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Halyna Zubrytska*

Erasmus students as consumers of tourism services in Poland

Abstract. Tourism is one of the main factors that encourage students to participate in the Erasmus programme, and many Erasmus students are eager to travel while studying abroad. The article highlights an important segment of the Polish tourism market, namely foreign students enrolled in the Erasmus programme. The article aims to identify opportunities for the tourism industry associated with Erasmus students in Poland, taking into account experiences of other countries. The study is based on empirical data obtained from the Polish Tourism Organization and from Erasmus Family in Cordoba, a Spanish travel agency for the period 2015-2018. In addition, the author conducted a literature review, analysed relevant documents, and relied on her own observations. The growing socio-economic benefits of the Erasmus programme for countries participating in the programme stimulate competition between them in an attempt to attract more international students, where success of particular host countries and their educational institutions depends on a number of factors, including those associated with tourism. Significant competitive advantages can be achieved in this respect by combining the efforts of educational institutions and those responsible for tourism policy.

Keywords: tourism, Erasmus, Poland

JEL Codes: Z32, I25

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1. Introduction

The number of students participating in the Erasmus programme has significantly increased in recent years, which is not surprising given its status as the best known international education and exchange programme in the European Union (Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016, p. 86). The programme has brought important results not only for participants themselves but also for host universities and countries where they are located. "International education has the potential for hybridization with other segments of tourism and non-tourism sectors" (McGladdery & Lubbe, 2017, p. 319). Host countries benefit from international students paying for accommodation, food, entertainment and leisure services and, in some cases, tuition fees, which has an overall positive effect on the economy (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 95; Choudaha, 2019; OECD 2017, pp. 1-2; Riaño, Van Mol, & Raghuram, 2018, p. 283; Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1584; Tomasi, Paviotti, & Cavicchi, 2020, pp. 1-2). Students benefit not only from their studies but also from foreign experiences that contribute to their personal and professional growth. Many Erasmus students take the opportunity to visit local attractions or travel to other regions of the host country (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 95; Jamaludin et al., 2016, p. 1). In this way, the Erasmus programme promotes student mobility and is an important part of their travel experience (Huang, 2008, p. 1016).

In December 2020, the European Parliament reached an agreement to double the funding for the Erasmus+ programme for the period 2021-2027. Its total budget amounts to € 24.57 billion at current prices plus € 1.7 billion at 2018 prices. The new programme is expected to be much more inclusive than the current one (2014-2020) and will triple the number of participants to 12 million (Council of the European Union, 2020). These figures represent a significant improvement in mobility opportunities for European students and their impact on the economies of the EU countries.

The article aims to identify opportunities for the tourism industry associated with Erasmus students in Poland, taking into account experiences of other countries. The article consists of two main parts. The first one presents a review of existing studies indicating that Erasmus students are strongly interested in travel and leisure while studying abroad. The second part examines the significant impact of Erasmus students on the tourism industry in host countries. The article ends with concluding remarks and recommendations for further research.

2. Tourism as one of the main reasons why students participate in the Erasmus programme

Apart from the unquestionable role of the Erasmus programme in the formation of common European values and culture, the following benefits are usually emphasised: academic development, better career prospects and higher competitiveness in the labour market (Di Pietro, 2019, p. 9; Müller, 2020). One of the key issues in the successful implementation of the Erasmus programme is how to achieve its goals, which largely depend on immediate motives and needs of its participants.

In 2008, Ewa Krzaklewska identified two main trends that she regarded as having the biggest impact on students' motivation to participate in the Erasmus programme (Krzaklewska, 2008). The first one was a response to the growing competition in the labour market and a decrease in the number of available jobs in the globalized economy. Faced with these conditions, young people set themselves the goal of obtaining unique individual skills and professional competencies that could give them an advantage in finding a job. The second trend was the delayed onset of adulthood (going to work, starting a family, having a child). The postponement of adult responsibilities has given young people the freedom to experiment and make more choices in all areas of life, including leisure and travel. In fact, the idea that young people "should have fun and rest" was successfully combined with the concept of "competition for the future" (Krzaklewska, 2008). For many reasons, this model of Erasmus students' motivation is relevant in the present and is consistent with findings from other studies on the subject. A number of researchers analyse the motivation of Erasmus students in terms of the theory of migration, which is based on two main factors – push and pull (Krzaklewska, 2008; Lesjak et al., 2015; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002).

Push factors are internal motives that encourage students to study abroad. Some of the most powerful driving forces include (Unurlu, 2021, pp. 29-30):

– escape, i.e. a person's need to get away from everyday ordinary life;

– rest, i.e. a need to recuperate;

– search for new knowledge and experience, such as the need to learn and discover new things;

– socialization, such as meeting and communicating with new people.

Pull factors are related to characteristics of the destination, that is the hosting educational institution. They refer to aspects that make the host country attractive for international students (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p. 82). Six pull factors have been identified (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p. 83; Mazzarol, Kemp, & Savery, 1997):

– reputation of the host country, security, its general perception in the student's country of residence;

– personal recommendations from parents, relatives, friends and feedback from other students;

– cost of living, including travel costs;

– climate and living conditions in the destination country;

– geographical proximity of the country of potential destination to the student's home country;

– presence of the student's family or friends who live in the destination country.

Consequently, individual and socio-psychological needs of foreign students can be regarded as factors motivating students to study abroad, and the unique qualities of host countries and educational institutions determine the actual choice students make.

Given that foreign stays of Erasmus students are shorter than those of students seeking a full international degree, some researchers believe that initially their motives tend to be less professionally oriented (Findlay et al., 2010; Jamaludin et al., 2016, p. 2), arguing that students decide to participate in the Erasmus programme because of a new intercultural learning environment that enables travel, entertainment and adventure, recognising a special academic opportunity and, hoping for a unique social experience. In the study by Lesjak et al. (2015) the main reason for participation is professional and personal growth, while the choice of the destination is determined by its infrastructure and public image – the standard of life and lifestyle. The authors conclude that the decision to study abroad is driven by students' desire to grow personally and professionally, but the choice of a destination depends on general and tourism-related factors.

For example, a study by Christof Van Mol and Peter Ekamper shows that in the 2012-2013 academic year, of the 20 cities most frequently chosen by Erasmus students, only 5 had world-class universities (Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016, p. 88). In a survey of Erasmus students from the Romanian-American University (Bucharest, Romania) 59.4% of respondents said that had travelled more than 7 times during the semester, 21.9% had done so from 4 to 6 times, while 18.8% – from 1 to 3 times (Gheorghe, Moraru, & Anton, 2017, p. 69). In a survey of Erasmus students at Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain), 95.8% of respondents had made tourist trips to other cities in Galicia during their studies, and 78.4% had travelled outside the Autonomous Community of Galicia (Pawlowska & Roget, 2009, p. 12).

According to data provided by the travel agency Erasmus Family in Córdoba (Spain), in the academic year 2017-2018, Erasmus students used their services 2,557 times by taking part in 23 different trips and festivals organised in the Cordoba region and to other destinations in Spain, Portugal and Marocco. Since the total number of international Erasmus students studying at the *University* of

Córdoba in the academic year 2017-2018 was 543 (Diario Cordoba SAU, 2017), it can be assumed that travelling was a very popular leisure activity for the majority of Erasmus students.

The above studies provide evidence showing that tourism is an important factor motivating students to participate in the Erasmus programme and that many Erasmus students are eager to travel while studying abroad, thus representing an important segment of the tourism market in host countries.

3. The impact of Erasmus students on the tourism industries of host countries

Because of credit mobility that Erasmus students benefit from and their interest in travelling during their study abroad many researchers treat them as participating in education or academic tourism.

Credit mobility is "a limited period of study or traineeship abroad (in the framework of on-going studies at a home institution) for the purpose of gaining credits. After the mobility phase, students return to their home institution, where the credits should be recognised and they complete their studies" (European Union, 2020a).

The term 'education tourism' "covers those types of tourism which have as a primary motivation the tourist's engagement and experience in learning, self-improvement, intellectual growth and skills development. Education Tourism represents a broad range of products and services related to academic studies, skill enhancement holidays, school trips, sports training, career development courses and language courses, among others" (The World Tourism Organization, 2018, p. 52).

However, several authors (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 96; Bento, 2014, p. 614; Pawlowska & Roget, 2009, p. 1; Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1584; Unurlu, 2021, p. 23) note that international student mobility differs from educational tourism in that it involves:

– a longer period of stay at the destination;

– greater consumption of tourism products and services.

Because of these distinctive features of international student mobility, a more adequate term to describe it is 'academic tourism', which can be defined as "staying in institutions of higher education in places outside the usual visitor environment for a period of less than one year, the main purpose of which is to complete studies at the university level and / or attend language courses organized by these centers" (Martínez-Roget, Pawlowska, & Rodríguez, 2013, p. 1140).

However, considering Erasmus students exclusively in terms of educational or academic tourism is very problematic as it entails a motivational dichotomy between "tourism first" or "education first" (McGladdery & Lubbe, 2017, p. 323). It is therefore necessary to take into account the considerable impact of Erasmus students on the host country's tourism industry, as evidenced by the following studies:

– the economic impact of Erasmus students is comparable to that of traditional tourists (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 95; Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1585);

– longer stays of Erasmus students make tourism less dependent on seasonal fluctuations (Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1589);

– preferences of Erasmus students do not differ from those of other tourists (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 102; Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1589);

– recommendations made by Erasmus students on social networks, together with visits made by relatives and friends during their studies help to generate additional tourist traffic in the host country (Amaro et al., 2019, p. 102; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, p. 88-89; Polska Organizacja Turystyczna, 2011; Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1584). According to Pawlowska & Roget (2009, p. 14), one Erasmus student on average attracts 2.9 new tourists (2009, p. 14).

According to the data of Publications Office of the EU, in 2015-2018 Poland was one of the seven EU countries, which accepted more than 60% of all Erasmus students in the K-103 programme (Table 1). The ranking of countries with the biggest number of Erasmus programme participants in Poland is led by Turkey (26%, 2018), followed by Spain (23%, 2018), Italy (11%, 2018), France and Portugal (8%, 2018) (Table 2). It is noteworthy that in the period 2015-2018, every

Table 1. 7 EU countries which accepted over 60 of Erasmus students in 2015-2018 (K-103 program)

Receiving country	2015		2016		2017		2018	
	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students
Spain	14.7	44596	15.1	47138	15.3	49692	15.2	51058
Germany	11.0	33346	10.5	32876	10.0	32693	9.8	32855
United Kingdom	10.2	31067	10.0	31243	9.6	31396	8.9	29797
France	9.6	29068	8.9	27742	8.7	28476	8.8	29511
Italy	7.5	22785	8.0	25108	8.2	26704	8.4	28188
Poland	4.8	14616	5.1	16081	5.1	16613	5.2	17348
Netherlands	4.2	12771	4.5	13931	4.5	14637	4.6	15376

Source: based on European Union 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020b.

Table 2. Countries of origin of Erasmus students studying in Poland in 2015-2018 (K-103 program)

No.	Sending country	2015		2016		2017		2018	
		Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total
1	Turkey	3 804	26.03	4 202	26.13	4 596	27.67	4 510	26.00
2	Spain	3 314	22.67	3 597	22.37	3 634	21.87	4 046	23.32
3	Italy	1 261	8.63	1 390	8.64	1 685	10.14	1 906	10.99
4	France	1 266	8.66	1 481	9.21	1 459	8.78	1 399	8.06
5	Portugal	1 084	7.42	1 171	7.28	1 113	6.70	1 393	8.03
6	Germany	1 086	7.43	1 148	7.14	1 108	6.67	1 122	6.47
7	Romania	456	3.12	541	3.36	533	3.21	496	2.86
8	Greece	270	1.85	274	1.70	277	1.67	359	2.07
9	Slovakia	261	1.79	222	1.38	265	1.60	232	1.34
10	Czech Republic	228	1.56	304	1.89	250	1.50	227	1.31
11	Hungary	155	1.06	193	1.20	174	1.05	181	1.04
12	Bulgaria	168	1.15	200	1.24	204	1.23	175	1.01
13	Netherlands	181	1.24	163	1.01	194	1.17	154	0.89
14	United Kingdom	103	0.70	125	0.78	121	0.73	149	0.86
15	Croatia	179	1.22	172	1.07	168	1.01	146	0.84
16	Lithuania	184	1.26	174	1.08	144	0.87	142	0.82
17	Belgium	134	0.92	138	0.86	119	0.72	124	0.71
18	Latvia	65	0.44	91	0.57	80	0.48	92	0.53
19	Austria	89	0.61	92	0.57	101	0.61	75	0.43
20	Denmark	54	0.37	63	0.39	67	0.40	74	0.43
21	Finland	65	0.44	101	0.63	83	0.50	71	0.41
22	Slovenia	59	0.40	73	0.45	64	0.39	67	0.39
23	Ireland	27	0.18	27	0.17	25	0.15	41	0.24
24	Sweden	39	0.27	43	0.27	35	0.21	38	0.22
25	Norway	24	0.16	22	0.14	23	0.14	33	0.19
26	Malta	19	0.13	11	0.07	19	0.11	29	0.17
27	Estonia	17	0.12	25	0.16	26	0.16	25	0.14
28	North Macedonia	12	0.08	14	0.09	33	0.20	24	0.14
29	Cyprus	5	0.03	19	0.12	6	0.04	10	0.06
30	Iceland	1	0.01	2	0.01	6	0.04	5	0.03
31	Liechtenstein	2	0.01	2	0.01	1	0.01	2	0.01
32	Luxembourg	4	0.03	1	0.01	-		1	0.01

Source: based on European Union 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020b.

Table 3. Percentage of students participating in the Erasmus program who choose to study in Poland (K-103 program)

No.	Sending country	Total number of students	Total number of students in Poland	Percentage of total
1	Turkey	68 148	17 112	25.1
2	Portugal	37 748	4 761	12.6
3	Spain	162 821	14 591	9.0
4	Croatia	7 619	665	8.7
5	Bulgaria	10 115	747	7.4
6	Greece	21 453	1 180	5.5
7	Slovakia	15 179	980	6.5
8	North Macedonia	1 338	83	6.2
9	Romania	30 327	2 026	6.7
10	Malta	1 799	78	4.3
11	Italy	148 895	6 242	4.2
12	Hungary	17 047	703	4.1
13	Latvia	8 784	328	3.7
14	Liechtenstein	182	7	3.8
15	Slovenia	8 326	263	3.2
16	Czech Republic	30 329	1 009	3.3
17	Lithuania	17 592	644	3.7
18	France	181 067	5 605	3.1
19	Germany	164 975	4 464	2.7
20	Estonia	4 719	93	2.0
21	Denmark	17 397	258	1.5
22	Iceland	1 378	14	1.0
23	Cyprus	2 832	40	1.4
24	Belgium	37 042	515	1.4
25	Finland	23 384	320	1.4
26	Norway	9 977	102	1.0
27	Austria	28 375	357	1.3
28	Netherlands	55 979	692	1.2
29	Ireland	14 241	120	0.8
30	United Kingdom	67 026	498	0.7
31	Sweden	17 248	155	0.9
32	Luxembourg	2 238	6	0.3

Source: based on European Union 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020b.

4th student from Turkey and every 10th student from Portugal and Spain chose Poland as the country of study during their Erasmus programme (Table 3).

In 2015-2018, Poland had the third largest number of Erasmus students from Erasmus partner countries (K-107), though it was overtaken by France and Italy in 2019 (shaded areas in Table 4).

At the same time, Erasmus students' willingness to choose Polish universities coincides with preferences of traditional tourists. In the academic year 2012-2013, the 3 main tourist destinations in Poland were included in the TOP 50 EU countries most frequently chosen by Erasmus students: Warsaw (14th place, 2108 people), Krakow (27th place, 1553 people) and Wrocław (34th place, 1143 people) (Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016, p. 87).

Table 4. Countries hosting the largest number of Erasmus students
from countries participating in the Erasmus program in 2015-2018 (K-107 program)

Receiving country	2015		2016		2017		2018	
	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total	Number of students	Percentage of total
Germany	2617	14.1	3163	13.9	3626	13.7	2907	13.1
Spain	1973	10.6	2828	12.4	3212	12.1	2667	12.0
Poland	1780	9.6	2239	9.8	2381	9.0	1952	8.8
Italy	1650	8.9	2120	9.3	2365	8.9	1966	8.9
France	1551	8.3	1460	6.4	2359	8.9	2228	10.0

Source: based on European Union 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020b.

Although the number of Erasmus students in Poland is quite small relative to the total number of foreign tourists (around 0.1%) (Table 5), they end up spending much during their study period than foreign tourists. Assuming that:

– the minimum stay of an Erasmus student in Poland lasts one semester or 5 months;

– monthly expenses of an Erasmus student are limited to the amount of their scholarship, which is 300 euros (PLN 1284) per month;

– average expenses per student in 2018 would add up to PLN 6420, which is 3.5 times more than in the case of an average traditional tourist.

Calculations carried out in 2007 for the Autonomous Community of Galicia (Spain) showed that the direct economic impact of just one Erasmus student on the tourism industry could be equivalent to that of 80 traditional tourists (Rodríguez, Martínez-Roget, & Pawlowska, 2012, p. 1585).

Unfortunately, despite the significant economic impact of Erasmus students on the tourism industry, these issues are still poorly studied in Poland and certainly require additional research and efforts on the part of tourism policy actors.

Table 5. Foreigner's visitors and their expenses in 2015-2018

Year	Number of people in thousand	Number of nights during the holiday months spent in hotels and spas in million	Spending in PLN million	Average spending per 1 person in PLN
2015	16 728.2	13.8	28 097.6	1680
2016	17 471.3	15.6	31 709.9	1815
2017	18 257.8	16.7	32 767.9	1795
2018	19 622.8	17.7	34 524.7	1759

Source: based on publications of Statistics Poland about tourism in GUS 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019.

In 2011, the Polish Tourism Organization (POT) accepted Poland's Marketing Strategy for the tourism sector for 2012-2020, which considered Erasmus students as one of the target groups, which are described as promoters (ambassadors). They were viewed as an intermediate link that can be used to indirectly reach the final consumer in a much more effective way (Polska Organizacja Turystyczna, 2011, p. 47-48). As part of this strategy, in 2018-2019, POT organized and held a competition entitled „#ErasmusPolandTravel". Information about the competition was posted on POT's Facebook page (polska.travel) and in various open and closed social groups of Erasmus+ students in Poland. In the second year of the competition, the number of countries represented by participating students doubled. According to POT data, in 2019 1195 entries were received from students from 40 different countries in five categories #CitiesOfPoland, #NatureOfPoland, #FoodOfPoland, #ActivitiesInPoland and video. The entries were also posted on Instagram and reached 7.4 thousand Erasmus+ students, 10.6 thousand unique users of the POT website, 795 Facebook users and 1.6 thousand Instagram users.

However, in the absence of specific tourism products and services dedicated to the needs of Erasmus students, publicity for the tourism industry is ineffective and has only a short-term character (Panasiuk & Zubrytska, 2021, p. 18). The results of the #ErasmusPolandTravel competition indicate that there is a high demand from Erasmus students to study the culture and sights of Poland. Unfortunately, the Polish tourism industry does not offer any high-quality proposals to satisfy this demand. There are no travel agencies that specifically cater for this target group, like Erasmus Family Córdoba in Spain, in any of the major academic centres in Poland. Tourist trips undertaken by individual Erasmus students in Poland (even those organised by travel agencies) are relatively sporadic and do not contribute to generating new tourist traffic since they are not fully suited to the needs of Erasmus students.

4. Conclusions

Studies indicate that tourism is one of the main factors that encourages students to participate in the Erasmus programme, and this group can have a significant impact on the tourism industry of the host countries.

In 2015-2018, Poland ranked 6th in terms of the number of incoming Erasmus students. Unfortunately, this fact received little publicity, which may be one of the reasons the tourism industry did not adequately assess the potential of this target group and respond in a timely manner. The successful implementation of a marketing policy by the Polish Tourism Organization, which resulted in a larger number of participants in the second edition of the #ErasmusPolandTravel competition, is insufficient, since there are still no special offers specifically tailored to the needs of Erasmus students.

The key ones are likely to be the reputation of the host country and its universities, as well as personal references from former students. It can be assumed that universities in Poland, as regional educational centres of the Erasmus programme, can significantly affect the potential of tourist destinations (Borgioli & Manuelli, 2013; Matahir & Tang, 2017; Olszewski, 2021). Conversely, tourist destinations themselves can increase the attractiveness of choosing a university for study.

However, it is necessary to conduct further research aimed at understanding the socio-cultural and individual needs of Erasmus students, their expectations regarding educational institutions and leisure in Poland. This will provide evidence and help to develop tourism products and services tailored to the needs of Erasmus students.

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Studenci Erasmusa jako konsumenci usług turystycznych w Polsce

Streszczenie. Turystyka jest jednym z głównych atrakcyjnych czynników uczestnictwa studentów w programie Erasmus, a sami studenci są bardzo zainteresowani podróżowaniem podczas studiów za granicą. W artykule podjęto próbę zwrócenia uwagi na dość istotny dla polskiej branży turystycznej segment rynku – zagranicznych studentów uczestniczących w programie Erasmus. Artykuł ma na celu określenie znaczenia studentów Erasmusa w Polsce dla branży turystycznej, przy uwzględnieniu doświadczeń innych krajów. Wykorzystano dane empiryczne dotyczące Polski z Polskiej Organizacji Turystycznej oraz z biura podróży Erasmus Family Cordoba w Hiszpanii. Na potrzeby badań zastosowano następujące metody badawcze: krytyczną analizę literatury przedmiotu, analizę dokumentów, metodę operacji logicznych i obserwację uczestniczącą. Przedstawione dane empiryczne dotyczą okresu 2015-2018. Rosnące korzyści społeczno-ekonomiczne programu Erasmus prowadzą do dalszej silnej konkurencji między krajami UE w przyjmowaniu większej liczby studentów zagranicznych. W tych okolicznościach zdolność kraju przyjmującego i jego instytucji edukacyjnych do przyciągania większej liczby studentów zagranicznych w dużym stopniu zależy zarówno od czynników ogólnych, jak i turystycznych. Połączenie wysiłków instytucji edukacyjnych i podmiotów polityki turystycznej może pozwolić na osiągnięcie znaczących przewag konkurencyjnych.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka, Erasmus, Polska

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Leisure-time physical activity during the COVID-19 pandemic in the family context

Abstract. The study focused on the involvement of children and adults in family leisure activities during pandemic-related lockdowns in relation to the WHO's recommendations regarding physical activity. The study is based on data collected from adolescents (n = 89) and their parents (n = 73) selected from among inhabitants of Poznan and its neighbouring areas. Physical activity levels were determined using a Physical Activity Screening Measure. The results suggest a negative impact of the pandemic on leisure physical activity undertaken by members of the surveyed families. In order to effectively monitor the effects of the pandemic on family physical activity, it is necessary to develop experimental projects in the form of interventional programs.

Keywords: leisure, physical activity, family, pandemic

JEL Codes: I12; J13

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1. Introduction

Leisure is an important source of family cohesion, with the family being the first and most important educational environment for both parents and children (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991). Studies of family leisure have consistently

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demonstrated a positive relationship between family recreation and aspects of family functioning such as satisfaction and bonding. It has been suggested that in modern society leisure is the single most important force contributing to the development of cohesive, healthy relationships between husbands and wives and between parents and their children, yet the nature of family leisure relationships remains poorly understood. Leisure-time physical activity (LTPA) is essential for health and is one of the most important components of total physical activity (PA) (Badicu & Campa, 2021; Fleming & Cavanagh; 2012; Pluta et al., 2020; Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines PA as "any bodily movement produced by skeletal muscles that requires energy expenditure" (World Health Organization, 2020a). PA refers to all movement including movement during leisure time, commuting, or work involving PA. Both moderate- and high-intensity PA improves health. WHO recommends that children and adolescents aged 5-17 should engage in at least 60 minutes of moderate to vigorous intensity physical activity a day. Adults aged 18-64 years should do at least 150-300 minutes of moderate intensity aerobic PA, or at least 75-150 minutes of vigorous aerobic PA, or an equivalent combination of moderate and vigorous activity throughout the week. Adults should also do muscle-strengthening activities at moderate or greater intensity that involve all major muscle groups on two or more days a week, as these provide additional health benefits (World Health Organization, 2020a).

LTPA is a cornerstone of health and well-being. Availability of safe, accessible, and fun options for PA is essential to ensure positive health outcomes for the nation's children, adolescents and their parents. With supportive environments, all family members can be active in schools, childcare and early childhood education settings, afterschool programs, and communities. LTPA levels vary depending on the socioeconomic status, which is particularly important in the context of families. Children with parents who have lower incomes tend to spend more time engaged in sedentary behaviours, such as watching television. They also have lower non-school physical activity levels than children whose parents have higher median incomes. These patterns reflect disparities in the environment, such as insufficient facilities, lack of interventional programmes, and safety concerns.

A number of researchers believe that strong social ties are the main determinant of LTPA in families (Bauer et al., 2008; Erkelenz et. al., 2014; Pluta et al., 2017; Wu et al., 2020). The most important sources of support are natural and non-institutional, such as family, friends and social groups one is a member of. Scientists from many countries have observed a positive relationship between family involvement in leisure time and important aspects of the modern family (including Zabriskie & McCormick, 2003; Zabriskie, Aslan, & Williamson, 2018). However, environmental, cultural and social traditions are important variables that should be taken into account when explaining the phenomenon of family leisure time. There are reasons to assume that these variables can significantly shape individual and group values, attitudes, tendencies and behaviours of family members in their leisure time. Regular LTPA, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, have been shown to counteract diabetes and obesity, reduce hypertension and the risk of cardio-vascular diseases and some cancers as well as provide other health benefits (Chen et al., 2020; Hudson & Sprow, 2020; Trost et al., 2001). If children are to lead a physically active lifestyle, parents' involvement and support (in the case of adolescents) are essential (Edwardson & Gorely, 2010; Mactavish & Schleien, 2004; Ortega et al., 2008). Physical distancing measures during the COVID-19 pandemic have dramatically altered adolescents' and parents' opportunities to be physically active.

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused a significant disruption in the lives of millions of people, including children, adolescents, and adults. It has affected social activities and public life around the globe with Poland being no exception. The COVID-19 pandemic highlights the growing problem of PA deficiency and indicates a strong relationship with non-communicable diseases (NCDs) (Zhang, 2020). Lockdowns imposed by national governments have been particularly frustrating for the physically active part of the population who have been forced to reduce their daily PA. For children and teenagers, PA is closely linked with school-related activities, active transport, and participation in sports. With the closure of schools during the COVID-19 pandemic and physical education classes becoming inaccessible following the switch to online teaching, PA in the population could be further compromised. All in all, the COVID-19 pandemic has changed the way people approach PA. Many researchers have pointed to a decrease in PA levels due to social distancing measures and the fact that PA may help reduce the mental health burden associated with the COVID-19 outbreak (Caputo & Reichert, 2020; Drygas, Zdrojewska, & Gajewski, 2021).

In particular, the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated restrictions have brought about substantial psychosocial effects, for example an increased prevalence of anxiety and stress (Salari et al., 2020), which PA is known to ameliorate (Stubbs et al., 2017). Consequently, researchers have emphasized the importance of being physically active during the pandemic (Chen et al., 2020; Hudson & Sprow, 2020; Lippi, Henry, & Sanchis-Gomar, 2020; Ricci et al., 2020; Sallis et al., 2020). In 2020, studies from different countries (e.g., Belgium, Canada, Greece, USA, Australia) analyzed changes in PA behavior as a result of various COVID-19 restrictions introduced by their governments. PA was shown to be lower during COVID-19 restrictions compared to the time before restrictions were put in place (López-Bueno, Calatayud, & Ezzatvar, 2020; Mutz & Gerke, 2020; Schnitzer et al., 2020; Stanton et al., 2020).

The aim of this study is to determine the level of PA undertaken by members of families from Poznań during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study was intended to verify the following research hypotheses:

1. The level of PA in families does not meet the recommended WHO criteria. Sedentary activities predominate among the subjects.

2. There is a relationship between parental support and the level of LTPA undertaken in the family during the pandemic.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Participants

A non-probability sample of respondents was selected using the following criteria: the form of custody over the child (families), the age of children (over 10), and the place of residence. The survey was conducted between September 2020 and April 2021. All participants were informed about the study's aims, risks and benefits, and parental consent was obtained with respect to adolescent participants.

89 children aged 10 or older (53 girls, aged M = 14.8±2.58[1] years, and 36 boys, aged M = 14.1±2.524) from 73 families living in the city of Poznan and its neighbouring area participated in the study. The group of parents included 73 respondents (64 mothers aged M = 56.2±12.9 years and 9 fathers, aged M = 62.8±7.2 years).

Most of the parents had vocational education, and only 15% had higher education. The majority of families lived in Poznań (72%), while the rest in smaller towns or rural areas. The responding parents were classified into socio-economic groups, based on their social economic status (Baker, 2014). The highest socio-economic status was assigned to a group of highly qualified professionals , the lowest – to employees performing simple work. There was also a group of economically inactive parents (retired, studying or taking care of their home). The majority of adolescent respondents were economically inactive (53%), while the rest worked as technical staff, were employed in services, or performed simple work. 40% of adolescent respondents attended elementary school (40%) and lived in Poznań (70.8%), while 10% lived in rural areas.

2.2. The research procedure

Two questionnaires were used to measure factors associated with leisure-time activity in families. The first one was addressed to parents, the second was administered to children in the sampled families. The questionnaires were prepared on

[1] Mean ± SD

the basis of the Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) questionnaire (Currie et al., 2008; Mazur & Małkowska-Szkutnik, 2018). The questionnaire for parents consisted of 37 questions about demographic variables and ways of organizing leisure time in the family, the level of PA, as well as the external sources of financing used for this purpose. The questionnaire for children consisted of 51 questions concerning the family structure, amount of time spent together, physical and sedentary activities. There were also questions about forms of physical and cultural activity, entertainment and creative recreation, as well as extracurricular activities undertaken by the respondents. Both questionnaires were tested during a pilot study.

In order to determine the level of PA undertaken by family members and the level of sedentary activity, the following indicators were used: MVPA (Moderate to Vigorous Physical Activity), VPA (Vigorous Physical Activity), with a distinction between VPA1 (i.e. frequency – number of days) and VPA2 (intensity – number of hours) (Prochaska, Sallis, & Long, 2001). The main reason for using these measures was their ease of application in lockdown conditions, when all students were obliged to work remotely from home. In addition, this measure was also used in an earlier study in Poland (Bronikowska et al., 2021). In general, these measures are used to count the average number of days per week when respondents reported having spent at least 60 minutes doing various forms of PA and observed an increased heart rate or experienced a feeling of shortness of breath (higher breathing frequency). Children and their parents were asked to provide a truthful response to the following questions:

Q1: Over the past 7 days, on how many days have you been physically active for a total of at least 60 min per day?

Q2: Over a typical week, on how many days are you physically active for a total of at least 60 min per day?

Answers to these questions were used to calculate an MVPA index according to the formula originally presented by Prochaska, Sallis and Long (2001): MVPA = = (Q1 + Q2)/2, where MVPA = PA index; Q1= number of physically active days during the past 7 days; Q2= number of physically active days during a typical week. Two questions were used to determine VPA: Q1. How often do you usually do after-school physical when exercise vigorously enough to experience shortness of breath or sweating? The following response options could be chosen: daily (7), 4-6 times a week (6), 2-3 times a week (5), once a week (4), once a month (3), less than once a month (2), never (1) (VPA1). Q2. How many hours of your after-school leisure time per week do you usually spend exercising vigorously enough to experience shortness of breath or sweating? The following response options could be chosen: I do not exercise at all (1), about half an hour a day (2), about 1 hour (3), about 2-3 hours (4), about 4-6 hours (5), 7 hours and more (6) (VPA2).

Numerical values assigned to the responses (in brackets) were used to calculate the overall PA index for each respondent (the index of general physical activity). The combined score for the four questions was divided by the maximum number of points that could be scored for each question. The resulting index was multiplied by 100 to obtain a standardized score.

In addition, the Body Mass Index (BMI) (Cole & Lobstein, 2012) was calculated for all adolescent respondents, who were also asked to assess their family's wealth (Perceived Family Wealth) on a 5-point scale: very rich, rather rich, average, rather poor, very poor (Mazur & Woynarowska, 2004).

When analysing initiatives regarding the planning of leisure time in the studied families, attention was also paid to family relations and parental support given to children. The perceived level of this support was assessed using the Perceived Social Support Scale – Family Subscale (Canty-Mitchell & Zimet, 2000; Pluta et al., 2020; Zimet et al., 1988). In the questionnaire children were asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with the following sentences: "My family tries to help me very much"; "My family gives me the emotional help and support I need"; "My family is happy to help me make my own decisions"; "I can talk about my problems with my family". In the actual study, a revised version of the questionnaire was used, which included an introductory note explaining that parental support refers only to matters related to of family recreational physical activity. The respondents answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "I completely disagree" to "I completely agree" (Cheng & Chan, 2004; Nakigudde et al., 2009). Using the numerical values (0 – completely disagree, 4 – completely agree) assigned to each option, a standardized score ranging from 0-100 was calculated (by adding points obtained by each responding adolescent and dividing them by the maximum number of points and multiplying by 100). The results were interpreted as follows: a score between 0 and 65 represented a poor level of perceived support, 66-85 – a medium level of support, and 86-100 – a high level of support (Mazur, 2013).

2.3. Statistical tests

The following statistical tests were used to evaluate the relationship between the variables: the significance of differences between two rank or quantitative variables was tested using the Mann-Whitney U test; the significance of differences between more than two mean values was checked using the Kruskal-Wallis test; the significance of differences between qualitative (nominal) variables was verified using the chi square test of independence. Correlations between the variables were tested using the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. All tests were performed at the significance level of $p = 0.05$. The calculations were made with the SPSS software.

2.4. Ethical considerations

The survey was conducted in compliance with the Declaration of Helsinki and was approved by the local ethics committee (No. 1075/15). The survey protocol was also approved by the Board of Ethics of Poznan University School of Physical Education. Participation in the survey was voluntary, and respondents were informed that they were free to refuse to talk about particular topics or to end their interview at any time. Confidentiality was maintained by using pseudonyms and changing identifying information. Participants were offered a copy of the final research report.

3. Results

3.1. The level of PA reported by family members

The mean value of the MVPA index in the group of parents was 2.9±2.54 (3.0±2.54 for women, 2.0±2.45 for men). 24.6% of the parents did not undertake at least 60 minutes of moderate PA on any of the last seven days. 52% of the parents spent three days a week (MVPA = 3) doing moderate PA. 39% of respondents engaged in moderate PA five days a week (MVPA = 5); this level of PA was reported by 42% of female parents and 14% of male parents. Only 12% of parents undertook moderate PA every day within the last seven days. The results are presented in Table 1.

The recommendation to engage in physical activity at least twice a week, for at least two hours, was met by only 10% of parents, all of whom were women. The mean value of the general index of PA for the parents was 33±26.86 points (Table 2).

Table 1. Parents who spent the recommended amount of time doing moderate physical activity (MVPA)

Parents	MVPA = 3		MVPA = 5		MVPA = 7	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Total	36	52.2	27	39.1	8	11.6
Women	34	54.8	26	41.9	7	11.3
Men	2	28.6	1	14.3	1	14.3

Source: author's own research.

Table 2. The index of general physical activity for the parents

Parents	Mean	SD*	Median	Mode	Min.	Max.
Total	33.0	26.86	33.3	0.0	0.0	94.4
Women	33.6	26.81	30.6	0.0	0.0	94.4
Men	27.8	28.87	33.3	33.3	0.0	83.3

* SD – standard deviation

Source: author's own research.

Statistical analysis did not show any significant relationships between the level of PA and the parents' BMI index. Similarly, so significant relationships were observed between the occurrence of overweight and obesity and the fact of engaging in moderate and vigorous physical activity according to the recommended criteria, or between the values of the MVPA, VPA indices and the index of general physical activity.

Less than 50% of adolescent respondents spent the recommended amount of time doing moderate physical activity, i.e. at least 60 minutes five days a week (Table 3).

Vigorous PA was undertaken every day by 15% of the adolescents in the survey. 51% of them engaged in vigorous exercise at least twice a week, 32% exercised at least four times a week.

Less than 30% of adolescent respondents engaged in moderate or vigorous physical activity with the recommended frequency, i.e. at least twice a week for at least 2 hours.

The mean value of the general index of PA for adolescent respondents was 52±23.94 points. Higher index values were recorded for boys (58.8 points) than for girls (47.4 points) (Table 4).

Table 3. Adolescent respondents who spent the recommended amount of time doing moderate activity [%]

Adolescent respondents	MVPA = 5	MVPA = 7
Total	45	18
Girls	42	13
Boys	50	25
Respondents aged 10-15	51	24
Respondents older than 15	37	11

Source: author's own research.

