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Economic and Social Consequences of Mass Tourism in City Management – the Case of Poznań and Wrocław

Abstract. The article addresses the problem of urban mass tourism in the context of its consequences, with emphasis on phenomena that have an adverse effect on the quality of life for local communities. The aspects of analysis described by the authors are an example of operationalizing the indicator-based approach to the assessment of mass urban tourism to identify its economic and social consequences for the cities of Poznań and Wrocław. Drawing on the analysis of statistical data and in-depth interviews with local tourism experts, the authors conclude that focus on tourism in urban management can contribute to positive economic effects, while the awareness of how tourism can affect various aspects of social life can help to create sustainable solutions.

Keywords: urban mass tourism, indicators of urban mass tourism, economic-social consequences of urban mass tourism

1. Introduction

Tourism, as an economic sector, is viewed in the light of economic benefits expected as a result of the growth in tourist traffic. However, as a multifaceted

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¹ In 2018 the tourism industry accounted for 10% of the world's GDP, 7% of world's exports and 30% of world's services exports, provided 10% of world's jobs, generated US\$ 1,340 billion in receipts earned in the destinations, including US\$ 529 billion in Europe; world's tourist traffic amounted to 1,326 million international tourist arrivals, including 672 million in Europe [UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2018].

phenomenon, it affects other spheres of socio-cultural life and the natural environment. Mass tourism can be credited not only with benefits derived from accompanying processes, such as the growth of investment and innovation, the development of employment and an increase in consumption and well-being, but can also be associated with threats, such as deteriorating living conditions for local communities, economic and social disparities between tourists and local inhabitants, disappearance of the local culture and environmental degradation. Undoubtedly, effects of mass tourism depend on local conditions in particular destinations and entities participating in its development, as well as other factors, such as intensity, frequency and duration of tourism-related impacts on the local community and environment, tourism carrying capacity, solutions used in tourism supply and organization of tourist traffic, including pro-environmental and pro-social measures.

The purpose of the article is to identify phenomena associated with mass tourism and their economic and social consequences by analysing the cases of two agglomerations: Poznań and Wrocław.² The research problem refers to the development of tourism in cities as a possible policy objective in urban management, which can contribute to positive effects for the local economy and community.

The study following study is based on literature review and analysis of statistical data about the two cities, as well as results of in-depth interviews with local tourism experts

Two research questions were formulated in the empirical study:

- 1) Is mass tourism and overtourism the result of local tourist assets, including those of international importance, characteristics of the service sector (the range of its offering and its spatial differentiation) and the regulatory framework, expressed in development strategies and programs pursued by both cities?
- 2) Can the strategic focus on tourism in the management of both cities, which takes into account its multiples effects on socio-cultural life, support sustainable development?

2. Economic and social problems and possible solutions in the development of urban mass tourism

The problem of the impact of mass tourism on the socio-economic development of tourist destinations can be analysed from various perspectives. Existing studies indicate both positive and negative effects of tourism on the local economy and

² The problems described in the article are a continuation of the analysis of mass tourism and overtourism and its consequences for the development of cities and local communities as exemplified by Poznań and Wrocław, described in the article published in the Scientific Bulletin of Wrocław University of Economics and Business.

community. With respect to economic benefits, tourism is viewed as a source of revenues for companies and local residents and a contributor to the local budget, as a facilitator of employment activation of the local population [Wodejko 1998], a factor stimulating national and foreign investment (capital and technology transfer, improvement of quality standards, promotion of tourist destinations) [Kędziorek 2017], a factor contributing to the development of entrepreneurship in the tourism or other related sectors, as a factor in multiplier effects [Pawlusiński 2012; Milewski 2011].

Other studies focus on negative economic impacts of tourism, such as its role as a potential factor of inflation, problems resulting from attempts to overcome a limited supply of qualified labour force [Wodejko 1998], import expenditures and profit outflows to countries providing foreign capital [Kędziorek 2017]. Tourism is seen as a facilitator of urban development and economic urbanization, including the development of tourism and dependent infrastructure, municipal infrastructure and housing management, which affect the operation of tourist facilities and institutions and lead to the growth of urban fixed assets [Gaworecki 1997].

With respect to the social dimension, studies identify a number of positive functions of tourism, which can help local residents achieve higher standards of living, trigger higher educational aspirations and a desire to improve one's qualifications, which fosters tolerance. Tourism can also have negative social consequences, such as commercialization of hospitality, the development of social pathology and a deterioration of living conditions as a result of noise and pollution [Mika 2012].

