ORIGINAL

Establishing transboundary tourist space in the Baltic Sea region

Authors' Contribution:
A Study Design
B Data Collection
C Statistical Analysis
D Data Interpretation
E Manuscript Preparation
F Literature Search
G Funds Collection

Denis Cerić [ABDEF]**, Marek Więckowski** [ABDEF]

Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization,
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

abstract

Background: The Baltic Sea region has been an area of intense political, economic and cultural contacts since the early Middle Ages. However, it severely suffered both during the Second World War and in its aftermath through to 1989. Since the mid-1990s, initiatives, programs and organisations promoting cooperation in this region have been put in place, and, in line with the expansion of the European Union, there have been far more opportunities (both organisational and financial) for cross-border cooperation, including in a transboundary context.

Material and methods: The main sources of data for quantitative analysis have been official reports of Interreg Programme projects in the Baltic Sea region, as given effect to in the period between 2007 and 2013. In turn, qualitative analysis has drawn on descriptions of selected projects, mainly in reports and on relevant websites.

Results: This article acquaints the reader with issues underpinning cross-border cooperation in the transboundary context of the Baltic Sea region, focusing on key aspects relating to the establishment of transboundary tourist space. Several examples of EU co-financed cross-border cooperation in tourism are also presented in greater detail.

Conclusions: The process of establishing transboundary tourist space across the Baltic Sea is seen to depend greatly on co-financing by the European Union. Such EU-backed projects serving the development of cross-border tourism in the transboundary context of the Baltic Sea region can be assigned to four groups entailing: (1) the integration of transport, (2) tourism management, (3) the generation of tourist products, and (4) the development of a regional identity. However, it is typical of these projects for cooperation in the development of tourist attractions and products to be led by entities from the more developed part of the region, which therefore receive more funding than partners' beneficiaries from the Baltic's less-developed part. Preliminary analysis thus suggests that EU projects may not necessarily help to even out differences, i.e. reduce disparities, between the "Old" and "New" EU, even if they may be significant in helping to combine potential.

Key words: Baltic Sea Region, cross-border cooperation, transboundary space, EU funds, tourism.

article details

INTRODUCTION

Geopolitical change around the Baltic Sea in the years 1989-91 encouraged progress with functional integration between states, e.g. as regards trade, investment, road traffic and so on [1]. Access to the region and particular parts of it increased steadily, thanks to transport by both sea and air [1, 2]. As early as in the first half of the 1990s, hundreds of initiatives, programmes and organisations were already put in place to promote cooperation in the Baltic Sea region [3]. Major impulses towards integration were provided by the steady expansion of the European Union and the emergence of its Schengen Zone. Today, every state adjacent to the Baltic apart from Russia is an EU Member State, and also encompassed by Schengen.

Since 2009 on, the European Union began to develop its concept of macroregions, with the idea being pursued through the devising of strategies specific to those different geographical areas. The Union's first macroregional strategy was seen as a new political formation and implementing instrument that enabled the transformation of the peripheral Baltic region into a model of more far-reaching integration, by way of an experimental form of implementing EU policy not comparable with any of its past forms of cooperation [4, 5]. As internal border regions are crucial to the EU's territorial policy [6], the Union became a key player and financing body where cooperation in the Baltic Sea region is concerned; obviously all the more so after the Baltic States and Poland acceded in 2004 [2].

The EU policy on transboundary integration and regions is pursued via the Interreg programmes, whose aim has been to promote regional development and cross-border cooperation. The allocation of EU funds to these goals has represented a major instrument by which the Baltic Sea space can develop further. Equally, the cooperation involved is different from one on land, appearing more complex and expensive, on the one hand, and most likely less effective on the other.

The concept underpinning Baltic integration sees a major role assigned to mobility, cargo transport and tourism. This last issue matters from both the supply and demands points of view, offering an opportunity for regions and states to come closer together, helping to bring shared culture (especially features, nature and regional history) into sharper relief, and generating development potential in areas whose (main or supplementary) functions are in tourism [7]. This is then an area of activity attracting more and more funding, and – where EU co-financing is concerned – this is seen as an area of development whose early-stage support comes rather cheaper than support in other spheres (not least transport infrastructure).

