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Managing dissonant cultural heritage in regional and local development policy in the Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship (Warmia-Masuria)

Abstract

This article aims to analyse how cultural heritage is addressed in documents defining the objectives and directions of socio-economic development in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, in light of their practical implementation. This paper seeks to determine whether and how these documents and practices acknowledge that, due to the region's complex history, this heritage is characterised as dissonant. The analysis reveals that authorities often manage this awkwardness by remaining silent about much of its ethnic and religious provenance or by employing generic terms, obscuring its meanings. This approach reduces the level of dissonance associated with the heritage, leading to attempts to transform it into a resource in the form of tourist attractions (sites and festivals) to contribute to the region's development, rather than engaging in discussions about its significance or remember traumas that generate social conflicts.

Keywords: dissonant cultural heritage, Warmia and Masuria, regional and local development strategies, tourism, commodification of culture

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This article explores the cultural heritage of contemporary Warmia and Masuria, focusing on how it is treated by the authorities of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship local government, regional local governments collaborating in this area (the three largest cities in the voivodeship – Olsztyn, Elbląg and Ełk, and the district governments), as well as the private entities implementing its heritage management policy. I consider this statement the main research question, and to answer it effectively, I intend to analyse how cultural heritage is defined in policy documents, given that the region possesses cultural resources that must be categorised as dissonant heritage due to its complicated history. I also aim to ascertain the role assigned to dissonant heritage in the voivodeship's socio-economic development processes. To this end, I employ the method of analysing official documents by examining the development strategy and programmes, following them where possible. My analysis is also informed by participatory observation, focusing on the creation, consultation and implementation of the strategies outlined here. The first part of the paper presents my understanding of dissonant cultural heritage, followed by an examination of how it is defined in the aforementioned documents and the roles attributed thereto in the region's life. I aim to demonstrate that it is treated as a 'deposit from the past', 'unuttered' and 'blurred', enabling it to be commercialised as a tourist attraction. Finally, I attempt to answer the research questions.

Definitional framework

Heritage is not defined by the object that constitutes the essence of heritage, but by the subject that establishes it. More precisely, it can be defined as what social actors consider it to be. People regard tangible and intangible resources, such as cultural deposits, as legacies, shaping their perception of the past, defining their contemporary condition and projecting their future (Ossowski 1966: 64–65). This perspective may raise concerns about resorting to constructivist radicalism, where, according to Robert Hewison, 'heritage can mean anything you want' (Hewison 1987: 32). However, this is not the case; what is crucial in such an approach to heritage is whether there exists a strong relationship in people's minds between the past, present and future. This relationship is the primary mechanism for shaping collective memory, and herit-

age constitutes the body of content that comprises it. Intersubjectively shared memory reflects a pervasive sense of a shared past in a social group, which, in turn, is fundamental for shaping the social identities of its members. The awareness that past values and patterns constitute the specificity and integrity of a social group compels individuals to act to protect and transmit them intergenerationally. These values are also instrumental in determining the identity-important intergroup distinctions that clearly delineate who 'we' are and who 'others/foreigners' are (Szacka 2006: 51).

Heritage, as a correlate of collective memory for the formation of social bonds, is not the passive preservation of material, symbolic artefacts or content to retain the knowledge of 'how things really were', but rather an active social practice that occurs 'here and now', being 'oriented towards the present consumption of the past' (Ashworth 2002: 12–13). Collective memory, of which heritage is an essential component, 'does not store the past as such'. The past is constantly reorganised by the changing frame of reference of the present. Further, what is new 'must always appear in the form of a reconstructed past' (Assmann 2008: 57–58). I concur with David Lowenthal's view that 'heritage is a process, not a type of resource' (Lowenthal 1998: XIII). It involves the constant reconstruction, interpretation, affirmation, invalidation, negotiation, reinterpretation, and even reshaping of content that serves to form the cultural memory and identity of specific social groups. In the 'continuous now', an idea of the past is formed through selectively chosen or recreated content used in the present (Ashworth 2015: 31).

The reconstruction or creation of heritage occurs through performative social practices and is based on the emotional engagement of the social actors involved (Smith 2006: 68). Like collective memory and social identity, heritage, due to its performative and discursive nature, is multi-layered, internally incoherent and extremely fluid, often antagonising social actors who claim to be the depositories of all or part thereof. Social groups and formal and informal institutions ascribe different values to heritage, influencing its significance and the aforementioned characteristics (Ossowski 1966: 65). Cultural heritage is dissonant in that it is 'a constitutive social process that on the one hand leads to regulation and legitimation, and on the other involves the elaboration, contestation and undermining of a set of cultural and social identities, a sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that dominate the present and can be transmitted in the future' (Smith 2006: 82).

The processual and discursive nature of heritage creation, through the attribution of meanings to tangible and intangible objects that form collective memory and, consequently, the social identity of human collectivities, prompts the use of the term 'heritagisation'. This concept refers to the process of consciously not valuing objects, places, activities and symbols related to the past within the framework generated by contemporary demands. According to Małgorzata Zawiła, it is 'not only the process of assigning values to objects by people and the inclusion (discursive and performative) of the former by the latter in the collection of those worthy of preservation for future generations but they are complex co-dependent processes – occurring with social actors and other (non-human) elements of reality – of heritage forming and creation through heritage. Within these processes, the attribution of meanings and the taming of elements of reality is performed, but also the building of new networks around these elements understood as collectivities' (Zawiła 2019: 103).

'Inheritance' almost always entails disagreement on what should matter. Consequently, inconsistency in defining what should constitute heritage leads to heritage dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 20–21). This dissonance becomes evident when the dominant narrative of heritage, the official version formed and disseminated by social actors with the power to impose legitimate interpretations, is not accepted by various social groups, who, in the process of 'inheritance', ascribe different meanings to the same elements. Dissonance can also arise when two or more social actors in an area possess similar potential to shape public discourse and performative actions directed at heritage. To quote Robert Traba, a difficult legacy 'is a legacy characterised by dissonance in the interpretative strategies created by the various actors who value it' (Traba 2021: 27). The contestation of the past and attempts to remodel the narrative of what was and is important for today's and future generations can lead to rivalry and often conflict, dividing social collectives into antagonistic groups.

In social collectives where one or more social groups contest narratives about the past, there is a lack of 'harmonisation of time and space between people and their heritage' (Ashworth 2002: 363). The dissonance of heritage is generated by questions of belonging. Participatory interpretation becomes a game of domination, of establishing who can and should impose a legitimate narrative about it. In response to such questions, the social actors in-

volved in the game called the inheritance process assert that those who are full heirs hold this power. This entails the exclusion or disinheritance of those who do not fall into the category of heirs but claim the right to do so (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 84). Understanding this dynamic requires considering those who are disinherited, the reasons for their exclusion and the consequent objectives of heritage management processes (Traba 2021: 43). When one narrative is dominant and accepted by the collective as legitimate, rivalries and conflicts may not arise, but this is exceedingly rare. As a rule, the dominant narrative is opposed by minority groups seeking to participate in the inheritance process, either openly or covertly. In the absence of 'legitimate heirs' or when they are disinherited and marginalised from the community, cultural resources defined as heritage may be appropriated and remodelled. It is also common for such resources to be physically and symbolically erased or a 'common heritage' to emerge, where non-antagonistic social groups interact, or where 'heritage without heirs' is appropriated by collectives occupying abandoned spaces (Owsianowska and Banaszkiewicz 2015: 11).

Heritage dissonance also occurs 'when the dominant narrative does not resonate with the interpretations of the various interest groups because it omits aspects they consider important or highlights those that should not be given such prominence' (Banaszkiewicz and Semik 2019: 9). The challenge lies in determining what should be heritage and what should not. Those involved in the inheritance process valorise elements to be granted heritage status. Consciously or not, they compete to see whose narrative achieves legitimacy. They adapt to current emotional, socio-cultural, political and economic needs. According to Gregory Ashworth, all social actors in the inheritance process, both collectively and individually, but bearing in mind that the changing context redefines needs, may find some deprived of the power to impose legitimate narratives while others are equipped with it (Ashworth 2015: 32). The process of 'inheritance' can not only embroil the participating social actors in conflict, but can also lead to dialogue, where common definitions of the situation are established, and values and meanings attributed to heritage are negotiated. By engaging in dialogue about inheritance, social actors may modify their goals and perceptions in response to non-antagonistic proposals from other participants in the process (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007: 54–68). Lowenthal aptly stated, 'there is, however, no prede-

termined end state to this process, and its objectives can be multiple and variable today' (Lowenthal 1998: XIII).

Every heritage leads to unease, antagonises and violates the ontological security of those who do not recognise it in whole or part, are compelled to enter the orbit of its socialising influence, or, conversely, are excluded from its sphere (Rusek 2012: 10). This inevitably leads to the phenomenon of dissonance, which is 'an inherent feature of heritage, so that any person or institution managing it can expect that some aspect of the interpretation of the past will eventually cease to resonate with others' (Tunbridge 2013: 69). The dissonance generates a 'dissonant heritage', where overlapping, often contradictory, and antagonistic narratives and interpretive paths render the past story uncertain, negotiated, diffuse and different in various social groups. Drawing on Tunbridge and Ashworth's concept of 'dissonant heritage' and Sharon Macdonald's notion of 'difficult heritage', I conclude that 'dissonant heritage' refers to any material object, value or social norm, the pattern of action, habit or custom, or idea or symbol that creates a sense of dissonance in the minds of social actors (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Macdonald 2013).

Traba, in one of his texts on heritage, observed that dissonance can render heritage not only difficult and dissonant but also unwanted (Traba 2020: 17). Paradoxically, however, the dissonance of difficult heritage can lead to revised perceptions of the past and the establishment of interpretations of heritage common to mutually antagonistic social groups. Dissonance can catalyse initiating discussions on difficult heritage, which, if it does not escalate into violent social conflict, can facilitate the processing of collective traumas, contributing to the commonality of collective memory and the formation of social identities that enhance social cohesion (Macdonald 2015).

Departing from a static and universalistic view of heritage has enabled a processual interpretation thereof. 'Heritage has become object and action; product and process' (Fairclough 2009: 31). Its establishment and legitimacy have ceased to be the exclusive domain of power, and its institutions personified in expert figures; it has extended to other actors and ordinary people. The process of inheritance is encapsulated in the idea of broad interpretive participation. Pierre Nora observed that the classical mechanism for shaping, storing and distributing the content that formed collective memories was based on a hierarchical order, where institutions associated with power were the creators and distributors. The recipients of this content were social

groups subjected to the socialising influence of such institutions. The social change that decomposed this hierarchical order has resulted in a significant decentralisation of heritage creation. Apart from schools and government-affiliated cultural institutions, new creators and distributors of content forming collective memory, and thus new 'producers' of cultural heritage, have emerged. These include private media, businesses, local initiatives, NGOs and social movements, institutionalised or not, whose actions may violate centrally formed and memory practices imposed top-down (Nora 1989).

Dissonance can also be induced by attempts to convert cultural resources into economic capital. Through commercialisation, heritage becomes a product for sale, a trivialised object, action or idea stripped of its ontologically significant identity-forming functions. Material and symbolic resources treated as heritage 'entering the market' begin to lose their cultural significance for the community, and when treated in a mercantile manner, they become commodified. The commercialisation process involves planning the use of heritage elements for sale, which entails intentionally exposing or concealing certain content, depending on the choice of the target audience ('segment' – in marketing terminology). The same place, facility or event is marketed to different consumers, and therefore, the offer is shaped according to the demand-side needs structure. Giving meaning to a place involves the addressees of the message on the one hand and the visitors on the other, who are not, however, a homogeneous mass but a collection of individuals following their desires and pursuing their own goals' (Owsianowska and Banaszkiewicz 2015: 10–11).

According to Gordon Mathews, culture parcelled out into commercialised elements becomes a product for sale in the cultural supermarket, where heritage is one of the products available. The postmodern 'me', in the context of the marketisation of heritage, becomes fractured, generating uncertainties, as it is torn between the need for commonality once provided by a collectively established heritage and the commercialising cultural supermarket that transforms it into a collection of unconnected items for sale, the acquisition of which is always an individual act (Mathews 2005: 47).

In the modern world, identity, always based on some form of heritage, becomes an object of individual choice, a task that shifts from communities to individuals, who, according to the 'do-it-yourself' principle, must attempt to make sense of their existence by tapping into the goods of commercialised

culture. 'This identity draws its building blocks from a variety of traditions, from many different ways of existence, a conglomerate made of the patterns of different cultures' (Rusek 2012: 10). Commercialised heritage is, therefore, a complex issue, a nuisance, because it forces individuals to make choices, making them responsible for their memory and identity. Paradoxically, however, many potential depositors see value in the commercialisation of heritage. Intensified tourism and the commodification of heritage in the form of market discourse (e.g. films dealing with the past and the specificity of space) can arouse the interest of those who should be affected by 'inheritance' processes but are not, for various reasons. This can lead to active involvement in shaping heritage and forming one's memory and identity based on it, directed towards the past and the newly discovered community.

'Blurring' and 'unutterance' – heritage in strategic documents

In light of the concepts and definitions cited in the previous section, one might conclude that much of the cultural heritage of Central and Eastern Europe exhibits a certain level of 'dissonance' due to the convoluted history of this part of the continent. This is particularly true concerning the Western and Northern Territories of Poland, taken over from Germany following the arrangements concluding World War II. After World War II, the area of German East Prussia was divided between the Soviet Union and Poland. The southern part of the province fell to Poland, while the northern part was assigned to communist Russia (now the Kaliningrad Oblast). A small north-eastern fragment of former East Prussia lies in present-day Lithuania. The change in the nationality of the former German East Prussia, which became Polish Warmia and Masuria, along with the population exchange, the rupture of cultural continuity in the region and the need to legitimise the actions of the new authorities, initiated a strategy of Polonisation of cultural heritage by providing it with new meaning referring to the Polish cultural universe or by erasing (pushing into oblivion or destroying) elements associated with the German past (Sakson 2000: 51–52; Mazur 2000: 813; Poniedziałek 2011: 134).

The political system changes of 1989 brought about an institutional and narrative decomposition of the primary social actor (the state) managing cultural heritage in the region. The collapse of the People's Republic of Poland

created a new social context in which, alongside a hierarchical and power-subordinated method of determining what is important for social memory, a space emerged enabling the emergence of new social actors and new narratives. The decentralisation of state governance, the democratisation of socio-political life and economic change generated new needs and objectives for these social actors, who began to engage in a process of 'inheritance'. Apart from the central government institutions, opportunities have been created for regional and local authorities to manage their cultural heritage. Consequent to the reform of the country's territorial administration, which took effect on 1 January 1999, government-autonomous voivodeships began their operation. In Chapter II of the Act of 5 June 1998 on regional government, the legislator mandated the voivodeships to create a regional development strategy, one of the tasks (point 2 (7)) being the management of cultural heritage and its rational use (Journal of Laws of 1998 No. 91 item 576: 11).

The document suggests that the heritage it describes is treated as a static resource, a deposit inherited from the past, which the regional authorities must carefully preserve and pass on as intact as possible. Such an understanding does not reflect the processes of 'inheritance', i.e. the actual establishment, abolition or reinterpretation of what is regarded as inheritance at a given moment. Nonetheless, it defines areas of tangible and intangible culture that, considering Polish legislation, may be regarded as heritage, concurrently setting the framework and directions for potential action regarding its protection and use. In the case of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, strict adherence to the Act's provisions is extremely difficult, if not impossible, because the law states that the task of regional governments is to take care of Polishness and national and local identity (there are no provisions on the need to manage regional identity) (Journal of Laws of 1998 No. 91, item 576: 9). Strict adherence to the statutory provisions on the need for the strengthening of national identity in the region may exclude taking care of a significant part of its heritage, since, as mentioned, a large part thereof was generated by representatives of an ethnos that is not Polish, and its physical and symbolic forms perceptually available in the region refer to the German cultural universe. Thus, the Act pushes the cultural heritage of contemporary Warmia and Masuria into the framework of what is known as dissonant heritage.

In the document adopted on 18 February 2020 by the regional assembly (Polish: Sejmik) of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship titled 'Warmińsko-

Mazurskie 2030. Strategia rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego' [Socio-economic development strategy of Warmia and Masuria – 2030] (hereafter WiM 2030), its authors recognised that the social reality of the region was escaping the homogenising vision of an ethnically homogenous Poland. The SWOT analysis diagnosing the strengths of the region indicated that these include, *inter alia*, 'rich tangible and intangible cultural assets, cultural heritage, including of European significance, resulting from the national and ethnic diversity of the region' (WiM 2030: 23). However, it is not specified whether this wealth of heritage refers to what, according to the spirit of the aforementioned law, is to be regarded as a 'deposit from the past', which would imply that heritage also encompasses the past and its material and symbolic remains linked to the Baltic Prussian tribes, the Teutonic or later Protestant legacy, or, finally, to what is unambiguously associated with East Prussia or even the times of National Socialist domination in the district – in a word, with the region's entire past. This, in turn, would undoubtedly generate a high level of heritage dissonance because at least the heritage associated with the history of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century is largely associated with Germanness, understood in an ethno-nationalist manner. The document, therefore, addresses the awkwardness of heritage through 'unutterance', which allows its ethnic and cultural provenance to be blurred. The regional authorities consistently employ such action, as a similar method was employed in previous versions of the strategy, for example, in the 'Strategia rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego województwa warmińsko-mazurskiego do roku 2025' [Socio-economic development strategy of Warmia and Masuria – 2025] (the document was adopted in 2013) (Sokal 2015: 12).

The regional authorities and the document's authors emphasise that cultural heritage is a valuable resource for the region. A weakness identified in the strategy is 'a weak regional identity, especially among the young and educated, who do not see their future in the region' (WiM 2030: 24). The diagnostic section does not specify why the regional identity is considered weak. Sociological research in the region indicates that at least one element of identity, understood as identification with the region, its space and its people, has remained high for years, while the tendency to leave does not necessarily weaken this identity, as it is now possible to maintain links with the region without residing there (Łukowski 2003: 173–225; Poniedziałek 2011: 304–312; Sakson 2011: 741–773; Poniedziałek 2018: 65; Łukowski 2023: 138–144). Anoth-

er element of social identities beyond identification is valence, i.e. knowledge of the cultural codes contained in a commonly accepted, institutionally legitimised and disseminated cultural canon. Antonina Kłoskowska pointed out that a strong identity can function when identification is strong and valence weaker, although stronger valence can reinforce identity. Generally, valence does not imply knowledge of the entire canon but rather of its fragments, individual elements or different interpretations. Thus, we are dealing with the reproduction in human consciousness and social practice of a palimpsest, rather than a cultural monolith (Kłoskowska 2005: 89–112).

The region;s development strategy until 2030 states that one of the weaknesses of regional identity is 'the low level of knowledge about regional heritage' (WiM 2030: 24). Unfortunately, the authors did not indicate how this level was measured, as there is no reference in the document to supportive sociological studies. The publications cited by sociologists studying regional issues showed that knowledge of the cultural heritage of a region resembles that of most varieties of collective identities, which are fragmented and palimpsest-like. Kłoskowska stated that cultural heritage becomes a canon when institutions in power, with legal and financial resources, form a certain body of interpretations of the past, readings of the meaning of manifestations of material culture and knowledge of collective myths and values. Such a canon of cultural heritage, through media discourse, institutional and family socialisation, becomes binding (Kłoskowska 2005: 108–112).

The region's authorities have not developed a heritage canon in their strategic documents, and there is no characterisation of heritage in the region's development strategy for 2025 and its version for 2030. In 2018, the voivodeship regional government adopted for implementation the 'Program wsparcia rozwoju kultury województwa warmińsko-mazurskiego do roku 2025' [Programme of support for the development of culture in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship until 2025] (hereinafter referred to as Programme 2025). It states that 'the programme sets out the basic planning elements of regional cultural policy. These include the need to protect cultural heritage and develop regional identity, based on the achievements of generations of inhabitants of Warmia and Masuria' (Programme 2025: 1). The document contains numerous statements contrary to logic. While, ostensibly, cultural heritage should be protected according to its postulates, it goes on to assert that the wealth of Warmia and Masuria 'is not nature or cultural heritage, but the peo-

ple of culture and the dormant potentials of local communities' (Programme 2025: 8). The deprecation of cultural heritage in this programme may be surprising, as the Strategy for the Development of the Voivodeship until 2030 clearly lists one of the objectives of the implementation of the strategy as managing 'the common cultural heritage of the region' (WiM 2030: 44).

'Unutterance' or 'blurring' of the ethnic and historical provenance of the region's cultural heritage, as well as the lack of precise elaboration and dissemination of the cultural canon by the region's authorities and its institutions, leads me to consider the provisions on the need to protect the heritage and build a strong regional identity based thereon as mere efforts at sympathetic magic. The creators of planning documents believe that including the importance of heritage in the strategy must bring it to life. These practices are an elementary part of the bureaucratic habitus, where documents that are essentially bureaucratic ornamentation are believed by their authors to possess the power to produce real effects in social life. Heritage thus becomes a vague construct, fuzzy and perhaps even hollow. The lack of a precise definition of this heritage, what it consists of, and what needs to be eliminated from it, along with the absence of any indication of the institutions that are to carry out the desired preservation, complicates the regional authorities' ability to set a clear objective for heritage. The regional government, as a potentially dominant social actor in this process, has deprived itself of significant potential for legitimate notions of heritage (Ashworth 2015: 32).

'Blurring' and 'unutterance': the region's dissonant cultural heritage significantly undermines the possibility of making it a cultural regional construct that would enable mobilisation around one of the development goals indicated in WiM 2030, namely the strengthening of regional identity. As the definition of heritage is not clear, it is also not clear how it is to be protected and how to achieve – through its protection – the goal of social change, which is to strengthen regional identity. In analysing this issue, one should refer to the studies of Johannes Moser, who depicted the incompatibility of formalised strategies and social adjustment practices. Strategies are created by entities autonomous from the social environment, in this case, the regional marshal's administration operating within the logic of a closed bureaucratic habitus supported by commercial strategy-writing institutions external to the region. Social adjustment practices are always undertaken by people involved in specific social relations, representing different identities, cultures or worldviews.

Strategy, through its apparent objectivity, generates the illusory impression that everything is possible and that every goal can be achieved, while social adjustment practices compel individuals to take concrete actions to change social statuses, redefining axionormative systems each time related to real life (Moser 2002: 44–55).

Considering the provisions of the documents indicated, cultural heritage can be protected, and the regional identity of the population strengthened through it, even if it is 'blurred' and 'unuttered'. This assumption does not seem feasible, given the barriers identified earlier. This 'blurring' and 'unutterance' of the region's dissonant heritage does not enable concrete measures for establishing a canon of regional heritage and thus, through measures in school education, the practices of cultural institutions or in public discourse, to achieve a stabilising heritage dissonance consensus. In a region which, due to the processes described above, is a social space where problematic heritage is found in abundance, one of the primary tasks of the region's authorities, and therefore the objectives of various strategies and other planning or implementation documents, should be to counteract potential social traumas resulting precisely from the dissonance of dissonant heritage. Its neutralisation could contribute to the commonality of a dissonant heritage, which, by reinforcing cultural valence, would cause a consolidation of the existing sense of regional identity. This, in turn, is known to generally increase the social cohesion of territorial communities (Macdonald 2015).

Tourist attractions – the commercialisation of tangible cultural heritage

In 2016, the region adopted the 'Strategia rozwoju turystyki województwa warmińsko-mazurskiego do roku 2025' [Strategy for Development of Tourism in Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship until 2025] (hereinafter referred to as Tourism 2025). This document is still current and duplicates the provisions of the Tourism Development Strategy until 2020 (adopted in 2010). It asserts that 'tourism is becoming a leading, synergic area of the economy of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, exerting a positive influence on the development of many other economic sectors of the region', and one of the strategic directions of development is 'the synergy of culture and tourism' (Tour-

ism 2025: 31). The new regional development strategy until 2030 assigns cultural heritage the role of a tourist attraction. The strategy declares that the authorities will support the research, protection and provision of 'tangible cultural heritage resources (including archaeological sites, palace-park complex, sacred buildings, cemeteries) for educational purposes and the creation of tourism products based on them' (WiM 2030: 46).

The document identifies elements of tangible cultural heritage with places potentially attractive to tourists, including sacred architecture, not only Catholic (e.g. Święta Lipka Sanctuary) but also churches of other denominations (e.g. the Evangelical Church in Rychnowo). Castles and manor-palace-park complexes are mentioned without any indication of their ethnic or historical provenance. Significantly, the document, unlike its predecessor, identifies a certain type of material resource associated with the region's dissonant cultural heritage. It states that 'important cultural and social assets of the region include cultural and social diversity, including the interpenetration of diverse cultures and religions (multiculturalism and multi-religiousness), reflected e.g. in the character of sacred monuments, necropolises' (Tourism 2025: 10).

The Culture Development Strategy to 2025 indicates that the regional government's activities should aim, *inter alia*, at learning about cultural heritage resources and conduct research projects thereon, as well as 'to protect monuments and cultural heritage as a basis for the development and dissemination of culture, and to adapt cultural infrastructure (and its management) to contemporary global standards and trends' (Programme 2025: 15). The document, therefore, contains statements contrary to logic, on the one hand, emphasising, as in the sentence quoted above, the importance of cultural heritage as a resource for the region, while elsewhere stating categorically that heritage does not constitute such a resource, as stated on page 8. The document outlines extensively the culture of the region, which is understood as artistic activity, and postulates the development of education in this area, as well as financial and expert support for institutions operating in this field. Cultural heritage, again understood as a stable deposit from the past (also not defined here in any way), is assigned the role of an attraction to stimulate tourism (Programme 2025: 8–9).