Processes and changes brought about by tourism in the economic and sociocultural character of tourist destinations can be explained by applying theoretical models, such as R.W. Butler's Model of Tourism Development, D.V. Doxey's irritation index, describing changes in local residents' attitudes towards tourists and tourism development, J. Jafari's platform model, D. MacCannell's concept of authenticity in tourist experiences, J. Urry's *notion* of the 'tourist gaze' in the tourist experience [Halik 2013; Durydiwka 2014].

Studies analysing consequences of the rise of mass tourism at the start of $21^{\rm st}$ century point out that negative phenomena are largely the result of the commercialization of mass tourism and the fact that dysfunctions of tourism outweigh its local benefits, which can affect the quality of life and cause dissatisfaction of local residents. Scientists highlight the continuing globalization of tourism, driven by modern information technologies, innovative systems of sharing information and booking tourist services, the development of low-cost airlines, liberalization of passport and visa regulations, the competitive market of tourism products that meet expectations of modern tourists [Mańko, Wolna-Samulak, Stankiewicz 2012]. These factors can also influence the development of tourist traffic in cit-

ies. Moreover, negative effects of exceeding the tourism carrying capacity of cities can be further aggravated by the behaviour of post-tourists in line with the concept of the collective gaze and authentic sociability. This is because expected tourist experiences are associated with an indispensable atmosphere of shared experience and visual consumption of a given place [Urry 2007].

The popularity of cities as tourist destinations along with critical reactions associated with excessive tourist traffic at certain periods and in certain places are what motivates the scientific discussion about the conditions that affect the development of urban mass tourism and sustainable solutions, such as the inclusion of local communities in the tourist value chain, measures aimed at preventing inconveniences to local residents and the deterioration in quality of life, protection of cultural and environmental assets.³

Sustainable tourism was mentioned in the New Urban Agenda as one of the sectors which can help to support the urban economy in increasing efficiency and creating high quality jobs (Quito Declaration On Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements for All, Habitat III, Quito, 2016, UN⁴). The task of designing the development of urban tourism can involve actions that not only stimulate tourist traffic but also have a positive influence on the economic situation and living conditions of local residents by helping them to avoid the inconvenient effects of overtourism in the urban space and enable the sustainable development of tourism initiatives that are mutually beneficial to tourists and residents.

In European cities, where the effects of mass tourism and overtourism are evident, specialists pay close attention to various aspects of this phenomenon. Overtourism poses a threat and can lead to a physical destruction of the value of the tourist capital of a given place, causing a degradation of its *genius loci*, which comprises the natural and cultural elements of this capital. Among places most exposed to the dangers of overtourism, however, are small tourist destinations such as the Rialto Bridge (It. *Ponte di Rialto*) or St Mark's Square (It. *Piazza San Marco*) in Venice, the Uffizi Gallery (It. *Galleria degli Uffizi*) in Florence, the Eiffel

³ In 2018 15 European cities registered 367.6 million bednights, including (in millions): London (71.16), Paris (52.55), Berlin (32.9), Rome (28.5), Istanbul (21.0), Madrid (19,8), Barcelona (19.3), Prague (18.2), Vienna (17.4), Munich (17.1), Amsterdam (16.9), Stockholm (16.9), Hamburg (14.5), Milan (12.4), Lisbon (10.8) (https://www.europeancitiesmarketing.com/ecm-benchmarking-report/ [accessed: 1.08.2019], https://en.calameo.com/read/0006740146113b6fd02fc?pa ge=5 [accessed: 1.08.2019]). For instance, in Germany, nearly 40% (14.0 million) of foreign arrivals concentrate in 6 cities, including: Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Heidelberg, Freiburg. In the last 10 years, particularly high increases have been registered in Berlin (+117%), Hamburg (+97%), Dresden (+81%) [Burdack 2018].

⁴ In Polish: Deklaracja z Quito w sprawie zrównoważonych miast i osiedli ludzkich dla wszystkich, Habitat III, Quito, 2016, ONZ, http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/NUA-Polish.pdf [accessed: 2.08.2019].

