

Film tourism in Poland: potential and perspectives for development

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Abstract. Travel has been inspired by films for many years, but only in the early 21st century did it begin to constitute a significant volume. In many places in the world, film tourism has become a true phenomenon. The paper constitutes the first so broad an attempt at determining the state of film tourism in Poland. Based on 15 years of the author's own research and research by other Polish scholars, an inventory of film heritage (film locations, museums, festivals and other attractions) was taken and – as far as the available data allowed – the characteristics of associated tourist traffic were provided. The research procedure revealed numerous gaps in our knowledge. Hence, apart from other conclusions, a list of problems that, in the years to come, should become a subject of interest among cultural tourism scholars in Poland was included in the summary.

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1. Introduction

The beginning of the 21st century brought about an increase in the interest in new spaces and forms of travel (Stasiak, 2013b). Contemporary tourists no longer want to simply admire traditionally understood attractions (monuments, museums, national parks, etc.) but desire to experience a unique holiday adventure, feel extraordinary emotions, foster their passions and interests, and, last but not least, boast to their friends of the unusual way they spent their vacation. Those desires stem directly from the experience economy, in which the most desirable and marketable good is an authentic, unique and strongly emotionally charged experience (Stasiak, 2013a).

On the other hand, the tourist market is characterised by strong competition, not only on the part of individual companies but also of whole destinations. Regions that do not possess outstanding historic monuments or stunning natural sites have to base their offering on less obvious immaterial advantages if they want to attract tourists. It is more difficult to achieve but gives broad possibilities to create innovative products that “happen” in their clients’ heads. As a result, even ordinary, indistinctive places can provide their visitors with extraordinary benefits and mental satisfaction. The strategy of building an offering on the basis of immaterial heritage can be used also by popular destinations, e.g. in order to strengthen the possessed assets, enrich and diversify the offering or deglomerate tourist traffic in the case of overtourism (an attempt at pulling tourists away from overcrowded attractions and directing them to other, less crowded areas).

Both these phenomena (the search for unconventional experiences by tourists and the use of immaterial heritage to create a tourist product) meet in film tourism. Although travel was inspired by films for many years, only in the early 21st century did it begin to constitute a significant volume. Many places all around the world have noted a rapid influx of tourists caused by the immense popularity of, especially, Hollywood megaproductions. It gave the tourist industry a strong impetus to create a thematic offering using well-known film locations and, subsequently, encouraged attempts to stimulate tourist demand by subsidising film productions (city placement). Many cities, regions and even countries have already built a strong brand and image as an attractive film tourism destination (e.g. London, Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Malta, New Zealand).

2. Film tourism: notion, kinds, state of research

The first scholarly works indicating the possibility of film tourism development appeared as early as the 1980s and 1990s. Leading researchers in the field of tourism (e.g., Cohen, 1986; Urry, 1990; Butler, 1990) emphasised the fact that film and television can be an effective tool in activities promoting destinations and can generate significant tourist traffic, thus bringing economic benefits to tourism areas. They also predicted an increase in the significance of this phenomenon in the future (Riley, Baker, van Doren, 1998).

Scientific research on film tourism gained momentum in the early 21st century. This was when the first attempts were made to more precisely define the phenomenon, classify its forms and analyse case studies, including the characteristics of film tourists. A ground-breaking event was the publication of the first monograph devoted to film tourism (Beeton, 2005), which contained one of the most popular and most frequently cited definitions of film-induced tourism. S. Beeton (2005) used this label to denote tourist travel to specific places (regions) in which film or television programmes had been shot, as well as trips to film studios and film-inspired theme parks.

It has to be stressed that, so far, there has been no consensus on the use of the term “film tourism” (or “film-induced tourism”). In some countries, the term “movie tourism” (or “movie-induced tourism”) is more popular. Sometimes, the appellation “cinematographic tourism” also appears. This diversification is mainly linguistically and culturally conditioned. If the aforementioned terms can be considered synonymous, the following ones have a different substantive scope and meaning. Due to the dynamic development of the motion pictures industry (cinema, television, video, DVD, Blu-Ray, computer games, etc.), there have been attempts to find an overarching notion that would encompass all variations of the phenomenon. Hence the term “media-induced tourism” (which also encompasses literature and comic books). Young and Young (2008) as well as Connell and Meyer (2009) suggest “screen tourism” as an aggregate term. In turn, the occasionally used label “media pilgrimage” directs our attention to the almost religious engagement of travelling fans of media and celebrities.

There exists yet another notion: “set-jetting”, whose authorship is attributed to a New York Post journalist Gretchen Kelly (<https://en.wikipedia.org/>)

wiki/Setjetting). Set-jetting is the trend of travelling to destinations that are first seen in movies. That is how we can define trips to places where our favourite films (television series) are set, searching for their atmosphere, visiting objects immortalised on screen, and sometimes even attempts to live out adventures similar to the experiences of the protagonists of a given work.

The researcher who should be considered the forerunner of film tourism studies in Poland is P. Zmysłony. In his article (2001), he analysed the impact of film art on the development of new products. For a long time thereafter, the question did not raise any great interest among Polish scholars. Admittedly, Polish authors (e.g., Buczkowska, 2008; Urbaniak, 2009; 2010; Tucki, 2016) have cited the results of research conducted by foreign authors, but, in view of the niche nature of the phenomenon, none conducted research of his or her own. Only as late as in the first decade of the 21st century were the first attempts made to define and classify film travel. As far as Polish authors are concerned, the most frequently cited definition is the one by A. Stasiak (2009: 225), who recognised film tourism as “all tourist travels in the footsteps of film stars (actors, directors) and their creations, which give an opportunity for deeper reflection and experiencing the works personally”. Thus understood, film tourism shows traces of:

- biographical tourism – incl. travels whose main aim is to visit: biographical museums of screen stars, places of their birth and life, participation in film festivals and meetings with idols (1),
- set-jetting – travelling in search of (not always even real) film and television locations, visits to film sets (in film studios), active and passive participation in open-air stagings, film workshops, travelling in the footsteps of film protagonists,
- film event tourism – participation in film festivals, reunions of fans of a given work, trips to film premieres,
- industrial tourism (technical monuments tourism) – visiting places, objects and exhibitions documenting the history and development of cinematography (museums) and operational film and television studios.

The second decade of the 21st century saw the beginning of fundamental research and analyses of case studies in Poland, including Sandomierz (Leszczyński, 2014; Szpara, Musz, 2016; Faracik, 2017), Łódź and the Łódź Voivodeship (Cudny, 2014; Kronenberg, 2015a; 2016; Ciszewska, 2016),

Lublin (Bernat, 2016), the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship (Kubisz, Matulewski, Makohonienko, 2014), selected film festivals (Cudny, 2011; Konieczna, 2014) and the use of European Union funds for the promotion of film tourism (Kucharska, 2012).