Table 4. The index of general physical activity for adolescent respondents

Adolescent respondents	Mean	SD*	Median	Mode	Min.	Max.
Total	52.0	23.94	55.6	38.9	0.0	100.0
Girls	47.4	21.17	44.4	38.9	5.6	88.9
Boys	58.8	26.37	61.1	38.9	0.0	100.0
Respondents aged 10-15	51.9	24.94	55.6	38.9	0.0	100.0
Respondents older than 15	52.2	22.87	52.8	44.4	5.6	94.4

* SD – standard deviation

Source: author's own research.

Regardless of age, most adolescent respondents had normal body weight. In the group of younger children, less than 10% were underweight, 19.6% were overweight, and 3.9% were obese. Among older children, body weight deficiency was observed for 21.1% of the respondents, overweight for 13.2%, and obesity for 2.6%.

The analysis showed statistically significant relationships between the children's BMI and their reported level of moderate PA. High values of the MVPA index correlated with higher values of the BMI (p = 0.033), which means that children with higher BMI were more likely to undertake moderate PA. Significant relationships were not observed with regard to vigorous PA or children's sex (Table 5).

Statistical analysis showed no statistically significant relationship between the prevalence of overweight and obesity in children and the values of the MVPA, VPA indices and the index of general PA. Statistically significant correlations were observed between the nutritional status and the fact of engaging in moderate PA every day (MVPA = 7). The largest number of children who met this recommendation had normal body weight, followed by overweight (Table 6).

Table 5. The relationship between children's BMI and their level of physical activity

BMI / PA indicators	Correlation coefficient	Significance (two-sided)
MVPA	**0.23**	**0.033**
VPA1	–0.06	0.601
VPA2	0.06	0.589
General PA index	0.11	0.311

Source: author's own research.

Table 6. The relationship between the fact of engaging in daily moderate PA and the IOTF BMI cut-offs

Respondents' weight category	Number and percentage of respondents	
	who did not engage in daily moderate PA	who engaged in daily moderate PA
Underweight	13 17.8%	0 0.0%
Normal body weight	50 68.5%	8 50.0%
Overweight	8 11.0%	7 43.8%
Obesity	2 2.7%	1 6.3%
Chi square test of independence	**χ^2 = 12.39; *p* = 0.006**	

Source: author's own research.

Another aspect analysed in the study was the relationship between the levels of PA for the parents and their children. A statistically significant relationship was found between values of the VPA2 index for parents and values of the MVPA index for their children. In other words, parents who spent more hours doing vigorous PA had children with higher values of the MVPA index (Table 7).

Table 7. The relationship between children's level of PA (by sex) and their parents' level of PA

Children \ Parents		Correlation coefficient			Significance (two-sided)		
		MVPA	VPA1	VPA2	MVPA	VPA1	VPA2
Girls	MVPA	0.13	**0.33**	**0.29**	0.378	**0.018**	**0.045**
	VPA1	–0.05	–0.02	0.04	0.721	0.864	0.796
	VPA2	0.08	0.01	0.06	0.573	0.918	0.661
Boys	MVPA	0.14	0.05	0.09	0.437	0.791	0.599
	VPA1	–0.19	–0.09	–0.03	0.282	0.625	0.874
	VPA2	–0.09	–0.08	0.05	0.608	0.643	0.765

Source: author's own research.

3.2. Parental support regarding the planning of children's leisure time activity

As regards parental involvement in the planning of their children's leisure time in the surveyed families, it was found that almost half of the children (47%) reported receiving a high level of support from their parents, 36% reported an average level of support, and the remaining 17% assessed the level of support as poor. The statistical analysis revealed that the more parental support a child received, the more likely he or she was to participate with their parents in almost all the leisure activities listed. These results were found to be statistically significant (Table 8).

Table 8. The relationship between leisure activities undertaken by the family and perceived social support received by children

Activities	Correlation coefficient	Significance (two-sided)
We watch TV or movies together	–0.32	0.002
We eat meals together	–0.32	0.002
We play games at home	–0.31	0.003
We go for walks together	–0.36	0.001
We visit different places together	–0.29	0.006
We visit relatives and friends together	–0.21	0.051
We play sports together	–0.23	0.032
We sit and talk together	–0.31	0.003

Source: author's own research.

4. Discussion

The aim of this study was to analyse the level of PA in members of Polish families during lockdown. It was hypothesised that the level of PA in families during the pandemic was below that recommended by WHO and that the respondents would report high levels of sedentary behaviour. Average values of the MVPA index calculated for the parents in general and for female parents correspond to the criterion of moderate PA undertaken 3 days a week.

The results presented in the study confirm the existence of relationships between the parents' level of PA, as measured by the VPA index, and their engagement in certain forms of physical recreation. No statistically significant relationships were found between the parents' BMI and their level of PA.

The mean value of the MVPA index in the group of adolescent respondents was 4 days. The latest research by HBSC (Bronikowska et al., 2021; Mazur & Małkowska-Szkutnik, 2018) indicates that only a small percentage of teenagers in Poland engage in physical activity, either moderate or vigorous, with the recommended frequency. The frequency of PA in the HBSC study was found to be significantly related to the sex and age of the adolescent respondents. Recommended frequency of moderate PA (MVPA) was reported by only 17.2%, which is 7 percentage points fewer than in the previous round of the HBSC survey conducted in 2014. In the 2014 survey, MVPA at the recommended level was undertaken by almost 5% more boys than girls. The number of teenagers who engaged in daily PA was found to decrease with age. Intensive PA, in accordance with WHO recommendations (at least 4 times a week), was undertaken by a third of the respondents. The percentage of adolescents who were physically active with the recommended frequency also decreased with age. Girls tend to fare worse than boys, not only in Poland but also in the USA (Davison & Jago, 2009), and this unfavourable pattern tends to strengthen with age. Moreover, more than two thirds of young people in Europe may not have enough physical activity (Dumith et al., 2011; Exel et al., 2018).

Data collected in the survey described in the article provided interesting insights about relationships between the level of PA undertaken by children and their parents. Children whose parents engaged in more vigorous PA were more likely to engage in moderate PA. Higher values of the MVPA index were calculated for girls whose parents engaged in vigorous PA more frequently.

The author assumed that parents were the main initiators of leisure activities undertaken in families during the pandemic period. Parents' levels of LTPA are generally believed to be among the strongest determinants of their children's physical activity. Several studies of school-aged children, based on self-reporting or parental reporting of PA have found positive correlations between LTPA of family members (Griffith et al., 2007; Welk, Wood, & Morss, 2003). Parents play an important role in shaping children's health behaviours and can do so by setting a good example (i.e. engaging in LTPA behaviours observed by children – doing things together), which increases the likelihood that children will emulate their parents' actions (Griffith et al., 2007; Tate et al., 2015; Trost et al., 2003; Trost, McIver, & Pate, 2005). On the other hand, parents can also be the primary inhibitors of their children's participation in LTPA (Beets, Cardinal, & Alderman, 2010), and there are a number of direct and indirect ways in which they can reinforce their children's negative patterns of leisure-time behaviours (Cheatom, 2014). All of the parents in the survey claimed that they encouraged their children to participate in their leisure time activities. Adolescent respondents' scores on the Perceived Social Support Scale revealed a correlation between the amount of support received from the parents and children taking up leisure time activities. Children who felt a higher level of support in the family were significantly more likely to participate in almost all activities undertaken by their parents/the rest of the family. While parents can be viewed as initiators of leisure time activities, children's involvement in leisure activities depends on the level of family support they experience. Studies by Wilson and Dollman (2007) and World Health Organization (2020b, c) show that the fact of parents engaging in PA together with their adolescents has a considerable impact on the level of LTPA undertaken by adolescents.

This study is not without certain limitations. The main one is the relatively small number of respondents who agreed to participate in the survey. Moreover, although our PA data were collected using a validated questionnaire, they were self-reported. However, they were found to be consistent with data collected using other research tools.

5. Conclusions

The results of the study described in the article suggest that parents need to make a greater effort to motivate young people to take up PA and support them in their activities, especially during lockdowns. To prevent any further decline in the level of PA undertaken by young people and their parents, a supportive environment around PA must be created. The findings from this study suggest that any future interventional projects regarding LTPA undertaken by children should include the family as an important source of social support in the promotion of general PA. Future research should focus on a longitudinal validation of the casual relationships observed in the presented study. Also, the reported findings should be verified through representative surveys involving bigger samples.

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Rekreacyjna aktywność fizyczna w rodzinie w czasie pandemii COVID-19

Streszczenie. Badania zostały przeprowadzone z perspektywy dzieci i dorosłych w kontekście podejmowania rodzinnych zajęć rekreacyjnych podczas pandemii COVID-19, w odniesieniu do spełnienia zaleceń Światowej Organizacji Zdrowia w zakresie aktywności fizycznej. Grupa badana składała się z młodzieży ($n = 89$) i rodziców ($n = 73$) pochodzących z miasta Poznania i okolic. Poziomy aktywności fizycznej określano za pomocą miary przesiewowej zwanej miarą przesiewową aktywności fizycznej. Uzyskane wyniki pokazują negatywny wpływ pandemii na aktywność fizyczną w czasie wolnym podejmowaną przez członków badanych rodzin. Istnieje potrzeba opracowania eksperymentalnych projektów w postaci programów interwencyjnych, aby skutecznie monitorować wpływ pandemii na aktywność fizyczną rodzin.

Słowa kluczowe: rekreacja, czas wolny, aktywność fizyczna, rodzina, pandemia

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Zróżnicowanie zachowań zdrowotnych młodzieży na tle warunków życia i percepcji środowiska miejsca zamieszkania

Streszczenie. Zdrowie stanowi najcenniejszą wartość osobistą i społeczną. W obszarze badań nad zachowaniami zdrowotnymi coraz większe znaczenie nadaje się czynnikom ekonomiczno-społecznym, związanym z zamożnością, pozycją społeczną i kapitałem społecznym. Przypuszcza się, że nierówności społeczne mogą w istotny sposób bezpośrednio lub pośrednio oddziaływać na zdrowie młodzieży i na jej przyszłość. Celem opisanego badania było zidentyfikowanie zależności między zachowaniami sprzyjającymi zdrowiu i ryzykownymi dla zdrowia deklarowanymi przez młodzież a warunkami życia i środowiskiem lokalnym. Przedstawiona analiza opiera się na danych uzyskanych za pomocą badania ankietowego przeprowadzonego na celowej próbie uczniów w 34 szkołach we Wrocławiu. W ocenie zachowań zdrowotnych posłużono się: Międzynarodowym Kwestionariuszem Zachowań Zdrowotnych Młodzieży Szkolnej HBSC (*Health Behaviour in School-aged Children*) o potwierdzonej trafności i rzetelności. Zróżnicowanie wybranych zachowań zdrowotnych odniesiono do zasobów materialnych rodziny określonych na podstawie skali FAS (*Family Affluence Scale*), występowania problemów w środowisku lokalnym, a także subiektywnym poziomie kapitału społecznego w badanym środowisku. Z przeprowadzonych badań wynika, że wrocławska młodzież pochodząca z rodzin o wyższym poziomie zamożności mniej czasu wolnego poświęca na oglądanie telewizji, granie w gry komputerowe czy korzystanie z Internetu. Wyższy poziom zamożności rodziny mierzony na skali FAS nie zawsze był skorelowany z zachowaniami sprzyjającymi zdrowiu. Młodzież z rodzin o najniższym poziomie zamożności najczęściej deklarowała niespożywanie alkoholu. Wysoki postrzegany poziom kapitału społecznego w środowisku lokalnym okazał się istotnie skorelowany z zalecanym poziomem codziennej aktywności fizycznej. Ponadto, im wyższy był postrzegany przez nastoletnich respondentów poziom kapitału

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społecznego, tym częściej deklarowali oni, że palą papierosy. Stopień nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym nie był istotnie skorelowane z zachowaniami zdrowotnymi

Słowa kluczowe: zdrowie, młodzież, aktywność fizyczna, warunki życia, alkohol, palenie tytoniu

Kody JEL: I12, I14, I30

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1. Wstęp

Zdrowie stanowi największą wartość w życiu człowieka. Podejmowanie świadomych działań pomaga je chronić, uczyć lub promować zdrowy tryb życia. Trudno się zgodzić z opinią, że zdrowie jest tylko genetyczną czy biologiczną właściwością, niezależną od ludzkich zachowań bądź czynników społecznych lub ekonomicznych. Zachowania obejmują ogół złożonych i celowych reakcji, które występują bardzo często pod wpływem bodźców otoczenia lub czynników wewnętrznych ludzkiego organizmu. Na zdrowie nastoletniej młodzieży przede wszystkim oddziałuje otoczenie (rodzina, szkoła, rówieśnicy) i styl życia (Mazur i in., 2011a).

Koncepcję czynników wpływających na zdrowie w 1974 r. przedstawił kanadyjski minister zdrowia Marc Lalonde (1974). W 1995 r. została ona wzbogacona o ich szacunkowy, procentowy udział (Wysocki i Miller 2003). W Polsce przyjęte w poszczególnych grupach czynników wpływających na zdrowie wartości zostały przedstawione w Narodowym Programie Zdrowia na lata 2007-2015. Grupę pierwszą stanowi opieka zdrowotna (10%) z jej organizacją, dostępnością, a także jakością świadczeń medycznych. Do drugiej grupy należą czynniki genetyczne (20%), warunkujące dziedziczne predyspozycje do wystąpienia problemów zdrowotnych. Kolejna grupa to środowisko fizyczne (20%) wraz ze środowiskiem naturalnym, a także szkołą i zakładem pracy. Największe (50%) znaczenie dla zdrowia człowieka ma styl życia, czyli aktywność fizyczna (AF), sposób odżywiania, umiejętność radzenia sobie ze stresem, stosowanie używek (nikotyna, alkohol, środki psychoaktywne) (Narodowy Program Zdrowia na lata 2007-2015). W tej właśnie sferze człowiek może podejmować działania korzystne dla zdrowia – zachowania prozdrowotne, określane także „prozdrowotnym stylem życia".

Kryterium podziału zachowań prozdrowotnych stanowią zachowania w odniesieniu do trzech płaszczyzn zdrowia. Pierwsza nawiązuje do zdrowia fizycznego i obejmuje wszelkie formy aktywności wpływające bezpośrednio na stan fizyczny organizmu, takie jak: aktywność fizyczna, dbałość o higienę ciała, racjonalne odżywianie, unikanie używek (tytoń, alkohol, narkotyki), hartowanie sprzyjające w podnoszeniu odporności organizmu na szkodliwe bodźce, sen. Następne kryterium nawiązuje do zdrowia psychicznego: radzenia sobie z problemami i stresem, samoakceptacji, wiary we własne siły, optymizmu, wysokiej samooceny. Trzecia płaszczyzna odnosi się do zdrowia społecznego i uwzględnia: umiejętne kształtowanie prawidłowych relacji społecznych, interpersonalnych, dotyczących zarówno relacji w rodzinie, jak i szeroko pojętej społeczności (Jacennik, 2008; Woynarowska, 2010).

W dużej mierze pozytywne wzory zachowań zdrowotnych nabywane są w procesie socjalizacji pierwotnej w wychowaniu szkolnym. Służy temu edukacja zdrowotna prowadzona w placówkach edukacyjnych (Woynarowska, 2021; Woynarowska i Małkowska-Szkutnik 2017). Jest ona realizowana podczas różnych zajęć edukacyjnych, m.in. podczas lekcji wychowania fizycznego (Nałęcz, 2017; Warchoł, 2016), a treści z nią związane występują w programach nauczania wychowania fizycznego (Plichcińska, 2019). W edukacji prozdrowotnej na lekcjach wychowania fizycznego szczególną rolę odgrywa aktywność fizyczna (AF). WHO (2020) określa optymalny poziom AF dla grupy dzieci i młodzież w wieku od 5 do 17 lat. W ciągu tygodnia jest to co najmniej 60 minut dziennie AF o umiarkowanej lub dużej intensywności, głównie aerobowy wysiłek fizyczny, a także 3 razy w tygodniu ćwiczenia wzmacniające mięśnie i kości.

W aspekcie aktywności fizycznej można dostrzec kształtowanie się postaw prozdrowotnych i prospołecznych (Gracz i Sankowski, 2007). Istnieją dowody, że aktywność fizyczna rodziców jest związana z mniejszym nasileniem zachowań szkodzących zdrowiu dzieci (Bucksch i in., 2018; Kopcakova i in., 2017). Poprzez osobisty przykład, konsekwentną decyzyjność w obszarze racjonalnego zagospodarowania czasu wolnego rodzice mogą skutecznie wpłynąć na zmniejszenie występowania zachowań sedenteryjnych u dziecka (Kałamacka, 2013; Klimas, 2016).

W wieku dojrzewania niejednokrotnie pojawia się pokusa podejmowania zachowań ryzykownych dla zdrowia, które stanowią przyczynę poważnych dolegliwości zdrowotnych (Klimas, 2016; Kubiak i Mickiewicz, 2009). Z niepokojem obserwuje się rosnące zainteresowanie zachowaniami ryzykownymi u 13-15-latków (Currie i in., 2012; Inchley i in., 2016). Do najczęstszych zachowań ryzykownych w tak młodej grupie należą: picie napojów alkoholowych, palenie tytoniu, spożywanie niedozwolonych substancji, ryzykowne zachowania seksualne, nieprawidłowa dieta i siedzący tryb życia. Większą skłonność do podejmowania zachowań ryzykownych wykazuje młodzież, która jest bardziej podatna na wpływ wzorców przekazywanych przez osoby dorosłe: rodziców, rówieśników oraz media (Gajewski, 2011a; Jackson i in., 2012; Klimas, 2016). Szczególną uwagę należy zwrócić na silne oddziaływanie grupy rówieśniczej, gdyż w danym aspekcie występują liczne związki z zachowaniami szkodliwymi – spożywaniem niedozwolonych substancji czy siedzącym trybem życia (Lazzeri i in., 2014). Wspólne eksperymentowanie z zakazanymi substancjami niejednokrotnie jest postrzegane przez młodzież jako warunek socjalizacji, a także sposób na spędzanie czasu wolnego (Jackson i in., 2012).

W badaniach nad uwarunkowaniami zachowań zdrowotnych coraz większe znaczenie nadaje się czynnikom ekonomiczno-społecznym, związanym zarówno z zamożnością, pozycją społeczną, jak i kapitałem społecznym – czynniki te traktowane są jako podstawowe zmienne objaśniające lub jako niezbędne zmienne modyfikujące inne badane zależności (Mazur i in., 2011a). Warto przyjrzeć się zjawisku zróżnicowania zachowań zdrowotnych na tle warunków życia i percepcji środowiska miejsca zamieszkania młodego pokolenia. Nierówności społeczne mogą w istotny sposób bezpośrednio lub pośrednio oddziaływać na zdrowie poprzez: złe warunki życia, wzmożony stres, zróżnicowanie szans i częstszą ekspozycję na zachowania ryzykowne (Mazur i in., 2011a). Status materialny rodziny silnie determinuje zdrowie nastolatków: kształtuje zachowania zdrowotne w zakresie odżywiania, może również znacząco zwiększyć lub zmniejszyć udział w zajęciach charakteryzujących się małym wydatkiem energii, ponadto warunkuje dostęp do opieki zdrowotnej (Dudek i Kasznia-Kocot, 2016; Mazur, 2014).

Międzynarodowe badania nad zachowaniami zdrowotnymi młodzieży szkolnej HBSC (Health Behaviour in School-aged Children) stanowią niezwykle ważne i rzetelne źródło informacji na temat zdrowia młodego pokolenia, zarówno w wymiarze krajowym, jak i międzynarodowym. W badaniach tych stosuje się mierniki statusu ekonomiczno-społecznego na poziomie rodziny oraz poziomie w okolicy miejsca zamieszkania. Ponadto obejmują one obszar zachowań zdrowotnych młodzieży szkolnej, jak również postrzegania przez badaną młodzież własnego zdrowia, stylu życia i szerokiego kontekstu społecznego, obejmującego środowisko szkolne, rodzinne i rówieśnicze. Sieć naukowców działających pod kierunkiem międzynarodowego koordynatora badań i krajowych koordynatorów (PI – Principal Investigator), współpracujących na zasadzie partnerstwa z Europejskim Biurem WHO, posługuje się wystandaryzowanym kwestionariuszem ankiety i obejmuje swoimi badaniami łącznie 49 krajów (Mazur, 2014; Mazur i in., 2011a). Kwestionariusz zawiera pytania o potwierdzonej trafności i rzetelności, a cykliczna realizacja badań pozwala na śledzenie tendencji i zachodzących zmian względem zdrowia w formie ujednoliconych raportów, dzięki którym można porównać wyniki badań populacji ogólnopolskiej z pogłębionymi badaniami wybranego regionu. Takie rozwiązanie przedstawia niniejsze opracowanie oparte na badaniach młodzieży Wrocławia, prowadzonych poza cyklem badań HBSC.

Za cel w niniejszym artykule przyjęto zidentyfikowanie zależności między zachowaniami sprzyjającymi zdrowiu oraz ryzykownymi dla zdrowia deklarowanymi przez piętnastoletnią młodzież a warunkami życia i środowiskiem lokalnym.

2. Materiał i metoda

Materiał niniejszego artykułu stanowią dane uzyskane za pomocą badania ankietowego przeprowadzonego na celowej próbie uczniów w 34 szkołach we Wrocławiu. Placówki te zgłosiły swój udział w projekcie „Nowa jakość praktyk pedagogicznych", realizowanym przez pracowników Zakładu Metodyki Szkolnego Wychowania Fizycznego AWF we Wrocławiu. Badanie ankietowe wykonano metodą audytoryjną. W początkowym etapie uzyskano pisemną zgodę na przeprowadzenia badania od Senackiej Komisji ds. Etyki Badań Naukowych, a także dyrekcji poszczególnych szkół i rodziców badanej młodzieży.

W badaniu wzięło udział ogółem 1110 uczniów w wieku 15-16 lat (496 dziewcząt i 614 chłopców). Po weryfikacji materiału badawczego ostatecznie do badań zakwalifikowano wyniki 636 uczniów (404 dziewcząt i 232 chłopców).

W ocenie wybranych zachowań zdrowotnych posłużono się: Międzynarodowym Kwestionariuszem Zachowań Zdrowotnych Młodzieży Szkolnej HBSC (Health Behaviour in School-aged Children. WHO Collaborative Study) (Mazur i in., 2011a).

1. Skala zasobów materialnych rodziny (FAS) – podstawę danej skali stanowią pytania o: „posiadanie samochodu przez rodzinę, własnego pokoju do dyspozycji ankietowanego ucznia, wyjazdów z rodziną na wakacje lub ferie poza miejsce zamieszkania, liczby komputerów w rodzinie" (Mazur i in., 2011b, s. 134). Skalę FAS podzielono na trzy przedziały: niska zamożność rodziny (tu wyróżniono dwie podgrupy: bardzo niska – wynik 0-1 pkt oraz niska – wynik 2-3 pkt); przeciętna zamożność rodziny (wynik 4-5 pkt); wysoka zamożność rodziny (wynik 6-7 pkt).

2. Skala nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym – jej podstawę stanowią pytania dotyczące występowania w sąsiedztwie: „grup młodzieży stwarzającej problemy; śmieci, potłuczonego szkła, leżących wszędzie odpadów; zaniedbanych, zniszczonych domów i innych budynków" (Mazur i in., 2011b, s. 140). Nasilenie poszczególnych problemów (zjawisk) w otoczeniu odniesiono do trzystopniowej skali: znaczne (4-6 pkt), przeciętne (2-3 pkt) i małe (0-1 pkt). Tym razem wysoka punktacja oznacza duże nasilenie problemów w okolicy zamieszkania respondentów. Dane zaprezentowano w kolejności od stanu najgorszego do najlepszego celem nawiązania do zgodności interpretacji z pozostałymi miernikami statusu społeczno-ekonomicznego.

3. Percepcja kapitału społecznego w środowisku lokalnym – nawiązuje do „nieformalnej sieci relacji między członkami danej społeczności i siły istniejących między nimi więzi" (Mazur i in., 2011b, s. 142). Podstawę skali stanowią pytania, na które można było udzielić odpowiedzi w zależności od stopnia, w jakim respondent zgadza się lub nie z następującymi stwierdzeniami: „Ludzie pozdrawiają się

na ulicy i zatrzymują się, żeby ze sobą porozmawiać; małe dzieci mogą w ciągu dnia bezpiecznie bawić się poza domem; mam zaufanie do ludzi mieszkających w okolicy; jest tu wiele miejsc gdzie można spędzić wolny czas (centra handlowe, domy kultury, obiekty sportowe); mogę poprosić sąsiadów o pomoc lub drobną przysługę" (Mazur i in., 2011b s. 143). Sklasyfikowano wartość: niską (0-10), przeciętną (średnią, 11-15) i wysoką (16-20).

Indeks aktywności fizycznej (IAF) – AF podejmowana w ostatnich 7 dniach: umiarkowana do intensywnej AF (wskaźnik MVPA), intensywna AF (wskaźnik VPA) – częstość wykonywania ćwiczeń o dużej intensywności w tygodniu; czas trwania ćwiczeń o dużej intensywności w tygodniu. Uczniom zadano trzy pytania:

> *W ostatnich 7 dniach, w ilu dniach przeznaczałeś na aktywność fizyczną łącznie co najmniej 60 minut dziennie?*
> *Jak często w czasie wolnym poza zajęciami szkolnymi wykonujesz zwykle ćwiczenia fizyczne, podczas których Twój wysiłek fizyczny jest duży, tzn. „brakuje Ci tchu", pocisz się?*
> *Ile godzin w tygodniu poświęcasz w czasie wolnym poza zajęciami szkolnymi na ćwiczenia fizyczne, podczas których Twój wysiłek fizyczny jest duży, tzn. „brakuje Ci tchu", pocisz się?* (Mazur i in., 2011b s. 112)

Do każdego z tych pytań dodano trzy zmienne, prezentujące niski, średni i wysoki poziom zachowań. Pytanie o AF co najmniej 60 minut dziennie w ostatnich 7 dniach poszerzono o: poziom niski – ćwiczenia nie częściej niż 2 dni w tygodniu; poziom średni – od 3 do 6 dni w tygodniu; poziom wysoki – 7 dni w tygodniu. Pytanie o częstość wykonywania ćwiczeń o dużej intensywności w tygodniu doprecyzowano, dodając: poziom niski – ćwiczenia raz w miesiącu i rzadziej; poziom średni – ćwiczenia od 1 do 6 razy w tygodniu; poziom wysoki – codziennie. W pytaniu o czas trwania ćwiczeń o dużej intensywności w tygodniu wyodrębniono: poziom niski – brak ćwiczeń w ogóle; poziom średni – ćwiczenia 1 do 6 godzin dziennie, wysoki – 7 godzin lub więcej. Następnie dodano do siebie tak przekształcone zmienne, otrzymując 7 kategorii porządkowych informujących o stopniu aktywności fizycznej: od bardzo niskiego poziomu do bardzo wysokiego poziomu.

Zróżnicowanie poziomu zachowań sedenteryjnych w czasie wolnym oparto na trzech zmiennych: czasie przeznaczonym na oglądanie telewizji (w tym wideo i DVD), czasie poświęconym na granie w gry na komputerze lub konsoli, a także czasie przeznaczonym na inne zajęcia z wykorzystaniem komputera (czat, korzystanie z Internetu, wysyłanie wiadomości e-mail). Wszystkie zmienne dotyczyły zarówno dni szkolnych, jak i weekendu. Obliczono przeciętną liczbę godzin dziennie spędzanych na siedząco, przy oglądaniu telewizji, graniu w gry na komputerze oraz korzystaniu z komputera w innych celach (czat, Internet, wysyłanie wiadomości e-mail). Następnie podzielono czas na trzy kategorie, wyznaczające przedziały z liczbą godzin spędzanych w pozycji siedzącej: poziom niski (korzystny) – spędzanie do 2 godzin dziennie w pozycji siedzącej; poziom średni – od 2 do 4 godzin dziennie, poziom wysoki – powyżej 4 godzin dziennie.

Zebrane w trakcie badań dane zostały poddane analizie w programie SPSS. W przypadku analiz korelacyjnych, których celem jest badanie oddziaływania jednej zmiennej na drugą lub powiązania dwóch cech ze sobą, wykorzystano test zależności chi-kwadrat Pearsona. Przy określonej liczbie stopni swobody oraz poziomie istotności test ten pozwala na weryfikację hipotezy o powiązaniu dwóch zmiennych ze sobą. W zastosowanych testach przyjęto poziom istotności nie większy niż 0,05 ($\alpha \leq 0{,}05$), co odpowiada prawdopodobieństwu popełnienia błędu I rodzaju nie większego niż 5%.

3. Wyniki

3.1. Aktywność fizyczna

Kapitał społeczny, rozumiany jako nieformalna sieć relacji i siła więzi między członkami lokalnej społeczności, istotnie różnicował zagrożenie niedoborem aktywności fizycznej u badanych 15-latków. Uczniowie, którzy odczuwali wysoki poziom kapitału społecznego (dzielnic, w których ludzie pozdrawiali się wzajemnie na ulicy, rozmawiali ze sobą, darzyli się zaufaniem i pomagali sobie wzajemnie), przejawiali wysoki poziom aktywności fizycznej. Śledząc podane wartości, można zaobserwować, że najmniejszy odsetek młodzieży spełniającej zalecenia dotyczące AF wystąpił u młodzieży o niskim odczuwany poziomie kapitału społecznego. Jak wynika z danych (tabela 1), im wyższy poziom postrzegania kapitału społecznego, tym wyższy poziom aktywności fizycznej w kategorii najbardziej pożądanej dla zdrowia – codziennej aktywności fizycznej, zarówno umiarkowanej, jak i intensywnej. Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym oraz poziom zamożności rodziny nie wykazały istotnie statystycznych powiązań z AF.

3.2. Zachowania sedenteryjne

Na podstawie wyników badań w obszarze zróżnicowania zachowań zdrowotnych związanych z zajęciami charakteryzującymi się małym wydatkiem energii i przebywaniem w pozycji siedzącej ukazano, że im wyższy poziom warunków życia, tym korzystniejsze są zachowania sedenteryjne badanej młodzieży (tabela 2).

Zaleca się, aby dzieci i młodzież jak najmniej czasu wolnego poświęcały na zachowania sedenteryjne – przyjęto zatem, że oglądanie telewizji nie powinno przekraczać 2 godzin dziennie, zgodnie z wytycznymi Amerykańskiej Akademii Pediatrii. Odsetek młodzieży spędzającej czas wolny przed telewizorem i kom-

Tabela 1. Zróżnicowanie aktywności fizycznej młodzieży ze względu na cechy społeczno-ekonomiczne rodziny i percepcję środowiska lokalnego (%)

Cechy społeczne	Poziom aktywności fizycznej (wskaźniki MVPA i VPA)						
	bardzo niski	niski	raczej niski	średni	raczej wysoki	wysoki	bardzo wysoki
Poziom zamożności rodziny (*FAS*)							
bardzo niski	0,0	16,7	25,0	41,7	16,7	0,0	0,0
niski	11,3	11,3	22,6	35,8	9,4	7,5	1,9
przeciętny	3,8	12,7	13,1	52,1	11,3	4,2	2,8
wysoki	4,3	9,0	20,0	46,7	13,7	4,7	1,7
ogółem	4,7	10,7	17,8	47,6	12,5	4,7	2,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 18,884, *df* = 18, *α* = 0,399							
Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym							
znaczne	4,1	10,6	16,5	48,2	14,2	4,1	2,3
przeciętne	3,2	14,9	15,6	47,4	14,3	1,9	2,6
małe	7,7	6,2	24,6	44,6	12,3	4,6	0,0
ogółem	4,3	11,4	17,4	47,4	14,0	3,4	2,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 11,301, *df* = 12, *α* = 0,503							
Poziom kapitału społecznego							
niski	4,8	11,6	23,1	42,9	12,2	4,8	0,7
przeciętny	5,5	11,7	17,8	48,3	11,4	3,7	1,5
wysoki	1,9	7,5	10,3	51,4	15,9	7,5	5,6
ogółem	4,7	10,9	17,8	47,5	12,4	4,7	2,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 22,599, *df* = 12, *α* = 0,031							

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

puterem do 2 godzin dziennie jest największy (66,2%) wśród uczniów z rodzin o wysokim statusie materialnym. Tymczasem 2-4 godziny dziennie na zajęcia sedenteryjne przeznaczała grupa młodzieży z rodzin o niskim statusie materialnym.

Nie wykazano istotnej statystycznie zależności zachowań sedenteryjnych od poziomu kapitału społecznego i nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym.

3.3. Palenie tytoniu

Współzależność postrzegania kapitału społecznego w środowisku lokalnym z zachowaniami ryzykownymi dla zdrowia wykazano w aspekcie palenia tytoniu. Częściej palą papierosy 15-latkowie o wyższym poziomie postrzegania kapitału społecznego w środowisku lokalnym niż o niższym (tabela 3). Nie wykazano natomiast

Tabela 2. Zróżnicowanie poziomu zachowań sedenteryjnych badanej młodzieży ze względu na uwarunkowania społeczno-ekonomiczne rodziny i percepcję środowiska lokalnego (%)

Cechy społeczne	Poziom zachowań sedenteryjnych		
	wysoki	średni	niski
	od 4 godzin dziennie i więcej	2-4 godzin dziennie	do 2 godzin dziennie
Poziom zamożności rodziny (*FAS*)			
bardzo niski	0,0	46,7	53,3
niski	8,6	36,2	55,2
przeciętny	12,3	34,4	53,3
wysoki	6,6	27,1	66,2
ogółem	8,8	31,1	60,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 38,521, *df* = 6, *a* = 0,025			
Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym			
znaczne	6,0	30,2	63,8
przeciętne	11,2	35,9	52,9
małe	9,0	29,9	61,2
ogółem	8,3	32,2	59,5
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 6,265, *df* = 4, *a* = 0,180			
Poziom kapitału społecznego			
niski	11,8	31,4	56,8
przeciętny	7,4	32,2	60,4
wysoki	7,9	28,1	64,0
ogółem	8,7	31,2	60,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 3,735, *df* = 4, *a* = 0,443			

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

istotnej statystycznie zależności palenia tytoniu od poziomu zamożności rodziny, mierzonej na skali FAS, oraz od nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym.

3.4. Picie napojów alkoholowych

Badanych zapytano również o to, jak często piją napoje alkoholowe: piwo, wino, wódkę i inne napoje alkoholowe wysokoprocentowe, alkopopy lub jakikolwiek inne napoje zawierające alkohol. Wśród wszystkich badanych rodzajów alkoholu tylko w przypadku piwa wystąpiła istotna statystycznie zależność. Dla badanej młodzieży piwo stanowi napój alkoholowy o dużej frekwencji spożywania, po-

Tabela 3. Zróżnicowanie poziomu palenia tytoniu przez badaną młodzież ze względu na uwarunkowania społeczno-ekonomiczne rodziny i percepcję środowiska lokalnego (%)

Cechy społeczne	Poziom palenia tytoniu	
	niski – ryzykowny dla zdrowia	wysoki
	palę tytoń	nie palę
Poziom zamożności rodziny (*FAS*)		
bardzo niski	12,5	87,5
niski	23,7	76,3
przeciętny	13,9	86,1
wysoki	12,5	87,5
ogółem	14,1	85,9
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 5,209, *df* = 3, *α* = 0,157		
Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym		
znaczne	12,8	87,2
przeciętne	17,6	82,4
małe	19,4	80,6
ogółem	15,5	84,5
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 2,660, *df* = 2, *α* = 0,264		
Poziom kapitału społecznego		
niski	16,9	83,1
przeciętny	11,7	88,3
wysoki	20,2	79,8
ogółem	14,7	85,3
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 5,904, *df* = 2, *α* = 0,049		

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

zostałe napoje alkohole miały bardzo niskie wskazania spożywania. Większość uczniów nie piła innych rodzajów alkoholu. Zebrane dane dotyczące picia piwa wskazały na istotną statystycznie zależność od poziomu zamożności rodziny, mierzonej na skali FAS (tabela 4). Zróżnicowania względem poziomu kapitału społecznego i nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym nie stwierdzono w przypadku picia napojów alkoholowych.