Tower in Paris or Machu Picchu in Peru. Once a destination is exposed to overtourism, the quality of the tourist experience (the perception of cultural assets and sights) declines. However, this is only true theoretically, as can be seen from studies conducted by the authorities of Barcelona, which did not conform this relationship; only 58% of surveyed tourists complained about inconveniences associated with an excessive number of tourist.⁵ Such inconveniences do not seem to discourage tourists and the number of places affected by overtourism is growing year after year. This trend can probably be observed in the majority of very popular tourist destinations. The mass tourist wants to see as much as they possibly can in a given place, following recommendations contained in guidebooks, and make the most of what the place has to offer, even for a short period of time. This is the result of behaviour driven by high expectations, which in turn are stimulated by tourism marketing and the media. In addition of the seasonal nature of overtourism, another particularly disruptive aspect of this phenomenon is its concentration within a limited space, where tourists are treated as a diverse, foreign element arriving in search of diverse forms of entertainment. Overtourism is a source of social conflicts, driving up prices of real estate (tenement houses and apartments) and rental rates and forcing local residents to abandon them, which disrupts social life.

Various solutions are proposes to alleviate the negative effects of overtourism, involving a more flexible management of tourist attractions by extending opening hours and increasing the number of days when they can be visited, by creating special tourist routes and introducing flexible pricing strategies and promotional measures, e.g. raising prices when tourism demand is higher, as well as undertaking educational initiatives aimed at shaping the attitudes and behaviour of tourists [Borzyszkowski 2018: 135-136]. One way in which the problem of overtourism can be solved at micro-scale level is to split tourist traffic by directing it to alternative destinations [Borzyszkowski 2018: 145]. Examples of such strategies are various approaches, such as those implemented in Barcelona, where the authorities are trying to increase the role of quality tourism and attract more affluent tourists [Komorowski 2018], or the case of Venice, which is considering introducing fees for visiting the city.

Solutions to the problem of mass tourism and overtourism can be optimized by creating spatial management plans, which designate zones and places and describe ways of controlled use of urban space for purposes of tourism. Practical solutions include various management techniques for urban mass tourism that take into account the carrying capacity of the place and can be used to keep tourist traffic at a reasonable level.

⁵ www.lavaguardia.com/local/barcelona/2016/08/21 [accessed: 5.08.2019].

3. The state of tourism in Poznań and Wrocław

Mass tourism and overtourism are associated with management problems concerning many aspects, including the consequences of socio-economic and spatial development of agglomerations. After analysing the phenomenon of overtourism in EU countries, P. Peeters et al. [2018] concluded it was difficult to identify a common set of indicators for assessing it because of its complex causes and effects. They argued that in order to avoid overtourism, it is necessary to implement non-standard policies that need to be developed in cooperation with stakeholders and decision makers in tourist destinations. Based on a review of the literature, they found that indicators regarding density, intensity, growth, seasonality, peer-to-peer platform and social media usage were considered to be most relevant [Peeters et al. 2018].

The state of tourism in the two cities analysed in our study is characterised by local variation and different development dynamics. It should be remembered that the scale of mass tourism in Wrocław and Poznań, compared to European cities where the largest numbers of bednights was recorded in 2017,6 including bednights by international tourists, 7 is much lower. The two analysed cities differ in terms of the share and dynamics of tourism, including international tourism. The number of bednights in Wrocław was about 2 million (the index value for the period 2015-2017 was equal to 1.16). In Poznan 1.4 million bednights were recorded (the index value for the same period was 1.1). The share of international tourists using accommodation resources in Wrocław is higher (32.6%) than in Poznań (23.5%). One should note the considerable contribution of fairrelated tourism in Poznań, which, undoubtedly, has an effect on the value of this indicator. As regards the mean length of hotel stay of total tourists and international tourists, it is similar in both cities (in Wrocław -1.67 days for total tourists and 1.89 for international tourists; in Poznań – 1.65 and 1.92, respectively). The indicators showing tourism intensity in the period 2015-2017 in Wrocław and Poznań indicate an growing trend, with a 11-12% growth in the number of bed-

⁶ London – 79.87 million, Paris – 48.11 million, Berlin – 31.14 million, Rome – 29.29 million, Madrid – 19.26 million, Barcelona – 18.79 million, Prague – 18.06 million, Istanbul –17.26 million, Vienna –16.42 million, Munich – 15.86 million, Amsterdam – 15.66 million, Stockholm – 14.05 million, https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/527374/umfrage/anzahl-der-tourismusue-bernachtungen-in-europa-nach-staedten/ [accessed: 12.03.2019].