3. Research aim and methods

The main aim of the paper is to determine the current state of film tourism in Poland, especially to identify film heritage, which is the basis for the creation of tourist offerings. The effect of the inventory is an attempt to present the author's typology of attractions available to visitors: film locations, museums and festivals, as well as other attractions connected with film. The work fills a crucial research gap: to date, no study has analysed the phenomenon of film-induced tourism on the national scale for Poland, while the presented typology is a *sui generis* “Polish” update of the classic, global classification by S. Beeton (2005; 2016). The problems with managing Polish film destinations (including marketing initiatives aimed at utilising film tourist attractions and the means of counteracting the transient character of film tourism) will constitute the subject of a separate paper.

A broad range of methods was used in order to meet this research aim. They comprised both desk research methods (such as compilation, mutual verification and processing of available data sources) and field research methods.

The primary desk research methods were a review and critical analysis of scholarly publications that appeared in Poland before 2020, as well as the reinterpretation of both published and unpublished questionnaire surveys and the compilation and verification of information made available on websites of film tourist attractions and industry portals (relating to both film and tourism). The field research methods includes scientific visits conducted in 2019 in various institutions connected with film, such as film museums. They were aimed at determining the resources of those facilities (primary premises), size and subject matter of the collection, activities conducted, etc.) as well as the general characteristics of visitors (level, structure and seasonality of attendance in four museums) (2). The method described was complemented by a field inventory and a participant observation conducted in the years 2008–2020 during the author's numerous visits to film attractions in Poland.

4. Polish film heritage

Polish cinematography began in 1894, when Kazimierz Prószyński constructed the pleograph – the first apparatus used to register and project motion pictures (a year before the invention of the Lumière brothers). *Pruska kultura* (Prussian Culture) of 1908 is considered to be the oldest preserved Polish feature film (it is also known under its French title *Les Martyrs de la Pologne* and an alternative Polish title, *Cierpienia Polski* (The Suffering of Poland)) (3). Since then, thousands of film creations have been made at countless locations in Poland and abroad (4). The rich heritage of Polish film art is documented in various ways. It is impossible to discuss and characterise all of its material and immaterial components. The present study includes only the most obvious places, objects and events that are also attractive to tourists. Availability was also an important criterion in their choice, i.e. the artefacts needed to be accessible to be admired by those interested. That is why the list excludes, for

instance, film studios or film and theatre schools, which can be visited but with certain restrictions. The identified film attractions were classified into four main categories: film locations, film museums, film festivals and other objects. Their location is presented in Fig. 1 and their more detailed characteristics in Tables 1–4.

5. Film locations

Trips to places presented in films or TV series are ranked among the most frequent forms of film tourism. As was previously mentioned, they are termed “set-jetting”. In turn, Beaton (2005) uses the expression “on-location”. In any case, it means tourist visits to authentic places used as film locations. These may include normal, ordinary streets, alleys or yards, but the mere fact of having been immortalised on screen boosts their attractiveness in the eyes of cinema lovers. For insiders (those who have seen the film), they have a particular meaning: they trigger memories

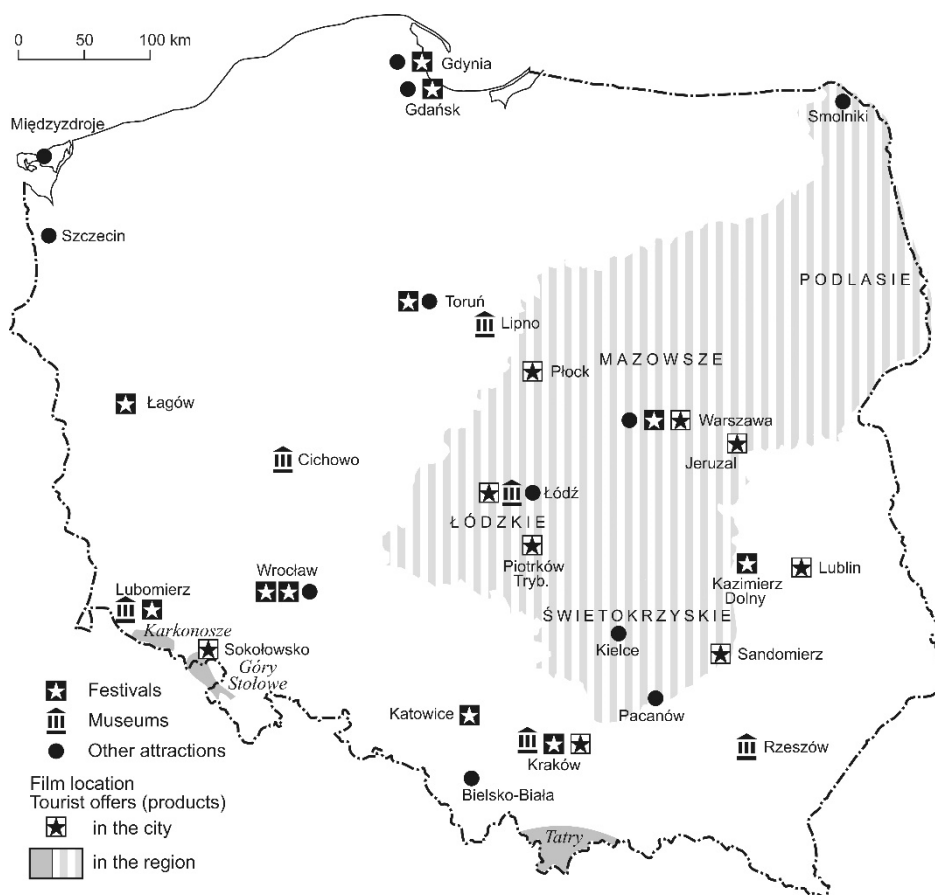


Fig. 1. Potential of film tourism in Poland
Source: author’s own work

of specific scenes, evoke vivid emotions, encourage them to impersonate the protagonists (role-playing). Visits to film locations may also be motivated by a search for the peculiar atmosphere of the film, the desire to compare reality with the world created by the film-makers or to get to know more closely the objects seen on screen (often precious monuments). In the case of a visit to a film location during actual filming, the desire to see film stars “live”, to get their autographs, to observe the film crew at work, etc., can be added to the list.

