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## THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH-SEASON TOURISM IN POLAND: BASED ON THE RECORDS OF THE 2010 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

**Abstract:** The 2010 presidential election in Poland was held during the summer season when many voters were away from their place of residence. Data showing the numbers of visitors voting in particular districts were used to identify areas with high tourism intensity. Subsequent analysis showed a very strong concentration and polarization of tourism on the northern and southern margins of Poland and in several big cities.

**Key words:** tourism, tourism regions, elections.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The increasing economic significance of tourism observed in recent decades has caused a growing research interest in the development of the tourism function in particular towns or regions. Researchers concentrate on the potential for tourism growth on the one hand, and the development of the tourism function, on the other. Among tourism-related research issues, tourism regionalization plays an important part as, according to GOŁEMBSKI (2003), identifying tourism regions (seen as areas where investments in the tourism industry will be effective), is the preliminary stage for designing tourism policies. In recent decades, tourism regionalization of Poland has been the subject of numerous studies which were reviewed by LISZEWSKI (2009). The author observed that similarities between different concepts of tourism regionalization of Poland are due to similar methodological approaches, typically based on landscape features. Liszewski suggested changing this by putting the functionality criterion first. This suggestion is particularly noteworthy, as the relevance of environmental values as the basis for tourism development has been increasingly questioned. It is interesting to quote KOZAK (2009) who says that while natural and cultural resources 'are neither necessary nor sufficient factors for tourism growth', the key factor is human capital.

In a former publication, Liszewski (2003) proposed defining a tourism region as an area where tourism is concentrated. However, as DURYDIWKA, KOWALCZYK (2003) noted, the definition of a tourism region based

on its functions can be problematic since a ranking of different reception areas can vary depending on differing forms of tourism and its seasonal character.

Accepting these premises results in a departure from the universal concept of a tourism region. Following this argument, MAZURSKI (2009) proposed distinguishing three types of tourism region:

- tourism management regions,
- tourism regions,
- tourism attractiveness regions.

Drawing on similar assumptions, LISZEWSKI (2009) formulated a slightly different proposal and suggested distinguishing:

- metropolitan tourism regions: large cities and their recreational hinterlands,
- leisure and recreational regions,
- regions of cognitive, educational and religious tourism.

What is important in both proposals (although Mazurski did not put it clearly) is that the categories suggested are not mutually exclusive – particular types of tourism regions can coincide or overlap.

However, shifting the main stress in tourism regionalisation from evaluation to analysis of tourism intensity entails a number of problems. Official tourism statistics released by the Main Statistical Office are far from complete, while conducting one's own assessment covering a large area is enormously time-consuming and costly. Indirect methods could be helpful here, e.g. the well-known method of estimating the number of visitors based on the size of flour or

bread sales (WARSZYŃSKA, JACKOWSKI 1979), or using data concerning water consumption or the amount of waste water received by treatment plants (HOUDEK 2004, SZWICHTENBERG 2006). In practice, however, using such data is only possible in studies on a local scale. In 2010, an emergency political situation in Poland enabled research which made it possible to determine the spatial distribution of tourism in the summer season.

## 2. THE 2010 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND TOURISM

According to Polish electoral law, two elections were planned for 2010: presidential and local. Both were due to take place in autumn. However, the tragic death of President Lech Kaczyński in a plane crash near Smolensk on April 10<sup>th</sup> 2010, made it necessary to hold an early presidential election, and the electoral regulations enforced setting the date of voting for the beginning of the summer holiday season (June 20<sup>th</sup>). As none of the candidates won an absolute majority of votes, it was necessary to hold a second round which took place in the middle of this season on July 4<sup>th</sup>. The timing did not affect the turnout which was no different from the average for Polish presidential elections. In the first round, 54.94% of eligible voters cast their votes. Before the second round, many who were leaving on holiday collected their voter registration documents, enabling them to vote away from their place of permanent residence, and during the election the media repeatedly reported long queues waiting in front of polling stations in holiday resorts. Journalists' attention was particularly drawn to the coastal district of Rewal, where over 12,000 people cast their vote, while the number of permanent residents is barely 3,600. The turnout in the whole country on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010 was 55.31%.