⁷ London − 19.83 million, Paris − 17.44 million, Istanbul − 10.70 million, Antalya − 9.42 million, Milan − 8.81 million, Palma de Mallorca − 8.78, Barcelona − 8.69 million, Rome − 7.17 million, Amsterdam − 7.16 million, Venice − 7.01 million (*Städtereisen boomen weiter: Bangkok, London und Paris führen 2018 Global Destination Cites Index von Mastercard an*, https://newsroom.mastercard.com/eu/de/press-releases/staedtereisen-boomen-weiter-bangkok-london-und-paris-fuehren-2018-global-destination-cities-index-von-mastercard-an/ [accessed: 11.03.2019]).

| T., 1: | Wrocław | | | Poznań | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Indicator | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 |
| Number of beds per 100 persons | 1.70 | 1.70 | 1.97 | 1.63 | 1.68 | 1.74 |
| Number of beds per 1 km ² | 37.6 | 37.3 | 42.9 | 33.8 | 34.6 | 35.8 |
| Number of tourists using hotel accommodation per 100 persons | 164 | 174 | 184 | 151 | 157 | 163 |
| Number of bednights per 100 persons | 275 | 301 | 307 | 240 | 258 | 267 |
| Number tourists using hotel accommodation per 1 km ² | 3552 | 3792 | 4021 | 3129 | 3232 | 3351 |
| Number tourists using hotel accommodation per 1 bed | 94.5 | 102.0 | 93.8 | 92.5 | 93.4 | 93.6 |
| Number of bednights per 1 bed | 159 | 175 | 156 | 147 | 154 | 153 |
| Bedspace/hotel bed occupancy rate % | 44.8/59.4 | 52.8/63.7 | 52.0/62.1 | 40.8/52.8 | 42.9/56.8 | 43.0/55.0 |
| Share of international tourists using accommodation resources % | 28.1 | 31.8 | 32.6 | 23.3 | 23.5 | 23.5 |

Table 1. Tourism capacity and intensity of tourist traffic in Poznań and Wrocław

Source: Wrocław w liczbach, 2017; Rocznik Statystyczny Wrocławia 2016; Rocznik Statystyczny Poznania 2017; Rocznik Statystyczny Wrocławia 2018; Rocznik Statystyczny Województwa Wielkopolskiego 2018.

nights per 100 persons. Compared to analogical values for European cities, these indicators are a number of times smaller. Still, both cities saw an increase in the number of bednights per 100 persons and per square kilometre, with a slightly smaller rate of growth recorded in Poznań. In the period 2015-2017 the index value for bednights per 100 persons in Wrocław was 1.16 and in Poznań – 1.08, while the index for bednights per square kilometre was 1.14 in Wrocław and 1.05 in Poznań (see Table 1).

The spatial distribution of tourist attractions can result in varying levels of tourist traffic within each city. Unlike Poznan, where tourist traffic practically concentrates in just two areas: the Old Town (75% of visitors) and Ostrów Tumski also knowns as the Cathedral Island (33% of visitors) [*Posen #2015#2016...* 2018]; the sights of Wrocław located in various parts of the city attract visitors away from the city centre (to Ostrów Tumski (the Cathedral Island, the Old Market, the Four Confessions District, the Royal Palace with the Baroque garden, the main building of the University of Wrocław, the Racławice Panorama, the Hydropolis Centre for Ecological Education, the Centennial Hall, the Szczytnicki Park, the Wrocław Zoological Garden).8 Wrocław boasts at least 20 attractions

⁸ https://visitwroclaw.eu/top-10-atrakcje-wroclaw [accessed: 28.03.2019].

of international significance, including the Centennial Hall, listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, which encourage tourists to make a longer stay in the city. As a result, Wrocław can definitely be treated as an endpoint destination, in contrast to Poznań, which is much more of a stopover destination for cultural tourism.