Film locations can be divided into those that “starred” as themselves (the action takes place in a specific, recognisable place), those standing in for other locations that for various reasons are unavailable to the film-makers, and anonymous spaces (unspecified areas or unreal worlds). As a result, there are various possibilities of using film sceneries to promote a given area and to create attractions for tourists interested in film.

There are thousands of places where well-known Polish productions liked by the viewers have been created. Most of them, however, remain largely unknown, unrecognised, and not associated with a popular film. Often, interest in a given location passes quickly when a series no longer airs, new and heavily promoted productions appear, or film fashion simply changes. From the point of view of the manager of an area where film locations are situated, the key issues are: effective informational and promotional activities, enabling convenient access for tourists and making it easy to find the places they are looking for, as well as – in the longer term – finding a way to “strengthen” the attraction and maintain tourist interest despite the changing situation (e.g., by tourist development, opening museums, creating tourist routes).

In Poland, major film studios rarely shoot films that are later promoted and distributed all over the world. In fact, only a few such titles can be listed. The most well-known among them is probably *Schindler's List* (1993) (5). In this work by S. Spielberg, there appear characteristic objects and places of Krakow, including: Szeroka Street, Liban Quarry (with set decorations imitating the camp in Płaszów) and O. Schindler's “Emalia” factory (6). Another film that won international acclaim was R. Polański's *The Pianist* of 2002 (7). Shots of the Warsaw Ghetto were taken with the use of set decorations prepared specifically to that aim, yet some takes were filmed in Mała Street (in the Praga Północ district). The third widely known film that “stars” Polish locations is *The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian* (2008, directed by A. Adamson). Here, the film-makers used the fancy landscapes of

the Karkonosze Mountains (Kamieńczyk Waterfall) and the Stołowe Mountains (specifically, the labyrinthine “Errant Rocks” formation).

Other Polish locations that appear in foreign films are known by expert cinema lovers only. Here we can list, among others: the American war comedy-drama *Jakob the Liar* (1999, dir. by P. Kassovitz, starring R. Williams), which was shot in Piotrków Trybunalski; the German war drama *Anonyma – Eine Frau in Berlin* (2008, dir. by M. Färberböck) presenting locations in Wrocław and Legnica; and the American-German-Indian spy thriller *Bridge of Spies* (2015, dir. by S. Spielberg, cinematography J. Kamiński, starring T. Hanks, A. Alda), in which the streets of Wrocław imitate Cold-War East Berlin. In that situation, the most far-famed location of world megaproductions in Poland is ... the bridge in Pilchowice. In 2020, the media reported plans of its destruction by Hollywood film-makers – T. Cruise was supposed to blow it up in *Mission: Impossible 7*. Eventually, as a result of prominent social protests, the idea was ditched.

An interesting phenomenon is the interest of Bollywood film-makers in Poland. For more than a dozen years, Indian film crews have been visiting the Tatra Mountains (vistas reminiscent of Kashmir), Zakopane, Krakow and Warsaw. The films in which Polish landscapes appear include *Fanaa* (2006, dir. by K. Kohli), *Azaan* (2011, dir. by P. Chadha) and *Kick* (2014, dir. by S. Nadiadwala – one of the greatest box-office hits in the history of the Indian dream factory, aired also on Polish television). For now, however, the film locations of Bollywood shows attract neither Polish nor foreign tourists. The Swiss Alps may serve as an example for the Polish Tatra Mountains: their cinematic landscapes have been the most important motif for visitors from India for over 25 years (Gyimóthy, 2015; Frank, 2016) (8).

It is impossible to list all the most important locations of Polish films. Only those towns and regions that have enjoyed the greatest popularity among domestic tourists in recent years are presented in Fig. 1. They include Sandomierz (backdrop for the crime series *Ojciec Mateusz*) and Łódź (the series *Komisarz Alex*) and even the small village of Jeruzal near Mińsk Mazowiecki (the comedy-drama series *Ranczo* and film *Ranczo Wilkowyje*). The main attraction in this last place is a blue bench in front of a shop (on which the four protagonists of the series sip cheap, low-quality wine called Mamrot and philosophise about life). Also, lovers of the comedy trilogy *U Pana Boga za piecem* (1998), *U Pana Boga w ogródku* (2007) and *U Pana Boga za miedzą* (2009) seek film locations.

The problem, however, is that the town presented in the films was, in fact, shot in different and distant locations in the Podlasie region (in Sokółka, Supraśl, Tykocin, Białystok, Królowy Most and on the road from Białystok to Bobrowniki).

Many places in which famous Polish films were created have been described in detail in numerous publications. Film travel guidebooks to places all over the country have been published (Szymański, 2010), as well as those to individual towns and cities: Łódź (Kronenberg, Wawrzyniak, Jonas, 2010; Podolska, Wiewiórski, 2010), Warsaw (Sołtysiak, 2007), the Tri-City (Fryc-Hyży, 2009), Piotrków Trybunalski (Warchulińska, 2011), and voivodeships such as Łódź Voivodeship (Kronenberg, 2015b), and even ones dedicated to the audience's favourite television series (*Stawkowy przewodnik...* 2014).

However, there are not many examples of a broader use of film locations to promote an area through film or of the creation of a specialised tourist offering. The few operations of that type include the implementation of the “Mazowsze na filmowo” (“Film Mazovia”) project (<http://mazowszenafilmowo.pl/>) or the Greater Poland tourist route “Podróże z Panem Tadeuszem” (that refers to A. Mickiewicz's epic poem *Master Thaddeus* but also takes into account the open-air museum of the set decorations from A. Wajda's film adaptation). One example of the successful “immortalisation” of a film location is the “U Pana Tadeusza” vantage point created in 1999 in Smolniki. It overlooks the skyline of the highest rises of the Suwałki Lakeland – the scenery not only of the adaptation of the national epic filmed by A. Wajda but also of T. Konwicki's film *The Issa Valley*.

The “Piotrków Trybunalski po filmowej taśmie” route (with the bench of Kwinto – the protagonist of *Vabank*) was realised in microscale. Nevertheless, the biggest such enterprise since 2016 has been the tourist route “Filmowe Łódzkie” (“Film Łódź Region”). It encompasses 10 key locations, 15 nodal ones and 53 other locations in which several hundred films were shot. Those locations are linked into tour proposals: one two-day trip and ten one-day trips (thematically diversified loops, sightseeing walks around film towns and trips to locations of cult films). It was also planned to develop other products (group tours, kayaking trips, events, souvenirs). About a dozen information boards were placed outdoors, and local tour guides took part in trainings. Unfortunately, due to lack of further financing, the implementation of the project was suspended. It is symptomatic that attempts to use film heritage in tourism are incidental and, even then, they are often put to a halt for various reasons.