Generally, in all the electoral districts on Polish territory (not counting those voting abroad, including those on ships), 16,850,841 votes were cast on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010, including 758,747 away from place of permanent residence, using the voter registration documents issued by the appropriate authorities<sup>1</sup>. This means that an average of 4.5027% voters used the documents<sup>2</sup>.

The fact that it was tourism that influenced the proportion of those voting away from home is proved by the list of districts with the highest percentage of voters using those documents (Table 1).

All the districts where the proportion of voters with documents was higher than 50% (there were 15 of them) are those with a well-developed tourism function, and all of them (except Cisna) are situated on the Baltic Sea.

Table 1. Districts with over 50% of voters using voter registration documents in the presidential election on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010

Gmina (District)	Powiat (County)	% non-resident voters
Rewal	Gryficki	87.1
Krynica Morska	Nowodworski	83.6
Mielno	Koszaliński	77.9
Dziwnów	Kamieński	75.9
Jastarnia	Pucki	75.4
Łeba	Łęborski	72.4
Ustronie Morskie	Kołobrzeski	69.9
Władysławowo	Pucki	68.9
Postomino	Sławiński	57.9
Międzyzdroje	Kamieński	56.9
Ustka (rural district)	Słupski	56.3
Cisna	Leski	55.1
Kołobrzeg (rural district)	Kołobrzeski	51.8
Sztutowo	Nowodworski	50.2
Stegna	Nowodworski	50.1

Source: author – based on National Electoral Office data.

## 3. IDENTIFYING TOURISM DISTRICTS

Identifying particular districts as tourism destinations was based on the earlier statement that tourism was the decisive factor for voting away from place of permanent residence. The initial stage of the research procedure was to single out the districts where the proportion of voters using documents was higher than the average index for the whole country, i.e. 4.5027%. There were 597 such districts out of a total 2479<sup>3</sup>.

In the second stage, the surplus of non-resident votes over the national average, i.e. 4.5027%, was calculated for each pre-selected district. An assumption was made that the surplus of those votes over the calculated average level in particular districts had been generated by voting tourists<sup>4</sup> (further referred to as 'tourist votes'). The next step was to select the districts where the surplus of non-resident votes (tourist votes) over the national average was higher than 100. There were 258 such districts, and the total number of votes cast by visitors there was calculated to be 229,721.

The next stage of the research procedure was to analyse the distribution of districts defined as 'tourism' ones. As a result, the following three types were distinguished:

1. Large cities.
2. Districts lying in holiday destination areas.
3. Isolated tourism districts.

The first group contains six cities (Table 2) with permanent populations of over 200 000.

Gdynia and Gdańsk, as large urban centres attracting tourists, are also (together with Sopot) part of

a seaside recreational area. Warsaw has two recreational areas in its close neighbourhood, which – according to LISZEWSKI’s proposal (2009) – enable the whole complex to be seen as a metropolitan tourism region. The remaining large cities, i.e. Kraków, Wrocław and Poznań, are enclaves surrounded by areas which do not play an important part from concerning overnight stays. To complete the picture of large cities, one should add that in all the remaining cities with populations over 200,000, the percentage of non-resident voters was lower than the national average, which suggests a low significance for summer overnight tourism<sup>5</sup>.

Table 2. Large cities as tourism centres based on the 2010 presidential election turnout data

City	Number of tourists voting
Warsaw	12,662
Gdynia	11,591
Gdańsk	5,183
Kraków	4,659
Wrocław	2,168
Poznań	1,571

Source: author – based on National Electoral Office data.

The majority of tourism districts (214) were classified as smaller or larger recreational areas. Twenty such were identified by combining at least two neighbouring tourism districts (two were additionally divided into sub-areas). An exception was made in three cases: two pairs of neighbouring districts, Wilga and Magnuszew, and Mielnik and Sarnaki were not combined due to being separated by large rivers. The third case is that of Busko-Zdrój and Solec-Zdrój, where the tourism function is not found in the whole district but only in individual towns.

