101,3	102,6	48,1	2,4
Opolskie	6,0	3,8	4,2	0,8
Podkarpackie	65,6	65,7	17,7	2,6
Podlaskie	38,7	37,9	20,2	1,9
Pomorskie	14,2	14,2	14,1	1,7
Śląskie	15,2	10,9	8,7	1,9
Świętokrzyskie	45,8	44,9	11,8	2,1
Warmińsko-mazurskie	26,3	26,5	16,3	1,5
Wielkopolskie	28,1	28,4	21,0	1,2
Zachodniopomorskie	8,2	7,5	8,9	0,9
Polska	560,9	549,7	264,2	1,7

a) in the farms. GUS 2001: 166; b) GUS, 2011: 183; c) according to the agricultural census.

estimation) survived in the areas dominated by small agricultural holdings (Podkarpacie Region, Świętokrzyskie Region, Lubelskie Region, Podlaskie Region) as well as in regions distinguished by fragmented agriculture and by presence of a metropolis (Małopolskie Region, Mazowieckie Region). In 1980, the Central Statistical Office counted in Poland 1,780,000 horses; in 1985, 1,404,000; and in 1990, 941,000 (GUS, 1992, p. 242). There was no such dynamic decline when it came to horses used in sport and tourism. According to Andrzej Stasiowski (IDI), there was a noticeable distinction in distribution of horse types: horses of noble breed prevailed in western and southwestern Poland vs. draft horses (workhorses) in the east, the northeast, and the center—that is, in the parts where a traditional model of agriculture is the most popular.

The data of PZHK (2012) showed that in 2011 there were 99,949 horses of noble breed, 37,127 ponies, and 177,240 draft horses (altogether, 314,316 horses). It is worth mentioning that between 2009 and 2011 the number of draft horses decreased by 46,109 head and the population of horses in general by 48,487 head (PZHK, 2012). Only the population of ponies increased slightly by 3,047 head (PZHK, 2012), which could be a reflection of increasing interest in horse riding among children. According to PZHK (2013), the beginning of an increase in warmblood horse breed-

ing could be observed, as a result of developing equestrianism. The data about some other areas attractive to tourists confirmed this trend (Boczar-Różewicz, Brejta, Ruda, & Brejta, 2005).

Obviously, the data on the number of breed horses did not indicate that all of these horses were used in equestrianism. In 2006, the estimated number of horses used in equestrianism amounted to approximately 100,000 (Łojek, 2006). In December 2012, the specialists estimated the number of horses used for sport and recreation purposes at 60,000, and PZJ provided the approximate number of riders, 120,000 (*Konie wrócą do łask*, 2012), which was fewer than in smaller Finland (Räbinä, 2010, p. 1). According to the latest data, there are approximately 300,000 riders (IDI with Abgarowicz). In comparison, in Germany there are 1 million riders, while in the United Kingdom there are approximately 4.3 million riders (Brejta, 2013). It is estimated that in the horse industry (including breeding, production of forage and equipment, and other services), 38,000 people are employed. In 2006, the number of permanent jobs in the horse industry was 42,000 (Łojek, 2006). Even though in the prewar period Poland was the leader of Europe in the number of horses, nowadays we fall behind other countries: in Sweden there are 28 horses per 1,000 inhabitants; in the United Kingdom, 69 horses; and in Poland, only 1 horse (Brejta, 2013). Horse breeding can be lucrative, and the income of, for example, Janów Podlaski (last year they sold Arab horses for 2.3 million Euros) may be proof of it (Brejta, 2013). Also, they sold 11,500 horses raised for slaughter to Italy for 52 million PLN (Miączyński & Kostrzewski, 2013). This partial information shows the differences in horse breeders' motives as well as the lack of comprehensive data.

As this article aims to focus on equestrian tourism, the location and availability of horse-riding centers will be treated as the approximate indication of tourist and sport horse population distribution. It can be assumed, that with few exceptions, all or almost all of the centers that organize trainings in horse arenas also offer rides in the field. According to this point, regardless of organizational connections, they have many common features. From the perspective of the possibility of using equestrian tourism for local development, displacing horse-riding centers (and, as a result, the related services) constitutes the most essential issue. Tourism understood in a broader sense than leisure or active tourism flourishes most effectively in big urban centers, in their vicinity, and at popular tourist destinations (at the seaside, in lake regions, and at mountain resorts), with developed infrastructure and services (Kozak, 2009a; Kozak, 2011, pp. 47–48).

The regions of Poland significantly differ when it comes to the concentration of equestrian centers. The biggest concentration can be observed in the areas located in the vicinity of major urban centers—that is, near Warsaw,

Kraków, the Silesian Conurbation, Tricity, Poznań, and Łódź (see also Kurek & Mika, 2007). On the other hand, few equestrian centers are located in northern Mazowieckie Region, Podlaskie Region, northern Warmińsko-Mazurskie Region, or in the vast area between Lubuskie Region and Zachodniopomorskie Region, which abound with natural resources but are not urbanized.