The greatest number of such initiatives took place in the first half of last decade, while there have practically been none in recent years.

6. Film museums

An operating definition of film museums was adopted for the purposes of this study. It was assumed that they are museum-type facilities whose collection (or the majority thereof) are connected with film themes. Such a general conceptualisation enabled the inclusion of local exhibitions that are not formally considered museums under Polish law. Ultimately, the research identified 14 institutions that have exhibitions concerning broadly understood cinematography, though others may exist. Based on a formal and legal criterion, the nature of the collected exhibits and the conducted activity, they were classified into four basic groups: film museums proper, halls of memory, institutions related to museums, and other museums connected with film; defunct museums constitute a fifth group (Table 1).

Polish film museums are extremely diversified, in formal and legal terms (ownership form, status of the institution) and in terms of the nature of the collection (exhibition theme, number of exhibits, primary premises) and extra-exhibition activity. They are located mostly in the central and southern parts of the country. However, there is no regularity in that concentration, since the facilities were established over several decades (from 1976 to 2017) and for various reasons (traditions as a film centre, place of birth of a film star, film locations, private collections). What is important is the fact that most of those institutions are situated outside large cities (with the exception of Krakow and Łódź) and popular tourist centres (with the exceptions of Krakow and Sandomierz). This significantly hinders the attracting of a wider audience.

Unfortunately, the fundamental similarity between the studied establishments is the anachronic way in which they exhibit the collected artefacts. Most of them are small museums (characterised by a small exhibition space) that prefer more traditional, static presentations of their exhibits and rarely use modern technologies to that aim (apart from the standard screening of film fragments). As a result, despite compelling main themes (the magic of cinema, the dream factor, the lives of stars, etc.), their offering is not particularly attractive to the contemporary viewer. Neither does the subject area of exhibitions broaden the circle of visitors: they present mostly domestic film productions, which, to foreign tourists, are largely unknown (not translated

Table 1. Film museums in Poland (as of 31 December 2020)

Place	Name	Year established	Characteristics
Film museums proper			
Łódź	Cinema-tography Museum	1986 (1976 – Division of the Museum of the History of the City of Łódź)	Seat: K. Scheibler's palace. Over 50,000 exhibits in 4 departments: cinema history, film technology (incl. a kaiserpanorama of 1900), poster and production design, animation (heritage of Se-Ma-For). Elements of set decorations from <i>An Ancient Tale</i> and <i>Kingsajz</i> in the courtyard, sculptures of the cats Filemon and Bonifacy near the gate (monument on the Fairy-Tale Trail).
Rzeszów	Bedtime Cartoons Museum	2008	Currently, the only museum in Poland devoted to animations for children. Exhibits from W. Jama's collection: dolls from puppet films, various objects connected with popular bedtime cartoons.
Katowice	Museum of Katowice History. Theatre and Film Department	2011	Seat: two-level apartment in a historic tenement house, "Museum of Barbara and Stanisław Ptak" (B. Ptak's studio of set design and costumes, exhibits documenting the career of actor and singer S. Ptak, awards, family heirlooms), "Gallery 11" (temporary exhibitions, private cultural events).
Halls of memory			
Lipno	Hall of Memory of Pola Negri	2005	Seat of the Lipno Pola Negri Cultural Association, "Nawojka" cinema. On show: photographs of the actress, documents, keepsakes, interviews and press coverages as well as an amateur film presenting P. Negri and Ch. Chaplin.
Institutions related to museums			
Cichowo	Soplicowo Open-Air Film Museum	1999	The only such open-air museum of production design in Poland: a complex of wooden objects, authored by A. Starski, from the film <i>Master Thaddeus</i> (dir. by A. Wajda). Currently, a tourist and cultural complex (accommodation and catering services, outdoor events).
Lubomierz	Kargul and Pawlak Museum	1996	Seat: Linedrapers' House – tenement house from the 16 th c. Original and fictitious props from the film <i>Sami swoi</i> . Next to the museum, a collection of plaques commemorating visits by famous actors.
Rytwiany	<i>Czarne chmury</i> TV Series Museum	2013	Seat: post-Camaldolese monastery in which two episodes were shot. In a hall above the church, film set props, stills and memorabilia from benefit performance. Currently, part of the Pustelnia Złotego Lasu (retreat, conference and leisure centre).
Sandomierz	"The World of Father Mateusz" exhibition	2017	Seat: Bobola Boarding School – tenement house in the Market Square. Arrangement of series set decorations (church, presbytery, bishop's study, police station, cell), wax figures of the protagonists, film props, plaques with handprints of the actors.
Żagań	Żagań Palace of Culture	-	An exhibition about the TV series "Czterej pancerni i pies" (Four Tankers and a Dog): photos from the film set, photos of actors, exemplars of books in various languages, comic book.
Other museums connected with film			
Krakow	O. Schindler's Enamel Factory, Branch of the History Museum of the City of Cracow	2010	Seat: building of the former Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik. Permanent exhibition entitled "Krakow – occupation times, 1939-1945" – multimedia exhibition presented as a theatrical and film story; among its several thematic threads: the story of Oskar Schindler, his factory and workers (secretary's office, O. Schindler's study, symbolic "ark of the survivors" made of thousands of pots, hall of memory of the rescued Jews).
Krakow	Museum of the JU	-	A. Wajda's film awards: Oscar, Palme d'Or from Cannes, Golden Lion from Venice.
Łódź	Museum of the City of Łódź	-	The Oscar statuette awarded to A. Rubinstein for his lead role in the autobiographical film <i>L'Amour de la Vie</i> (1969).
Warsaw	National Museum of Technology	2017	Aeroscope – handheld camera designed by Kazimierz Prószyński from 1908.
Warsaw	Poster Museum in Wilanów, Branch of the National Museum in Warsaw	1968	Theatre and film posters, as part of the collection of Polish and foreign posters.

Defunct museums			
Łódź	Se-ma-for Animation Museum	2008-2018	Heritage of Se-ma-for: photo equipment for stop motion animation, dolls and studio sets from popular children's TV series (<i>Miś Uszatek</i> , <i>Przygody Misia Colargola</i> , <i>Mały pingwin Pik-Pok</i>) and masterpieces of world animation (M. Skrobecki's <i>Ichthys</i> , Z. Rybczyński's Oscar-winning <i>Tango</i> and S. Templeton's <i>Peter and the Wolf</i>)
Katowice	Hans Kloss Museum	2009	Seat: rooms styled as a military bunker. Exhibition documenting the cultural phenomenon of the <i>Stawka większa niż życie</i> TV series (props, wax figures of the protagonists, original film tapes, diplomas, awards, press clippings, <i>Kapitan Kloss</i> comic books, mock arms from WWII).