A consistently similar role for cultural heritage is assigned in the publicly consulted Regional Operational Programme 2021–2027 (hereafter referred to as ROP 2027). Simultaneously, it is clear from the observations of the au-

thor of this text that the discussion over the document takes place mostly within the voivodeship authorities, representatives of its agencies, lower-level local government officials and external experts invited and paid by the regional authorities. Discussion on the document as a regionally relevant issue in regional public discourse is almost absent. Thus, it can be expected that such a programme, as mentioned by Moser, which is supposed to set the directions for regional development, will largely become a document with insignificant influence on the assumed directions of socio-cultural change (Moser 2002: 44–55).

There is a priority 11 in the programme called 'Tourism and Culture', which states that activities funded thereunder must be directed towards the preservation 'development and promotion of cultural heritage and cultural services' (ROP 2027: 249). In fact, the measures included in priority 11 boil down to assigning heritage a role as a tourist stimulator, as it is to become a tourist attraction. However, ROP 2021–2027, specifically in measure 12.01, 'Revitalisation of urban areas', states that 'in justified cases, it is allowed to reconstruct buildings to restore historic buildings, contributing to the restoration of original and characteristic spatial arrangements in the area, preserving the climate appropriate to the heritage of the region and considering the regional identity of the area (i.e. its history, traditions)' (ROP 2027: 266).

The previous Regional Operational Programme 2014–2020 planned to allocate part of the funds under sub-measure 6.1.1 – 'Cultural Heritage'. Due to the detailed provisions, all projects planned for implementation had to demonstrate that the indicated places, entities and institutions would increase their tourist attractiveness thanks to the funding. This applied to various types of sites: there were castles and palaces, such as the project titled 'Teutonic Castle in Szczytno – a new tourism product on the map of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship', which was co-financed in 2017 (implemented by the Szczytno municipality); sacred buildings – the tourism potential of Olsztyn was to be increased by the project 'Exposing the architectural and historical qualities of St. Jacob's Cathedral' in Olsztyn through its revitalisation; or technical infrastructure facilities – the project 'Revitalisation with adaptation for tourism purposes of the historic bridge of the former railway line in the town of Glaznoty (Ostróda municipality)'. Institutions running hotels in the region's castles and palaces received funding from the regional government under the 'tourism' priority axis. One example is the reconstructed Teutonic

Knights' castle in Ryn, where a four-star hotel operates, which also houses elements of museum exhibitions.

The development strategies of the region's largest cities lack precise provisions defining heritage. The Development Strategy for Olsztyn until 2030 states that tourism and cultural heritage constitute significant development potential for the city (Olsztyn 2030: 11). The strategy for Elbląg asserts that 'relationships between people should also stem from respect for the area they inhabit. Building local identity means caring for degraded areas as well as local cultural heritage' (Elbląg 2030: 21). The Ełk Strategy declares its aim to 'preserve valuable cultural heritage resources and to highlight areas and objects of significant cultural value' (Ełk 2030: 91). However, none of these strategies specify the role of cultural heritage, nor do they have provisions outlining directions for tourism development based on such resources. These provisions reflect not a well-considered vision of urban development or a reworking of the dissonant heritage issue, but rather a ritualistic bureaucratic incantation included in the strategy due to pressures from higher authorities or prevailing intellectual trends in regional and local development economics that guide the experts drafting it.

In the nineteen district development strategies in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, there are indications of the importance of cultural heritage, sometimes equated with culture in general. However, it is nowhere defined in the district strategies and is always treated as an attraction that can stimulate tourist traffic, contributing to the district's economic development. This can be combined with the potential of sacrotourism, as seen in the Gietrzwałd Sanctuary in the Olsztyn district, or post-military tourism, as exemplified by the Teutonic Knights' castle in Kętrzyn or the Prussian Boyen fortress in Giżycko. Here, too, elements of cultural heritage are either not defined at all (unutterance) or defined with succinct phrases such as 'inherited from the past', 'a legacy of previous generations', 'an asset of all', or 'a resource produced by different national, ethnic or religious groups', without specifying the cultural provenance of such resources (blurring). Some tourism entities also redefine the functions of places or sites, transforming them into tourist attractions. For instance, a hotel complex is being built on the site of the Lehndorff Palace in Sztynort. This hotel will provide accommodation for the nearby sailing marina, while the outbuildings will house the Museum of Sailing and the Environment, which is already operational. The palace itself is to become

a centre for European dialogue after renovation. Another example is the open-air museum Wilczy Szaniec, administered by the State Forests, which features the remains of Adolf Hitler's former headquarters in East Prussia.

The aforementioned strategic documents and the practices constituting their implementation reveal that the only role attributed to the region's cultural heritage – historically a difficult and dissonant heritage – is that of a tourist attraction. As its material and symbolic manifestations become resources for generating profits in the market, their protection and popularisation are therefore subordinated to a primarily mercantile purpose. In Warmia and Masuria, a general trend is noticeable, where 'a characteristic phenomenon is the recognition of the value of one's own cultural heritage the moment it arouses the interest of tourists arriving there' (Banaszkiewicz and Semik 2019: 9). The commercialisation of tangible cultural heritage can lead to increasing levels of heritage dissonance. For instance, the Interactive Museum of the Teutonic State in Działdowo presents the Teutonic Order in a rather positive light, showcasing an efficient apparatus that built a prosperous state, which raises objections from nationalist circles (e.g. the Święta Warmia and Debata associations from Olsztyn), who perceive such projects as glorification of 'Germanness'.

To a much greater extent, however, the commercialisation of heritage resources obscures their awkwardness. By transforming them into tourist attractions – commodities that sell and places on the map of holiday peregrinations – they are not discussed as resources that could potentially generate social conflicts. Further, in light of the documents analysed and practices of the regional or district authorities, heritage is not regarded as a potential marker of regional identity. If formed by the local government and its agencies as a regional cultural canon, it could serve as a mechanism for social integration embedded in a specifically interpreted past. It is evident that such a policy reflects broader trends where, although we refer to cultural heritage, 'we refer to the past, heritage tourism by its very nature refers to life, duration, belonging and change – from the past to the present and future – and implies a performative act of taking over, interpreting and communicating the past through performance, story, place and material artefacts' (Jamal and Kim 2005: 58).

Heritage has become a significant resource for the development of regional tourism, which is expected to be a major industry. There are, of course, sites in the region supported by regional and local governments that create

a certain tension between experiencing difficult history and consuming the sensations that tourism entails – namely, leisure and carefree living. A good example is the Museum of Stalag IB and the History of Olsztynek, described as a tourist attraction, which showcases a prisoner of war camp where German authorities held approximately 6,500 soldiers from all over Europe during the war (many of whom were murdered). A visit to the museum shatters the idyllic mood of a holiday or weekend trip. It can also intensify the awkwardness of heritage by giving away its 'authenticity'. This is counteracted by subjecting it to specific 'interpretation', i.e. making it a tourist attraction that links the past with the present, different ethnoses and religions, social groups and even individuals. One example is the Museum of Archaeology and History in Elbląg, touted by city authorities as one of the city's main attractions. With one of its exhibitions showcasing the region's complex history, the potential for awkwardness seems to be bridged by recognising that contemporary Elbląg citizens are the rightful 'heirs' to this history while simultaneously creating an attractive point on the city's tourist map.

'Blurring' and 'unutterence' of heritage, along with attempts to commercialise it, often lead to a trivialisation of the message about the past. The narrative of the Teutonic state becomes a comic story when, in the post-Teutonic castle in Ryn, guests at dinner during the holiday season can watch shows of knight combat or purchase plastic toys related to knightly culture, with the words 'Made in China' embossed on them at the stall next door. It loses its authenticity amid the fair and tacky exhibitions of the open-air museum in the former German army quarters in the Masurian Mamerki. Crowds of summer holidaymakers on the Great Masurian Lakes take a few dozen minutes to visit the site, where the message of the past is offset by grotesque exhibitions featuring shop mannequins dressed in tattered Wehrmacht uniforms, standing alongside military souvenirs from various armies and periods, and booths selling lowbrow snacks. All this aligns with the assumptions in the previously indicated strategies, as authorities permit such aggressive commercialisation of heritage, transforming it into an intensively exploited resource. This, combined with the failure to define cultural heritage and what it cannot include, paradoxically blurs the awkwardness of heritage. Such places cease to be sites of remembrance and become objects of tourist consumption.

'Festivalisation' of intangible cultural heritage

Intangible heritage can be defined as the story of the past functioning as a legitimate account of what was (often linked to regional memorial sites); it also encompasses myths, values, specific customs or patterns of behaviour. The regional development strategy until 2030 points to the necessity to 'develop knowledge of the region historically, but also in the present and the context of its future'. The authorities aim to 'preserve and popularise intangible heritage (including dialect, folk dances, traditions, beliefs, traditional professions); including their inclusion in the creation of tourism and leisure products' (WiM 2030: 46). Further, the tourism development strategy sees intangible cultural heritage as a tourism potential (Tourism 2025: 10). The programme for the cultural development of the voivodeship until 2025 states that the region possesses 'a great, extremely interesting, largely unique and unknown-in-Poland resource of tangible and intangible cultural heritage' (Programme 2025: 3). The strategies for the development of major cities or nineteen districts provide for a generally understood identity, which is to develop based on the knowledge of history stimulated in the consciousness of the inhabitants, as seen in the Olsztyn strategy (Olsztyn 2030: 12).

The regional government attributes a significant role to its network of regional museums in generating interest in knowledge about the region. On the one hand, this knowledge is intended to educate the population about its past, and on the other, serves as a tourist product. One consequence of the blurring and unutterance of the dissonant heritage is the more or less conscious adoption of the dominant pre-1989 strategy of its Polonisation. In this case, the regional authorities participate in the processes of inheritance by selecting the carriers of memory in a manner that unambiguously links the region's culture to the unambiguously Polish cultural universe (Poniedziałek 2024: 111–112). Museum institutions run by municipal local governments often shape their messages differently, arranging exhibitions to counter the Polonising narrative of regional local government institutions. I mentioned the municipal museum in Elbląg; a similar multifaceted, multicultural and palimpsest-like account of the region's complex history can be found at the City Museum in Ełk or the Centre for Technology and Regional Development 'Museum of Modernity' in Olsztyn, located in the former sawmill of the Raphaelsohn brothers, German businessmen active in the city before 1945.

These modern establishments are organised in line with the latest trends in museum studies and regularly host events to engage residents and tourists. Supported by new technologies, the exhibitions differ considerably in their attractiveness compared to the old-fashioned, somewhat coarse displays of regional establishments. Such offerings mitigate the need to establish a difficult dialogue with the past. By accepting it, one seeks to level the awkwardness of heritage, which, in tandem with its commercialisation, can reduce the inherent potential dissonance.

In the performative dimension, the authorities also adhere to the strategy of Polonising cultural heritage, imposing their own vision of what regional heritage should resemble in the process of inheritance. In public discourse, institutions associated with regional and local authorities highlight events from the past that refer to the Polish cultural universe and Polish collective memory. Official ceremonies often select memories of the past to convey the impression that the non-Polish elements of heritage are an insignificant margin (Poniedziałek 2024: 112). The largest undertaking organised by the regional local government in collaboration with the local museum in Stębark is the reconstruction of the Battle of Grunwald (1410). In the context of the constant depreciation of cultural resources at the expense of regional nature, the re-enactment of this battle is a key cyclical event for regional tourism development. This exemplifies the 'festivalisation' of heritage, where a festival relates to events, places or people where the religious character of a ritual assumes a ludic form while the profound meaning becomes a quickly experienced, fleeting impression. The meaning ascribed to the phenomena indicated is replaced by a commodified culture in mercantile terms. Attending a festival does not yield a rich experience of heritage; as Waldemar Kuligowski observes, 'typical festival behaviour nowadays is reduced to walking, eating, drinking, smoking, having fleeting conversations and – last but not least – being on holiday, away from work, on a free day (and night)' (Kuligowski 2013: 7). Festivals, therefore, as an integral part of the culture of consumption, are becoming a crucial tool exploited by the tourism industry.

Heritage, understood as the transmission of the past, is 'festivised' not only by the re-enactment of the Battle of Grunwald; the voivodeship authorities support at least a dozen similar undertakings, such as the re-enactment of the battle of 19 May 1311 at Wopławki (Karolewo, Kętrzyn municipality), fought between the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians, the battle of 8 Oc-

tober 1656 between the allied armies of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Tartars and the Brandenburg-Swedish army, and the reconstruction of the battle of 3 February 1807 fought by the army of Napoleon I at Jonkowo near Olsztyn (Tourism 2025: 11). Thus, the narrative of the past is transformed into a tourist attraction. Some local authorities are also following the path set out by the regional government, such as the municipality of Frombork, which organises a re-enactment of the naval battle of 15 September 1463 in the Vistula Lagoon in Tolkmicko between the Teutonic Knights' fleet and the army of the Polish King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.

An analysis of the programmes of the annual European Heritage Days, co-organised by the authorities in Warmia and Masuria, shows that the festivals and events occurring within this framework cover a broad spectrum describing various periods in the region's history and the various ethnic and religious groups that have lived there in the past and live today (e.g. from a presentation of Polish Warmia and the German persecution of Polish activists before 1945 to presentations of the heritage of the Protestant Masurians, the history of the Teutonic Knights' fortresses and figures, the history of the Prussian Junkers' families or the fate and customs of the settlers and displaced persons who settled the region after the end of World War II). These include, for example, Kaziuki Wilniuki, which popularises the culture of the inhabitants of the Vilnius Region who settled in the area after 1945, and the annual Regional Ukrainian Folklore Fair 'From a Painted Chest' held in Kętrzyn (which promotes the folklore of the Ukrainian minority displaced during Operation Vistula in 1947). The regional local government, together with the Pruthenia Scientific Society, organised three editions of the Baltic Festival between 2009 and 2011, which presented the history and culture of the region's former Prussian tribal inhabitants (Dobrosielska 2018: 213–221).

Cuisine is one element of the region's intangible heritage, characterised as 'traditional'. In this context, 'festivalisation' serves as a useful tool for regional authorities, local governments and private actors to 'play the heritage game' of commodifying it (Purchla 2013: 46). The concept of regional cuisine is nowhere precisely defined, nor is its scope specified; it is essentially limited to calling it traditional and referring to the 'traditions of the region'. Its function, however, is clearly indicated; as an element of intangible cultural heritage, it is intended to enhance the tourist attractiveness of the voivodeship (Tourism 2025: 10). The voivodeship's government takes concrete steps

to popularise it, supporting or co-organising 18 events known as regional culinary festivals, such as the Culinary Heritage Festival of Warmia, Masuria, and Powiśle in Olsztyn, the Regional Borderland Festival 'Kartaczewo' in Gołdap, or the Masuria Morcinki in Kętrzyn (ibid: 12). Kartacz is a type of potato dish, a large dumpling with a meat filling, which arrived in the region with the new inhabitants after 1945 from the Vilnius region and northern Podlasie.

The 'Culinary Heritage of Warmia–Masuria–Powiśle' network, part of the 'European Culinary Heritage Network', aims to protect and promote regional cuisine. It includes serving and producing food according to regional traditions, as evidenced by a special certificate awarded for meeting certain 'traditional' standards. These include dozens of entities, food producers (e.g. Kormoran Brewery of Olsztyn, which brews beer sometimes reproduced from old Warmia and Masurian recipes in collaboration with regional historians) or restaurants (such as Gościniec Ryński Młyn, serving fish dishes from Masuria lakes). Although one of the standards is indicated as 'the preservation, protection and care of the culinary heritage of Warmia, Masuria and Powiśle'[1], regional food producers or restaurateurs and the committee awarding the certificate and membership in the network define 'regionality' very flexibly. This refers not only to pre-war Warmia and Masuria food but also to the traditions of borderland, Ukrainian and Kurpie cuisine, or 'inventing tradition'. A good example of such measures is a dish called *dzyndzałki z hreczką i skrzeczkami*, a type of dumpling with crackling. The recipe is based on the traditions of Warmia and the borderlands and was included in the region's list of traditional products in 2019. The creation of new regional cuisine, namely 'regional culinary fusion', is a common practice observed in many regions in Poland and worldwide. As tourism becomes one of the most important branches of regional economies, and as we know, tourists eat during their stays, culinary products are becoming a primary aspect of tourism. To enhance their appeal, these products are labelled as 'culinary heritage' and 'traditional regional dishes', often having little in common with the actual history and culture of the places they originate from (Czarniecka-Skubina 2015: 25).

[1] https://dziedzictwokulinarne.pl/o-sieci/ [05.03.2024]

Summary

In answering the questions posed in the introduction, I must state that the regional authorities are aware of the existence of a resource of tangible and intangible culture, which they call cultural heritage. They recognise its importance for the formation of regional identity, essential for the integration of the voivodeship's population. However, they do not clearly define what it is, assuming it to be a 'deposit from the past', thus 'unuttering' most of its ethnic or religious provenance. It is sometimes additionally defined as a resource generated by different national and religious groups, without a clear indication of what constitutes legitimised heritage. Thus, its 'blurring' occurs. This procedure aims to undertake a non-antagonistic 'game of heritage', which, on the one hand, succeeds in lowering the tension of dissonance, allowing each inhabitant to consider as heritage what they wish (although the authorities themselves employ a strategy of Polonising it in some of their practices). On the other hand, this allows the authorities to become intensively involved in the heritage process, with the aforementioned efforts attempting to transform heritage into'no-fuss' tourist attractions that can contribute to the regional economy. This strategy is, of course, driven by the desire to raise the standard of living of the region's inhabitants, making the region itself more attractive so that they too, through regional peregrinations, can enjoy pleasant experiences and attractive products, rather than become embroiled in traumatic discussions about the past that could lead to social conflict. It further aligns with megatrends associated with economic development practices towards the commodification of culture. It also reflects a trend in which modern individuals, to use Johan Huizinga's words, are playful beings, 'homo ludens', who, in a trivialised and infantile culture of mass consumption, strive, as Neil Postman wrote, for unrestrained, hedonistic play (Huizinga 2022; Postman 2002).

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Agritourism as a new social movement: Entrepreneurship based on values

Abstract

The issue of new social movements has predominantly been discussed in the context of urban areas. Manuel Castells underscores the significance of this field of activity for social movements. In late modern society, it appears that the city is not the only environment where new social movements can emerge; such collective activities may also take root in rural areas. The primary question addressed in the paper is whether there exists an agritourism movement in contemporary rural areas of Poland that serves as a driving force for value-based entrepreneurship. It seems that entrepreneurship within agritourism may contribute, on one hand, to the implementation of a specific set o f post-materialist values, and on the other hand, may lead to the creation of an agritourism movement with characteristics akin to a new social movement, which serves as a tool for conducting entrepreneurial activities within agritourism. The empirical section of the article is based on research involving 20 agritourism farms from the Lesser Poland Voivodeship and 35 leaders of agritourism associations operating in Poland. The research aimed to test the hypothesis that an agritourism movement exists in rural areas, providing a framework for value-based economic activity.

Keywords: social movement, agritourism, entrepreneurship, values

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Introduction

Describing the role of values in organising entrepreneurship in rural areas is quite challenging. Phenomena such as agritourism and social movements, along with a vast range of human activities that may initially appear unrelated, are involved here. Such an analysis necessitates a disciplined approach to narrowing down the issues for reflection to adhere to the capacity constraints of this paper. Therefore, it is essential to begin with crucial terminology and define entrepreneurship, agritourism and social movement for the purposes of this article. Entrepreneurship in rural areas, particularly in the form of agritourism activities, may present a coherent set of interconnected issues often present in analyses devoted to the economic aspects of rurality and multifunctional rural development. However, reflection on social movements in rural areas is somewhat novel, especially when combined with the entrepreneurial aspects of agritourism. It must be noted that contesting peasant social movements have been thoroughly analysed in the social sciences (see Stinchcombe 1961; Moore 1966; Paige 1973; Shanin 1973; Wolf 1973; Landsberger 1974; Migdal 1974; Scott 1976, 1990; Jenkins 1982; Halamska 1988; Foryś 2008). However, so-called new social movements, which have significantly influenced social life in recent decades (Offe 1985), remain somewhat overlooked in rural areas or outside the interest of the social sciences. Until now, new social movements have predominantly been situated in urban contexts, with authors such as Manuel Castells (1983) emphasising the urban orientation of activities conducted by major social movements, contributing to transformations in cities. Of course, the values promoted by new social movements are universal, and it can be assumed that they also find followers in rural areas; this, however, has not been the subject of particular exploration by researchers thus far. As contemporary research on social movements has expanded beyond urban settings, this article aims to portray rural areas as suitable environments for the development of new social movements and conducive to the formulation of post-material values that characterise them. The presence of new social movements in rural areas may be relatively new but is already well recognised and validated in sociological literature (see: Mooney 2000; 2004).

This work will focus on entrepreneurship in rural areas and the formation and emergence of an agritourism movement in Poland, examining wheth-

er entrepreneurship can be seen as a causative factor in its early stages, or whether the agritourism movement serves as a tool for entrepreneurial activities undertaken by rural residents. To delve into these matters, more specific questions must be asked regarding rural areas and collective activities. Why do rural areas provide a conducive environment for new social movements? What are the structural causes underlying the emergence of new social movements in the rural areas of Poland? Why can the agritourism movement be perceived as a new social movement? What functions does it fulfil in rural areas? What values are manifested through entrepreneurial activities combined with the agritourism movement?

The empirical section of this article is based on a study conducted through in-depth interviews with 20 agritourism farm operators in Lesser Poland and 35 leaders of agritourism associations across Poland. The agritourism farm owners who participated in the study were be divided into three groups. The first group comprised individuals attached to the traditional peasant ethos; the second group included those who work on the farm but do not identify with the peasant ethos and somewhat distance themselves from the farming profession despite their involvement; and the third group consisted of immigrants who deliberately moved to the countryside to start agritourism activities. The research among the leaders of associations was conducted across 11 voivodeships, divided into two groups (the number of surveyed associations from a given voivodeship is indicated in brackets). The first group included voivodeships in which agritourism is developing well, evidenced by a large number of registered agritourism farms: Małopolskie (7), Podkarpackie (5), Podlaskie (3), Warmińsko-Mazurskie (6) and Wielkopolskie (1) – as a reserve in this group. The second group examined associations from voivodeships with the smallest number of registered farms: Kujawsko-Pomorskie (4), Lubuskie (1), Łódzkie (4) and Mazowieckie (2) – also as a reserve. Additionally, two nationwide organisations were included from Dolnośląskie (1) and Lubelskie (1). As with the agritourism farms owners, in-depth interviews were conducted with the association leaders . Most often, these leaders were the presidents of their respective associations (29) and rarely vice-presidents (2; as substitutes). In one case, it was the treasurer, and in three cases, other individuals from the respective association's management.

The research was conducted using in-depth, face-to-face interviews. One of the research goals was to verify the assumption that agritourism entre-

preneurship may, on one hand, contribute to the appreciation of a specific set of post-materialist values and, on the other, lead to the emergence of the agritourism movement acts. Such a movement shares many characteristics with other new social movements. This similarity can be utilised as a tool for successful agritourism entrepreneurship. The issues raised in the interviews concerned, among others: motivations related to running agritourism activities, the participants' attitudes towards social change, shared values related to rural lifestyles and rusticity, the relationship between these values and entrepreneurial activity, as well as the issue of relations with the environment and interactions within the agritourism movement. The article employs data generated based on the responses to some of the questions posed in the interviews.

The main content of the article, following the introduction and preceding the conclusions, is divided into three parts. The first and second parts are primarily theoretical and contain key definitions describing the studied phenomena, namely entrepreneurship, agritourism and social movement, as well as quantitative data illustrating the state of agritourism in Poland. Due to the limited capacity of the article, this reflection will not extend beyond elementary, fundamental and key findings while acknowledging the complexity and multifaceted nature of the described phenomena. The third part presents the characteristics of this new social movement emerging in rural areas and focusing on agritourism. It emphasises the relationships between the values the movement embodies and its entrepreneurial attitudes.

Entrepreneurship in rural areas

Entrepreneurial development in rural areas constitutes one of the key issues of public policy in both Poland and the European Union (EU). This is reflected in the second pillar of the EU's common agricultural policy, which aims to foster opportunities for the emergence of non-agricultural income sources for rural residents who have ceased farming or consider farm incomes insufficient for a living. In other words, contemporary agricultural policy assumes that modernisation must be combined with the development of non-agricultural entrepreneurship. In a broader perspective, this aims to advance the development of rural areas. The successes of such a policy are confirmed by

the increasing percentage of rural residents who work outside agriculture. In Poland, data indicate a growing trend: 27% of rural residents worked outside agriculture in 2003, 29% in 2006, and 31% in 2010 (GUS 2011: 60–61). By 2016, this figure reached 52% (Karwat-Woźniak 2018: 213). In 2020, only 9% of people living in the Polish countryside supported themselves exclusively through farming. Comparatively, in the EU, this percentage oscillated around 4.5% in 2016 (Karwat-Woźniak 2018: 216).

In Poland, non-agricultural economic activities in rural areas are stimulated in three major ways: 1) public support financed through the EU, primarily within the framework of the common agricultural policy; 2) increasing demand for goods and services produced and/or sold by rural residents (ecological food, agritourism); and 3) migration of urban residents to rural areas, which diversifies income sources and ensures the transfer of new ideas and values to the countryside. As these processes unfold, entrepreneurship is an important factor impacting the dynamics of economic activities in rural areas.