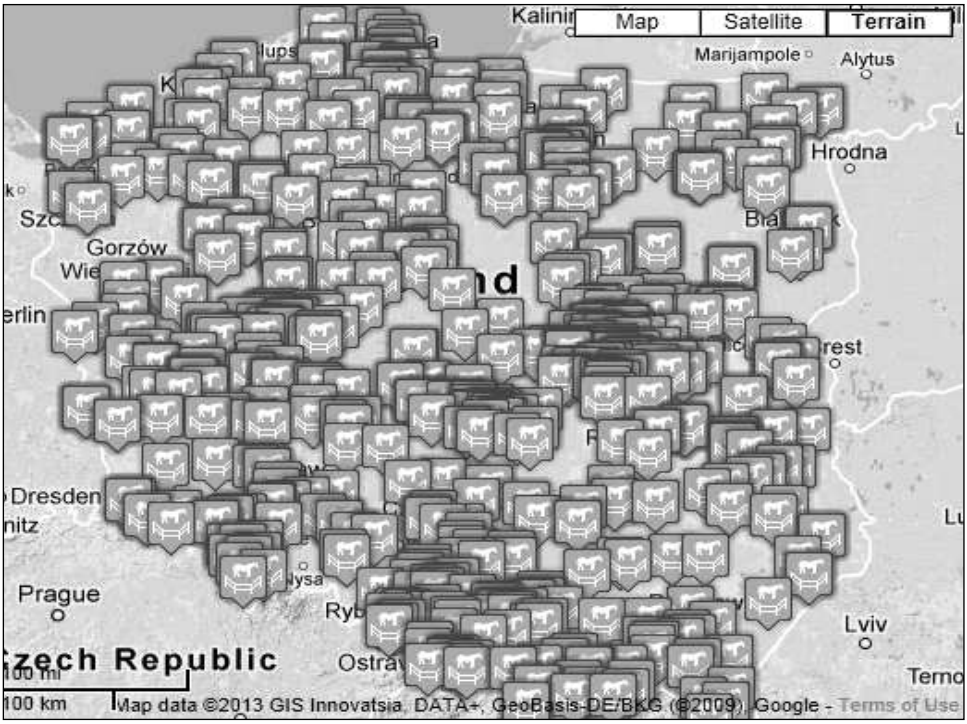

Fig. 1. Distribution of horse-riding centers in Poland, 2012.

Source: http://www.galopuje.pl/jazda-konna-osrodki.html, accessed 16. 02. 2013 and downloaded with the consent of the company Hoblo, the owner of the portal galopuje.pl

Experts agree that when it comes to riders, they are usually people living in bigger cities (not only in metropolises), with university education, and with higher-than-average income. In the group of children and teenage riders, there are more girls, while among adults, there are more men (according to the observed tendency, women may outnumber men in the future), aged between 20 and 50 years (IDI's with Ruta, Rosa, Stasiowski, and Supeł).

Andrzej Ruta (IDI) provided a conservative measure of the PTTK active riders, practicing recreational-tourist equestrianism in lowland areas: the most of the active riders are in Mazowieckie Region (250), the Ku-

jawsko-Pomorskie Region (150), Podlaskie Region (50), the Warmińsko-Mazurskie Region (50), Łódzkie Region (30), Pomorskie Region (30), and other regions (approximately 30), which altogether amounts to 450 people. If we also take under consideration the people who practice tourist equestrianism and are not equestrian club members, the number is several times bigger. What is more important than the approximate estimation mentioned above is territorial diversification of equestrianism conditioned by the level of urbanization. PZJ observes similar diversification, having 602 registered equestrian clubs (of which 327 are licensed clubs), which are located mainly in the vicinity of cities (IDI with Abgarowicz). Also, the number of clubs and riders increases most dynamically in suburban, especially submetropolitan, areas (IDI with Stasiowski). Figure 2 depicts that the majority of equestrian centers operate within a radius of 20–25 kilometers from a big city. In more remote areas, there are scarcely any horse-riding centers; the existing ones are used by local urban centers in the region.

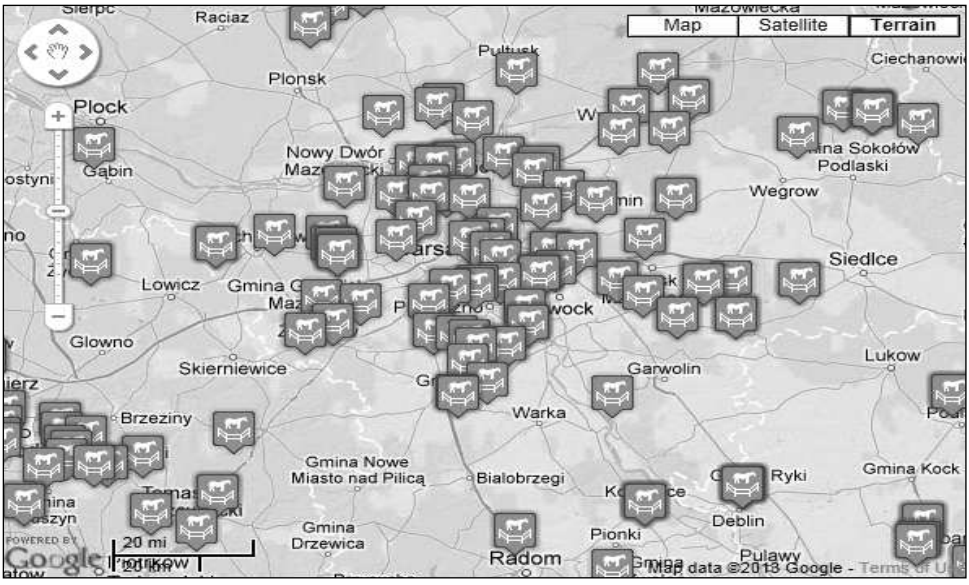

Fig. 2. Horse-riding centres around Warsaw, 2012.