Source: author's own work

into other languages) and unclear (on the specifics of Polish problems).

All the above-mentioned factors (peripheral location, outdated exhibitions, culturally inaccessible subject area) are the reasons why, as a rule, film museums in Poland do not enjoy high attendance (9). In the years 2015–2018, the Cinematography Museum in Łódź was visited by an average of 42,200 people a year, the Bedtime Cartoons Museum in Rzeszów by 29,700, and the Kargul and Pawlak Museum by 11,600. The only museum that stands out in that respect is Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory, which recorded over 111,000 visitors during its first six months of operation. Each subsequent year, their number grew significantly to reach its peak in 2017 with over 428,000 visitors. As a result, it became necessary to introduce a daily limit on visitor numbers and online booking of entrance tickets. The reasons for the huge popularity of this establishment can be found in the state-of-the-art (multimedia, interactive and narrative) formula of the exhibition, which connects the subject area of the exhibition with Jewish culture and the Holocaust, the global recognisability of Schindler's List, and the museum's location in the biggest centre of international tourism in Poland.

This branch of the History Museum of the City of Krakow is also a sensation due to the specific structure of the museum audience. As one of the very few establishments in Poland, it can boast of a prevalence of foreign tourists over domestic ones (Fig. 2). The percentage of foreigners ranges between 62% and 73.5% (in absolute values, ca 280–290,000 people). Unfortunately, the museum does not keep detailed statistics regarding the country of origin of its visitors. Thus, it is impossible to determine the exact reach of its influence.

Due to differences in the ways in which visitor numbers are recorded, a simple comparison of the audience structure in the researched establishments is not an easy task. Nonetheless, we can venture to outline the figure of a typical visitor. In O. Schindler's Enamel Factory, it is an individual foreign tourist

(predominantly adults). The Cinematography Museum is popular mostly among domestic visitors, both individual (58%) and group ones (42%). The Bedtime Cartoons Museum is an attraction mainly for children, who go there as part of school trips and with their parents: adults act only as caretakers. In the Kargul and Pawlak Museum, one finds almost exclusively individual tourists from Poland. However, creating a more detailed profile of the visitors would require more in-depth survey research.

Since only two institutions made available data concerning their monthly attendance (Fig. 3), it is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions regarding seasonality in Polish film museums. In both cases, we can see a clear pre-holiday peak of school trips (May–June). Another, lower peak can be observed either in the summer holidays period (July–August) or in autumn (September–October). This seasonality is probably associated with the location of those facilities (Łódź – a non-tourist city whose inhabitants leave in the summer, and Rzeszów – a town that travellers pass through en route to holiday trips to the Bieszczady Mountains and to southern Europe). The interest in both museums dips significantly in winter (November–March).

7. Film festivals

Events are one of the most important attractions that draw cultural tourists. This applies also to various kinds of events connected with film. They can take the form of festivals, competitions, film reviews and retrospectives, formal premieres, benefit performances by stars, meetings with film creators or critics, discussion forums for film lovers, and workshops or summer schools relating to acting, directing and screenwriting. Often, film events are accompanied by parallel, thematically related events: photo exhibitions, music concerts, collectors' exchanges, film fairs.

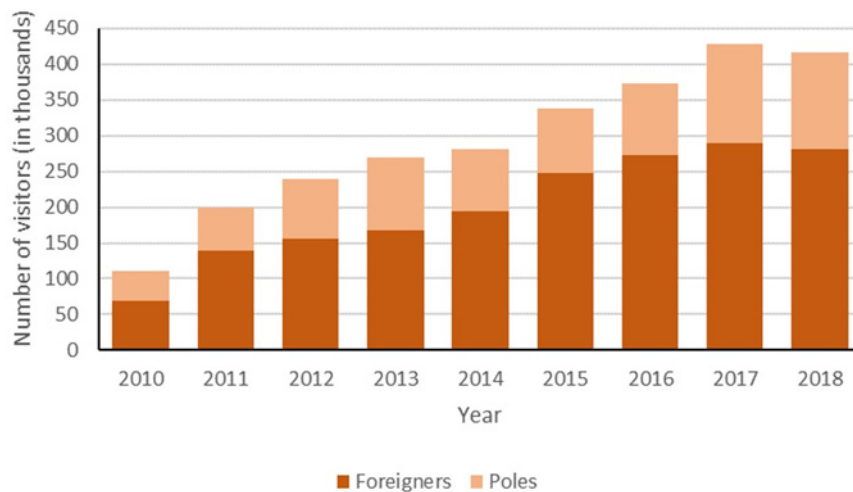


Fig. 2. Structure of origin of visitors to Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory, 2010–2018
Source: author's own work, based on data shared by the museum

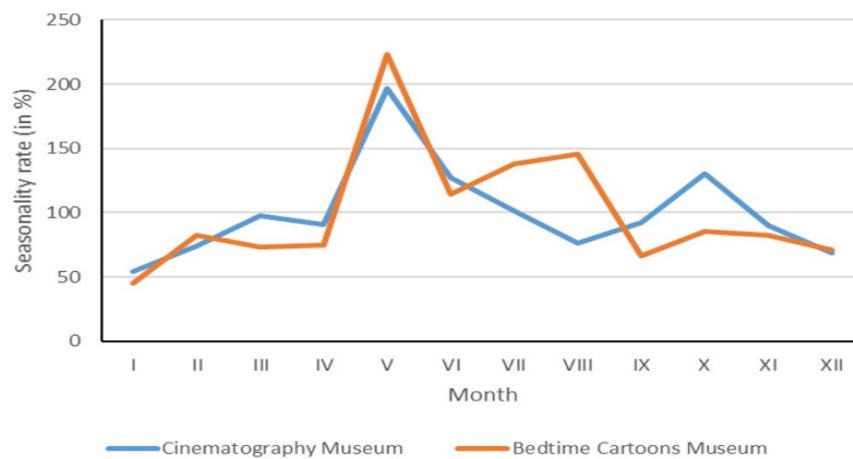


Fig. 3. Seasonality rate in Cinematography Museum in Łódź and Bedtime Cartoons Museum in Rzeszów (mean values, 2015–2018)
Source: author's own work, based on data shared by the museums

Festivals are considered the most important form of film event. The name is used to denote a combination of a number of art events that constitute a review of the achievements of film art (open to public and private screenings), often in the form of a competition (jury deliberations, awards ceremony) organised at the same time and under a common name. Practically all of the biggest film events in Poland have such a comprehensive structure (Table 2).