Those remaining (44) are isolated tourism districts, not contained in any larger areas. This group, except for the abovementioned large cities, contains health resorts in particular (Busko-Zdrój, Ciechocinek, Nałęczów, Solec-Zdrój, Horyniec-Zdrój, Krasnobród and Połczyn-Zdrój). Moreover, it comprises individual districts located in places that are attractive for tourists but not connected with larger areas. Examples of such districts include Zbiczno (Brodnicza Lake District), Otmuchów (a large dammed lake on the Nysa Kłodzka accessible for recreation), a few districts lying on the Pilica, and the lakes of the Kujawy Lake District.

#### 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF RECREATIONAL AREAS

**1. The coast** – containing a narrow strip of districts on the Baltic shore and some individual districts behind the coast (Fig. 1 – numbers on the map correspond to those in the text). This area, in which was concentrated almost 54% of all tourism (see Table 3), due to its internal diversity has been divided into three sub-areas:

1a (Western) containing the districts of Świnoujście, Międzyzdroje, Wolin, Dziwnów, Kamień Pomorski, Świerżno, Rewal, Trzebiatów, Kołobrzeg (two districts – urban and rural), Dygowo, Ustronie Morskie, Mielno and Będzino. The main characteristic of this sub-area is intensive investment in the coastal zone. Apart from two areas excluded from development (the Wolin National Park and a military training ground near Mrzeżyno), the tourism function is very intensive and is present in practically all coastal towns. Sections of coast situated between towns visited less by tourists are relatively short.

1b (Central), which contains the districts of Sianów, Darłowo (urban and rural districts), Postomino, Ustka (urban and rural districts), Smołdzino, Łeba, Wicko, Choczewo and Gniewino. This sub-area, though also with a strongly developing tourism function, is characterized by a smaller concentration of busy resorts and has slightly more coastal sections visited less by tourists.

1c (Eastern), comprising the districts of Krokowa (except the eastern edge near Białogóra, which should be included in sub-area b), Władysławowo, Jastarnia, Hel, Puck (urban and rural districts), Kosakowo, Gdynia, Sopot, Gdańsk, Stegna, Sztutowo and Krynica Morska. This sub-area covers the whole of the coast belonging to Poland or the Free City of Gdańsk before World War II. It was at that time when the very intensive development of tourism function started here. This sub-area contains the only large Polish conurbation situated directly by the sea. The intensity of coastline investment justifies treating a large part of this sub-area as a tourism urbanization space.

**2. Mazurian** – the biggest recreational area, comprising most of the Mazurian Lake District and attracting about 7% of summer tourists. It has also been divided into sub-areas.

2a (Eastern) containing the districts of Ruciane-Nida, Mikołajki, Giżycko (urban and rural districts), Węgorzewo, Pozezdrze, Kruklanki, Miłki, Orzysz, Stare Juchy, Świętajno (*powiat Olecki*), Wydminy, Pisz, Ryn, Mrągowo, Piecki, Sorkwity and Świętajno (*powiat Szczycieński*). Tourism is centred around the Great Mazurian Lakes where it is particularly intensive in