Source: http://www.galopuje.pl/jazda-konna-osrodki.html, accessed 16. 02. 2013, downloaded with the consent of the company Hoblo, the owner of the portal galopuje.pl

In order to confirm this thesis, we should analyze the situation in regions with diversified and attractive morainal lakes and seaside landscapes. Even though such areas are interesting also when it comes to the cultural

aspect, they are underpopulated. On the basis of the data presented on Figure 3, we can compare the concentration and spatial distribution observed in western Pomerania with other regions.

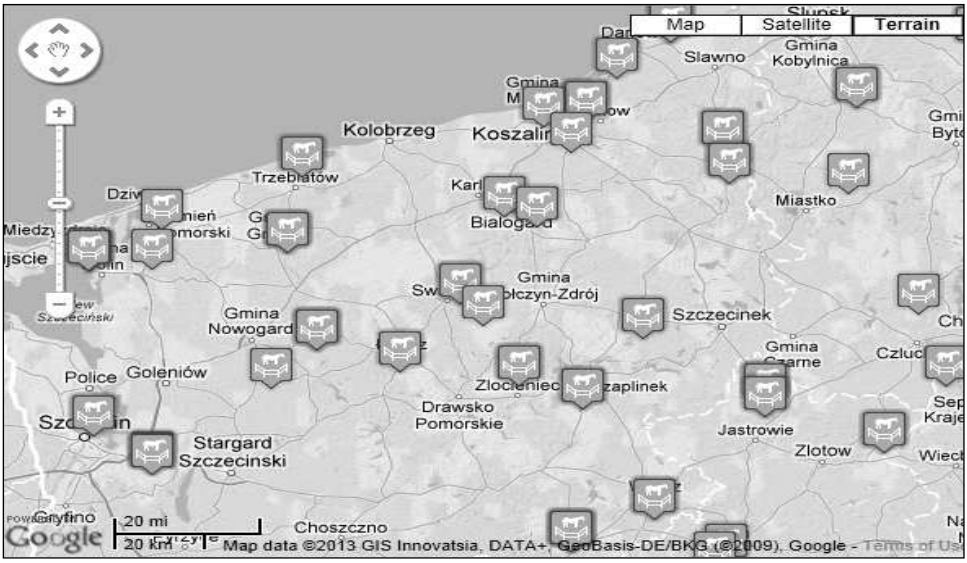

Fig. 3. Horse-riding centres in western Pomerania, 2012.

Source: http://www.galopuje.pl/jazda-konna-osrodki.html, accessed 16. 02. 2013, downloaded with the consent of the company Hoblo, the owner of the portal galopuje.pl

The data allow several conclusions to be drawn. First, a low population density indicates a low demand for services, which as a result, are scattered around subregional cities (e.g., Koszalin) and local cities. Second, there is not even a high demand for equestrian services in a city as big as Szczecin. Third, attractive topography for practicing equestrian tourism is not sufficient to make the industry flourish. Because of better-equipped riding halls and a higher demand for services, the equestrian season lasts longer in regions with biggest urban centers.

Areas of valuable natural resources hardly ever constitute the areas of increased tourism, including horse-riding tourism (Meyer, 2011). What is important is that protected areas, especially those under more strict protection, not necessarily encourage tourism. Their main function is the protection of natural values (Kozak, 2009b; Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2013; Ptaszycka-Jackowska & Baranowska-Janota, 1998), which in Poland is usually connected with lack of access to protected areas or with heavy access restrictions. In comparison to strict reserves, where public access is not per-

mitted, access restrictions in national parks are more complex. In order to access most of them, riders have to obtain individual approval from the park authorities (usually in return for considerable payment). Against this background, the Bieszczady National Park appears to be a positive exception, with its outlined horse trails and Hucul pony breeding. It protects nature and at the same time preserves the local culture.

The problems of riders' access to forested and protected areas as well as of exercising the right to access privately owned lands should be discussed. These issues may shortly generate many problems in Poland, just as they did in Sweden (Elgåker, Pinzke, Nilsson, & Lindholm, 2012). Problems with outlining trails, paths, or tracks in forests are well known (Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2013); however, they occur less frequently than in the past. Yet, Andrzej Ruta (IDI) pointed out that the state forests in recent years have "successfully" managed to hinder riding on forest tracks (except for public tracks and those marked as trails). Current regulations impede horse rides and even make the organization of orienteering events or TREC impossible. On the other hand, the former ministry of transport, construction, and maritime economy was against introducing roadsides referring to equestrianism and updating the suitable laws of the Highway Code (IDI with Ruta). As of July 2011, cars towing trailers, horse trailers, and boat trailers with a maximum authorized mass exceeding 3.5 tons will be charged the ViaToll road tax. All in all, the Polish law does not seem to take into account the specificity of equestrian tourism.