Every festival, apart from presenting film art, has an additional aim that determines its specificity and identity. It might be, for example, the integration of the film industry, the establishment of international contacts, supporting young talents, integrating films into the global distribution system, or the promotion of certain ideas or worldviews.

According to Konieczna (2014), Polish film festivals do not have a clear economic and distribution character and, despite many of them containing the word “international” in their name, they do not play an important role on the global cinema distribution and film promotion market. This adjective applies only to their programme and invited creators, rather than to the origin of their participants. Each year, around 40 big festivals take place in Poland, mainly in the summer (July–August) and autumn months (September–November). Places where they are held are scattered all over the country, yet they are concentrated mainly in popular tourist centres and big cities. Some festivals (such as the WATCH DOCS International Film Festival. Human Rights in Film) have a touring formula, i.e. once the main event has finished, the films are screened in many

smaller towns. Provincial centres also hold smaller film reviews, yet their number remains unknown.

The characteristics of the key film festivals in Poland are presented in Table 2. The main selection criteria for events were their long-standing tradition (minimum of ten editions) and scale (reach). Although there are no reliable attendance data, it can be assumed that they are, at the same time, the festivals with the biggest audiences. According to the organisers' estimates, the number of their participants reaches 50,000 (Gdynia, Kazimierz Dolny), 60,000 (Łódź) and even over 100,000 (Warsaw, Wrocław). In 2020, due to the pandemic, some festivals were cancelled, while others took place in a limited form, in a hybrid version or online only.

In the case of festivals with shorter histories (those initiated after the year 1990), it is symptomatic that the events "wander" from town to town. This applies, for instance, to Camerimage (Toruń – Łódź – Bydgoszcz – Toruń), Transatlantyk (Poznań – Łódź – Katowice) and New Horizons (Sanok – Cieszyn – Wrocław). The reasons for this lie in the specific construction of those events' budgets, which are predominantly co-financed by local self-governments. If they want to create their image and brand, towns agree to cover the high costs of organising big festivals. However, if the agreement expires, a more profitable offer appears or a conflict breaks out with the authorities, the organisers move the event to a new location without remorse.

The issues of film festivals are reflected in many foreign scholarly publications, including vast monographs (de Valck, 2007; Wong, 2011) concerning the economic, social and cultural effects of such events, their use in marketing activity and comprehensive characteristics of their participants. In the Polish literature, this area is poorly represented. So far, only single works about individual events have been published. Probably the broadest research (n = 524) was conducted by Konieczna and Dziadzia (2004) during the Era New Horizons Film Festival in Cieszyn. It was aimed at characterising in detail the audience of film art and learning the features determining participation in a film-related event. The results proved that interest in film culture is influenced by a person's knowledge (mainly education through the media, marginal significance of school education), values held, the immediate environment (social circle, peer group), earlier film-related experiences and active participation in culture. Also, the thesis about the role of film festivals as a place of conscious search for values and enriching oneself through contact

with film art was confirmed. However, the research was not conducted strictly in the field of tourism.

8. Other attractions

The "others" category includes the remaining attractions that did not fit in any of the three previous groups but are certainly interesting for film tourists (Table 3). Thus, it encompasses very different places and objects, sometimes small ones, without a strong pull, yet documenting Polish film heritage and imparting additional colour to the cultural landscape. They can, however, be assigned to several basic types:

- **cinema/cinematography institutions** – normally enterprises operating within the cinema industry that are systematically made available to visitors (including the oldest cinema in the world, i.e. Pionier in Szczecin),
- **cultural and tourist infrastructure** – catering, accommodation and accompanying facilities that use film heritage (including film locations) to create a unique and competitive market offering,
- **movie theme parks** – theme parks organised around film themes (admittedly, Poland lacks so-called mega theme parks, but the existing facilities constitute important family attractions on the national scale),
- **monuments and commemorative plaques** – walks of fame, commemorative plaques and monuments to film-makers as well as protagonists of popular films (including fairy-tale trails)
- **cemeteries** – national necropolises where notable actors, directors and cinematographers are buried (10).

9. Conclusions

Film tourism is one of the most quickly developing forms of cultural tourism in the early 21st century, although the scale of this phenomenon is difficult to estimate. According to TCI Research (2018), the number of travellers motivated by film increased from 40 million in 2012 to 80 million in 2018. Poland, however, does not rank among the most popular destinations in the world. The reason is obvious: there are no global film productions commonly associated with our country. When film-makers from Hollywood appear in this part of Europe, they tend to choose Prague or Budapest over Krakow or Warsaw. Admittedly, several foreign

Table 2. Key film festivals in Poland (as of 31.12.2020)

Place	Month	No. of editions	Name of event	Characteristics
Gdynia (1987–)	Sept.	45	Polish Film Festival	The key Polish feature film festival, apart from the main competition: panorama of Polish cinema, indie and young cinema contests, main prize: Golden Lions, attendance: ca. 50,000 viewers.
Gdańsk (1974–86)				
Katowice (2020–)	Oct.	10	Transatlantyk Festival	Auteur festival of the Oscar laureate J.A.P. Kaczmarek, combining film and music with education and social activation, two competitions for young composers, film screenings under thematic sections, Culinary Cinema, outdoor bed cinema, shows of VR experiences and films, workshops, panel discussions, concerts, theatrical events.
Łódź (2015–19)				
Poznań, Rozbitek (2011–15)				
Kazimierz Dolny/Janowiec (2007–)	July/ Aug.	14	“Two Riversides” Film and Art Festival	Interdisciplinary cultural event (film, photography, literature, music, visual arts), screenings (also outdoors) of works of auteur, indie, socially committed and young European cinema, presentations of local artists’ oeuvre, photo exhibitions, literary walks, meetings with artists.
Krakow (1961–)	June	60	Krakow Film Festival	Short and documentary film festival, since 2006 accompanied by the Krakow Film Fair, since 2013 by the music documentary competition DocFilmMusic, main awards: Golden Dragon (international festival), Golden Hobby-Horse (national festival), Dragon of Dragons (for lifetime achievement).
Lubomierz (1997–)	Aug.	24	National Festival of Comedy Films	Contest for the funniest film of the season (award: Golden Grenade) and of Indie Comedy Cinema (award: Golden Pin), evening and night film screenings, photo exhibitions, meetings with film-makers, concerts.
Łagów (1969–)	June/ July	49	Lubuskie Film Summer	Since 1990, film festival of post-communist countries, main award: Golden Grape.
Międzyzdroje (1996–2005, 2010–)	July	24	The Summer Holiday Festival of Stars	Film presentations, outdoor shows, theatre performances, exhibitions, “Meeting with a Star” (actor, director), formal impression of artists’ hands in the “Promenade of Stars”.
Gdańsk (2006–09)				
Toruń (2019–)	Sept.	28	International Film Festival of the Art of Cinematography	The biggest film festival in the world devoted to the art of cinematography, main awards: Golden Frog (Main Competition) and Golden Tadpole (Student Etudes Competition), a number of accompanying competitive (e.g. Polish films, film debuts, videoclips, TV series pilot episodes contests) and non-competitive events (retrospectives, special screenings, seminars, workshops, presentations of state-of-the-art film equipment).
Bydgoszcz (2010–18)				
Łódź (2000–09)				
Toruń (1993–99)				
Warsaw (1985–)	Oct.	36	Warsaw International Film Festival	World, European and Polish film festival (until 1990 as Warsaw Film Week), audience plebiscite, workshops for screenwriters and editors.
Wroclaw (2006–)	July/ Aug.	20	New Horizons International Film Festival	Festival of films that transcend the boundaries of conventional cinema (since 2010 combined with the American Film Festival), contest for the best foreign film according to the audience, meetings with distinguished directors, in 2020 there were 122,500 viewers (in the cinema and on video platform).
Cieszyn/Český Těšín (2002–05)				
Sanok (2001)				
Wroclaw (1976–)	March	40	Stage Songs Review	The oldest stage festival in Poland, Song Interpretation Contest, cycles of concerts and music performances.