4. Dyskusja

Dotychczas wiele ważnych badań koncentrowało się wokół różnic związanych z płcią, wiekiem, miejscem zamieszkania i ich związku z zachowaniami zdrowotnymi młodego pokolenia, warto jednak zwrócić uwagę na dodatkowy czynnik

Tabela 4. Zróżnicowanie poziomu picia alkoholu przez badaną młodzież ze względu na uwarunkowania społeczno-ekonomiczne rodziny i percepcję środowiska lokalnego (%)

Cechy społeczne	Poziom picia alkoholu (piwo)				
	bardzo niski	niski	średni	wysoki	bardzo wysoki
	codziennie	w każdym tygodniu	w każdym miesiącu	rzadko	nigdy
Poziom zamożności rodziny (*FAS*)					
bardzo niski	6,3	0,0	0,0	25,0	68,8
niski	3,4	8,5	6,8	30,5	50,8
przeciętny	0,0	3,9	3,9	29,4	62,8
wysoki	0,3	2,2	5,0	30,4	62,1
ogółem	0,6	3,4	4,6	29,9	61,4
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 26,648, *df* = 12, *α* = 0,009					
Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym					
znaczne	0,4	4,7	5,1	32,1	57,7
przeciętne	1,7	2,8	4,5	33,5	57,4
małe	0,0	4,5	6,0	22,4	67,2
ogółem	0,8	4,0	5,0	31,2	58,9
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 6,659, *df* = 8, *α* = 0,574					
Poziom kapitału społecznego					
niski	0,0	4,5	6,8	28,2	60,5
przeciętny	0,3	3,5	3,5	31,6	61,1
wysoki	2,6	1,8	5,3	28,1	62,3
ogółem	0,6	3,5	4,7	30,0	61,1
Chi-kwadrat Pearsona = 13,842, *df* = 8, *α* = 0,086					

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

modelujący zachowania zdrowotne, jakim jest zamożność rodziny. Badania walidacyjne potwierdziły, że skala FAS dobrze opisuje sytuację materialną rodziny, dlatego rekomenduje się ją w badaniach ankietowych młodzieży szkolnej (Borraccino i in., 2009; Hobza i in., 2017, Kleszczowska i Dzielska, 2018; Mazur, 2012, 2013 b; Mazur i Małkowska-Szkutnik, 2018; Wypych-Ślusarska, 2018). W cyklicznie powtarzanych międzynarodowych badaniach ankietowych HBSC zaobserwowano, że wzrost zamożności rodziny „wiąże się w dużej mierze z poprawą pozytywnych wskaźników zdrowia i oceny środowiska psychospołecznego nastolatków" (Mazur, 2014, s. 235).

Badania HBSC przeprowadzone w latach 2010-2014 wykazały, że nastoletnia młodzież pochodząca z rodzin lepiej sytuowanych charakteryzowała się wyższym poziomem aktywności fizycznej, a także częściej realizowała zalecane jej minimum AF (60 minut dziennie). Wyższy status materialny rodziny zmniejszał także ryzyko zbyt długiego spędzania czasu przed szklanym ekranem w czasie wolnym (oglądania telewizji, korzystania z komputera i Internetu) (Mazur i in., 2011a; Mazur, 2014).

W wyniku przeprowadzonych badań wśród wrocławskich 15-latków nie stwierdzono istotnej różnicy między poziomem zamożności rodziny a poziomem aktywności fizycznej, zarówno umiarkowanej, jak i intensywnej. Istotność statystyczna pojawiła się jednak przy zachowaniach sedenteryjnych. Analizie poddano zarówno dni szkolne, jak i weekendowe, przyjmując, że czas poświęcony na oglądanie telewizji, granie w gry na komputerze/konsoli, korzystanie z Internetu nie powinien przekraczać 2 godzin dziennie. Śledząc wartości poziomu zachowań sedenteryjnych do 2 godzin dziennie, można zaobserwować, że najwyższy odsetek (66,2%) wystąpił wśród uczniów o wysokim statusie materialnym rodziny.

Badania młodzieży szkolnej w Polsce (HBSC 2010-2014) nie wykazały związku między paleniem tytoniu a zamożnością rodziny. Czynnikami najbardziej istotnymi były natomiast: płeć, struktura rodziny i miejsce zamieszkania. Nie wykazano także związku poziomu zamożności rodziny z częstotliwością picia alkoholu i upijania się 15-latków. Pojawiły się za to istotne różnice w grupie młodzieży 11-letniej – częściej upijali się uczniowie z rodzin skrajnie biednych i skrajnie zamożnych (Mazur, 2014).

Badania przeprowadzone wśród populacji wrocławskiej młodzieży wskazują, że prawie 24% palących tytoń nastolatków pochodzi z rodzin o niskim poziomie zamożności, jednak nie potwierdzono w danym aspekcie istotnej zależności, w przeciwieństwie do spożywania alkoholu. Alkohol jest substancją silnie uzależniającą, która inicjuje wiele problemów zdrowotnych. Interesującym wątkiem niniejszych badań jest to, że najbardziej pożądana odpowiedź – „nigdy", świadcząca o niespożywaniu alkoholu przez 15-letnią młodzież, dotyczyła osób z rodzin o bardzo niskim poziomie zamożności. Jednocześnie najwięcej wskazań (6,3%) codziennego spożywania alkoholu również występuje w rodzinach o najniższym statusie materialnym. Wyniki te mogą stanowić powód do prowadzenia dalszych badań, koncentrujących się na mechanizmach badanych zależności.

W obszarze badań nad zachowaniami zdrowotnymi młodzieży szkolnej także kapitał społeczny stanowi interesujący wątek. Wartość kapitału społecznego opiera się na wzajemnych stosunkach społecznych i zaufaniu jednostek. Część badaczy potwierdza istnienie związku kapitału społecznego ze zdrowiem fizycznym i psychicznym, inni podkreślają, że istotną wartością dla badań naukowych byłoby dodatkowe pogłębienie zdefiniowania kapitału społecznego, a także oddzielenie tego, czym jest, od jego efektów (Kawachi, Subramanian i Kim, 2008; Lindström, 2011;

Sampson, Raudenbush i Earls, 1997). Odmienne stanowiska badaczy są wynikiem tego, że w wielu przypadkach ze zdrowiem korelują jedynie wybrane elementy kapitału społecznego, zatem nie można określić jednoznacznej zależności między niniejszym kapitałem a zdrowiem (Erenkfeit, 2010; Nyqvist, 2009). Mimo tego kapitał społeczny zdobył uznanie części badaczy społecznych i eksploruje wciąż nowe obszary, w tym największą wartość w życiu człowieka, jaką jest zdrowie.

Pozytywne relacje między członkami określonej społeczności oraz siła istniejących między nimi więzi (będąca elementem kapitału społecznego) mogą przyczynić się do zapobiegania chorobom poprzez dostarczenie wszechstronnej wiedzy o godnych naśladowania zachowaniach zdrowotnych. Mogą także przynieść odwrotny skutek, przybierając charakter dystrukcyjny – gdy członkowie społeczności poddają się uzależnieniom, potęgując wśród dorastającej młodzieży błędne przekonanie, że zachowania ryzykowne dla zdrowia są „atrakcyjniejsze", a przez to bardziej pożądane. Ponadto siła więzi w tym ostatnim przypadku często nie pozwala na przekroczenie norm grupy, w wyniku czego jej członkowie stają się osobami uzależnionymi (Erenkfeit, 2010; Gajewski, 2011b).

Badania przeprowadzone wśród mieszkańców Stanów Zjednoczonych potwierdziły związek między kapitałem społecznym a stosowaniem przez 12-17-letnią młodzież substancji psychoaktywnych. Okazało się, że im wyższy był stopień dezorganizacji życia w środowisku sąsiedzkim, tym częściej nastolatkowie sięgali po zakazane substancje lub byli od nich uzależnieni. Natomiast respondenci deklarujący średni bądź wysoki kapitał społeczny rzadziej pili alkohol, rzadziej stosowali narkotyki i rzadziej uzależniali się od nielegalnych substancji (Winstanley i in., 2008).

Bezsprzecznie zaufanie do innych członków społeczności, umiejętność współpracy międzyludzkiej, pozytywne relacje, wsparcie okazywane przez innych mogą istotnie wspomagać zdrowie: umacniać pewność siebie, redukować stres, motywować do praktykowania prozdrowotnych aktywności (np. aktywności fizycznej) (Erenkfeit, 2010; Folland, 2007; Kim i in., 2006).

Badania zależności między kapitałem społecznym okolicy a aktywnością fizyczną, przeprowadzone zarówno w krajach europejskich, jak i w Stanach Zjednoczonych, ukazały istniejące mechanizmy. Nieformalna kontrola społeczna może zapobiec zachowaniom ryzykownym dla zdrowia poprzez: zapewnienie poczucia bezpieczeństwa, skuteczność zbiorową – poprawę dostępu do zasobów aktywności fizycznej (utrzymywanie przestrzeni publicznych, parków, racjonalne zagospodarowanie przestrzeni rekreacyjnej), rozpowszechnianie zdrowych zwyczajów (np. obserwowanie społeczności lokalnej trenującej na siłowniach zewnętrznych lub uprawiającej jogging), wsparcie społeczne (grupowa gimnastyka, wspólne uczestnictwo w wycieczkach) (Pałęga, Jędrzejek i Synowiec-Piłat, 2019; Ueshima i in., 2010).

W wyniku badań przeprowadzonych w Polsce ukazano, że niski kapitał społeczny okolicy zamieszkania stanowił u nastoletnich chłopców istotny czynnik warunkujący niezadowolenie z życia, natomiast u dziewcząt przyczyniał się do ryzyka podwyższonego stresu. Wśród młodzieży wykazano również powiązania niskiego kapitału społecznego sąsiedztwa z deficytem aktywności fizycznej, regularnym (cotygodniowym) paleniem papierosów, epizodami upijania się czy przemocą w szkole (Wojtyniak i Mazur, 2016).

Podobnie jak w przypadku badań populacji ogólnopolskiej, również wśród wrocławskiej młodzieży zaobserwowano statystycznie istotny związek między niskim poziomem kapitału społecznego a deficytem aktywności fizycznej (szczególnie w najbardziej pożądanej kategorii – co najmniej 60 minut dziennie przez 7 dni w tygodniu). Tymczasem w aspekcie ryzykownego dla zdrowia palenia tytoniu wystąpiła odwrotna zależność – częściej palenie deklarowali uczniowie o wyższym poziomie postrzegania kapitału społecznego niż o niższym. Nie wykazano statystycznie istotnych związków poziomu kapitału społecznego z poziomem zachowań sedenteryjnych i częstotliwością picia alkoholu.

Percepcja nasilenia problemów w miejscu zamieszkania jest równie interesującym obszarem badawczym. Skala nasilenia problemów w miejscu zamieszkania nawiązuje do badań Kanadyjskiego Urzędu Statystycznego NLSCY (National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth in Canada), które śledzi rozwój i samopoczucie młodzieży od najmłodszych lat, koncentrując się na pozyskaniu informacji o czynnikach wpływających na rozwój społeczny, emocjonalny i behawioralny młodego pokolenia. W licznych badaniach ukazano, że percepcja otoczenia jest nawet silniejszym niż status materialny rodziny predyktorem wielu wskaźników zdrowotnych (Mazur, 2007; Mazur i in. 2011a).

Badania zagraniczne potwierdzają wpływ sąsiedztwa na zdrowie psychiczne i samopoczucie młodych ludzi. Powiązania najczęściej dotyczyły dobrego samopoczucia i eksternalizacji zachowań problemowych niż internalizacji tychże zachowań (Visser i in., 2020). Sąsiedztwo, w którym występował ograniczony dostęp do udogodnień, nieporządek, brak spójności społecznej, deprywacja, źle oddziaływało na stan zdrowia młodzieży (Poortinga Dunstan i Fone, 2007).

W badaniach HBSC młodzież zamieszkująca rejony zaniedbane niekorzystnie oceniała swoje zdrowie, wykazywała mniejszą aktywność fizyczną, częściej sięgała po zakazane substancje psychoaktywne (Mazur, 2007, 2010).

Pomimo często wykazywanych w krajowych i zagranicznych opracowaniach silnych związków między stopniem nasilenia problemów w środowisku lokalnym a zachowaniami zdrowotnymi, w niniejszym opracowaniu nie stwierdzono w danym aspekcie istotnych korelacji.

5. Wnioski

Zebrane dane dotyczące zachowań zdrowotnych wskazały na istotną statystycznie zależność od poziomu zamożności rodziny, mierzonej na skali FAS. Młodzież z rodzin o wyższym poziomie zamożności mniej czasu wolnego poświęcała na oglądanie telewizji, granie w gry komputerowe czy korzystanie z Internetu.

Wzrost poziomu zamożności rodziny nie zawsze w sposób jednoznaczny był związany z zachowaniami sprzyjającymi zdrowiu. Niespożywanie alkoholu częściej dotyczyło młodzieży z rodzin o najniższym poziomie zamożności (69%), w rodzinach o niskim statusie materialnym odsetek ten stanowił 51%, a w rodzinach o najwyższym statusie ekonomicznym klasyfikował się na poziomie 62%.

Zachowania sprzyjające zdrowiu (najbardziej pożądane) w aspekcie zalecanej codziennej aktywności fizycznej częściej przejawiała młodzież o wysokim poziomie postrzegania kapitału społecznego w środowisku lokalnym. Stwierdzono istotną statystycznie zależność również w częstości palenia tytoniu – im wyższy deklarowano poziom postrzegania kapitału społecznego, tym wyższy był poziom stosowania danej używki.

Nasilenie problemów w środowisku lokalnym nie wykazało istotnej statystycznie zależności względem badanych zachowań zdrowotnych. Wyniki te mogą stanowić inspirację do pogłębienia w przyszłości analiz, ukierunkowanych na wyjaśnienie mechanizmów badanych istotności. Ponadto kolejne badania pozwolą na zaobserwowanie zmian zaistniałych na skutek izolacji w wyniku pandemii COVID-19.

Zaleca się zwrócić uwagę na rozwiązania wdrażane w programach krajowych i zagranicznych wspomagające kierunki działań: zapewnienia rodzinom odpowiednich warunków życia, stabilnego źródła dochodów, wsparcia lokalnej społeczności, skuteczność zbiorową w dostępie do zasobów np. aktywności fizycznej, poprawy dostępności edukacji na różnych szczeblach, rozpowszechniania zdrowych norm. Należy również śledzić wyniki ogólnopolskich oraz światowych badań w zakresie badanej problematyki. Propagowanie zachowań sprzyjających zdrowiu i monitorowanie zmian zachodzących w obszarze zdrowia młodzieży szkolnej trzeba uznać za inwestycję, która przyniesie wymierne korzyści zdrowotne, zarówno obecnie, jak i w przyszłości.

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Variation in health behaviours of adolescents and its relationships with living conditions and perceptions of their local environment

Abstract. Health represents the most cherished personal and social value. In the field of research on health behaviours socio-economic factors relating to wealth, social standing and social capital are viewed as increasingly important. The underlying assumption is that social inequalities can exert, directly or indirectly, considerable influence on adolescents' health and future. The aim of this study was to identify correlations between health-enhancing and health-compromising behaviours reported by adolescents aged 15-16 and their living conditions and local residential environment. The study is based on data collected during a questionnaire survey involving a purposive sample of students, administered in 34 schools from Wrocław. Health behaviours were assessed using the questionnaire from the Health Behaviour in School-aged Children survey, a WHO collaborative cross-national survey with proven accuracy and reliability. Selected health behaviours reported by respondents were analysed with respect to their scores achieved on the Family Affluence Scale, the incidence of problems in their local residential environment and the perceived level of social capital in their local environment. It was found that adolescents from better-off families tended to spend less free time watching TV, playing computer games or using the internet. Higher FAS scores were not always correlated with health-enhancing behaviours. Adolescents with lowest FAS scores were least likely to drink alcohol. A high perceived level of social capital in the local environment was found to be significantly correlated with the recommended daily level of physical activity. Moreover, the higher the perceived level of social capital, the more likely the respondents were to smoke tobacco. A higher incidence of problems in the local environment was not significantly correlated with health behaviours.

Keywords: health, youth, physical activity, living conditions, alcohol, tobacco smoking

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Fizyczno-utylitarny wzór kultury a doświadczenia wojny w byłej Jugosławii

Streszczenie. W świecie nauki problem kultury i tworzonych przez społeczeństwa wzorów kulturowych zajmuje istotne miejsce. Wielu autorów udowodniło, że wzory kultury dotyczą również ciała. Ciało, dzięki uczestnictwu w kulturze, tworzy wzory kultury fizycznej. Celem artykułu jest identyfikacja wzorów kultury fizycznej Floriana Znanieckiego oraz wzorów wartości ciała Andrzeja Pawłuckiego na kulturowo odmiennym terenie, jakim są kraje byłej Jugosławii. Szczególnej analizie zostały poddane społeczności miejskie Sarajewa, Vukovaru i Zaprešicia. W czasie badań etnograficznych podjęto próbę rozpoznania, czy warunki wojny lat 90. stanowiły przeszkodę w wypełnianiu wzorów kultury fizycznej przez ludność cywilną Sarajewa (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kobiet i dziewcząt) i czy ludność ta pielęgnowała wzór fizyczno-utylitarny. W badaniach wykorzystano obserwację, wywiad narracyjny oraz analizę tekstów źródłowych. Wyniki eksploracji pokazały, że wzór utylitarny wypełniany był przez kobiety i dziewczęta w oblężonym Sarajewie, zakładał sprawność i gotowość cielesną do walki. Ów wzór spotkał się również ze swoim odbiciem w krzywym zwierciadle, na skutek interpretacji rzeczywistości wojennej przez dzieci.

Słowa kluczowe: wzory kultury fizycznej, wzór utylitarny, wojna w byłej Jugosławii, Sarajewo, zabawa w wojnę

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1. Wstęp

Temat kultury i tworzonych przez społeczeństwa wzorów kulturowych zajmuje ważne miejsce w publikacjach naukowych. Wielu autorów udowodniło, że kultura dotyczy również ciała, jego kreacji, sposobów poruszania się. Ciało, uczestnicząc w kulturze, tworzy wzory kultury fizycznej.

Celem badań jest zidentyfikowanie wzorów kultury fizycznej Floriana Znanieckiego (1973) i wzorów wartości ciała Andrzeja Pawłuckiego (1994) w kulturowo odmiennym obszarze badawczym, jakim są kraje byłej Jugosławii. Eksploracja objęła społeczności miejskie krajów byłej Jugosławii: Sarajewa (Bośnia i Hercegowina), Zaprešicia (Chorwacja) i Vukovaru (Chorwacja). Szczególnej analizie został poddany wzór fizyczno-utylitarny, wypełniany przez cywilnych mieszkańców Sarajewa w czasie oblężenia (w latach 1992-1996), oraz próba jego wypełnienia przez dzieci podczas dziecięcych zabaw w wojnę.

Eksploracją kierowały następujące pytania badawcze:

1. Czy warunki wojny lat 90. stanowiły przeszkodę w wypełnianiu wzorów kultury fizycznej przez ludność cywilną?

2. Czy w czasie wojny w byłej Jugosławii ludność cywilna oblężonego Sarajewa pielęgnowała wzór kultury fizyczno-utylitarny? Czy ów wzór wypełniały również kobiety?

3. Czy przekazywany dzieciom wzór kultury (fizyczno-utylitarny związany z rolą obrońcy) może ulec zniekształceniu ze względu na rzeczywistość wojenną?

By uzyskać odpowiedzi na postawione pytania badawcze, zastosowano badania jakościowe. W pracy wykorzystano obserwację, wywiad narracyjny i analizę tekstów źródłowych.

2. Socjologiczne rozumienie kultury

Kultura od wieków stanowi integralną część rzeczywistości społecznej. „Słowo *kultura* z początku oznaczało na wskroś materialny proces, dopiero potem, używane w sensie metaforycznym, zaczęło się odwoływać do spraw ducha” (Eagleton, 2012, s. 8). Terry Eagleton uważa, że kultura to zarówno samokontrola, jak i samospełnienie. Dostosowujemy nasze zachowania do pewnych utartych norm czy wzorów. To „dostosowywanie się” czasem nie przychodzi łatwo, jednak w większości przypadków mamy wrażenie, że realizujemy się kulturowo.

Znana antropolog Ruth Benedict opisuje kulturę jako wielki łuk, ogarniający wszystkie możliwe zainteresowania związane z różnymi okresami życia, ze środowiskiem lub różnoraką działalnością człowieka (Benedict, 2005, s. 103). Pisze również, że każde społeczeństwo, określa swoją tożsamość kulturową, dokonując wyboru pewnych segmentów tego łuku. „Każde, z punktu widzenia innego, pomija elementy podstawowe, a wykorzystuje nieistotne. Jedna kultura niemal nie uznaje wartości pieniądza, inna przyjęła je za podstawę w każdej dziedzinie zachowania" (Benedict, 2005, s. 103). W taki sposób społeczeństwo tworzy pozytywne wzory zachowań, pożądane schematy działania – wzory kultury.

Problemem kultury zajmowało się wielu filozofów, antropologów, etnologów, socjologów. Clyde Kluckholm i Alfred Kroeber już w latach 50. doliczyli się prawie 200 różnych ujęć kultury (Kroeber i Kluckholm, 1952 za: Sztompka, 2019). Piotr Sztompka uważa, że „w mnogości dotychczasowych ujęć problemu kultury można dostrzec dwa bieguny: ujęcia szerokie i ujęcia wąskie" (Sztompka 2019, s. 8). Ujęcia szerokie włączają w zakres kultury ogromną różnorodność zjawisk społecznych, często robią to przez wyliczenie elementów takich jak: wiedza, wierzenia, sztuka, moralność, prawo, zwyczaje, nawyki, umiejętności nabyte przez człowieka, jako członka społeczeństwa (Sztompka, 2019, s. 8). Inni badacze kultury rezygnują z wymieniania poszczególnych elementów, traktując kulturę jako pojęcie bardzo ogólne, np. „całokształt sposobu życia danego społeczeństwa" (Linton 2007, s. 404, za: Sztompka 2019, s. 8).

Ujęcia wąskie natomiast sprowadzają kulturę do wyrafinowanych i wysublimowanych dziedzin ludzkiej twórczości: sztuka, muzyka, literatura, czyli „najwyższych form twórczości estetycznej będących dziełem elity" (Scott 2006, s. 47 za: Sztompka 2019, s. 9). Sztompka podkreśla, że istnieją dwa kroki ku precyzyjnemu rozumieniu kultury: znaczenia i wartości (Sztompka, 2019).

Ze względu na zastaną rzeczywistość polityczną, historyczną czy nawet geograficzną (związaną np. z ukształtowaniem terenu) społeczeństwa nadają znaczenia faktom społecznym, zgodnie z przyjętym systemem wartości, tworzą wzory kulturowe, które – rozwijane, wypełniane i przekazywane – ułatwiają funkcjonowanie następcom pokoleniowym.

3. Wzory kulturowe

O mechanizmie powstawania wzorów kulturowych pisało wielu autorów, m.in. Milton Rokeach (1972), Piotr Sztompka (2003) czy Geert Hofstede (2007). Rokeach (1972, s. 13, 35-36) starał się ustalić czynniki oddziałujące na stałość systemu wartości jednostki, który wpływa na zajmowanie przez nią określonych pozycji w społeczeństwie. Hofstede badał kulturę narodową, rozumiał ją jako „zbiorowe zaprogramowanie umysłu, będące wynikiem dorastania w określonym kraju" (Hofstede i Hofstede, 2007, s. 35). Zaprogramowanie to według niego „zbiór do końca nieuświadomionych uwarunkowań, które co prawda zostawiają jednostkom swobodę myślenia, odczuwania i działania, ale ograniczone są społecznie usankcjonowanymi ramami. Ograniczenia te funkcjonują we wszystkich sferach życia i rozumienie ich wymaga całościowego podejścia" (Hofstede i Hofstede 2007, s. 378).

Według Sztompki system wartości zorganizowany jest wokół trzech wartości najbardziej ogólnych i fundamentalnych: prawdy, dobra i piękna (Sztompka, 2019). Autor uważa, że społeczeństwo to aktywność ludzi i że nie ma społeczeństwa bez ludzi działających (Sztompka, 2003, s. 45). Działanie może objawić się jako „zachowanie" – termin ów w socjologii określa formy aktywności fizycznej przejawiające się na zewnątrz jako ruch, np. ruch ciała, przemieszczanie się człowieka w przestrzeni, gesty czy grymasy (Sztompka, 2003, s. 46). W społeczeństwach te same gesty mogą być inaczej rozumiane, jest to związane z pewnymi wypracowanymi (często od pokoleń) wzorcami kulturowymi. Na przykład kręcenie głową na boki w społeczeństwie polskim będzie rozumiane jako zaprzeczenie, a dla Bułgarów jest potwierdzeniem (Sztompka, 2003 s. 47). Zbiorowości nadają znaczenia zachowaniom charakterystycznym dla nich samych, znaczenia te Sztompka nazywa kulturowymi. W taki sposób tworzą się **wzory kulturowe**, gdyż kultura dostarcza pewnych scenariuszy zachowań, „mile widzianych" i akceptowalnych przez zbiorowość schematów postępowania (Sztompka, 2003, s. 50). Znaniecki opisywał działania skierowane ku innym ludziom jako „czynności społeczne" (Sztompka, 2003 s. 53). „W zależności od ich znaczenia wyróżniał m.in. czynności wychowawcze, edukacyjne, władcze, zabawowe, informacyjne, wyrażające się w pytaniach, pouczeniach, prośbach, rozkazach, udzielaniu pomocy itp." (Sztompka, 2003, s. 53).

4. Wzory kultury cielesnej

Kultura fizyczna jest pomijana w wielu rozważaniach na temat kultury danego kraju czy regionu, o czym pisali Wojciech Lipoński (2004) i Małgorzata Bronikowska (2013). Autorzy podkreślają, że w wielu opracowaniach zagadnienia kultury fizycznej są ignorowane w aspektach tradycji i dziedzictwa kulturowego.

Innego zdania jest Anna Wieczorkiewicz – docent w Instytucie Filozofii i Socjologii PAN – która uważa, że „głosy o konieczności wprowadzenia *kwestii ciała* do refleksji nad kulturowym istnieniem człowieka straciły dawną moc – wprowadzenie to już się dokonało, cielesność stała się kanwą, pozwalającą tkać różne wątki myślowe" (Wieczorkiewicz, 2009, s. 5).

Podobnego zdania jest Sylwia Breczko (2009). Uważa, że w publikacjach pojawia się teza o swoistej rehabilitacji cielesności w naukach humanistycznych oraz społecznych, czego jawnym wyrazem jest wyodrębnienie się takich dyscyplin jak: socjologia, antropologia czy historia ciała. Twierdzi również, że ciało to zawsze ciało społeczne, naznaczone określonym kontekstem historycznym, politycznym i kulturowym.

Mario Carrizosa twierdzi, że kultura ciała stanowi istotną część kultury wszystkich społeczności, ważny składnik wszystkich programów edukacyjnych, co uzasadnia użycie terminu „kultura fizyczna" do nazwania obszaru kulturowego, w którego centrum znajduje się ciało ludzkie (Carrizosa, 1999, za: Pośpiech, 2003, s. 10).

5. Badania wzorów kultury fizycznej w Polsce

Andrzej Pawłucki twierdzi, że „każda nauka o człowieku poszerzyła zasięg wyjaśnień przyczynowych zmian cielesnych o wzory działań kulturowych" (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 5). Autor dalej pisze, że „od tysięcy lat ludzkość gimnastykuje swoje ciało, zakłada gimnazjony, a nawet tworzy całe systemy społeczne kultury cielesnej, które świadczą niepodważalnie o kulturowym pochodzeniu przydanych ciału doskonałości w jego istnieniu i działaniu" (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 5).

Jako jeden z pierwszych w Polsce swoją typologię wzorów kultury fizycznej wprowadził wspomniany Florian Znaniecki, który wyróżnił i opisał sześć typów fizycznych: **geneonomiczny**, **higieniczny**, **utylitarno-fizyczny**, **hedonistyczny**, **obyczajowo-estetyczny** i **sportowy** (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 223-227). Dla wielu typologia Znanieckiego stała się punktem wyjścia do badań nad wzorami kultury fizycznej.

Znaniecki pisał, że „każda grupa społeczna interesuje się cielesnymi właściwościami swych członków" i że „zainteresowanie to ma swoje źródło w tym domniemanym wpływie, jaki cielesne właściwości osobnika w przekonaniu grupy wywierają na jego rolę społeczną jako członka, tj. na wykonywanie jego obowiązków względem grupy jako całości i względem innych członków, a jednym z zadań wychowania przyszłych członków jest więc nadać im cielesne właściwości pożądane, usunąć lub zapobiec powstaniu niepożądanych" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 221). Dalej Znaniecki dochodzi do wniosku, że wychowanie fizyczne w najogólniejszym znaczeniu tego słowa polega na urabianiu typów fizycznych zgodnie z wymaganiami społecznymi (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 221), czyli wszystko zależy od tego, czym dana jednostka ma się później zajmować w danej grupie społecznej. Pierwszym typem fizycznym wyróżnionym przez Znanieckiego jest **typ higieniczny.** Członek wspólnoty, który rozwija u siebie właściwości zdrowotne dodatnie, zapobiega rozwojowi ujemnych, jest przez nią pożądany. Znaniecki uważa, że „podział i treść typów higienicznych różne są na różnych poziomach kultury" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 223). **Typy geneonomiczne** Znaniecki definiuje jako rozrodcze, próby urabiania tych typów pojawiają się jeszcze przed ruchem eugenicznym, czyli preferującym celowe rozmnażanie ludzi, by ulepszyć bądź zachować pożądane cechy (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 223). Typy **obyczajowo-estetyczne** związane są z obyczajami dotyczącymi fizycznego wyglądu w ogóle. Są zwykle dokładniej schematyzowane i ściślej przestrzegane niż jakiekolwiek inne (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 224). Znaniecki pisał, że „w związku z powinnością stosowania się do wzorów obyczajowych grupy stoi sprawa jednorodności wyglądu fizycznego członków" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 224), a dalej czytamy, że niekiedy – choć nie zawsze – służą te wzory do uwydatnienia lub spotęgowania przyrodzonych, rasowych właściwości tej grupy w porównaniu z obcymi rasami. Typami tymi są również „płynne cechy": przyzwyczajenia ruchowe, sposób chodzenia, siedzenia, leżenia, jedzenia i picia. Autor wymienia także **typy hedonistyczne**, zakłada, że „ciało jest centralną wartością hedonistyczną, tj. źródłem i ogniskiem doświadczeń przyjemnych i przykrych" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 225). Dalej Znaniecki rozróżnia hedonistyczne wartości ciała: dla samego podmiotu i dla innych. W przypadku **typów fizyczno-utylitarnych** Znaniecki pisze, że „doniosłość ciała osobnika, jako narzędzia materialnego, dla grupy społecznej rzuca się głównie w oczy przy czynnościach [...] niezbędnych dla podtrzymania warunków materialnych bytu grupy, oraz przy obronie grupy przed wrogami". Dalej czytamy, że jest to kształtowanie umiejętności praktycznych, urabianie typu zawodowego, który będzie bardziej **funkcjonalny**, a nie fizyczny, gdyż dotyczy nabycia zręczności, uzdolnień, przyzwyczajeń, nawyków ruchowych (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 225). „Żołnierz, dla skutecznego uczestnictwa w wojnie, musi być wyćwiczony w marszu, strzelaniu i innych ruchach; rzemieślnik musi nabyć pewnych koordynacji mięśniowych, aby móc należycie wykonać zamierzone czynności techniczne" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 226). **Typ sportowy (agoniczny)** Znaniecki opisuje jako zręczności i przyzwyczajenia, które w oczach społeczeństwa stają się wartościami samymi w sobie, nie muszą mieć użyteczności praktycznej (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 226-227). „Zachodzi to zwłaszcza wtedy, gdy użytek, do którego służyły one, przestał być utylitarnie ważny, a jednak istnieje długotrwała tradycja dodatniej ich oceny i wychowawczego ich urabiania, a przy tym, gdy sama aktualizacja ich zadowala jakieś przyrodzone lub wcześnie rozwijane dążności osobnika" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 226-227). Na przykład polowanie, jazda konna, fechtunek straciły prawie zupełnie społeczno-utylitarny charakter w społeczeństwach cywilizowanych. Czyn nie jest nastawiony na skutek czy wynik (np. upolowanie zwierzyny, by ją zjeść), tylko jest sprawdzianem umiejętności (np. upolowanie zwierzyny). Oznacza to, że działanie jest zabawą, sportem. „Na wzór powyższych tworzyć się mogą nowe sposoby fizycznego działania, nowe formy koordynacji ruchowych, które nigdy nie miały utylitarnego znaczenia, lecz od razu występują w charakterze sportowym" (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 227). Bielski i Blada twierdzą, że wzory „typów fizycznych" człowieka podlegają w społeczeństwie zróżnicowaniu i hierarchii i zależą one przede wszystkim od preferowanych i cenionych rodzajów i właściwości ciała, które sprzyjają realizowaniu się w społeczeństwie wzoru kulturowego (Bielski i Blada 2014, s. 15).

Tomasz Frołowicz twierdzi, że „typologia wzorów kultury fizycznej przedstawiona przez Floriana Znanieckiego okazała się uniwersalna w dwojakim znaczeniu: odporna na upływ czasu oraz adekwatna dla praktyk społecznych podejmowanych pod różnymi szerokościami geograficznymi" (Frołowicz, 2005, s. 43). Dalej autor pisze, że teoria Znanieckiego stała się inspiracją dla Andrzeja Pawłuckiego i jego „wychowania do wartości ciała", w którym wychowanie fizyczne traktowane jest jako przekazywanie z pokolenia na pokolenie kulturowych wzorów dotyczących ciała, czyli wzorów kultury fizycznej (Pawłucki, 1994; Frołowicz (2005, s. 43) dalej zaznacza, że treścią edukacji, przynajmniej w znacznej części, są wzory kulturowe, a w przypadku wychowania fizycznego – wzory kultury fizycznej.

Pawłucki rozwinął typologię Znanieckiego w swoich *Rozważaniach o wychowaniu* (1994). Według autora „wychowanie do wartości ciała" to przekazywanie z pokolenia na pokolenie kulturowych wzorów w aspekcie cielesności, czyli wzorów kultury fizycznej (Pawłucki 1994). W rozwiniętej obecnie typologii autor wyróżnia **egzystencjalne**, **symboliczne** i **społeczne** wzory kultury cielesnej, którym przyporządkowuje odpowiednie **znaczenia wartości ciała. Egzystencjalnym** przyporządkowuje: **biotyczne wzory**, związane z „rolą apolegety żywotności cielesnej oraz odpowiadającą mu relacyjnie rolą operatora żywotności i zdrowotności cielesnej kliniki zdrowego człowieka"; **witalne**, związane z „rolą apologety zdrowotności cielesnej, ćwiczeńca prozdrowotności" (gimnastyka *health – related fitness*), rolą pacjenta gimnastyki leczniczej („lecznictwo ruchowe") oraz odpowiadającymi im relacyjnie rolami operatora zdrowia cielesnego i operatora rehabilitacji cielesnej"; **utylitarne wzory,** związane z rolą „rekreanta", rolą czynności ludycznych oraz odpowiadającą jej rolą instruktora ćwiczeń fizyczno-utylitarnych (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 55-56). **Symbolicznym** wzorom kultury fizycznej, Pawłuckiego odpowiadają **agonistyczne** wartości ciała, które są związane z rolą sportowca olimpijczyka oraz rolą trenera; **perfekcjonistyczne** wartości ciała, związane z rolą artysty cyrkowca oraz odpowiadającą jej relacyjnie rolą trenera; **estetyczno-artystyczne** wartości ciała, związane z rolą aktora tańca, baletu, pantomimy, teatru oraz odpowiadającą jej relacyjnie rolą trenera, nauczyciela tańca, baletu itd. lub ogólnie rzecz ujmując – operatora gimnazjonu teatralnego; **mistyczne** wartości ciała, związane z rolą religijną kapłana i wiernego w praktykach ascezy cielesnej (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 56). **Społecznym** wzorom kultury fizycznej Pawłucki przyporządkowuje wartości **obyczajowo-estetyczne**, które determinują „praktyki kreacji kostiumowej «strojenia» ciała, «rzeźbienia» ciała, upiększania ruchu ciała, gestu i dykcji – w związku z rolami społeczno-obyczajowymi danej dziedziny uczestnictwa w kulturze"; **hedonistyczne**/**ascetyczne**, które wzmagają atrakcyjność seksualną i podkreślają lub pomniejszają płciowość ciała w związku z rolą hedonisty bądź ascety; **oblubieńcze** natomiast związane są z praktykami, podtrzymującymi i doskonalącymi czystość cielesną, witalną i rozrodczą „fitness", współgrające z rolą narzeczeńską, małżeńską i rodzicielską (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 56).

6. Badania kultury cielesnej na Bałkanach

„Tijelo i tjelesnost su kao aspekti ljudske egzistencije i identiteta bili uvelike zanemarivani u čitavoj povijesti zapadne humanističke tradicije" („Ciało i cielesność w aspekcie ludzkiej egzystencji i tożsamości były w znacznym stopniu zaniedbywane przez historię zachodniej tradycji humanistycznej"[1]) (Kobučar, 2009, s. 218). Natko Kobučar pisze dalej, że dominującym spojrzeniem na to zagadnienie był dualizm umysł – ciało, przy czym ciało i cielesność były trywializowane jako przedmiot badań w wymiarze kulturowym, społecznym i symbolicznym (2009, s. 217). „Uspon prirodnih znanosti i medicine doveo je do toga da se tijelo u potpunosti tretira samo pod okriljem anatomije i fiziologije" („Rozwój nauk przyrodniczych i medycyny sprawił, iż w większości przypadków ciało bada się w aspekcie anatomii i fizjologii") (Kobučar 2009, s. 218). Autor uważa, że współcześnie spłyca się wymiar badania ciała, że „organiczno-fizjologiczne" podejście jest niewystarczające, a zagadnienia dotyczące ciała i cielesności winny być rozpatrywane w wymiarze anatomii humanistycznej.