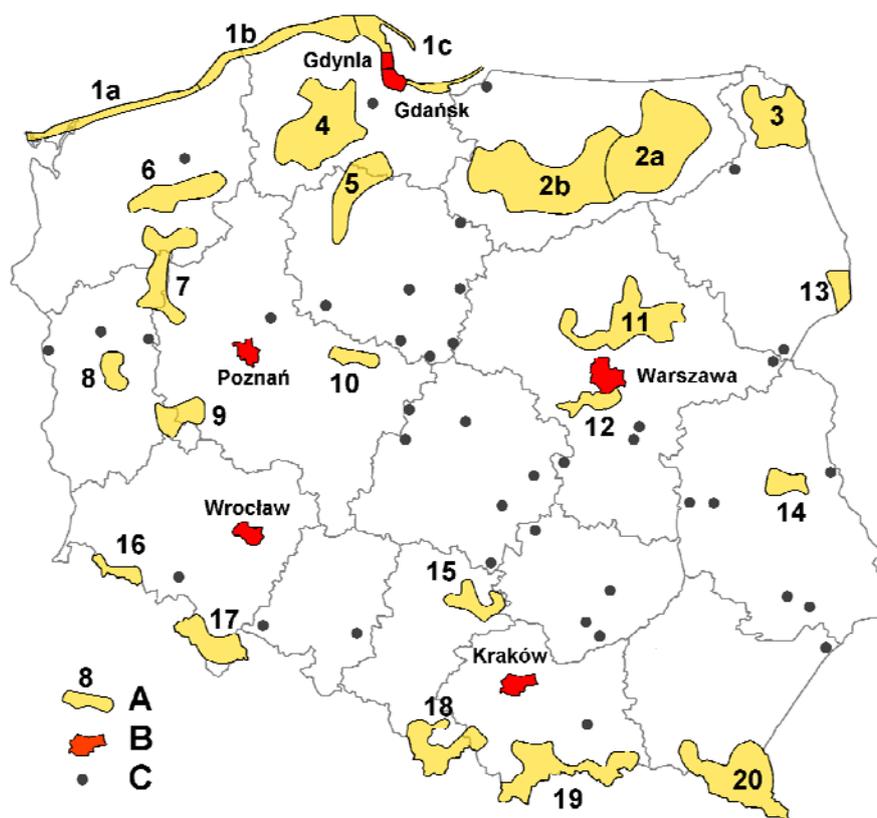


Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of tourism on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010  
 A – areas of holiday recreation; B – large cities attracting tourism ; C – other tourism districts.  
 Numbers of regions explained in the text  
 Source: author

the region's major communities. Its intensity decreases with distance from the great lakes.

2b (Western), comprising the Iława and Olsztyn Lake Districts, covers a larger area but is characterised by less intensive tourism. It contains the districts of Iława, Zalewo, Miłomłyn, Łukta, Morąg, Ostróda, Dąbrówno, Olsztynek, Nidzica, Giętrzwald, Purda, Pasym, Jedwabno, Stawiguda, Szczytno (urban and rural districts), Dźwierzuty, Reszel and Biskupiec.

**3. Suwałki-Augustów** – areas lying to the north of Augustów. Its biggest tourism centre is Augustów itself which combines a health-resort with a recreational function. The area covers the districts of Augustów (urban district), Płaska, Nowinka, Suwałki (rural district, in fact its eastern part near Lake Wigry), Krasnopol, Giby, Sejny (urban and rural districts) and Jeleniewo. Tourism is not very intensive here apart from the southern part of the area (Augustów and the Czarna Hańcza Trail).

**4. Kaszubian Lake District** – encompasses areas lying south-west of Gdańsk in the districts of Kościerzyna, Stężyca, Chmielno, Sulęczyno, Czarna Dąbrówka, Studzienice, Dziemiany, Lipnica, Przechlewo, Brusy,

Chojnice (rural district, precisely the part north of the town of Chojnice), Karsin and Stara Kiszewa. More intensive tourism is centred around lakes to the north-east of Kościerzyna and north of Chojnice (near Charzykowskie Lake).

**5. Tuchola** – the area stretching between Bydgoszcz and Starogard Gdański, characterised by the presence of lakes and a fair amount of forest (central part of the Tuchola Forest). Tourism is not intensive and widely scattered. This area comprises the districts of Koronowo, Lubiewo, Cekcyn, Śliwice, Osie, Osiek and Lubichowo.

**6. Drawa** – stretches from Borne-Sulinowo in the east to Ińsko in the west. This area has very picturesque scenery and numerous lakes with very complicated shorelines, but used by tourists only to a small extent. It comprises the areas of the following districts: Borne-Sulinowo, Czaplinek, Złocieniec, Drawsko Pomorskie and Ińsko. Nearby lies Połczyn-Zdrój, but it has been classified as an individual tourism town as, except for Połczyn itself, the district does not practically speaking fulfil any tourism functions.