Source: author’s own work

productions have been filmed in Poland in recent years, but the locations that can be seen in them are not recognised by the mass viewer. *Schindler's List* is an older work, well past the peak of its popularity. Hence, until a new global hit is created, it will be difficult to talk about international film tourism in Poland.

Important obstacles to the development of film-inspired travel include: the lack of specialised tourist products connected with directors and actors who are known abroad. This unfulfilled potential concerns such distinguished cinema figures as Krzysztof Kieślowski, Andrzej Wajda, Roman Polański and Pola Negri. It is little known that the power of Hollywood was also created by Polish Jews who emigrated to the US at the turn of the 20th century. Among them there were Szmul Gelbfisz (Samuel Goldwyn) from Nalewki in Warsaw – the co-creator of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film studio. Also, the latest international successes of Polish creators (11) could arouse a broader interest in our cinematography.

The presented inventory shows that the resources that can be used to develop the national film tourism are quite abundant and thematically diverse. There exist many places and objects that are attractive to tourists: locations of cult films and TV series, film museums, places where cinema stars lived and worked, monuments and commemorative plaques. Cities have the greatest potential in this respect (Warsaw, Krakow, Wrocław and Łódź – the former capital of Polish film, to this day jokingly called “Hollyódź”), but also smaller towns where popular films have been shot (Sandomierz) or where unique institutions connected with film operate (Bielsko-Biała, Lubomierz). Different kinds of events are vested with a special power of attraction for the lovers of the tenth Muse: film festivals, competitions, reviews, meetings with stars (Gdynia, Kazimierz, Międzyzdroje, Toruń, Wrocław).

The detailed inventory of film heritage in Poland allowed the author to create an authorial typology of tourist attractions. The following groups were distinguished:

- **film locations**,
- **film museums**, including: film museums proper, halls of memory, institutions related to museums, other museums connected with film,
- **film events** – festivals, contests, film reviews, formal premieres, benefit performances by stars, meetings with film-makers, workshops, etc.,
- **other attractions**, such as cinema/cinematography institutions, cultural and

tourist infrastructure, movie theme parks, monuments and commemorative plaques, cemeteries.

The division diverges from the classifications known from the global subject literature, including the already classic publications by S. Beeton (2005; 2016). This, however, stems from the local specificity of the Polish film and tourist industries. For instance, in Poland, there is no phenomenon of touring around celebrities' residences (there are no mega film stars and, hence, no luxurious estates they would inhabit). Secondly, it is impossible to visit film studios while films are being shot (there are no huge studios and there is no practice of opening them to visitors). Moreover, study visits to film locations are not organised and the work of film crews is usually only spontaneously admired by casual observers. It would also be difficult to speak about full immersion in the world of film in the case of visitors to theme parks in Poland, since their modest sizes offer only an ersatz of fictitious reality. On the other hand, there is a great diversification of museum facilities in Poland (which partly stems from the provisions of the law on museums and the long-standing tradition of creating, e.g., halls of memory). Another exceptional feature is the quite common practice of commemorating notable cinema people (with the use of monuments, commemorative plaques, attention paid to graves, etc.). This can be attributed, at least in part, to the high esteem in which Polish society holds actors and directors, whose work used to be perceived not as a form of entertaining viewers but as a kind of special (patriotic) mission in the difficult times of national subjugation (partitions, communism).

The presented typology updates and details the “global” review by S. Beeton (2005; 2016), at the same time reflecting the unique reality of the Polish media and tourist markets. Undoubtedly, it would be interesting to confront this classification with film attractions in other countries, not only in Europe but on other continents.

Despite its considerable potential, the development of film tourism in Poland has so far had an incidental, interim and episodic character. As a film comes into vogue, so tourist interest in specific locations appears, along with profiled services of the tourist industry animated by it. As a rule, however, they quickly disappear. We lack examples of the implementation of long-term use of film heritage to develop tourism. This concerns, for example, the creation of more advanced, complex tourist products (thematic travel packages, film city breaks, tourist routes, network products, brand