Wymiar społeczny ciała. Badania cielesności w wymiarze społecznym dotyczą w większości przypadków kultury ciała jako mocy fizycznego piękna. Lidija Vujačić, antropolog z Wydziału Filozofii na Uniwersytecie w Nikšiciu w Czarnogórze, pisze o znaczeniu fizycznego piękna we współczesnym społeczeństwie. Twierdzi, że pojęcie piękna ludzkiego ciała jest unormowane doświadczeniem lub „wyuczoną kulturą" (*naučena kultura*), która wywołuje działanie bodźców sensorycznych, rodzi pragmatyzm (Vujačić 2008, s. 108).

Ciało – nośnik tradycji religijnej. Inny charakter mają prace badawcze poświęcone kreacji ciała w aspekcie przynależności religijnej społeczeństw. Przykładem może być tradycja tatuowania ciała wśród katolików (Chorwatów) zamieszkujących Bośnię i Hercegowinę. W tradycji tej ciało jest nośnikiem dziedzictwa kulturowego, którym w tym przypadku jest wyznanie, a tatuaże są nacechowane religijnie (Pac-Pomarnacka 2018). Więcej o tym pisze Suzana Marjanić (1997), Crispin Sartwell (2003) oraz Barbara Andrijanić (2012). O tradycji tatuażu jako symbolu przynależności religijnej katolików w Bośni i Hercegowinie pisze również Mario Petrić (1973).

Wzory kultury fizycznej a „Titowska Jugosławia". Przed rozpadem Jugosławii znaczenia wzorów kultury fizycznej były uzasadnione ideologią socjalizmu i nakładały na uczestników zbiorowości kolektywnej obowiązek utylitarnego i zdrowotnego doskonalenia się. Mieszkańcy Jugosławii, w odróżnieniu do ówczesnych mieszkańców innych państw komunistycznych, to ludzie cieszący się wolnością i dostępem do ogólnoświatowych trendów, otwarci na naukę i postęp,

[1] Tłumaczenia wszystkich cytatów – Lidia Pac-Pomarnacka.

zapatrzeni w swojego dowódcę – Josipa Broza Titę. Tito wygrywał poparcie tym, że otaczał się Serbami, Chorwatami, Czarnogórcami, Słoweńcami, a on sam pochodził z rodziny chorwacko-słoweńskiej. Prowadził samodzielną politykę, m.in. w Bułgarii i Albanii, z tego powodu w 1948 r. Jugosławia została usunięta z bloku państw komunistycznych. Wówczas w ZSRR powstało pojęcie „titoizm", które utożsamiane było z największą zdradą komunizmu. W krajach Europy Zachodniej i krajach Trzeciego Świata używano pojęcia „system jugosłowiański". Jugosławia bardzo otworzyła się na Zachód, a i państwa zachodnie chętnie nawiązywały z nią współpracę. Partia rządząca w 1952 r. przyjęła nazwę Związek Komunistów Jugosławii. Stawiała sobie za cel edukację polityczną społeczeństwa. W 1963 r. kraj zmienił nazwę na Socjalistyczną Federacyjną Republikę Jugosławii (SFRJ). Doprowadziło to do centralizacji władzy. Wzrosły inwestycje, rozbudowywano infrastrukturę, jednak równocześnie powiększało się bezrobocie. W połowie lat 60. wielu obywateli wyemigrowało do krajów Europy Zachodniej i zamieszkało tam na stałe. Jednocześnie Jugosławia stawała się bardziej krajem otwartym. Rozbudowano bazę turystyczną, przyjmowano turystów z Niemiec, Włoch, Austrii, ale też mieszkańców Europy Wschodniej; „dla tych ostatnich Jugosławia stała się oazą wolności i dobrobytu, w której na półkach sklepów stale były obecne towary niedostępne w Czechosłowacji, Polsce czy na Węgrzech" (Czekalski, 2009, s. 9). Motoryzacja (wszechobecne na drogach zastavy), „czarne płyty" zagranicznych zespołów muzycznych na półkach, książki, filmy, zakazane ówcześnie w krajach Bloku Wschodniego, składały się na obraz europejskiego raju. Jugosławia na arenie międzynarodowej zyskała status kraju niezaangażowanego w konflikt Wschód – Zachód, dlatego Josip Broz Tito był entuzjastycznie witany w krajach Trzeciego Świata, a dzięki swojej aktywności stał się politykiem światowego formatu. Jednak SFRJ borykała się z kryzysem gospodarczym, bezrobociem, inflacją oraz wewnętrznymi napięciami i konfliktami etnicznymi, wręcz tendencjami separatystycznymi. Po śmierci wielkiego przywódcy Jugosławię ogarnął kryzys gospodarczy i polityczny. Doprowadziło to do wojny w latach 90. i w rezultacie do rozpadu państwa Słowian Południowych. Po rozpadzie Federacji wśród narodów nastąpił zwrot ku narodowym wartościom. Innego znaczenia nabrała przynależność do Chorwatów czy Boszniaków.

Interesującą pozycją wydawniczą z czasów Jugosławii były zeszyty naukowe pt. „Modeli fizičke kulture" („Wzory kultury fizycznej"), wydawane w formie poradników przygotowujących ciało do pracy fizycznej. Opisane są tu rutynowe, codzienne ćwiczenia, które mają rozgrzać ciało robotnika przed przystąpieniem do pracy oraz ćwiczenia „w miejscu pracy" (*u mjestu rada*) – jako krótka forma relaksu (Savić 1987). Jest to pewnego rodzaju program higieny społecznej (Krawczyk i Dziubiński, 2011, s. 157-158). W późniejszym okresie, już postjugosłowiańskim, temat rekreacji sportowej w miejscu pracy podjęła Mirna Andrijašević (1996).

Ważną pozycją wydawniczą za czasów SFRJ było wydawane przez Związek Pionierów Jugosławii czasopismo „Pionir", które ukazywało się od 1942 r. Związek wydawał również swój biuletyn „Male novine". Zastępy pionierów mogły liczyć na naukowe wsparcie. W 1946 r. w Belgradzie, ówczesnej stolicy Jugosławii, został wydany przez Centralni Odbor USAOJ podręcznik *Ručni rad i fiskultura u pionirskoj organizacji* (*Prace ręczne i fiskultura w pionierskich organizacjach*) (Milanović, 1946), który miał pomóc liderom pionierskim w przygotowaniu codziennych aktywności, by były weselsze, ciekawsze i wywierały korzystny wpływ na młodych adeptów. W części poświęconej kulturze fizycznej, przeczytamy: „fiskultura kao važan deo opšteg vaspitanja, treba bezuslovno i u pionirskoj organizaciji da zauzme ono mesto koje joj po važnosti zadatka pripada" („fiskultura jako ważna część wychowania w ogóle musi bezwarunkowo zająć w pionierskiej organizacji zająć miejsce, które ze względu na wagę wypełnianych zadań jej się należy") (Milanović, 1946, s. 55). Dalej czytamy, że jednocześnie musi być na tyle atrakcyjna, by przyciągać coraz większą liczbę dzieci do pionierskich organizacji. W podręczniku znajdziemy takie części jak: *Fiskultura u pionirskoj organizacji* (Fiskultura w pionierskiej organizacji), w której autor przedstawia wagę kultury fizycznej i jej zadania, *Plan fiskulturnog časa za pionire* (Plan lekcji fiskultury dla pionierów) z informacjami, w jaki sposób przeprowadzic lekcję kultury fizycznej. W dalszej części podręcznik zawiera *Primeri vežbi i igara* (*Przykładowe gry i ćwiczenia*), z podziałem na IV części lekcji.

Kultura fizyczna za czasów SFRJ stanowiła istotny element budowania dobra wspólnego i manifestację siły na arenie międzynarodowej.

Wojna w byłej Jugosławii a kultura fizyczna. W krajach byłej Jugosławii wydano wiele prac naukowych dotyczących kultury fizycznej w aspekcie doświadczenia wojny, np. opracowanie *Iskustva rata u Bosni i Hercegovini njegove refleksije na tjelesne aktivnosti djevojaka i* žena (*Doświadczenia wojny w Bośni i Hercegowinie i ich związek z cielesnymi aktywnościami dziewcząt i kobiet*) autorstwa Fedili Ibrahimbegović-Gafić (2011), opublikowane w „Muslim Women and Sport". Inny przykład stanowi praca *Odraz hrvatske ratne zbilje na dječje igre ratovanja* (*Wpływ chorwackiej rzeczywistości wojennej na dziecięce zabawy w wojnę*), w której Maja Kožić pisze o podziałach etnicznych wśród dzieci w multikulturowych miastach Chorwacji, co ma odzwierciedlenie w grach i zabawach. Warto wspomnieć również o Ivanie Marijanoviciu, który podobnie jak Johan Huizinga, Wojciech Lipoński i Małgorzata Bronikowska jest zdania, że gry i zabawy są źródłem kultury (Marijanović, 1993).

Obyczajowo-estetyczna kreacja ciała. Przygotowanie ciała do odegrania roli społecznej może mieć charakter obyczajowo-estetyczny (Znaniecki, 1973). Osobliwością na Bałkanach, a dokładniej w Czarnogórze, Serbii i Albanii, w tym aspekcie jest Virdżina (czyli „zaprzysiężona dziewica"), o czym pisali Antonia Young (2001) czy Predrag Šarčević (2009, a w polskiej publicystyce Karolina Domagalska (2010), Miłada Jędrysik (1998) i Karolina Bielenin (2008). Niezamężna kobieta przyjmuje rolę zwierzchnika rodziny, gdy głowa rodu umiera, nie pozostawiając po sobie męskich potomków. Virdżina kreuje przy tym swój wygląd zewnętrzny: strzyże na krótko włosy, nosi męskie ubrania, klatkę piersiową obwiązuje bandażem (Pac-Pomarnacka, 2013). Tradycja przejmowania męskiej roli przez kobiety utrzymuje się do dziś na pograniczu Czarnogóry i Albanii.

Kultura fizyczna a „stadion społeczny". Na Bałkanach ukazało się wiele prac badawczych dotyczących tradycyjnych sportów i wydarzeń sportowych, np. Alki, turnieju rycerskiego organizowanego co roku w mieście Sinj w Chorwacji. Pisali o nim m.in. Ana-Marija Vukušić (2002), Ivan J. Bošković (2003), Petar Vučić (1998), Marko Grčić (2012) czy Wojciech Lipoński (2003). W Bośni i Hercegowinie ogromną popularnością cieszą się zawody w skokach z mostu do rzeki Neretvy w Mostarze. Tradycja skoków z mostu ma 460 lat, pisał o niej Damir Djedović (Djedović i in., 2016) czy Emir Balić (2008).

7. Metoda

W badaniach zastosowano metodę jakościową. Natury badanych faktów społecznych nie można scharakteryzować ilościowo i liczbowo. W badaniach wykorzystano obserwację, wywiad narracyjny oraz wnikliwą analizę tekstów źródłowych.

Badania terenowe przeprowadzono w latach 2013-2019. Podejmując decyzję o wyborze strategii poznania jakościowego, a więc etnograficznego i ujednostkowionego (indywidualizującego), kierowano się wskazaniami metodologów, np. Earla Babbie'go, który pisał: „Przekonasz się, że jakościowe badania terenowe umożliwiają badaczom obserwowanie życia społecznego w jego naturalnym środowisku; idź tam, gdzie toczy się proces, i obserwuj go. Jeśli badacz prowadzi obserwacje w sposób przemyślany, dobrze zaplanowany i aktywny, to ten rodzaj badań umożliwia dogłębniejsze zrozumienie wielu zjawisk społecznych, niż byłoby to możliwe przy zastosowaniu innych metod obserwacyjnych" (Babbie, 2009, s. 320). Największą zaletą badań terenowych jest całościowa perspektywa zjawiska, dzięki czemu eksplorator może uzyskać głębsze i pełniejsze zrozumienie, a „ten rodzaj obserwacji nadaje się szczególnie, choć nie wyłącznie do tematów badawczych i studiów społecznych, które nie poddają się prostemu ujęciu ilościowemu" (Babbie, 2009, s. 322). W czasie tego rodzaju badań, obserwator ma szansę dostrzec niuanse w zachodzących procesach społecznych i zachowaniach osób badanych.

W czasie obserwacji zjawisk społecznych na Bałkanach napotkano osoby doświadczone wojną lat 90. Nie opowiadano się po żadnej ze stron sporu. Przyglądano się stosunkom społecznym Serbów, Chorwatów i Boszniaków, przeprowadzano wywiady ze świadomością, że osoby badane mogły zostać skrzywdzone przez inną ze stron konfliktu.

Na postawione pytania badawcze odpowiedzi udzieliły następujące osoby: M.M. – nauczycielka wychowania fizycznego z Zaprešicia; budowniczy Tunelu Życia w Sarajewie, ówcześnie i obecnie mieszkający w domu obok muzeum „Tunel Spasa", prowadzący sklep z pamiątkami; M.T. – przewodnik miejski w Sarajewie (mieszkanka miasta w czasie oblężenia); N.T. – kobieta ćwicząca w piwnicach w czasie oblężenia, kustosz Muzeum Hercegowiny w Mostarze; Igor Vukadinović – historyk z Belgradu; Momo Cvijović, archeolog, kurator Muzeum Jugosławii w Belgradzie.

8. Wzór fizyczno-utylitarny a wojna w byłej Jugosławii

Wzory kultury fizycznej , które wytworzyły się w Jugosławii, były wykorzystywane przez przez wielu członków społeczeństwa już nie jugosłowiańskiego, ale serbskiego, chorwackiego, boszniackiego, czarnogórskiego. Według Znanieckiego, grupa może bez trudu obudzić w swych członkach nienawiść do obcej grupy, czego dowodzą przykłady wojen, walk kulturowych między narodowościami lub nowoczesnych walk klasowych (Znaniecki 1973, s. 225, za: Pac-Pomarnacka, 2016, s. 31). „Nic dziwnego również, że patriotyzm narodowy, lojalność państwowa, solidarność z klasą w miarę wzrostu liczebności narodów, państw i klas stają się coraz bardziej dążnościami ściśle bojowymi, zwróconymi przeciw obcym raczej niż ku swoim, dążnościami, w których chęć zwalczania cudzej grupy coraz więcej przeważa nad chęcią współdziałania z własną grupą" – twierdził Znaniecki. Pisał również, że człowieka cechuje niezwykła plastyczność, łatwość, z jaką poddaje się on wpływom społecznym i daje się dowolnie prawie wychować (Znaniecki, 1973, s. 225, 228).

8.1. Fizyczne aktywności kobiet i dziewcząt w Bośni i Hercegowinie w okresie wojny lat 90.

Z danych spisu ludności z 1991 r. wynika, że Bośnię i Hercegowinę zamieszkiwało 4,5 mln ludności, w tym: 44% Boszniaków (wyznawców islamu w dzisiejszej Bośni i Hercegowinie), 37% Serbów, 17% Chorwatów i 2% innych (Ibrahimbegovic-Gafic, 2011, s. 226). Około 200 tysięcy mieszkańców, w tym większość Boszniaków, zginęło w czasie działań w latach 1992-1995, około 1 miliona wyemigrowało poza granice Bośni i Hercegowiny. Wiele kobiet i dziewcząt, które przeżyły, utraciło podczas wojny męskich członków rodziny.

Po II wojnie światowej w Jugosławii zostały ustanowione prawa kobiet. Prawnie kobiety były równe mężczyznom. Jednak w dalszym ciągu postrzegano je jako mające mniejsze znaczenie społeczne w patriarchalnym świecie. Uważano, że kobiety są stworzone do prokreacji, przedłużania gatunku ludzkiego, a nie do społecznej debaty i innych aktywności kulturowych, zarezerwowanych dla mężczyzn; dotyczyło to również udziału w aktywności fizycznej.

1479 dni oblężenia Sarajewa (zob. fot. 1) zmieniło życie wielu ludzi na zawsze. Do armii serbskiego agresora przyłączyli się bośniaccy Serbowie mieszkający przy tych samych ulicach co Boszniacy – ich ofiary. Przed wojną uczęszczali do tych samych szkół, uniwersytetów i zakładów pracy. Mieszkańcy Sarajewa sukcesywnie stawiali opór atakom i bronili miasta, dzielnie próbowali znieść trudy tak długiego oblężenia. Tysiące cywili – kobiet, mężczyzn i dzieci – zostało rannych lub zabitych. Ludzie żyli w strachu o swoje życie. Miasto otoczone, hermetycznie zamknięte, przeobraziło się w getto, w którym umierali ludzie z głodu i pragnienia, ukryci w piwnicach zrujnowanych budynków. Zniszczenia miasta i liczne cmentarze do dziś zajmują ważne miejsce w panoramie Sarajewa (zob. fot. 2, 3, 4).

Na przekór niedogodnościom i ograniczeniom wielu sportowców chciało zachować poczucie tożsamości i namiastkę przedwojennego życia. W nocy, ukryci pośród ruin i w piwnicach, w miarę możliwości wykonywali ćwiczenia fizyczne. Część z nich dzięki determinacji, ucieczce z oblężonego miasta wzięła udział w zawodach zagranicznych. W czasie wojny zawodnicy z Bośni i Herce-

Fot. 1. Mapa oblężenia Sarajewa w Muzeum Tunel Spasa w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

Fot. 2. Widok na cmentarze w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

Fot. 3. Cmentarz w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

Fot. 4. Zniszczenia w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

gowiny wzięli udział w Igrzyskach Olimpijskich w Barcelonie (10 zawodników w 6 dyscyplinach). Dzięki pomocy światowych organizacji sportowych wielu z nich wyjechało do zaprzyjaźnionych krajów, by kontynuować treningi. Przed wojną w Sarajewie działał klub gimnastyki artystycznej „Bosna". Jego członkowie trenowali regularnie w okresie wojny, do momentu wyciągnięcia ich z piekła przez organizację International Sport Community. Z pomocą United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) zawodniczki z Bośni i Hercegowiny wyjechały do Francji, do miasta Evry i przebywały tam w latach 1994-1995 na zaproszenie klubu gimnastyki artystycznej SCA 2000, gdzie trenowały z Francuzkami (Ibrahimbegovic-Gafic, 2011, s. 229). W 1994 r. wspólnie z Bułgarkami pojechały na zawody World Clubs Cup w Japonii. Federacja japońska gościła zawodniczki przez miesiąc, by mogły przygotować się i wziąć udział w zawodach. Po powrocie do Francji drużyna wystąpiła w zawodach w wielu krajach europejskich (np. w Słowenii, Norwegii, Belgii). Dzięki wsparciu Ambasady Bośni i Hercegowiny w Norwegii Bośniaczki wzięły udział w Pucharze Europy w Oslo w 1996 r., gdzie zajęły VIII miejsce w kategorii drużyn (Ibrahimbegovic-Gafic, 2011, s. 229). W ten sposób podtrzymały państwową tradycję sportową, gdyż przed wojną, w latach 90. jugosłowiańska szkoła gimnastyki artystycznej była na bardzo wysokim poziomie.

W rozdartym wojną Sarajewie rekreacyjne aktywności fizyczne cieszyły się zainteresowaniem kobiet w różnym wieku. By razem ćwiczyć, kobiety organizowały spotkania w małych grupach, w mieszkaniach czy piwnicach, w miejscach bezpieczniejszych niż na zewnątrz. Wykonywały ćwiczenia aerobowe oraz gimnastykę leczniczą, ponieważ było to niezbędne do zachowania zgrabnej sylwetki, zwinności, radzenia sobie z fizycznymi wyzwaniami, stawianymi przez nową rzeczywistość (Ibrahimbegovic-Gafic, s. 229, za: Pac-Pomarnacka, 2016, s. 31). Po latach kobiety z Sarajewa twierdzą, że fizyczne wzmacnianie ciała, wspólne spotkania i dyskusje na temat bezpieczeństwa ćwiczeń pomogły im przetrwać wojenną rzeczywistość.

Powyższe przykłady ilustrują wytrwałość, odwagę i determinację zagrożonej populacji oraz wartości związane z aktywnością fizyczną. Mieszkańcy Sarajewa, ówcześnie jednego z najbardziej nowoczesnych miast Europy, kontynuowali nie tylko tradycje sportowe. W oblężonym Sarajewie, w podziemiach odbyły się np. wybory miss oblężonego Sarajewa (*Miss obkoljenog Sarajeva*), podczas których piękne kobiety na wybiegu trzymały transparent z napisem: „Don't let them kill us" („Nie pozwólcie im nas zabić"). Wydarzenie to zostało pokazane w filmie dokumentalnym o życiu w oblężonym mieście dziennikarza Billa Cartera (1995) pt. *Miss Sarajevo*.

Fot. 5. Muzeum Tunel Spasa w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

Fot. 6. Zachowany fragment „Tunelu życia" w Muzeum Tunel Spasa w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

Andrzej Pawłucki pisze o wykorzystaniu sprawności fizycznej zdobytej ze względu na wymogi systemu, która przydaje się w walce o własne przetrwanie. Zaznacza, że osiąganie doskonałości fizycznej jest trudem w pokonywaniu oporu natury własnej cielesności, by „swoją sprawność wykorzystywać w zadaniach pracownika i – na wszelki wypadek – bojownika obrońcy" (Pawłucki, 2013, s. 13). Gdy w Sarajewie odwiedza się Tunel Spasa[2] (zob. fot. 5, 6, 7), nasuwa się pytanie: Dlaczego nie wyprowadzono przez niego ludności cywilnej w bezpieczne miejsce? Idea pomocy wydawała się być bardzo piękna, jednak szybko zniknęła.

Władze Bośni i Hercegowiny nie chciały, by Sarajewianie opuścili miasto, ponieważ stanowili duży potencjał bojowniczo-obronny. Wychowani w „systemie jugosłowiańskim", wykorzystali swój potencjał fizyczny i umiejętności.

[2] „Tunel życia" – tunel wybudowany w 1993 r. przez Armię Republiki Bośni i Hercegowiny, pod pasem startowym lotniska na odcinku Dobrinja (dzielnica Sarajeva) – Butmir (mała wioska), o długości ok. 720 m. Służył dostarczaniu oblężonemu miastu żywności, leków, papierosów. Obecnie muzeum „Sarajevski ratni tunel".

Fot. 7. Eksponaty w Muzeum Tunel Spasa w Sarajewie

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

8.2. Dziecięce zabawy wojenne a wzór utylitarny

Słowo „gra" lub „zabawa" przywodzi na myśl pojęcie swobody, ryzyka czy zręczności, ale przede wszystkim wprowadza w atmosferę wypoczynku lub rozrywki, odpręża i bawi (Caillois, 1997, s. 5). Roger Caillois pisze, że zabawa stwarza sytuację do działania bez przymusu, a także bez konsekwencji dla realnego życia.

Dzieci mają ogromną i nieograniczoną wyobraźnię podczas swoich zabaw. Zabawy te często są odzwierciedleniem rzeczywistości, świata, w którym dzieci się urodziły, wychowały i obserwowały życie społeczne, włączając wydarzenia duchowe, społeczne, gospodarcze. Swoje spostrzeżenia wykorzystywały w zabawach. Najmłodsi wypełniają pewne wzory, przekazywane im często przez nieświadome działania społeczeństwa, w tym rówieśników, nauczycieli czy najbliższą rodzinę.

„Igre dječjeg ratovanja" – tak Maja Kožić (1993, s. 53) określa „zabawę w wojnę". Autorka pisze, że bawiący się przyjmuje rolę, którą wylosował, gdyż roli nieprzyjaciela nikt by dobrowolnie nie przyjął, zwłaszcza że nieprzyjaciel jest skazany na porażkę i niepowodzenie (Kožić, 1993, s. 53). Tak właśnie jest w przypadku zabaw w wojnę wśród dzieci. *Mimicry* i *simulacrum* (Caillois, 1997) to też niezbędne elementy w zabawie, ponieważ stojący po przeciwnych stronach „wojujący" odgrywają przydzielone im role, ustalają system znaków lub przebranie, dzięki którym różnią się od siebie.

Kožić[3] klasyfikuje zabawy wojenne jako kolektywne. Wymagają one otwartej przestrzeni ze względu na potrzebę przemieszczania się, a przebieg zabawy jest uzależniony od warunków pogodowych. W zabawy te bawią się raczej dzieci tej samej płci, a ściślej – chłopcy, którzy są w podobnym wieku. W przypadku narodu chorwackiego, doświadczonego wojnami, w dziecięcych zabawach wojennych przeciwnikami są przedstawiciele nieprzyjaciela. Dobrą stroną walczącą są niezmiennie Chorwaci, którzy muszą się bronić. W zależności od czasu historycznego, w którym przebiegają zabawy, zmienia się tylko agresor. Turcy należą do dawno minionej przeszłości. Z czasem ich miejsce zajęli „Szwaby" (Švabe). W okresie międzywojennym na scenę zabaw dziecięcych wkroczyli różni obcy władcy i politycy, których czyny Chorwaci odczuli bardzo negatywnie. Druga wojna światowa włączyła do dziecięcych zabaw partyzantów, ustaszów, czetników i znów Szwabów. Później zastąpili ich Indianie, kowboje, gangsterzy i inne postacie, które z pośrednictwem książek czy mediów przeniknęły do świata dziecięcych zabaw.

Wojna w latach 90., która zniszczyła Chorwację, nie została pominięta w sferze zabaw dziecięcych. Dzieci, które śledzą codziennie wiadomości telewizyjne, wyczuwają zmartwienia dorosłych, włączają do swoich zabaw kolejne postaci przeciwników. Po dobrej stronie stoją tylko Chorwaci, którzy znów bronią siebie, a przeciwnikami są źli i bezwzględni zdobywcy – czetnicy i armia jugosłowiańska. Kožić przywołuje opisy słoweńskiego pedagoga, etnografa Janeza Trdiny'ego (1980), który pisze o czasach, gdy w Chorwacji panował niemiecki absolutyzm i postępowała germanizacji narodu chorwackiego (Kožić, 1993, s. 54-55). Trdina (1980) w swojej książce *Bachovi, husari i ilirci* wspomina, że niedaleko wsi Bozjakovina w małym lasku spotkał grupę dzieci, które bawiły się w wojnę. Wszystkie chciały być Chorwatami, nikt nie chciał zostać Szwabem. Musiało zadecydować losowanie. Kto wyciągnie krótką słomkę, będzie przynależał do wojsk chorwackich, kto dłuższą – zostanie Szwabem. Bitwa z założenia zakończy się porażką Niemców. Chorwaci zwyciężą wroga, będą go popychać, bić i uderzać witkami wierzbowymi.

O przypadku spontanicznego wciągnięcia przygodnych uczestników do zabawy pisze dziennikarz B. Stipić (1991). Latem w 1991 r., gdy wśród bawiących się dzieci nikt nie zgodził się zostać czetnikiem, młodzi „gwardziści" ogłosili nieprzyjacielem wszystkich przechodniów, próbowali ich nawet zaciągnąć do niewoli. Dowodzi to tego, że dzieci są dokładnie poinformowane, kto jest kim i kto jest dobry, a kto zły. Życiowe doświadczenia społeczności dorosłych, zarówno pozytywne, jak i negatywne, przetrwają w zabawach dziecięcych, które są odbiciem rzeczywistości społecznej, nośnikiem i transmiterem wszystkiego, co istotne w danym

[3] Kožić dzieli zabawy ze względu na: wiek, płeć, czas i miejsce, indywidualne i kolektywne.

momencie historycznym regionu. Mogą posłużyć jako źródło historyczne badań nad ówczesną rzeczywistością (por. Szuchta, 2020).

W Chorwacji, w miejscowości Zaprešić rodzice zanotowali dziwne zachowanie swojego 7-letniego syna Franja. Po zabawie na jednym z osiedli wracał do domu posiniaczony, z ranami i otarciami. Chłopiec za każdym razem tłumaczył rodzicom, że spadł z drzewa lub się przewrócił czy niefortunnie upadł, przeskakując płot. Gdy pewnego dnia wrócił bez zęba, rodzice zmusili syna, by opowiedział, co naprawdę się stało. Wtedy chłopiec rozpłakał się i wyznał prawdę. Okazało się, że w najbliższym sąsiedztwie nie ma rówieśników, więc ciągle próbował przypodobać się grupie starszych od niego chłopców. Jako że był najmłodszy i niezbyt przychylnie traktowano jego obecność w „bandzie", gotów był na wiele ustępstw, byle przyłączyć się do grupy. Starsi od niego koledzy zaakceptowali go w końcu, lecz było oczywiste, że podczas zabawy w wojnę zawsze Franjo „wyciągnie najkrótszą słomkę". Wszyscy chcieli być gwardzistami chorwackiej armii, a nikt nie chciał zostać czetnikiem czy członkiem jugosłowiańskiej armii. Franja mianowali zatem serbskim oficerem, który po każdej wygranej przez Chorwatów bitwie dostawał „baty" – był kopany, zrzucany z wysokości i szarpany za włosy. Pokazuje to, że zabawa może przybrać również znamiona okrucieństwa. Najczęściej wynika to z trudnych doświadczeń i traumy wojennej dzieci, które przenoszą je do zabaw, zapominając, że „przeciw-

Fot. 8. Zniszczenia Vukovaru

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

nikami" są ich koledzy. Następuje przeniesienie rzeczywistości do „magicznego kręgu", o którym pisał Huizinga (2011), jednakże w opisywanej tu sytuacji ten krąg rządzi się negatywnymi emocjami i zachowaniami, ponieważ okoliczności, w jakich znalazły się dzieci, nie pozwalają im myśleć inaczej.

Również w gazetach chorwackich z czasów wojny lub okołowojennych można przeczytać o podobnych przypadkach, np. „Večernji list" opublikował artykuł, w którym opisana została sytuacja w miejscowości Stari Slankamen (na terenie dzisiejszej Serbii), przed wojną zamieszkiwanej przez Chorwatów (P.Z., 1992). Po 1991 r. wieś masowo zasiedlali Serbowie. Gdy jeszcze stanowili mniejszość, serbscy rodzice nie mogli się nadziwić, że ich dzieci wracają ze szkoły z pieśnią na ustach *Mi smo garda hrvatska* (*My jesteśmy Chorwacka Gwardia*), której nauczyli się od stanowiących w szkole większość dzieci chorwackich. Autor artykułu pisze:

Fot. 9. Wieża ciśnień Hrvatski branitelj w Vukovarze

Źródło: archiwum własne autorów.

„No ni dječje igre, na koliko se činile naivnim, ne prolaze, uvijek bez posljedica" („Nawet zabawy dziecięce, które mogłyby wydawać się naiwnymi, nie skończą się, nie niosąc za sobą skutków") (P.Z., 1992). W jednej z zabaw chłopca, któremu przypadło odegranie roli ustaszy, jego rówieśnicy czetnicy wzięli do niewoli, pobili i wrzucili do ognia. Chłopiec trafił do szpitala z ciężkimi poparzeniami. Dzieciom tak zapadły w pamięć historie opowiadane w środowisku, że traktowały ich treść za niepodważalny wzór do naśladowania. Nie mogły się nadziwić, że są za – prawidłowe w ich mniemaniu – postępowanie ukarane. Te zachowania wynikają z niskiego poziomu rozumienia norm moralnych przez dzieci. Lawrence Kohlberg nazywa to poziomem kompetencji moralnych przedkonwencjonalnych. Dzieci widzą otoczenie społeczne przez pryzmat własnego „ja". W ich osądzie moralnym występuje brak wrażliwości na zasady ustanowione przez kulturę, na określenie dobra i zła, słuszności, niesłuszności (Buksik, 1997, s. 159). W sytuacji, w której na co dzień były świadkami zmagań wojennych, tym bardziej nie mogły odróżnić dobra od zła.

Podziały etniczne wśród dzieci miały miejsce nawet kilkanaście lat po wojnie, o czym pisali Dinka Čorkalo Biruški oraz Dean Ajduković (2008) na przykładzie Vukovaru (zob. fot. 8, 9), który stanowi jeden z symboli wojny w Chorwacji.

O podobnych wzorach myślenia wśród dzieci pisała Hinduska Anuradha Bhattacharjee (2014). Opowiadała o losach polskich dzieci tułaczy w czasie II wojny światowej, które zostały przyjęte przez Indie. Kraj ów dał im schronienie w specjalnie dla nich wybudowanych sierocińcach. Autorka pisze o polskich dzieciach, które próbowały utopić dzieci pochodzenia żydowskiego. Na szczęście kadra opiekuńcza zapobiegła nieszczęściu. Polskie dzieci tłumaczyły się później, że nieżyjący rodzice ciągle mówili, że „Żydzi są źli, bo kradną jedzenie" (Bhattacharjee, 2014).

9. Wnioski

Wojna lat 90. utrudniła wypełnianie wzorów kultury fizycznej przez ludność cywilną. Jednakże „system jugosłowiański" nakładał na dorosłych obowiązek formacji cielesnej. Dotyczył on także dzieci, którym wpajano w szkolnej i pozaszkolnej praktyce wychowawczej utylitarny wzór formacji cielesnej, powiązany ze społeczną rolą bojownika walki rewolucyjnej. Przed rozpadem Jugosławii znaczenia wzorów kultury fizycznej były uzasadnione ideologią socjalizmu i nakładały na uczestników zbiorowości kolektywnej obowiązek utylitarnego i zdrowotnego doskonalenia się. To władca wyznaczał podwładnym zadania, w których uwzględniał fizyczne możliwości ich wykonania (Pawłucki, 2015, s. 181). Tito „uwzględniał cielesność podwładnych jako naturalną zasadę materialnego bytowania oraz – w obliczu zagrożenia bytu – zasadę obrony życia" (Pawłucki, 2015, s. 181). Zasady te były tak mocno zakorzenione w umysłach Jugosłowian, że nawet w trudnej rzeczywistości wojennej odczuwali potrzebę wypełniania powierzonego im zadania, czuwania nad sprawnością własnego ciała w określonym celu.

Wzór utylitarny, związany z obroną kraju i ochroną bytu materialnego, w czasie wojny wypełniała ludność cywilna Sarajewa poprzez wspólne ćwiczenia podnoszące wartość utylitarną ciał. Kobiety z kolei miały na uwadze dbałość o swoje ciało w związku z rolą macierzyńską, zapewniającą społeczności ciągłość międzypokoleniową. Wypełniały zatem również wzór witalny – zdrowotno-higieniczny oraz biotyczny – prokreacyjny. Trudne warunki panujące w oblężonym i bombardowanym mieście zmusiły kobiety do wykorzystania nietypowej przestrzeni do ćwiczeń, mianowicie piwnic, ruin i własnych mieszkań. Wspólne ćwiczenia stanowiły namiastkę przedwojennej rzeczywistości.

Jednak wzór utylitarny miał również swoje odbicie w krzywym zwierciadle. Doświadczenia wojenne wpłynęły na formy zabaw dziecięcych. Obserwując otaczającą rzeczywistość i postawy rodziców wobec niej, dzieci powtarzały pewne wzory. Przypadki opisane w artykule świadczą, że wzory kultury mogą zostać mylnie zinterpretowane. Dzieciom tak zapadły w pamięć opowiadane historie, że traktowały ich treść jako niepodważalny wzór do naśladowania. Nie mogły zrozumieć, dlaczego są karane za właściwe w ich mniemaniu postępowanie. Zachowania dzieci wynikają z niskiego poziomu rozumienia norm moralnych, trudności w odróżnieniu dobra od zła.

Kierunkiem dalszych badań będą działania władz miast Sarajewa czy Vukovaru, mające na celu załagodzenie konfliktów społecznych na tle etnicznym. Czy współczesne programy edukacji szkolnej i pozaszkolnej zawierają treści dotyczące szacunku i równości jednostek w społeczeństwie, bez względu na płeć, wiek czy przynależność etniczną? Pytanie to będzie kluczowe w dalszej eksploracji terenowej krajów byłej Jugosławii.

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The physical-utilitarian pattern of physical culture and war experiences in former Yugoslavia

Abstract. Culture and cultural patterns created by societies are an important field of research. Many authors have provided evidence showing that cultural patterns also concern the human body. Because people are involved in cultural activities with their bodies, they create patterns of physical culture. The purpose of this article is to identify patterns of physical culture proposed by Florian Znaniecki and body value patterns proposed by Andrzej Pawłucki in a different cultural setting, namely in the countries of former Yugoslavia, in particular in the urban communities of Sarajevo, Vukovar and Zaprešić. The ethnographic study described in the article is an attempt to establish whether the Yugoslav wars waged in the 1990s prevented civilian inhabitants of Sarajevo (especially women and girls) from observing patterns of physical culture and whether the pattern they cultivated was of the physical-utilitarian type. The study was based on data collected by observation, narrative interviews and the analysis of source texts. It was found that women and girls living in Sarajevo during the siege of the city adhered to utilitarian patterns of physical culture, which focused on developing body fitness and readiness to fight. A distorted reflection of this pattern could also be observed in the behaviour of children exposed to the reality of war.