Table 3. Tourist votes in the presidential election on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010

Area - number on map	Number of districts	Number of votes	Percentage
Coastal, western part - 1a	14	46,045	20.0
Coastal, central part - 1b	11	20,603	9.0
Coastal, eastern part - 1c	13	56,579	24.6
Masurian, eastern part - 2a	18	11,381	5.0
Masurian, western part - 2b	19	5,651	2.5
Suwałki-Augustów - 3	9	3,298	1.4
Kaszubian Lake District - 4	13	4,668	2.0
Tuchola - 5	7	1,490	0.6
Drawa - 6	5	1,329	0.6
Drawno-Sieraków - 7	5	873	0.4
Lubusz - 8	3	606	0.3
Leszno-Sława - 9	5	1,682	0.7
Konin - 10	3	1,682	0.7
North Mazovian - 11	19	4,073	1.8
South Mazovian - 12	7	1,634	0.7
Białowieża - 13	2	343	0.1
Polesie - 14	3	455	0.2
Jura - 15	5	898	0.4
Karkonosze-Izera - 16	4	2,896	1.3
Kłodzko - 17	7	3,381	1.5
Bielsko-Zywiec - 18	15	6,607	2.9
Tatra-Nowy Sącz - 19	17	17,092	7.4
Bieszczady - 20	10	4,110	1.8
other districts	44	32,345	14.1
Total	258	229,721	100.0

Source: author - based on National Electoral Office data.

**7. Drawno-Sieraków** - the least distinct and poorly integrated recreational area. It was identified by combining five districts (Drawno, Tuczno, Dobiegiew, Drezdenko and Sieraków) forming an uninterrupted line on the border of three *województwos*: Zachodniopomorskie, Lubuskie and Wielkopolskie. This area combines water tourism (lakes and the Drawa canoeing trail) as well as extensive forests (the Drawa Forest and the Noteć Forest). It is an open question whether it will develop as a whole or if its particular sections will become integrated with other areas (Drawa and Lubusz).

**8. Lubusz** - currently a small area comprising three districts: Łagów, Skąpe and Lubrza. However, with regard to environmental conditions, those of tourism value can be found in a much bigger area. Nearby are two isolated tourism districts - Lubniewice and Pszczew. Tourism integration of the whole Lubusz Lake District is not helped by the large military training ground of Wędrzyn in the very centre of the region.

**9. Leszno-Sława** - a relatively small but popular recreational area situated on the border between Silesia and Greater Poland. Five districts have been included in it: Sława and Kolsko in Lubuskie *Województwo* and Przemęt, Włoszakowice and Wijewo in

Wielkopolskie *Województwo*. An asset of this area is its location in the southernmost part of western Poland's lake districts. Thanks to this, it is a popular recreational area, especially for the residents of Lower Silesia.

**10. Konin** - a small recreational area situated in eastern Wielkopolska, on the border between Gniezno and the Kujawy Lake District. It comprises the districts of Powidz, Ostrowite and Ślesin. The tourism function of this area is determined, among other factors, by groups of holiday cottages (e.g. on Powidzkie Lake). Also, the sanctuary of 'Our Lady of Licheń' is an important tourism destination.

**11. North Mazovian** - a unique recreational area situated to the north of Warsaw. Its tourism function is based especially on numerous groups of holiday cottages owned by the residents of the Warsaw conurbation. They are concentrated mainly in the valleys of the Bug, the Narew (and the surroundings of Zegrzyńskie Lake) and the Wkra rivers. This area comprises the districts of Serock, Pomiechówek, Radzymiń, Dąbrówka, Somianka, Wyszaków, Brańszczyk, Rząśnik, Jadów, Obryte, Zatory, Łochów, Sadowne, Brok, Różan, Rzewnie, Wieliszew, Joniec and Nowe Miasto.