Defining entrepreneurship may not be straightforward for a variety of reasons, including changes in the historical understanding of the term and its multidimensional character. The work of Michael H. Morris, Pamela S. Lewis and Donald S. Sexton (1994) is helpful here, as they reviewed a vast array of definitions of entrepreneurship, presenting nearly 80 conceptions of the term. These authors provided a foundation for the chief characteristics of entrepreneurship, such as: creation of wealth, creation of enterprise, creation of innovation, creation of change, creation of employment, creation of value and creation of growth (Morris, Lewis and Sexton 1994: 22). The main strength of their approach lies in highlighting the complexity and multifaceted character of entrepreneurial processes, though it was not without flaws, such as insufficient reference to new concepts of organisation. Therefore, to augment the recommendations of the three aforementioned authors, it should be emphasised that the contemporary understanding of entrepreneurship applies to knowledge management or, more broadly, intellectual capital, with an emphasis on a specific set of values. In that sense, 'entrepreneurship may demand decisions and actions promoting the vitality of organised activities, which serve to perfect the implementation of the set of values characteristic to [a] particular collective of people, reflecting what these people want and desire the most' (Bratnicki 2001: 9).

Keeping values in mind, two angles of entrepreneurship can be distinguished: economic and non-economic. The former can be seen as 'hard' entrepreneurship, encompassing wealth creation, enterprise building, job creation and economic growth, while the latter, considered 'soft' entrepreneurship, includes innovation, introduction of changes and, most importantly, the emergence of new values. For the purpose of this article, entrepreneurship is defined as a particular type of human activity wherein people act individually or within an organisation, utilising existing opportunities to conduct their business, which entails the introduction of innovation, creation of new organisations or renewal of existing organisations. Entrepreneurship results in both economic and non-economic effects, impacting the involved subjects and their immediate surroundings (Kraśnicka 2002: 14). This work concentrates on the relationships between entrepreneurship and values, emphasising the non-economic 'soft' aspects of entrepreneurship. On an individual level, these 'soft' characteristics are reflected in human qualities such as active involvement, creativity and an interest in innovation. They may also be manifested in the agritourism movement, which carries and promotes a specific set of the values that include ecology, landscape and rurality. To quote Bratnicki: 'Intelligent entrepreneurship is simultaneously conducted on three levels of action logics: operational (creation of values), strategic (building potential for emergence values), normative formation of vitality (ability for autonomous existence) as it is contributing to the development of larger social entity […]' (Bratnicki 2001: 9). This understanding of entrepreneurship closely aligns with the concept of entrepreneurial spirit introduced by Jan Szczepański, who does not attribute economic growth to the ruthless egoism of entrepreneurs and their drive to maximise profit but rather to the engagement of their individual abilities in the businesses they run and the autonomy of their activities as opposed to formalistic constraints (Szczepański 1988: 18).

Agritourism entrepreneurship is inherently oriented towards economic goals such as income, growth and development through investments and/or job creation; however, these are not the primary focus of this work. The genesis of the Polish agritourism movement appears to be tied to the 'soft' aspects of entrepreneurship, which align with the values promoted by the agritourism movement. Therefore, for the purposes of this article, I propose viewing the agritourism movement through the lens of the values it represents,

even though such a movement can be explicitly linked to non-agricultural entrepreneurship conducted in rural areas and generating new jobs. This approach will accentuate certain non-economic aspects of entrepreneurship that are connected to the creation and preservation of post-materialist values.

Agritourism and Social Movement

Agritourism is a type of rural tourism, alongside rural tourism and forest tourism. An agritourism farm is an agricultural farm that offers a form of recreational tourism set in rural conditions. In other words, it involves the provision of tourist services by farmers on their farms. Additionally, for a farm in Poland to attain agritourism status, it must meet several conditions, including offering a maximum of five guest rooms, which allows its owners to benefit from preferential tax settlement rules. Agritourism activities constitute a significant source of non-agricultural income in Poland's rural areas. In the second decade of the 21st century, over 1.5 million farms in Poland had non-agricultural sources of income, including agritourism (Matlegiewicz 2015: 224).

The number of agritourism farms in Poland began to grow at the onset of post-communist transformations in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1993, there were approximately 1,000 agritourism farms in Poland, and by 2002, their number had increased more than sixfold to reach 6,546. In 2006, there were 7,214 agritourism farms and by 2011, this number had risen by over 600, totalling exactly 7,852 (2013: 42). By the end of 2019, the number of agritourism farms had grown to 8,100 (Gralak and Kacprzak 2021). Currently, the number of agritourism farms in Poland is average for the EU, but it places the country behind European leaders in contemporary agritourism, such as Italy (over 19,000 agritourism farms) and France (14,000). In describing the relationships between entrepreneurship and agritourism, as well as the development of the agritourism movement as a new social movement, statistical data may not be the most helpful but should also not be overlooked, as presentation of the phenomena in numeric values illustrates its true scale. These figures provide general knowledge of the material basis for such a movement, particularly the number of subjects that tend to share a specific set of values. These values play a significant role in linking agritourism with social movements in rural areas and merit attention.

Post-materialist values serve as an important reference point for both agritourism and new social movements. To a great extent, these values can be viewed as a consequence of the development and modernisation processes that societies undergo. Consequently, societies transform themselves, experiencing various phases of development, i.e. from modernity to late modernity. In a narrower perspective, such transformation involves the abandonment of materialist values in favour of post-materialist values, as well captured by Ronald Inglehart: 'The Postmaterialists brought into the political arena a number of issues that had been largely ignored and neglected; in doing so, they help correct a course that tended to sacrifice the quality of life to one-sided economic considerations' (Inglehart [1990], 2005: 333–334). This reassessment of goals and values assimilates post-material values into a new synthesis, demonstrating the profound changes that have occurred in contemporary societies, as well as in social movements and their surroundings. Their consequences are also observed in rural areas and manifested in the appreciation of values connected with nature and landscape.

The multitude of approaches to defining social movements, not to mention the number of definitions themselves, makes it impossible to present the entire theoretical output concerning social movements (see: Misztal 2000). For the analytical purposes of this article, the definition proposed by Piotr Sztompka seems most appropriate due to its general and neutral character, allowing me to bypass additional explanations and interpretations not suited to the length of this article. For Sztompka, social movements are 'loosely organised collectivities acting together in a non-institutionalised manner in order to produce change in their society' (Sztompka 1993: 276). Remarks on understanding new social movements must also be brief here, especially considering that the discussion on the novelty of new social movements lacks academic consensus, with some scholars questioning the concept of new social movements (see Offe 1985; Plotke 1990; Tarrow 1991; Buechler 1995).

I will primarily concentrate on characteristics that distinguish new social movements from the 'old' ones. First, the social base of new social movements largely comprises individuals from the old and new middle classes, as well as those who remain somewhat outside the social system (e.g. students, retirees and housewives). Second, their manner of operation may internally resemble loose organisations in every phase of a given movement's existence and development. There is an inherent striving for a sense of community,

but externally, the movement engages in novel and unconventional activities (happenings, publications raising awareness of public opinion, conferences and parades). Third, new social movements activate around social conflicts that are not class-based, do not pertain to materialist issues and deal with new concepts of social life and cultural matters. Fourth, new social movements have different goals than old social movements and, due to their post-materialist character, aim for lifestyle changes affirming a common good and individual well-being. Their implementation is not a zero-sum game, meaning that achievement and enrichment for some involved parties do not result in the deprivation of others. Typical goals of new social movements include social justice, environmental protection, human rights, sustainable development, peace and civil rights. These goals and the values new social movements represent are of key importance for this article and also connect new social movements to agritourism.

Agritourism in this article is understood as a specific kind of rural tourism (alternative tourism) organised by farm families using their housing and holiday resources, as well as the natural and cultural assets of the countryside and the region, along with its infrastructure (Sikora 2012: 65). Although agritourism is recognised as a certain type of tourism, I would like to emphasise that I do not equate the two. Agritourism is a subcategory of rural and forest tourism (Sikora 2012: 63), but in a much narrower sense of that phenomena. Two factors distinguish agritourism from other types of tourism. First, a family farm with plant and/or animal production serves as a place of leisure for tourists. Second, the farm is equipped with recreational and cultural infrastructure and is located in a naturally attractive area.

Agritourism plays several important functions for the farm, with its economic function, understood as both a source of income and a workplace, being key. Equally important is its cultural function, which deals with the maintenance and development of rural culture. Other functions include the cognitive function related to culture and nature; the integrational function involving relations between agritourists and local residents; and the social-humanistic function shaping social bonds, cultural exchanges, responsiveness to nature and learning processes. A closer examination of the non-economic functions of agritourism reveals them as a genuine and important foundation for the implementation of post-materialist values, including the discovery of new aesthetic and ethical values in relations with the rural pop-

ulation, through exposure to nature and appreciation of its beauty. These values also lend validity to environmental protection and underscore the importance of rurality and folk culture.

Everything offered by agritourism aligns with larger social changes described as a cultural shift, characteristic of late modernity. Evidence of this shift is quite noticeable in human relations with nature, particularly in how people perceive, experience and treat nature, which constitutes the cultural aspects of agritourism. Rurality and the countryside comprise a broader context, where rural space, lifestyle and non-materialist values intertwine. However, rurality that is socially constructed, negotiated and experienced could easily be mistaken for an idyllic picture that bears little resemblance to reality but reflects the new conceptualisation of relations between humans and nature (Cloke 2006: 22). This essentially means abandoning the exploitative approach towards nature in favour of engagement in its contemplation and celebration, as well as the consumption and commodification of its best assets. According to Harvey C. Perkins (2006: 244), rurality 'in general terms becomes therefore the repository of the good things we have lost as a result of urbanization' and currently strive to regain. Such sentiments form the basis for what Perkins calls 'imagined geographies', describing them as fictional accounts of rural life that obscure its inconvenient aspects, such as poverty and powerlessness.

Agritourism, within the larger context of tourism, may initially be perceived as something externally new, introduced to rural areas from the outside world. Over time, however, it becomes part of rurality, and through this process, new rural resources, such as rural landscapes, attractive locations, lifestyles, as well as leisure and recreation forms, are created. To reiterate Perkins (2006: 245), these resources become 'continually developing commodities in the form of products, processes, activities and technologies […]. These new forms of commodity have in some cases reproduced well-established rural spaces and in others produced new ones. The new rural spaces comprise new resource bases and changed landscapes, and new meanings, practices and imaginations of rural areas'. To counter Perkins, it should be noted that agritourism encourages a more sophisticated consumption of rurality, not necessarily in the manner characteristic of commodity societies, where one value is exchanged for another. Agritourism, similar to the consumption of tourist attractions in urban areas described by Meethan (1996: 324),

'involves visual consumption of signs, often in the form of staged events and increasingly, simulacra and staged events […] [They are] transformed into aestheticised spaces of entertainment and pleasure […]'. Within such an approach, agritourism appears to foster the preservation of rural tradition, culture and lifestyle while simultaneously becoming part of the tourism industry. The development of agritourism in Poland manifests both tendencies, but the former seems to dominate as owners of agritourism farms are more likely to identify with broadly understood rural culture rather than the drive to commodify and sell various aspects of rurality. This quality likely stems from a certain backwardness of Polish agritourism in comparison to more industrially developed countries such as Germany, France and Great Britain.

It should be emphasised that whichever development path is taken, the processes outlined here demonstrate that at the centre of contemporary agritourism are post-materialist values connected with a healthy lifestyle, ecological or organic food, nature, landscape, the traditional countryside and its culture or ecology. This makes rural areas a suitable space and foundation for the formation of new social movements (i.e. ecological/environmental movements), with goals not just similar to those of agritourism but identical to them. To support this notion, additional conditions that foster new social movements in rural areas can be referenced, as indicated by Patrick H. Mooney (2000): the weakening of territorial isolation of rural residents (i.e. improvement of communication possibilities and transportation, which fosters the mobilisation of rural populations); less diversity in rural communities than in urban areas; well-defined farmers' interests (helpful in marking farmers' presence in the political arena); strong kinship at the expense of individualism; the closeness of cognitive frames between ecological movements and rural movements, including agritourism movements; and a heightened perception of threat to collective identity compared to that urban areas (resulting in greater mobilisation efforts to defend it); as well as the emergence of numerous associations based on direct relations (this type of relationship is essential in social movements).

The Agritourism Movement as Entrepreneurship Based on Specific Values

The presentation of values essential to the agritourism movement should not lead to the misconception that economic aspects of entrepreneurship are unimportant to the owners of agritourism businesses in Poland. Research conducted for this article has shown that individuals engaged in agritourism initially viewed it as a source of income; financial motivation was of primary importance when such businesses first emerged. Nevertheless, the owners prefer to consider this income as a side effect of fulfilling the values discussed in the previous section, which are connected with tradition, culture, landscape and ecology. Over time, some re-evaluation occurred, shifting economic issues into the background and highlighting the businesses' post-materialist values. This was confirmed in the conducted interviews by nearly all agritourism farm owners and leaders of agritourism associations. Such declarations regarding motivations for initiating economic activities indicate the significant and decisive role of entrepreneurship in the establishment of agritourism businesses, but they also point to a certain reassessment of incentives. Consequently, the role of values gains appreciation, affirming the relationship between entrepreneurship and a specific set of values.

Social movements are typically described as possessing a rather constant and firm set of characteristics (see Gliński 1996; Misztal 2000; della Porta and Diani 2009; Foryś 2016), such as interactivity, orientation towards social change, organisation, self-awareness, collective goals and opinions, spontaneity and distinctness. As the capacity of this article does not allow for elaboration on all these characteristics, I will focus solely on those that apply to agritourism activities, implying the existence of a social movement and particularly highlighting the participants in such a movement.

In order to declare that a certain collective has formed a social movement, its members must self-identify as participants of such an entity. In the case of the agritourism farms owners and individuals directly or indirectly engaged in these types of economic activities, such self-identification was present. The interview participants shared that in the initial stages of agritourism activities, they did not perceive themselves as part of a social movement, but over time, they came to the realisation that they were. All but two of the participants expressed strong convictions about their participation in a community

resembling a social movement. More importantly, in defining this community, they alluded to non-materialist values related to nature, lifestyle and agritourism numerous times.

Values (among others: landscape, ecology, interpersonal contacts) appear to play an important role, although in most cases, they are not the primary motivation for initiating agritourism activities. They become more essential in later stages of engagement with agritourism, generating a sense of community and reinforcing the underlying conviction that agritourism is a mission. The promotion of these values contributes to rural development. To illustrate these matters, the interviewed agritourism farms owners expressed the following opinions: 'For sure, we are (a social movement – G.F.), see how often mass media and the press show people who start similar ventures like us. It is because other people need it' (Interview no. 4).

> I think that yes (we are a social movement – G.F.), but some articulate that, while others don't. Most of us don't articulate that but do what they are supposed to do and that's it. Probably, if you visited more and were asking these people questions according to some system, they would tell you the same thing or something very similar. This goes to the core of what we plant, what we do (Interview no. 6).

A sense of distinctness from others and belonging to the movement is grounded not only in self-awareness but also in collective opinions and solidarity. Agritourism operators and leaders of agritourism associations share opinions on three essential issues: 1) the necessity to cultivate plants and raise animals to fulfil one's own needs, which could be understood and highlighted as the need to implement a peasant ethos; 2) the importance of environmental and landscape protection, perceived as a mission to fulfil the peasant ethos; and 3) the indispensability of maintaining and preserving rural traditions and culture. The shared opinions and views reflected in the interviews strongly supports the notion that values play a motivational role (e.g. ecology, landscape preservation, peasant ethos, peasant culture), while economic activity connected with agritourism serves as a tool for implementing those values. A sense of community and identification with the social movement indicate the presence of an agritourism movement, but organisation is equally important.

The analysis of the network of relations between agritourism farm operators, agritourism organisations and other entities, whether individuals or in-

stitutions, reveals the prevalence of a collectivist character in the social movement organisation. Although other types of organisational aspects, described by various theoretical models of structural networking (such as reticulate, segmented and decentralised: see Freeman 1979) are present in the agritourism movement, certain premises indicate its communal character. First, there are noticeable homogenous characteristics among movement participants who reside in rural areas, work on farms and are strongly attached to the land. Second, the relations between agricultural farm owners are consensual, with no significant levels of tension among them or with the leaders. Consequently, the element of power is of little importance, and rivalry within the movement is relatively low. Third, it can be stated that the institutional context induces a certain structure within the movement, and this is done through various institutions' initiation and support of agritourism activities (e.g. Agricultural Advisory Centre, extension services and agricultural chambers). Therefore, the formation process of the agritourism movement somewhat diverges from a theoretical model that emphasises spontaneity and voluntary involvement. Within the institutional context, accommodation providers are encouraged through financial incentives and promises of economic assistance. From this perspective, the agritourism movement plays a secondary role in relation to the primary goals of the institutions that have both voluntarily and involuntarily contributed to its emergence and shape its development.

In sociological literature, shared opinions, beliefs and core themes within a social movement are considered crucial in forming the ideology of the movement (see: Beck 2013; Gerlach 2001). A broad and lasting consensus of shared opinions and views is essential to this process. Ideology within a social movement can be viewed from several angles (Beck 2013). There is a psychological perspective, which allows individuals to validate their sense of social reality and ascribe meaning to it. There is also an interactionist angle, which shapes relations between the movement itself and its leaders, participants and surroundings.

Ideology and social movement can also be linked through the concept of a frame that organises meanings and interpretations, as seen in the work of David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford (1988). Beck's understanding of ideology within the agritourism movement can be best presented through a psychological perspective and framing process. Attachment to the set of values discussed earlier provides a basis for self-identification for individuals in

general, not only in the context of agritourism activities; individual identity and collective action in the form of the agritourism movement are interconnected. The framing concept accentuates non-psychological aspects of social movements by emphasising harmony between values related to nature, the countryside and lifestyle that the participants uphold and those recognised by a larger society entering the stage of late modernity. Therefore, framing can be used to conceptualise ideology, as accommodation providers preserve and cherish shared assumptions and meanings in a unique way, which impacts the way in which they interpret the world around them.

The final characteristic of the agritourism movement that should be presented here relates to its goals to authenticate the relationship between entrepreneurship and the values that form part of the movement's ideological makeup. The goals indicated in the interviews with accommodation providers can be analysed in terms of their implementation time frame (medium- and long-term) or according to their importance as superior and subordinate.

This paper focuses on the superior and subordinate goals discussed in the interviews but also addressed them with a timeframe. Subordinate goals related to specific agritourism activities, such as improving service quality, cooperation between farms and participation in training workshops. Superior goals were oriented towards the values addressed earlier in this article. The medium-term goals involve practical matters such as meeting tourists' needs, promoting agritourism farms and cooperating with local authorities. The long-term goals were responsible for the general framework of agritourism and could be directly identified with the following values: maintenance and preservation of the family farm (attachment to the land stemming from the peasant ethos), environmental protection, landscape preservation, interpersonal gratification through contact with accommodation providers, educational activities increasing social awareness about environmental protection and landscape conservation. The above goals refer to the non-materialist realm, but this does not imply that practical goals of an entrepreneurial character are absent. Such goals include the promotion of farms, the countryside and the region where they are located; grant-writing and applications for agritourism projects; and customer acquisition, all in addition to generating profits from agritourism.

The above list of goals intertwines those related to values and entrepreneurial goals. It should be noted that hierarchically, goals pertaining to en-

vironmental protection and conservation of the countryside and rural landscape are situated at the top, while the interviewed agritourism farm owners also defined the relationships between various goals. As revealed in the interviews, acquired profits and all activities leading to them (training, improving service quality, customer acquisition, etc.) were instrumental to the implementation of supreme values. In other words, agritourism activities reflecting entrepreneurship were intended to serve higher goals such as the conservation of landscape beauty, environmental protection and the preservation of the traditional image of the countryside. This attitude developed over time and through certain dynamics. In the initial stages of their agritourism activities, accommodation providers were primarily profit-driven, focused on customer acquisition and ensuring service quality. Over time, they re-evaluated their motivations and the utilitarian goals became overshadowed by post-materialist inspirations. This shift in priorities has three important consequences: 1) the formation of the new social movement in rural areas is a byproduct of entrepreneurial activities described as agritourism; 2) such a movement should be regarded as a new social movement as it refers to a specific set of values and becomes a tool for conducting entrepreneurial activities; 3) agritourism activities are based on post-materialist values, regarded as superior values, but it should also be emphasised that accommodation providers do not abandon their utilitarian goals related to entrepreneurship.

So far, only selected characteristics of the agritourism movement have been discussed, those usually analysed in literature devoted to social movements. However, my interests extend further, addressing the sense of community, social bonds and distinctness of the individuals forming the social movement, as well as the organisational aspects of that movement. The entity possessing these characteristics is undoubtedly a collective of people formed as a social movement. The interview participants' self-identification as members of this collective enhances the notion of agrotourism defined as a social movement. To identify who constitutes that movement besides accommodation providers, it is necessary to consider its organisational dimension and examine the interactive structures. Consequently, such an analysis will need to include agritourism organisations and associations as they cooperate with and within the agritourism movement.

The development of agritourism and the emergence of the agritourism movement are facilitated by cooperation among rural residents and further

enhanced by agritourism associations. These associations are voluntary organisations that bring together rural residents engaged in tourist activities or those planning to undertake such activities in the near future (Strzembicki 2003: 19). They aim to provide an institutional framework for cooperation and coordination, allowing the actions of individual farms to merge into more collective and institutionalised forms. Associations shape the organisational structures of the agritourism movement, a role that can be considered novel compared to their more typical economic and service-oriented functions (see: Zuba and Zuba 2007; Koniusz 2009).

The number of agritourism associations in Poland is difficult to ascertain, but estimates from 2015 indicated the existence of 128 associations, roughly the same number as in the first decade of the 21st century (Foryś 2016). Accommodation providers primarily interact with one another, creating a horizontal interactive field. In contrast, the interactive field of associations is more complex, comprising both vertical and horizontal dimensions. This can be represented as a pyramid topped by the Polish Federation of Rural Tourism (Polska Federacja Turystyki Wiejskiej; PFTW), which encompasses several agritourism associations. However, most agritourism associations do not belong to hierarchical organisations, and their interactions are predominantly horizontal. Vertically, these associations engage 'upwards' with the state and its institutions, with PFTW acting as an intermediary. Vertical interactions 'downwards' are directed towards agritourism farms and other enterprises. Horizontal interactions can be observed in collaborations with local authorities, other agritourism associations, and agricultural organisations. All these relationships constitute an interactive field for the agritourism movement and delineate its influence at an institutional level. This aspect of the agritourism movement's functioning highlights the entities that constitute it, such as agritourism farms and associations, as well as what can be termed agritourism communities.

These communities occasionally emerge at the local level as a result of cooperation on agritourism initiatives and matters pertaining to rural areas, with shared values among participants serving as a common denominator for the entire agritourism movement. Although these communities become an important element of the agritourism movement organisation, albeit unarticulated institutionally as distinct entities, their emergence is a consequence of the institutional solutions implemented within the movement, such as reg-

ulations that accommodation providers or agritourism associations must adhere to in order to receive financial assistance from the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. Laws governing the functioning of Local Action Groups, which ensure the involvement of various groups and individuals, are also important here.

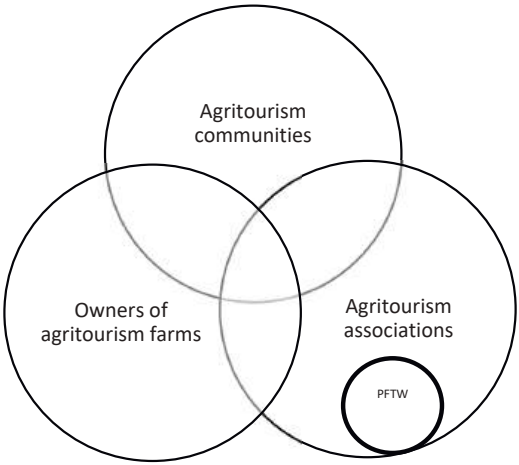

Figure 1: Construction of the agritourism movement

Source: the author

To further detail the composition of these communities, the following subjects should be identified: accommodation providers from a specific municipality, and in some cases a county; folk artists; food producers (particularly those offering organic products); local activists collaborating with agritourism proprietors and operators; managers of rural tourism; rural women's circles; and folk bands. This description underscores the flattened, horizontal structure of the agritourism movement, its communal character and the prevailing horizontal relations among its participants (applying also to most associations outside of PFTW), which are established at the local level, where PFTW remains the most crucial, if not the only, organisational arm of the agritourism movement.

The next elements to consider are the relationships between values and entrepreneurship at the general level of agritourism movement. Such re-

lationships are particularly evident in the articulation of characteristics of the agritourism movement that make it similar to a new social movement. Therefore, it is essential to present the functions of the agritourism movement in rural areas.

The characteristics that position the agritourism movement among new social movements can be outlined in several points. First, the most significant 'novelty' of the agritourism movement is that its goals – previously described as oriented towards nature, rurality, ecology, environmental protection and interpersonal connections – are somewhat compromised by profit expectations. A reality check reveals that profits are modest, which may lead to a re-evaluation of goals, with a predominance of post-materialist objectives. Non-material values are discovered by individuals who initially engaged in agritourism with profit-generation motives. Second, the organisational structure of the agritourism movement, characterised by a lack of clear hierarchy, also aligns it with new social movements. Direct contacts and interactions predominate within the agritourism movement, and its position within local organisations is not distinctly marked. Internally, the agritourism movement seeks to foster a sense of community, thereby embedding itself and fostering its establishment within local communities. It promotes direct action for social change at the local level.