The present study offers further insights into Baltic tourism, in particular with a view to identifying the factors underpinning effective cross-border cooperation in the context of the Baltic region's transboundary tourist space.

AIM

Drawing on work done to meet its needs, this article seeks to define key aspects to the establishment of transboundary tourist space in general, as well as to identify the basic elements of significance to the founding of such space in and around the Baltic Sea. Work has been based on analysis of how tourism functions, with particular account taken of the role played by EU-co-financed projects under Interreg. The main focus has been on Interreg IV-B (European Territorial Cooperation) projects, as co-financed in the Baltic region in the 2007-2013 period. Data on these have been gathered from official reports on co-financing, as well as more general reports and EU strategies. The study area is the Baltic region, albeit as understood in the Interreg B support context, as this relates to cooperation between projects' beneficiaries across the Sea. The qualitative approach in turn sees the authors elucidate mechanisms of action and accentuate those projects exerting the most influence on the founding of transboundary tourist space. Several case studies are also selected to facilitate this process.

Baltic Journal of Health and Physical Activity 2020; Special Issue (1): 149-157
Journal of Gdansk University of Physical Education and Sport
e-ISSN 2080-9999

THE SHAPING OF MARITIME TRANSBOUNDARY TOURIST SPACE

Today's tourist space represents a network of linkage between elements drawing tourists, the infrastructure they use, the places they visit and their signposting, services (offered by service-providers, owners, managers and creators), and also less-tangible elements like impressions and experiences [8]. If the analogy with a network is accepted, then what matter are nodes (e.g. tourist centres and attractions in their actual and relative positions). For permanent linkages between the nodes do not necessarily exist, as these are seen to be variable and seasonal, with various people (sometimes repeatedly) engaged in their establishment, servicing and utilisation. Equally, tourism studies attach ever-greater importance to these elements [8].

In the case of the Baltic Sea, we are dealing with two further aspects of tourist space, i.e. the features specific to a coastal and marine area, and transboundary or cross-border aspects. Maritime space for tourism quite evidently exists in real geographical space, taking in basins and the land areas associated with them in functional terms, which are visited by large numbers of tourists precisely because of the valuable marine features they epitomise [9]. Transboundary space, in turn, denotes an area serving tourism functions that lies on either side of an open border and thus is characterised by the presence of cross-border functional linkage [10]. It is closely linked to cross-border tourism, wherein the tourists, tourism management, tourist attractions and so on may all have a cross-border dimension [10]. Equally, tourism in this category still needs to be regarded as taking place within a region, even if that region is of a transboundary nature, in that it is present in two or more states through which a border runs. What motivates the effort is, therefore, a tourist product for the given region that draws simultaneously on cohesion and diversity [11].

Tourism is currently one of the key fields in which transboundary regions receive support [11, 12, 15]; and thus far it has been of ever-greater significance as a motor force underpinning regional development [2]. Equally, the constant change would seem to be a feature typifying tourist destinations, not least as the creation and development of spaces for tourism are seen to reflect wider political, economic and social processes often driven non-locally, if manifesting themselves very locally indeed [13].

Perhaps self-evidently, a key element in the shaping of transboundary tourist space is cooperation across borders. While this kind of cooperation is (now) an everyday phenomenon on land, the version operating across the sea is less popular or well-known [12]. Where the Baltic Sea is concerned, Interreg and its EU co-financing lie at the heart of the developing cooperation [14, 15, 16]. Here, the transboundary tourist space mainly takes shape through linkage between the areas of tourist space existing within the given Member States, in this case, coastal cities and regions in particular. This process can be considered to move through four stages of integration involving space that is divided, co-existing, open and then integrated [15].

By definition, EU support as a major stimulator of development entails domestic resources and those designed specifically for cross-border cooperation. Three strands are in fact in operation, i.e. the cross-border (Interreg A), the transnational (Interreg B), and the inter-regional (Interreg C). Each of Interreg Programmes has its identified priorities to which particular tasks are assigned. Most of the priorities are connected, at least indirectly, with tourism [15], while tasks are linked with it directly, for example entailing the development of cooperation on tourism, marketing, infrastructural development, improved transport access, the development and preservation of cultural and natural heritage, the training and employment of human resources, and the development of broadly conceived tourism.