Does the very act of outlining horse trails trigger the development of equestrianism? As there is no comprehensive list (and description) of horse trails,[4] it is necessary to refer to the only significant and available publication that provides a review of the most important (and, at the same time, the most beautiful) horse trails in Poland (Józefczyk, 2010). Even though this review is limited only to trails acknowledged as attractive, it is interesting and useful. In 2010, there were 62,538 km of tourist trails, including 2,958 km of horse trails (GUS, 2012). In 2012, the number increased to 3,557.8 km (GUS, 2013b, p. 170).

The book presents 47 horse trails (with some unofficial sections) of different lengths and difficulty, running through different regions with various infrastructure elements. According to some opinions, in order to encourage the development of equestrianism, strategic horse trails should be outlined to connect individual regions and incorporate Poland into the European horse trail system. Is this really absolutely essential? Not necessarily. Most people practice horse riding near their place of residence. A rider with an

[4] In Poland in 2012, there were 3,557.8 horse trails marked only by PTTK; there were no such trails in half of the Polish regions (GUS, 2013b, p. 170).

average level of training can cover between 20 and 30 km per day. Covering longer distances for such a rider is possible; however, it would require high skills or participation in a horseback tour lasting for a few days (with the necessity of taking leave of absence). There is also another limitation: A horseback tour lasting for a few days would require accommodation centers located at regular distances (every 20–40 km). It should not be a problem in the areas located in the vicinity of big cities; however, the situation is different when it comes to remote regions. Some picturesque, but peripheral horse trails become overgrown due to the lack of users. There are not many people willing to participate in "survival" horseback tours and sleep rough or in makeshift tents.

Let us analyze a few of the presented trails. The longest and most controversial among horse lovers is the Łódzkie Horse Trail, consisting of two circular routes, one big and one small. In 2010, it was 1,500 km long, and in 2012, its length increased to 2,100 km. The author of the book mentioned 36 horse-riding centers located on this trail. Theoretically, covering as much distance as possible for seasoned riders and horses, there is one center per 41 km of the trail. However, the problem is that most of the centers are located in the vicinity of Łódź, and some long sections of the trail (e.g., a 70 km-long Radomsko-Przedbórz-Sulejów section, or similarly long Tomaszów Mazowiecki-Rawa-Skierniewice section) are devoid of equestrian centers. On the website of the Łódzkie Horse Trail management, there is an address list of 774 hotels, spa centers, camping sites, tent sites, health resorts, conference centers, pensions, hostels, and agritourism centers, without any information as to whether they provide accommodation for riders.

The second trail leads from the border with Germany to Gdańsk. In fact, it constitutes a system of connected horse trails branching off to Szczecin, Wolin, Trzebiatów, Biały Bór, Stilo, and other towns. Horse route plans of the Choczewo and Wejherowo Forestry Commissions illustrate uneven distribution of stables. On the trail leading along the shore from Stilo to Jastrzębia Góra and then to the south to Reda (altogether approximately 100 km), there are five places where horses can be put to pasture and only two overnight lodgings (located midway and at the end of the route).

One of the most interesting routes is the Poleskie Horse Trail, leading from Chełm to Włodawa (294 km). From among six stables that could provide overnight stays, three are located on the outskirts of Chełm, two of them north of the city and one near Włodawa. There are also some other places on the trail, offering only short rest stops and the possibility of tying up a horse. Popular tourist areas facilitate the use of horse trails. For example, equestrian centers on the route of the Transsudetian Horse Trail (360 km) and the PTTK Horse Trail in Kamienna Góra area (80 km) are

located at relatively even distances. Also, there are many stables in the area of Bieszczady Mountains. The Transbeskidzki Horse Trail (approximately 400 km between Bieszczady Mountains and Brenna near Szczyrk) is more demanding; however, it is possible to plan overnight stays in fourteen stables located on the route. Population density and the development level of various tourism functions in the region are therefore factors of crucial significance. For example, in recent years, equestrian tourism has developed dynamically in the Beskid Niski area (Boczar-Różewicz et al., 2005).

Two conclusions can be drawn from the review presented above. First, in areas distant from bigger cities (and from significant tourist centers), there is a deficiency of equestrian centers, which makes horse trails using difficult. Therefore, the process of outlining horse trails should be accompanied by creating network of stables, possibly located at even distances.

Opportunities and Barriers

People often assume that in Poland equestrianism and horse-riding tourism provide an opportunity of development for local economies. On one hand, they clearly overestimate the impact of equestrian tradition and of natural resources, which constitute one of the myths about the Polish tourism (see Kozak, 2009a), and underestimate the impact of recession on the other hand. Not the availability of natural resources but the level of supply and demand is the major factor influencing the development of equestrianism. Observation of the economy only confirms this thesis: The demand for various services and products is the highest in centers producing the highest income. Poland is brimming with, so far, unexploited areas, where foreigners could also use the equestrian tourism services. In order to use the potential, especially of borderland, it is necessary to provide good quality services in every center, not only in those located in cities. The examples of other countries depict that rider-friendly laws, trails with comprehensive tourist offers (overnight lodgings, catering, etc.), and successful promotion among "townies" may benefit local development. It is worth emphasizing that Poland has a genetically diversified and highly valued population of horses (IDI with Ruta). Nevertheless, this diversification does not guarantee the development of equestrianism—it is the appropriate breeding that is more crucial.