**12. South Mazovian** - comprising the districts of Konstancin-Jeziorna (health-resort), Piaseczno, Lesznowola, Podkowa Leśna, Nadarzyn, Radziejowice and Żabia Wola. Like the previous one, this recreational area lies outside Warsaw, but even closer to the borders of the capital, hence at least a part (the districts of Piaseczno, Konstancin-Jeziorna or Podkowa Leśna) could be classified as typical tourism urbanisation areas.

**13. Białowieża** - a small area, composed of but two districts (Białowieża and Narewka) whose characteristic feature is its location within Białowieża Forest, considered the most natural forest complex in central and western Europe.

**14. Polesie** - a small recreational area, lying near to Polesie National Park, to the north east of Lublin. It comprises three districts: Urszulin, Uścimów and Ludwin. The Łęczyńsko-Włodawskie Lake District contains another small area with concentrated holiday tourism, not integrated with Polesie, lying in the southern part of the rural district of Włodawa.

**15. Jura** - lies in the central part of Kraków-Częstochowa Upland, and comprises the districts of Poraj, Żarki, Kroczyce, Janów and Szczekociny. It is a holiday recreation area for the residents of the Upper-Silesian Industrial Region.

**16. Karkonosze-Izera** – comprises part of the Western Sudety Mountains, considered one of the most important tourism areas in Poland. In this context, it came as a bit of a surprise that only four districts were identified as tourism ones (Karpacz, Szklarska Poręba, Podgórzyn and Świeradów-Zdrój), and this region's share in total summer tourism was just 1.3%.

**17. Kłodzko** – dominated by four large health resorts, surrounded by areas with developing mountain tourism. This area comprises the districts of Kudowa-Zdrój, Duszniki-Zdrój, Polanica-Zdrój, Radków, Bystrzyca Kłodzka, Łądek-Zdrój and Stronie Śląskie.

**18. Bielsko-Żywiec** – a relatively large area within the Silesian, Żywiec and Little Beskids, comprising the districts of Ustroń, Wisła, Brenna, Szczyrk, Jaworze, Wilkowice, Czernichów, Istebna, Rajcza, Ujsoły, Miłówka, Węgierska Górka, Jeleśnia, Stryszawa and Zawoja. This area combines the functions of a health-resort (Ustroń), a recreational hinterland for the Upper-Silesian industrial region and an important mountain tourism area.

**19. Tatry-Nowy Sącz** – the most important mountain recreational area, with regard to summer tourism, which attracts a little over 7% of summer tourists.