Keywords: patterns of physical cultural, utilitarian pattern, the war in former Yugoslavia

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Conflict and chaos: A case study of Ireland's COVID-19 outbound travel market

Abstract. During the COVID-19 pandemic the international outbound travel market from Ireland collapsed, declining at one point by 94%. This case study paper explores the environment which framed the collapse in travel, positioning it as one of conflict and chaos. The main objective is to document and analyse the legal, industry and societal factors which may have contributed to the collapse, identifying the key regulations, decisions, metrics, and societal responses, and exploring their intersection with outbound tourism. Three areas of inquiry are explored, namely: 1) the legal instruments used by government to restrict travel, 2) operational decisions made by industry, and 3) societal and media response to the pandemic. Three findings are presented from the desk research. First, it is suggested that the conflicting agendas of government and public health, the mainstream media and the travel industry would be more effectively dealt with in private as opposed to via news articles, social media arguments, and openly published letters. Second, clarity of communication from all three bodies needs improvement due to its impact on consumer confidence. Finally, the article proposes lessons for government in relation to future crisis management situations regarding outbound travel.

Keywords: Ireland, COVID-19, crisis management, media and society, governance, restrictions, legislation

JEL Codes: L83, Z30

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1. Introduction

The 21st century has witnessed many shocks to the tourism market (Hall, 2010) but none can be compared with the impact of COVID-19. Crises ranging from terrorist attacks, to health scares, to the financial crises have all impacted on global tourism frameworks (O'Brien, 2012; Pine & McKercher, 2004; Baxter & Bowen, 2004; Ritchie, 2004), leaving an industry that is often best understood through a kaleidoscope lens of volatility, exposure, resilience and adaptation (Burnett & Johnston, 2020).

COVID-19 first emerged in Wuhan, China in late 2019, rapidly spreading worldwide and causing a minimum of 150 million cases and 4 million deaths by the end of summer 2021 (United Nations World Health Organisation, 2021), with likely actual case numbers and deaths significantly higher (United Nations World Health Organisation, 2021). The virus was first confirmed on Irish shores on the 29th of February 2020 (BBC, 2020b), quickly establishing itself and causing widespread challenges to Irish society, healthcare and economy, with major damage inflicted on the inbound tourism industry as revenues collapsed by 85% (RTE, 2020b). By August 2021, the country had recorded more than 300,000 cases and over 5,000 deaths[1] (Government of Ireland, 2021a).

While early cases received prominent news coverage in Ireland, the impact of the to-be- declared pandemic on the hospitality and tourism industry was almost entirely unexpected. Prior to COVID-19, Ireland had been focussed on developing resilience in many sectors of the economy to prepare for Britain's withdrawal from the European Union (Burnett & Johnston, 2020). However, the unexpected and rapid arrival of COVID-19 exposed the lack of preparation for an impact of this magnitude. Short term measures such as the closure of the hospitality industry (Carswell & Bray, 2020), the cancellation of major events such as the St Patrick's Day festival parades (BBC, 2020a) and sporting events (RTE, 2020a), and the introduction of requirements to stay within a 2 km zone (Citizens Information, 2020a) were deemed to be harsh, but temporary, by the Minister for Health (Harris, 2021).

The immediate impact on the inbound tourism market was notable, with strong media focus throughout the pandemic on the restrictions on international arrivals. The 2020 revenue slump resulted in approximately 150,000 job losses (RTE, 2020c). Both summer 2020 and most of summer 2021 seasons were lost almost entirely for the inbound tourism market, due to the damage wreaked by the virus itself in addition to the legal travel restrictions, airline cancellations, public sentiment and solidarity, and media campaigns to discourage international

[1] Exact figures were unavailable due to a cyber-attack on the Health Service Executive's IT infrastructure in May 2021.

travel. A strong emphasis from NPHET and the Chief Medical Officer (CMO) on not travelling abroad and engaging in domestic tourism (Holohan, 2020) was promoted, both to avoid importing the virus and to mitigate the damage from the loss of incoming international tourists (Irish Tourism Industry Confederation, 2020). This was supported in late 2020 with a stay and spend tax-credit voucher (Citizens Information, 2020a) although the initiative went largely underutilised due to further lockdowns (Independent.ie, 2021).

Multiple case studies have been published to date on the impact of COVID-19 on tourism, including on post-COVID-19 recovery (e.g. Fotiadis, Polyzos, & Huan, 2021), resetting tourism and regeneration (Sigala, 2020) and tourist behaviour (e.g. Kock et al., 2021). Less attention has focussed on Irish outbound market and the impact of the restrictions on key international tourism metrics. This is somewhat surprising, given Ireland's demographics, location and spending on international travel. According to the last census, Ireland's population was recorded at 4.904 million (Central Statistics Office, 2021a). Some 600,000 non-Irish nationals were resident in Ireland in 2019, representing 12.9% of the population and a large market who frequently travel overseas to visit friends and relatives (VFR), a market which has generally been one of the world's oldest and substantial, although likely underestimated in scale (Backer, 2012). In terms of geographical location, Ireland's position off the west coast of mainland Europe, its proximity to the United Kingdom and its strategic location between Europe and the United States, has facilitated a long and successful history in aviation. Multiple international airlines have had Irish CEOs in recent years, including British Airways, Ryanair, Malaysia Airlines, and Qantas (Regan, 2018). It also has a population passionate for international travel. In 2019, for example, Irish residents spent over €8 billion on international travel, making almost 9.4 million outbound trips. This represented a total of 66.9 million bed nights overseas, 74.5% of which were within the European Union (Glennon, 2020). The country has repeatedly achieved impressive metrics in aviation, compared with its near neighbours, although this has been severely challenged during COVID-19, as will be set out in the present article.

> In 2019, before COVID-19, Ireland was the 16th largest in the aviation market in Europe by total seat capacity, significantly above its ranking as Europe's number 26 nation by population. However, in the week commencing 28-Jun-2021, Ireland ranks as the 23rd biggest aviation market in Europe by seats – a significant slump from pre-COVID-19. (Centre for Aviation CAPA, 2021)

The above figures are notable in the context of connectivity for an island state. By July 2021, Ryanair, for example, was operating 34% of its July 2019 capacity, while Aer Lingus, the second largest airline in the State, was operating at only 14% of its 2019 volume (Centre for Aviation CAPA, 2021). First quarter passenger

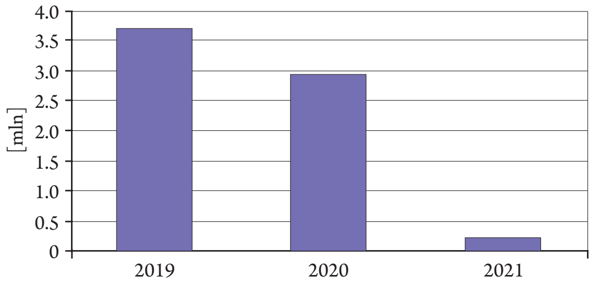

Fig. 1. Quarter 1 Passenger Departures Ireland, All Airports, 2019-2021

Source: Central Statistics Office 2021a.

departures from Ireland (Fig. 1) over the period 2019-2021 illustrate the scale of the fall (Central Statistics Office, 2021b). Declines in outbound passenger numbers at the country's international airports ranged from 94% at Dublin Airport, 96% at Kerry Airport, 98% at Cork at 99% at Knock Airport and Shannon Airport (Central Statistics Office, 2021a).

2. Methodology

COVID-19 themed research has dominated tourism publications during 2020 and 2021 due to the global nature of the pandemic, the myriad problems posed by the crisis and the prevailing nature of the issue, even as we approach two years since it first emerged. Surprisingly little has been written on the Irish experience of managing COVID-19 impacts in relation to tourism, either inbound or outbound. This is a clear gap in the literature that needs to be addressed, due to the stringent nature of the country's response to the pandemic and the lessons that can learned from it for future tourism crisis management. Attributes of Ireland's tourism economy, including its geographical position, the contribution of tourism to GDP, Ireland's high uptake of outbound international travel and the country's long-established aviation connectivity with the UK, the USA, Europe, and the Middle East further contribute to the rationale for this article.

Since the aim for this research is to provide insights into the factors influencing the collapse in Irish outbound tourism, the focus in this article is on secondary data. The main objective here is to document the legal, industry and societal factors which may have contributed to the collapse, identifying the key regulations, decisions, metrics, and societal responses, and exploring their intersection with outbound tourism. Data sources were derived from government publications,

Table 1. Data sources used to inform the study

Data type	Data source
Legal restrictions and government guidelines	Stay-at-home restrictions, March 2020 S.I. No. 217/2021 – Health Act 1947 (Section 31A – Temporary Restrictions) (COVID-19) (No. 2) Regulations 2021 Citizens Information Website Re-Open EU mobile application Key government department websites, including health, transport, tourism An Garda Síochána (Ireland's police force) Ireland's COVID-19 data hub
Mainstream media publications from Ireland and abroad	RTE News The Irish Times The Irish Independent The Irish Examiner The BBC The Guardian
Official datasets	Failte Ireland Tourism Ireland Central Statistics Office Eurostat
National and international industry publications	Ryanair Aer Lingus Dublin Airport Authority Euro Control The Irish Tourism Industry Confederation (ITIC) The UNWTO

Source: compiled by the author.

mainstream media websites and publications from major industry players. Insofar as possible the study focuses on the period of February 2020 to July 2021, an 18-month period covering the confirmation of COVID-19 in Ireland to the launch of the digital COVID-19 certificate. The secondary sources presented in Table 1 were used to inform this study.

3. Legal measures

As COVID-19 began to make worldwide headlines in 2020, Ireland's National Public Health Emergency Team (NPHET) was responsible for monitoring the spread of the virus in the state. NPHET provided daily briefings to government and the media from early in the pandemic, briefings which were keenly followed in Ireland (Cullen, 2020) with a population interested in daily case numbers, hospitalisations, testing statistics, intensive care admissions, mortality and later in the pandemic, vaccination rates. The national 'obsession' with daily case numbers was suggested to cause unnecessary anxiety (McGreevy, 2020).

Initially, international travel was restricted through stay-at-home orders, which banned non- essential travel. Increasingly complex measures were then introduced over the following year. For example, in summer 2020, the government introduced a requirement for 14 days isolation post international travel, multiple Department of Foreign Affairs travel restriction guidance, and, controversially, a requirement for any public servants to take a mandatory two-week leave post international travel, with no permission to work from home during this period. Other countries globally enforced even stricter lockdowns, including, for example, New Zealand's COVID-19 elimination strategy (O'Sullivan, 2021).

As case numbers dropped in Ireland in summer 2020, non-essential travel restrictions were loosened, although international travel was heavily discouraged by the government with requirements for isolation remaining and restrictions on public servants engaging in non- essential international travel remaining. Following a second surge in August, Ireland again responded with harsh lockdowns, achieving one of the lowest COVID-19 prevalence rates worldwide by early December. This permitted a relatively wide reopening of travel in December 2020, which contributed to a third wave (O'Riordain, 2021).

In early 2021, as cases surged for the third time, harsh legal and operational measures were introduced to restrict international travel. These included a new statutory instrument relating to COVI9-19 restrictions, fines for non-essential international travel increasing from €100 to €500 to €2,000, the introduction of mandatory hotel quarantine, including, for many European Union countries, suspension of holiday visas for specific countries and the requirement to arrive with a negative PCR COVID-19 test result. This was due to a sharp rise in cases in the January period, causing Ireland to have one of the fastest growth rates of COVID-19 instances anywhere in the world. Rising hospital admissions, numbers of patients in intensive care and sharply increasing death rates prompted severe national lockdowns and multiple restrictions on international travel.

In early 2021, the government introduced mandatory quarantine for all arriving international passengers, initially with a fourteen-day requirement to stay at home, with failure to comply penalised by fines of up to €2,500 and/or six months in prison (Department of the Taoiseach, 2021). Subsequently, travel to Ireland from specific designated states was subjected to mandatory hotel quarantine. Countries on this list variously included those with which Ireland would traditionally have strong outbound travel to, including the United States, France, Italy, and Canada. Travel to Ireland from these countries, while they remained on the mandatory hotel quarantine list, required the passenger to pre-book accommodation in designated hotels, to which they were escorted to on arrival by Óglaigh na hÉireann, the Irish Defence Forces. The quarantine period required single adults to pay a fee €1,875 for two weeks in a hotel, including meals, with a fee of €625 for each additional adult or their children who were aged 12-17. The fee for children aged 4-12 was €360, while no fee was charged for infants up to three years.

The inclusion of EU countries on the mandatory hotel quarantine list caused a publicly played out argument between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Health (McGee, 2021a). The presence of European Union countries on the mandatory list further caused concern to the European Commission and other prominent figures. The media covered several complaints from EU ambassadors to Ireland, including, prominently, from the Italian ambassador (O'Leary, 2021). In April, Mr Paolo Serpi, in a widely circulated video, called the quarantine of Italian citizens "discriminatory" and "excessive", but Ireland's Minister for Health responded that he would make 'no apologies' for the measures. Over the coming weeks and months most European countries were removed, and with the removal of Belgium, France and Luxembourg on Friday, 28 May with immediate effect, no further European Union countries were on the list in summer 2021 (Department of the Taoiseach, 2021).

Throughout winter and spring 2021, senior politicians downplayed the possibility of travel reopening soon. In February 2021, the Tánaiste, Ireland's deputy prime minister, stated 'Maybe it will be the case that international travel is not possible this summer, this Christmas. I don't want to close off that possibility today, but maybe we'll have to' (Pope, 2021), while a few months later, in May, he stated that it would be August before travel reopened (McConnell, 2021a).

On the 19th of July 2021, Ireland finally fully commenced operation of the European Union's Digital COVID-19 Certificate (DCC), facilitating the return of inbound and outbound travel from an operational perspective. This document permits travellers who are vaccinated, recovered, or tested to cross borders without further restrictions using a QR code. While millions of certificates were issued in the week leading up to the 19th of July, the country was lagging behind all other European Union countries, all of which had launched the certificate on or by the 1st of July. Contradictory and confusing communications from the government were frequent during this period in relation to international travel. For example, on Wednesday, the 7th of July, the Department of the Taoiseach stated that children aged 7 and above needed to take a PCR test to fly to Ireland. This was in direct contradiction to a statement from the previous day when the Department of Health informed the Irish Times newspaper that children aged 12 and above only needed a PCR (Paul, 2021).

The official launch of the DCC on the 19th of July was also immediately beset with problems. In the first three days of launch, an underresourced staff handled less than 7% of 70,000 received calls (McQuinn, 2021). Tens of thousands of citizens were unable to obtain help from the government helpline during these days due to delayed or missing certificates and incorrect information on certificates such as misspellings of names in the Irish language (Jones, 2021). One government party Senator noted at a health committee meeting that the incorrect translation of the certificate into the Irish language stated that the holder *had* COVID-19, as opposed to not having it (McGee, 2021b). Moreover, multiple media outlets additionally reported fully vaccinated Irish tourists subjected to mandatory hotel quarantine in Malta, due to only having a national record card of vaccination and not the full European DCC, due to delays with them being issued (Schengen Visa News, 2021; O'Regan, 2021; Burns & Wilson, 2021).

Four days after the launch of the certificate the government launched a website for residents who had acquired immunity through previous infection to request certification (Government of Ireland, 2021c). This was set up to reduce pressure on the phone lines, following complaints. However, this website too was beset with issues. The URL for the website contained a typo and was listed as irishcovidcertifcateportal.org, missing an 'i' in the word certificate. The error was quickly spotted by citizens, who set up a replica site redirecting users to the correct URL to avoid potential fraud (Cosgrave & Wilson, 2021) (see Fig. 2). After several media outlets reported on the error, the government URL was changed altogether the following day to irishcovidcertportal.org, with links provided from the main government website (Government of Ireland, 2021c). Following a further week of complaints

Fig. 2. Screenshot of a website created by two Twitter users redirecting users to the correct government URL with its incorrect spelling, following the incorrect spelling of 'certificate'

Source: Government of Ireland, 2021c.

about 90-minute-plus wait times the government announced a new website would be built to handle requests for certificates (Kilraine, 2021).

A key legislative issue which restricted international travel was Ireland's refusal to utilise antigen tests, which can determine with high levels of accuracy whether the user has COVID-19. While the tests do not have the same level of accuracy as the gold standard PCR tests (Grover, 2021), they are widely utilised for travel throughout Europe (The European Union, 2021) as they give rapid results and are notably cheaper to administer. This issue was discussed prominently via the media with evident conflict between politicians, the public and NPHET, who did not support their use in Ireland, especially for socialising or travel. To demonstrate their distrust of the reliability of antigen tests, the Chair of the Modelling group of NPHET referred to them as 'snake oil', drawing a sharp public rebuke from a Professor of Immunology at Harvard (McGreevy, 2021). The tests were also criticised by the Minister for Health, prompting the same Harvard professor to say that he was 'sorry for Ireland' and that the government did not understand the science behind them. Moreover, and somewhat bizarrely, a consultant immunologist discussed rubbing butter on an antigen test in front of an Oireachtas Committee on Transport hearing (a legislative branch of government) to argue the tests could be easily manipulated to give a false negative. This action prompted an opposition politician to state that it demonstrated NPHET's distrust in the public (Ryan, 2021).

4. Industry decisions and impact

Commercial flight departures from Dublin airport to the European Union 28 in the first quarter of 2020 and 2021 illustrated the impact of the legislation, industry decisions and societal response. As the pandemic took hold in March 2020, the restrictions began to take hold with widespread flight cancellations. Dublin Airport passenger numbers in 2020 fell by 78%. This decline was comparable to similar large airports in proximity in Europe, with similar declines at Manchester Airport (76.9%), Gatwick (78%), Heathrow (72%) and Brussels (74%). Regional Irish airports were affected to an even greater extent, with passenger numbers handled by Cork Airport, for example, down 89.2% from Q3 in 2019 (Graham, 2021). May figures from the period 2017-2021 (Fig. 3) illustrate the impact into 2021 with connectivity suffering greatly during this period.

By July 2021, passenger numbers in Ireland continued to lag behind both EU counterparts and its 2019 figures. The number of flights on 22nd of July 2021, compared with that recorded exactly two years earlier had declined by 60%, with only 20,000 passengers on this date in 2021, compared to a daily average of 115,000 in

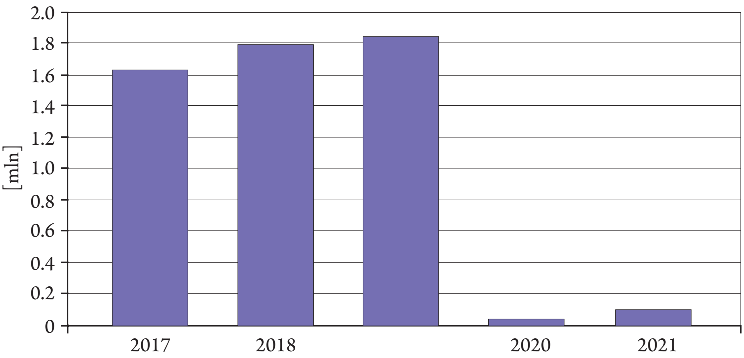

Fig. 3. Passenger departure numbers from all air and seaports, May 2017-2021

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2021a.

July 2019. This compared particularly unfavourably to the EU average, where air travel was less than 40% behind 2019 averages at this point. Ferries to and from France and the UK continued for the most part throughout the pandemic, given their role in supply chains, although with much lower passenger numbers.

As the scale of the pandemic became evident in spring 2020, several Irish-based airlines began to cancel flights in a widespread manner. Refunds, which should have been issued within a short time, were still being pursued months later by an angry customer base, who complained to their local politicians, court systems and on social media about their treatment (Pope, 2020). Ryanair, for example, offered customers cash refunds, subsequently changing their mind, and automatically issuing vouchers to customers. This was in contravention of Europe-wide EU261/2004 regulation, which required airlines to issue refunds. Ultimately, passengers did receive refunds, but many were still being pursued months later (The Irish Examiner, 2021).

Due to COVID-19, Aer Lingus decided to close its crew base at Shannon Airport in the Mid- West of Ireland in Spring 2021. At the point of making this decision Aer Lingus had estimated losses of €465 million euro due to the pandemic. The prompting local rallies calling on the government to change aviation policy to retain connectivity, help the industry recover and to save the airport (Flynn, 2021). The decision to withdraw from the airport was as much an economic shock as a financial one, as Aer Lingus, the former State-owned airline, had been flying from Shannon for over 80 years. Ryanair also made several route closure decisions (BBC, 2021b) which were blamed on government policies in relation to mandatory quarantine, vaccinations, and testing.

Throughout the pandemic there were multiple instances of publicly played out conflict between the travel industry lobby, the government and NPHET. Ryanair were one of the more vocal critics, telling the government to "stop faffing around" with regards adoption of the European traffic light system for travel in October 2020 (McQuinn, 2020). This mode of public criticism from Ryanair throughout the pandemic, when, for example, they published an open letter to the Minister for Transport in June 2021, calling on him to explain why Ireland was not ready to comply with the DCC for travel (O'Halloran, 2021a). The letter also called the government 'inept' and warned that Ireland would be in breach of European Union law if it failed to accept the COVID-19 certificates for entry.

Conflict between public health advice and the travel industry continued into the summer months of 2021. Shortly prior to the introduction of the digital COVID-19 certificate the Chief Medical Officer stated that 'there are plenty of good holiday opportunities in this country' and that the unvaccinated should "not travel", advice which was criticised by the President of the Irish Travel Agents Association as being against the spirit and terms of the digital COVID-19 certificate (Cullen, 2021). By July 2021, Dublin airport flight numbers compared unfavourably to other major European airports, when examining the 2021 figures against 2019 figures (see Table 2). Daily variation in Dublin on the 21st of July, for example, from 2019 to 2021, showed a decline of 62% in the number of flights. Declines for the ten busiest airports in Europe between the 14th and 21st of July ranged from 10% to 45%, less of a decline on average that Dublin during this period. By the first weekend of August 2021, national flight numbers were at only 40% of their 2019 volume, also significantly lower than the European Union average of 70% for the same period (O'Halloran, 2021b).

Table 2. Top 10 busiest airports 7-day average Dep/Ari flights on 14-21 July, compared to 2019

Airport	Number of daily Flights	Percentage decline 2021 VS 2019
Amsterdam	979	–17
IGA Istanbul Airport	927	–27
Paris/Charles-De-Gaulle	886	–42
Frankfurt	835	–45
Madrid/Barajas	754	–41
Antalya	739	–20
Palma De Mallorca	714	–20
Athens	650	–21
Barcelona	627	–42
Istanbul/Sabiha Gokcen	598	–10

Source: EuroControl, 2021.

4. Societal response and media influence

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, the Irish media profiled several cases of COVID-19 spread in relation to international travel. In the early stages of the pandemic, the media included frequent reference to Irish outbound travel to the Cheltenham horse racing festival in the United Kingdom. 20,000 Irish tourists attended this four-day event from the 10th to 13th of March 2020. Media commentary on whether or not the festival should have gone ahead appeared in *The Guardian* (Wood, 2020), *The Irish Independent* (Riegel, 2020), *RTE* (RTE, 2020b) and *The Irish Times* (Wood & Carroll, 2020), with attendees criticised for travelling and race organisers receiving strong disapproval not cancelling the event. One *Irish Times* article captured the mood with their headline '*Cheltenham 2020: 'Face-masks were as rare as a 100-1 winner' Racing journalist Brian O'Connor looks back on the 'glorified Petri dish' that was Cheltenham 2020'* (O'Connor, 2021a).

Multiple high-profile stories regarding travel and COVID-19 continued to be published throughout summer 2020. In August, for example, the Chairperson of Failte Ireland, Ireland's national tourism authority, resigned from his position after the media reported that he was on a holiday visiting family in Italy (BBC, 2020c). Although Italy was a green list country, which it was permissible to visit on the system utilised by the government at the time, and although the chairperson role is not remunerated, the Minister for Tourism stated she was 'disappointed' with his actions and accepted his resignation. Similar comments emerged from industry bodies and opposition parties, who variously called it 'shocking optics', 'a crass error of judgement', and 'unbelievable' (Horgan-Jones, 2020). Weeks later, another board member resigned after the media reported she had spent time in Spain during the summer, where she owned a second property (Gataveckaite, 2020).

Throughout the pandemic the media frequently quoted opposition politicians and members of the Independent Scientific Advocacy Group (ISAG), who persistently called for a zero- COVID-19 strategy to replicate the approach of New Zealand in sealing its borders to the vast majority international travel (O'Sullivan, 2021). Measures advocated to deter outbound travel included strict outside-the-home mandatory quarantine for all travel, and additional restrictions, such as the creation of bubbles in border counties beside Northern Ireland (O'Riordain, 2021). One Senator accused the ISAG group of attempting to instil fear, and after internal leaked correspondence, called on members to 'look for ways to increase insecurity, anxiety and uncertainty' (Bradley, 2021), as 'people hurt faster than institutions' (McConnell, 2021b).

Further tweets from group members demonstrated their desire for mandatory quarantine and stricter measures.

> We keep delaying the introduction of even half-hearted mandatory hotel quarantine & meanwhile the virus goes on. If P.1 [a covid variant] establishes itself here we are in real trouble. The virus was introduced & reintroduced by travel, but we don't have this basic PH [public health] measure. (McLysaght, 2021)

Confusing and sometimes incorrect information was on occasion published by the media in relation to travel. For example, an article published in the Irish Times on 7th of June 2021 stated that '*A ban making "non-essential" travel illegal and quarantines demanding that passengers from the US and several EU countries stay in hotels for two weeks, are among tough measures that remain in place in the Republic*' (O'Halloran, 2021b). This statement was despite all remaining European Union countries and the United States having been removed from the mandatory hotel quarantine list on the 28th of May with immediate effect, ten days prior (Department of the Taoiseach, 2021).

Finally, one of the most prominent media COVID-19 travel stories during the early period of 2021 related to two women from Dublin who travelled to Dubai. On return, subject to prevailing regulations, both women were mandated to go into hotel quarantine. The women refused to enter quarantine and their solicitor said "his clients were not aware of the regulations before they travelled to Dubai for breast augmentation surgery" (BBC, 2021b). The women were sent to prison, charged with breaching Section 38 of the Health Act, but were subsequently released after the high court amended their bail conditions and on agreement that they would return to hotel quarantine (O'Faoilain, 2021).

5. Analysis and discussion

Despite regulations, industry decisions and media influence on non-essential travel, throughout the pandemic Irish residents utilised multiple 'backdoors' to continue accessing international trips abroad. A prominently covered route included travel for dental treatment. Regulations permitted departure for loosely defined essential reasons, including for travellers with arranged dental treatment or seeking dental treatment (S.I. No. 217, 2021). This exception facilitated a spike in Irish residents seeking dental treatment overseas, presumably most of which was non-essential given the subsequent low uptake of the appointments.

Dentists in the Canary Islands, for example, stopped taking bookings from Irish residents during February 2021, after reporting up to 15 bookings per day, followed by no-shows on appointment day (Pogatchnik, 2021). An Garda Síochána, Ireland's police force warned that while they did not view the practice of travelling abroad for dental treatment as reasonable, they only had limited powers to stop it (Gallagher, 2021).

Other backdoors facilitated international travel, particularly to the United Kingdom. On the 10th of May 2021, for example, Ireland loosened national restrictions, thus facilitating inter- country travel, and confirmed by the government that this included travel to Northern Ireland (Libreri, 2021). The open border between Ireland and Northern Ireland therefore meant that Irish citizens could access airports in Northern Ireland for departures and arrivals, while continuing to be fined €2,000 for non-essential travel to Dublin airport and other Irish airports and ports. In theory fines could be levied for non-essential travel via Northern Ireland, but in practice there was no reporting of this occurring. The open backdoor was also reported on widely as per dental treatments, with the Irish Times, for example, reporting a '*Lucrative Dublin run for taxi drivers as quarantine dodgers fly to Belfast*' (McClements, 2021).

Globally, international tourist arrivals were down 83% in the first quarter in comparison to 2020 (The UNWTO, 2021) and by the end of summer 2021, COVID-19 was responsible for c195million cases and more than four million deaths (The Visual and Data Journalism Team, the BBC, 2021). It is clear the virus itself was evidently the direct cause of the sharp decline in outbound travel, rather than specifically legislation, industry decisions or media and societal influence. In an Irish context, it must be stated that the policy, commercial decisions and media influence were but three of the internal factors influencing the collapse in outbound travel numbers, but there are myriad external factors not considered in this article, including for example, the cancellation of events frequently attended by Irish tourists abroad, the arrival restrictions in other countries, and the discouraging of international arrivals in other countries through societal and media influence.

While Ireland's decline in outbound travel largely reflected the global collapse in the tourism industry, the State was, for the most part of the first eighteen months, situated at the extreme end of European metrics, as demonstrated by contrasting aviation figures, departures, travel fines, and the pace of recovery. This present exploration of the restrictions and their impacts presents three key findings, which provide lessons for policy makers, industry, and society.

An important consideration is that it is imperative for the three stakeholders to reduce the public nature of conflict. Publicly played out conflicts between government departments, between government and international partners, between government and society, between consumers and industry and between government and industry were evident at multiple points throughout the pandemic. Conflict is likely to be healthy in the context of a crisis, especially as alternative viewpoints can help creativity in an uncertain world (Eisenhardt, Kahwajy, & Bourgeois 1987) and it may therefor help craft strong policy. There is a concern among industry (O'Connor, 2021b) that such prominent positioning of travel as a 'villainous' facilitator of COVID-19 unnecessarily attacked the sector. Further research would be required to assess if this positioning will slow recovery, leaving an unwanted legacy from the pandemic.

Second, it is imperative that communications are improved in future crises management situations in Ireland. Tackling misinformation is a stated aim of the European Union (European Commission, 2021), yet when both the mainstream media and the government are issuing outdated, inaccurate, contradictory, or simply confusing messaging, it is unlikely to build trust among the general population. Trust is essential in the management of a nation's health and while Irish government and society has been praised for its exemplary response to the pandemic itself (Horgan-Jones, 2021) and its vaccination rates (Moloney, 2021), there are clearly lessons which can be learned for mitigating economic damage. It is also impossible for travellers to plan with any accuracy about what they can or cannot do if government ministers are issuing widely publicised contradictory statements in relation to travel. Again, this lesson prompts consideration of an opportunity for further research. It is critical to understand the trust-travel-crisis nexus to mitigate damage in future crisis management situations and research on traveller intentions, crisis management techniques and communication flows offer rich seams for exploration.

Finally, there are lessons to be learned in terms of responsivity of measures, particularly in the context of volatility, exposure, resilience, and adaptation. It is clear, for example, that aspects of travel restrictions had a positive impact on reducing virus circulation in Ireland. However, many of the restrictions received criticism for their timing, being brought in either too late to reduce viral circulation or not being removed quickly enough to mitigate economic damage. Furthermore, it is not clear why the launch of the Digital COVID-19 Certificate was so beset with problems, given that it had been in preparation across Europe for some time. Reviews and reflections on the processes used to launch the certificate should be conducted to ensure information technology capacity and responsivity is improved when faced with a crisis.

6. Outlook

The long-term outlook for the outbound Irish tourism market is generally positive as of August 2021. With strong social connectivity across Europe, ongoing government supports, a higher rate of vaccination uptake than the EU average (European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control, 2021), pent up demand, and strong intentions to travel (Allen, 2021), it is likely the sector will rebound. Both Ryanair and Aer Lingus, responsible for most of the outbound traffic from Ireland, have indicated they expect the sector to recover within two to three years (Hoare, 2021). The Central Statistics Office published a survey in June 2021, based on primary research from April-May 2021, indicating 47.3% of respondents planned an international trip in 2021, with a further 34.5% planning one in 2022 and 18.2% not planning to travel within this period (Central Statistics Office, 2021b). This provides a generally positive picture, although the survey was conducted prior to challenges with the DCC and enhanced news coverage of the Delta COVID-19 variant. Further reflections will be required on the management of pandemic related travel in the coming years as we emerge from the crisis.

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Konflikt i chaos na przykładzie irlandzkiego rynku podróży zagranicznych w czasie pandemii

Streszczenie. Podczas pandemii COVID-19 międzynarodowy rynek podróży zagranicznych z Irlandii całkowicie się załamał, odnotowując w pewnym momencie spadek o 94%. Autor opisuje okoliczności, które towarzyszyły temu załamaniu, wskazując na dominującą w owym czasie atmosferę konfliktu i chaosu. Głównym celem artykułu jest udokumentowanie i przeanalizowanie czynników prawnych, branżowych i społecznych, które mogły przyczynić się do załamania rynku turystycznego, wskazanie kluczowych przepisów, decyzji, wskaźników i reakcji społecznych oraz zbadanie ich wpływu na turystykę wyjazdową. Przedmiotem analizy są trzy obszary, a mianowicie: 1) instrumenty prawne stosowane przez rząd w celu ograniczenia podróży, 2) decyzje podejmowane przez branżę turystyczną oraz 3) reakcja społeczeństwa i mediów na pandemię. Przedstawione wnioski to wynik analizy danych zastanych. Po pierwsze, zdaniem autora, konflikty i spory dotyczące działań podejmowanych przez rząd i służbę zdrowia, główne media i branżę turystyczną dałoby się rozwiązywać znacznie skuteczniej na płaszczyźnie prywatnej zamiast toczyć je na łamach artykułów prasowych, w mediach społecznościowych lub w formie listów otwartych publikowanych w prasie. Po drugie, wszystkie trzy strony powinny poprawić przejrzystość swojej komunikacji, mając na uwadze jej wpływ na zaufanie konsumentów. Autor proponuje też szereg wniosków, które rząd może wyciągnąć z tego doświadczenia z myślą o zarządzaniu przyszłymi sytuacjami kryzysowymi w odniesieniu do podróży zagranicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: Irlandia, COVID-19, zarządzanie kryzysowe, media i społeczeństwo, zarządzanie, ograniczenia, ustawodawstwo

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Analysis of domestic language tourism in Spain

Abstract. The general objective of this study was to research the revitalisation of language tourism (LT) activities in Spain. More specifically, the study aimed at describing the LT phenomenon, analysing the global and Spanish LT market, and examining domestic LT options in Spain. A bibliographic and web search was carried out, in addition to a focus group with a convenience sample of four language tourists, and an in-depth semi-structured interview with one study abroad accommodation provider. Qualitative data were processed using content analysis and SWOT analysis, and were categorised before the triangulation stage. Whereas Spanish inbound and outbound LT markets are quite consolidated, only 17 private companies and 5 public programmes have been identified in the Spanish domestic niche, all of them focusing on English as a foreign language. The private offering is very limited and addressed at very specific segments. As for public programmes, in 2019-2020 they received an estimated funding of 4.7 million euros and were attended by over 9000 individuals. This sector has been scarcely investigated to date and offers an excellent opportunity for proximity travel. A more extensive, diversified offering, supported by better promotion is required. This implies the involvement of all stakeholders, as well as the close cooperation of private suppliers and the public administration, in planning and implementing sustainable policies in Spain.

Keywords: Domestic tourism, educational tourism, language tourism, sustainable impacts

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1. Introduction

For some individuals, a genuinely intrinsic passion. For others, just another side effect of globalisation. Learning foreign languages has been an upward trend in the last decades and one of the reasons why people would travel before the COVID-19 pandemic. According to the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2010), educational trips can be motivated by the desire to learn a foreign language and lead to memorable language tourism (LT) experiences. Such experiences result from a combination of foreign language acquisition and services provided by the tourism industry, like transport, lodging, food and beverages, and entertainment (Iglesias, forthcoming 2022).

Tourism flows have diminished worldwide due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and so have the influx of visitors to LT destinations, including Spain. This article presents a study conducted between October 2020 and April 2021, whose general objective was to research the revitalisation of LT activities in this country. Three specific objectives were set for the study, each corresponding to two research questions (RQ). The 1st specific objective was to describe the phenomenon of LT:

RQ1. What does LT consist in?

RQ2. What are the impacts of LT?

The 2nd specific objective was to analyse the current situation of the global and Spanish LT market:

RQ3. What are the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the global LT market?

RQ4. What is the current context of the inbound LT market in Spain?

The 3rd specific objective was to examine domestic LT offering in Spain:

RQ5. What is the current domestic offering of LT in Spain?

RQ6. What are the future prospects for this sector in the short term?

The following section presents a review of the literature on language tourism.

2. Literature review

2.1. Overview of LT

LT can be referred to as "a tourist activity undertaken by travellers (or educational tourists) who take a trip which includes at least an overnight stay in a destination outside their usual place of residence for less than a year and for whom language learning is a primary or secondary part of their trip" (Iglesias, 2016, p. 31). LT is a micro-niche of educational travel (García Laborda, 2007; Gómez et al., 2018; Iglesias, 2016; Yarymowich, 2005), and it is also a subtype of cultural tourism (Iglesias, 2017b; Piédrola Órtiz, Artacho Ruiz, & Villaseca Molina, 2012; Redondo-Carretero et al., 2017; Taboada Zúñiga Romero, 2012). Iglesias (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b) portrays the LT market as a system where demand and supply are determined by consumers' demographics, motivations, perceptions, and travel behaviours, in addition to product configuration, managing and marketing structures, and destinations' resources. A wide range of LT experiences can therefore result from combinations of these aspects, where trips and travellers can be differently categorised depending on whether or not language learning is complemented with additional activities like sports, or whether the emphasis is on activity-based learning through cultural visits, to name just a few examples (Iglesias, 2017a).