If the pace of the development increases, substantial financial outlays will be necessary. Nevertheless, the financial means should be accompanied by the change in social awareness and strategic thinking. Without this shift, nature and horse trails will not be enough to attract tourists.

What is also crucial is the quality of the Polish training system. Even though PTTK and PZJ differ when it comes to training methods and aims, they should cooperate to review and adjust their systems at some points. The estimated number of riders in Poland reflects the quantitative limitation of the training. When it comes to their quality, based on the number of equestrian centers, distribution of riders in comparison with other countries, and on limited sport achievements, Poland seems to lag behind the world standard (IDI's with Abgarowicz and Ruta). Moreover, in the free-market reality, not only professionals can offer training (IDI's with Abgarowicz and Stasiowski). What particularly draws attention is the lack of professional education of future equestrian personnel: Only one university offers hippological studies as of 2012 (in Lublin, Poland), and most horse-breeding technical colleges provide only theoretical knowledge. The notable exceptions are a technical college in Surpaśl, equipped with a sports hall and cooperating with overseas partners, and a project implemented by PZJ in selected schools, which aims to expand practical knowledge of students. There are no professional schools for farriers (IDI with Ruta). Deregulation conducted in 2013 also involved physical recreation instructors (including horse-riding instructors), which led to intensified attempts at improving training methods to achieve better results. Systemic changes in education and training are essential and should not only concern the Society for the Promotion of Sport and Physical Activity (TKKF) or cooperating university schools of physical education.

However, unclear laws, which seem to be hostile to equestrianism, hinder the implementation of these changes. In addition to the issues mentioned above, there is another legal obstacle that should be highlighted: An organizer of equestrian tourism has to provide a guarantee or an insurance policy shielding people participating in an event from the organizer's bankruptcy and submit it to the Marshall's Office.

The real condition of equestrianism when it comes to culture, both in qualitative and quantitative aspects, brings the myth of the Polish cavalryman into question. Behind the myth, there is a limited knowledge when it comes to equestrianism and horses, as well as low culture of attitudes and behaviors toward horses and riders.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In the recent years, the number of horses in Poland has dramatically dropped. There is a hope that with increasing wealth in the society, this tendency will change. In order to use equestrianism in local or regional development, it has to become more popular. What is the major obstacle to the

attempt to increase the role of equestrian tourism in local or regional development? The level of wealth undoubtedly constitutes the major problem: Practicing equestrianism is quite expensive, which limits the number of the interested people. However, waiting until the society becomes more affluent would be tantamount to wasting opportunities.

Is it possible to improve the situation? Yes, through implementing an integrated strategy for equestrian tourism development, based on comprehensive problem solving in various areas (information, legal, cultural, organization of trainings, coordination of developmental activities, and – finally – supralocal marketing). The precise analysis and diagnosis of horses and riders, the size and quality of the equestrian basis, the distribution of equestrian services and other connected services, and information systems for equestrian/horse-riding tourism should constitute the first step of this strategy.

It is also essential to reflect on future legal solutions concerning equestrianism. In order to implement institutional and legal changes, it is necessary to improve the cultural attitudes toward horses and equestrianism; instead of preserving myths and out-of-date beliefs, people's knowledge about horses and riders should be improved. Their positive emotions toward equestrianism, if not overused, may constitute a good point of departure for this change.

What is also important is the improvement of training. A great number of professionals could successfully fulfill the training objectives and also in the field of rehabilitation. However, what should be priority is the propagation of good quality training norms for the standard types of equestrianism (not by the means of legal requirement). Additionally, more consideration should be put to the issue of quality of stables and accommodation offers. The equestrian offer of Poland can achieve favorable outcome abroad if it surpasses other countries promoting their services (e.g., Slovakia, Romania, or Sweden). Dynamically developing mountain equestrian tourism exemplifies that success is attainable (Krzemień, 2009). However, only marketing of the completed system (consisting of quality equestrian services, horse trails, accommodation centers, and auxiliary tourist services) can bring satisfying results.

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APPLICABILITY OF DENDROCHRONOLOGY IN THE EVALUATION OF THE LONG-TERM IMPACT OF HIKING ON THE CONDITION OF STANDS ADJACENT TO HIKING TRAILS

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Abstract: Increased tourism activity may negatively affect cover adjacent to hiking trails in terms of land degradation, soil erosion, and destruction of vegetation. The aim of the research was to determine the effect of trampling on the annual growth of trees under pressure due to hiking. We decided to test the applicability of dendrochronology in evaluating the impact of hiking on the condition of forest stands through which hiking trails run. The research was carried out on a spruce stand adjacent to the hiking trail Polana Waksmundzka-Hala Gąsienicowa in the Polish Tatra Mountains. The trail was divided into five transects within which two areas were outlined: the area of destruction caused by trampling and the area not affected by tourism (control area). Drills were made in selected trees to extract samples for determining annual incremental growth. Then, dynamics of incremental growth in trees from the experimental and control areas were compared. The results revealed that the mean annual growth in trees adjacent to the hiking trail is lower than seen in the trees from the area not directly affected by tourism activity. This may prove that tourists transit on mountain trails has a negative effect on the radial growth of trees adjacent to these trails.
The research indicates that dendrochronology is a reliable method that can be applied in evaluating the effect of trampling on the conditions of stands under pressure due to hiking. Dendrochronology may also supplement research on the influence of hiking and biking on the conditions of ecosystems adjacent to tourist trails.