This analysis of Baltic-region projects funded via Interreg IV (in the 2007–2013 budgeting period) finds that these were 631 in number, albeit with 70 seen to be associated most directly with tourism. At €107.5M, the total budget for these is 12.5% of the overall sum allocated to Interreg IV in the context of projects in the Baltic Sea region (Table 1).

Table 1. Projects in the Baltic Sea region co-financed via the Interreg IV Programme

programmes		projects		tourism related projects			
		number	approximate total project budget (in EUR)	number		approximate total project budget	
				value	share	in EUR	share
Interreg IV-A*	Botnia Atlantica	64	56 082 731	6	9,4	4 405 594	7,9
	Nord	139	66 553 954	12	8,6	2 853 048	4,3
	Central Baltic	122	127 701 376	12	9,8	13 547 679	10,6
	Öresund - Kattegat - Skagerrak	128	257 403 874	12	9,4	28 985 500	11,3
	South Baltic	88	75 040 976	13	14,8	9 334 521	12,4
Interreg IV-B	Baltic Sea Region	90	278 348 116	15	16,7	48 416 980	17,4
Interreg IV-C**	-	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0
TOTAL		631	861 131 027	70	11,1	107 543 322	12,5

* not including the Interreg IV-A 2007-2013 activity involving: 1) Mecklenburg-Vorpommern/Brandenburg in Germany and Poland's Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship, 2) Latvia-Lithuania, and 3) Estonia-Latvia; ** relates solely to tourism-linked projects in the Baltic Sea region

Source: authors' own elaboration based on: http://2007-2013.botnia-atlantica.eu/; http://2007-2013.interregnord.com/; http://projects.central-baltic.eu/; http://interreg-oks.eu/; http://2007-2013.southbaltic.eu/index/; http://eu.baltic.net/; https://www.intercombi-ticket.de/

A deeper analysis of descriptions of projects financed from the same programme that are at the regional level (of Interreg IV-B) points to 16 out of the 90 linking up directly with tourism. "Tourism" projects account for as much as 17.5% of the total Interreg IV-B budget assigned to the Baltic-Region projects. On average, these projects had 16.4 projects' beneficiaries, lasted 38.1 months and had a budget of 3M euros (Table 2).

Table 2. Projects under the Interreg IV-B Programme involving the Baltic Sea region and linked directly with tourism

project acronym	area priority	approximate total project budget in EUR	ERDF co-financing	ENPI co-financing	Norwegian national contribution	number of beneficiaries	project duration (in months)
AGORA 2.0	4	2 828 410	2 157 020	103 500	0	22	42
Parks & Benefits	4	2 686 660	1 887 630	0	126 000	18	42
BaltMet Promo	4	2 776 540	2 167 690	0	0	9	30
ONE BSR	4	2 990 200	2 299 420	0	0	17	30
BALTADAPT	3	2 858 930	2 123 820	0	0	11	42
RBGC	2	3 587 090	2 836 000	0	0	22	42
TransBaltic EXT	2	1 278 900	823 935	0	120 000	5	18
COOL Bricks	1	4 299 970	3 243 840	161 093	0	18	42
BaltSeaPlan	3	3 707 720	2 953 560	0	0	14	42
baltic green belt	3	2 233 400	1 787 090	0	0	12	42
Eco-Region	4	2 983 060	2 139 670	0	104 250	22	42
BALTRAD	2	2 133 500	1 625 230	43 020	0	8	42
TransBaltic	2	5 489 010	4 037 420	0	133 290	20	42
BALTRAD+	2	1 887 300	1 318 540	29 655	77 500	13	30
Baltic Master II	3	3 902 070	2 997 570	0	0	30	42
BALTIC BIRD	2	2 950 000	2 081 800	0	125 000	21	40
TOTAL or AVERAGE		48 592 760	36 480 235	337 268	686 040	16,4	38,1