Third, the two primary modes of action of the movement further confirm the characteristics typical of new social movements. The agritourism movement influences public opinion, including that of rural residents and society at large, through organising and participating in conferences; preparing educational and promotional materials; engaging in environmental causes; promoting sustainable development; and organising fairs, picnics, and festivals. It also strives to cultivate a sense of community at both local and broader levels (practising direct democracy, adopting a laissez-faire leadership style and collaborating with the agritourism communities described earlier).

Fourth, the social base of the agritourism movement also aligns it with new social movements as the majority of its constituents belong to the middle class (due to education, human capital and shared values) or exist outside mainstream professional life (e.g. unemployed individuals, homemakers and retirees). Fifth, similar to most new social movements, the agritourism movement distances itself from official, institutionalised politics, a sentiment frequently expressed in the interviews with accommodation providers and

leaders of agritourism associations. Sixth, the agritourism movement actively engages in the process of social development occurring in rural areas, attempting to implement the aforementioned set of non-materialist values.

The depiction of the agritourism movement should not be limited to merely enumerating its characteristics; it should also address the role it plays in rural areas. This will illuminate the connections between the values represented by the movement and entrepreneurship, which are already somewhat evident in the characteristics of the agritourism movement.

There are several roles that the agritourism movement plays in rural areas. First, it inspires and stimulates local activities while building a network of cooperation. Both these effects are closely linked to entrepreneurship, either instilling it (through inspiring activities) or reinforcing it (through networks of cooperation). This also applies to social entrepreneurship, which is not oriented towards individual profits but focused on the common good and fulfilling certain missions such as rurality and nature preservation. Second, engagement in agritourism movements contributes to the development of human and social capital, with the interplay of these two types of capital enhancing development opportunities for local communities and facilitating their adjustment to a changing world. Moreover, human and social capital are essential for the emergence of entrepreneurship.

Third, the agritourism movement not only fosters entrepreneurship and development but also implements its own desired path of sustainability. Sustainable development, in this context, aligns with the values discussed in this article, and the activities of the agritourism movement reinforce these values. Fourth, the agritourism movement acts as a steward and conservationist of nature, landscape and folk culture, paralleling its involvement in sustainability issues. This role allows for clear manifestations of the values shared within the movement and promoted by its members.

Fifth, the agritourism movement, as a harbinger of late modernity in rural areas, plays a role in shaping and transforming the identity of rural residents, who must adjust to the new realities of late modernity. Sixth, the agritourism movement directly influences the operation of individual agritourism farms. Engagement in the movement increases the likelihood of pursuing this type of entrepreneurship. The agritourism movement may suggest what types of agritourism activities should be conducted, while also offering participation in networks of relationships that enhance the probability of economic success.

Seventh, considering all the roles of the agritourism movement presented here, their collective effect on rural areas contributes to their development. Eighth, and finally, applying a broader perspective to the agritourism movement positions it in a participatory role within a more general societal struggle to mitigate the negative effects of the transition from modernity to late modernity. Interestingly, the agritourism movement in this process serves as both the subject and object of change. It strives to defend certain values but also, to some extent, compromises them. This refers to the instrumental treatment of these values and their commodification.

Conclusions

The analysis of the relationships between the agritourism movement and entrepreneurship confirms their mutual character. Entrepreneurial activities can be viewed as the first factor that initiated the agritourism movement. However, the creation of a social movement was not a conscious intention of those engaging in agritourism entrepreneurship. What drives these entrepreneurial activities is the desire of rural residents to generate additional income from agritourism sources. This type of entrepreneurship aligns well with a specific set of values and interpersonal relationships, leading to the emergence of a social movement. The agritourism movement initiates a sequence of processes, including the most significant process: changes in mentality and increased awareness of rurality. The tangible existence of an agritourism movement provides a forum for entrepreneurs and serves as a tool to enhance existing agritourism activities. In return, the agritourism movement stimulates and enriches entrepreneurship. A specific set of post-material values is nurtured and cherished, while the agritourism movement becomes one of the agents of change in rural areas. It acts as a filter, mitigating the negative effects of modernisation while preserving aspects that affirm rurality. The agritourism movement can be viewed as a transmission belt, allowing certain values important to broader society to permeate rural areas. In this sense, the agritourism movement offers a glimpse into the future of rural areas, suggesting that they are becoming increasingly similar to urban areas. This process involves the expansion of external influences to rural areas through the promotion of values that resonate with a larger segment of society, as well as

innovations (e.g. a return to traditional cuisine, architecture and educational activities for children and adults).

The agritourism movement, situated in rural areas, maintains strong ties to rurality and special relationships with entrepreneurship, distinguishing it from other social movements classified as new social movements. Two aspects that distinguish it from other social movements can be identified. First, the relationships among its participants are direct, primarily due to the nature of the agritourism activities conducted. Second, the direct relationships indicate that the agritourism movement is deeply embedded in local communities, where its resources are also located. Consequently, the agritourism movement becomes an invisible part of everyday life for those engaged in agritourism.

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Eastern European Countryside

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Sustainable gastronomy: a study of catering facilities-traditional farms in rural Vojvodina (R. Serbia)

Abstract

Sustainable gastronomy is vital for the social, economic and environmental development of every economic-tourist region. It has been extensively studied, providing insights into current management practices and potential future activities concerning

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the gastronomic offer and heritage in the hospitality industry. Vojvodina, located in the north of the Republic of Serbia, is an important multicultural region characterised by a blend of gastronomic influences from its current inhabitants and those who have historically shaped its identity. The fertile plains, combined with its culinary heritage, have made this region one of the most significant economic-tourist areas today, attracting visitors due to its unique gastronomic offerings. This study analysed ten catering farms using a specifically designed GastroFarm Model, which incorporates defined subindicators of the environmental, social and economic dimensions. An overview of the results is presented in a ternary diagram. The study revealed a significant dominance of the economic-social dimension in the management practices of the farms studied, providing insights into aspects clearly visible to consumers (the traditional offerings and ethnic dishes.

Keywords: sustainable gastronomy, food, farms, catering facility, rural areas, Vojvodina

Introduction

Sustainable gastronomy is an emerging field of study that integrates environmental, social, and economic principles with hospitality and tourism practices (Rinaldi 2017; Pasco-Dalla-Porta et al. 2018; Sorcaru 2019; Carral et al. 2020). Its significance was especially highlighted in the 2030 Agenda and the aims of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (United Nations 2015). The sustainable gastronomy approach encompasses a broad spectrum of activities in managing catering facilities that provide food services, promoting responsible food procurement, offerings and consumption, as well as the responsible handling of food waste and various other activities (Nyberg et al. 2022). The socially responsible aspects of sustainable gastronomy include fair food service practices and support for local economies. This interdisciplinary approach encourages a holistic view of sustainable gastronomy, focusing on environmental, social and economic dimensions to create a resilient and ethnically aware culinary future for each region (Diaconescu et al. 2016; Pasco-Dalla-Porta et al. 2018).

This study was conducted in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, an important agricultural and tourist region in the northernmost part of the Republic of Serbia (RS). This region is characterised by a rich culinary tradition deeply rooted in its cultural and historical heritage, as well as its unique

gastronomy (Blešić et al. 2021; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023). The culinary diversity of Vojvodina is shaped by its multicultural identity, reflecting the cohabitation of numerous ethnic groups. The fertile plains of Vojvodina have historically supported the production of diverse crops, contributing to a broad spectrum of local ingredients specific to this region. The lifestyle in this agricultural area is closely linked to farm life and agricultural households (a neuter singular noun: *salaš*/săla:ʃ/). Therefore, this study focuses on farm characteristics of Vojvodina, which have, in recent years, adapted to increased tourist popularity by transforming into catering facilities that offer visitors authentic tastes and the atmosphere of traditional Vojvodina households (Grubišić and Antonijević 2013; Banjac et al. 2016; Kalenjuk et al. 2018).

This paper aims to assess the level of sustainable gastronomy in these facilities according to environmental, social and economic parameters, by applying the specially designed GastroFarm Model. The objective was to compile data on the state, management practices and preservation of tradition and gastronomy, addressing the following research question: What is the dominant dimension of sustainable gastronomy in the management practices of catering farms in Vojvodina?

Literature Review

Traditional farms in Vojvodina

Farms in Vojvodina are authentic agricultural properties that perpetuate their traditions through tourism by offering food and beverages, as well as various activities in the atmosphere of an agricultural household (Blešić et al. 2021; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023). These authentic locations are inherently linked to agriculture, cattle-breeding, and indigenous food production. They provide visitors with a unique combination of nature, tradition, and gastronomic pleasure. The gastronomy of the Vojvodina farms is part of the rich heritage of traditional cuisine, renowned for its authentic dishes and local ingredients (Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2022). In the pastoral idyll of Vojvodina's farms, visitors can enjoy authentic local specialities, sample wine and local beer, visit orchards and vineyards, learn to prepare various traditional dishes, and participate in gastronomic and cultural festivities (Đerčan et al. 2017).

These gastronomic experiences not only satisfy culinary preferences but also provide insights into agricultural production and cattle-breeding that underpin the rural lifestyle in these areas, making them significant destinations for rural tourism (Banjac et al. 2016).

The gastronomic offer in Vojvodina

The gastronomic offerings in Vojvodina represent a rich combination of cultural influences and traditional recipes, creating a unique culinary synthesis that reflects the historical and geographical features of this multicultural region (Blešić et al. 2021; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023). The essence of Vojvodina cuisine lies in its fertile land, which supports diverse agricultural production. Various types of grains, vegetables and fruits contribute to the wide variety of flavours in the dishes (Šmugović et al. 2023). Traditional dishes such as *sarma*, *đuveč*, goulash (*gulaš*) and paprikash (*paprikaš*) frequently include ingredients grown directly in Vojvodina's fields and farms, reflecting the historical influences of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, as well as the contributions of various ethnic groups which settled in the area (Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Montenegrins, Roma, Croatians, Bosniaks, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Macedonians, et al.) (Lukić et al. 2017; Grubor et al. 2021; Blešić et al. 2021; Grubor et al. 2022; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023).

Among the characteristic dishes of Vojvodina are various baked goods and pastries (*pita*, *gibanica*, and various yeast-based products: bread, doughnuts, strudels and cakes) (Psodorov et al. 2018). The gastronomic offer is complemented by various types of local sausages that reflect the different ethnic influences in Vojvodina. The diverse array of dairy products is also an essential part of Vojvodina's gastronomic offerings. Numerous types of cheese, *kajmak* and *pavlaka*, often produced traditionally, contribute not only to the taste of the dishes but also to the region's cultural identity. Dishes made from traditionally roasted meats, such as homemade grilled sausages, pork neck and juicy *ćevapčići* (grilled minced meat), as well as meats prepared through traditional methods under the bell (*ispod sača*) or slow-cooked in clay pots, are staple items on the menus of traditional households and modern farms adapted to catering facilities (Kalenjuk et al. 2017).

Meat dishes, along with a variety of meat products, are prepared with care and seasoned with spices characteristic of the region, contributing to the

unique experience of Vojvodina cuisine (Ivanović et al. 2022). Local ingredients enhance the specific tastes and aromas of traditional dishes, including paprika, which is a basic ingredient of Vojvodina cuisine. Numerous studies have highlighted the prominence of dishes such as goulash, *đuveč* (stewed meat with vegetables and rice) and *kulen* (a spicy, savoury sausage), which exemplify features of the Serbian culinary tradition alongside those of its neighbouring cultures (Grubor et al. 2022).

Research on subindicators within the GastroFarm Model dimensions

The following is a review of the literature and research that contributed to identifying significant elements within the defined dimensions, serving as a basis for determining subindicators for evaluating the creation of the GastroFarm Model.

Determining subindicators for defining the environmental dimension

The environmental dimension of gastronomy plays a key role in shaping sustainable food systems and mitigating the environmental impact of culinary practices. The elements of importance for defining subindicators are examined below. Existing research highlights the significance of adopting environmentally acceptable approaches in the gastronomic sector to address various challenges, such as sustainable ingredient procurement, emphasising local products, and the use of autochthonous and seasonal products (Heatherington 2014; Rinaldi 2017; Ćirić et al. 2021; Mishra 2023). Concerning local products, the focus is on reducing the carbon footprint associated with transport and supporting regional environmental and economic systems (Rinaldi 2017; Bilska et al. 2020). It is also essential to mention the production, consumption, and offering of organic products (Paffarini et al. 2021), as well as the preparation and use of products with fewer preservatives (Chiang and Sheu 2020). Further, responsible management practices regarding food waste in the gastronomic industry contribute to reducing environmental pollution and resource depletion. Adopting organic agriculture and ethi-

cal hunting and fishing practices aligns with the environmental dimension of gastronomy, promoting biodiversity preservation and minimising the negative environmental impact of food production (Rinaldi 2017). This dimension also emphasises traditional thermal processing methods, which provide better sensory quality and have a lower negative environmental impact. The environmental dimension focuses significantly on preparing and presenting dishes in optimal portions to reduce food waste, as well as separating waste during food preparation and recycling food waste with controlled, reduced use of PVC packaging (Rinaldi 2017; Bilska et al. 2020).

The GastroFarm model offers numerous environmental benefits. By promoting the use of local, seasonal and organic products, it reduces environmental impact and improves the ecological footprint of gastronomic establishments. Additionally, practices such as recycling, waste separation and optimal portioning decrease waste and conserve natural resources, while organic agriculture and ethical hunting and fishing methods contribute to biodiversity preservation.

However, this dimension has limitations too. Sustainable practices can increase procurement, recycling and waste management costs, while seasonal factors and the availability of indigenous products can affect the consistency of offerings.

Determining subindicators for defining the social dimension

The social dimension of gastronomy extends beyond simple culinary experiences and encompasses numerous socio-cultural elements that shape how people experience and enjoy food. Studies highlight the importance of gastronomy as a social construct that impacts shared associations, identity formation, and cultural expression. Further, gastronomy serves as a means of social exchange, facilitating diversity and promoting intercultural understanding (Rinaldi 2017). Thus, gastronomy's social dimension transcends the mere act of consuming food; it becomes a dynamic force that shapes societies, defines identities and fosters connections among individuals and communities (Pasco-Dalla-Porta et al. 2018). Consequently, an important role in hospitality is played by the offering of dishes prepared from traditional food products (Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023), as well as dishes from the ethnic groups inhabiting a particular area**,** such as traditional Hungarian, Slovak,

Romanian, Montenegrin, Romani, Bunjevac and Serbian dishes. This highlights the significance of an authentic and recognisable offer in every catering facility (Grubor et al. 2022; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2022). The social dimension refers to an offer that is both recognisable and understandable, including local dishes for which the facility is known. Therefore, how the menu is promoted and presented is crucial. Adequately written menus (including descriptions and information about the dishes) facilitate hospitality workers in presenting their gastronomic offerings to consumers, while availability in multiple languages enhances their importance and utility (Petrc et al. 2019). These elements form the basis for defining subindicators for researching the social dimension.

The model's social dimension strengthens cultural identity by offering traditional dishes and local specialities, thus supporting the preservation of cultural heritage. Additionally, showcasing ethnic dishes enhances intercultural exchange and attracts visitors from diverse backgrounds. Multilingual menu options further increase accessibility for international guests.

Limitations of this dimension include the complexity of adapting menus to various cultural and linguistic preferences, which requires additional planning and resources. Emphasis on international standards may also lead to cultural homogenisation, potentially compromising the authenticity of local dishes.

Determining subindicators for defining the economic dimension

The economic dimension of gastronomy is a multifaceted field that includes various sectors, significantly contributing to both the global and local economy, as well as the balance between supply and demand. This serves as the basis for defining and further researching possible subindicators suitable for the economic dimension in the created research model. Studies indicate that the economic impact of gastronomy is reflected in job creation, income generation and tourism development (Rinaldi 2017). The restaurant industry, as a fundamental component of the gastronomic business, plays a key role in providing jobs and distributing income (Carral et al. 2020). Further, independent production, distribution from local producers, adaptation to the seasonal nature of food, and consumption with minimal reliance on imported products contribute to the agricultural and food industry significantly,

thereby increasing the economic importance of gastronomy (Privitera et al. 2018; Ćirić et al. 2021), along with adequate food waste management (Yodkhayan and Muneenam 2023). Culinary tourism, as a growing trend, serves as an economic catalyst, attracting visitors to regions renowned for their gastronomic offerings (Kalenjuk et al. 2012; Diaconescu et al. 2016), such as dishes with protected designation of origin (PDO) and authenticity labels (Ćirić et al. 2020; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023). The promotion of traditional food and unique dishes specific to the ethnic groups inhabiting those locations further enhances the economic dimension (Grubor et al. 2022; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023). Support for local production processes – whether in meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, or processed foods – strengthens local economies by reducing reliance on imported products and promoting local resilience. Additionally, the gastronomic sector stimulates entrepreneurship, enabling chefs and artisans to capitalise on unique local culinary traditions by adapting their offerings to tourist demand. In essence, the economic dimension of gastronomy extends beyond the mere production and serving of food and beverages, serving as an indispensable element of local and global economies, and fostering employment, entrepreneurship and economic growth (Koufadakis and Manola 2020).

The model has a strong economic impact by promoting culinary tourism, attracting visitors to regions known for their gastronomy and improving revenues. Relying on local producers reduces the need for imports, thus supporting the local economy and employment.

On the other hand, reliance on the tourism sector may lead to seasonal fluctuations in demand, limiting growth. Additionally, the increased costs of using local products and sustainable practices can impact profitability.

Methodology

Place and time of research

The research was conducted in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, the northernmost region of the Serbian Republic. It included traditional Vojvodina farms adapted into hospitality establishments offering food, beverages and additional services. Only registered farms that provided voluntary con-

sent were included in the study, numbering 10 facilities. Data collection was done through farm visits from 10 November to 10 December 2023. The exact locations of the studied farms are shown in Figure 1. Upon obtaining their consent, all ethical principles of research were adhered to.

Figure 1: The place of research with the locations of the studied farms

Source: the authors

Research design

The GastroFarm Model was developed for this study, based on previous studies and valorisation models in tourism, rural development and agriculture (Du Cros 2001; Đerčan et al. 2023; Ćirić et al. 2021), with a special focus on gastronomic valorisation (Pasco-Dalla-Porta et al. 2018). The model was adapted to the specifics of the region and type of hospitality establishments. The GastroFarm Model measures three sustainability dimensions – environmental, social, and economic – with each dimension represented by 10 sub-

indicators. Point allocation was carried out using a predefined scale from 1 to 5, where

- 1 signifies poor performance in a specific sustainability aspect, and
- 5 signifies excellent performance.

Each dimension could achieve a maximum score of 50 points. Data were collected through direct visits to the facilities and interviews with key stakeholders (restaurant managers, food and beverage (F&B) managers, kitchen chefs, owners and executives). During these visits, researchers analysed each facility's activities thoroughly, focusing on the relevant aspects of each subindicator, which enabled an objective allocation of points. The evaluation process consisted of the following steps:

1. Interviews with farm management – the questions addressed ecological practices, waste management, the use of local and traditional products, socio-cultural aspects of the offering and the economic balance between supply and demand.
2. On-site observation and assessment – researchers directly observed working conditions, menu offerings, food preparation methods, portion sizes and waste management practices.
3. Application of the evaluation matrix – points were normalised and distributed according to the sustainability matrix (Table 1), which categorises different types of sustainable hospitality establishments (F1–F9) depending on the dominant sustainability dimension.

Table 1. Sustainability matrix for determining types of catering farms based on dimensions of sustainable gastronomy

Types of Farms Based on the Dominant Dimension of Sustainable Development		**Maximum and Minimum Values (%) for Each of the Dimensions of Sustainable Development**					
		I		**II**		**III**	
		max	**min**	**max**	**min**	**max**	**min**
F1	Environmental	100	60	40	0	40	0
F2	Environmentally-social	60	33,3	50	20	33,3	0
F3	Environmentally-economic	60	33,3	33,3	0	50	20
F4	Social	40	0	100	60	40	0
F5	Socially-environmental	50	20	60	33,3	33,3	0
F6	Socially-economic	33,3	0	60	33,3	50	20

Types of Farms Based on the Dominant Dimension of Sustainable Development		Maximum and Minimum Values (%) for Each of the Dimensions of Sustainable Development					
		I		II		III	
		max	min	max	min	max	min
F7	Economic	40	0	40	0	100	60
F8	Economically-environmental	50	20	33,3	0	60	33,3
F9	Economically-social	33,3	0	50	20	60	33,3

Source: Đerčan et al. 2023

Point allocation by subindicators

Points were assigned by the researchers based on data collected during interviews and on-site observations. Scores were based on a detailed understanding of each facility's practices vis-a-vis predefined criteria in the GastroFarm Model. After assigning points, average scores for each dimension were normalised to enable inter se comparisons.

Based on the GastroFarm Model, the dominant sustainability dimensions of each facility were clearly identified. The average scores for each dimension were normalised, and by applying the matrix in Table 1, each farm was classified according to its dominant dimension of sustainable gastronomy (Đerčan et al. 2023). The matrix includes three basic types: F1–Environmental, F4–Social, and F7–Economic, along with six transitional types, depending on which dimension predominated in the overall result.

Presentation of results

Results were presented using a ternary diagram, a common graphical tool for illustrating the relationship between three variables on a two-dimensional plane. The sides of the diagram represent percentages (1–100%) of the analysed dimensions. A point on the diagram is determined by the combination of these percentages and corresponds to the user structure of the studied farm or hospitality facility. In cases of deviation from the optimal point (the centroid of the triangle) towards one of the corners, the results were interpreted as specificity in that segment of sustainable gastronomy.

Results

Basic features of the studied catering farms

Based on the interviews with the management of the catering farms and the insights gained into their practices, basic information was collected that could be significant for interpreting the processed dimensions in further research. The owners and their families reside on some of the farms that have been adapted into catering facilities, enabling interaction between visitors and the household, fostering an understanding of the tradition and living culture, agricultural and food production, and local gastronomy. At the same time, household members constitute the primary workforce, supplemented by individuals from nearby rural areas. The structure of the workforce varies based on the features of the facilities presented in Table 2.

Certain farms, besides catering services, also provide accommodation and organise various functions (private ones such as birthdays, weddings, christenings, etc. and – excursions, business meetings, conferences, seminars, etc.). The capacities of the farms in the catering segment vary seasonally (summer/winter) and range from facilities accommodating smaller groups of up to 30 guests to those that can host over 300.

The users' structure differs. Besides numerous local visitors, the importance of international visitors must be emphasised, as well as visitors attracted to the locations in various ways. Most foreign visitors are from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, Italy, Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia. A significant number of tourists from China, America and Russia have been observed in recent years. The farms provide accommodation for short-term visitors, including those on single-day excursions, and weekend stays, and those who solely use catering services while visiting to enjoy traditional cuisine.

Table 2. Basic features of the farms studied

Name	Core business	Type of catering service	Specific features
Salaš 137 (the number included in the name represents the number of plots over which the farm spreads)	A la cart Restaurant	A la cart Private functions	An equestrian club, shooting parties
Pajin salaš (the nickname of the old farm owner)	A la cart	A la cart Private functions	A plaque awarded at the International Agricultural Fair in Novi Sad for the gastronomic offer and elite quality service in 2019 An airplane in the yard
Brkin salaš (in English the name would translate to Brka's farm)	A rural-tourist household	Private functions Menus on demand upon reservation	A zoo, an adrenalin park
Salaš Orah (in English the name would translate to a walnut farm)	A la cart	A la cart	Live music
Bulać salaš (the name of the farm originates from the nickname of its founder, Bulać)	A bed and breakfast	Bed and breakfast, Private functions, catering	A specially designed garden with a playground for children
Salaš Miris Dunja (in English the name means that the farm smells of quinces)	Accommodation	Breakfast, private functions, pre-booked group visits	An open pool, a quince orchard
Vojvođanski salaš (in English the name would translate to a farm in Vojvodina)	A la cart	A la cart Private functions	A specially designed garden with a playground
Dedin salaš	Private functions	Private functions A la cart forthcoming	A museum, an orchard
Naš salaš (in English the name would translate toour farm)	A la cart	A la cart, private functions, bed and breakfast	Authentic rooms meant for accommodation, an ethnic collection and a gallery of paintings
Salaš vinarije Zvonko Bogdan (the farm is part of a winery belonging to a well-known singer of old folk music, specific to the region, Zvonko Bogdan, for whom it is named)	Private functions	Private functions, team building, pre-booked visits	The Ludaš lake

The environmental dimension of sustainable gastronomy

The analysis of the management practices of the farms adapted into catering facilities led to the conclusion that all the facilities are, to a certain extent environmentally oriented, with a significant offer of dishes prepared using products from the local market, thereby diminishing the potential pollutants associated with transporting products from remote locations. The availability of organic products varies, unlike the preparation of dishes using autochthonous plants and products. Only the farm Salaš 137 offers a dish known as *Carsko pile*, prepared using free-range chicken. Traditional methods of thermal processing of food are considered environment-friendly; many facilities prepare food using slow cooking in clay pots, barbequing, or traditional methods such as *ispod sača*, or on a horizontal spit. In terms of environmental protection, the focus is on controlling food waste, which is aimed at portion sizes offered and served, waste separation and recycling, with scores varying among the studied farms. Portions are generally large on all farms, ranging from 300 to 400g of meat per person. However, several facilities, such as Salaš 137, pack leftovers for guests to take home. The reduced use of preservatives is present to a certain extent, but not excessively, and no significant deviations were observed in the use of PVC packaging compared to the increasing attention paid to separating glass and organic waste.