The intensity of tourist traffic is associated with various events (cultural, sports, business) organized in the city and can exceed the city's service capacity or its social and ecological resilience. For example, Poznan experiences periodic peaks in the number of visitors coming to attend fair events held at the MTP Poznań Expo complex. The scale of this phenomenon is revealed by the number of visitors attending the two most popular events (114.5 thousand and 48.3 thousand). In the case of other events, the number of visitors ranges from 1.1 to 34.7 thousand. In 2017, 57 events attracted 9057 exhibitors and 711.2 thousand visitors [Rocznik Statystyczny Województwa Wielkopolskiego 2018]. Another factor that contributes to a greater congestion of urban spaces is the relatively large number of sports events, including popular marathons and half-marathons. In the period 2008-2017 the number of runners participating in half-marathons increased 10 times (from 1037 to 10398 participants), and in the case of marathons – 8 times (from 761 in 2000 to 6362 in 2017) [Królikowska-Tomczak A. 2017]. An analysis of the structure and number of events held in Wrocław reveals that they are mainly organized in two districts (Fabryczna and Old Town). Events organized in the Old Town attracted 18.7% of participants, while those held in Fabryczna district as many as 73.3% of all participants. Relevant indicators suggest that the Old Town in Wrocław is not overloaded as a result of hosting large events [Wrocław w liczbach 2017].

Another factor that can lead to an excessive intensity of tourist traffic is the spatial distribution of accommodation facilities in the city centre. From this point of view, the period 2010-2018 saw a growth in the number of such facilities or in occupancy rates not only in the Old Town of Wrocław (up by a factor of 1.2-1.4) but also in other districts (up by a factor of 3.5-4). In Poznan, in the same period, the number of tourists using accommodation facilities located in the Old Town district declined by 8 p.p., while in other districts it rose by 2 to 4 p.p. [Poznań - biuletyn statystyczny, IV kwartał 2018].

The economic significance of urban tourism is manifested by investment outlays. The development of tourism in Wrocław is confirmed by investment outlays in companies in the accommodation and catering industry, which more than doubled between 2015 (PLN 62.4 million) and 2017 (PLN 135.3 million) [Rocznik Statystyczny Wrocławia 2018]. In the same period Poznan saw a slower rate of growth in investment outlays (from PLN 38.2 million in 2015 to PLN

⁹ General data about tourist accommodation facilities in Wrocław, by district in the period 2010-2018. Informatorium Urzędu Statystycznego we Wrocławiu [unpublished data].

54.4 million in 2017). In 2018 there were 3046 companies in the accommodation and catering industry in Poznań, while Wrocław could boast 400 companies more i.e. 3421 (as in April 2018). The average employment in this sector in Wrocław (10.5 thousand) is four times as high as in Poznań (2.4 thousand) [Biuletyn statystyczny województwa dolnośląskiego, IV kwartał 2018; Poznań – biuletyn statystyczny, IV kwartał 2018]. The development of air transport has created favourable conditions for the development of mass tourism. In the period 2010-2018 Poznan recorded a 60.4% growth in the number of passengers, while in Wrocław this number grew by 102.8%.¹⁰

The above analysis reveals a diverse character and different conditions underlying the development of tourist traffic in both cities and individualized local polices to manage urban tourism. It is worth noting that taking into consideration the spatial distribution and differentiation of tourist attractions and tourism infrastructure can help to avoid inconveniences resulting from excessive tourist traffic in the city and minimize the level of dissatisfaction on the part of local residents. The development of tourism programmes and products for visitors can help to create new urban spaces and new tourism experiences that can also shape a new urban style and raise local residents' satisfaction with their quality of life.

4. Economic and social consequences of tourism in Poznan and Wrocław according to local experts

In accordance with the principles of sustainable development, the management of urban tourism should be approached by taking into account various dimensions and should involve solutions that limit the negative effects of mass tourism/overtourism. In order to identify ways in which tourism affects socio-economic life and activities related to sustainable development in both cities, the authors conducted a qualitative study between January and April 2019, in the form of in-depth direct interviews with representatives of organisations and institutions involved in the development and promotion of tourism in Poznań and Wrocław and the respective metropolitan areas and provinces (representatives of tourism departments in the Governor's Office (province authorities) and city councils, as well as regional and local agencies of tourism organisations, associations of tour guides, the Society of Friends of Wrocław, the Dolnośląska Chamber of Tourism,

https://www.airport-poznan.com.pl/pl/port-lotniczy/statystyki [accessed: 9.04.2019]; http://airport.wroclaw.pl/lotnisko/o-lotnisku/statystyki/ruch-pasazerski [accessed: 9.04.2019]. It should be stressed that the figures describe passenger traffic excluding charter flights and general aviation and refer to arrivals and departures associated with various purposes, which, it can be assumed, include tourism.

the Poznan branch of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK)). All in all, the study authors interviewed 8 experts from Poznan and 7 from Wrocław, using semi-structured interviews based on a discussion guide.