Source: authors' own elaboration based on data from: http://eu.baltic.net/

Further analysis of the Baltic Sea Region Interreg IV-B Programme showed that the total numbers of beneficiaries involved in "tourism" projects, by countries in the Baltic Sea region, were in the range of 4 (Belarus) to 50 (Sweden). Expressed as a percentage of all Baltic Sea Region beneficiaries in all Baltic Interreg IV-B projects, the given tourist projects involved between 10 and 23.7% of the total. In Poland, 32 entities were beneficiaries of

"tourism" projects, representing 19.5% of all Polish beneficiaries encompassed by Interreg IV-B in the context of the Baltic Sea region. Within the Baltic Sea Region Interreg IV-B programme (2007-2013), there were 262 beneficiaries of "tourism" projects. An analysis of beneficiaries by countries showed that Germany and Sweden were leaders both in the number of the Programme's beneficiaries and the approximate total "tourism" projects' budget (Fig. 1). Together with Finland, Denmark and Norway, beneficiaries from Germany and Sweden counted for €32.5M budget of €46.9M total dedicated to "tourism" projects in the Programme. Analogically, the rest of countries which once were situated behind the historic "Iron Curtain" in the Region (Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Belarus) absorbed 30.7% of the total budget for this kind of projects.
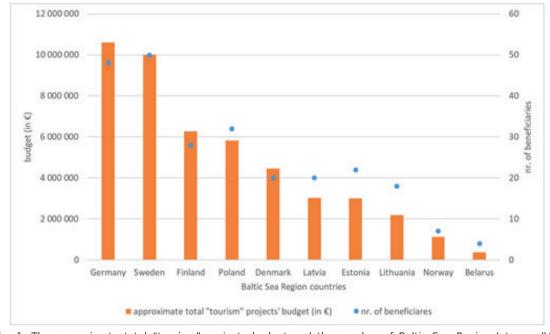

Fig. 1. The approximate total "tourism" projects budget and the number of Baltic Sea Region Interreg IV-B programme beneficiaries in "tourism" projects by the Baltic Sea Region countries

Source: authors' own elaboration based on data from: http://eu.baltic.net/

Moreover, the entities involved in cooperation (i.e. the development of tourist attractions and products) that hail from the more-developed part of the region are usually the ones to lead projects and receive larger sums in co-financing when compared with beneficiaries from the less-developed part. The analysis further indicates that the leaders of all "tourism" projects are located in Member States of the "Old EU". These findings suggest that EU projects have not been helping to reduce disparities between the "Old" and "New" European Unions, even as they do help create joint, transboundary space, and can be of significance in the synergistic combination of potentials.

CROSS-BORDER PROJECTS

Projects whose overall task is to develop tourism in the Baltic Sea region have been grouped into four types, involving the integration of transport, the management of tourism, the creation of tourist products and the generation of regional identity (Table 3).

Table 3. Examples of cross-border projects

No.	Group	Example
1	User-friendly cross-border solutions involving integrated transport systems	the InterCombi ticket, portlink.eu
2	Joint management of tourism/ marketing schemes	The Craftland Partnership, Enjoy the South Baltic!, Cruise Baltic
3	Studies seeking to create cross-border tourist products	research into the development of passenger traffic between Bornholm and Poland
4	Generation of a transboundary regional identity	Telling the Baltic, the South Baltic Maritime Heritage Atlas

Source: [15]

The integration of transport. While the transport operating in the Baltic is largely a matter for the private sector, its functioning within an integrated system still requires support as well as somewhat different organisation. In this matter, the public sector needs to generate integration- and information-related solutions, as well as those that encourage synchronisation, etc. Under Interreg IV's INTERFACE project, and the INTERFACE PLUS spinoff, a multi-modal cross-border ticket going by the name InterCombi was developed, to ensure the convenient linkage of ferry and coach services operated by different carriers across borders. The projects thus brought together local authorities, ports, ferry operators and tourist organisations, all with the ambition to achieve new levels of cross-border communication by linking together different forms of transport into a single convenient solution. Thanks to the projects, transfers of passengers from the southern Baltic travelling from Nykøbing Falster (Denmark), via Gedser to Rostock (Germany), and vice versa, became much more comfortable. Part of the achievement was the setting up of a dynamic passenger-information system monitorable on coaches, at terminals and bus stations. The aim was the real-time supply of information on timetables (and delays therein), as well as transfer times. As of 2018, the InterCombi ticket was still available, its price continuing to encompass all means of public transport in Nykøbing and Rostock, via coach from Nykøbing to Gedser, and including the crossing of the Baltic by Scandlines ferry between Gedser and Rostock[1].