Based on the data obtained and the ranking of the defined subindicators related to environmental features (Table 3), the total score of all ten subindicators was 306 (out of a maximum of 500). The lowest subindicator score pertains to the use of organic products (21 out of 50), while the highest score was noted for the subindicator related to the preparation of dishes from autochthonous products (42 out of 50).

Table 3. Environmental dimension of sustainable gastronomy

Subindicators	Salaš 137	Pajin salaš	Brkin salaš	Salaš Orah	Bulać salaš	Salaš Miris Dunja	Vojvođanski-salaš	Dedin salaš	Naš salaš	Salaš vinarije ZvonkoBogdan	Total
The environmental orientation in food preparation	4	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	31
Procurement of provisions from the local market (minimum amount of transport)	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	34
Offer of organic products	4	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	21
Preparation of dishes made of autochthonous products	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	3	42
Preparation of dishes using traditional methods of thermal processing	3	3	5	3	3	2	4	3	4	4	34
Preparing and serving optimum portions	4	3	5	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	40
Separating food waste during the preparation process	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	3	23
Recycling food waste during the preparation process	4	3	3	4	4	2	3	2	4	3	32
Reduced use of preserving agents	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	22
Reduced use of PVC packaging	4	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	27
Overall score	38	28	35	32	29	27	29	26	32	30	306

Social dimension of sustainable gastronomy

The analysis of the management practices of the farms with a focus on their gastronomic offerings as a significant element of the social dimension revealed that all facilities are highly focused on offering dishes prepared from traditional food products, which include various products made from meat, milk, fruit and vegetables. A similar analysis of the ethnic structure of the population and the six most dominant ethnic groups in Serbia indicated an absence of dishes made by Romanians and the Roma, while a considerable offering of dishes from Serbian and Hungarian cuisines was observed. The scrutiny of the structure and offerings revealed that all facilities have a similar selection of dishes typical of such establishments, including a specific sausage known as *kulen* and goulash (Appendix 2), as well as dishes such as paprikash, *ajmokac*, soups, broths, and baked goods (strudels, pies, doughnuts, *gomboce* – dumplings). Each facility has its own signature dish, making it recognisable and unique to its guests. Salaš 137 offers its guests its own speciality, the Serbian burger, while Salaš Orah features the *salašarska lepinja* (a round bread lathered in meat drippings), Vojvođanski salaš offers stuffed *vojvođanski ćevap* (a meat dish comprising local ingredients), and Dedin salaš serves pulled pork. Most facilities provide menus in several languages, but Vojvođanski salaš lacks one, while Salaš vinarije Zvonko Bogdan distinguishes itself by offering menus in Hungarian.

Analysing the subindicators of the social dimension led to the determination of the overall score as 331 (out of a maximum of 500) (Table 4). The lowest scores were noted for the offering of dishes from the Romanian and Roma ethnic groups in Vojvodina (10 out of 50) and the highest was awarded to the subindicator related to the offering of traditional Serbian dishes (49 out of 50) and the offering of dishes prepared from traditional food products from Vojvodina (48).

Table 4. The social dimension of sustainable gastronomy

Subindicators	Salaš 137	Pajin salaš	Brkin salaš	Salaš Orah	Bulać salaš	Salaš Miris Dunja	Vojvođanski-salaš	Dedin salaš	Naš salaš	Salaš vinarije Zvonko Bogdan	Total
Offer of dishes prepared using traditional products from Vojvodina	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	48
Offer of traditional Hungarian dishes	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	44
Offer of traditional Slovak dishes	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	31
Offer of traditional Romanian dishes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Offer of traditional Montenegrin dishes	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	5	2	32
Offer of traditional Romani dishes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Offer of traditional Bunjevac dishes	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	25
Offer of traditional Serbian dishes	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	49
Offer of local dishes for which the facility is known	5	5	4	5	4	3	5	4	5	4	44
The gastronomic offer written in a variety of languages	5	4	3	4	4	4	1	4	4	5	38
Total score	37	34	30	36	32	30	29	33	35	35	331

Economic dimension of sustainable gastronomy

By compiling data obtained from management regarding economic subindicators, information was gathered about the operational methods of the facilities, as shown in Table 5. Some farms source food from their own production processes. The facilities frequently produce their own types of sausages and meat products, such as ham and bacon, for their guests. Besides independently producing meat, facilities such as Salaš Miris Dunja and Brkin salaš also raise poultry and produce eggs, as well as make preserves and cheese. Salaš Orah has greenhouses for growing various types of plants. Most facilities procure their products from local producers while using imported products to a lesser extent. The adaptation of the gastronomic offer to the seasonal nature of products was observed in facilities such as Naš salaš and others. The offering of dishes made from products with PDO is low. The promotion of traditional dishes is significant, with a greater emphasis on dishes originating from the ethnic groups of Vojvodina; for instance, Naš salaš even organises Montenegrin nights that include the promotion of food and culture. The gastronomic offerings are fully adapted to tourist demand, as evidenced by the balance between supply and demand. Food waste is distributed to animal shelters (Salaš vinarije Zvonko Bogdan), and national kitchens, or sold at reduced prices, *inter alia*.

The overall score for this dimension is 378 (out of a maximum of 500), ranking it first among the three dimensions. The lowest score was noted for the subindicator related to the offering of dishes made from products with PDO (17). This finding contrasts slightly with the previously obtained data on the use of traditional products. The highest score was awarded for the adaptability of the offer to the tourist demand (46) and the economic balance between supply and demand (45).

Table 5. Economic dimension of sustainable gastronomy

Subindicators	Salaš 137	Pajin salaš	Brkin-salaš	Salaš Orah	Bulać salaš	Salaš Miris Dunja	Vojvođanski salaš	Dedin salaš	Naš salaš	Salaš vinarije ZvonkoBogdan	Total
Own production process (of meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, processed foods)	4	4	4	5	1	5	1	1	2	3	30
Procurement of produce from local producers	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	2	5	4	44
Reduced consumption of imported products	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	2	5	4	43
Adaptation of the gastronomic offer (from the menu) to seasonal products	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	39
Offer of dishes made from products with protected designation of origin	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	17
Promotion of traditional dishes	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	36
Promotion of dishes of the ethnic groups in Vojvodina	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	5	38
Adaptation of the offer to meet the tourist demand	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	46
Economic balance between supply and demand	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	45
Handling food waste	4	4	3	4	5	4	4	3	5	4	40
Total score	36	39	40	40	37	40	34	31	41	40	378

A summary analysis of the subindicators

By analysing the overall results obtained through the specially designed GastroFarm Model, the highest scores were determined for the economic dimension of sustainable gastronomy, followed by the subindicators related to environmental protection, while the lowest scores were noted for the social subindicators.

The defined methodologies were applied, and with the aim of obtaining the required data, individual analyses of the catering farms were conducted, as shown in Table 6. For each subindicator, the maximum score that could be awarded was 50. The environmental dimension of the studied catering farms was evaluated in a range of 26–38. The highest score was awarded to Salaš 137, Brkin salaš and Naš salaš, and the lowest score to Dedin salaš. The social dimension was evaluated in a range from 29 to 37, with the highest score again awarded to Salaš 137 and the lowest to Brkin salaš, Salaš Miris Dunja and Vojvođanski salaš. The economic dimension was evaluated in a range from 31 to 41, with the highest score awarded to Naš salaš and the lowest to Dedin salaš.

Table 6. Summary scores based on the dimensions of sustainable gastronomy and the rank of the catering farm

Farm	I	II	III	Total Score	Rank
Salaš 137	38	37	36	111	1
Pajin salaš	28	34	39	101	6
Brkin salaš	35	30	40	105	5
Salaš Orah	32	36	40	108	4
Bulać salaš	29	32	37	98	7
Salaš Miris Dunja	27	30	40	97	8
Vojvođanski salaš	29	29	34	92	9
Dedin salaš	26	33	31	90	10
Naš salaš	32	35	41	108	3
Salaš vinarije Zvonko Bogdan	30	35	40	105	2

The data obtained were normalised to 100%, enabling a comparison of the relative values shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Normalised values of the subindicators and the type of farm

Farm	I	II	III	Type
Salaš 137	34.2	33.3	32.4	F2
Pajin salaš	27.7	33.7	38.6	F9
Brkin salaš	33.3	28.6	38.1	F8
Salaš Orah	29.6	33.3	37.0	F9
Bulać salaš	29.6	32.7	37.8	F9
Salaš Miris Dunja	27.8	30.9	41.2	F9
Vojvođanski salaš	31.5	31.5	37.0	F9
Dedin salaš	28.9	36.7	34.4	F6
Naš salaš	29.6	32.4	38.0	F9
Salaš vinarije Zvonk Bogdan	28.6	33.3	38.1	F9

The values obtained were further used as input for the designed matrix to determine the type to which the analysed catering farms belong, as illustrated in the ternary diagram (Figure 2). Based on the data obtained and the application of the GastroFarm Model, a high score was noted for the economic dimension. The dominance of the economic-social dimension (category F9) was observed in seven of the ten farms. The economic-environmental dimension was prevalent in Brkin salaš and the social-economic dimension in Naš salaš. Notably, the environmental-social dimension was prevalent only in the farm Salaš 137, which is recognised as the initiator of such hospitality in Vojvodina and was the first to offer hospitality-tourist services in 1996 (https://www.premiumsrbija.rs/restorani/salas-137/).

Discussion

Based on the field study and insights gained into the management practices of the facilities, it was concluded that the weakest subindicator pertains to the use of organic products. This finding is particularly concerning, given that Vojvodina is an agricultural region where organic food production should be prioritised (Tomaš-Simin and Popović-Vranješ 2013). The high selling price of these products presents a significant barrier, reflected in the elevated prices of dishes in these catering facilities (Končar et al. 2019). While this may explain

their limited presence, the lack of organic produce usage represents a missed opportunity for both sustainability and economic growth in this region.

In contrast, the highest score was awarded to the subindicator concerning the use of autochthonous products in food preparation. The reliance on local fruits, vegetables and grains, as well as indigenous breeds of animals like the Mangulica pig, reflects commendable efforts to preserve the local ecosystem (Luković et al. 2023). This practice not only supports biodiversity but also strengthens the cultural identity of Vojvodina's cuisine. Pork, particularly from autochthonous breeds, is a staple in the region, underscoring its importance in local food traditions (Radović et al. 2017).

The study also highlighted a significant reliance on local markets for sourcing ingredients, which reduces pollution associated with long-distance food transport (Rinaldi, 2017; Bilska et al. 2020). This practice aligns with global environmental goals, particularly in developing regions where such initiatives are crucial for reducing carbon footprints (Bosona and Gebresenbet 2011; Kriewald et al. 2019).

Concerning culinary techniques, the use of traditional methods such as slow cooking in clay pots, barbequing and roasting *ispod sača* (under the bell) emerged as essential aspects of Vojvodina's gastronomic identity (Baltić et al. 2018). These methods, often reserved for special occasions, represent a deep cultural connection to the region's heritage and are critical for preserving its culinary authenticity.

Food waste management, particularly portion control, is another key issue. The large portion sizes characteristic of the region pose a challenge in waste reduction (Milosevic et al. 2012). However, the growing practice of allowing guests to take leftovers home demonstrates a positive shift towards minimising food waste and maximising the value of meals paid for (Wang et al. 2016).

A unique feature of these catering facilities is the independent production of certain food items, such as jams, sausages, and bread, with reduced use of preservatives. This emphasises the importance of producing healthier, locally sourced foods that reflect the area's authentic characteristics (Gassara et al. 2016). Additionally, the reduced use of PVC packaging further underscores their commitment to environmental sustainability (Ye et al. 2017).

However, the absence of dishes from the Romanian and Roma ethnic groups is notable, as these groups represent a significant portion of the lo-

cal population. This lack of representation in the gastronomic offerings is a missed opportunity to showcase the rich cultural diversity of the region and preserve the traditions of these minority groups (Grubor et al. 2022; Kalenjuk Pivarski et al. 2023a). The strong representation of traditional Serbian dishes, while expected given the region's demographics, underscores the need for greater inclusion of minority cuisines to fully reflect Vojvodina's multicultural identity.

Further, the weakest subindicator identified was the lack of dishes made with products carrying a PDO. This contrasts with the use of traditional products but is understandable, given the high costs associated with PDO items, which often drive catering facilities to seek more affordable alternatives or rely on their own production (Ćirić et al. 2020). The underutilisation of PDO products represents a missed opportunity to promote the region's gastronomic heritage and its high-quality certified goods (Stošić et al. 2022; Šmugović et al. 2023).

On a positive note, the highest scores were attributed to the adaptation of offerings to tourist demand and maintaining an economic balance between supply and demand. This demonstrates a clear understanding of market dynamics and the importance of catering to tourists' preferences while promoting local gastronomy (Daniela and Adina-Gabriela 2015). Facilities have increasingly integrated their production processes, including the independent production of sausages, ham, bacon, preserves and cheese, which aligns with the expectations for such catering (Lang and Lemmerer 2019).

The seasonal adaptation of menus is also a prevalent practice, ensuring the use of fresh, high-quality products and enhancing the authenticity of the dining experience (Yu and Zhang 2020). This seasonal focus not only boosts the quality of offerings but also supports local producers and reduces reliance on imports. Lastly, food waste redistribution remains an area for potential improvement, with some farms finding innovative ways to repurpose waste (Girotto et al. 2015). The efficient use of surplus food could further strengthen their sustainability practices and contribute to regional environmental goals.

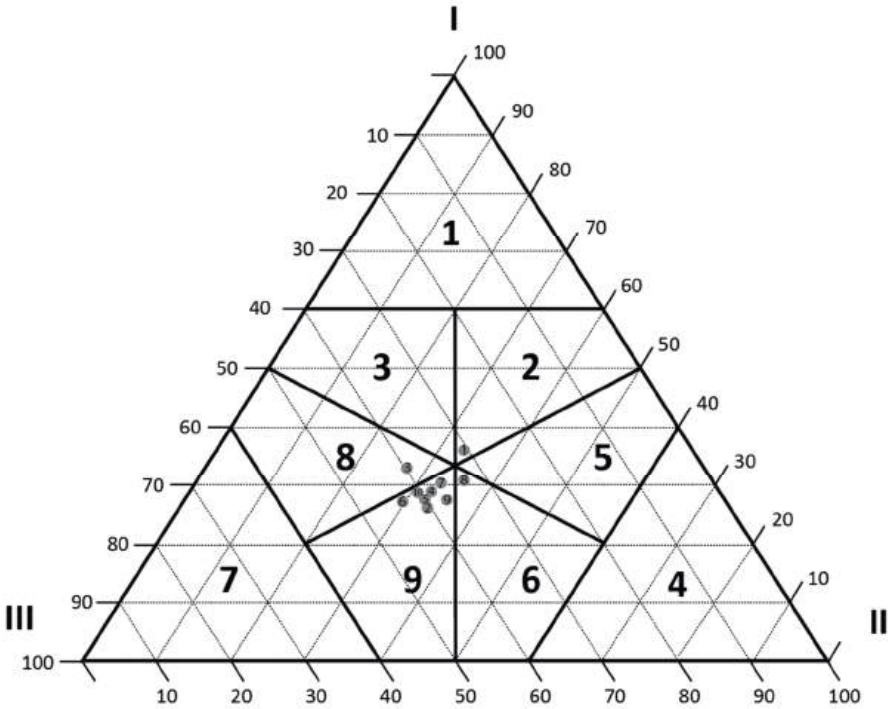

Figure 2: Ternary diagram positions of farms based on the dimensions of sustainable gastronomy

Conclusion

Based on research using the GastroFarm Model, the main research question, namely: 'What is the dominant dimension of sustainable gastronomy in the management practices of catering farms in Vojvodina?' has been answered. The results indicate that most surveyed establishments are dominated by the socio-economic dimension. This orientation highlights the importance of economic adaptation to tourism demand and emphasises traditional Serbian dishes and products native to the region. The gastronomy of catering farms is largely tailored to the needs of tourists through an authentic offer at appropriate prices, maintaining an economic balance between supply and demand.

Although Vojvodina offers a rich and diverse gastronomic experience, including Serbian, Hungarian and other ethnic cuisines, a lack of representation of certain ethnic cuisines, such as Romani and Romanian, has been observed. This raises the issue of cultural inclusivity in gastronomic tourism and indicates opportunities for improving the social dimension of sustainability. Increased inclusion of dishes from these minority groups would not only contribute to the cultural richness of the region but also attract a broader audience while simultaneously strengthening social cohesion and preserving cultural identities.

The study's results indicate a pressing need for better integration of ecological considerations into the operations of catering farms. While economic adaptability is highly regarded, ecological aspects, such as the use of organic products and waste reduction, remain underdeveloped. Enhancing ecological practices, such as the incorporation of indigenous and seasonal products, could significantly contribute to the overall sustainability of these establishments by reducing their environmental footprint and strengthening local ecosystems.

The development of sustainable gastronomic tourism in Vojvodina could have a significant impact on the region's economic and social development. Catering farms that offer authentic dishes based on local resources and traditional preparation methods not only support local agricultural producers but also promote the region's unique cultural identity x. Increasing ecological and social sustainability could enhance Vojvodina's position as a leading destination for gastronomic tourism, further contributing to the region's sustainable future development.

Theoretical implementations

The literature review and similar studies presented in this paper were corroborated by data obtained from the field, which thoroughly updates the theoretical principles regarding sustainable gastronomy and hospitality in rural areas, particularly concerning facilities with cultural and historical significance, such as catering farms. The study results provide valuable information that can be used by various institutions and bodies involved in economic development, tourism and hospitality, as well as by policymakers and strategists.

Practical implications

The designed GastroFarm Model can be applied in various catering facilities and contexts concerning sustainability, as it offers the potential to gather data facilitating the sustainable development of the economy and tourism. The results obtained provide clear guidelines for future activities in sustainable gastronomy and the further development of the studied gastro-tourist locations. Naturally, certain subindicators may require adaptation to the specific tourist region being studied, particularly regarding dishes unique to various ethnic groups.

Research limitations

The research limitations include the availability of certain farms operating as catering facilities. In Vojvodina, numerous farms provide various hospitality services; however, some are operational only during specific seasons (spring/summer, autumn) and were therefore closed during the study period. Additional limitations were related to the reluctance of some farm managers to participate in this type of study and to share data regarding their everyday business operations.

Suggestions for future research

Future research could focus on obtaining more detailed information regarding the individual indicators analysed in this study. Special attention could be given to surveying or interviewing the key actors involved in the operations of these catering facilities – the managers who participated in the decision-making process and whose choices shaped the gastronomic offerings and the remaining business dealings – as well as investigating the fundamental factors influencing decision-making in everyday operations.

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Educational farms in Poland from the perspective of visual sociology

Abstract

This article explores the use of visual materials (photographs) as tools for social understanding and methods for collecting and interpreting visual data in the sociology of rural areas. The photographs presented were taken during a nearly two-year research project titled 'Educational Farm – An Innovative Form of Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas', aimed at diagnosing the resources of Polish rural areas that could serve as a sustainable foundation for the development of educational farms in collaboration with educational institutions (preschools, primary and secondary schools). The photographic documentation not only reveals the specifics of education on farms but also provides a basis for discussing the future of the Polish education system, particularly in the context of educational trends such as adventure pedagogy and alternative learning methods beyond traditional school settings (outdoor learning, outdoor education).

Keywords: visual sociology, educational farms, outdoor learning, outdoor education

Introduction

The illustrated scientific study *Glimpses of the Countryside: One Hundred Years of Polish Countryside* observes that 'a dispassionate, scientific descrip-

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tion of the changes that have taken place in the countryside over the last century can be precise, more or less exhaustive, but it appeals less to the imagination than images. These, although more expressive, cannot show all aspects of the transformations nor explain them' (Rosner, Śpiewak and Kozdroń 2018: 5). Inspired by the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development, I decided to use visual materials to illustrate one of the innovative forms of diversifying income sources for farming families, which aligns with the concept of social agriculture – namely, the growing trend of educational farms in Poland. The methodological foundation is thus the methods of visual sociology, the general characteristics of which I outline in this introduction.

Douglas Harper states, 'visual sociology is an invitation to open our eyes to reality beyond a computer screen filled with numbers' (Harper 2023: 3). This is not a critique of sociological research based on statistics but rather an invitation to practise sociology differently, using cameras and photography, especially since photography has been 'democratised' through the easy, inexpensive and widespread access to visual tools in mobile phones. However, observation is a challenging process per se and depends on many variables, such as social position[1] or limitations stemming from the quality of the tools available and the skills in using them. Just as the best pots will not cook a delicious meal on their own, a high-quality camera cannot automatically produce good shots, too. A seasoned cook is needed in the first case, and in the second, an experienced photographer. Yet, without overcomplicating matters, quite often good intentions, a bit of luck and intuition – which, as Krzysztof Konecki notes, 'often brings new and valuable inspiration to empirical research' (Konecki 2019) – are sufficient. After all, visual sociology is not only about how we see but also about what we see (Harper 2023). The most intriguing feature of visual sociology is that it does not aspire to document or interpret situations involving momentous issues such as war, migration, climate change and many other social problems. Rather, it fits neatly into studies of the sociology of everyday life (Konecki and Kacperczyk 2020), particularly when sociological research can contribute to current social, health or educational policy. One such area is the educational farms that have been developing over

[1] Deciding factors during observation may also be age, gender, ethnic background, economic status, religion, worldview, etc., all of which can subjectively increase or decrease the distance between the researcher and the group.

the past decade, which not only address the issue of diversifying income for farming families in tune with multifunctional agriculture but also respond to the societal demand for education beyond traditional school rooms, especially in a natural environment, which farm-based education offers.

Firstly, by introducing photography into the field of sociology, we use it additionally for studying interactions, analysing emotions or gathering information during interviews (Bang et al. 2016; Dempsey and Tucker 1994; Serafinelli 2017). Secondly, in the social sciences, text is usually the dominant mode of presenting scientific arguments. Therefore, sociologists using visual methods face the challenge of maintaining a balance between text and, for example, photography. In this study, I adopt an approach aligned with the principles of dialogic reportage (Marcysiak 2021), which, as André Rouillé notes, requires time, mutual trust and deep dialogue. Only then does the subject become an actor, partner and agent, and the photographs authentic (Rouillé 2007: 211). Dialogic reportage is thus an expression of a life situation, and photography is a reproduction of not merely what is visible but also of what is hidden. From my observations and experience of working with a photographer during research, it becomes clear that photography always leaves some room for interpretation and, in this sense, is not an objective data source. However, its use significantly enriches social understanding and the context of situations, even if it is simply an illustration accompanying a monograph or scientific text. The very choice of black-and-white photography and the care given to its artistic form affect reception, perception and impression, which are subjective. In other words, photographs in the research on the functioning of educational farms broaden the spectrum of perceiving reality and strengthen the positive message about their role, or the even greater role they could play, in the education system. Therefore, photographs in this project can be used to interpret the reliability of educational programmes and their practical applicability to education outside the walls of traditional institutions.

Visual Research in Sociology

Erving Goffman (1976) played a key role in developing early visual images focused on studying rituals, social interactions in public spaces and gender

roles. Undoubtedly, Goffman's work became a significant milestone in analysing visual media, particularly advertising. However, the academic community, especially sociologists, was still not convinced about recognising visual materials as sources of empirical data similar to words and numbers, a cause championed by Howard Becker (Becker 1974). Since then, the approach to visual materials in social research has changed significantly due to the initial mystery behind a photo or painting created by an artist having gradually lost its aura, largely due to the mass production of visual materials (Zuev and Bratchford 2020: 7). Nevertheless, Dennis Zuev and Gary Bratchford argue that today, sociologists, particularly those undecided, should be encouraged to experiment with visual data in field research, complementing traditional methods of empirical data collection. They highlight many benefits arising from collaborative fieldwork, for example, between sociologists and representatives of other fields such as cultural studies, geography, urban planning, or the arts. According to Zuev and Bratchford, both sides can consider their previous work from a unique perspective, enriching sociology with photography and photography with a sociological context (Zuev and Bratchford 2020: 7).

Howard Becker advocated this in his essay 'Photography and Sociology', suggesting that sociologists should learn to see photographically, while photographers must learn to see sociologically (Becker 1974: 6). Zuev and Bratchford also argue that visual sociology is concerned with more than just an image-based world (Zuev and Bratchford 2020: 13), especially considering the widespread use of photography with the transition from analogue to digital formats and its presentation on the Internet and social media. In Poland alone, the number of social media users exceeds 27 million, representing 66.3% of the total population[2]. According to Kleiner Perkins Caufield Byers, approximately 500 million photos are uploaded to the Internet daily[3] (this refers to all Internet users worldwide). Visual sociologists have considered this, seeing online photographs as, on the one hand, a valuable source of data on everyday social practices revealed in family, tourist or street photog-

[2] https://www.znajdzreklame.pl/blog/kampanie-internetowe/digital-2023-najnowszy-raport-dotyczacy-internetu-w-polsce/ [14.11.2023]

[3] https://gadzetomania.pl/internet-kocha-obrazki-wiecie-ile-zdjec-codziennie-wrzucamy-do-sieci,6704137262683777a [14.11.2023]

raphy, and, on the other, as an overwhelming abundance (Larsen and Sandbye 2014).

