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# BETWEEN ELITISM AND EGALITARIANISM: THE HERITAGE TRAM LINE IN WROCŁAW AS AN EXAMPLE OF A SEARCH FOR AN ACCEPTABLE TOURIST PRODUCT

**Abstract:** The Heritage Tram Line is one of the tourist attractions of Wrocław. It is a way of making use of a large and diverse collection of historic trams that illustrate the development of public transport in the capital of Lower Silesia and, more broadly, in Central Europe. Although it has been operating since 2009, in recent years major modifications have been introduced including increasing the number of routes, a guided commentary on selected journeys, diversifying the historic tram cars and changing the ticket prices. The aim of the article is to evaluate these changes from the perspective of the interest of its users. The data on the frequency of operation and sales of tickets in the 2019 season have been analysed and compared with data from the previous year. This takes into account the increase in availability of the offer, as a consequence of a considerable reduction in ticket prices and introducing a larger number of stops, which has made the Heritage Tram Line more similar to a regular one. The changes introduced have resulted in a greater number of passengers, but also lower revenues as well as certain organisational problems such as ensuring the quality of guided services when passengers are being exchanged at intermediate stops. These issues are considered in the context of how to design a tourist product.

**Keywords:** technical monuments, historic trams, transport in tourism, tourist lines, tourist product, Wrocław.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Heritage Tram Line (*Zabytkowa Linia Tramwajowa*, ZLT) has been operating in Wrocław since 2009 and can be assessed as a tourist product with an established position, although still not fully implemented. This results from formal restrictions (the line is commissioned by the Municipality of Wrocław from public funds, hence it is impossible to sell souvenirs), as well as financial (an increased limitation of funds leading to ZLT changing from year-round operation to seasonal, with periods of activity varying along with different journey frequencies). In recent years the season has begun on differing dates (from the beginning of May to the middle of June), meaning that its promotion must be started anew each time and differently to the previous year. Changes have also been introduced in the tariff, some of which seem to give it a more elite character, such as the substantial rise in prices in 2018 and the increasing presence of guides. On the other hand, the number of routes and stops has increased, which makes the offer more accessible. In 2019, unlike the previous year, ticket prices were set at the level of ordinary public transport, so in practice the Heritage Tram Line could also be used by Wrocław inhabitants simply going to work or to a meeting and the offer has become more paratourist than tourist[1] in character. In the article it was decided to analyse these basically mutually exclusive changes, assess their impact on the popularity of the offer and indicate possible directions for further development.

The Heritage Tram Line should be interpreted as a tourist attraction as evidenced by the growing number of users. Therefore, it fits in with popular definitions emphasizing that to be an attraction it must interest tourists and make them leave home (Lew, 1987; Lundberg, 1985; Nowacki, 1999). Other means of transport (e.g. by boat) are often mentioned as tourist attractions, however, it is somewhat problematic to assign the Heritage Tram Line to an individual category, for instance according to Swarbrooke's and Page's (2011) classification

(see: Kruczek, 2011). Although the historical vehicles themselves were not built to attract tourists, ZLT was created for typically tourist purposes. The situation is similar in the case of Cohen's definition (1972) which distinguishes real and artificial attractions. Although ZLT has an organizational form (although it has undergone some changes, its core is permanent), it does not operate all year round, a criterion indicated by some authors as a necessary condition for being recognized as a tourist attraction (Nowacki, 2014). Definitions, however, vary, and it should be emphasized that the offer analysed has been on the market for over a decade, and functioning for a significant part of the year. Historic trams are also part of cultural heritage (or in a narrower sense – technical heritage) thus becoming a tourist attraction or an element of a tourist product (Nowacki, 1999).

Therefore, the issues analysed here can be considered as those of tourist product development (Kaczmarek, Stasiak, Włodarczyk, 2010; Smith, 1994; Stasiak, 2013); ZLT is a properly managed attraction to provide entertainment and education (Middleton, 1996; Nowacki, 1999, 2012, 2014). Among individual types of product, a tourist public transport line (including this one operated by historic tram cars) can be treated as a simple product-service, where the service is to provide transport, the most complex product is the product-trail (Stasiak, 2006, 2007; see also: Kołodziejczyk, 2014a; Mikos von Rohrscheidt, 2010; Styperek, 2002). In the latter case, however, the condition must be met that apart from the ride itself, additional elements are offered, e.g. guide services, souvenirs and cooperation with tourist facilities (attractions) connected by such a line. These can be related to technical heritage, modern human achievements in the field of transport[2] or represent a broader overview of the attractions of a given city whose common feature is that they are connected by the route of a given line. In such a broad sense, a tourist line has virtually all the features of a product-trail (Kaczmarek, Stasiak, Włodarczyk, 2010; Stasiak, 2006): spatial determination (the route results from the network and availability of tram tracks, but also, as far as possible, connect to the distribution of tourist assets), complexity (constituting a conglomerate of simple products[3]), multifunctionality (many producers of individual goods and services), and synergy (combining many attractions on a specific route into one comprehensive offer).