A further example of transport integration under an Interreg IV project is Portlink – an information service relating to public transport between ferry terminals and cities. On selecting a particular port, a user gains access to all relevant information in three steps. An interactive map offers details of routes to be taken on foot, as well as distances between the ferry terminal and stations serving means of public transport. The service calculates all key data related to the planning of a journey, i.e. as regards the available public-transport operator, its timetable, the currency in use, ticket costs (where relevant), distances, times, numbers of stops, accessibility for people with mobility issues, and so on. At present, the service extends to 14 destinations in 6 different EU Member States within the Baltic region[2].

Joint management. Thanks to "The Craftland Partnership" project, three local-authority areas (in Poland, Lithuania and Sweden) put in three years of work to try and popularise (while also ensuring the preservation of) cultural heritage of the southern Baltic. This was achieved by way of joint, cross-border events of the craft-market and folk-concert types. A primary goal of the marketing concept was to extend the tourist season. Joint organisation of a series of events by the three local authorities attracted some 13,500 people altogether. Unfortunately, the events were not continued with when an end was put to co-financing in 2014[3].

---

[1] https://www.intercombi-ticket.de/

[2] http://www.portlink.eu

[3] http://craftland.foteviken.se/

However, further example projects called Enjoy South Baltic! and the Baltic Cruise Project attest to the way how joint management in tourism can be continued even after the source of external co-financing dries up. Faced with cut-throat international competition, interested parties from the southern Baltic (in Poland, Lithuania and Germany) launched an action to improve the image and raise the competitiveness of the southern Baltic area as an attractive destination for tourism. The result was an online marketing platform under the Destynacja Morze Bałtyckie slogan (where the Polish version is concerned). Users were presented there with towns and cities, protected areas and UNESCO sites, holiday centres, culinary diversity, opportunities for active tourism, events and so on. A special catalogue of tour operators served as a virtual market and promotional tool. One section sought to facilitate cross-border packages and business partnerships with the tourism branch beyond the southern Baltic area[4]. The project ended in 2014, but the online platform remained in place and in 2018 linked up with the under-development Baltic Sea Tourism Centre platform, which deals with the entire Baltic Sea region[5].

The third example is provided by the Baltic Cruise Project – an undertaking whose aim has been to raise the level of attractiveness of the Baltic Sea region among both boat-owners and tourists. The project was active in the years 2004-2007, and bore fruit in a 20% rise over 3 years in numbers of passengers taking trips on vessels sailing the Baltic. No fewer than 16 Baltic ports participated, and the undertaking is still in place more than 10 years after its official end. Indeed, it has developed into a 29-port cooperative venture that serves over 5 million passengers a year (with twice as many in 2017 as in the year co-financing ended)[6].

Tourist products. The development of tourist products represents the highest form of cross-border tourism achieved in the Baltic region. The first phase to such a process of development would seem to be research and planning on possibilities for launching an initiative of this type (here exemplified by the (re)development of passenger traffic between Denmark's Bornholm Island and Poland). 2011 in fact brought a suspension of ferry services between Darłowo and Ustka (Poland) and Nexø (Denmark). Thanks to research carried out, local and regional administrations and port authorities gained support for a decision-making process on a potential relaunch, and/or modernisation of the passenger ferry lines. And in the event, the ferry connection between Darłowo and Nexø was restarted in 2013[7].