Despite the great technological leap that has caused this surfeit of visual materials, the goal of visual sociology has not fundamentally changed. It still aims to provide a scientific and credible insight into society through artistic and documentary visualisations, as exemplified by Lewis Hine and Dorothea Lange. Their photographs remain etched in the collective memory of the nation, stirring consciences and often inspiring real social change. However, notably, their work was interventionist. For example, Hine's involvement in social issues led John G. Morris to write of him as 'a documentary photographer who almost single-handedly led to the reform of labor laws and the establishment of new rules for child labor' (Morris 2007: 60).

Sociological photography can also be successfully applied to observe the dynamics of social phenomena such as unemployment, societal impoverishment or homelessness. A work considered a sociological classic in this area is Douglas Harper's *Good Company*, which describes the American hobo culture. In the book's subsequent editions, Harper revealed the emergence of a new generation of homeless men, whose exclusion was influenced initially by the industrial crisis and later by the wars in which they had participated, such as in Vietnam or the Middle East. As he writes in the third edition, 'some of this new group of homeless men drove trucks, drawing patterns from the remnants of the old railroad hobo culture. Other homeless men lived in old cars or cheap apartments, but they were no longer the hobos I had met fifteen years earlier' (Harper 2016: 1).

Comparing the biographies of the hobos from his first freight train trip in the 1970s to the lives of the next generation of homeless people made him realise how much had changed since then, particularly in the context of the meaning attributed to hoboing. Harper's book captivates readers not only due to the artistic charm of its black-and-white photography but also because of the conversations with the hobos, who, the longer they are known, resemble romantic heroes more than societal outcasts. Yet, many of them carry the ubiquitous smell of sweat embedded in their worn clothes, mixed with the scent of cheap whiskey or wine, for which they earned money primarily by doing seasonal work in apple orchards. Consequently, *Good Company* became the first in-depth visual ethnography by a sociologist who shared the story of not only the hobos but also his own.

However, what is most valuable for a visual sociologist is the reflection on their engagement in fieldwork, where the researcher must learn how to distinguish between someone performing a role for a bottle of alcohol and someone who is authentically themselves; whom to trust when boarding a freight train and whom to avoid, and most importantly, how to describe such a specific group without stripping people, already stigmatised as 'vagrants', of their dignity. Such experience cannot be gained through traditional (quantitative) sociological data collection methods. As Harper notes, before his research, 'sociologists did not perceive homelessness in this way because hobos were elusive, and the typical sociological research method – surveys – did not allow for an insider's perspective' (Harper 2016: 2). One thing seems certain, however: the question of whether it is easier to describe a problem or to photograph it still agitates us.

A particular focus in my field research practice, which involves qualitative methods, is the visual sociological essay, still considered an 'unconventional scientific product' (Pauwels 2015: 11). While the reduction of printing costs due to digital technology today promotes visual publications, the visual essay is still regarded by many journals as 'too innovative a way of generating and disseminating knowledge'. In Poland, there is already a substantial body of scientific literature in which researchers refer to visual data, but despite interesting findings, the narrative is still predominantly based on the classical form of presenting research results – written words. Meanwhile, 30 years ago, John Grady and Luc Pauwels considered the visual essay a promising direction for scientific research (Grady 1991; Pauwels 1993). Further, it is particularly valuable that photography, by its nature, remains open to interpretation from various (often contradictory) perspectives (Parkin 2014: 12), and the use of visual materials can generate a synergy between distinct yet interconnected forms of expression: words, images and scientific narrative (Pauwels 2015: 139). As Pauwels observes, visual (social) sciences are concerned with not only analysing and creating visual data but also visualising and expressing insights in an innovative, more experimental and experience-based way (e.g. including art-based approaches). This article aims, therefore, to combine participant observation and photographic art in the analysis of the functioning of educational farms in Poland.

Educational Farms from the Perspective of Visual Sociology

The photographs presented in this study were taken during the implementation of a research project aimed at diagnosing the resources of the Polish countryside that could become a sustainable foundation for the development of educational farms in cooperation with educational institutions (preschools, primary and secondary schools). The research was conducted as part of the project 'Educational Farm – An Innovative Form of Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas', co-financed by the European Union under Scheme II of the Technical Assistance 'National Rural Network' of the Rural Development Programme for 2014–2020. The project's goal was to transfer specialised knowledge on conducting education for school and preschool groups in rural tourism facilities based on the agricultural resources of the Polish countryside to individuals currently engaged in or intending to run tourism activities in rural areas, those interested in educational activities in the form of an educational farm, as well as individuals involved in initiatives for rural development. The research was conducted in the five voivodeships – Kuyavian-Pomeranian, Lubusz, Opole, West Pomeranian and Lower Silesian – in four stages, using both quantitative and qualitative methods and tools (in-depth direct and telephone interviews, questionnaire surveys, as well as participant observation supplemented by a sociological photographic report and informal interviews at five selected educational farms, one from each voivodeship).

Since the research results have been published as a monograph (Marcysiak et al. 2023), which marked the culmination of the research, I will limit myself to reflections from the qualitative field research, of which sociological photography and the method of dialogical reportage (Marcysiak 2021) were integral parts. As André Rouillé wrote, 'the photographer and the people they photograph are jointly involved in realising this project, where taking the photo is only a brief moment and not necessarily the culmination of the entire process' (Rouillé 2007: 210). Dialogical reportage is practised by many photographers who, as Rouillé observes, 'have given up chasing sensationalism' (Rouillé 2007: 209). It was assumed that educational farms could serve educational functions more comprehensively than merely as 'educational trips' to a farm. The research was conducted at five educational farms, one each located in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian, Lubusz, Opole, West Pomeranian, and Lower Silesian voivodeships. The resulting collection of empirical data is

undoubtedly a valuable source of information for educational institutions, local governments and farm operators engaged in educational activities, as well as an interesting sociological phenomenon.

Much of what we learn is based on observation – what we see and feel. However, the sociological perspective delves much deeper than just the area of acquired knowledge; it also extends to the development of social skills and competencies, which significantly influence the recognition of the social world of meanings, individual identity and future social roles. Writing about the significance of childhood objects (toys), Waldemar Dymarczyk argues that 'the intensity and permanent nature of contact with "first objects" are a guarantee of retaining memories for many years or even a lifetime' (Dymarczyk 2021: 90). However, many of these objects are simply lost during moves or cleaning out 'useless junk', or are simply forgotten and abandoned (Dymarczyk 2021: 89). Thus, memories are equally important in shaping an individual's self, which are shaped by play, as one of the founders of symbolic interactionism, George Herbert Mead, wrote. Toys may be lost, but other senses, such as taste, smell, sight and touch, also influence the imagination, reinforce personal experiences and become embedded in the memory of significant biographical episodes. According to sociological theory, play evolves into games, during which individuals learn to recognise the roles of 'others' and respond to typical situations (associated with the game). They also learn that they should not only respond to the behaviour of other participants but also that they can influence others' behaviour. As Dymarczyk describes, game participants learn that 'there are certain general rules in the world – values and norms, which do not stem from someone's arbitrary decision, but are the result of some common agreements' (Dymarczyk 2021: 92).

For many participants, activities at the educational farms provided their first experiences in areas such as relationships with people with intellectual disabilities, free interaction with farm animals (rarely seen in urban environments), assuming roles traditionally assigned by gender, and for older students, coping with the pressure of completing a task not determined by the hands of a clock, but by weather conditions, the responsibility for the welfare of animals, or preparing meals for other group members. The observed behaviour of students participating in activities at the educational farms revealed the complexity of the educational process itself at the farm, which, for many participants, transcended the dichotomies of rural/urban, permitted/

forbidden, responsible/irresponsible, independent/dependent and even able-bodied/disabled. Such a broad approach to education at farms captures the full spectrum of the multidimensional and complex phenomena that influence identity construction and the recognition of social roles and norms.

Visualisations of Daily Activities at Educational Farms

The operation of educational farms fits into the idea of social agriculture and involves activities that employ agricultural resources to promote or generate social services in rural areas, including care services (Marcysiak and Kamiński 2021) or educational services (Marcysiak et al. 2023). In Poland, 322 educational farms are part of the National Network of Educational Farms[4]. Anyone who runs an agricultural or agritourism farm can join the network, provided they meet a few formal criteria. In the Polish context, an educational farm is a rural enterprise run by residents of rural areas, where at least two of the following educational goals are pursued:

- education in plant production,
- education in animal production,
- education in the processing of agricultural products,
- education in ecological and consumer awareness, and
- education in the heritage of rural material culture, traditional trades, handicrafts and folk art[5].

The farm should also have farm animals or agricultural crops available for presentation to groups of children and youth participating in school programmes or offered as a tourist attraction for families with children and individual adult travellers (Kmita-Dziasek 2014). Additionally, the farm must have at least one covered space devoted to the conduct of educational activities. If the farm meets these criteria, it can begin educational activities. While many European countries have long-established models of cooperation between farmers and educational institutions, in Poland this remains a matter of individual agreements and is not subject to detailed regulations. If, in the future, education at farms were to be included in the national curriculum,

[4] https://zagrodaedukacyjna.pl/ [20.05.2023]

[5] https://zagrodaedukacyjna.pl/ [01.04.2023]

and the activities were co-financed by state institutions, certain regulations would have to be adopted. Before (and if at all) that happens, it is worth examining how the current collaboration between educational institutions and farms operates, the solutions in place, what is changing, and the prospects for the development of educational farms. To this end, five farms were selected, where the entire day's activities were photographed, and five narrative interviews were conducted with farm owners and group supervisors. However, I will focus exclusively on the visual material, attempting to recreate the most important situations.

As a report on educational farms in Poland observes, 'at the farm, students not only discover the origin of food but also experience the true rural working and living environment, broadening their perception of social reality with an ecological and economic context, thus enhancing their competencies as conscious food consumers' (Marcysiak et al. 2023). This thesis could already be verified at the first farm, where a group of primary school students had the opportunity not only to observe but also to participate in the process of milk production and its use in making butter and bread. First, the students went to the field, where they could manually milk a cow and taste the fresh milk on the spot (Photos 1, 2). They then churned butter themselves, which they later enjoyed with bread, also baked on the farm (Photos 3, 4).

Photo 1: Milking a Cow

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Photo 2: Tasting Fresh Milk

Photo 3: Churning Butter

Photo 4: Bread with Butter

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Although the lesson also served as a form of play, its rules were clearly defined and enforced by the hosts. The first rule was that participants were guests in someone's home, not at a playground. For example, when entering the house, they were required to wipe their shoes or take them off and put on different footwear. The second rule established guidelines for interacting with farm animals, ensuring that the animals were not frightened and that participants remained mindful of both their own safety and the animals' well-being. The group quickly adapted their behaviour to the situation. The initial excitement of interacting directly with chickens, rabbits, or even goats soon subsided, and the children took on the role of caretakers, feeding the animals, holding them gently, or carefully letting them roam around the pen (Photos 5–8).

Photo 5: In the goat pen

Photo 6: A grown chick

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Photo 7: In the rabbit pen

Photo 8: Feeding the goats

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

In a sense, a more serious lesson is imparted to students during the week-long agricultural internships at the Juchowo Farm, a large-scale, biodynamic farm run by the Stanisław Karłowski Foundation, whose mission is to revitalise and heal the social organism based on biodynamic agriculture, following the principle 'healthy soil – healthy plants – healthy animals – healthy people'. Besides environmental protection, landscape development and scientific research, one of the farm's key areas of focus is education. The farm specialises in the breeding and raising of dairy and meat cattle, including Holstein-Friesian, Swiss Brown and Polish Red breeds. The herd numbers 700 heads, including 360 dairy cows, and the farm spans 1,900 hectares, of which 1,400 hectares are arable land, 5 hectares are dedicated to vegetable gardens, 3 hectares to herb gardens, 340 hectares to peat meadows, and 140 hectares represent forests, woodlands and wasteland.

The internships at this farm for even primary school students have several dimensions. First, the group is divided into four smaller teams, each assigned separate tasks and roles. One team spends the day cleaning and caretaking in the calf barn. Their tasks include cleaning the barn (Photo 9) and delivering fresh milk for the calves using what they call the 'taxi' (Photo 10). The students perform all tasks independently, though under the supervision of an assigned mentor.

Photo 9: Cleaning tasks in the calf barn

Photo 10: The 'taxi' delivering milk for the calves

Photo 11: Cleaning tasks in the milking hall

Photo 12: Cleaning tasks in the milking hall

Photo 13: Weeding the garlic crop

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Photo 14: Kitchen assistances

The second group's tasks are in the milking hall, where they clean up after each group of cows, from which milk is mechanically extracted. A total of 32 cows are brought into the milking hall at a time, and the entire process takes several hours, as the dairy herd consists of 320 cows. At the end of the daily milking cycle, the hall must be thoroughly cleaned, including all equipment (Photos 11, 12). The third group, meanwhile, works in the field, learning tasks such as weeding garlic and tending greenhouse crops (Photo 13). The fourth and final group performs cleaning duties in the dining hall, social rooms and accommodations and assists in the kitchen by preparing meals for not only themselves but also other farm workers (Photo 14). Behind this lesson lies an important message, demonstrating how modern agriculture can be reconciled with environmental protection and the welfare of farm animals, even in a large herd. Some farmers believe there is a widespread negative perception of the environmental impacts of large-scale farming and mass livestock breeding. There are no published studies that have proven this thesis, but this opinion is often expressed by farmers during meetings organised as part of training programmes, for example, in Agricultural Advisory Centres. Additionally, this view frequently appears in descriptions of the concept of educational farms, which have been in operation for much longer in Western Europe. This image can be changed through direct experience of working on such a farm and reflecting on modern food production and the specifics of biodynamic farming. Students not only interact with each other and the farm animals but also assume roles and share tasks, which strengthens their relationships and teaches effective teamwork based on responsibility and collaboration.

The next educational farm focuses on outdoor games that develop sensory abilities. These activities are not just chemistry lessons but a form of therapy too, in which no farm animals are involved. Instead, it is only the students, their supervisors and the facilitators employed at the farm. These activities fit perfectly into the idea of adventure pedagogy and alternative methods of education beyond the school walls (outdoor learning, outdoor education). The group solves puzzles, navigates obstacle courses, discovers the properties of mixed substances during chemistry experiments, and designs and builds wooden toys. All activities are based on the necessity of collaboration within the group and independently solving the challenges presented to them (Photos 15, 16).

Photo 15: Outdoor game on the sensory trail

Photo 16: Chemistry experiment

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Each farm also provides a designated play area, usually a playground with a jungle gym, a volleyball or soccer field, or a park with toy cars, bouncing balls and other equipment. Play is an integral part of education, as it allows children to release the tension resulting from having to focus during lessons. It also plays a significant role in a child's development, enhancing cognitive processes and enabling the acquisition of social skills through group play, essential for everyday functioning (Photos 17–20).

Photo 17: Jungle gym in the educational farm

Photo 18: Mini tractor

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Photo 19: Playing on bouncing balls

Photo 20: Go-karts

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Playtime for the children also provides their supervisors an opportunity to rest for a moment. Although they do not have to personally participate in the organised activities for the students, supervisors still oversee them throughout the trip. For educators, activities at the educational farm offer an additional opportunity to observe the social behaviours of their students outside the school environment, in a setting different from the classroom, and also to foster good, or even better, relationships with their pupils (Photos 21, 22).

Photo 21: Flour fight

Photo 22: We are all winners

Photographer: Dariusz Bareya 2023

Summary

If we subscribe to Cohen's view that 'people are, in a way, passive in their relationships with culture: they receive it, pass it on, express it, but do not create it' (Cohen 2023: 66), then indubitably, education at the farm is a unique opportunity to 'play' and 'engage' in assigning (discovering) new meanings to concepts such as freedom, authenticity, individuality, tolerance and cooperation, which are the foundation of civil society. The educational farm is not entirely free from imposing meanings, but uniquely, it provides children and young people with the tools to assign meanings, especially in situations where, for example, they are forced to find a common language through action. Observing and analysing these interactions also brings another cognitive context, namely insight into the discourse about the vitality of the countryside in its social, economic and cultural facets, at a time when there is talk of the 'exhaustion of the idea of rural renewal' and the decline of the countryside in its traditional form (Hałasiewicz 2023), as well as the crisis of the countryside and its vulnerability to globalisation processes (Błąd 2023).

Soon, these problems are expected to be addressed by new development directions such as 'smart villages' or 'rural resilience' (Zajda 2023; Błąd 2023), which aim to fortify and prepare rural areas for both the necessities of modernisation and the unpredictable. The promise of such changes is enough of a stimulus for visual sociologists to focus on these processes with their full arsenal of visual tools, among which (and this is my opinion) photography remains an effective tool. From the beginning, sociological photography has maintained the same power to document what the world looks like at a specific place and time. As Howard Becker observes, systematic data collection involves 'leveling the playing field for each case, including atypical ones' (Becker 2018: 118). For me, combining sociology with photography is not just a mental exercise but, above all, a tool that enables the full utilisation of the potential of social research in fieldwork, as exemplified by the above collection of photographs from research on educational farms in Poland (see also Marcysiak 2024).

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Tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour: The case of ecotourism and geotourism destinations in Serbia

Abstract

Sustainable tourism is a key strategy for nurturing tourists' relationships with the values of protected areas, which is beneficial for conservation. Since tourism activities may potentially harm the environment, maintaining the sustainability of the destination heavily relies on tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour (TERB). This study aims to investigate TERB in protected areas, which have been identified as exceptional and therefore require preservation and appreciation. To comprehend TERB, the conceptual framework is based on the Knowledge-Belief-Norm (KBN) theory. Data for this research were collected through a survey of tourists visiting ecotourism and geotourism destinations. The structural equation model demonstrates the linear relationship between KBN theory constructs and TERB, while TERB positively influences satisfaction and indirectly affects behavioural intentions. Geotourists and ecotourists were not distinguished from one another. Practical implications provide insights into reducing the environmental impact of tourist activities when creating effective strategies.

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Keywords: tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour, satisfaction, behavioural intentions (revisit and recommend), protected areas, ecotourists and geotourists

Introduction

Tourism is one of the largest and most rapidly expanding industries in the world (Rasool et al. 2021). Over 900 million tourists travelled abroad in 2022, more than double the number recorded in 2021, yet still only 63% of pre-pandemic levels (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO] 2023). By 2030, this number is projected to reach 1.8 billion (UNWTO 2011). However, as more people travel, additional problems arise, particularly environmental ones (Baloch et al. 2022a; Rajaonson and Tanguay 2022). The tourism industry is a major contributor to a wide range of environmental issues (Ghobadi and Verdian 2016; Kavallinis and Pizam 1994; Rajaonson and Tanguay 2022). Various environmental challenges faced by tourism destinations, such as pollution, destruction of habitats, and degradation of biological resources, are significantly exacerbated by tourists' careless and irresponsible behaviour (Baloch et al. 2022a; Bilynets and Knezevic Cvelbar 2022).

One of the most pressing environmental problems today is plastic waste, and tourism may play a significant role in providing a solution (Jambeck et al. 2015). Plastic accounts for between 65% and 95% of marine litter worldwide (Liu et al. 2022). Less than 30% of the 25–30 million tonnes of plastic waste produced annually in Europe are collected for recycling (Schröder et al. 2019). Plastic litter has been found everywhere on the Earth, and the sources of plastic pollution are increasing (Cau et al. 2022; Jambeck et al. 2015).

The amount of plastic used in the tourism sector, which is often intended for disposal and frequently cannot be recycled, results in significant pollution (Grelaud and Ziveri 2020; Liu et al. 2022). The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) estimates that tourists generate 4.8 million tonnes of waste annually. Some locations, such as the island of Boracay in the Philippines and a Mount Everest base camp, were closed to visitors for approximately six months for environmental restoration. These are just a few examples of tourist attractions that had to be temporarily closed to the public to manage litter accumulation (Jiang et al. 2022; Somani 2019; UNEP 2019). Waste problems negatively impact the sustainable development of tourism

worldwide (Hu et al. 2019). The accumulation of waste also affects the attractiveness of tourist destinations and, consequently, the satisfaction of travellers, as well as their intentions to return to and recommend the destination (Krelling et al. 2017).

Several researchers (Baloch et al. 2022b; Silva et al. 2021b; Han et al. 2016) believe that fostering tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour (TERB) is a strategy to address the environmental issues brought on by the rapidly expanding tourism sector. On one hand, TERB is the most practical and effective way to mitigate the negative environmental impacts of tourism, and on the other, it promotes the protection of destination resources, ultimately leading to the sustainable development of those destinations (Baloch et al. 2022b; Hu and Sung 2022; Jiang et al. 2022; Wang et al. 2020). The importance and practical significance of TERB research and its antecedents and consequences for the long-term and sustainable development of tourist destinations is becoming an important research topic (Bie and Xu 2018; Chiu et al. 2014; Lee and Jan 2019; Fenitra et al. 2021; Fenitra et al. 2022; Huang and Liu 2017; Jiang et al. 2022; Obradović et al. 2023; Zheng et al. 2018).

Acknowledging the importance of TERB, this study employed Ünal et al.'s (2018) Knowledge-Belief-Norm (KBN) theory as the theoretical framework to investigate the determinants of TERB in protected areas (PAs). Visitors are attracted to PAs due to the biodiversity and other natural and geological resources of such areas, and they are motivated to engage in TERB by the intrinsic emotions associated with these features. Furthermore, there is limited application of the KBN theory in the existing TERB literature (Confente and Scarpi 2021; Fauzi et al. 2022; Fenitra et al. 2022; Su and Swanson 2017); several researchers have considered satisfaction and behavioural intentions as consequences of TERB (Chiu et al. 2014; Han et al. 2016; Kumar and Lata 2022; Obradović et al. 2023; Sahabuddin et al. 2021). By providing a detailed interpretation of TERB in the context of ecotourism and geotourism in PAs, this study seeks to address this gap in the literature.

The primary objective of this study is to explain tourists' KBN-driven intention to engage in environmentally responsible behaviour based on evidence gathered from domestic tourists in Serbia, with satisfaction and behavioural intentions as outcomes. Building and testing a structural equation model (SEM) of KBN, TERB, satisfaction and behavioural intentions (revisit and recommend) are the key goals of this study. In addition to focusing on

the effects of KBN constructs on TERB, this research explores how TERB influences tourists' perceptions of satisfaction and how this satisfaction affects various intentions (revisit and recommend).

Another objective of the study is to ascertain whether there are variations in TERB based on the type of tourist destination. As such, empirical data were gathered through a survey involving local tourists in ten of Serbia's protected areas (five where biodiversity values dominate and five where geological/geomorphological values dominate).

Overall, the study aims to provide theoretical and practical insights into the aforementioned behaviours. The results of this study can be utilised by policymakers and community members to establish and implement policies and effective strategies that will reduce and prevent littering in tourist areas, enhance visitor satisfaction and ensure visitor loyalty.

The paper is structured as follows. The first section provided a thorough introduction to the subject and explained the context and scope of the research. The second section presents a critical assessment of the KBN theory, TERB, satisfaction, and behavioural intentions (revisit and recommend). This is followed by the presentation of hypotheses for the construction of the research model, the relationships between the variables, and the testing of those relationships using information gathered from visitors interested in nature. The third section discusses the study's methodology, data collection, survey instruments and analysis techniques. The fourth section presents the results and analyses. The fifth section provides a discussion of the results, and the sixth and final section presents the conclusions.

Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

In accordance with the goals of this study, the following literature review covers four areas: (a) KBN, (b) TERB, (c) satisfaction and (d) behavioural intentions.

The KBN theory suggests that people's commitment to environmental causes (belief), knowledge of environmental issues (knowledge) and adherence to societal norms (norms) motivate them to act in a pro-environmental manner (Stern, 2000). Within the context of tourism, the current study applies the KBN theory to analyse a specific environmentally responsible

behaviour. By expanding the value-belief-norm (VBN) theory, Ünal et al. (2018) developed the KBN theory (Stern, 2000). When values, knowledge, beliefs and personal norms are present, environmentally responsible behaviour is more likely to occur (Fauzi et al. 2022).

According to the KBN (Ünal et al. 2018), environmental knowledge is crucial in shaping intentional behaviour through norms and beliefs. From personal values and environmental knowledge, the causal model shifts to the new environmental paradigm, which investigates how people's awareness of consequences, accountability and personal norms impact their pro-environmental actions as well as responsible tourism behaviour (Han 2015; Lee and Jan 2018, 2019).

The new paradigm theory is influenced by personal values, such as biospheric values. People with low biospheric values and inadequate environmental knowledge are not aware of the consequences of their actions and, thus, would not be taking responsibility for them (Fenitra et al. 2022). According to several studies (Groening et al. 2018; Liobikienė et al. 2016), environmental values and knowledge can best predict belief. According to Ünal et al. (2018), biospheric values foster a new environmental paradigm that reflects current views and raise people's environmental awareness. People with strong environmental values, such as biospheric values, are more likely to factor in environmental considerations when making decisions and taking actions (Akintunde 2017; Fenitra et al. 2022; Sharma and Gupta 2020; Ünal et al. 2018). Consequently, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: Biospheric values have a significant positive effect on the new environmental paradigm (+).

A worldview known as the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) promotes ecological balance, sustainability and an understanding of the boundaries of the environment by highlighting the connection between humans and the natural world (Dunlap et al. 2000).