Features that bind the elements of such a product are the means of travel (e.g. a historic tram or bus), motives (desire to get to know the most important attractions of a given city in an attractive way and in a short time), or themes (with attractions being selected according to a specific idea). For such a product to develop, not only is its commercialization necessary, but also appropriate management (Bąk, 1999; Mikos von Rohrscheidt, 2010). Methods of implementation can vary from trying to reach the widest possible audience through providing the greatest availability (an egalitarian approach[4]), to attempts to create an elite product for which tourists will be willing to pay more for unique experiences. The so-called added value is crucial, i.e. providing recipients with additional benefits (emotions, satisfaction, contentment, prestige or uniqueness – cf. Stasiak, 2006), which can easily be achieved by contact with and travel on public transport vehicles which were regularly used up to a century ago. Creating ideas about a tourist product is largely due to marketing activities (Bąk, 1999), but can also be influenced by the "physical" elements of the offer (e.g. manner of service, form and quality of promotional materials).

The Heritage Tram Line and other tourist lines operated by vintage vehicles have so far been analysed either as a specific form of public transport (Kołodziejczyk, 2019; cf. Mehring, 2017; Meyer, 2009, 2011, 2015), as a way of using and maintaining historic vehicles (Kołodziejczyk, 2011, 2018; cf. Kucharski, Kikin, 2010), or in the context of individual types of tourism, mainly urban and heritage (Kołodziejczyk, 2019; cf. Ashworth, 1992; Kowalczyk, 2005; Lipińska, 2011; Matczak, 1989; Mikos von Rohrscheidt, 2008; Page, 1995). However, these analyses are still limited. The topic of vehicles (including historic ones) treated as a tourist asset is, however, present in academic discourse, for example regarding automotive tourism. It can be defined as a journey whose purpose and motivation is to visit places related to transport or important for its development, e.g. automotive museums, car factories, events (Cudny, 2018; Cudny, Horňák, 2016; Cudny, Jolliffe, 2019; Dolles, Dibben, Hardy, 2018; see also: Coles, 2004, 2008). The growing popularity of this type of tourism is demonstrated by motor festivals or rallies of vintage cars (in Poland alone there are several hundred such events every year, although their size and range are very diverse), but also by the interest of researchers (Cegielski, Mules, 2002; Cudny, 2018; Prideaux, Carson, 2011). The Heritage Tram Line fits in with the trend of giving tourist functions to historic structures as well (Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2009), although this is more often the case for fixed monuments, e.g. manor houses, town residences, castles, palaces and monasteries, but sometimes also post-industrial facilities and technical monuments (e.g. Cudny, 2016; Jędrysiak, 2011; Kołakowski, 2010; Nitkiewicz-Jankowska, 2006; Widawski, Duda-Seifert, 2014; Wójcik, 2012).

The intention of the article is to evaluate the changes introduced to the Heritage Tram Line offer in recent years from the perspective of user interest (take-up). To this end, data from 2019 regarding number of passengers and revenues from tickets have been analysed, and then compared with data from the previous year to determine the impact of the evolution of the tour-

ist product. The data obtained was so detailed (for individual routes and specific types of ticket) that it has allowed the author to capture daily changes in the line's operation, along with the overall period of time when the offer was available to both Wrocław residents and tourists. It can be assumed that thanks to the promotional campaign and regular presence of historic trams in the city space, awareness of the offer's existence and, consequently, user numbers increased. The data comes from two of the three carriers operating on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 and from both carriers from 2018. The lack of information from the third carrier for 2019 is because of different operating rules and a longer working period, hence including it would distort the results. Desk work consisted of statistical analysis of the acquired data and its visualisation on Microsoft Excel. As a result, it was possible to compare the results from 2019 and 2018 and indicate the desired directions of development of the tourist product. The article is a continuation of the analysis of the Heritage Tram Line in 2018 (Kołodziejczyk, 2019).

## 2. CHANGES IN THE OFFER OF THE HERITAGE TRAM LINE: 2016-2019

The Heritage Tram Line in Wrocław has been evolving since 2016 in accordance with decisions from departments of Wrocław City Council (City Promotion and Tourism Office, and from 2019 the Social Participation Department), partly in agreement with the carriers. For many years the route only ran from the city centre to the Centennial Hall in the east, however in 2016 there was diversification, introducing additional journeys exclusively across the Old Town. Selected journeys with a guide also appeared at this time. Major changes occurred in 2018, when the line operated only on weekends[5] from June 16th to September 9th. Until 2018 it was operated solely by the Wrocław Admirers Society (*Towarzystwo Miłośników Wrocławia*, TMW), but was expanded to a consortium of associations which became operators[6], in which TMW was joined by the Urban Transport Enthusiasts Club (*Klub Sympatyków Transportu Miejskiego*, KSTM). This allowed a greater diversity of tram cars to appear on the line, including a *Konstal 102Na* tram from 1972, whose comprehensive renovation over several years had just been completed. In 2018, there were four routes: A and B operated by KSTM, which traditionally connected Opera and Centennial Hall (three journeys on each), and C and D, on which TMW trams ran around the city centre (respectively four journeys and just one – Fig. 1). As in 2017, route D, the so-called night route, showed the most interesting of the illuminated monuments, however, the time (20:00) turned out to be too early to see the lights for most of the season. A major change was the introduction of several stops on routes A and B near key tourist attractions which allowed for the implementation of a "hop on – hop off" offer, which is often and successfully used in many western and Polish cities, but had not been introduced in Wrocław[7]. However, this made a conductor service on KSTM trams necessary, but it was carried out on a voluntary basis.