Like all tourist activities, LT can bring benefits to all key stakeholders if local populations and visitors are also involved in its development. LT is a source of revenue and generates employment opportunities all year round, so its economic impact for LT destinations is significant (Barra, Marco, & Cachero, 2019; Castillo, Rodríguez, & López-Guzmán, 2017; Piédrola Órtiz, Artacho Ruiz, & Villaseca Molina, 2012; Redondo-Carretero et al., 2017; Taboada de Zúñiga Romero, 2012). LT not only fosters the development of linguistic and socio-cultural competences (Bruzos, 2020; Carvalho, 2021; Iglesias, 2017a), but also professional and personal progress (Castillo Arredondo et al., 2018; Drozdzewski, 2011; Iglesias, 2017b; Pokojski, Wolejko, & Starszuk, 2021); it can also increase cross-cultural awareness and tolerance (Aliaga et al., 2018; Iglesias, 2014; Iglesias et al., 2019). Furthermore, it bolsters local cultures and heritage (Pardo Abad, 2011; Redondo-Carretero et al., 2017). These aspects are pull factors for language tourists, who build a loyal relationship with the local community and encourage more visitors to come (Iglesias, 2017b; Piédrola Órtiz, Artacho Ruiz, & Villaseca Molina, 2012; Redondo-Carretero et al., 2017; Taboada de Zúñiga Romero, 2012). In this way, language travellers become promoters of destinations they have visited, even among the local residents (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2017).

2.2. The Spanish LT market

The language spoken at LT destinations is a key pull factor and a major tourism resource. In the case of Spanish, it is the third most spoken language in the world, after English and Mandarin Chinese. More than 22 million individuals studied Spanish as a foreign language in 2020 (Fernández Vítores, 2020). According to Turespaña, the Spanish Tourist Board, Spain is the main destination for tourists eager to learn this language, followed by Mexico and Argentina (Turespaña, 2008).

Turespaña promotes Spain as a LT destination together with Instituto Cervantes and Federación Española de Escuelas de Español como Lengua Extranjera (FEDELE), i.e. the Spanish federation of schools of Spanish as a foreign language. FEDELE is made up of seven regional associations of 98 language schools. As part of the Association of Language Travel Organisations (ALTO), the Federation regularly publishes sector reports, economic studies, and strategic plans. FEDELE members constitute an important share of the current supply for inbound LT in Spain.

According to a FEDELE report for 2019 (2020), there was a very significant upward trend in the number of language tourists and weeks spent in Spain. In 2019 FEDELE schools welcomed approximately 138600 students, who stayed for 3.42 weeks on average. With weekly average revenue per student amounting to €500, the total turnover for almost 474000 weeks was nearly 237 million euros, including tuition, accommodation, catering, leisure activities, and domestic transfers, but excluding flights (FEDELE, 2021). International students predominantly enrolled in intensive courses with more than 15 teaching hours per week, and 75% were interested in programmes focusing on the Spanish language and culture. The majority of students were women (64%) and not older than 45: aged 12-18 (32%), 19-25 (25%), and 26-45 (26%). Over 65% of language tourists came from Europe, mainly from Italy, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom (FEDELE, 2020).

Asociación Española de Promotores de Cursos en el Extranjero (ASEPROCE), i.e. the Spanish association of promoters of study-abroad programmes, represents the outbound LT market. Nowadays, ASEPROCE includes 65 private companies from all over Spain. Although its role is similar to that played by FEDELE, ASEPROCE does not carry out macro-studies. Therefore, there are no publicly available data about outbound LT activities in Spain.

It is even more difficult to find information about the domestic LT in Spain. While a number of private and public products stimulate language tourism across different Spanish regions, there is no representative body that caters for the interests of these providers. The following example serves to illustrate activities undertaken in this market niche.

The Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo (UIMP), together with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training of the Government of Spain, offers immersion English courses for students and teachers on a yearly basis. Since 2008, over 150000 individuals have participated in this programme as language tourists. The main objective of these courses, designed for students at an intermediate or advanced level, is to improve their oral competences in English as a foreign language. In addition, the programme provides participants with opportunities to develop their interpersonal skills and to establish bonds with other participants from different backgrounds during their stay in a Spanish city or region. This programme is targeted at two main groups: on the one hand, youngsters who have obtained a scholarship from the Ministry of Education as a means to facilitate access to language acquisition resources to less-favoured segments of society; on the other hand, graduates with master's degrees in education. Those who fulfil the requirements can apply for grants to take part in a five-day immersive programme in any of UIMP's eleven headquarters around Spain. On average, each headquarter welcomes around 40 new students each week for six months every year.

Participants can choose between a general English course or specialised courses. Groups of five to seven students are created depending on the course selected and results of placement tests. In order to obtain a certificate, students have to attend classes for 40 hours and join a minimum number of complementary activities, which include one-to-one oral sessions, exam preparation classes or city tours. All private companies willing to develop programmes regarding the provision of accommodation, catering, and leisure activities have to take part in a public bidding process, while students are responsible for arranging their own transport to their destination. The programmes had been running at full capacity for over 10 years until mobility ceased abruptly in March 2020 due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, ensued by a period of travel restrictions.

2.3. The impact of COVID-19 on LT

As for the effects of COVID-19 in the LT market worldwide, according to a survey conducted by the Federation of Education and Language Consultant Associations (FELCA), turnover between February and August 2020 dropped between 80% and 100% compared to the same period in 2019 (FELCA, 2020). Another survey carried out by ALTO concludes that pre-COVID levels will not be reached until 2022. The market is predicted to eventually recover, but numbers will be far below those recorded in 2019. Global agents and schools ranked government policies, air travel (in terms of costs, availability, and safety), and school policies and protocols regarding COVID-19 as critically important in regaining students' confidence in the near future. Even though some of these aspects mainly depend on medical and political considerations, some major adaptations and actions are required on the part of the LT industry. In addition, ALTO considers that this new global context can also be seen as a good chance to welcome new perspectives and opportunities that have never been given enough attention in this market (ALTO, 2020).

In Spain, FEDELE reported a drop of nearly 83% in the number of international students who took part in their programmes in 2020, a figure that contrasts with excellent results of the previous year. Given an annual growth of 9.93% before the pandemic, a turnover of over 260 million euros had been forecast for 2020. Instead, from 1st January to 30th September 2020 operations slumped to 17% of

2019 levels, corresponding to an estimated loss in revenue due to COVID-19 of over 216 million euros (FEDELE, 2021). Although seasonality in this sector is lower, the summer season is still considered to be fundamental for the vast majority of language schools, so the reduced mobility of language tourists in that period had a particularly negative impact. Actually, not only schools have been affected by this situation, but also a great number of stakeholders that are directly or indirectly dependent on this tourism niche, such as educational intermediaries, host families, the hospitality industry, transportation firms, retail businesses, tour guides, and a wide range of leisure companies, among others.

FEDELE has created a certification system based on several guidelines, recommendations, and protocols for accredited Spanish schools, which is used to confirm that they are following all the measures set by the authorities. Each certified school needs to prepare a specific contingency plan to increase safety in their facilities, ensure a distance of at least 1.5 meters between students, impose the obligation of using hydroalcoholic gels and masks, inform users about hygiene and safety, provide signs to respect social distancing, and reduce decorative elements that may be prone to contagion (ALTO, 2020).

Domestic LT providers have also adapted to the new requirements necessitated by the COVID-19 pandemic in Spain. This has been one of the aspects examined in the study reported hereinafter.

3. Research methods

Considering the objectives set for this bibliographic and exploratory study, qualitative methods were used. Data collected by means of different techniques and tools were processed by applying content analysis, categorisation, and SWOT analysis, following the approach adopted in previous studies conducted in this line of research (Alcázar et al., 2019; Aliaga et al., 2018; Iglesias & Feng, 2017).

To start with, a bibliographic exploration was conducted to identify the main characteristics of the LT micro-niche. A TITLE-ABS-KEY search for the phrases {language tourism} and {linguistic tourism} in the Scopus database returned a list of 22 valid documents where these terms appear in the title, keywords, or abstract. 11 of them were primary documents, whereas another 11 were secondary documents mentioned in the lists of reference included in the 11 primary documents. Off-topic text contents and repeated manuscripts were discarded.

A bibliographic database was created including the following information: the year when these contributions were published, their authors, the LT destination they refer to, the type of document, the language of publication, and the database of origin. Full details are provided in Table 3. Additionally, a term co-occurrence map based on text data extracted from the titles and abstracts was created using VOSviewer, a software tool for building and displaying bibliometric networks (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010). After selecting a threshold of 5 minimum occurrences of a term, 17 terms out of 359 met this requirement. For each of the 17 terms, a relevance score was calculated automatically.

Secondly, a web search was carried out in order to find information about the Spanish LT market and the impact of COVID-19. To identify domestic LT experiences in Spain, this study only focused on immersive courses offered by private companies. Other types of domestic LT experiences, like summer camps or linguistic exchanges, were excluded from the study.

Thus, the target population consisted of the following 17 private LT companies: Diverbo-Pueblo Inglés, Optima Communication, Vaughan, Speak and Live, Estación Inglesa, Eloquentia, El Valle Inglés, Inmersity, Astex, All in English, American Language, BC Facilitation, English Getaway, Idiomas Top, Eduma, English Systems – Sunny England and Summer Natura. A database was created containing information obtained from each company's website about its location, LT destinations, target market, types of accommodation, programme length, and implemented COVID-19 measures.

The public offering of domestic LT experiences in Spain was also examined by looking at the official website of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, which promotes and subsidises immersive LT programmes available in Spain every year. A second database was created including information about programmes offered between 2019 and 2020, namely:

– Grants for an intensive language immersion course in English, 2019.
– Scientific, artistic, and literary routes with linguistic immersion in English, 2019.
– Language immersion programme in holiday camps, 2019.
– Language immersion programme, 2020.
– UIMP Scholarships, 2020.

The database comprised the following details: programme name, amount of subsidy, description and objectives, target, stakeholders involved, duration, and destination(s).

Thirdly, an online focus group was arranged to identify interests and needs regarding LT demand. A set of open-ended questions was created to foster discussion among a group of former participants of a public domestic LT programme offered by the Spanish government and organised by the UIMP, as described in the Literature Review. The session was recorded, with participants' prior consent, and one of the central parts was a debate about the internal and external factors that affect the UIMP programme, which was later taken into account in the SWOT analysis. A convenience sample of four respondents was selected from among those who took part in the programme in 2019 and 2020. Three of them took part in the

Table 1. Questions used in the focus group and during the in-depth interview

Technique	Questions
Focus group (FG)	FGQ1. Do you know what LT is? FGQ2. When you participated in the UIMP programme, were you aware that you were actually language tourists? FGQ3. Would you say you were somehow influenced by your LT experience? FGQ4. Which aspects of the UIMP programme could be highlighted positively? FGQ5. Which qualities differentiate this programme from other similar ones? FGQ6. What is your opinion regarding this programme's resources? FGQ7. Did you perceive any lacking aspect during your experience? FGQ8. What aspects of the UIMP programme could be improved? FGQ9. Did you perceive any limitation of resources from the organisation? FGQ10. Do you consider that this programme could benefit from any opportunities? FGQ11. What are the main threats to this programme in your opinion? FGQ12. Have you had any previous LT experience in the public or private sectors? FGQ13. Would you be interested in undertaking a similar experience in a language other than English? FGQ14. What kind of LT experience related to another language do you imagine? FGQ15. How do you see the future of LT?
Interview (I)	IQ1. Which was the role of Ágora BCN in the UIMP programme? IQ2. How did Ágora BCN become involved in this programme? IQ3. What do you think of this programme's design? IQ4. How did language tourists behave during their stay in Ágora BCN? IQ5. What are the demand's needs? IQ6. Would you say all targets have the same offer in the domestic LT sector? IQ7. Do you consider that there is room for languages other than English in today's LT domestic market? IQ8. How would you address future implementations in this sector?

Source: own research.

programme in 2019 and one in 2020. The focus group moderator also participated in the programme as a student in 2019. All four respondents were females, aged between 20 and 24 years old, and lived in Spain.

The supply perspective was considered on the basis of information obtained during an online in-depth interview with the Sales Manager and Commercial Director of Ágora BCN, a student hall of residence in Barcelona (Spain), which had hosted participants in the UIMP programme in 2015 and 2016. Another set of open-ended questions was created to guide this semi-structured interview. The conversation was also recorded with the interviewee's prior consent. The questions used in the focus group and during the in-depth interview are provided in Table 1.

Responses collected from the focus group participants and during the in-depth interview were categorised as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Categorisation

Technique	Category	Subcategory
Focus group (FG)	FG1. LT as a construct	FG1.1. Conceptualisation FG1.2. Self-awareness as language tourists
	FG2. Sociocultural impacts of LT	
	FG3. The UIMP programme	FG3.1. Strengths FG3.2. Weaknesses FG3.3. Opportunities FG3.4. Threats
	FG4. The LT experience	FG4.1. Previous LT experiences FG4.2. Interest in new LT experiences FG4.3. Future courses of action
Interview (I)	I1. The UIMP programme	I1. Ágora BCN as a LT stakeholder I2. Analysis of the UIMP programme I3. Sociocultural impacts
	I2. Future courses of action in the Spanish LT sector	I2.1. Demand needs I2.2. Offer and target I2.3. Language diversification I2.4. Forthcoming developments

Source: own research.

4. Findings and analysis

4.1. Bibliometric analysis

The fact that the first document dealing with LT in Scopus dates back to 2005 indicates that research on this tourism micro-niche is relatively recent, which is one of the reasons for its scarcity. The most prolific year was 2017, when 22.7% of all contributions on this topic were published. Out of the 22 documents included in the database, 72.7% are journal articles, 18.2% are book chapters, and 9.1% are conference proceedings. Of the 49 authors associated with these documents, the most recurrent is Iglesias, with 7 publications.

Although 27.3% of these publications are not related to a specific region, as much as 54.5% focus on inbound LT in Spain, while other geographical areas are less represented, including English-speaking countries. However, almost all of the publications are in English. The bibliometric details are provided in Table 3.

As for term co-occurrence, the most relevant terms, based on the score calculated by VOSviewer are visualised in Fig. 1, where they are grouped in 3 clusters shown in different colours within a network of 102 links that connect all the terms. The size of particular terms represents their frequency of occurrence. Among the most frequent items are obvious terms, such as "language", "language tourism",

Table 3. Bibliometric data

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>Author</th><th>Destination</th><th>Source</th><th>Language</th><th>Scopus database</th></tr>
<tr><td>2005</td><td>Yarymowich</td><td>Canada</td><td>Book chapter</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author studies through content analysis some strategies used by schools to deliver LT experiences.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2007</td><td>García Laborda</td><td>UK</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author aims at distinguishing from different types of language travel depending on the focus on language learning, outcomes and supplementary activities.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2011</td><td>Drozdzewski</td><td>Poland</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author examines the motivations of international students with Polish heritage who travel to Poland to learn the Polish language, and for whom cultural immersion and personal development are fundamental.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2011</td><td>Pardo Abad</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>Spanish & English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author investigates some indicators of LT and focuses on two major Spanish world heritage cities.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2012</td><td>Piédrola Órtiz, Artacho Ruiz, & Villaseca Molina</td><td>Spain</td><td>Book chapter</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors examine through a mixed-methods approach the economic relevance of LT for a Spanish world heritage city, as well as the profile of the foreign students who choose this destination and their satisfaction degree.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2012</td><td>Taboada de Zúñiga Romero</td><td>Spain</td><td>Book chapter</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author explores the nature of LT activities undertaken in Spain by learners of Spanish as a foreign language and compares the development of two Spanish world heritage cities as LT destinations.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2014</td><td>Iglesias</td><td>Global</td><td>Proceedings</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author examines LT as a transformational experience in terms of second language acquisition, self-discovery, educational and professional development. The positive and negative sociocultural impacts of contact with the host community for both language tourists and residents are also discussed.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2015</td><td>Iglesias</td><td>Global</td><td>Proceedings</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author explores language tourists' demographic factors in relation to LT demand and their role in developing communicative competence in a foreign language in study-abroad contexts.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2016</td><td>Iglesias</td><td>Global</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author analyses conceptually the LT phenomenon and its market system from the perspectives of the demand and the supply.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Castillo, Rodríguez, & López-Guzmán</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>Spanish</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors research the motivations of inbound students in international mobility programmes at a Spanish university, mainly driven by their desire to learn the Spanish language and because of its geographical location.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017a</td><td>Iglesias</td><td>Global</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author examines the sociolinguistic and pragmatic gains of study-abroad stays for second language acquisition, as well as the main components of LT products.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017b</td><td>Iglesias</td><td>Global</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author analyses the tourist components of language travel. The results of a survey conducted at a Spanish university among international students with a primary interest in learning the Spanish language to identify the profile and travel behaviour of international learners of Spanish.</td></tr>
</table>

cont. Table 3

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>Author</th><th>Destination</th><th>Source</th><th>Language</th><th>Scopus database</th></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>O'Rourke & DePalma</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors investigate the motivations of foreign students who travel to Spain to learn a minoritised language, their ideologies and search for authentic LT experiences.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Redondo-Carretero et al.</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors study the profile of international learners of Spanish as a foreign language in a Spanish city. An account of language tourists' motivations and perceptions is provided, as well as a discussion about the influence of these two aspects on their expenditure.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Castillo Arredondo et al.</td><td>Spain & Germany</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors examine by means of a survey the push and pull factors that determine inbound LT at a Spanish university in contrast to a German university. The results show that language learning is a key driver that enhances language tourists' personal and professional growth.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Gómez et al.</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors study the factors that influence the choice of a LT destination by means of a Partial Least Squares regression. The role of consumption values and the perceived beneficial image among American university students learning the Spanish language in Spain are reported.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Aliaga et al.</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors conduct a qualitative research of several aspects related to inbound LT in a Spanish city, namely providers and services, the demand's profile, and the impact of accommodation and interaction on both residents and language tourists.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2019</td><td>Barra, Marco, & Cachero</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors measure the significant economic impact of language travel on a Spanish summer destination to show the relevance of diversifying tourism activities.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2019</td><td>Iglesias et al.</td><td>Spain</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Secondary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors follow a mixed-methods approach to examine the sociocultural impacts of inbound LT in a Spanish city. In addition to linguistic gains, the interaction between tourists and the host community has an effect on their identities and values, as participants become more aware of cultural diversity. Integration needs to be boosted.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2020</td><td>Bruzos</td><td>Spain</td><td>Book chapter</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author explores how learning Spanish as a foreign language in a Spanish city is fostered through social and political contextualisation so that study-abroad sojourners develop their linguistic and sociocultural competences and acquire a critical, dynamic perspective of Spanish culture.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2021</td><td>Carvalho</td><td>Global</td><td>Journal article</td><td>English</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The author studies through interviews the influence of second language acquisition on language travel patterns. Language tourists' communicative competence in the target language and their active involvement in the language learning process can be conducive to enhanced contact with residents and knowledge of the local culture.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2021</td><td>Pokojski, Wolejko, & Starszuk</td><td>Malta</td><td>Journal article</td><td>Polish</td><td>Main</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">The authors present a case study of a language trip undertaken by a group of Polish secondary students to Malta. In addition to linguistic and cultural gains, other benefits related to learning how to make travel arrangements and use new technologies are reported.</td></tr>
</table>

Source: own research.

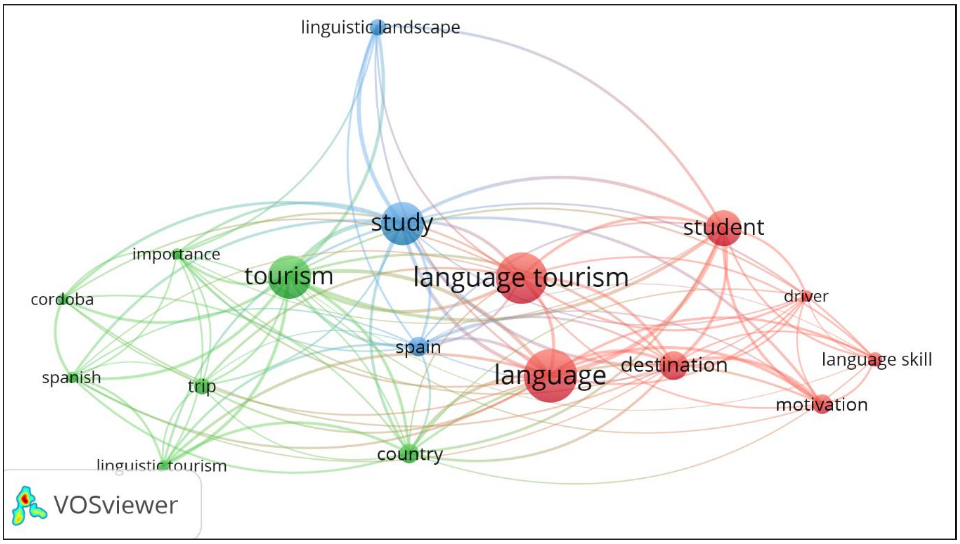

Fig. 1. Term co-occurrence map

Source: own research.

“tourism”, “study”, “student”, and “destination”, as well as “motivation” and “Spain”. The identified clusters seem to indicate relevant research topics and contexts. One of them is related to students’ aims and reasons for language travel. The second one refers to the relevance of the Spanish world heritage city of Córdoba as a popular destination for tourists interested in the Spanish language and culture. The third cluster confirms the status of Spain as a major LT destination.

4.2. Analysis of the domestic LT market

Information collected about the private providers of immersive LT programmes in Spain indicates that 35% are located in Madrid, the capital, and 11.8% in Barcelona. Most of the companies offer their packages with transport, accommodation, excursions, and language classes in more than one geographical region. The LT providers try to reach more than one market segment. 88.2% of the programmes are aimed at adults in general, 47% are targeted at corporate customers, 29.4% – at children up to the age of 12, 29.4% – at people aged between 13 and 25, and 11.7% – at families. The prevailing accommodation options are student halls of residence, villas, rural houses, and hotels, while 17.6% are homestays.

Private LT providers offer a range of programmes that last mostly between 5 and 8 days (88.2%) or between 1 and 4 days (82.3%). 17.6% last up to 26 days.

Prices range from €110 to €500 for the shortest programmes, from €579 to €1445 for 5- to 8-day programmes, and from €990 to €2100 for longer programmes.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, 88% of private LT providers were able to resume their activity right after the national lockdown imposed in Spain in March and April 2020, and are currently active, having implemented health protocols within their premises to offer their services safely. The number of participants per group has been decreased, collective rooms have been replaced by individual rooms, and specific group activities have been cancelled. While international mobility has been severely interrupted, private LT providers have seen the demand for their services grow, as more people looking for foreign language immersion have opted for domestic rather than international experiences. What is more, even though online language classes are commonly available during the pandemic, face-to-face experiences have now gained a unique competitive advantage.

With respect to state-funded language programmes offered in domestic LT, during 2019 and 2020 the Spanish government spent an estimated 4.7 million euros to subsidise five domestic LT programmes for around 9500 individuals. Involved in the organisation of these programmes are the Ministry of Education and educational providers, mainly primary schools and high schools, as well as suppliers of tourist services (accommodation, catering, and leisure), who need to follow a public administrative procedure in order to be licensed. Most programmes last from five to seven days, except one lasting 15 days, and are held in various destinations across Spain. The target audience for these programmes are scholars, teens, and young adults. Adults and seniors are excluded.

4.3. Analysis of the focus group

With regard to category FG1 in Table 2, the four participants were able to provide a correct albeit rather rough definition of LT and give specific examples of language trips, but none had thought of themselves as language tourists. All the participants agreed that the main motivation for their LT stay was not just the linguistic component itself but the overall experience. They were mainly driven by a desire to visit a new destination, get to know new people, and engage with them in a welcoming new environment.

As for category FG2, all the participants emphasised that they had experienced personal development as a result of facing new challenging scenarios that helped them to become more open-minded and inclusive. Some participants also pointed out that they later returned to the LT destinations, which they felt particularly attached and loyal to. They shared their positive opinions with relatives and friends, which means that could be regarded as good ambassadors of those destinations.

Regarding category FG3, Table 4 summarises the SWOT analysis based on the focus group discussion.

Table 4. SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
• Innovative methodological approach, based on group dynamics and conversational activities. • Meaningful linguistic input in an immersive learning environment. • Experienced teachers with an excellent command of English and the ability to create a relaxed learning atmosphere. • Excellent organisation from the very first day, with quick registration procedure, as well as outstanding management of staff and activities. • Economic affordability, as most of the costs were covered. • Inclusion of participants from different geographical regions and diverse cultural backgrounds.	• Occasional lack of materials, especially technological equipment or experimental tools. • Precarious catering service, not adapted to special needs or diets. • Stressful time management with tight schedules. • Insufficient information about the programmes in online public platforms. • Lack of promotion through public educational institutions. • Very limited leisure activities during the COVID-19 pandemic.
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Substantial volume of followers of UIMP on social media. • Relevance of foreign language acquisition and language diversification in global economies. • Greater interest in the public offering derived from reduced purchasing power due to economic recession. • Domestic options perceived as valid alternatives to reduced international mobility.	• Stricter restrictions on national mobility in critical COVID-19 scenarios. • Fear of travelling and reluctant consumer behaviour affecting tourism flows. • Cutbacks to resources from public administrations as a result of financial readjustment.

Source: own research.

As for category FG4, three participants reported having previous positive LT experiences, either in domestic summer camps or overseas. All the participants were interested in new LT experiences in the future, especially in Spain, and stated that the price would be the most decisive factor. There was a suggestion to include new foreign languages in the offering.

4.4. Analysis of the in-depth interview

With respect to category I1, the interviewee regarded the excellent organisation and general management as key strengths of the UIMP programme. She praised its domestic perspective, since the programme was affordable for consumers with medium-high purchasing power. She also highlighted participants' sense of respect for one another.

In regard to category I2, the interviewee believed that potential language tourists nowadays look for programmes which are economically affordable and that there is no specific offering for people aged 15-18. She was convinced that LT experiences would always be in demand, as foreign language competence is an asset, and that they should combine many different components in addition to the linguistic input. In her view, learning English is a must for Spanish kids, teenagers, and especially adults, so she did not see the need for a greater selection of languages. Since many language programmes in Spain are mainly aimed at foreign language tourists, the interviewee thought it was necessary to increase the offering for domestic tourists, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, when such options can be an attractive alternative to courses abroad.

5. Discussion

A number of differently priced programmes of varying length and targeted at different customers were identified in the Spanish domestic LT sector. Thanks to its rapid adaptation to the COVID-19 pandemic, this market has become competitive in comparison to international markets, which are currently struggling with serious operational difficulties. Yet, there is a significant lack of suppliers. The domestic LT market cannot be considered a mature sector, as the number of companies operating in this micro-niche is very low in comparison to options offered by Spanish providers for those interested in inbound or outbound tourism. Much of the existing activity tends to concentrate in larger urban areas, which may be an obstacle for tourists from more remote parts of the country. Besides, some market segments, such as families or younger people seem to have fewer options.

The main purpose of state-funded domestic LT programmes is to provide low cost but high-quality opportunities to improve participants' foreign language skills. This contributes to more qualified labour force in the future, which can benefit not only the participants, but also the whole society.

On the other hand, the focus group emphasised the benefits of domestic LT experiences, so the LT market definitely needs to develop the domestic offering by including new foreign languages and a wider range of complementary activities, paying more attention to food arrangements, and employing more effective ways of reaching potential language tourists. The interdependence between the factors identified in the SWOT analysis can be converted into actionable strategies, for example by boosting visibility through social media. The affordability of state-funded domestic programmes can meet the needs of individuals with a decreasing purchasing power and thus aid social inclusion, so public administrations should keep investing in them.

The most relevant course of action mentioned during the interview is the need to balance international LT flows with domestic alternatives, which at the moment seem insufficient. In this regard, the UNWTO described domestic options as one of the main ways of restarting tourism in the COVID-19 era. Tour operators and travel agencies are encouraged to "incentivize domestic tourism, short trips and visits to nearby destinations in the short term" (UNWTO, 2020: 20). Furthermore, hospitality marketers are urged to "promote proximity and domestic tourism in the short-term enhancing the local value chain" (UNWTO, 2020, p. 17). On the other hand, domestic tourism activities are also aligned with sustainable development goals. For instance, proximity trips usually have a more environmentally-friendly carbon footprint than long-haul transportation.

The bibliographic exploration of LT revealed that this micro-niche has not been investigated extensively, that most publications are relatively recent, and that domestic LT activities have received very little attention. Therefore, results of the market research reported in the previous section offer a valuable insight into the Spanish domestic LT sector. They also seem to suggest that this industry is still far from constituting a solid option in Spain, despite the fact that there is interest in holistic LT experiences on the part of providers and potential customers. The findings indicate that domestic LT has great potential in the current context and should therefore be given deeper consideration. The existing offering should be increased, diversified, and better promoted. Another problem that should be addressed is that providers and destinations tend to concentrate in just a few regions. Some market segments are poorly catered for, and programmes focus on teaching English as a foreign language. Finally, demand and supply differ in their views regarding the idea of offering additional foreign languages.

This study also confirms the relevance of Spain in the LT sphere, both for academia and for the tourism industry. Therefore, insights from the study can serve as a reference for other LT destinations with similar characteristics, potentially leading to fruitful alliances between them.

6. Conclusion

The triangulation of the outcomes and perspectives obtained in this study lead to conclude that the initial research questions were answered and the objectives were also met. A theoretical approach to the LT phenomenon as well as the theoretical and practical implications regarding its impacts has been presented in this article. Moreover, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the LT micro-niche globally and in Spain have been outlined. Additionally, both the private and public supply of domestic LT experiences in this country have been examined, and insights towards the rebound of LT activities in the short run have been provided.

Owing to the scarcity of information on LT and restricted access to commercial sensitive data, for example regarding flows of language tourists travelling abroad, the scope of this study is limited. Another limitation is the small sample of respondents.

Future investigations could expand the range of variables taken into account in the analysis of the domestic private market. The target population could be extended to include companies offering summer language camps in Spain. Regarding state-funded programmes, further longitudinal research could compare how different governments or regional administrations implement domestic LT programmes. Such studies could provide interesting conclusions concerning amounts of subsidies provided by different administrations, the number of beneficiaries, or resulting impacts on individuals, sectors and destinations in order to evaluate the significance of domestic LT activities in more detail. Likewise, domestic language learning projects launched by non-for-profit organisations could be stimulated and included in the market analysis. Future studies could also be undertaken to analyse demand and supply in post-COVID scenarios. Insights from these studies could help to design valid strategies responding to future threats and preparing for opportunities associated with the growing interest in digitalisation and sustainable tourism practices.

In line with Iglesias et al. (2019), the creation of a LT observatory might be useful to address some of this industry's challenges. An observatory could provide scientific knowledge and play a role in promoting this micro-niche, especially in view of the fact that there is currently no organisation that represents domestic LT providers and that could function as a counterpart of FEDELE or ASEPROCE.

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Analiza turystyki językowej w Hiszpanii

Streszczenie. Ogólnym celem niniejszej analizy było zbadanie procesu rewitalizacji turystyki językowej w Hiszpanii. Zadanie to zostało zrealizowane poprzez opis zagadnienia turystyki językowej, analizę hiszpańskiego rynku turystyki językowej i przegląd krajowej oferty turystyki językowej w Hiszpanii. W ramach badania dokonano przeglądu literatury i wielu stron internetowych poświęconych temu tematowi. Przeprowadzono zogniskowane wywiady grupowe z czterema nielosowo wybranymi osobami korzystającymi z turystyki językowej. Ponadto przeprowadzono pogłębiony, częściowo ustrukturyzowany wywiad z podmiotem oferującym zakwaterowanie w czasie studiów za granicą. Dane jakościowe zostały opracowane na podstawie analizy zebranych treści, analizy SWOT oraz zostały poddane kategoryzacji przed ich triangulacją. Choć hiszpański rynek turystyki językowej wyjazdowej i przyjazdowej jest dość skonsolidowany, w kraju zidentyfikowano zaledwie 17 prywatnych firm i tylko 5 publicznych programów specjalizujących się w nauce języka angielskiego jako języka obcego. Oferta prywatna jest bardzo ograniczona i skierowana do bardzo konkretnych segmentów. Programy publiczne w latach 2019-2020 były wspierane środkami w łącznej kwocie 4,7 mln euro, a skorzystało z nich ponad 9000 osób. Sektor ten był do tej pory słabo zbadany i stanowi doskonałą okazję do bliskich podróży. Przeprowadzona analiza pozwala stwierdzić, że potrzeba większej i bardziej zróżnicowanej oferty, a także lepszej promocji. Będzie to wymagało zaangażowania wszystkich zainteresowanych stron, tzn. ścisłej współpracy dostawców prywatnych oraz administracji publicznej w planowaniu i wdrażaniu zrównoważonych polityk.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka krajowa, turystyka edukacyjna, turystyka językowa, oddziaływania zrównoważone

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Applications of open innovation models in the tourist sector: Canary Islands experiences[1]

Abstract. The purpose of this article is to present some applications of open innovation methods in the Canary Islands. The authors set out to verify the hypothesis that open innovation methods can foster the growth of innovative culture in participating companies and generate new ideas and projects. The study is based on qualitative data collected through observation and during interviews with those responsible for organizing open innovation programs in the Canary Islands, closely related to the tourism sector. The authors identify benefits derived from new ideas and innovative projects, which help to generate competitive advantages. They conclude that the application of open innovation methods has stimulated innovative culture in tourism companies that have been able to develop innovative projects. Open innovation can therefore be regarded as an effective method of creating collaborative environments for different stakeholders involved in the process that can generate benefits for all parties involved.

Keywords: open innovation, innovation management, tourism, hospitality

JEL Codes: O3, Z320

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1. Introduction

Because of its very nature, tourism undergoes constant changes. Faced with its dynamic and complex structure entities in the public and private sector have to invest in alternatives defined under the framework of innovation management, which are viewed as a generator of competitive advantage (Brink, 2017; Martínez-Pérez et al., 2019). However, some researchers believe that it is no longer enough to apply closed, structured and defined elements of innovation as has been the case so far. A new approach is required under the umbrella of open innovation, to address the new challenges faced by the global tourism sector after the health crisis caused by the pandemic.

The concept of open innovation (OI), coined by Chesbrough (2003), is explained as follows: *"Valuable ideas can come from inside or out of the company and can go to the market from inside or outside the company as well. This approach places external ideas and external paths to market on the same level of importance as those reserved for internal ideas and paths to market during the Closed Innovation era"* (Chesbrough, 2003). The traditional model of innovation assumes a closed approach and involves generating, developing and commercializing ideas from a linear and internal perspective (De Jong et al., 2008). Meanwhile, the open innovation model consists in including various groups of interest, enabling them to participate in all stages of conceptualising and implementing ideas from within and outside the company (Chesbrough, Vanhaverbeke, & West, 2006). However, there is no single definition of open innovation (OI), just as there is no single definition of innovation. Although the field of study of OI has been considerably expanded, its interpretation, characteristics and scope have yet to be specified (Elmquist, Fredberg, & Ollila, 2009; Fernandes, Ferreira, & Peris-Ortiz, 2019). Von Hippel & Von Krogh define the phenomenon of open innovation in terms of the following characteristics: (1) voluntary disclosure of knowledge; (2) constant availability; (3) the continuous and dynamic iteration of participants (Von Hippel & Von Krogh, 2006). Laursen & Salter interpret the concept of IO as the possibility of taking advantage of external innovation resources for the benefit of the company (Laursen & Salter, 2006); while Henkel defines it as the disclosure of knowledge that organizations previously tended to hide (Henkel, 2006).

One of the most recently proposed definitions of OI is the one given by San-Martín*: "The set of actions and practices by which companies incorporate agents that traditionally have not participated in it into the innovation process, be they internal to the organization or external to it, through the integration of external knowledge, dissemination external knowledge of internally created, and cooperation in the creation of knowledge"* (San-Martín-Albizuri, & Rodríguez-Castellanos, 2012).

One of the advantages of the open innovation model is that it can be implemented by any entity, regardless of size or sector, but it requires, among other things, co-creation spaces for exchanges between different interest groups (clients, suppliers, universities, competitors, etc.) and company's firm commitment to the process (Laursen & Salter, 2006; Lei et al., 2017). Likewise, the level of market acceptance of final commercialized solutions increases when the participation of stakeholders in the idea creation process is actively and continuously stimulated (Abbate, Coppolino, & Schiavone, 2013).