Environmental knowledge can be linked to understanding and awareness of environmental issues as well as potential solutions (Amoah and Addoah 2021; Zsóka et al. 2013). A person's ability to make environmentally conscious decisions can be influenced by their level of environmental knowledge (Hanss and Böhm 2013; Paço and Lavrador 2017; Ünal et al. 2018). According to the new environmental paradigm (NEP), people with greater environ-

mental knowledge are more concerned about regional and global environmental issues (Amoah and Addoah 2021; Cheng and Wu 2015; Liobikienė and Poškus 2019; Zhang and Mao 2008). An understanding of the environment positively impacts NEP (Fenitra et al. 2022; Liobikienė and Poškus 2019; Ünal et al. 2018). Consequently, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H2: Environmental knowledge has a significant positive effect on the NEP (+).

The NEP has been identified as a key factor affecting tourists, particularly those interested in nature (Luo and Deng 2008; Sharma and Gupta 2020). To engage in ecologically responsible behaviour, there must be an awareness of consequences (AC), which is viewed as a cognitive prerequisite for the activation of moral norms (Ünal et al. 2018). In the context of the environment, AC refers to a person's realisation and comprehension of the possible positive or negative effects that their actions, or the actions of society, may have on the environment (Ryan and Spash 2012). Han et al. (2017) claim that the NEP can enhance tourist's AC of their behaviour. If people had a better understanding of current environmental challenges, they would be more aware of their behaviours and actions. When studying travellers' eco-friendly behavior, researchers (Campos-Soria et al. 2018; Fenitra et al. 2022; Liobikienė and Poškus 2019; Wensing et al. 2019) discovered that the NEP had a positive impact on AC. Therefore, it is suggested that:

H3: The NEP has a significant positive effect on AC (+).

In the context of the environment, Ascription of Responsibility (AR) describes how much a person feels personally responsible for the effects of their actions on the environment and believes they can contribute to preventing or mitigating environmental harm (Stern 2000).

A person's AC enhances their capacity to act to reduce the consequences of their actions (Stern 2000). It also helps them recognise their AR. When a person is concerned about the effects of their actions, they acknowledge the need for steps to reduce their negative effects and accept responsibility for them. According to the literature, AC and AR have a strong relationship (Bronfman et al. 2015; Fenitra et al. 2022; Han 2015; Han et al. 2017; Sharma and Gupta 2020; Ünal et al. 2018). Based on this, the following is hypothesised:

H4: AC has a significant positive effect on the ascription of AR (+).

Personal norms (PN), which indicate a moral duty to take environmental action, are influenced by AR (Stern 2000). In the context of the environment, 'personal norms' relate to a person's internalised moral duties or sense of obligation to act in a pro-environmental manner, based on their own personal values and views regarding environmental responsibility (Stern 2000).

Ascription of responsibility inspires a sense of moral obligation in a person that affects their PN (Ibtissem 2010). The person feels a greater moral obligation to take action to stop, or at least mitigate. the harm arising from their behaviour (Ghazali et al. 2019; Steg and Nordlund 2018). Previous studies (Han 2015; Choi et al. 2015; Fenitra et al. 2022; Ünal et al. 2018; Sharma and Gupta 2020) concluded that AR has a positive effect on PN. Consequently, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H5: AR has a significant positive effect on PN (+).

Environmentally responsible behaviour is the final KBN theory construct, and it is positively influenced by PN (Stern 2000; Ünal et al. 2018). The degree to which a person feels ethically obligated to carry out a particular action is known as a PN (Schwartz 1970), and it serves as a motivating force behind environmentally responsible behaviour (Sia and Jose 2019). People believe they have a moral obligation to act correctly because it is the right thing to do (Han et al. 2015; Ghazali et al. 2019). Numerous researchers in various contexts have empirically supported this association (Choi et al. 2015; Sharma and Gupta 2020; Han 2015; Hiratsuka et al. 2018; Kiatkawsin and Han 2017; Landon et al. 2018; Fenitra et al. 2022; Ünal et al. 2018). Therefore, the following is hypothesised:

H6: PNs have a significant positive effect TERB (+).

The most significant indicator or predictor of future tourist behaviour is tourist behaviour itself (Duong et al. 2022). Understanding tourist behaviour is one of the most crucial requirements for effective destination management, which is why researchers frequently discuss it (Cohen et al. 2014). The term 'tourist behaviour' refers to a person's behavior when engaging in tourism-related activities (Pearce 2005). A person's environmental concern, commitment and ecological knowledge are indicators of their environmentally responsible behaviour, according to Cottrell and Graefe (1997).

According to previous research (Akintunde 2017; Lin et al. 2022; Lee et al. 2013; Lee et al. 2015), TERB refers to a variety of tourist activities, particularly those that lessen or avoid negative impacts on the environment during visits to such sites. Tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour also includes activities that support the preservation and conservation of such sites. This specific action reduces the industry's overall environmental impact and is crucial to maintaining its expansion (Han et al. 2016; Lee and Jan 2015). To promote sustainable tourism, it is essential to foster and encourage TERB (Zhou et al. 2020).

Previous studies (Cheng et al. 2022; Chiu et al. 2014; Lee et al. 2015; Lee and Jan 2015; Su et al. 2018; Sahabuddin et al. 2021) have shown a positive correlation between TERB and satisfaction, indicating that satisfied tourists are more likely to behave cautiously and responsibly. Tourist satisfaction is characterised as a positive emotion resulting from a contrast between the expectations of the traveller and the actual experience at the destination (Castro et al. 2017). According to several authors (Chiu et al. 2014; He et al. 2018; Le et al. 2021; Obradović et al. 2023), TERB impacts tourists' satisfaction and their perception of the destination. The current study seeks to investigate the relationship between TERB and satisfaction among tourists. Therefore, the following hypothesis is suggested:

H7: TERB has a significant positive effect on tourists' satisfaction (+).

One of the most important factors influencing tourists' decisions to return to a destination is their level of satisfaction (Zeng and Yi Man Li 2021), which refers to the level of fulfilment between their travel expectations and actual experiences (Carvache-Franco et al. 2021). Intentional behaviour includes a willingness to return to and recommend the destination to others (Kim and Chen 2021). It is widely recognised that satisfied visitors are more likely to return, repurchase the same goods and services and recommend the destination and experience to others, thereby resulting in customer loyalty, which is highly advantageous for travel destinations (Viet et al. 2020; Seetanah et al. 2020). Research indicates that satisfied visitors are more likely to return to and recommend a destination (Kim et al. 2015; Prayag et al. 2013; Obradović et al. 2023; Zeng et al. 2021). Therefore, the following are hypothesised:

H8: Tourist satisfaction has a significant positive effect on revisit intention (+).

H9: Tourist satisfaction has a significant positive effect on recommendation intention (+). (Figure 1).

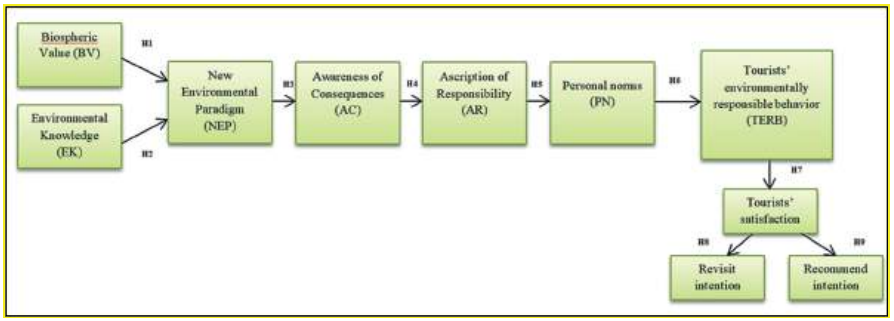

Figure 1: Proposed research model

Materials and Methods

To collect data, a survey was conducted among local tourists who had recently visited any of the selected protected areas. Two different types of protected areas were chosen: those with dominant biodiversity values (Tara National Park, Stara Planina Nature Park, Zasavica Special Nature Reserve, Golija Nature Park and Maljen Outstanding Natural Landscape) and those with dominant geodiversity (Monument of Nature: Đavolja Varoš [Devil's Town], Stopića Cave, Petnička Cave, Vrelo Mlave [Mlava Karst Spring] and Rajkova Cave). The selected protected areas represent all regions of Serbia. This study focused on two different types of protected areas to determine whether a difference exists between the environmentally responsible behaviour of ecotourists and geotourists. The study sample comprised a total of 790 respondents, all of whom were residents of Serbia over the age of 18. The sampling method used in this study was convenience sampling, which involves the inclusion of individuals who are the easiest to reach in the sample. As a result, the sample consisted of local tourists who visited the destinations and were

easily accessible. Since geotourism and ecotourism are not yet highly developed in Serbia, this sampling method was the most suitable.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section collected information on the respondents' sociodemographic characteristics (gender, age, education and employment status) and travel history (last visited PA, duration of stay and travel companions). The second section, consisting of 28 items, evaluated TERB using the KBN theory. The questions were categorised by dimensions (as shown in Figure 1) and taken from previous studies (Ajzen 1991; Bronfman et al. 2015; Ciocirlan et al. 2020; Cheng et al. 2013; Chiu et al. 2014; Ghazali et al. 2019; Han et al. 2017; Hawcroft and Milfont 2010; Liobikien and Poškus 2019; Su et al. 2018; Wang et al. 2021). A 5-point Likert scale was used to evaluate all the items (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

The final section assessed visitor satisfaction and intent to return and recommend. It contained 12 items that were taken from previous studies and adjusted (Buonincontri et al. 2017; Chen and Chen 2010; Choo et al. 2016; Kim et al. 2016; Kim et al. 2015; Oh et al. 2007; Quadri-Felitti and Fiore 2013). A 5-point Likert scale was used to evaluate each item (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

The questionnaire was designed and pilot tested for fulfilment of the study's objectives before being revised to ensure clarity and comprehensibility. The study was conducted between January and February 2023. The questionnaire was made available online using Google Docs and shared via email and social media (Facebook and Instagram). The data collection process was followed by data processing and analysis, discussion and final conclusions. The target audience consisted of domestic visitors who had recently visited any of the selected PAs. All the respondents were informed of the study's overall goal, the anonymity and voluntary nature of participation and the fact that the data would only be utilised for scientific and research purposes.

Data analysis tools included IBM SPSS AMOS 21.0 (SEM-CFA) and IBM SPSS 21.0 Statistics (Descriptive Statistical Analysis, Cronbach's Alpha; IBM 2012; Arbuckle 2012). The SPSS was used to conduct a Pearson Correlation test to determine the validity of the questionnaire. The validity test was carried out by comparing the questionnaire results for each item to the overall result. A significance level of 5% (2-tailed) was employed. Each item was individually validated using two methods: Pearson correlation and the item's

total score, referred to as rxy. To evaluate construct validity, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used. For this study, several indicators were calculated, including the goodness of fit index (GFI), adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI), Bentler-Bonett normed fit index (NFI), Bollen's incremental fit index (IFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), relative fit index (RFI), comparative fit index (CFI), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and standardised root mean square residual (SRMR). A satisfactory fit is indicated by GFI, AGFI, NFI, IFI, TLI, RFI and CFI values greater than 0.90 (Awang 2014; Hair et al. 2013). The RMSEA value should be less than 0.06, and the lower the SRMR value, the better the model fit (Hair et al. 2013).

Each step, practice and different quantitative technique utilised in this research is shown in the following workflow (Figure 2).

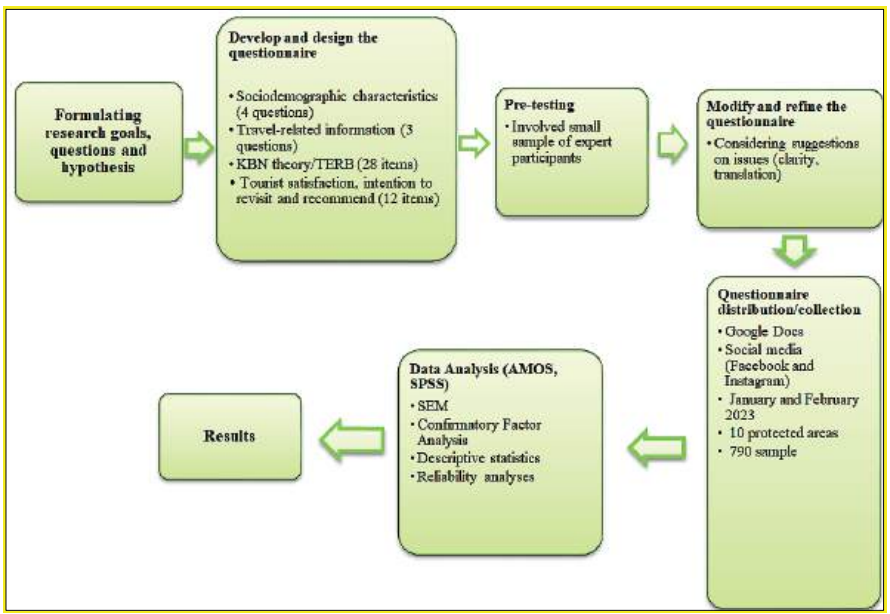

Figure 2: Methodology workflow

Results

A descriptive overview of the respondents, presented in Table 1, shows that women comprised 60.8% of the sample, while men accounted for 39.2%. The respondents had an average age of 39 years (age range: 19–84). The significant majority of respondents held bachelor's degrees (42.4%) and high school diplomas (33.5%). The majority of respondents (70.3%) were employed.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents (n=790)

Gender		**Employment status**	
Male	39.2%	Employed	70.3%
Female	60.8%	Unemployed	8.2%
		Student	19.0%
Age		Retired	2.5%
Average age = 39		**Destination**	
Std. = 13.5025		Ecotourist destination	62%
Age range (19–84)		Geotourist destination	38%
		Length of stay	
		Average stay = 3.5 days	
Education		Std.= 3.3002	
High school	33.5%	Stay range (1-30)	
Bachelor's degree	42.4%	**Travel company**	
Master's degree	15.2%	Alone	5.1%
PhD degree	8.9%	Tourist tour	14.6%
		Family/friends	71.5%
		Other	8.9%

Source: Created by the authors based on data analysis in SPSS 21.0.

More respondents travelled to ecotourism destinations than to geotourism destinations, which is to be expected given that Serbia's mountains and nature reserves are popular ecotourism destinations. The average length of stay was 3.5 days.

The variables relevant to the concepts considered to be measured are included in the structural equation model (SEM) created in the study (Arbuckle 2012).

From Table 2, it can be seen that the GFI and AGFI are generally within good limits and that their values meet the minimal criteria proposed by Schumacker and Lomax (2016). As a result, the GFI and AGFI values indicate that the model is valid and that the relationships in the model are consistent with the sample data.

Table 2. Results of Goodness-of-Fit (32 items, n=790)

Goodness of Fit Criteria	**Fit indices**	**Good fit**	**Acceptable fit**	**Goodness of Fit Obtained**	**Fit Situations**
Statistic of ChiSquare Test	$\chi 2$	0.00 ≤ **$\chi 2$**≤2.00*sd	2.00*sd ≤ $\chi 2$ ≤ 5.00*sd	418 ≤ 551.914 ≤ 1045	Acceptable
Chi-square value	CMIN (**$\chi 2$/sd**)	0.00 ≤ **$\chi 2$/sd** ≤ 2.00	2.00 ≤ **$\chi 2$/sd** ≤ 5.00	551.914 /209 = 2.641	Acceptable
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation	RMSEA	0.00 ≤ **RMSEA** ≤ 0.05	0.05 ≤ **RMSEA** ≤ 0.10	0.046	Good
Standardized Root Mean Square Residual	SRMR	0.00 ≤ **SRMR** ≤ 0.05	0.05 ≤ **SRMR**≤0.10	0.016	Good
Normed Fıt Index	NFI	0.95 ≤ **NFI**≤ 1.00	0.90 ≤ **NFI**≤ 0.95	0.979	Good
Relative fix index	RFI	0.95 ≤ **RFI** ≤ 1.00	0.90 ≤ **RFI** ≤ 0.95	0.950	Good
Incremental fit index	IFI	0.95 ≤ **IFI** ≤ 1.00	0.90 ≤ **IFI** ≤ 0.95	0.987	Good
Goodness-of-fit index	GFI	0.95 ≤ **GFI** ≤ 1.00	0.90 ≤ **GFI** ≤ 0.95	0.960	Good
Adjusted goodness-of-fit index	AGFI	0.90 ≤ **AGFI** ≤ 1.00	0.85 ≤ **AGFI** ≤ 0.90	0.899	Acceptable
Tucker-Lews index	TLI	0.95 ≤ **TLI** ≤ 1.00	0.90 ≤ **TLI** ≤ 0.95	0.969	Good
Comparative fit index	CFI	0.97 ≤ **CFI** ≤1.00	0.95 ≤ **CFI** ≤ 0.97	0.987	Good

Note: df=39

Source: Schumacker and Lomax 2016 (and modified by authors)

The internal consistency of the measurements can be assessed based on Table 3, as the individual item loadings were greater than 0.5 (Field 2017; Hair et al. 2013). Reliability analyses were conducted to examine the items' internal consistency in assessing each factor. Cronbach's Alpha Reliability scores were 0.7 and higher (Nunnally et al. 1994), while the overall scale reliability was 0.95. This demonstrates the scale's internal consistency and reliability by showing a positive or strong connection between the variables and their factor grouping. All composite reliability (CR) values were above the cut-off point of 0.6 (Table 3), which must be exceeded for composite reliability to be considered satisfactory (Hair et al. 2013; Nunnally et al. 1994).

In addition to the Cronbach's alpha values, the average variance extracted (AVE) method was utilised to confirm the convergent validity of the items. The model's test results (Table 3) demonstrate that the AVE values exceeded the 0.5 threshold value (Hair et al. 2013). Each concept in the 32-item model had sufficient convergent validity and internal consistency.

Table 3. Research Model SEM Results – Results of Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Factors	Item description	Factor loadings	Mean values	Cronbach's Alpha (α)	Composite Reliability (CR)	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Biospheric Value	I am a person who values unity with nature and harmonising with nature.	0.745	4.59	0.79	0.69	0.53
	I am a person who values preventing pollution and conserving natural resources.	0.712				
Environmental Knowledge	Preventing littering can help eliminate the unpleasant smell of litter and reduce the spread of harmful organisms.	0.757	4.80	0.90	0.75	0.61
	I know that excessive litter will damage the tourism destination environments.	0.800				
New Environmental Paradigm	We are approaching the limit of the number of people that the earth can support.	0.671	4.13	0.70	0.75	0.51
	Humans are severely abusing the environment.	0.712				
	The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.	0.761				
Awareness of consequences	Tourists' litter can generate huge negative environmental impacts in the tourism destination.	0.712	4.64	0.86	0.76	0.52
	Tourists can cause environmental deteriorations of the destination due to the littering.	0.761				
	Tourists can cause pollution, climate change, and exhaustion of natural resources because of a litter of the tourists.	0.680				
Ascription of responsibility	I am responsible for the impacts of litter on the environment.	0.722	4.53	0.76	0.70	0.54
	I am responsible for minimising the impacts of litter on the environment as a tourist.	0.750				

Factors	Item description	Factor loadings	Mean values	Cronbach's Alpha (α)	Composite Reliability (CR)	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Personal Norm	I feel I am obligated to do my part to reduce the impact of litter on the environment as a tourist.	0.812	4.56	0.87	0.86	0.60
	People like me should minimise the impact of litter on the environment when traveling.	0.803				
	As a tourist, I feel morally obligated to reduce litter to minimise my environmental impact.	0.782				
	I would feel guilty if I were not able to dispose of litter properly when traveling.	0.704				
Tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour (TERB)	I plan to engage in preventing littering when traveling in the future.	0.634	4.37	0.89	0.88	0.53
	I will properly dispose of the littering when traveling in the future.	0.788				
	I will make an effort to reduce littering when traveling in the future.	0.769				
	I complied with the regulations to not destroy the visited nature site's environment.	0.824				
	I tried not to disrupt the fauna and flora during my recent nature based trip.	0.778				
	If there were environment improvement activities in the visited destination, I was willing to attend.	0.615				
	I try to convince others to protect the destination's natural environment.	0.642				

Factors	Item description	Factor loadings	Mean values	Cronbach's Alpha (α)	Composite Reliability (CR)	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Satisfaction	My overall feeling with the destination was positive.	0.751	4.28	0.93	0.77	0.52
	The recent tourism experience made me feel very satisfied.	0.712				
	The recent tourism experience made me feel very delighted.	0.705				
Revisit	If given the opportunity I would return to this place.	0.742	4.39	0.92	0.77	0.53
	I will return to this place.	0.733				
	The likelihood of my return to this heritage site for another heritage travel is high.	0.705				
Recommend	I would like to recommend others to visit this national park.	0.733	4.45	0.95	0.76	0.51
	I would say positive things about this national park to others.	0.705				
	If someone is looking for a good destination I will suggest to him/her to visit this national park.	0.703				

Source: Created by the authors based on data analysis in SPSS AMOS 21.0.

Table 4. Table Discriminant Validity

Constructs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BV	**0.728**									
EK	0.625	**0.800**								
NEP	0.326	0.533	**0.714**							
AC	0.532	0.741	0.569	**0.721**						
AR	0.643	0.699	0.430	0.614	**0.735**					
PN	0.723	0.713	0.453	0.706	0.730	**0.775**				
TERB	0.724	0.646	0.449	0.665	0.669	0.702	**0.728**			
Satisfaction	0.266	0.316	0.200	0.257	0.285	0.297	0.276	**0.721**		
Revisit	0.406	0.355	0.263	0.356	0.433	0.440	0.415	0.640	**0.728**	
Recommend	0.350	0.438	0.274	0.360	0.475	0.423	0.398	0.710	0.680	**0.714**

* Diagonal elements are the square root of AVE; off-diagonal are correlations.

Source: Created by the authors based on data analysis in SPSS AMOS 21.0.

A comparison of the square roots of the AVEs for all the constructs with diagonal and off-diagonal values is shown in Table 4. The square roots of the AVE values were higher than the correlation values, clearly suggesting discriminant validity (Fornell and Larcker 1981).

To investigate the relationships between the research constructs and test the proposed hypotheses, correlation analysis was applied (Table 5).

Table 5. Correlation analysis – hypothesis test results

Hypothesis	**Relationship**	**Pearson correlation coefficient (r)**	**Status of hypothesis**
H1	BV to NEP	0.326**	**Supported**
H2	EK to NEP	0.533**	**Supported**
H3	NEP to AC	0.569**	**Supported**
H4	AC to AR	0.614 **	**Supported**
H5	AR to PN	.0.777**	**Supported**
H6	PN to TERB	0.859**	**Supported**
H7	TERB to Satisfaction	0.276**	**Supported**
H8	Satisfaction to Revisit	0.640**	**Supported**
H9	Satisfaction to Recommend	0.750**	**Supported**

*** The correlation is significant at the level of p = 0.01*

Source: Created by the authors based on data analysis in SPSS 21.0

Environmental knowledge and personal values, such as those associated with the biosphere, impact the new paradigm theory (H1 and H2). Strong environmental values and increased environmental knowledge make a person more aware of environmental issues and inclined to consider the environment when acting or making decisions. Those who are aware of environmental problems recognise the consequences of their actions and accept responsibility for them (H3 and H4). This means that travellers who understand the potential consequences of their actions on the environment are also prepared to take action to mitigate those effects and accept responsibility for their actions.

Tourists who are aware of their responsibility will not engage in behaviours that harm the environment related to their PNs (H5). People who do things that seem morally right tend to behave in an environmentally responsible manner, as confirmed by the correlation results (H6). This implies

that when a visitor feels they have done something wrong, they experience a stronger sense of moral duty to stop the harm or at least mitigate it. People believe that since doing the right thing is correct, they should act accordingly; hence, they feel a moral obligation to do so. The significant predictor of tourist satisfaction, as well as intention to return and recommend, is environmentally responsible behaviour. Responsible environmental behaviour increases the likelihood that tourists will be satisfied with their experience, which, in turn, increases the probability that they will return and recommend the destination to others. (H7–H9).

Discussion

The findings of this study provide a thorough understanding of norm-driven, environmentally responsible behaviour based on the KBN theory within the context of Serbia's protected areas. Tourists' KBN can influence the environmentally responsible behaviour, which affects their satisfaction with their visit. Another relationship that was examined and subsequently confirmed was the impact of satisfaction on the intention to return to and recommend the destination. All nine hypotheses were supported by the empirical findings. In particular, the paper focused on environmentally responsible behaviour and its consequences, which improved the development and established application of KBN theory in tourism research.

The study's findings reveal that the NEP is positively impacted by biospheric values (H1 confirmed). This is consistent with the VBN theory, which holds that environmental beliefs and norms are shaped by biospheric values, which, in turn, encourage pro-environmental behaviour. Value-based interventions have the potential to effectively promote a transition towards more sustainable mindsets and actions, as suggested by the relationship found between the NEP and biospheric values. This relationship can help guide policies, plans for environmental education and the growth of the tourism industry by emphasising the importance of aligning personal and societal values with sustainable objectives.

Regarding ecotourism and geotourism in Serbia, tourists' level of biospheric values significantly affected their concern for current environmental issues. In accordance with Groening et al. (2018), Liobikienė et al. (2016) and Ünal

et al. (2018), biospheric values increase tourists' concerns about the NEP. These findings contrast with Fenitra et al.'s (2022) examination of domestic tourists in Indonesia that found that the level of biospheric values did not significantly affect or increase their concern about growing environmental issues. The current study's findings are consistent with earlier research (Akintunde 2017; Groening et al. 2018; Ünal et al. 2018) and demonstrate that people with strong environmental values, such as biospheric values, are more likely to take the environment into consideration when making decisions and taking actions.