In 2018, additional types of tickets (return and family) were introduced, which was the response of both carriers to the increase in price of single tickets (PLN 8 full-price and PLN 4 concessionary). The change was imposed by Wrocław City Council in the announcement of the competition for the organisation of the line (however, carriers were left with the chance to propose additional ticket types and prices). The new types of ticket were aimed at reducing the total cost in the case of travelling on both routes A and B (return tickets) and for families on all routes. Unfortunately, due to the need for separate accounting by both associations, it was not possible to introduce one-day tickets that would be valid on vehicles of both carriers. A guided commentary was offered on selected journeys on all routes. In 2019, for the first time, unequivocal competition appeared for the Heritage Tram Line, i.e. the Tourist Line launched at the beginning of July by the Municipal Transport Company (*Miejskie Przedsiębiorstwo Komunikacyjne*, MPK) using one historic tram car, also just renovated. As a consequence, there were two tourist tram lines, both financed from municipal funds (but by different departments), running on similar routes and at similar hours. On the MPK line a regular city tariff was valid, and thus significantly lower ticket prices. It is interesting, however, that this did not negatively affect figures for the Heritage Tram Line, which in fact increased. The MPK historical tram ran until the end of October, but the promotion of this offer was limited (only social media – no leaflets or other information at tourist information offices).

Changes to the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 were behind avoiding this competition as it basically absorbed the MPK line. Everything was promoted as one offer, although the accounts were carried out separately: MPK journeys on one side, and KSTM and TMW on the other, were financed by different city council departments. The main change was the introduction of the regular city tariff, i.e. the one already present in 2018 on the MPK line. Passengers on the ZLT could use any MPK ticket, electronic tickets encoded on city cards (or bank cards) or they could buy single tickets onboard historic trams, but at the prices for ordinary public transport. This was the only type of ticket available on vehicles (both single full-price and concessionary). Family and return tickets were not on sale any more,