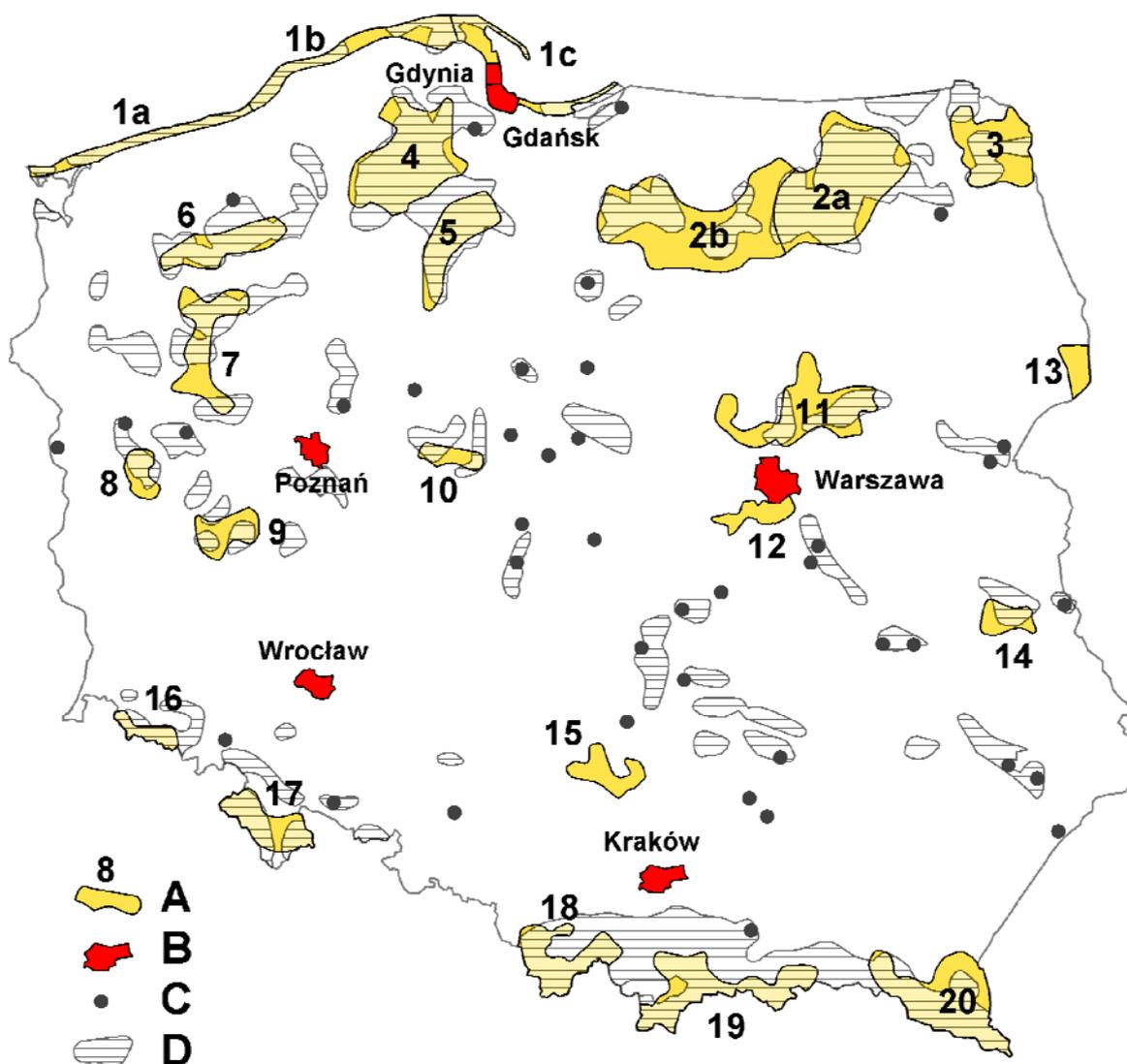


Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of tourism on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2010 against the evaluation of space for the needs of holiday recreational tourism  
 A – holiday recreation areas; B – large urban centres attracting tourism; C – other tourism districts;  
 D – areas predisposed to develop holiday recreation tourism according to Wyrzykowski (1986).

Numbers of regions explained in the text.

Source: author

It comprises the districts of Zakopane, Kościelisko, Bukowina Tatrzańska, Poronin, Biały Dunajec, Łapsze Niżne, Ochotnica Dolna, Kamienica, Rabka-Zdrój, Niedźwiedź, Czorsztyn, Krościenko nad Dunajcem, Szczawnica, Piwniczna-Zdrój, Muszyna, Krynica-Zdrój and Uście Gorlickie.

**20. Bieszczady** – an area on the south-eastern tip of Poland, comprising parts of the Bieszczady Mountains attractive for mountain tourism, as well as health resorts. It comprises the districts of Cisna, Lutowska, Komańcza, Baligród, Czarna, Lesko, Ustrzyki Dolne, Solina, Iwonicz-Zdrój and Rymanów. A special position here is that of Solina district, which combines the functions of a health-resort (Polańczyk) and an overnight tourism area. In turn, the presence of the man-made Lake Solina gives this district an uncommon combination of values linked both to water and mountains.