The NEP and environmental knowledge were found to be positively correlated (H2 supported). The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) and Environmental Literacy Framework are linked to the positive correlation that exists between environmental knowledge and the NEP. According to the TPB, greater knowledge improves attitudes towards the environment and strengthens beliefs that support the environment, such as those found in the NEP. Similarly, the Environmental Literacy Framework posits that better environmental knowledge leads to deeper ecological awareness, supporting the acceptance of sustainable worldviews such as the NEP.

Tourists with more environmental knowledge are more aware of environmental problems and potential solutions. The current research is consistent with previous findings (Amoah and Addoah 2021; Paço and Lavrador 2017; Ünal et al. 2018) that environmental knowledge positively affects the NEP. Previous research (Amoah and Addoah 2021; Liobikienė and Poškus 2019; Ünal et al. 2018; Zsóka et al. 2013) has shown that visitors' environmental knowledge can influence their willingness to engage in environmentally responsible behaviours. This study's findings indicate that eco- and geotourists who possess a strong appreciation for the biosphere and sufficient environmental knowledge are aware of the consequences of their actions and are willing to accept responsibility for them.

The results of the current research complement recent research by Campos-Soria et al. (2018), Fenitra et al. (2022), Liobikienė & Poškus (2019) and Ünal et al. (2018), showing that the NEP has a favourable effect on AC (H3 supported). The NEP shapes people's perceptions of the consequences of environmental harm and is consistent with the positive effect of the NEP on AC. Adopting the NEP increases the likelihood of people noticing and acting upon the potential harm resulting from environmental degradation, thereby promoting pro-environmental behaviour.

Serbian domestic tourists who are more aware of current environmental issues are more conscious of their behaviour and actions. When tourists are aware and concerned about the effects of their actions, they recognise the need for steps to reduce their negative impacts and accept responsibility for them (H4 supported). The current research supports the notion that people are more likely to accept responsibility for their behaviours and take steps to decrease their impacts when they are aware of the consequences (Fenitra et al. 2022; Ghazali et al. 2019; Han et al. 2015; Ünal et al. 2018). According to H5 , AC strengthens PNs, which is consistent with earlier research (Han 2015; Choi et al. 2015; Fenitra et al. 2022; Ünal et al. 2018; Sharma and Gupta 2020). The VBN theory aligns with the relationship in which AC influences AR and fortifies PNs. According to VBN theory, people become personally accountable (AC) when they recognise their influence on the environment (knowledge of consequences), and this supports their internalised requirements to act sustainably (PNs).

In the case of Serbian PAs, tourists who feel they have done something wrong experience a stronger moral duty to take action to make amends or at least mitigate the harm arising from their action. They feel a moral obligation to act responsibly towards the environment.

The findings have validated H6, which claims that personal norms positively impact environmentally responsible behaviour. The Norm-Activation Model (NAM), which posits that people are more inclined to act in a pro-environmental manner when they internalise moral obligations (PNs) to protect the environment, is consistent with the positive influence of PNs on environmentally responsible behaviour. This strengthens the connection between sustainable behaviour and individual accountability.

Many studies in various contexts have empirically validated this association (Fenitra et al. 2022; Ghazali et al. 2019; Han 2015; Hiratsuka et al. 2018; Landon et al. 2018; Ünal et al. 2018). Eco- and geotourists in Serbia feel a moral obligation to behave ethically since it is the right thing to do, and they actively choose to act in a manner that does not harm the resources of PAs.

Hypothesis 7, which asserts that TERB has a positive impact on tourists' satisfaction, has been confirmed. Researchers' perspectives differ when examining the connection between these two variables. Contrary to the current research findings, earlier research discovered a connection between satisfaction and TERB, contending that satisfied tourists are more likely to act

responsibly (Cheng et al. 2022; Chiu et al. 2014; Su et al. 2020). The current findings indicate that TERB is a prerequisite for satisfaction and perception of the destination among Serbian eco- and geotourists. This is logical given that tourists appreciate nature and wish to contribute to its preservation, especially when visiting PAs like those focused on in this study. Tourist satisfaction increases as the likelihood of environmentally responsible behaviour increases. This is consistent with earlier research (Obradović et al. 2023) that found that satisfaction and memorable tourist experiences were mediated by environmentally responsible behaviour.

The results of the research demonstrated a direct correlation between future behavioural intentions and satisfaction with environmentally responsible behaviour. The intention of visitors to return and recommend is greatly influenced by their level of satisfaction (H8 and H9 confirmed). If tourists at Serbia's eco- and geotourism destinations value and respect natural areas, they will want to act responsibly, which will enhance their satisfaction with the destination. When they are satisfied, they will be eager to return and recommend it to others. The findings here are consistent with earlier studies (Kim et al. 2015; Viet et al. 2020; Prayag et al. 2013; Obradović et al. 2023; Zeng et al. 2021).

Tourists' concern for environmental issues will increase and their awareness of their behaviour will be heightened when they are informed about the environment and possess biospheric values. Additionally, raising people's understanding of how their actions could harm the environment would make them more responsible for minimising the negative effects of their actions. Consequently, travellers would be motivated to take appropriate action to lessen the potential consequences of their actions. The current study also demonstrated that caring for the environment (acting responsibly) has a significant impact on visitor satisfaction, which, in turn, enhances tourists' interest in returning to and recommending the destination.

The current study does not support the idea that tourists behave differently depending on the type of destination (ecotourism or geotourism) they are visiting. Furthermore, it is possible that local tourists do not distinguish between eco- and geotourism destinations. Therefore, it would be beneficial for tourist organisers to better inform tourists about the differences between these destinations.

Conclusion

This study was designed to contribute to the application of the KBN theory in the context of tourism by enhancing and developing its application in the tourism sector. The research confirmed the theory's ability to describe environmentally responsible tourist behaviour. It sheds light on Serbian domestic eco- and geotourism practices that are environmentally responsible. The current research supports the causal link between the components of the KBN theory, environmentally responsible behaviour, satisfaction and behavioural intentions (revisit and recommend).

The theoretical contribution of this study includes the extension of the KBN theory and TERB by integrating additional dimensions (satisfaction and behavioural intentions) as the consequences of TERB in the context of eco- and geotourism in Pas. With a focus on domestic tourism in Serbia, the study advances the theory by highlighting its applicability in understanding ecologically conscious tourist behaviour. It validates the causal connections among knowledge, beliefs and PNs, as well as the ways in which these elements affect travellers' satisfaction, eco-friendly actions and behavioural intentions, such as their propensity to return to or recommend eco- and geotourism destinations. The research expands the theoretical application of the KBN theory to the tourism industry and provides insights for the development of sustainable tourism.

One of the primary objectives of this study was to enhance awareness of how tourists can behave in an environmentally responsible manner in PAs. This study aimed to investigate the relationship between KBN factors TERB as well as how TERB influences environmentally responsible behaviour. This study is the first to employ a unified research approach to examine the connections between KBN, TERB, satisfaction and behavioural intentions (revisit and recommend). This relationship provides a nuanced understanding of how eco-friendly behaviour impacts visitors' overall experiences and their future actions.

Consequently, this research addresses a gap in the literature on sustainable tourism that calls for further in-depth research into applications of the KBN theory and TERB in tourism, particularly in the realms of ecotourism and geotourism. The study primarily illustrates that tourists' awareness of their actions increases when they possess environmental knowledge and biospheric values. Raising awareness of the potential negative consequences cer-

tain behaviours could have on the environment would encourage people to take responsibility for minimising those effects and motivate them to take the necessary steps to mitigate their impact. The study also demonstrated that environmentally responsible behaviour significantly impacts visitor satisfaction, which, in turn, enhances tourists' interest in returning to and recommending eco- and geotourist destinations.

This research expands the current understanding of the antecedents and consequences of TERB, contributing to the comprehension of environmentally responsible behaviour and sustainable tourism practices. The results revealed significant, favourable relationships among all variables, validating the reliability of the instrument within the context of ecotourism and geotourism. The availability of this tool will facilitate an urgently needed empirical investigation focusing on the significance of tourists' environmentally responsible behaviour.

The findings of this study provide a valid and reliable scale that can be utilised to assess environmental responsibility in the context of ecotourism and geotourism. By applying the KBN theory to develop strategies that encourage sustainable behaviours among visitors, the research offers valuable implications for reducing the environmental impact of tourism and advancing conservation objectives in PAs. While the study does not differentiate between ecotourists and geotourists, it emphasises the importance of TERB in both contexts, thereby enhancing the understanding of eco-friendly behaviour in these tourism niches. The findings of this study have numerous implications for destination marketers and managers. They indicate that knowledge, values, moral obligation and a person's willingness to accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions all influence a person's commitment to environmental responsibility. If individuals possess sufficient environmental knowledge and values, they are more likely to act appropriately. Therefore, environmental education is crucial. The development of ecological consciousness, which is essential for influencing pro-environmental attitudes and actions, is significantly supported by education. Ecological education fosters sustainable actions and cultivates a sense of responsibility towards the environment by raising awareness of environmental challenges. By illustrating the relationship between ecosystems and human well-being, these initiatives inspire individuals to take actions that protect the environment. Ecological education is vital to the broader effort to address global environmental concerns, as it can lead

to long-term societal shifts towards sustainability by imparting ecological understanding from a young age.

For instance, destination marketers should design tourism programmes that enable tourists to actively participate in environmental improvement projects. The presentation of PAs should be prioritised by decision-makers and destination management organisations, and tours could be crafted to help tourists appreciate the importance of these sites. Providing brief training sessions for visitors before they enter the PAs would be beneficial. For instance, a documentary highlighting the ecological and geomorphological values of the PAs, as well as how increased tourism activity – particularly irresponsible tourist behaviour – challenges is challenging the ecological balance of PAs and harms ecosystems, could be produced. This documentary could be disseminated through various social media platforms, making it easily accessible. Such initiatives would educate visitors, raise awareness of the consequences of their actions, foster a sense of responsibility and encourage them to behave more responsibly, thereby enhancing their connection to nature. This, in turn, would lead to increased satisfaction and the willingness to return to and recommend the PAs. Consequently, there would be a rise in the number of committed ecotourists and geotourists, with more individuals acting responsibly.

This study may contribute to the development of an effective campaign and strategy to promote sustainable tourism and TERB. Environmental education programmes that raise people's environmental consciousness and enhance environmentally responsible behaviour can considerably lessen the environmental impact of tourism. However, certain limitations of this study could be addressed in future research. By including additional elements such as perceptions of the natural environment, the availability of infrastructure, emotional experiences and environmental commitment, future research could build upon and expand the findings of the current study. Future investigations should add more values, such as altruistic and egoistic values, as this study's model only accounted for biospheric values. Conducting interviews with tourists would also provide insightful evidence regarding TERB. Non-random sampling is another limitation of this study; when respondents are not selected randomly, it can lead to biases, as the sample might not be representative of the whole population. For instance, if the study only surveyed travellers visiting specific destinations or those predisposed to eco-friendly behaviour, the results may not be generalisable to all visitors.

Additionally, selecting a *p*-value of 0.01 could result in a more cautious analysis of the data, potentially affecting the conclusions drawn regarding the significance and interrelationships of the study's constructs.

The primary reason for tourists' visits and their motivations may impact TERB, although these were not addressed in the study. Future research should take this into account. Subsequent investigations could explore additional locations, both within and outside Serbia. As foreign visitors were not surveyed, it would be interesting to compare their perspectives to identify any potential variations. The same approach could be used to investigate various forms of tourism (for example, cultural tourism, rural tourism, heritage tourism and community-based tourism). Future surveys should include questions regarding residents' perspectives, which would provide intriguing insights.

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*Wojciech Knieć**

Regenerative agriculture. An innovative approach towards mitigation of climate change through multi-tier learning

Report on the academic conference

The development of regenerative agriculture has been attracting particular attention from the scientific community for almost a decade, both from researchers in the agricultural sciences and the natural and social sciences, as well as from agro-technologists, ecologists, and agricultural consultants. Nothing is surprising about this. This is essentially a grassroots type of agricultural production which, on the one hand, is based on state-of-the-art agro-technical solutions (e.g. precision farming or modern forms of cultivation, sowing, etc.) while, on the other hand, making use of former cultivation and animal husbandry techniques stemming from the rural production system. This is further compounded by the latest ecological research revealing the interactions between plants and animals to avoid or drastically reduce the share of chemicals in agricultural production. Farmers engaged in this type of production group together in networks of cooperation and knowledge exchange, creating a social movement that is very interesting for social researchers.

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The need to re-direct agriculture towards innovative approaches that would help to mitigate climate change is urgent and pressing. Regenerative agriculture (RA) proposes new farming techniques that supersede the current concept of conventional agriculture and proposes sustainable soil management with significant environmental and economic benefits, especially suitable for arable crops, thus offering farmers the means to conserve and make more efficient use of natural resources. What is regenerative agriculture anyway? In simplest terms, it is a type of agrotechnical practice aimed not only at minimising or ultimately excluding the destruction of the natural environment by agricultural activity (as is the case, for instance, in organic farming) but through the appropriate choice of tools and techniques, such farming restores the ecologically desirable condition. Examples of such methods include but are not limited to no-till technology, minimising the use of machinery to avoid soil compaction and reduce soil permeability, increasing plant diversity (avoiding monocultures), cover cropping, crop rotation, composting, silvopasture, reintroduction of livestock to agricultural crops, instead of keeping them separate etc. This farming regenerates the natural environment, improving the soil to a condition typical of natural soil. It excludes conditions favourable for soil erosion, restores plant and animal habitats, having a positive impact on biodiversity, and excludes environmental pressures on the surroundings of agricultural land, such as baulks and green belts, ponds, lakes, rivers, mid-field woodlots and forests. It, therefore, positively impacts the environment not only in terms of its protection but also in terms of its regeneration. Being a regenerative farmer is a kind of worldview statement, a form of active pro-environmental stance stemming from broader ethical and philosophical premises. This, per se, constitutes a fascinating theme for social research.

This farming practice is particularly well suited to small and medium-sized family farms. Indeed, it is an economic activity characterised by significant time consumption, involving extraordinary labour resources, in addition to often being based on arduous practices that exclude the use of machinery. From this perspective, it represents an enjoyable alternative to agriculture in Central and Eastern Europe, in those countries where a fragmented agrarian structure based on small family farms prevails. These include countries such as Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo.

On 3–4 October 2024, the academic conference 'Regenerative Agriculture' was held at Szechenyi Istvan University in Gyor, Hungary. The conference was

devoted to a comprehensive approach to developing this innovative form of agriculture. The conference summarised an exceptionally interesting educational project implemented between 2020 and 2024 by the REGINA scientific and educational consortium comprising the following institutions: Széchenyi István University in Gyor, Hungary as the leader and partners: Euracademy Association from Athens, Slovenian Association for Conservation Agriculture, Forestry and Wood Technology School, Postojna, Slovenia, South and East Cork Area Development CLG, Ireland, University of Florence, Italy and two agricultural schools from Hungary. The project was founded on the premise that students in the fields of agronomy, agroforestry and rural development should be suitably equipped to look at such innovative approaches, which often stem from traditional methods, suitably revisited and redefined, so that they can lead, as professionals, the effort towards mitigating climate change. At the same time, farmers should also be helped, through non-formal and informal learning, to understand how they can change their farming methods to make them more environmentally sensitive, using natural resources wisely without losing income. The overall aim of this project was to create learning material in the form of courses that can be taught face-to-face and online to agronomy students (and related fields of study) at the university level, to vocational secondary education students of agriculture (and related fields) and farmers and farmers' advisors.

The conference was a forum for the exchange of knowledge from specialists in various fields on the conditions (social and political) and financial incentives for the development of regenerative agriculture, the presentation of good practices and case studies from specific farms from all over Europe, and finally the discussion of the socio-cultural background to the development of this type of agricultural innovation. Due to evident reasons, particular attention was devoted to the potential for developing regenerative agriculture in Central and Eastern European countries.

The first papers and discussion addressed the broader conditions for developing regenerative agriculture. Wojciech Knieć from the Institute of Sociology at NCU in Toruń illustrated the impact of cultural and social changes on the phenomenon concerned. Firstly, he highlighted changes in the lifestyles of Western societies, including an increased awareness of the impact of consumers on the environment through dietary practices and an increased level of understanding of the concept of saving small farms as public goods pro-

viders. Secondly, he showed the transformations in farmers' self-definition through the example of selected Central European countries. These changes generally reveal new types of farmer identities, including those where a sense of environmental or broader social mission emerges. This was followed by a paper by Abdul M. Mouazen of the Department of Environment, Ghent University (Belgium) on the 'Multi-Sensor Data-Fusion approach for Precision Management of Farming Input Resources'. He linked the principles of precision agriculture to regenerative agriculture. Namely, he showcased the possibilities of using state-of-the-art tillage techniques to achieve an environmental regeneration effect. He presented empirical data, e.g. from Hungarian farms, where not only the effect of protection but also the effect of restoration of soil quality can be observed with the use of machinery using precision sensors and precise GPS systems. Professor Mouazen, in conclusion, formulated the thesis that shortly it will be possible to successfully combine traditional, post-peasant, environmentally friendly agro-technologies with super-modern tools. This was followed by Rok Mihelic from the University of Ljubljana, Biotechnical Faculty (Slovenia), with the topic of soil regeneration following conservation agriculture principles. In a concise form, he presented empirical evidence of soil revival following conservative agriculture techniques. It is essential to distinguish this type of agriculture from regenerative agriculture. Conservation agriculture emphasises the preservation (protection) and maintenance. Regenerative agriculture emphasises restoration (reparation) and rebuilding of soil. Mihelic, presenting data from a study in Slovenia, showed that the two types of agriculture are virtually indistinguishable in certain situations – the practices of conservative agriculture de facto lead to the effects desired by somewhat more restrictive regenerative agriculture. Andrea Uszkai, from the HUN-REN CERS Institute for Regional Studies (Hungary), presented the fourth paper in this part of the conference. It was entitled 'Knowledge Transfer Organisations and Networks for Promoting Sustainable Agriculture in Hungary'. Her fascinating and informative speech presented several examples from Hungary on the emergence and functioning of cooperation networks between regenerative farmers and networks promoting this type of agricultural activity. At least several networks linking farmers and consumers of regenerative agriculture products into short food chains are now in operation in Hungary, as well as networks for the ongoing exchange of information and experience between farmers, with the participation of

experts. The author presented the results of a content analysis of online forums, the cornerstone of these networks. In turn, Michele Pisante from the Department of Biosciences and Agro-Food and Environmental Technology, University of Teramo (Italy) presented the state of development of regenerative agriculture in Italy. She demonstrated a relatively long tradition of agrotechnological initiatives in Italy, which aimed to continue to mitigate climate change on agricultural production.

The second part of the conference debated the importance of education in the development of regenerative agriculture. It should be emphasised that the issue of promoting knowledge and socialising students at agricultural schools on environmental issues is currently one of the crucial elements in building a 'sustainable' model of the European farmer. Regenerative agriculture requires, on the one hand, the abandonment of an industrial and strictly capitalist approach to production, but, on the other hand, the prospect of a decent income for the farmer is paramount. Understanding this complex relationship involves acquiring a certain degree of knowledge and developing an appropriate worldview. Demetris Mylonas of the Euracademy Association of Greece presented the results of a pan-European survey of young people studying in agricultural schools on their knowledge of various forms of environmental protection in agriculture and sustainable farming. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that students and young farmers from Central and Eastern European countries (students from Hungary and Slovenia were surveyed) are less inclined to use a regenerative agricultural model than their counterparts from Ireland, Italy or Greece. This is driven by the fear of abandoning traditional (industrial) working models associated with insufficient knowledge. This has not been received from the agricultural advisory centres or the agribusiness side, nor has it been debated in the forums of farmers' organisations. Demetris Mylonas remarked that the lack of an institutional support framework from national policies or within the Common Agricultural Policy did not aid the mainstreaming of this type of agriculture. In the opinion of the young farmers surveyed, particularly those from Central and Eastern Europe, this agricultural culture is economically demanding yet socially desirable. It is, therefore, evident to them that its wider use is a form of 'deal' between the farmer and the environment and society, which the state should pay for.

The following few presentations were devoted to the structure, functionality and feedback from users of the e-learning platform developed for the re-

generative agriculture course. Admittedly, the solutions exhibited are innovative, pragmatic and ergonomic in handling.

Practitioners were granted a speaking slot in the third part of the conference. Mate Hajzser, an agronomist from the agricultural company Rábapordányi Mezőgazdasági in Hungary, was the first to speak. This is an incredibly interesting and rare case of a farm, or rather an agricultural enterprise, where regenerative farming methods have been employed on a large scale. The rules of soil regeneration and the protection of biodiversity and the environment attributed to the principles of regenerative agriculture have been gradually introduced on more than 3,000 hectares over the past decade. The effects of soil restoration and growing biodiversity have been empirically confirmed. Interestingly, the main driving force for applying these according-to-management techniques to this mega-farm was not environmental issues but a concern to avoid climate taxes, which was ultimately successfully achieved. However, the high labour intensity of this methodology was highlighted but offset by state-of-the-art agricultural tools. Ioanna Michail from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece) presented regenerative farming practices on an example of Greek olive orchards. She displayed the challenges and dilemmas facing regenerative farms in a fascinating three case studies. This is the time- and labour intensity mentioned above, but also the difficulty of integrating different directions of nature conservation (e.g. grazing horses between olive trees instead of using machinery to remove grasses and weeds). On the other hand, as she aptly pointed out, these hardships and costs are or can be successfully offset by the increased added value of products from regenerative production. An interesting issue involved the brakes applied to methods of this type of agriculture, with lack of water at the forefront. Similar tone cases were shown in a presentation by Katie Kearns of the SECAD Partnership from Ireland.

The conference concluded with an engaging panel discussion, during which the future of regenerative agriculture was considered. Participants unanimously acknowledged the abundant and substantial empirical evidence of the positive environmental impact of regenerative agriculture presented at this academic event, which is much more profound than the impact of organic farming.

It was acknowledged that if the guiding principle of development in the European Union is, and is to be, sustainable development, a framework for

financial support for regenerative packages must be developed within the Common Agricultural Policy. In particular, introducing such subsidies into the package of agro-environmental measures of the CAP should be explored. As an aside, a reflection occurs to me as to the nature of the subsidies that can or must be incorporated into the Common Agricultural Policy offer. Considering the relatively widespread effects of regenerative techniques over time, they must, as far as I am concerned, adopt the form found in afforestation programmes for agricultural land. Therefore, supporting a farmer who switches to a regenerative agriculture package should include time to convert the farm (presume a minimum period of 5 years) and achieve regenerative effects (assuming the next 20 years). The long-term implementation of this practice guarantees a regenerative, lasting impact. Also, it ensures that the next generation of farmers succeeding in the farm will be obliged and, at the same time, motivated to continue these practices. Without economic stimulation, no pro-environmental agriculture can escape its current economic niche. Furthermore, at least several studies presented evidence of this at this conference.

The numerous challenges that emerge with the application of regenerative agriculture are highlighted – its time- and labour-intensive nature predisposes it instead to application on small family farms. These are farming practices of a rather peculiar nature, as they have been described as 'extreme in their ecological expression' and, therefore, relatively difficult to adopt by farmers accustomed for several generations to treating the environment instrumentally and looking suspiciously at all sorts of 'eco-trends'. The contestation of the idea of a 'Green Deal', demonstrated so loudly and collectively during this year's agricultural protests in Europe, especially in the central part (Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czech Republic), is a worrying sign of the rejection of the idea of sustainability by a large part of the social stratum of farmers. However, I believe, and the discussants recognised, that the introduction of appropriate labelling schemes for regenerative agriculture products would provide an exceptionally high added value to the products originating from such agriculture. As evidenced by numerous studies, consumers are becoming increasingly aware of their food choices, reading labels and certificates more carefully. Appropriate labelling linked to the accession of this type of farm-to-farm direct sales system ('from farm to fork') could be an essential factor in motivating farmers to switch to the methods described.

Currently, this type of agriculture is practised almost without exception by farmers whose primary motivations are ideological, ethical or even treated as a mission. These are people who strongly believe in the need to stop climate change and environmental degradation. For obvious reasons, they are a faint minority of agricultural producers. In this context, exhibiting other values that support regenerative agriculture appears equally essential. I also refer to those prevalent in industrial agriculture – profit, which in this case can be much higher, assuring farmers a higher income for their families. This can only be achieved if the aforementioned multiple conditions are adhered to: the introduction of a genuine, pan-European, recognisable labelling system for the products of regenerative agriculture, the widespread use of tools to offset its high time and labour intensity (including precision farming tools and AI in agriculture), the integration of farms engaged in this type of production into alternative farm-to-fork networks and, finally, the introduction of a financial incentive in the form of subsidies.

A vast volume of empirical evidence shows that climate change, caused by man's predatory economy, is an undeniable fact. Evidence from various scientific disciplines has been gathered to illustrate that these changes are having a profound and overwhelmingly negative impact on agriculture, regardless of latitude. The most serious are soil degradation, water disruption (lack of water) and production risks associated with unexpected and violent weather phenomena and their consequences (frosts, heavy rainfall and flooding, droughts, storms and windstorms). At least these first two factors can, in a relatively rapid and profound way, not only be halted but also reversed by employing the principles of regenerative agriculture. With this in mind, it is therefore necessary to promote awareness of it, exercise appropriate political lobbying for its benefit and gain public support. I believe the conference in Gyor provides a good foundation for this.