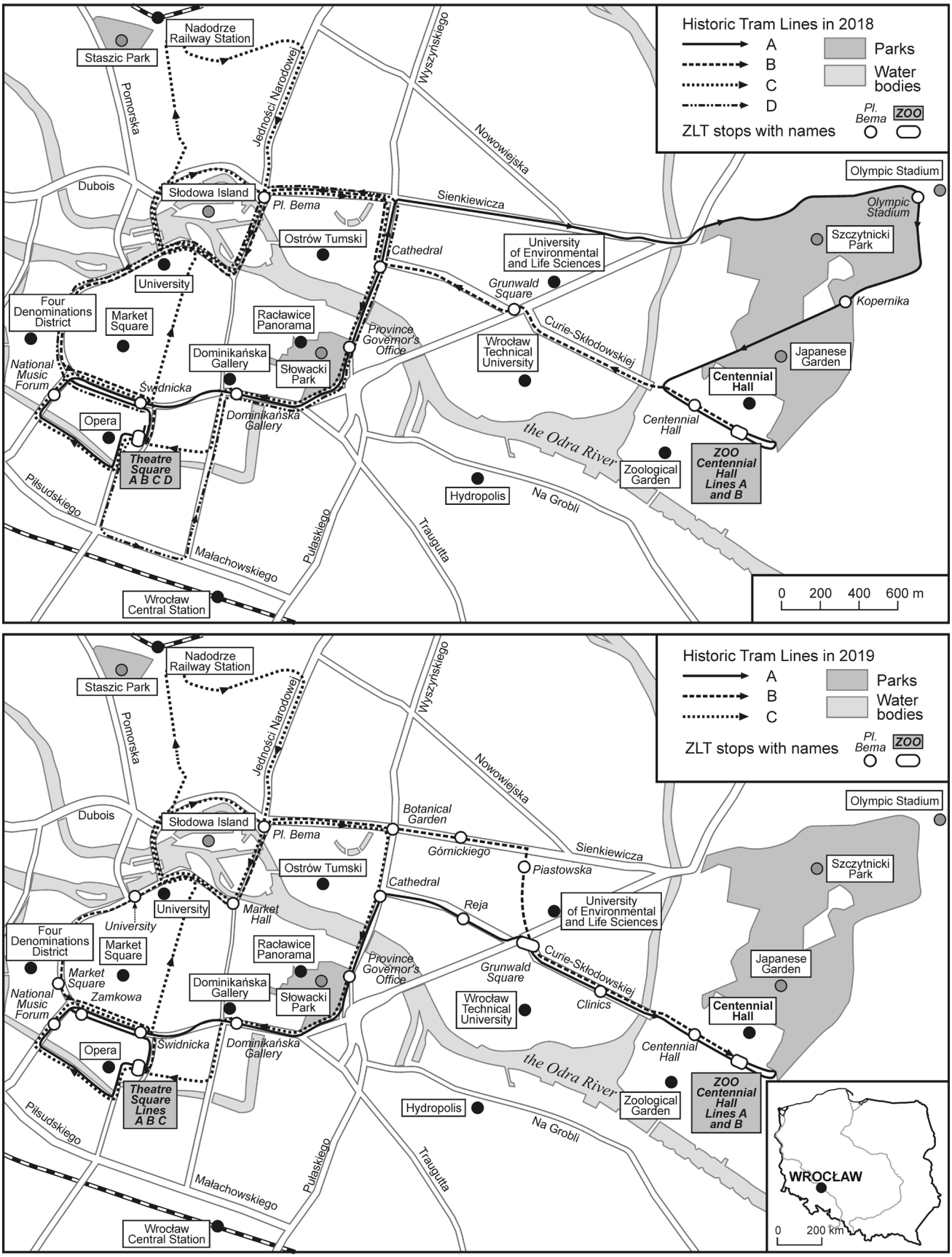


Figure 1. Route network of the Heritage Tram Line in 2018 and 2019
Notes: route C has not changed, route D did not function in 2019.
Source: author

Table 1. The presence of heritage related to public transport in the tourist and cultural offer of Wrocław

| Form | Characteristic |
|---|---|
| Regular tourist line served by historic trams | Heritage Tram Line served by several tram cars, running every year in the summer season. |
| Occasional journeys taking passengers to events and to cultural facilities | Historic trams and buses run at various times in cooperation with city authorities, cultural institutions and companies. The largest range was during Museum Night, when several routes were run. Vehicles have taken Wrocław inhabitants and tourists for the opening of the exhibition in the *Pawilon Czterech Kopuł* (Four Domes Pavilion) near the Centennial Hall (branch of the National Museum), to the horse racing track in Partynice, for the unveiling of sculptures in *Park Wschodni* (Eastern Park), and for events organised by the Institute of National Remembrance (*Instytut Pamięci Narodowej*). |
| Historic public transport vehicles participating in cultural events | Jazz musicians (the so-called Jazz Tram from 2014) as well as other artists performing regularly onboard vintage trams (once such an event was also organised on a bus). Vehicles are becoming an attraction for events taking place in public space (e.g. as part of the European Week of Sustainable Transport). |
| Opportunity to rent historic public transport vehicles | All functional vintage vehicles can be rented for occasional journeys, integration events, etc. Suggested routes are prepared but, depending on the need, any route can be used. Often ordered as an attractive means of transport for a wedding. Additional guided trips are possible. |
| Making tram and bus depots accessible | Every year, the Popowice Depot Open Day is organised, during which most of the historic trams and buses can be seen, as well as selected interiors of the historic depot in the company of a guide. Rides and historical lectures are also organised. An additional offer is related to the education and promotion of sustainable transport. The depot is made open on a smaller scale several times a year (e.g. photo day). Every year an MPK Wrocław Open Day is held, when two depots (tram and bus) are made available. Historic urban transport vehicles also participate in this event. |
| Photo and film sessions | Opportunity to arrange sessions with historic public transport vehicles in the urban space or in the depot. Used by individuals (e.g. wedding sessions) and companies (mainly for movie purposes). |

Source: author.

but this was not a big problem in the face of a significant reduction in prices (for example, the price of a standard single ticket dropped from PLN 8 to PLN 3.40). The route operated in 2019 from May 1 to October 27 on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, with only MPK running throughout the entire period, the associations only operated from June 15th to September 15th. MPK together with KSTM served routes A and B, which were somewhat shortened compared to the previous year (Fig. 1). The first performed four return journeys, and the second three, hence seven return journeys were available during the peak holiday season (departures from the Opera every hour from 11:00 to 17:00). Trams served all the stops passed which, combined with the tariff, made these routes analogous to regular lines giving the offer a paratourist character (cf. Kowalczyk, Derek, 2010). This was problematic on guided journeys when passengers got on and off frequently and had to have tickets sold or checked. The situation made it difficult for tourists to appreciate the information, and for guides to relate to the listeners properly, while for passengers joining at later stops the narration had already begun. For TMW, the "night" route D was liquidated, instead a fifth journey on route C was introduced (all journeys were with a guide; departures every hour from 13:30 to 17:30). As for the stops on route C, the situation from the previous year was maintained; it was possible to board only at the Opera and there were no intermediate stops. Some confusion resulted from the fact that TMW did not run on public holidays, so at that time only journeys on routes A and B were offered. The promotion was carried out mainly by members of KSTM, hence it began in practice in mid-June. Earlier, MPK, had only advertised the line to a very limited extent, only on its social media. Not until after the offer was expanded by the associations, did promotional and historical leaflets appear, distributed at all tourist information offices in the city and on vintage trams as a kind of souvenir. There were also more press articles about the Heritage Tram Line (e.g. Kokoszkiewicz, 2019; Krejner, 2019; Wolniewicz, 2019). At the same time, it should be remembered that ZLT is an element of the quite diverse presence of historic trams and the heritage associated with public transport in the tourist and cultural offer of Wrocław (Table 1).