Creating a regional transboundary identity. Identity represents an aspect of the branding (and hence the broader marketing) of a place, and helps make a tourist region more recognisable – and hence more likely to be visited. For its part, the Telling the Baltic project allowed more than 227,000 people sailing on Stena Line ferries between Gdynia (Poland) and Karlskrona (Sweden) to better acquaint themselves with the cultural heritage of the southern Baltic. This was done using on-board installations made ready by 14 artistic and cultural organisations based in Poland, Sweden, Germany, Lithuania and Russia, and involving interactive content, an exhibition of photography, artistic pieces and sound installations both in cabins and on the poop-deck; all designed to make clear the feelings of both locals and those travelling in the direction of the Baltic Sea[8]

In turn, the South Baltic Maritime Heritage Atlas was an end-product of the SeaSide project. It is an online service providing information on cultural and natural heritage in the southern Baltic area, whose task is to promote and strengthen regional identity, and of course to attract tourists into visiting. Filters built into the interactive map allow for

---

[4] https://balticsea.travel/

[5] https://bstc.eu/

[6] https://www.cruisebaltic.com/

[7] http://www.interfaceproject.eu/

[8] http://www.ttb.artline-southbaltic.eu/

simplified navigation through the various resources of maritime heritage, be these natural d cultural attractions, museums and aquaria, lighthouses and old ships, ports and squares, wrecks and other items relating to underwater archaeology, historic buildings or other items of built heritage. The Atlas thus represented one of the major undertakings and challenges in a project that brought together 13 partners in 4 countries. However, more than 7 years on from the completion of the Atlas project it remains active and serves its function[9].

CONCLUSIONS

Through this article, an attempt has been made to understand better the role of cross-border cooperation and EU funding in the establishment of transboundary tourist space in and around the Baltic Sea. The authors are fully aware that the work and results they present here make only a minor contribution to what would need to be far more major research on the topic. Indeed, in the next few years, it would be worth following through several of the indicated research directions, as the results should influence our understanding of many processes like the shaping of maritime transboundary tourist space (and the role of cross-border cooperation therein), the role of EU funds in the integration process, and the longer-term durability of phenomena and processes that have been initiated. Again, the authors are quite aware that this article does not offer a full depiction of cross-border cooperation, given its necessary focus on just a small number of selected phenomena, and case studies that help exemplify them.

In general, the development of cross-border cooperation across a sea is made possible by overcoming several huge physical barriers (the sea itself, but also the sheer distance that often separates opposite shores) [15, 17, 18]. A matter of particular importance to establishing contacts and the development of flows is the right kind of transport and transport connections, by both sea and air [1, 19]. Where these serve tourism, the process can be facilitated through the supply of information (advertising) and the better preparation of tourist space. Establishing such space across the Baltic Sea is seen to be a process highly dependent on EU co-funding, and those European projects that help national-level tourism space link up in the wider context of the transnational space that is the Baltic Sea region would seem to be of fundamental importance. Among a total of 631 projects financed via Interreg IV (in 2007-2013), 70 linked directly with tourism and attracted an overall budget of €107.5M (or 12.5% of the entire budget). Nevertheless, it remains the case that, as tourist attractions and products continue to take on a new shape, it is the better-developed part of the region (in the "Old EU") that is able to take the lead on projects, and thus absorb more of the co-financing (€32.5M), in contrast to projects' beneficiaries in countries of the less-developed "New EU" (which draw down €14.4M). In general, the projects whose overall task is to develop tourism in the Baltic Sea region can be classified as involving the integration of transport, tourism management, the development of tourist products and the generation of regional identity. However, this region still lacks a system that would help supervise cooperation in general, and cross-border cooperation in particular [11]. Moreover, i.a. for the above reason, our preliminary analysis suggests that EU projects have not been helping to reduce disparities between the "Old" and "New" European Unions, even as they do help create joint, transboundary space, and can be of significance in the synergistic combining of potentials.

REFERENCES

[1] Nilsson JH. Mobility and regionalisation: Changing patterns of air traffic in the Baltic Sea Region in connection to European integration. Geographia Polonica. 2018;91(1):77-93. https://doi.org/10.7163/GPol.0092

[2] Nilsson JH, Eskilsson L, Ek R. Creating cross-border destinations: Interreg programmes and regionalisation in the Baltic Sea area. Scand J Hospital Tourism. 2010;10:153-172. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250903561978

---

[9] http://www.maritimeatlas.eu/

[3] Stålvant C-E, Westermann R. Actors around the Baltic Sea. An inventory of infrastructures: Initiatives, Agreements and Actors. Compiled for the Baltic Sea States Summit 1996. Stockholm; 1996.