Although the benefits of OI are already justified by various studies on collective collaboration (Hargadon & Bechky, 2006; Thrift, 2006), few applications exist in the tourism sector. Although many tourism companies try to innovate, the level of commitment in this respect is not sufficient to give rise to an innovative culture (Pikkemaat & Peters, 2016). In addition, innovations introduced in the tourism sector tend to focus on the processes of production, distribution and delivery of tourism products/services and are mainly limited to purely technological innovations in the field of ICT and energy efficiency. However, it is necessary to push for innovation in all the company's processes (strategic, operational, support and management), particularly for non-technological innovation, as tourism companies have a clear focus on services/processes (Iglesias-Sánchez, Jambrino-Maldonado, & de las Heras-Pedrosa, 2018; Iglesias-Sánchez, Correia, & Jambrino-Maldonado, 2019).

To support the tourism sector, it is crucial that public entities, such as universities or research centers, get involved in supporting the adoption of open innovation models with knowledge, training, methods and infrastructures (Colombo, Piva, & Rossi-Lamastra, 2014; Martínez-Pérez et al., 2019).

There is, however, a lot of skepticism on the part of the tourism sector as regards attempts to switch from its traditional innovation management system to an open and collaborative approach (Hoarau, 2016; Lim et al., 2021). Until companies understand that collaboration is better than competition and that dynamism adds value at all levels, there will not be a significant evolution in the application of open innovation methods and processes (Iglesias-Sánchez, Correia, & Jambrino-Maldonado, 2019).

Tourism companies that have come to view the open innovation model as a source of competitive advantage are adopting methods guided by public and private partners that support them in the process of change (Lim et al., 2021). In the Canary Islands, there are already several entities that have signed up to this new paradigm, either from the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, or from other organizations that facilitate adaptation.

After briefly analyzing the concept of open innovation this article focuses on cases of its application in the Autonomous Community of the Canary Islands, Spain.

This article aims to verify the following hypotheses:

H1: Open innovation methods promote a culture of innovation in tourism companies.

H2: Open innovation methods generate new and innovative projects in tourism organizations.

2. Methods of open innovation applied in the Canary Islands

In the Canary Islands, there has been a growing interest in the application of open innovation methods or models in the last five years. Many companies, both public and private, have expressed their willingness to participate in such projects in cooperation with the Canarian Universities or public bodies (Government of the Canary Islands, Chambers of Commerce, Canary Islands Technological Institute, etc.). This interest is also manifested, although to a lesser extent, by proposals associated with open innovation models carried out and promoted independently by private companies.

Because this is a very dynamic area and public and private entities innovate in their own ways, it would be difficult to list all existing formats that are presented annually. However, among the formats most frequently used to generate innovation in the Canary Islands are Hackathons and Living Labs.

The cases analyzed in the article are associated with other formats, all of which involve the application of agile methods, Design Thinking and Lean Startup (Bortolini et al., 2018).

Hackathons are among the most prominent and widely used formats or models for promoting open innovation in the Canarian environment. Because of their importance for tourism companies, they are described in more detail in the following section.

2.1. Hackathon

The term „hackathon" is a blend of „hack" and „marathon", and describes a method that has been widely used by companies and organizations of all kinds over the last two decades (Mumm, 2012). Hackathons are also known as „hackfests", „codefests" or „hack days", and their popularity has been steadily growing.

Initially, the term was used to describe intensive meetings organized by programmers and computer scientists to collaboratively develop open software. However, the format of these meetings, and consequently the terminology, has come to be used to define events that bring together people with multidisciplinary profiles, who must provide a solution to challenges proposed in a short period of time (generally 24-48 hours) (Calco & Veeck, 2015; Marques & Borba, 2017).

Registered hackathon participants form multidisciplinary teams with the aim of solving particular challenges. These challenges are generally proposed by companies from various sectors, non-profit organizations or even public entities/institutions. Participants live and work together with the purpose of solving the challenges in a short period of time and gaining recognition for their work (Briscoe & Mulligan, 2014; Faché, 2000).

The final objective is to carry out projects of possible impact for the company/entity that seeks to generate products and services with a special innovative character. Among the criteria for the evaluation and selection of projects, the following are usually considered (Briscoe & Mulligan, 2014; Faché, 2000; Mumm, 2012):

1. Degree of maturity achieved (by identifying the initial and final stages of the challenge development project);
2. Quality of the teams (composition, integration, method and hierarchy used to organize the tasks and identify their strengths and weaknesses);
3. Degree of technological innovation;
4. Degree of social innovation (integration, development, inclusion...);
5. Presentation quality.

The main method underlying hackathons is project-based learning, where participants are the protagonists of their own learning (Blumenfeld et al., 1991; Thomas, 2000). For participants of hackathons, the acqusition of knowledge is as important as the acquisition of skills and attitudes (Suárez et al., 2015). The emphasis on teamwork is one of the greatest values of this method: combined knowledge and integration of different professional profiles in the course of collaborative and inclusive work generate positive synergies for the development of projects (Briscoe & Mulligan, 2014; Lara & Lockwood, 2016).

Events like hackatons achieve positive results for businesses and for participating individuals, who learn to collaborate with other professionals in a new and unfamiliar environment. Because the period of time for createing something new is relatively short participants have to work intensively and with a high level of concentration. This situation stimulates creative thinking and develops the ability to design new services or products. Other advantages of hackathons include:

- opportunity for the company promoting the hackathonto attract talented participants;
- collection of many innovative ideas in a very short time;
- skill development (stimulation of creative thinking);
- relatively low cost with potentially highly valuable benefits for companies;
- promotion of the company's innovative image;
- synergy effects emerging in multidisciplinary teams.

Various hackathon formats have been proposed for different sectors of activity, which can be carried out by public or private entities. The development of this format in the Canary Islands has been associated with the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, which provides talented participants for such events. The following are three examples of hackatons held so far:

1. Hack for Good Canarias, organized by the Telefónica Chair Network and the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (ULPGC). It is held for social purposes and its format has been established over seven annual editions[2].

2. Think in Innovation, organized by Lopesan Hotel Group and the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. The hackton features strategic challenges proposed by the hotel company, which is interested in generating innovative projects and attracting talent. There have been three editions of this project in the hackathon format, the last one in November 2017[3].

3. Smart Green Island Makeathon organized by ITQ GmbH in collaboration with more than 30 international universities, including the ULPGC. Its goal is to create real prototype solutions related to IoT, automation, smart home, robotics, smart production, smart farming, smart health, smart and green energy, smart mobility and connected systems. After five editions, it has established itself as one of the most important hackathons on the island of Gran Canaria because of its global orientation[4].

Many other hackathon formats have been used in the Canary Islands to propose solutions to various challenges, such as Lean Hack, a hackathon to develop technological and innovative solutions to economic and legal challenges in collaboration with the ULPGC or the Blue Weekend, a hackathon aimed at solving challenges associated with the marine sector in collaboration with the University of La Laguna.

The frequent use of hackathons by organizations and entities from different sectors of the Canarian economy, and the growing participation of companies, professionals and academic institutions are a clear indication of how useful this method of open innovation can be.

Two hackathons developed in the Canary Islands in relation to the tourism sector were analysed in depth, directly or indirectly, and are presented in section 3.

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[2] The seventh edition was held in March 2019. The 2020 edition has been postponed due to the current health situation. For inquiries about new editions: https://hackforgood.net/las-palmas/

[3] Information about editions held to date: http://www.thinkininnovation.com/es/

[4] The fifth edition was held in March 2020. For inquiries about new editions: https://www.itq.de/en/smart-green-island-makeathon/

2.2. Innovation Labs / Living Labs

Another method or format used to generate innovation in tourism is known as Living Labs or innovation laboratories. Living labs held in the Canary Islands have focused on different and produced positive results.

The living labs (LL) concept has been widely studied in the context of open innovation. In different parts of the world, particularly in Europe, a number of projects and applications have been carried out to promote collaboration between various agents; (clients, companies, public bodies, etc.) and to test applicable solutions in a specific and controlled space.

According to the most popular definition, formulated by Eriksson, Niitamo, and Kulkki (2005), a living lab is "a user-centric research method for sensing, prototyping, validating and refining complex solutions in multiple and evolving real life contexts". Other definitions have also been proposed (Ballon, Pierson, & Delaere, 2005; Bergvall-Kåreborn et al., 2009; Feurstein et al., 2008). Ballon defines living labs as "an experimentation environment in which technology is given shape in real life contexts and in which (end) users are considered co-producers". For Feurstein, LL is "a systemic innovation approach in which all stakeholders in a product, service or application participate directly in the development process". The definition compiled by Bergvall-Kåreborn, combines the different nuances highlighted by the previous authors: "A living lab is a user-centric innovation milieu built on every-day practice and research, with an approach that facilitates user influence in open and distributed innovation processes engaging all relevant partners in real-life contexts, aiming to create sustainable values."

In short, for the tourism sector, living labs are an excellent method of validating innovations that can be tested by users of tourism services (Jernsand, 2019). The Canary Islands are a perfect setting to observe the behavior of tourists or, more generally, consumers of products / services. Insights gained in this context can be extrapolated to other parts of the country afterwards. The sociodemographic characteristics of people who live in and visit the Canary Islands can be used by companies and organizations to test new creations and obtain representative results that can be generalized for the Spanish population.

A number of innovative LL projects related to different sectors of activity have been developed over the last decade. The following are examples of living labs applied in the Canary Islands:

1. Global Tourism Safety Lab[5]: The main purpose of the project, organized by the Ministry of Tourism, Industry and Commerce of the Government of the Canary Islands, is to guarantee the health and safety of tourists and residents in

[5] Laboratorio Global de Seguridad Turística | Marketing Turismo Islas Canarias. Retrieved from https://turismodeislascanarias.com/es/laboratorio-global-de-seguridad-turistica/

the Canary Islands, by adapting services to the new protocols for action against COVID-19. Various working groups have been created to develop proposals and solutions in different areas of activity related to the tourism sector, from the management of transport infrastructures to the provision of commercial, leisure and cultural services.

2. Smart Tenerife Living Labs[6]: a project developed in 2014 by the Spark Compass company, one of the pioneers in implementing living labs in the Canary Islands. Their products related to Smart Destinations were validated in a series of technological tests conducted in different settings (by two hotels, a shopping center and an office building).

3. BlueBay Living Lab Hotel[7]: in 2018 the BlueBay Hotels hotel chain, in collaboration with other tourism companies and public bodies, such as Grupo SATOCAN and the Instituto Tecnológico de Canarias (ITC), developed a open innovation project of a laboratory hotel for testing new products and services on the island of Gran Canaria: Hotel Beach Club, San Agustín.

4. DESAL+ LIVING LAB R+D+I platform[8]: The joint collaboration and cooperation of R+D+I in the Macaronesia region (Canary Islands, Cape Verde, Madeira and Mauritania) for the common project of water desalination and renewable energies. The Living Lab format was created in 2020 by Desal+ company to test new ICT solutions developed by entities and companies participating in the project.

5. Sailing Living Lab[9]: is a project organized to generate and test new navigation technologies and various projects conducted on the high seas. It is a laboratory ship (Acrobat) that travels around the world looking for collaborations with companies and individuals in order to continue creating new maritime developments.

While the Living Lab concept is over 15 years old, it has become very popular in the Canary Islands only in the last 5 years. A number of organizations, such as the Factoría de Innovación Turística, FIT Canarias, provide LL services using their own infrastructure to help companies in the tourism sector validate and develop innovative marketing projects that can be tested in virtual and real environments.

[6] Spark Compass elige Tenerife para lanzar en Europa sus demostradores "Smart Living Labs" (2014, November 17). Retrieved from https://www.webtenerife.com/blogcorporativo/2014/11/spark-compass-elige-tenerife-para-lanzar-en-europa-sus-demostradores-smart-living-labs.html

[7] BlueBay crea Living Lab Hotel para potenciar la innovación en Canarias | Innovación (2018, February 6). Retrieved from https://www.hosteltur.com/126664_bluebay-crea-living-lab-hotel-potenciar-innovacion-canarias.html

[8] Se pone en marcha el portal de la Plataforma de I+D+i DESAL+ LIVING LAB (2020, April 20). Retrieved from https://proexca.es/se-pone-en-marcha-el-portal-de-la-plataforma-de-idi-desal-living-lab/

[9] La Palma será punto de parada del proyecto 'Sailing Living Lab' (2019, February 5). Retrieved from https://www.canariasdiario.com/la-palma-sera-punto-de-parada-del-proyecto-sailing-living-lab

Other models/methods of open innovation are also being applied in the Canarian tourism sector. However, the trend is clear: the tourism sector is relying on open innovation methods to differentiate itself by involving all partners, with the aim of generating projects that satisfy their particular needs.

The following section contains a detailed description of the research procedure used to investigate five applications of OI methods in the Canary Islands.

3. Research procedure

In accordance with Abarca, et. al. (2013, pp. 73-247) the study described in the article was an example of qualitative research involving observation and interview data collection (empirical research). The research procedure consisted of four steps:

1. In the first step, a preliminary study of the innovative environment associated with the tourism sector in the Canary Islands. Contact was established with public and private entities that had held events involving open innovation methods. In parallel, the investigators attended some of the events either as participants or guests.

2. In the second step, selected companies were contacted to arrange an interview with the person responsible for the event in question. 5 interviews were held in total. Appendix contains the list of questions that were asked during each interview, which lasted 30 minutes on average. A summary of assessments made by each of the interviewees regarding the method applied in each case is presented in section 4.

3. A quantitative analysis was carried out on the data regarding the case of Lopesan Hotel Group: Hackathon Think in Innovation, which has been published as an article in another publication (Santana-Cerdeña & Suárez-Rivero,

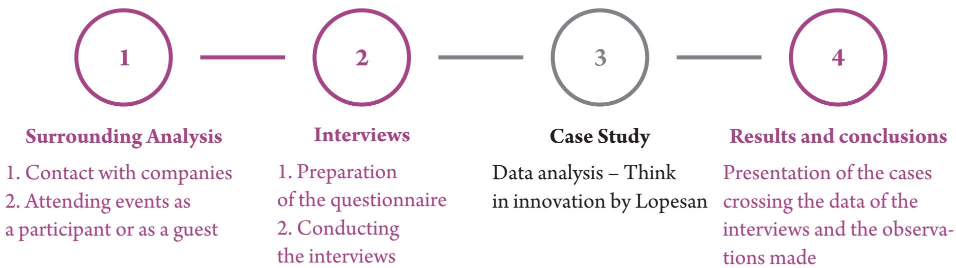

Fig. 1. Preliminary preparation

Source: compiled by the author.

2021). During the two editions of the hackathon, a satisfaction survey was carried out to find out participants' opinions about the event. The first edition was attended by 50 participants and the second one – by 55. Participation limits were set by the organizer depending on the infrastructure available to accommodate all participants. In each edition, the management of the Lopesan Hotel Group used their annual SWOT analysis to determine what challenges to pose and selected winning projects. Although this step was described in a separate article, it is mentioned here as part of the complete procedure.

4. The fourth step involved analyzing results obtained from direct observation of OI events (with or without participation) and from the interviews with their organizers.

4. Open innovation cases analyzed in the study

A number of open innovation models are being developed with interesting results in Spain as a whole, and in the Canary Islands in particular. Various companies in the tourism sector have got involved in open innovation or have chosen to participate in external innovation programs that involve different actors. One can observe an evolution of how this type of innovation is applied by different tourist companies and those from other sectors either in pursuit of specific positive results or as a perfect setting for projecting the company's innovative image.

4.1. Think in Innovation – Lopesan Hotel Group

The first case is an open innovation contest called Think in Innovation, organized by the hotel chain Lopesan Hotel Group. A detailed description of this application case can be found in the article: „Short-term open innovation hackathons as a method to improve tourism innovation" (Santana-Cerdeña & Suárez-Rivero, 2021).

Lopesan Hotel Group[10] is a multinational company based in Gran Canaria, with more than 40 years of experience and a workforce of more than 4,000 employees. In addition to its main activity as a provider of accommodation facilities (16,500 beds in 22 hotels), the Group also owns companies dedicated to construction, leisure, services and real estate development. It is the leading tourism company in the Canary Islands and one of the top ten in Spain. One of the strategic goals of the T is to position itself as an organization with an innovative character and a participatory spirit. In accordance with its mission, vision and values, Lopesan has opted for ideas competitions as a method to encourage participation and

[10] https://www.lopesan.com/

generate innovation from inside and outside the company. The Think in Innovation contest has evolved and changed over the six editions organized so far.

During the first editions, Think in Innovation featured a series of online challenges for the company's employees, who could propose creative and innovative solutions. Already in the third edition (2014), the organizer recognised that the ideation process would benefit from the inclusion of the university community and clients, who could contribute their own ideas regarding the challenges drawing on insights from their particular perspectives. Since then, the Lopesan Hotel Group has come to appreciate great contributions that can be made by the different approaches offered by the different participants. After each contest, the company decides which solutions developed by the participants will be carried out as innovation projects.

In 2015, Lopesan Hotel Group collaborated with Telefónica in the Hack for Good Canarias event, which prompted the Group to choose the hackathon format for future editions of Think in Innovation. As a result of collaboration between the Lopesan Hotel Group and the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, which was formalized by establishing the Lopesan-ULPGC Chair, the 4th edition of the Think in Innovation contest was developed as a hackathon. The 5th edition in 2016 produced even better results. The change of format was expected to open new ways for the reception of innovative ideas in the company and foster open innovation by involving other participants, such as subject matter experts and University students and graduates. The event is now used as a way of solving challenges facing the organization and helps to project an image of an innovative and young company.

Competition procedure

The best client idea, selected and evaluated by the company's corporate directors, is awarded and subsequently developed internally by the R&D&I Department.

Ideas presented by the company's employees are evaluated in the same way by the corporate directors, who select the best 10-15 in each edition. These ideas are later presented during the Hackathon, where employees, students and higher graduates form multidisciplinary teams that develop a particular concept until it becomes a concrete project.

Thanks to this format, participants from different backgrounds are encouraged to cooperate, combining the experience and know-how of the company's employees and innovativeness and fresh perspectives of students and graduates. This collaboration ensures that results can actually be applied in the company.

After 48 hours of hard work made up of training pills[11], mentoring from professionals from outside and inside the company, and a lot of teamwork (between

[11] A concept used in microlearning, where the learning content is divided into small blocks with a specific learning goal.

3 to 7 people), the ideas are evaluated by the jury (the company's directors and external mentors). After a brief presentation by each team, the projects are evaluated based on the following criteria:

1. 85% of the score:
- Novelty of the product, service or process
- Degree of idea maturity achieved during the Hackathon
- Competitive advantages offered to the company
- Financial viability.

2. 15% of the score is awarded depending on the number of positive reactions to a given idea expressed by clicking „Like" on the official THINK IN INNOVATION page and its social network profiles.

Finally, the winning projects are implemented in the company through its R&D&I Management Procedure, which involves employees who participated in the hackathon. In this way, the entire process generated during the event has a real impact on the company's internal processes, creating innovation projects that improve employee and customer experience, and bring strategic and economic benefits to the company.

Think in Innovation is a hackathon with a specific focus on innovation in tourism. The participants in the Hackathon were surveyed to find out their level of satisfaction during the two editions analyzed. The results of these surveys are described in a separate article (Santana-Cerdeña & Suárez-Rivero, 2021). A summary of these results is presented below:

1. A 100% response rate was obtained during the two editions: 50 participants in the first edition, in 2015; and 55 participants in the second edition, in 2016.

2. The generation of innovative culture is demonstrated by the increased participation of Lopesan Hotel Group employees, and the growing number of repeat participants.

3. The participants' perception of the Hackathon was positive and improved in 2016 in the following aspects:
- participants see the event as a means of meeting people with special interests and skills (networking);
- it is a better way to find solutions to the company's challenges;
- it helps participants to acquire skills and develop attitudes necessary for a future professional career.

The two winning projects developed during both editions were implemented internally and helped the company cut costs and improve processes. In 2015, the winning project was to provide cleaners with a smartwatch to optimize the demands of a high-volume hotel. In 2016, the winning project was developed to streamline the management of the hotels' operational assets (linens), facilitating the monthly and annual inventory of hotels with more than 1000 beds. Other interesting projects that did not win were recorded in the company's innovation inventory as ideas to be developed in the future. The projects can be consulted on the website[12].

Despite the positive results obtained in the first two editions, in 2017 the hackathon format was replaced by a project aimed at testing the functionality of a humanoid robot called Pepper in hotels.

Ultimately, the Think in Innovation project was discontinued for various reasons:

1. The company's financial resources were reallocated to support its strategic expansion and internationalization projects which were regarded as a priority.
2. No tangible (economic) results of the projects were recorded following the events. It was difficult to measure cost savings.
3. The project was rejected by some team members because it entailed with higher workload that was not rewarded with proper recognition.
4. Some members of the management team did not see the process as a generator of benefits (resistance to change).
5. Because participating employees lacked proper academic background, it was difficult to implement ideas internally.
6. The Innovation Unit in the company was dissolved.

Óscar Herrera, Director of Systems and Communication of Lopesan Hotel Group (2018) and member of the innovation unit in charge of organizing and promoting the Hackathon Think in Innovation, was interviewed about the project and its internal development. The project he promoted for over 5 years had a great internal impact on the company and facilitated the implementation of innovative projects that had not been possible earlier. In general, he viewed the event as something valuable, while recognizing strong and weak points of the process and the need to focus more on the application of open innovations. He pointed out that the tourism market had yet to fully appreciate collaboration as something desirable. In his opinion, the presence of large tour operator companies makes cooperation difficult. In addition, he insisted on the transmission of internal knowledge in large companies to facilitate the creation of an inventory of ideas and applicable projects.

4.2. IntraTEAM – FIT Canarias (The Canary Islands Tourism Innovation Factory)

The Canary Islands Tourism Innovation Factory (FIT Canarias) aims to promote the growth of creativity and innovation in the tourism sector. It serves as a meeting point for businessmen and professionals to promote continuous inno-

[12] http://www.thinkininnovation.com/en/

vation as a means of achieving excellence in tourist destinations and helping tourism companies become more profitable and, competitive. FIT Canarias intends to face the challenges of tourism through collaborative work and by developing common projects that generate new products, services, processes and applications, particularly with the end user in mind.

FIT Canarias is made up and promoted by four institutions: the Santa Cruz de Tenerife Chamber of Commerce; the Island Council of Tenerife (through Turismo de Tenerife, and the Science and Technology Park); the Adeje City Council and Ashotel (hotel association of the province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife).

Among various actions undertaken by FIT Canarias to promote innovation, the IntraTEAM program stands out: Intrapreneurship and Innovation in Tourism (FIT Canarias, 2017). The purpose of the intrapreneurship program is to enable companies in the tourism sector to generate and develop solutions, projects and/or ideas on sustainable tourism and circular economy that address their internal needs and boost their innovation and competitiveness.

Program procedure

Initially, FIT Canarias proposes a series of challenges related to the circular economy and sustainable tourism. Participating companies must choose challenges that best suit their needs and concerns, and for which they want to develop and generate a solution. After choosing the challenge or challenges to be carried out, the company creates a multidisciplinary team (maximum two teams from the same company to tackle different challenges) consisting of 4 to 6 members with different academic backgrounds, experience and posts within the company.

Once the teams are created, a mentor specialized in the chosen challenge is assigned to each team to accompany and support them throughout the process. The involvement of all team members and the company itself during the program is crucial to ensure that the project objectives can be achieved during the stipulated number of working hours. FIT Canarias also provides training and consulting support to help participants achieve positive results. Once projects have been developed, their results are presented and awarded with prizes and recognitions. FIT Canarias guarantees the subsequent follow-up of the projects, verifying and certifying that they have been implemented correctly and satisfactorily (FIT Canarias, 2017).

Unlike other models, IntraTeam encourages internal innovation by providing external training necessary to apply innovative concepts in particular projects and advice from specialized mentors. Its objective is to generate innovative projects within the company with the collaboration of its own employees, to identify internal talent and generate a culture of innovation. Through these actions, it is also possible to retain employees, who feel more involved and an important part of the company.

Enrique Padrón is the Manager of FIT Canarias and responsible for the development of the project. He was interviewed about the application of open innovation in promoting innovative projects. In his opinion, it is necessary to eliminate obstacles to collaboration and start fostering creative skills from childhood by not punishing mistakes or failures. He regards the dynamics of open innovation as necessary, especially in projects promoted by public entities. IntraTeam, together with other FIT Canarias projects, try to facilitate the creation of projects in companies that do not have the means to do it on their own. Four projects developed in the 2018 edition were implemented by participating companies.

4.3. Mentor Day[13]

Mentor Day is the first private and independent accelerator in Spain, with more than 25 years of experience. This non-profit organization is made up of around 350 volunteer entrepreneurs and professionals. Its objective is to encourage and support entrepreneurs to develop and implement their projects and companies. The main collaborator of Mentor Day is Dyrecto Consultores[14], which is involved in the process as part of its Corporate Social Responsibility project.

Mentor Day has been used to develop 43 vertical acceleration programs organized in Tenerife. In total, 415 new companies across 17 countries and more than 2,500 entrepreneurs have received professional advice.

The organizers of Mentor Day have numerous advisory and acceleration programs for entrepreneurs and companies involving a number of public and private partners. Its programs include Soft Landing, which aims to support the internationalization of companies and Mentor Acelera Week (MAW), with the goal of supporting entrepreneurs, using consolidated open innovation techniques.

Mentor Acelera Week (MAW) – Mentor Day

The MAW event is held periodically and focuses on different sectors of activity. The event is co-organized by Mentor Day and another entity specializing in a given area (board of trustees, company organization, clusters, etc.), who propose challenges to be solved by participating companies. Various public bodies and large companies co-sponsor and co-organize the conference and provide funding to entrepreneurs through Mentor Day.

[13] https://mentorday.es/

[14] Dyrecto consultores is a consultancy specialized in financial advice to Spanish and foreign companies, leaders in the tourism sector https://www.dyrecto.es/

The MAW lasts 5 days, which is a similar length of time to that used in models developed by Google, Empretec, Seedrocket, etc. As already pointed out, the time constraint motivates participants to deliver results that can be validated in a short period of time.

Under the MAW program entrepreneurs can receive at least 60 hours of free, personalized expert advice and are expected to contribute 180 hours of personal participation in the program, which consists of four phases:

1. Preparation: an application from entrepreneurs interested in the project, which describes the project to be developed / accelerated.

2. Selection: Mentor Day selects the most interesting projects to participate in the MAW acceleration week after studying the submitted proposals.

3. Acceleration: the projects are developed and polished over 5 days.

4. Dissemination: Mentor Day launches a communication campaign in various media to advertise the projects, startups and participating companies.

MAW provides a meeting point for entrepreneurs, which facilitates the exchange of new ideas from young startups and creates opportunities to tap the strength of mature companies. Participants can take part in Lean Startup training, Youth Business Spain (YBS) mentoring program or complete their Business Canvas[15], which can help them to generate innovation and implement their projects.

It is worth pointing out that program outcomes are monitored over a longer period by follow-up visits / subsequent accompaniment by the mentor associated with the project team.

During an interview, Mentor Day CEO Jaime Cavero commented on the application of the open innovation method: „a company can innovate on its own up to a specific point, but there are always external agents that can complete and strengthen internal innovation". The results of his model are very positive: more than 55 programs developed, 510 companies accelerated with the designed method, 634 jobs created and more than 3000 entrepreneurs from 17 countries receiving support during Mentor Day.

4.4. DEMOLA Canarias

DEMOLA is an international open innovation platform where students and leading brands meet to tackle challenges. Its model, of Finnish origin, is endorsed by more than 50 participating universities, 750,000 students, world's leading companies operating in 17 countries since 2008 (DEMOLA, 2019).

[15] The Business Model Canvas is a strategic management template used for developing new business models and documenting existing ones.

DEMOLA began its activity in the Canary Islands in 2015. Since then, more than 500 students have participated and developed solutions to over 100 challenges for 85 companies and entities, with a validation rate[16] of 67%. DEMOLA Canarias is funded by the Canary Islands Agency for Research, Innovation and Information Society (ACIISI) and is managed by the Technological Institute of the Canary Islands (ITC) (Demola Canarias 2019 – RIS3 de Canarias, 2019).

Its method consists in posing challenges (problems) detected by participating companies and (public / private) entities from various sectors, for which real solutions are to be developed. The challenges are presented to a multidisciplinary group of university students who work with the company to develop a solution that satisfies its needs and can be implemented in the company's regular operation.

Unlike previous models and programs, DEMOLA takes time to develop the project for an average of 2-3 months. During this period, the team of students keeps in close touch with the company to establish the key assumptions of the project and to get a deep understanding of its operation and project objectives. During this time project participants can benefit from mentoring offered by the ITC by so-called facilitators. The project team is provided with tools and innovation methods such as Design Thinking, Canvas Model, User Experience, etc. In addition, workshops are held with the company's representatives to validate and advance the project. Finally, the solutions are presented to third parties for evaluation and, ultimately, to the company, which decides whether or not to acquire the solution (which is owned by the student team) to be implemented.

The Demola program offers several advantages:

1. It enables companies to access a network of new talent and provides them with an opportunity to meet and recruit future employees.
2. At the end of the project the participating company can decide whether or not to license or acquire the rights from the student team if the results prove useful and valuable.
3. The method has been tested in numerous editions and proved capable of being adapted to different business contexts. All processes and procedures are clearly defined and supervised by experienced facilitators.
4. Students have the opportunity to establish new contacts, learn innovative methods for project creation, acquire new knowledge and the ability to manage teamwork.

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[16] The intellectual and industrial property of the product / service developed belongs to the student team. After the development of the Demola program, the team presents the project to the associated company. If the project is found to be valid and meets expectations, it can be acquired and developed further, in a more formal manner under a contract. The validation percentage is the number of companies that have acquired solutions developed by participating teams.

In conclusion, the method is innovative because of its structure and the collaborative approach (university community + company). So far, results have been positive and many companies have joined to test the model (some repeaters in various editions). The number of participating companies from the tourism sector has also been growing. The last edition of the Demola program took place in December 2020.

Miguel Afonso was responsible for the Demola program in two editions analyzed in this study (2017/2018). Like other interviewees, he firmly believes in the advantages of applying the open innovation method, which are demonstrated by 105 challenges completed, with 92 participating entities and 525 students. Companies believe that Demola can create an innovative project, which they can then develop by dedicating their internal resources. Companies that are unable to innovate on their own, turn to this program as a form of outsourcing.

4.5. Hack for Good – Telefónica Chair Network

Hack For Good Canarias by the Telefónica Chair Network, co-organized by the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, is a social event where challenges are proposed by groups or non-governmental organizations, companies and individuals in the field of social innovation[17]. A detailed description of the hackathon can be found in a paper delivered during the III International Congress on Learning, Innovation and Competitiveness (Suárez et al., 2015).

Although the event has a social objective, some tourism companies have been involved in proposing and launching challenges connected with their own operation (projects to reduce environmental impact, the amount of generated waste, develop approaches to clients with disabilities, etc.). During the event multidisciplinary teams try to develop solutions to proposed challenges posed using design thinking and project-based learning. Participating teams can rely on the assistance provided by university mentors/teachers. Hack for Good is open to anyone regardless of their level of training, age, employment situation, etc. and is conceived as a perfect setting for generating open innovation in a disruptive environment, where participants can work together towards a social good.

Telefónica provides a common platform and sufficient resources to maintain the technical equipment during the event at the Hack for Good headquarters throughout Spain. The work of the teams is rewarded with prizes in cash and in kind (training courses, project consultancy, etc.) and has the support of volunteers from Fundación Telefónica and Fundación Hazloposible to facilitate a correct

[17] https://hackforgood.net/

development of the final project in all the cities. In addition, the implementation of winning solutions is also supported after the event through the Open Future[18] program. With Open Future, Telefónica tries to ensure the projects' continuity by providing participants with training and mentoring as well as offering access to additional development funding.

José Pablo Suárez was head of the Telefónica-ULPGC Chair during three editions of Hack for Good analyzed in the study (2017-2019). In the interview, he emphasized the current trend towards Open Everything, which has resulted in the creation of multiple portals and programs that promote collaboration as a social and business advantage. For him, open innovation methods are an example of this trend, which is fuelled by social motivation (the main focus of Hack for Good) to develop beneficial projects.

5. Conclusions

The cases described above indicate that the open innovation model in tourism companies generates competitive advantages at a general level. It also encourages the creation of an innovative culture by involving stakeholders from within and outside the company who collaborate to develop new solutions for the business. All the managers interviewed agree that it is necessary to continue relying on open innovation as a means to create innovative and useful projects aimed at pursuing a social good, reducing costs, increasing economic benefits or creating new companies that enrich the business environment of the Canary Islands. Observed at close quarters, each of the events was characterized by an atmosphere of cooperation and co-creation, which strengthened the sense of team spirit among participants and generated a feeling of appreciation for the efforts undertaken by participating companies.

The five cases confirm the hypotheses formulated at the beginning, opening the way for future research aimed at monitoring whether and how these projects have been implemented in the respective companies.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the cases described above:

1. The OI model favors integration and multidisciplinary cooperation, generating synergies that help to generate better ideas.

2. The involvement of different partners in the creation of products/processes/services increases the likelihood of successful commercialization of developed solutions.

[18] https://www.openfuture.org

3. Open innovation methods are effective in identifying talented specialists in various areas, inside and outside the company.

4. The company's management has to be committed to the innovative process to ensure its success and avoid resistance to change.

5. To ensure continuous and structured management of the open innovation model, the company has to follow a clearly defined schedule, including short, medium and long term objectives.

6. Collaboration with public and private organizations is necessary to obtain positive results.

Based on their findings, the authors argue that open innovation is an ideal method for promoting collaborative environments for different stakeholders involved in the process and can generate benefits for all parts. Generally, the open innovation experience has been positive for the companies analyzed in this article, and helped them to position themselves as innovators in their sector. However, a fundamental change in tourism will only come when tourism companies fully embrace open innovation methods in their daily activities instead of occasionally participating in one-off events.

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Appendix

Interview

Presentation of the researcher and the study hypothesis: organizations are increasingly relying on innovation management and the use of open innovation methods. The interview is intended to demonstrate how appropriate management and exploitation of Open Innovation in the organization can help to improve user experience and the company's innovation culture, and ultimately, generate competitive advantages.

1. To start with, how would you define innovation? Is it just something purely technological?
2. In my doctoral thesis, I consider the development of open innovation essential. I define open innovation as a creative and co-creative process involving several partners. Do you think the hotel industry should collaborate with clients or suppliers in the development of new projects or innovative products?
3. Is there or has there been a project of this type in (organization)?
4. When we talk about innovation, it is generally understood as a non-channeled process that arises spontaneously, however, in my opinion it could be guided by a framework / reference model that helps hotel companies to adopt or create innovation internally. Do you consider it possible or necessary to model innovation in companies?
5. Surely you know the UNE 166002 standard: R & D & I Management: R & D & I Management System Requirements as a framework that aims to standardize innovation processes in companies. Does putting walls on innovation hinder or limit innovation?
6. To what extent can the organizational culture be adapted to derive benefits from proposed innovations?

7. In general, do you regard the commitment to innovation management as a source of real competitive advantage or only as a means to promote the company's brand image sporadically?

8. To conclude, what recommendations would you make to the hotel industry regarding open innovation management?

Zastosowania modeli otwartej innowacji w sektorze turystycznym. Doświadczenia z Wysp Kanaryjskich

Streszczenie: Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie niektórych zastosowań metod otwartej innowacji na Wyspach Kanaryjskich. Autorzy postanowili zweryfikować hipotezę, że otwarte metody innowacji mogą sprzyjać wzrostowi kultury innowacyjnej w firmach uczestniczących w programach innowacyjnych oraz generować nowe pomysły i projekty. Badanie opiera się na danych jakościowych zebranych w drodze obserwacji i podczas wywiadów z osobami odpowiedzialnymi za organizację programów otwartej innowacji na Wyspach Kanaryjskich, ściśle związanych z branżą turystyczną. Autorzy wskazują korzyści płynące z nowych pomysłów i projektów innowacyjnych, które pomagają uzyskiwać przewagi konkurencyjne. Na podstawie analizowanych przypadków dochodzą do wniosku, że zastosowanie metod otwartej innowacji pobudziło kulturę innowacyjną w firmach turystycznych, które były w stanie opracować innowacyjne projekty. Różne formy otwartej innowacji można zatem uznać za skuteczną metodę tworzenia środowiska współpracy między różnymi podmiotami, która może przynosić korzyści wszystkim zaangażowanym stronom.

Słowa kluczowe: otwarta innowacja, zarządzanie innowacjami, turystyka, hotelarstwo

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Intangible cultural heritage as a resource for cultural tourism: the case of embroidery and carpet weaving in Ukraine

Abstract. The purpose of the article is to present intangible cultural heritage as a resource for a special category of cultural and educational tourism, namely heritage tourism. The authors use embroidery and carpet weaving as examples of intangible cultural heritage. The methods used in the study include a review of foreign and domestic theoretical and methodological developments, analysis of best practices in the field of heritage tourism, field research, analysis of materials collected during a survey of locations and the authors' personal experience of tourist products. The results of the study outline the development of heritage tourism based on a creative approach as well as strategic plans of the state regarding tourism development. Based on practical experience, the authors present general principles of designing tourist routes, where elements of intangible cultural heritage act as "magnets". The analysis has indicated elements of intangible cultural heritage that can appeal to tourists under particular circumstances. The authors argue that the development of heritage tourism based on a creative approach to designing tourist products in the form of intangible cultural heritage should popularize it in the national tourism market and promote tourism destinations with intangible cultural heritage, such as embroidery and carpet weaving. These tourist destinations should be used not only to attract domestic and foreign tourists, but also to promote the Ukrainian culture.