## 3. TAKE-UP AND TICKET SALES FOR THE HERITAGE TRAM LINE IN 2019

In the entire season of running the Heritage Tram Line in 2019, KSTM and TMW carried 4,493 passengers[8], while the daily figures ranged from 73 (on the first day of the season) to 221 (on the penultimate Sunday) (Fig. 2). An increase in interest in the offer over time is clearly visible, which is associated with the dissemination of information and a growing awareness of its existence both among people dealing professionally with tourist information in the city and among Wrocław's residents who are an important group of passengers (trips to recreational areas in Szczytnicki Park, showing the city to their guests). The lowest take-up per day (clearly less than 100) was recorded in June, including the first and third day of operation (73 and 77, respectively), while the highest (over 200) after mid-August, and twice in September on the penultimate weekend (201 and 221 on Saturday and Sunday). In June and July, only on one day did the passenger numbers exceed 150, three times not reaching even 100. During this period, the take-up was most often in the range of 130 to 150. In August and September, however, only on one day did the number not reach 150, three times it exceeded 200, and most often ranged between 165 and 185. The increase in attendance together with the time the offer was on the market is confirmed by data from September. It could have been assumed that after the holidays the number of passengers would drop significantly, however, this did not happen, 185 passengers a day were transported on average in this month, while in August it was 169 (for comparison, June – 105 and in July – 143).

Throughout the season, KSTM and TMW made 320 historic tram journeys. On average, each journey had 14 passengers, which seems quite low. However, when assessing the result, the fact that historic public transport vehicles are not as capacious as modern ones should be taken into account. Some tram cars on the line in 2019 have only 12 or 16 seats (Lubka, Stiasny, 2010; Żurawicz, 2013), although of course standing is possible (taking into account standing places, the smallest tram can carry about 30 people). The lowest average number of passengers per journey was reached on the first day of operation (6.6), and the highest on August 15th (28.8), with the latter being based on two factors: firstly a long weekend (August 15th is a holiday in Poland), and secondly TMW did not operate that day, so fewer journeys were available[9]. Apart from this day, the highest average take-up (20.1) was achieved on the penultimate Sunday, which is further confirmation of the importance of September in terms of tourism and recreation. A figure of 20 was not reached on any other day. Data on the average number of passengers per journey calculated by month is also a confirmation of the

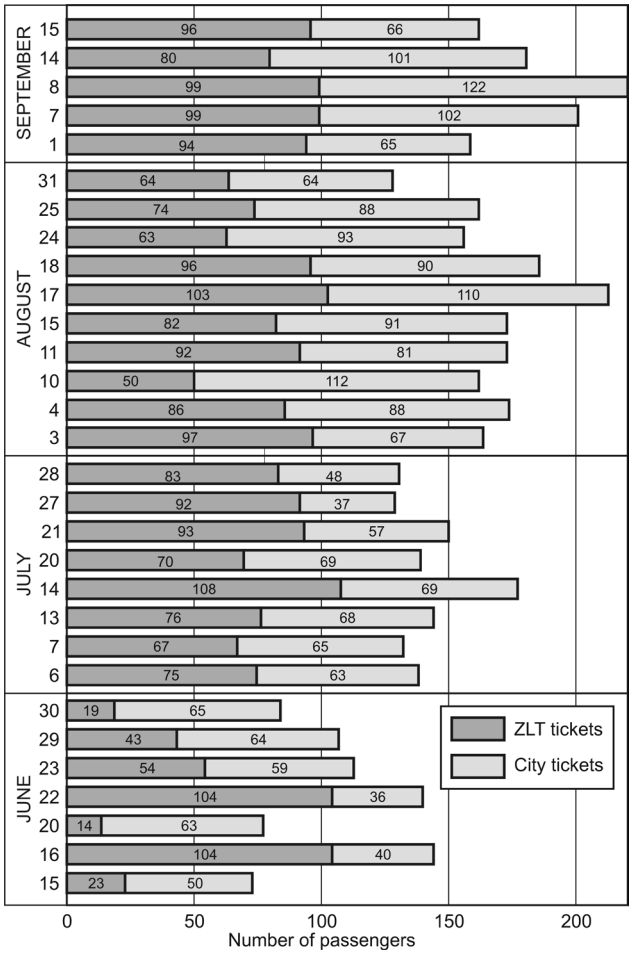


Figure 2. Number of passengers on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 depending on how the fare was paid
Source: author

increase in interest in the offer along with the period of its presence on the market (June – 10.4, July – 13.0, August – 16.7, September – 16.8).

Among all passengers, the majority bought tickets dedicated to the Heritage Tram Line, but the predominance was insignificant (51.19%; cf. Fig. 5), which proves that the possibility of travelling based on regular city tickets introduced in 2019 was appreciated by both Wrocław residents and tourists (the former usually had long-term tickets encoded on city cards, while the latter mainly daily tickets). People using city tickets dominated during 14 days out of the total of the 30 when ZLT was operated by KSTM and TMW (Fig. 2), but it was usually a small advantage (between 50 and 60% of all passengers). A figure above 60% was achieved only four times, of which three fell in June (and one in August), including the highest figure (81.82%) recorded on June 20th (when only KSTM operated) and the second highest (77.38%) on June 30th. The number of passengers travelling on the basis of city tickets generally increased during the season (with some decline at the end of August and beginning of September), but the increase in overall take-up

was determined by the growing number of people buying tickets on historic trams, although this was characterised by significant fluctuations (Fig. 2). In June, on average, 52 people travelled using ZLT tickets, but in this month the range was largest, from only 14 to as many as 104 (this figure, the second highest in the entire season, occurred twice in June). In the following months there were statistically 83, 81 and 94 people with ZLT tickets, and the highest (108) was reached on July 14th. It is difficult to indicate any relationship between the number of passengers travelling using city tickets and those bought on vintage trams, sometimes the decrease in one figure corresponded with a decrease in the other (e.g. August 31st), and sometimes the relationship was inverted (e.g. June 22nd and July 21st). Generally, the largest fluctuations were recorded in June and at the beginning of September.