[4] Zitkus L. Integration of the Baltic Region states: driving forces and obstacles. Eur Integration Stud. 2013;7: 143-149. https://doi.org/10.5755/j01.eis.0.7.5021

[5] Studzieniecki T. The development of cross-border cooperation in an EU macroregion – a case study of the Baltic Sea Region. Procedia Economics and Finance, 2016;39:235-241. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(16)30318-5

[6] Prokkola EK, Lois M. Scalar politics of border heritage: an examination of the EU's northern and southern border areas. Scand J Hospital Tourism, 2016;16:sup1:14-35. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2016.1244505

[7] Wendt JA, Wiskulski T. Changes in Sea Cruise Tourism in Gdynia. Studies of the Industrial Geography Commission of the Polish Geographical Society. 2018;32(1):76-84. https://doi.org/10.24917/20801653.321.6

[8] Więckowski M. Tourism space: an attempt at a fresh look. Tourism. 2014;24(1):17-24. https://doi.org/10.2478/tour-2014-0002

[9] Butowski L. Maritime tourism space. Tourism. 2014;24(1):57-64. https://doi.org/10.2478/tour-2014-0006

[10] Więckowski M. Tourism development in the borderlands of Poland. Geographia Polonica. 2010;83(2):67-81.https://doi.org/10.7163/GPol.2010.2.5

[11] Studzieniecki T. Turystyka transgraniczna - nowa forma turystyki międzynarodowej w Europie [Cross-border tourism - a new form of international tourism in Europe]. In: Adamowicz M, Bergier J, eds. Rozwój obszarów przygranicznych w kontekście funkcjonowania Euroregionów, PWSZ w Białej Podlaskiej, Biała Podlaska; 2004, 173-182. Polish.

[12] Timothy DJ, Saarinen J. Cross-border cooperation and tourism in Europe. In: Costa C, PanyikE, Buhalis D, eds. Trends in European tourism planning and organisation. Bristol: Channel View Publications; 2013. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845414122-009

[13] Więckowski M, Saarinen J. Tourism transitions, changes, and the creation of new spaces and places in Central-Eastern Europe. Geographia Polonica. 2019;92(4):369-377. https://doi.org/10.7163/GPol.0154a

[14] Studzieniecki T, Meyer B. The programming of tourism development in Polish cross-border areas during the 2007-2013 period. 6th Central European Conference in Regional Science – CERS. 2017, 506-516.

[15] Więckowski M, Cerić D. Evolving tourism on the Baltic Sea coast: perspectives on change in the Polish maritime borderland. Scand J Hospital Tourism. 2016;16(Suppl.1):98-111. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2016.1244598

[16] Escach E, Vaudor L. Réseaux de villes et processus de recomposition des niveaux: le cas des villes baltiques. Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography, Politique, Culture, Représentations.2014;679. https://doi.org/10.4000/cybergeo.26336

[17] Palmowski T. Rola regionów transgranicznych w procesie integracji Europy Bałtyckiej [The role of cross-border regions in the integration of Baltic Europe]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego; 2000. Polish.

[18] Palmowski T. Współpraca transgraniczna obszarów nadmorskich na przykładzie Euroregionu Bałtyk. In: Euroregiony wschodniego pogranicza - założenia i osiągnięcia [Cross-border cooperation of coastal areas on the example of the Baltic Euroregion. In: Euroregions of the eastern border - assumptions and achievements]. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomicznej w iałymstoku; 2002, 111-121. Polish.

[19] Wendt JA, Wiskulski T. Problems of development of tourism and yachting on the Coast of Gdansk Pomerania (Poland) [Le problèmes de développement de tourisme et yachting sur la côte Gdańsk et de la Poméranie (Pologne)] Études caribéennes. 2017;36:1-10.