Keywords: tourism carrying capacity, dendrochronology, Tatra National Park

Tourism is often perceived as one of the most important elements of sustainable development (Kombol, 2000; Krnacova et al., 2001). This form of activity in a given area combines the possibility of economic growth with

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biodiversity conservation (Maikihuri et al., 2000; Neto, 2003). On the other hand, excessive or uneven tourist flow in a given region may result in environmental degradation (Hresko, Bugar, 2001; Gorczyca, Krzemień, 2002). The most spectacular examples of this phenomenon mostly concern the expansion of tourism infrastructure: mountain cabins, hotels, access roads, railroads, and ski lifts (Witkowski, 1996; Łajczak, 1996).

Less spectacular, but known from the literature on the subject, is the impact of mass tourism (hiking). During the interwar period, Klecka (1937) presented vertical stratification of vegetation adjacent to tourist trails. Later studies showed the erosion process on hiking trails caused by vegetation mat that was breached or worn away (Root, Kapnik, 1972; Kethledge et al., 1985; Li et al., 2005). In Poland, comprehensive studies on the impact of hiking on the natural environment in mountains were conducted mainly in Tatra National Park (Skawiński 1993) and the Pilsko range (Łajczak, 1996; Bandoła-Ciołczyk, Kurzyński, 1996; Mielnicka, 1996). Kostrowicki (1981) carried out experimental studies in this topic. The extensive work of Krzymowska-Kostrowicka (1997) is a compilation of theories concerning the relationship between tourism, recreation, and the natural environment.

Unfortunately, the impact of tourism is not limited to hiking trails, but also extends to adjacent areas. The results of research conducted in the Pilsko range (Łajczak, 1996) clearly demonstrated that due to deep erosion seen on stretches of trails, tourists tended to walk around the erosion and trample on adjacent vegetation cover, thus widening the trails. After some time, trails may be expanded up to a dozen or so meters. Other research showed that trail expansion may also result from, in addition to its condition, the type of habitat. Satchell and Marren (1976) proved that with the same tourist flow, trails running through open spaces are much wider that the trails in forests. Bayfield (1973) and Lance et al. (1989) reported that trails branch off and widen owing to tourists who walk around boggy and uneven ground. In addition, tourists tend to walk around stretches of trail that are steep, difficult, or dangerous (Ciapała et al., 2010).

Thus far, researchers (Kostrowicki, 1981; Bogucka and Marchlewski, 1982; Mielnicka, 1996; Pawlaczyk, 2002) have studied and described a theoretical tourism carrying capacity for different natural sites. Despite a large number of publications on this topic, there is little in-depth research into how the natural environment will respond once limitations have been exceeded. There are studies that describe the impact of hiking on the condition of the natural habitat. These papers present the relationship between the changes in the physiochemical properties of soil and structure of soil that lead to a decrease in water and air capacity, as well as to a disturbance

in thermal regimes (Guzikowa, 1982; Lei, 2004; Krzemień, Gorczyca, 2006). The studies mentioned above indicate that high tourism activity may lead to extensive mass transfer of soil causing microrelief: ruts, banks along the trails, niches, and talus fan (Krzymowska-Kostrowicka, 1997). There is little research that describes the impact of trampling on flora and fauna adjacent to hiking trails. In Poland, researchers who have conducted studies in this issue include Faliński (1973), who studied the impact of trampling on forest undergrowth; Holeksy and Holeksy (1981); and Pawlaczyk (2002), who carried out a broader analysis. Pawlaczyk observed that the majority of the developed methods may be adopted only to estimate the effect of tourism activity on the vegetation cover of the area in question, but only with respect to trampling the undergrowth.

The aim of the research was to verify whether or not increased numbers of hikers affect the condition of stands adjacent to hiking trails, taking a closer look at the mean annual increment (MAI). Furthermore, it is assessed whether dendrochronology is applicable in the evaluation of the degree to which tourist activity affects the conditions of trees. Research was conducted in Tatra National Park on the hiking trail that leads from Hala Gąsienicowa to Polana Waksmundzka. The trail runs through a spruce stand.

Method

The research utilized dendrochronology, which allows the age of trees to be determined based on the analysis of mean annual growth. The width of the tree rings depends on various conditions: wide rings are observed in favorable growing seasons, narrow rings appear in unfavorable seasons (Zielski & Krąpiec, 2004). Within the five stretches, 50-100 m transects were marked including a vertical stratification of the trail. Based on the perceptible destruction of soil and vegetation cover, two areas were defined: area of destruction and area not affected by tourism.