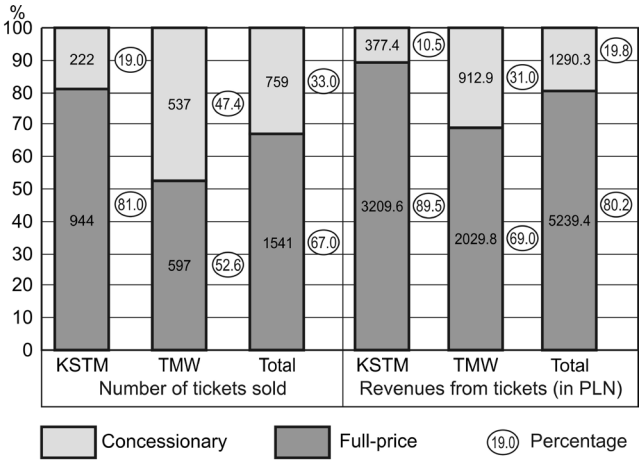


Figure 3. Tickets sold onboard trams running on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 andrevenues
Source: author

Total revenue from tickets sold on KSTM and TMW cars running on ZLT in 2019 amounted to PLN 6,529.70, of which the vast majority (80.24%) were associated with full-price tickets (Fig. 3), due to their higher price, but also larger numbers (2,300 tickets sold, of which 67% were full-price). The small number of concessionary tickets results from the narrowing of those entitled to buy them after children and students (to age 21) were exempted from fares. In practice, concessionary tickets were mainly bought by pensioners. However, there were days when the number of concessionary tickets sold exceeded the number of full-price (Fig. 4). This happened three times throughout the season (in its second half; the highest percentage was 60%), moreover, the number of concessionary tickets was twice only slightly lower than for full-price (share above 45%). This is probably due to the appearance of a larger group (e.g. organised) of elderly people on a given day. On other days, the share of concessionary tickets was in the range

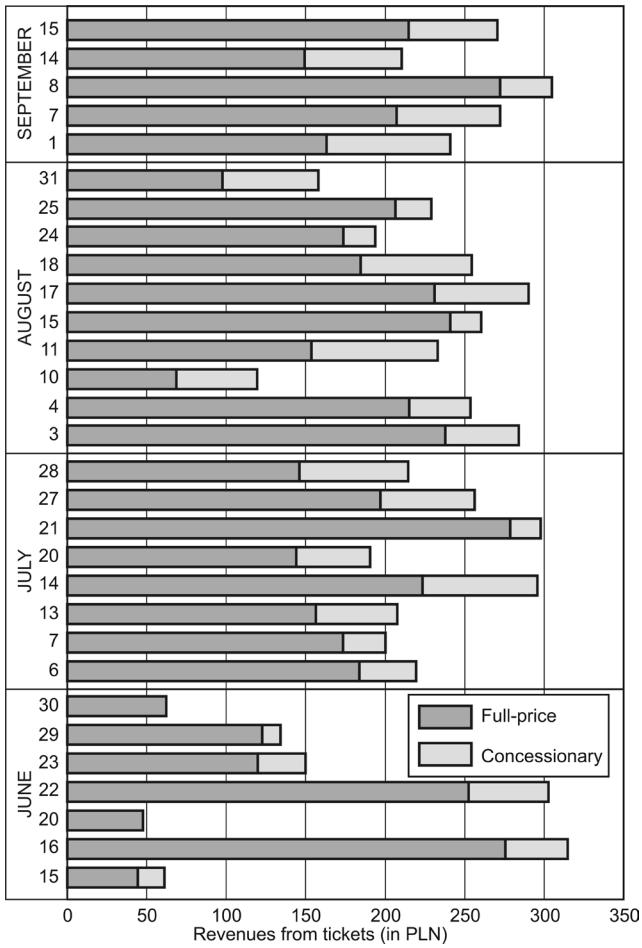


Figure 4. Revenues from Heritage Tram Line tickets in 2019
Source: author

of 25-40%, although variability was very high. Because concessionary tickets cost half a regular one, their contribution to revenues was much lower: an average of 19.76% for the entire season, with percentages ranging from 0% (June 20th) to 42.86% (August 10th) on individual days, although they rarely exceeded 30%. Generally, ticket revenues fluctuated quite strongly throughout the entire period (Fig. 4), and the factors that affected this were weather and general take-up, the number of people with city tickets and the appearance of organised groups of various sizes among passengers.