The complex and heterogeneous nature of tourism (resulting from, among other things, different motivations for travelling, the exploration of different city parts, different timing and varying length of stay, various forms of organization and different consumer preferences with respect to tourism products) determines its mass character and its socio-economic dimension.

Tourism experts from Poznań believe that group/organized/business and fair-related tourism in the city exhibits typical characteristics of mass tourism, while they do not attribute such characteristics to individual/cultural tourism or do so only to a limited extent. In their opinion, business-related tourist traffic concentrates around the fair grounds and hotels located in the city centre. In contrast, cultural tourism concentrates in the vicinity of the Old Town owing to the attractiveness of this part of the city. A number of other city districts were also identified where tourist traffic can be observed in connection with tourist attractions that are located there. Both cultural and business tourism were described as seasonal. Periods of higher tourism demand coincide with the calendar of fair events and in the case of cultural tourism – the time from spring to autumn.

In the eyes of experts from Wrocław, tourism in the city has the characteristics of a mass phenomenon, with tourist traffic concentrating in the area of the Old Town. According to respondents, the intensity of tourism in Wrocław changes seasonally, with the highest demand in the period from April to October.

The existing state of the accommodation and other kinds of tourism infrastructure was considered to be beneficial for the development of mass tourism. Experts agreed that the short-term renting of apartments and rooms in central locations does not yet produce negative effects associated with overtourism and the supply of rented accommodation does not show signs of declining.

Respondents' answers concerning social effects of mass tourism, especially its impact on the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of local residents and the awareness of the problem of mass tourism as reflected by the number of complaints about resulting inconveniences, indicate that tourism is not perceived as a factor with a considerable effect on the quality of life. Local residents participate in making decisions concerning the development of tourism through public consultations, tourism design competitions, autonomous entrepreneurial activities. Poznań experts pointed out that only a small percentage of the city's population gets involved in the process of decision making concerning various aspects of tourism. This is undoubtedly connected with the fact that tourism plays a relatively small role in the overall economy of big cities, such as Poznan and Wrocław. In regions and cities where its function is dominant, residents' involvement in coping with the problems of tourism become stronger.

The following factors associated with the development of tourism were listed by the respondents as affecting the level of residents' satisfaction: economic benefits, revenues from tourism, employment opportunities, the development of language skills, organisation of cultural/sports events. The experts did not select factors such as getting to know other cultures and the development of recreational infrastructure. All of the factors mentioned above were indicated as contributing to the satisfaction of residents of Wrocław. The experts believed that residents in Poznań and Wrocław benefit from the development of tourism by participating in the sharing economy, i.e. offering apartments/houses for rent via booking websites. It is an area that is difficult to control and which (theoretically) can contribute to an excessive intensity of tourist traffic in the city. In the opinion of the experts, the development of the sports-recreational and cultural-entertainment infrastructure makes the tourism product more attractive and improves the quality of life for local residents.

As regards aspects of tourism in Poznań that contribute to residents' dissatisfaction, the respondents mentioned noise during parties and events and litter. Factors such as congestion, apartment rental prices, prices of goods and services were not listed in this context. The experts from Poznań pointed out that residents' attitudes towards tourism are determined by the type of tourism, destination, direct economic benefits derived by residents, which is why separate studies are required to investigate this subject. This ambiguity can also be observed in the views expressed on the same topic by the experts from Wrocław. When asked about which aspects of tourism are perceived as most inconvenient, some listed apartment rental prices, prices of goods and services and congestion, while classifying noise, congestion, pathology and litter as least inconvenient. Other experts regarded noise and litter as the biggest inconvenience, and rated the price increase associated with tourism as least inconvenient.

Another problem addressed during interviews with the experts were local strategies of tourism development in the city. The respondents agreed that the city's strategic documents contain a commitment to comply with the principles of sustainable development of tourism, that the city's urban planning documents identify special zones designated for the development of tourism and their organisations' strategic documents contain statements concerning the mission of tourism and vision for its development. In particular, in the case of each city, the documents referred to a harmonious development of tourism (preventing the concentration of tourist traffic), public transport, including a program of city bikes, protection of cultural heritage. The experts from Poznań indicated examples of special zones designated for the development of tourism in various categories addressed in the interview: 1) new recreational areas near lakes located within the city and initiatives undertaken by communes in the metropolitan area,

2) new tourist attractions, such as the Interactive Centre in Ostrów Tumski, city quests features items in the city and the metropolitan area, tourist trails focusing on the cultural heritage, 3) the category of hotels and conference facilities was classified as the domain of private enterprise. The respondents from Wrocław focused on zones designated for the development of new tourist attractions, particularly aimed at extending the city's tourism offering by introducing new products such as a "Historical Tram Line" (see Table 2).