Except for the above recreational areas, 44 individual tourism districts were identified (listed by *województwo*):

- Dolnośląskie: Wrocław, Szczawno-Zdrój;
- Kujawsko-pomorskie: Baruchowo, Gaśawa, Chodecz, Ciechocinek, Skępe, Topólka, Zbiczno;
- Lubelskie: Kazimierz Dolny, Krasnobród, Nałęczów, Włodawa (rural district), Zwierzyniec;
- Lubuskie: Lubniewice, Pszczew, Słubice;
- Łódzkie: Inowłódz, Pęczniew, Sulejów, Uniejów, Zgierz (rural district), Żytno;
- Podlaskie: Mielnik, Rajgród;
- Pomorskie: Przywidz;
- Małopolskie: Kraków, Gródek nad Dunajcem;
- Warmińskie-Mazuskie: Frombork;
- Opolskie: Leśnica, Otmuchów;
- Wielkopolskie: Poznań, Skoki;
- Podkarpackie: Horyniec-Zdrój;
- Świętokrzyskie: Busko-Zdrój, Raków, Ruda Małenicka, Solec-Zdrój;
- Mazowskie: Warszawa, Magnuszew, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Sarnaki, Wilga;
- Zachodniopomorskie: Połczyn-Zdrój.

## 5. RECREATIONAL AREAS AND NATURAL VALUE

As mentioned before, natural and cultural values have been traditionally regarded as the basis for tourism development, as well as being the usual criteria for delimiting tourism regions. However, their importance has recently often been questioned. Identifying tourism districts and delimiting holiday recreation areas, based on the intensity of tourism,

enables results obtained while using different criteria to be confronted. The results of this study were compared with those described by Wyrzykowski (1986) who used natural value as the main criterion with regard to factors influencing the development of tourism. The locations of tourism districts distinguished in this study were compared with those of the areas predisposed to develop tourism defined by Wyrzykowski. The results of the comparison are shown in Fig. 2.

Almost all the areas identified in this study at least partly coincide with Wyrzykowski's suggestions (differences might result from a different method of generalisation). The only exceptions are the Jura area (which was under a strong pressure from air pollution flowing from the Upper-Silesian industrial region in the 1980s which could be the reason why it was not considered attractive), the south Mazovian area and, surprisingly, Białowieża. A great number of individual tourism districts lie in the areas described by Wyrzykowski as valuable for tourism. Therefore, regardless of the fact that tourism promotion of areas lacking natural value is possible, natural value should be still treated as a key factor when it comes to tourism.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

In view of the above discussion, one could say that summer tourism in Poland shows a very strong concentration. It is centred especially on the Baltic coast, and is also quite intensive in the mountain areas of Małopolska and Upper Silesia, as well as in the area of the Great Mazurian Lakes. Twenty areas can be identified in different parts of the country, but the intensity of tourism is not high in the vast majority of them. Apart from these areas, intensive tourism was observed in the largest health resorts and four big cities.

A distinct correlation between the spatial distribution of districts playing an important role in tourism and that of areas of outstanding natural value shows that the evaluation of space for the needs of tourism, conducted by Wyrzykowski 25 years ago, is still valid. Therefore, natural values are still playing a key role in developing tourism and therefore their protection should be considered necessary.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The author thanks Mirosław Bogdanowicz from the National Electoral Office for providing the data concerning the number of voters using documents in particular districts.

<sup>2</sup> The same index in parliamentary election on October 9<sup>th</sup> 2011 was just 1,1265%.

<sup>3</sup> The capital city of Warsaw was treated as a single district - disregarding its legal status in 2010, but in line with common sense.

<sup>4</sup> For instance: in Rewal, 11,547 people voted including 10,059 visitors. The number of votes cast in this district by non-resident voters equalled the national average of 4.5027% out of 11,547, i.e. 520. Therefore, it was concluded that of the non-resident voters 10,059 - 520 = 9,539 were tourists.

<sup>5</sup> This indicator increased for Toruń (3,9%), Szczecin (3,4%), Lublin (2,9%), Łódź and Katowice (2,7%), Bydgoszcz and Częstochowa (2,6%), Kielce (2,5%), Białystok (2,2%), Radom and Sosnowiec (2%).

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