Trees selected for analysis had perceptible damage to roots. In each transect, a sample was taken from 10 trees: 5 trees with protruding roots and adjacent to the hiking trail; 5 trees that grew far away from the trail. Since an assumption was made that trampling only affects the annual growth of rings of trees adjacent to the trails, the research material was therefore chosen according to the following criteria:

- dendrochronological analysis had to be homogenic, i.e., all the drilled trees had to belong to the same family, had to belong to the same biosocial category, and had to grow in the same microhabitat conditions;
- trees from different zones grow the same climate conditions.

Two samples were extracted from each tree at the height of around 1.3 m. The samples were taped to a film, dried, and polished. Each sample was scanned and growth rings were marked through a CooRecorder program. The width of each ring was measured with a CDendro program, and data were recorded in a spreadsheet (Figure 1).

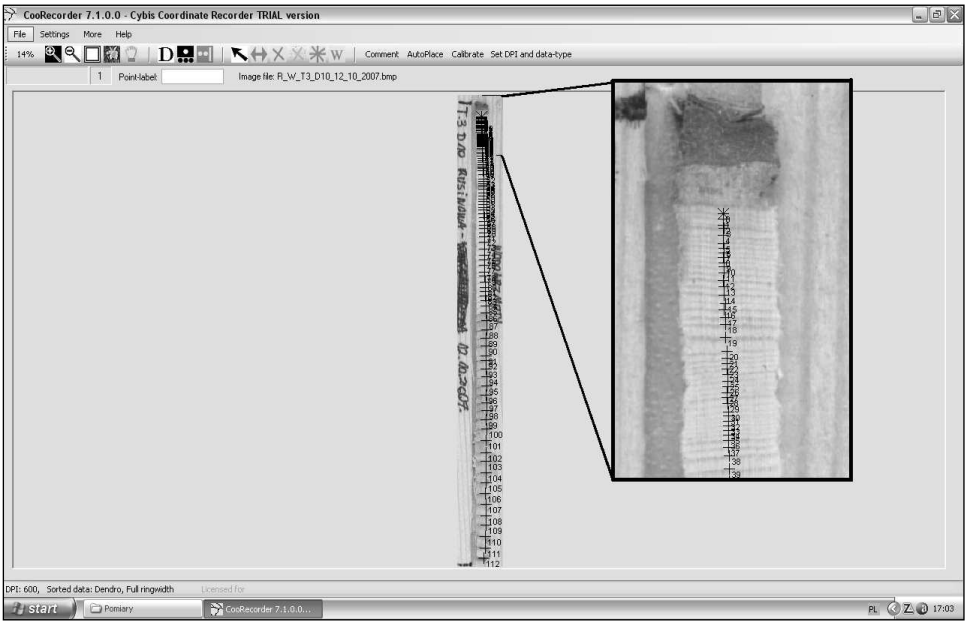

Figure 1. Interface of a CooRecorder program presenting an enlarged initial part of a sample

Tree-ring dating was conducted and related to calendar years based on visual synchronization of dendrochronological patterns and signature years. Afterwards, MAI was calculated for each year for the trees adjacent to the hiking trail and for the trees in the control area. Annual ring growth pattern in trees from different areas of destruction were compared, and the differences between them were measured. The MAI trend of the trees from the control area, i.e., the places with null tourism activity, was treated as a control trend. The MAI trends from the area of destruction were compared with the control trend. These comparisons were carried out for each year. The results were correlated with historical data for the intensity of and changes in tourism activity in Tatra National Park (Czochańki, 2002). Comparison of the increment differences resulting from trampling with historical data allowed the process of degradation in the researched areas to be reconstructed.

Results

The MAI of the trees from the five transects of the hiking trail from Hala Gąsienicwa to Polana Waksmundzka are presented on the graph below (Figure 2). The MAI in the trees adjacent to the trail is lower than in

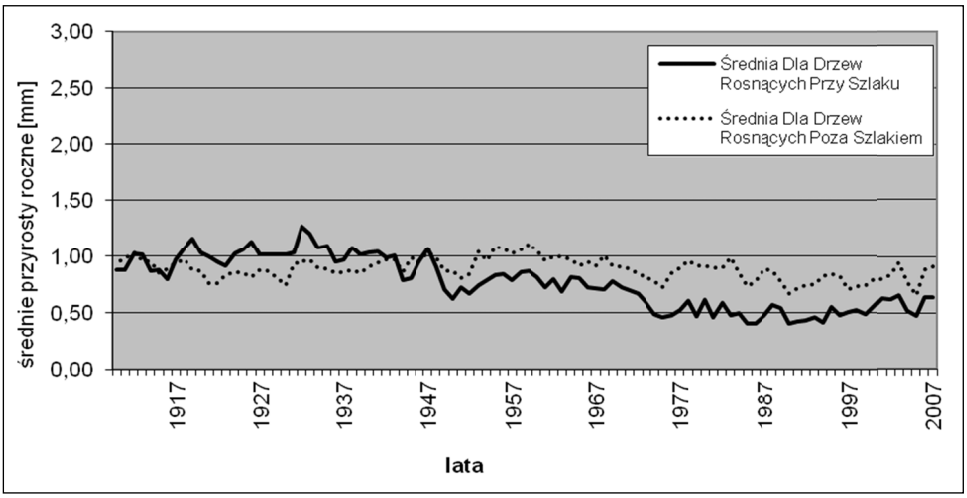

Figure 2. Mean annual increment of the trees adjacent to the trail Hala Gąsienicowa-Polana Waksmundzka