The experts believed that the recreational infrastructure should be developed outside the city centre, in areas where the conditions are more appropriate, and thought that sports events should not be held in the city centre, which is a more suitable location for cultural events, although some experts from Wrocław thought they should be distributed around the city outside the centre. The ex-

Table 2. Respondents' opinions about mass tourism in Poznań and Wrocław

| Question | Poznań | Wrocław |
|---|--------|---------|
| Is tourism a mass phenomenon? | 3.14 | 4.14 |
| Does tourism concentrate in the area of the Old Town? | 4.57 | 4.28 |
| Does tourism concentrate in other (not centrally located) districts? | 2.86 | 3.00 |
| Is the intensity of tourist traffic higher in certain periods? | 4.25 | 4.14 |
| Does tourist traffic contribute to residents' dissatisfaction? | 2.25 | 1.83 |
| Does tourist traffic contribute to residents' satisfaction? | 3.50 | 3.70 |
| Are residents aware of the problem of mass tourism? | 2.00 | 2.42 |
| Do residents complain about inconveniences related to tourism in certain parts of the city? | 2.66 | 2.14 |
| Do residents participate in making decisions concerning the development of tourism? | 2.75 | 3.50 |
| Do residents participate in the sharing economy (by offering apartments/houses for rent via booking websites)? | 4.33 | 4.00 |
| Do strategic documents of your organisation contain any statements concerning the mission of tourism and vision for its development? | 4.00 | 3.83 |
| Do strategic documents about the city's development contain any statements concerning compliance with the principles of sustainable development of tourism? | 5.00 | 4.00 |
| Do the city's urban planning documents identify any special zones designated for the development of tourism? If so, what zones are they? | 4.33 | 3.00 |

Mean score calculated for each question on the basis of the following scale: 5 – strongly agree, 4 – agree, 3 – neither agree not disagree, 2 – disagree, 1 – strongly disagree.

Source: author's own research.

perts also pointed out that accommodation facilities offering varying levels of services and prices should be developed in central locations of both cities, which is what tourists expect. This view was shared by the majority of experts from Poznań. In contrast, respondents from Wrocław tended to favour development of the accommodation infrastructure outside the city centre.

The general view was that tourism in both cities does not lead to the loss of assets that make them attractive for tourists; the respondents listed solutions that can help to prevent the concentration of tourist traffic, e.g. designing different tourist trails and avoiding certain inconveniences associated with excessive tourist traffic, creating opportunities for tourists to use alternative means of transport, such as bikes, scooters, electric vehicles, historical trams.

They expressed an opinion that, in general, tourism does not have a negative impact on residents' quality of life and their subjective experiences depend on individual relations with tourists.

With respect to the economic dimension of tourism, respondents believed it contributed to the growth of the municipal economy and job creation. Experts believe that companies involved in the provision of services for tourists in the city,

Table 3. Degree of agreement expressed by the respondents with statements concerning mass tourism in in Poznań and Wrocław

| Opinion | Poznań | Wrocław |
|--|--------|---------|
| Tourism has a negative impact on residents' quality of life (noise, congestion, pathology). | 1.37 | 1.57 |
| No companies providing services for tourists in the city derive any economic benefits. | 1.13 | 1.86 |
| Tourism contributes to a rise in real estate prices in the city. | 1.66 | 2.71 |
| Mass tourism leads to the degradation of tourism assets that make it attractive. | 1.66 | 1.43 |
| The existing accommodation and other types of tourism infrastructure fosters the development of mass tourism in the city | 3.80 | 3.58 |
| The accommodation infrastructure should be developed in central areas of the city. | 3.86 | 2.86 |
| Sports events should be hosted in central areas of the city. | 1.83 | 1.83 |
| Cultural events should be hosted in central areas of the city. | 4.66 | 3.57 |
| The recreational infrastructure should be developed outside the central areas of the city. | 4.86 | 3.16 |

Mean score calculated for each question on the basis of the following scale: 5 – strongly agree, 4 – agree, 3 – neither agree not disagree, 2 – disagree, 1 – strongly disagree.