## 4. COMPARISON OF THE USE OF THE OFFER IN 2019 DEPENDING ON CARRIER

Passenger frequency and payment methods in the case of each carrier reflect the different nature of individual routes. As mentioned above, KSTM operated routes A and B (Fig. 1) connecting the Old Town with Centennial Hall and the adjacent tourist and recreation complex (Szczytnicki Park, Japanese Garden, Zoological Garden,

Cognitive Centre; moreover, in the vicinity is the Olympic Stadium and the district of modernist-style housing, so-called WuWA, recently revitalised). Trams served all the stops passed, but guided commentary was offered on only one return journey (at 16:00 from Opera to Centennial Hall and return at 17:00). KSTM made six journeys a day (three on route A to Centennial Hall and three on route B to Opera), which over 30 days (Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays) made 180 journeys (of which 60 were with a guide). TMW operated route C (Fig. 1), which spanned the city centre without stopping. The tram could be boarded only at Opera, then receiving almost an hour's ride, always in the company of a guide talking about the monuments and historical events taking place near the tram route. On route C there were five journeys daily, which resulted in 140 throughout the season (TMW ran on weekends, but not on public holidays, so there were 28 days of operation).

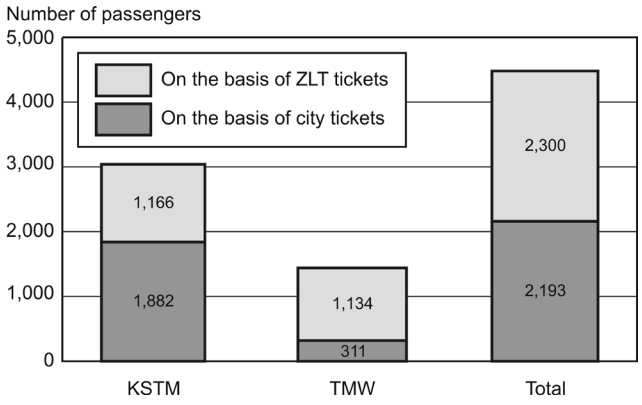


Figure 5. Passengers on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 by carrier and ticket purchase method
Source: author

KSTM carried 3,048 passengers throughout the season, of which 61.75% used city tickets and 38.25% bought tickets on the tram. In turn, TMW's offer was used by 1,445 passengers, but only 21.52% used city tickets, and 78.48% purchased ZLT tickets (Fig. 5). In the case of routes A and B attention is drawn by more than twice (2.11) as high a frequency (with only one more journey daily than on route C) and almost thrice (2.87) as high a share of passengers using city tickets. This is certainly due to the better accessibility of routes served by KSTM because the trams could be boarded in various places, and also by connections to regular public transport lines. Wrocław residents were able to take advantage of this offer to a greater extent, in particular that the tram cars were running to areas that are popular for weekend recreation. This group, in turn, uses city tickets much more often than tourists. However, the offer of routes A and B was also attractive for the latter group because it allowed not only the monument inscribed on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List (Centennial Hall) to be reached, but also other monuments and attractions to be seen by starting or ending the ride in their immediate vicinity. In turn, route C was more "hermetic", directed to people (primarily tourists) who wanted to comfortably and quickly see the most important places in the Old Town and the recently revitalised Nadodrze district. Poor accessibility resulted in lower figures, and passengers from outside Wrocław who did not necessarily have city tickets dominated.