Keywords: heritage tourism, intangible heritage, cultural route, tourist attractions, tourist destination

JEL Codes: R58, Z11, Z32

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1. Introduction

In recent years, cultural and educational tourism based on intangible cultural heritage has been increasingly popular. This trend is part of the process of implementing the global goals in accordance with the Sustainable Development Strategy for Ukraine by 2030, in particular as regards creative industries and hospitality industry. One of the operational goals of the Strategy is to foster the development of regions by preserving national cultural values and traditions (Natsional'na ekonomichna stratehiya na period do 2030 roku, 2021).

It is well known that the lockdowns imposed in 2020-2021 negatively affected the tourism industry, especially international tourism (Nepochatenko, 2020). On the other hand, they have contributed to the promotion of domestic tourism and have given rise to the development of national cultural and educational tourism products, especially heritage tourism. The current situation of tourism can be treated as a real-time experiment for exploring and taking advantage of opportunities offered by online tours, workshops, seminars. The whole world is looking for ways to continue living, working and relaxing in difficult conditions. The tourism business all over the world is trying to boost interest in domestic tourism by creating conditions that can be attractive for vacationers under pandemic restrictions.

A number of foreign researchers have studied intangible cultural heritage, which is viewed as a tourism for cultural and educational tourism. Of particular note are the works of Timothy & Boyd (2003, 2013), Timothy (2011), Timothy & Nyaupane (2009), Zeppel & Hall (1992). Among foreign researchers, the topic of heritage tourism as a kind of cultural tourism was considered: Luo (2008), Li & Liu (2013), Morozova & Morozov (2018), Nowacki (2012), Poria, Butler, & Airey (2001; 2003), Richards (2009, 2021), Rohrscheidt (2019), etc. Among the domestic scientists, this issue is studied by: Antonenko & Krupa (2012), Demyan (2020), Dutchak (2017), Frenkel & Ishchenko (2018), Havrylyuk (2019), Tanyuk & Butsenko (2004), Polyvach (2012), etc.

Cultural and educational tourism are among the most popular types of tourism around the world. This type of tourism involves visiting historical, cultural, and geographical sites in order to get to know national characteristics of a country and various manifestations of regional culture (Koveshnikov, Lifirenko, & Stukalskaya 2016). One increasingly popular form of cultural and educational tourism are festivals, which are often attended by large numbers of visitors. The rich global calendar of festivals and holidays has been growing for decades, while some have been held for several centuries. Examples include La Tomatina (Bunol, Spain), the Carnival of Venice, the Lantern Festival (Taiwan), the Rio de Janeiro Carnival (Brazil), Oktoberfest (Bavaria, Germany), or the Ice and Snow Sculpture Festival (Harbin, China). They are visited by millions of people (Compendium of tourism statistics UNWTO, n.d.).

In the 1990s, the concept of cultural tourism came to include new categories, such as heritage tourism and creative tourism (Timothy, 2003; Richards, 2021). These types of tourism give tourists opportunities not only to learn about various aspects of culture, but also to develop their personal creativity while acquiring real experience (Richards, 2009, 2021, p. 46).

Traditionally, cultural and educational tourism has revolved around museums. Nowadays well-known museums around the world are developing courses, seminars, lectures, targeted at art and culture researchers. Before the pandemic, they could be attended directly, for example, during educational tours, but today much of this activity has gone online and attracts a much larger audience. This is, in fact, one of the positive effects of the pandemic. The experience of online educational activities has triggered a growth of informal education in the creative industries, which are involved in many manifestations of intangible culture (Walhimer, 2021). Such interaction positively affects the development of legacy and creative tourism.

The authors of this article argue that the time has come to restructure or develop the national tourism product for Ukraine, in particular regarding culture. One can expect that this restructuring could have a positive impact once quarantine restrictions have been lifted or in a world where we will have to learn to live with the pandemic.

The purpose of the article is to present how intangible cultural heritage, exemplified by embroidery and carpet weaving in Ukraine, can be used as a resource for heritage tourism

2. Protection of intangible cultural heritage in Ukraine

Intangible cultural heritage has a great potential for cultural and educational tourism. The concept and significance of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is defined in Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 2003. The document was ratified by Ukraine in 2008. Signatories of the convention identify and research elements of intangible cultural in order to better preserve and promote them.

In accordance with Articles 11 and 13 of the Convention and paragraph 80 of the Operational Manual for the Implementation of the Convention, an advisory

Table 1. National register elements of intangible cultural heritage of Ukraine

ICH registration number	Name of the element of intangible cultural heritage	Ukrainian name (Latin alphabet)
001 ICH	Tradition of Kosiv painted ceramics (pottery).	Tradytsiyi kosivs'koyi rozpysnoyi keramiky
002 ICH	Krolevets weaving	Krolevets'ke pereborne tkatstvo
003 ICH	Opishnia ceramics	Opishnyans'ka keramika
004 ICH	Petrykivka painting – Ukrainian decorative and ornamental painting of the 19th-21st centuries.	Petrykivs'kyy rozpys – ukrayins'ke dekoratyvno-ornamental'ne malyarstvo KHIKH – KHKHI st.
005 ICH	Cossack songs of Dnipropetrovsk Region.	Kozats'ki pisni Dnipropetrovshchyny.
006 ICH	Singing traditions of Luka Kyievo village – Sviatoshynskyi District, Kyiv Region	Pisenna tradytsiya sela Luka Kyyevo – Svyatoshyns'koho rayonu Kyyivs'koyi oblasti.
007 ICH	Technology of white-on-white embroidery in Reshetylivka, Reshetylivka District, Poltava Region.	Tekhnolohiya vykonannya vyshyvky "bilym po bilomu" mista Reshetylivka Reshetylivs'koho rayonu Poltavs'koyi oblasti
008 ICH	Traditions of floral carpet weaving in the city of Reshetylivka, Reshetylivka District, Poltava Region.	Tradytsiyi roslynnoho kylymarstva mista Reshetylivka Reshetylivs'koho rayonu Poltavs'koyi oblasti
009 ICH	Ornek – Crimean Tatar ornament and knowledge about it.	Or'nek – kryms'kotatars'kyy ornament ta znannya pro n'oho
010 ICH	Tradition of ornamental painting of Bubniv ceramics.	Tradytsiya ornamental'noho rozpysu Bubnivs'koyi keramiky.
011 ICH	Honey hunting	Bortnytstvo.
012 ICH	Tradition of Hutsul pysanka (Easter egg).	Tradytsiya hutsul's'koyi pysanky.
013 ICH	Traditions of making et ayaklak (Karaite meat pasty) The experience of the Karaites of Melitopol	Tradytsiya pryhotuvannya et ayaklak (karayims'kyy pyrizhok z m'yasom). Dosvid karayimiv Melitopolya
014 ICH	Tradition of the „Kust" rite in the village of Svarytsevychi, Dubrovytsia District, Rivne Region.	Tradytsiya obryadu "Vodinnya kusta" u seli Svarytsevychi Dubrovyts'koho rayonu Rivnens'koyi oblasti
015 ICH	Tradition of decorative painting of the village of Samchyky	Tradytsiya dekoratyvnoho rozpysu sela Samchyky
016 ICH	Oleshnia pottery of Chernihiv Region	Oleshnyans'ke honcharstvo Chernihivshchyny
017 ICH	Artistic woodcarving of Chernihiv Region	Khudozhnye derevoriz'blennya Chernihivshchyny
018 ICH	Hutsul carol singing and dances of Verkhovyna District of Ivano-Frankivsk Region	Hutsul's'ka kolyada ta plyesy Verkhovyns'koho rayonu Ivano-Frankivs'koyi oblasti
019 ICH	The tradition of dancing Arkan with Kovalivka in Pechenizhynska ATC	Zvychay vykonuvaty tanets' Arkan z Kovalivkoyu v Pechenizhyns'kiy OTH
020 ICH	The art of making a Clay Whistle Toy „Valkivskyi Svyshchyk"	Mystetstvo vyhotovlennya zvukovoyi hlynyanoyi zabavky "Valkivs'kyy svyshchyk"
021 ICH	Technology of making „wax" wreaths in Vinnytsia Region	Tekhnolohiya vyhotovlennya "voskovykh" vinkiv na Vinnychchyni

cont. Table 1

02216 ICH	Culture of making Ukrainian borscht	Kul'tura pryhotuvannya ukrayins'koho borshchu
023 ICH	Carpathian lizhnyk (wool blanket) weaving	Karpat·s'ke lizhnykarstvo
024 ICH	Borshchiv folk embroidery	Borshchivs'ka narodna vyshyvka
025 ICH	The technology of creating a Klembivka shirt „with a flower"	Tekhnolohiya stvorennya klembivs'koyi sorochky "z kvitkoyu"
026 ICH	Easter round dance „Vodyty Volodara" in the village of Rozkoshivka, Teplyk District, Vinnytsia Region	Velykodnye hulyannya "Vodyty Volodara" v seli Rozkoshivka Teplyts'koho rayonu Vinnyts'koyi oblasti

Source: https://uccs.org.ua/natsionalnyj-reiestr-obiektiv/

body was established in 2015, called the Center for Ukrainian Cultural Studies (CUCS), which is part of the Ministry of Culture. Related activity is carried out by an NGO assisting public authorities in developing and implementing policy in the field of culture called Democracy through Culture (https://demcult.org/).

Since 2008, methodological recommendations have been developed to identify elements of intangible cultural heritage in Ukraine, and consultative seminars and thematic conferences are held regularly. As a result, 14 elements of ICH were included in the national register (Natsional'nyy perelik elementiv nematerial'noyi kul'turnoyi spadshchyny Ukrayiny, n.d.) by 2018 (Frenkel & Fetisov, 2018, p. 147). In 2019-2020 12 other elements were added (Table 1). Three of these elements were included in the UNESCO Representative List of ICH: Petrykivka decorative and ornamental painting of the 19th-21st centuries (2013), Cossack's songs of Dnipropetrovsk Region (2016), Traditions of Kosiv painted ceramics (pottery) (2019) (see: Browse the Lists…, n.d.). The fourth element, *Crimean Tatar ornament "Ornek"*, is under consideration by the UNESCO Expert Council. In October 2020 the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and Information Policy announced its plans to include "the culture of preparation of Ukrainian borscht" and in a bid to gain recognition by UNESCO. The technology of white-on-white embroidery of the Reshetylivka village in the Poltava Region is to be submitted in 2022 (Volkova, 2020).

In 2020, many projects were launched to promote tourism in some regions, such as "Tourism, Heritage and Creativity" in the Mykolayiv Region (Proekt "Turyzm, spadshchyna ta kreatyv" zaproshuye do partnerstva, 2020), and the nationwide project "Travel around Ukraine" (Proekt Postanovy... 2020). The purpose of the latter project is to promote domestic tourism by creating tourist attractions, including examples of intangible cultural heritage. All new projects take into account the focus of the industry on activities and new tourism products, which should also include intangible heritage. Close interaction with the local culture helps tourists develop a sense of respect for the cultural authenticity of places they visit, which should further ensure long-term economic benefits to local communities.

As regards the development of sustainable tourism, it is important to note that the share of tourism in global GDP is more than 10%, while in Ukraine it is less than 3%. One of the main causes of this situation is the lack of modern infrastructure. It is therefore necessary to increase the tourist attractiveness of Ukraine as part of the overall development of the national infrastructure. In addition to the construction of new roads and renovation of existing ones, more efforts should be directed to creating new tourist attractions.

3. Intangible cultural heritage in the regional tourist product of the Odessa Region

Intangible culture can be used to develop attractive tourist products, provided that its features are preserved (Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Ch. 4, par. 102). Since tourists cannot usually observe unique customs and rituals in their original locations all year round, given their seasonal nature, it is necessary to develop a calendar of visits that reflects the cycle of traditional events.

One example of a program that features local culture is the tourist route "Starling's Way" (Shpakiv Shliakh). The project was implemented as a result of the following partnership programs: "Culture. Tourism. Regions" of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation (Ukrainian Cultural Foundation), USAID "Competitive Economy of Ukraine", Office for Small and Medium-Sized Business Development at the Ministry of Economic Development, Trade and Agriculture of Ukraine.

The route opened in the summer of 2020 and stretches across 15 settlements of the Kodyma district (Kodymshchyna) in the north of the Odessa Region (Fig. 1) (Shpakiv shlyakh. Map). During the lockdown the project provided an attractive alternative for all those who could not travel abroad. The route has many tourist attractions which can be used to plan a number of tours. It is offered by travel agencies in Odessa. For example, one agency has created an offering for the season 2021, which features Starling's Way (Shpakiv shliakh): Fragrant Herbs (May), Starling's Way: Kodyma Fest (June), Starling's Way – Mushrooms (November) (Excursions in Odessa. "Shpakiv shlyakh": roads of legends; see: Shpakiv shlyakh: dorohamy lehend, n.d.).

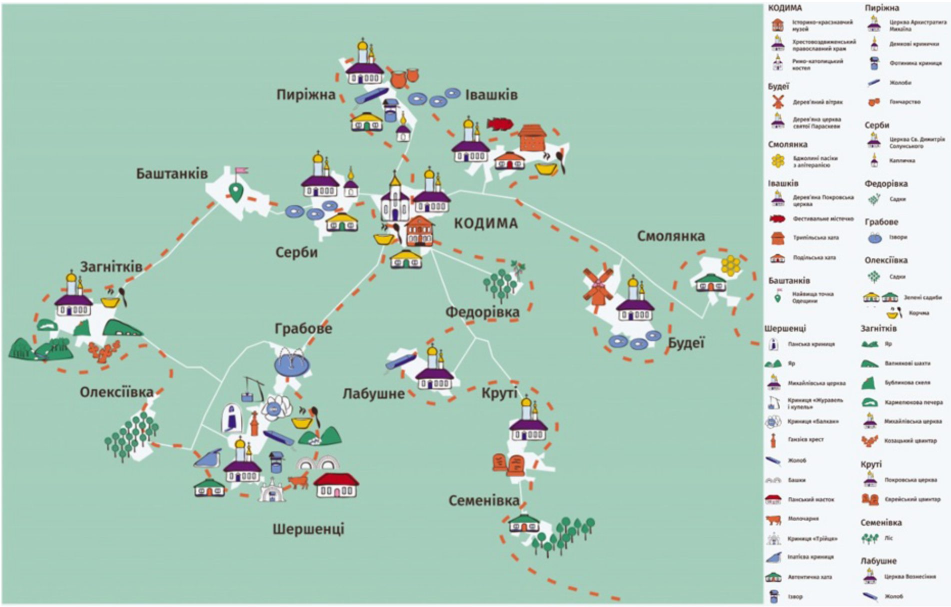

Fig. 1. Map of the tourist route "Starling's Way" of the Kodyma District in the Odessa Region

Source: http://shpak-way.com/en/

Intangible cultural heritage of Kodymshchyna has now become one of the attractions of the route: klezmer music (included in the regional inventory from November 2020) (OOCUK, n.d. a), baking ritual bread of Kodymshchyna (included in the regional inventory from November 2020) (OOCUK, n.d. b), "dry masonry" construction method (included in the regional inventory from November 2020) (OOCUK, n.d. c), technology for making Kodyma woven and embroidered towels (OOCUK, n.d. d), making Black Sea clay toys (OOCUK, n.d. e).

The non-governmental organization "Democracy through Culture" took part in the implementation of the route, and the work on the ground was organized by the Odesa Regional Center of Ukrainian Culture. The work carried out at present is an example of cooperation between government agencies, the local community and NGOs: all of them co-financed field research, helped to promote the route, and were supported by volunteers. The Ukrainian Cultural Fund (almost UAH 430,000) covered the cost of preparing and leading a marketing campaign. The funding was used to create the website "Starling's Way" – Cultural and Tourist Route, which is easy to use and informative, although currently only available in Ukrainian. The websites features films, photos, legends and the history of the destination. It contains contact details of 12 tourist locations and persons responsible for organizing tourist activities from the united territorial community of Kodyma, as well as information about local catering and accommodation facilities. The site is also supported by social media – Facebook, You Tube, Instagram.

At the same time, the infrastructure of this area has been improved thanks to the modernization of roads and the renovation of a hotel in Kodyma. In a short period of time, accommodation facilities in green homesteads have appeared, which are part of rural green tourism: ethno-eco-hut "Bilochi" in the village of Shershentsi (Holidays in the village) (Hulbiani, 2020), in the village of Ivashkiv (venue of the ethno-festival "Kodyma-Fest"[1]), and in the villages of Semenivka, Smolianka and Pyrizhna. The green homesteads are not certified yet, but are likely to develop along with the route.

In summary, the tourist destination in the Kodyma District, relies on the attractiveness of intangible cultural heritage, which tourists can get to know and experience first-hand.

4. Traditional embroidery and carpet weaving as potential tourist attractions

Tourism products offered in heritage and creative tourism, often involve traditional crafts, which are recognized as the ICH elements. When creating such products care needs to be taken not to disrupt lifestyles of those who preserve intangible cultural heritage and to ensure that their authentic existence is not replaced by commercial projects (Article 14 of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage). The extent to which ICH elements are preserved is a reflection of a country's attitude to its national identity.

In Ukraine, a number of unique crafts are still commonly practiced, including embroidery, weaving, carpet weaving, pottery, painting and wood carving. Each region of the country has its own special examples of these and other crafts, but in this article we focus on those that are the most common in everyday life: embroidery and carpet weaving.

Nowadays, embroidery is presented as a Ukrainian brand. The country has been officially celebrating Embroidered Clothing Day (Vyshyvanka Day) since 2006. The history of Ukrainian embroidered clothing requires research, description and cataloging. The same goes for weaving and carpet weaving. The oldest mention of a carpet is an entry in the Laurentian Codex that is found in the chronicle of the year 997 (Chronicle according to the Lavrentyev list), but one

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=glpGjCmz1IQ

can assume that earlier mentions had not survived. Researchers believe that carpet workshops were extremely common throughout Ukraine since the 18th century (Bilous, 2020, p. 9). Today, there are also many centers of traditional embroidery and weaving (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. Sites of ICH in Ukraine associated with embroidery

Embroidery brand name. Status in the National List of ICH Elements of Ukraine	Location	Video and sample image sources
Borshchiv August 2020, 024 ICH.	Ternopil Region, Borshchiv District: Borshchiv, the villages of Kryvche, Ivane-Puste, Hermakivka. Borshchiv ATC: village of Strilkivtsi. Melnytsia-Podilska ATC: Melnytse-Podilska town, Dnistrove village. Bilche-Zolote ATC: village of Yuriampil. Terebovlia District: Terebovlia, village of Plebanivka. Ternopil District: Velyka Berezovytsia town. Bila ATC: village of Bila. Ivano-Frankivsk Region: Horodenka District: village of Hlushkiv, village of Strilche.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8j_I-xsp_pk https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rK0Xqn1oxLI
Bukovyna	Chernivtsi Region (Transdniester region): Zastavna District, Vyzhnytsia District.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRiwbMXDKrQ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HeMNCShf-s
Verbovets	Ivano-Frankivsk Region, Kosiv District, village of Verbovets, village of Smodna, village of Staryi Kosiv.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXXdl7Bqoyo
Polissia	Rivne, Volyn, Zhytomyr, Chernihiv Regions.	https://youtu.be/RZ5aT0M0Esw
Hadiach	Poltava Region, Hadiach District, Hadiach, village of Khytkivtsi, village of Petrivka Roenska	https://www.facebook.com/hadiachlibrary/videos/?ref=page_internal
Hutsul	Ivano-Frankivsk Region, Kosiv District, Yaremche, Nadvirna, Verkhovyna.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6BfEkh1N5ZE https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jg4DOvkUKwk&t=69s
Horodok	Lviv Region, Horodok District.	https://photo-lviv.in.ua/lvivska-vyshyvanka-riznomanitnist-vizerunkiv-koloriv-ta-symvoliv/
Klembivka August 2020, 025 ICH	Vinnytsia Region, Vinnytsia, Yampil District, village of Klembivka	https://www.vocnt.org.ua/statti/melnichuk_vyshivka

cont. Table 2

Embroidery brand name. Status in the National List of ICH Elements of Ukraine	Location	Video and sample image sources
Pokuttia	Ivano-Frankivsk Region, Horodenka, Sniatyn, Kolomyia, Tlumak, Tysmenytsia, part of Nadvirna and Bohorodchany Districts.	https://photo-lviv.in.ua/zhinoche-svyatkove-narodne-vbrannya-snyatynskoho-rajonu-pochatku-hh-st-zi-zbirky-natsionalnoho-muzeyu-u-lvovi-im-andreya-sheptytskoho-video/
Poltava	Poltava Region, the Southern Part of Chernihiv and Kyiv Regions.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7h5Q7Dcqccw&t=870s https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HmcTnUXluvI
Reshetyliv February 2018, 007 ICH. At the stage of submission to the UNESCO Representative List (March 2021)	Poltava Region, Reshetyliv District, Reshetylivka.	https://authenticukraine.com.ua/blog/tehnologia-vikonanna-visivki-bilim-po-bilomu-dopracovanij
Eastern Podillia	Vinnytsia Region (Eastern Transdniester region): Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Yampil, Kryzhopil, Tomashpil, Pishchanka Districts; Odesa Region: Kodyma, Ananiivka and Balta Districts.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kd5n9TqhS_c
Sokal	Lviv Region, Sokal District.	https://photo-lviv.in.ua/lvivska-vyshyvanka-riznomanitnist-vizerunkiv-koloriv-ta-symvoliv/
Yavoriv	Lviv Region, Yavoriv District.	https://photo-lviv.in.ua/lvivska-vyshyvanka-riznomanitnist-vizerunkiv-koloriv-ta-symvoliv/

Source: authors' own research.

Table 3. Sites of ICH in Ukraine associated with weaving

Name of the weaving brand (carpet weaving). Status in the National List of ICH Elements of Ukraine	Location	Video and sample image sources
Bohuslav	Kyiv Region, Bohuslav District, Bohuslav.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7KzMcioF2XM, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sM-DKVu15Uc, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NA_FQmb69Pw

cont. Table 3

Name of the weaving brand (carpet weaving). Status in the National List of ICH Elements of Ukraine	Location	Video and sample image sources
Hlyniany	Lviv Region, Hlyniany and Vynnyky.	http://museum-lh.lviv.ua/?p=2709
Carpathian lizhnyk (wool blanket) weaving. August 2020, 023 ICH	Ivano-Frankivsk Region: Kosiv District – the villages of Yavoriv, Richka, Snidavka, Brustury, Verbovets, the city of Kosiv; Verkhovyna District – the villages of Bukovets, Verkhnii Yaseniv, Kryvorivnia, Iltsi, Krasnoillia, Biloberizka, Cheretiv. Zakarpattia Region, Rakhiv District, villages of Kvasy, Roztoky. Chernivtsi Region, Putyla District, the villages of Toraky, Serhii, Dykhtynets.	https://uatv.ua/ukrayinske-kyly-marstvo-nadiya-babenko-vytkala-drevo-zhyttya-yake-podaruvaly-oon-video/?fbclid=IwAR3_m-3JSWk-lo8y_huBrz6sO12n7SKpSuIkrcm-RIy3ExKInP-UiFjfO_LU https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2POptMYvG8
Krolevets weaving February 2018, 002 ICH	Sumy Region, Krolevets District, Krolevets.	https://authenticukraine.com.ua/blog/kroleveckij-tkanij-rusnik https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-mOyjnL7n4&t=3s
Opillia Weaving	Lviv Region, Drohobych District, Nahuievychi village.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ePi4ZM7w8A
Thin linen weaving	Rivne Region, Dubrovytsia District, village of Krupove.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zGlbWr9WmY https://www.facebook.com/serpanok-shop/videos/562388984738376
Traditions of floral carpet weaving in the city of Reshetylivka, Reshetylivka District, Poltava Region. February 2018, 008 ICH	Poltava Region, Reshetyliv District, Reshetylivka.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2POptMYvG8&list=PL1MxamNwS0zqDh1QcpUr5OwfvSLrmtgRF&index=13
Philosophical tapestries of Oksana and Oleh Kondratiuk	Ivano-Frankivsk Region, Kosiv.	https://dyvys.info/2020/03/21/shlyub-dereva-i-nytky-yak-podruzhzhya-iz-kosova-stvoryuyut-filosofski-go-beleny-foto/?fbclid=IwAR1vKfWJN-VDRkKAPQR4RcLO90L42ReG-WvP1oM49cnMQwthJLm6IMGDdkoE

Source: authors' own research.

As can be seen in the following map (Fig. 2), ICH sites associated with embroidery and carpet weaving are concentrated around major centers of cultural and educational tourism: Lviv, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk. Sites located in other regions have the potential to become new tourist destinations for creative tourism.

Fig. 2. ICH sites associated with embroidery and carpet weaving (map in English)

Source: authors' own research.

5. Reshetylivka – a new tourist destination drawing on intangible cultural heritage

The Reshetylivka district in the Poltava Region is a major center of weaving, carpet weaving and embroidery. In 2015, a project was launched in the district with a goal of implementing urgent measures to preserve white-on-white embroidery of Reshetylivka (Fig. 3a) and traditions of floral carpet weaving (Fig. 3b). Today, these elements are no longer threatened by extinction and can be used to develop an attractive tourism product.

The development of Reshetylivka as a tourist destination was enabled by the creation of the All-Ukrainian Center of Embroidery and Carpet Weaving (AUCECW)[2]. The center has brought 55 workers back to the city, some of who have worked abroad doing jobs nor related to crafts. The majority of these craftspersons are specialists recognized in Ukraine and in the world, and the quality of their work is unmatched. An exhibition hall was also opened at the Center, which

[2] https://www.facebook.com/groups/663737794053725

a) b)

Fig. 3. a) white-on-white embroidery of Reshetylivka, b) traditions of floral carpet weaving

Source: photos taken by O. Beznosiuk.

is used for presenting the history of embroidery and carpet weaving crafts and samples of modern crafts products. The center provides education services ranging from master classes to training programs, which are designed as courses lasting several months and as cyclical training. The future AUCECW development project includes the creation of an art hub with an unprecedented exhibition hall, large workshops and a hotel (Fig. 4) (Beznosiuk & Skorostetska, 2020). The center is conveniently located directly at the intersection of international M03 motorway (Kyiv – Poltava – Kharkiv) and the national T1718 motorway (Dnipro – Reshetylivka – Kyiv). Two important ICH sites are located 70-80 km from Reshetylivka: the village of Opishnia in the Poltava region, famous for its ceramics, and the vil-

a) b)

Fig. 4. a) General plan-project of development of the All-Ukrainian Center of Embroidery and Carpet Weaving in Reshetylivka, b) The hotel design

Source: https://np.pl.ua/2018/02/u-reshetylivtsi-planuyut-pobuduvaty-suchasnyj-arthab/

lage of Petrykivka, known for Petrykivka Painting, located in the Dnipropetrovsk Region. All four types of crafts can be observed by tourists throughout the year as part of cultural, educational tourism. In each of the above-mentioned sites, traditions of holding festivals have been maintained for many years.

As can be seen, Reshetylivka is a promising tourist destination that needs to be promoted e.g. as part of the program "Ways of Wine and Taste of Ukrainian Bessarabia", which was included in the list of ten certified gastronomic routes in Europe in 2021. This requires concerted efforts on the part of local communities, planned actions of the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy and the State Agency for Tourism Development of is necessary.

6. Conclusions

Authentic intangible culture is an interesting attraction for tourists. Today, it is important to take advantage of the global shift in tourists' interest, which is manifested in the growing popularity of heritage tourism and creative tourism. Intangible cultural heritage can become the basis of new tourist destinations and bring economic benefits to local communities.

In Ukraine, local communities, government agencies, and NGOs are beginning to work together to exploit intangible culture as a tourist resource.

There are already positive examples of such initiatives in Ukraine, such as those presented in the article, which are based on embroidery and carpet weaving. While some of the places associated with embroidery and carpet weaving are not located on well-known tourist routes, they can be used to create new ones, for example in Reshetylivka in the Poltava Region, or in Krolevets in the Sumy Region.

It is necessary to systematize the way in which ICH elements are identified and assessed in terms of their attractiveness and to develop guidelines for how to exploit them for tourism without compromising their authenticity, following the principles outlined in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

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Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe jako zasób turystyki kulturowej na przykładzie haftu i tkania dywanów na Ukrainie

Streszczenie. Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego jako zasobu dla turystyki dziedzictwa, będącej szczególnym rodzajem turystyki kulturowej i edukacyjnej. Przykładem niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego Ukrainy są sztuka haftu i tkania dywanów. Artykuł zawiera przegląd zagranicznych i krajowych opracowań teoretycznych i metodologicznych, analizę najlepszych praktyk w zakresie turystyki dziedzictwa, wyniki badania terenowego, analizę materiałów zebranych podczas badania poszczególnych lokalizacji oraz wnioski wynikające z osobistych doświadczeń autorów dotyczących produktów turystycznych.

Wyniki badania pokazują rozwój turystyki dziedzictwa na podstawie kreatywnego podejścia i aktywnych planów strategicznych państwa w zakresie rozwoju turystyki. Wychodząc od własnych doświadczeń, autorzy przedstawiają ogólne zasady projektowania szlaków turystycznych, w których elementy niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego pełnią funkcję „magnesów" przyciągających potencjalnych turystów. Autorzy argumentują, że rozwój turystyki dziedzictwa opartej na podejściu kreatywnym do projektowania produktów turystycznych w postaci niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego powinien przyczynić się do ich popularyzacji na krajowym rynku turystycznym oraz pomóc w promowaniu kierunków turystycznych związanych z niematerialnym dziedzictwem kulturowym, takim jak hafty i tkanie dywanów. Te formy turystyki kulturowej powinny być wykorzystywane nie tylko do przyciągania turystów krajowych i zagranicznych, ale także do promocji kultury ukraińskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka dziedzictwa, dziedzictwo niematerialne, szlak kulturowy, atrakcje turystyczne, destynacja turystyczna

Editorial requirements

I. Size of manuscript – up to 40 000 characters (roughly 22 pages, 1800 characters per page) including tables and figures. The size of one attachment cannot be larger than 20 MB.

II. Required files

1. Files with the main part of the manuscript (without authors' data, format *.doc):
• title of the article in English and Polish
• concise and factual abstract in English and Polish, from 150 to 300 words, prepared according to structure:
 – purpose
 – methods
 – results
 – conclusions
• keywords in English and Polish (up to 8 words)
• JEL codes: code 1; code 2; code 3 (maximal 3 codes, according to the website of American Economic Association: https://www.aeaweb.org/econlit/jelCodes.php)
• introduction
• body text – organized into chapters/sections, each with a unique title
• conclusion (findings, recommendations)
• bibliography – complete list of referenced sources

2. Files with the title page including authors' data (format *.doc):
• author's first and last name
• academic degree/title
• organization/institution (if applicable)
• ORCID number
• email address
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3. Tables
• numbered consecutively and consistently using Arabic numerals
• include a caption and a reference to the data source (e.g. *own research*)
• tables should be referenced in the text by their number rather than expressions such as "above" or "below" (e.g. *cf. Table 1*, not: *see table above/below*)
• do not include blank cells
• any abbreviations used must be expanded below the table

4. Figures, photos and graphics
• editable (formats: *.jpg, *.tif or *.xls)
• photographs – supply source files (preferably *.tif); minimum resolution: 300 dpi
• all figures should be numbered consecutively using Arabic numerals
• for any artwork that has already been published elsewhere, indicate the original source (or otherwise state Source: *own research*)
• apply no lettering in white against black background, whether in bold or italics, and no black fills or excess frames
• if the figure is referenced in the text, use its number rather than expressions such as "above" or "below" (e.g. *cf. Fig. 1*, not: *see figure above/below*)
• provide explanations of any abbreviations used

III. Body text
• margins: 2.5 cm each
• continuous throughout the text, using Arabic numerals, placed at the bottom of page (footer)
• typeface: Times New Roman, 12 pts
• line spacing: 1.5 line
• highlights or emphasis: apply **bold** print
• foreign (non-vernacular) words and expressions: *italicized*
• people's names: give full name (including all given names and last name) at first mention; for any further references – quote last name only
• abbreviations and acronyms: when first used, give the complete phrase (name), including its abbreviation in brackets; onwards – use abbreviation only

IV. In-text citations – APA-7 style (see: APA reference guide, https://www.scribbr.com/apa-style/apa-seventh-edition-changes/)
• are placed within the text and include the author's surname and year of publication:
 Jafari (2003) or: (Jafari, 2010)

• Direct quotes should also contain the page number:
 Jafari (2003, p. 24) or: (Jafari, 2003, p. 24)

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 Smith and White (2018)… or: (Smith & White, 2018)

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• **In the case of more than three authors** – only the first author's surname should be given, followed by „et al.":
 Jafari et al. (2018)… or: (Jafari et al., 2018)

• **If the author/editor is unknown**, the first few words of the reference should be used:
 – **if this is the title of a book, periodical or report**, it should be italicised:
  (*Guide to citation*, 2020)

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  (Jafari & Black, 2010; White, Green, & Brown 2020)

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• **Other references containing any additional comments or explanations**, **references to legislation**, court rulings and decisions, as well as links to websites that are provided outside the main body of the text must be numbered consecutively and placed at the bottom of the page (as footnotes) using 10 pts font with single line spacing

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A reference list should be ordered alphabetically by first author's / editor's surname or by title, in the case of works whose author/editor is unknown, and in the case of authors with multiple works, they should be listed chronologically by year of publication.

• **Referencing a journal article**
The basic format is: Author surname, Initial(s)., (Year), Article title (not italicised), Journal title (italicised), Volume (italicised) (issue or part number), page numbers, DOI:
 Oppermann, M. J. (2000). Tourism Destination Loyalty. *Journal of Travel Research*, *39*(1), 78-84. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F004728750003900110

• **Referencing a book**
The basic format is: Author/Editor surname, Initial(s)., (copyright year), *Book title* (italicised), edition number (in brackets). Publisher. DOI or URL:
 Kotler, P., Bowen, J. T., Makens, J., & Baloglu, S. (2017). *Marketing for Hospitality and Tourism* (7th ed.). Pearson Education. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0047287507303976

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Scott, N. R., & Le, D. A. (2017). Tourism Experience: A Review. In N. R. Scott & J. Gao (Eds.), *Visitor Experience Design* (2nd ed., pp. 30-52). CABI. https://doi.org/10.1080/10645578.2016.1144023

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Mitchell, J. A., Thomson, M., & Coyne, R. P. (2017). *A guide to citation*. https://www.mendeley.com/reference-management/reference-manager

- **Referencing a chapter in an e-book**

Troy, B. N. (2015). APA citation rules. In S. T. Williams (Ed.). *A guide to citation rules* (2nd ed., pp. 50-95). https://www.mendeley.com/reference-management/reference-manager

- **Referencing an entire website created by a corporation, institution or group**

Use the following format: Corporation/group/organization name. (year website was last updated/published, month day if given). Title of website. URL:

WHO (2014, November 14). World Health Organization. https://www.who.int/

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Use the following format: author surname, initial(s). (year, month day). Page title (italicised). Site name. URL:

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I. Objętość manuskryptu – do 1 arkusza wydawniczego wraz z rysunkami i tabelami (40 tys. znaków ze spacjami, tj. ok. 20 stron). Rozmiar jednego załącznika nie może być większy niż 20 MB.

II. Wymagane pliki

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- słowa obcojęzyczne – kursywą
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IV. Przypisy bibliograficzne – według stylu APA-7 (zob. reference guide APA, https://www.scribbr.com/apa-style/apa-seventh-edition-changes/)
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  Oppermann, M. J. (2000). Tourism Destination Loyalty. *Journal of Travel Research*, *39*(1), 78-84. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F004728750003900110
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  Kotler, P., Bowen, J. T., Makens, J., & Baloglu, S. (2017). *Marketing for Hospitality and Tourism* (7th ed.). Pearson Education. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0047287507303976
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  Scott, N. R., & Le, D. A. (2017). Tourism Experience: A Review. In N. R. Scott & J. Gao (Eds.), *Visitor Experience Design* (2nd ed., pp. 30-52). CABI. https://doi.org/10.1080/10645578.2016.1144023

- **E-book**

  Mitchell, J.A., Thomson, M., & Coyne, R.P. (2017). *A guide to citation*. https://www.mendeley.com/reference-management/reference-manager

- **Rozdział z e-booka**

  Troy, B.N. (2015). APA citation rules. In S.T. Williams (Ed.). *A guide to citation rules* (2nd ed., pp. 50-95). https://www.mendeley.com/reference-management/reference-manager

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