Table 3. The most important film tourist attractions in Poland

Place	Name	Year established	Characteristics
Cinema / cinematography institutions			
Bielsko-Biała	Animated Film Studio in Bielsko-Biała	1947	Film education programme “The World of Cartoons”: sightseeing of the studio (film production stages from screenplay to finished film), film screenings, educational workshops (animation, sounding), organisation of a children’s party (“Cartoon birthday”).
Szczecin	Pionier cinema 1907	1907	The oldest continuously active cinema in the world (recorded in the Guinness Book of World Records).
Cultural and tourist infrastructure			
Łódź	Stare Kino Cinema Residence	2013	Aparthotel: 50 apartments whose decor (photo wallpaper, furniture, knick-knacks) refers to cult Polish and Hollywood productions
Smolniki	“U Pana Tadeusza” vantage point	1999	Vantage point overlooking the panorama of the Suwałki Lakeland – film locations from A. Wajda’s <i>Master Thaddeus</i> and T. Konwicki’s <i>The Issa Valley</i> .
Sokołowsko	K. Kiesłowski Memory Centre	2006	Archive of the works of Krzysztof Kiesłowski. Two commemorative plaques (including one on the house in which he lived as a child in the years 1951–55). “Hommage à Kiesłowski” film festival.
Movie theme parks			
Kownaty	Majaland	2018	Family theme park referring to the character of Maya the Honey Bee and protagonists of other animations of Studio 100.
Pacanów	Koziołek Matołek Capitol of European Cartoons	2010	Recreational and tourist complex: multimedia exhibitions “Cartoon World” and “Soria Moria Land”, Small Theatre, 3D cinema, workshops, garden, “Cartoon Academy” Educational Park.
Monuments and commemorative plaques			
Bielsko-Biała	“Cartoon Bielsko-Biała” route	2009	Statues of protagonists of cartoons produced by the local Animated Film Studio: Reksio (2009), Bolek and Lolek (2011), Pampalini (2019), Wawel Dragon and B. Bartolini (2020).
Gdynia	Monument to the Polish Film Festival	2007	Monument in the shape of film tape on whose frames the laureates of subsequent editions of the festival are recorded.
Kielce	Walk of Fame	2005	47 monuments to people of culture of the 20 th c., including busts of I. Bergman, Ch. Chaplin, Z. Cybulski, K. Kiesłowski and M. Monroe.
Łódź	Walk of Fame on the Łódź Road of Fame	1998	80 stars: for directors and camera operators on the eastern side of Piotrkowska Street, for actors on the western side.
Łódź	“Łódź Baśniowa” route	From 2009	A family tourist trail connecting 10 small monuments to heroes from animated films of the Se-ma-for Small Film Forms Studio
Międzyzdroje/Gdańsk	Walk of Fame Promenade of Fame	1996/ 2006	A total of ca. 120 brass hands impressed by artists (not only film-makers) as well as sculptures, commemorative monuments and benches.
Poznań	Monument to Roman Wilhelmi	2012	Bust of the actor in a plaza named after him, opposite Scena na Piętrze.
Toruń	Monument to Kargul and Pawlak	2006	Monument to the protagonists of <i>Sami swoi</i> in front of Cinema City.
Toruń	Monument to <i>Prawo i pięść</i>	2008	Monument to the <i>Prawo i pięść</i> film (displaced persons’ cart in Rynek Nowomiejski).
Wrocław	Z. Cybulski commemorative plaque	1997	Plaque in the floor of platform III in the Wrocław Główny train station, where the actor was fatally injured on 8 January 1967.
Cemeteries			
Warsaw	Powązki Cemetery	1790	Graves of distinguished actors and directors, incl.: A. Bardini, H. Bielicka, B. Bilewski, M. Czechowicz, M. Ōwiklińska, M. Dmochowski, E. Dziewoński, T. Fijewski, W. Hańcza, G. Holoubek, K. Jędrusik, Z. Kęstowicz, K. Kiesłowski, J. Kociniak, Z. Maklakiewicz, B. Pawlik, M. Perepeczko, A. Śląska.
Warsaw	Military Cemetery	1912	Graves of distinguished actors, directors and camera operators, incl.: L. Buczkowski, A. Dymsha, W. Gliński, R. Hanin, T. Łomnicki, J. Machulski, A. Munk, Cz. Petelski, L. Pietraszkiewicz, S. Rózewicz, P. Sobociński.

Source: author’s own work

area product), attempts to strengthen demand by creating permanent film attractions (film museums, theme parks, visitor centres) or the intentional use of film in promoting a town or region and creating its unique image and tourist brand.

This study is the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of film tourism in Poland. It certainly does not exhaust the topic. The state of our knowledge about this phenomenon is poor, even unsatisfactory. We clearly lack fundamental research concerning the realm of both supply and demand. We still have very little insight into the profile of a typical film tourist (including participants of film festivals), motives behind trips, the way visited places are perceived (e.g. as compared with their respective film frames) or experiences gained during such trips. Mechanisms of transferring one's fascination with a given film to the interest in its locations, the lifecycle of a film tourist at a given destination, the possibility to use feature films in the marketing of the reception area, the economic, cultural and social effects of film tourism, including the dysfunctions that can occur (appropriation of space, social conflicts, false presentation of places, people, local culture) – all this remains little known. Not only would the results of research in the indicated areas be cognitively interesting but they would also have a significant practical importance for the tourist industry. Hence, the list of those issues can be treated as a list of things to do (and challenges) for the years to come for cultural tourism scholars in Poland.

10. Notes

1. The phenomenon of round trips to exclusive neighbourhoods (Beverly Hills) with stops in front of properties of film stars and celebrities, typical of, e.g., the US, but non-existent in Poland, should also be classified under this heading.
2. Detailed results of that inventory were presented in an earlier publication (Stasiak, 2021).
3. The original copy of the film was found as late as in 2000 in the film archives in Bois-d'Arcy in France. In 2008, on the centennial of its production, a digital copy of the work became available in Poland.
4. The collection of the National Film Archive encompasses 2,000 feature films, 160 pre-War films, 100,000 documentary and short films, and 2,000 animated films (<http://www.fn.org.pl/page/219/filmy.html>)
5. The film won 7 Oscars (best picture, best director, best adapted screenplay, cinematography – J. Kamiński, best production design – A. Starski, E. Braun, best original score and best film editing), 3 Golden Globes and 7 BAFTA awards.
6. Scenes at the production hall, however, were shot in the Olkusz Enamelware Factory in Olkusz.
7. It was awarded 3 Oscars (best director, best actor, best adapted screenplay), the Palme d'Or in Cannes, 2 BAFTA awards and 7 Césars.
8. At the turn of the 21st century, over 200 Bollywood films were made in Switzerland (an additional 80 in Tyrol). This resulted a great increase in the interest of Asian visitors, mainly from India. In the years 1993–2012, the number of overnight stays by Indians increased almost sevenfold, from 71,000 to 475,000 (Gyimóthy, 2015). The arrival of so many exotic guests, however, raises many, often quite surprising, cultural problems (Frank, 2016).
9. A significant number of visitors can be expected at the “World of Father Mateusz” exhibition in Sandomierz. The entity managing this attraction, however, refused to share any information on attendance.
10. Distinguished creators of Polish films rest in many other necropolises as well, e.g. A. Wajda's grave is situated in the Salwator Cemetery in Krakow.
11. *Ida* (2015) was awarded the Oscar for best foreign picture, while *Cold War* (2018) and *Corpus Christi* (2019) were both Oscar nominees.

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