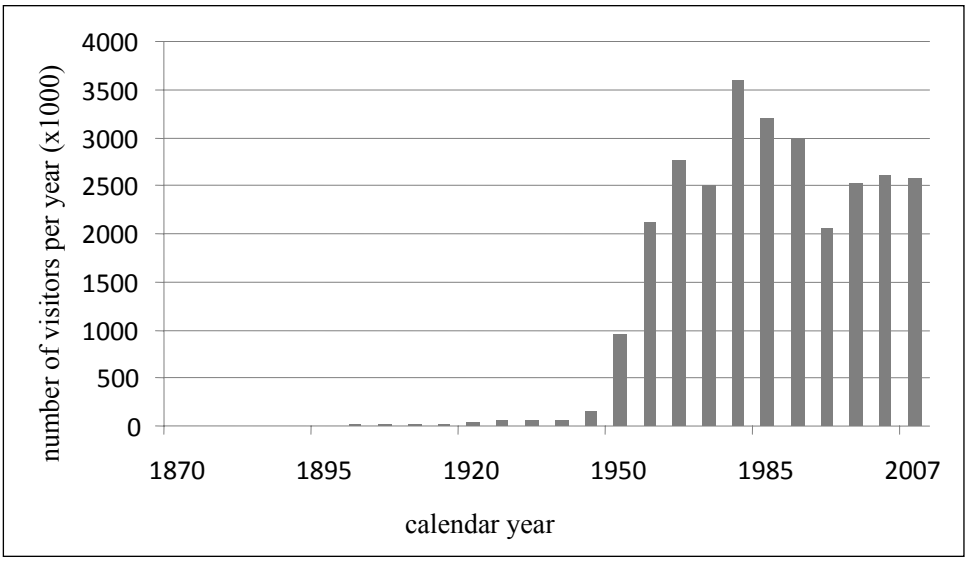

Figure 3. Number of tourists visiting Tatra National Park (based on Czochański, 2002)

the trees from the control area, except from 1916 to 1945. The MAI in this period was probably high due to better access to sunlight rather than due to the impact of tourism activity. After World War II, MAI in the trees adjacent to the trail decreased significantly in comparison to the trees not affected by tourism activity.

Correlations were calculated between MAI of trees adjacent to the hiking trail and from the control area and the intensity of tourism (data based on Czochański, 2002) in different years (Figure 3). The results demonstrated that in all analyzed cases of all five transects, significant negative correlations occurred. This means that as tourism activity increased, the MAI of the trees adjacent to the trails decreased in comparison with the trees from the control area (Table 1). The correlation between MAI measured for the whole trail and annual data on tourism activity in different years was -.92, $p<0,05$.

Table 1. Correlations between mean annual increment of the trees adjacent to the trail and from the control area and tourism activity in different years ($p<.05$)

Transect number	correlation
transect 1	- 0,789
transect 2	- 0,833
transect 3	- 0,398
transect 4	- 0,686
transect 5	- 0,911
entire trail	**- 0,919**

Conclusions

The growth of a tree is influenced by many factors, among which the most important is climate. The MAI of a tree depends on the temperature in summer, precipitation, insolation, and many other atmospheric phenomena. Spruce requires appropriate levels of humidity of soil and air. The influence of temperature on the MAI of spruce trees in the Tatra Mountains can be seen in the studies conducted in Dolina Strążyska (Zielski & Krąpiec, 2004, Zielonka et al., 2008). Other important stressors affecting MAI are: fire, change of habitat, defoliation, lack of natural light, cold or drought, extreme living conditions, and competition (Schweingruber 2007). Stressors resulting from the human impact on the environment, especially air pollu-

tion (dust and fuels), have a negative impact on MAI, or cause the disappearance of MAI, in all trees, but coniferous trees are particularly sensitive to these stressors (Zielski, Krąpiec, 2004). Human activity is of no less importance here. Due to mechanical damage to bark, roots and trunks, trees have a very low MAI, narrow in the late wood and with changes in the xylem (Schweingruber, 1996).

The results of this study prove the assumptions true concerning the negative impact of tourist activity (trampling) on MAI of the majority of trees adjacent to the examined trail stretches. Significant decreases of MAI of spruce trees in the entire examined area can be observed after 1948. In 1948 tourist flow into Tatra National Park was 150,000, which was twice as much as in 1938 (Czochański, 2002). Results from the analysis show that dendrochronology is applicable in the evaluation of the effect of tourism activity on stands adjacent to hiking trails.

Putting restrictions on tourism activity in Tatra National Park seems impossible, or even inadvisable, bearing in mind the growing importance of tourism in this region. As can be inferred from the observations, a certain portion of the damage caused to the trees could be avoided by hardening the mountain trails, constructing drainage systems along the trails, and implementing protection that will stop erosion processes. Moreover, it would be advisable to install wooden handrails along the steep stretches of the trail, widen the trails wherever possible, harden the stretches with non-skid material, and renovate the trail surface. These measures may prevent tourists from turning aside from difficult and dangerous stretches, and, along with that, decrease the risk of damaging the vegetation cover and tree roots (Ciapała et al., 2010).

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