Source: author's own research.

which include companies in the accommodation, catering, transport and sightseeing sector, register positive economic results. This positive economic effect of tourism is also believed to be driven by initiatives aimed at creating new tourist attractions, the development of the catering industry (especially micro companies) and the growing number of bedspaces, including hotel investments (see Table 3).

With regard to promotional activities, one should note the importance of mass tourism for the city's public image. Effectiveness of these activities is improved by employing marketing communication and various tools for the diffusion of information. According to the interviewed experts, the creation of the public image of tourism in the city should vary depending on the target group, e.g. 1) Poznań – the business centre, 2) the attractiveness of the city for foreign tourists, 3) creating the perception of Poznan as a tourist destination in the minds of its residents. The experts from Wrocław believed that the public image of the city can be improved by slogans such as "Wrocław – the city of encounters" as well the fact that the city has won a number of competitions, e.g. the European Capital of Culture. The promotion of the city's public image is supported by the tools of interactive marketing, such as sharing opinions and photos showing the sights of Wrocław on social media.

5. Conclusion

Given the rapid development of tourism, brought about by a number of different factors, it is becoming important to be able to reliably predict and responsibly plan its development in urban destinations. Phenomena associated with tourism should be predicted on the basis of detailed and systematic analyses of economic, social and environmental spheres where tourism plays an important role or which are related to tourism. Such predictions can be particularly important for diagnosing and defining the future function of mass tourism in a given place, can facilitate the future management of tourism and the development of investment strategies, tourism programmes and solutions that comply with the principles of sustainable development.

Data about the tourism industry in both cities in the form of basic indicators, supplemented by the analysis of expert opinions indicate that tourism is a sector of the city's economy that has a tangible effect on economic processes underlying the development of the tourism infrastructure, tourist attractions and a rise in employment. A higher level of tourist traffic observed in the two cities, for example in connection with large exhibition, sports or cultural events, is not perceived as an inconvenience and is not assessed negatively.

The results of the study indicate that although the development of tourism in Poznań and Wrocław is relatively less intensive than elsewhere in Europe, its management is based on the growth paradigm but recognizes the necessity of convince residents that they can share in the socio-economic benefits from the development of tourism.

With respect to Poznań and Wrocław, it is therefore more appropriate to talk about overtourism which affects specific places and locations at a particular time as a result of an excessive number of tourists relative to their limited carrying capacity.

In summary, modern management of urban tourism, which produces effects that satisfy the tourism industry, residents and tourists, has to consider a number of aspects including: 1) detailed and reliable assessment of tourism resources of a given destination and the current and future possibilities of exploiting and protecting them, 2) inclusion of the local community in the process of decision making concerning the development of tourism in general, and the tourism sector in the city and region in particularly, 3) stimulation of research aimed at creating new ideas that can be implemented to enable the sustainable development of tourism, 4) development of sustainable marketing that promotes local tourism assets, highlighting their real possibilities and limitations.

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Ekonomiczne i społeczne konsekwencje turystyki masowej w zarządzaniu miastem na przykładzie Poznania i Wrocławia

Streszczenie. W artykule przedstawiono problematykę turystyki masowej w dużych miastach wobec dyskusji związanej z jej następstwami, w tym szczególnie zjawisk niekorzystnych dla jakości życia społeczności lokalnych. Zaprezentowane aspekty analizy stanowią przykład operacjonalizacji wskaźnikowego podejścia do oceny stanu turystyki masowej oraz wskazania jej ekonomicznych i społecznych konsekwencji w analizowanych miastach, Poznaniu i Wrocławiu. Wyniki analizy materiałów statystycznych i pogłębionego wywiadu bezpośredniego przeprowadzonego wśród lokalnych ekspertów z zakresu turystyki pozwoliły sformułować wniosek, że orientacja na turystykę w zarządzaniu w mieście może stać się czynnikiem stymulującym pozytywne efekty ekonomiczne, a dostrzeganie wieloaspektowości jej oddziaływania na życie społeczne – przyczyniać się do tworzenia rozwiązań wpisujących się w koncepcję zrównoważonego rozwoju.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka masowa w miastach, wskaźniki oceny turystyki masowej w miastach, ekonomiczno-społeczne konsekwencje turystyki masowej w miastach