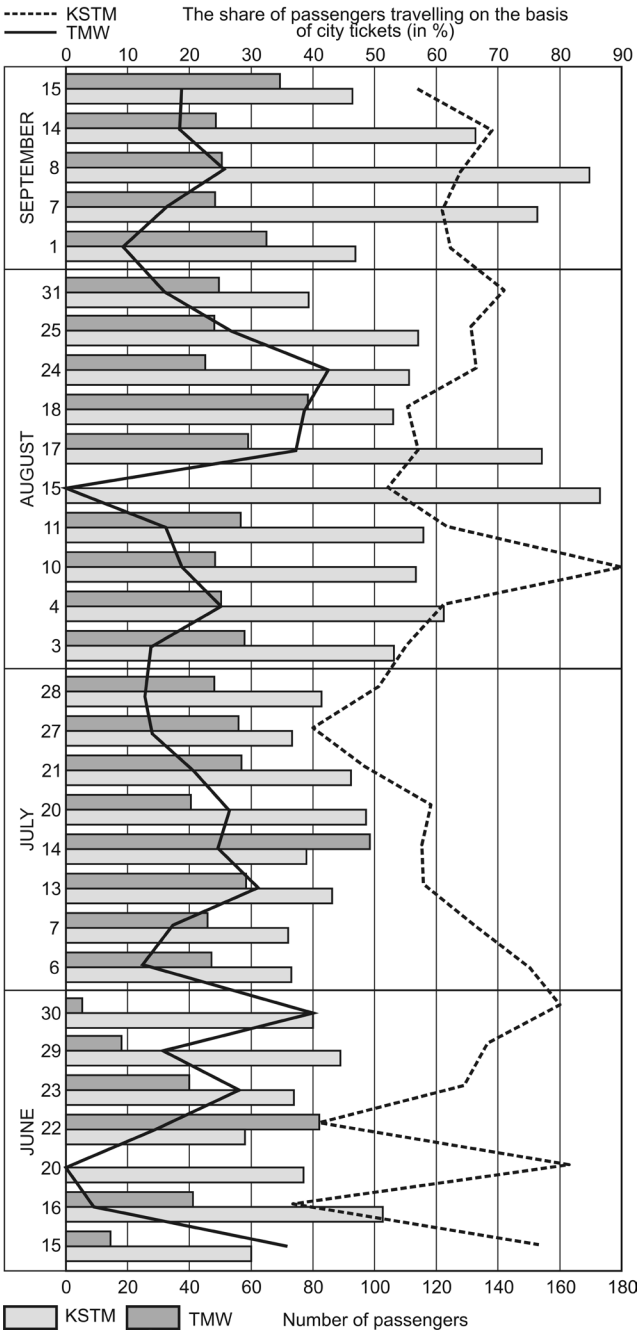


Figure 6. Numbers of passengers on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 by carrier and ticket type
Source: author

These observations are confirmed by the data for individual days of ZLT operation (Fig. 6). On almost every day, KSTM carried more passengers than TMW with the exceptions of June 22nd (58 and 82, respectively) and July 14th (78 against 99). The largest relative predominance of KSTM over TMW (quotient of the number of people transported by KSTM and TMW) was 15.8 (June 30th), 4.94 (June 29th) and 4.21 (June 15th), while in absolute terms the largest difference was 119 (September 8th; of course, June 20th and August 15th are omitted as TMW did not run on those days). On each day of ZLT operation, the share of passengers travelling using city tickets was higher (sometimes even significantly so) on routes served by KSTM (Fig. 6). In this case, it was below 50% only four times, the lowest (36.89%) on June 16th, i.e. on the second day of operation. The percentage reached its highest figure (90.35%) on August 10th, while most often it was in the range of 50-70%, with greater fluctuations in June and July than in August and September. In turn, for route C, a figure of 50% and more was never reached, and only once was 40% exceeded (just slightly at 42.22%), and most often it was between 10 and 30%. The largest difference between the percentage of people using city tickets on KSTM and TMW routes was noted on August 10th, when it amounted to 71.6 percentage points (90.35% compared to 18.75%).

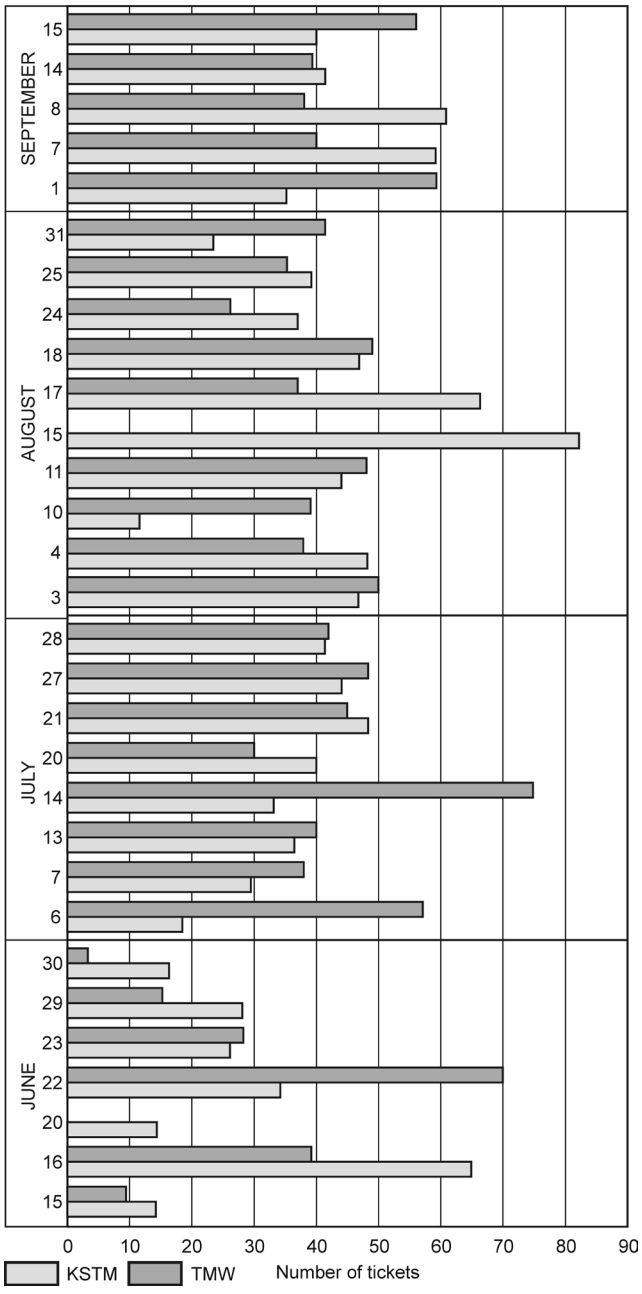


Figure 7. Number of Heritage Tram Line tickets sold in 2019 (combined full-price and concessionary) by carrier
Source: author

As the number of passengers with city tickets was clearly higher on routes A and B, in terms of the number of ZLT tickets sold, the advantage of KSTM over TMW was small. The first association distributed 1,166 tickets (944 full-price and 222 concessionary), and the second 1,134 tickets (597 full-price and 537 concessionary; Fig. 3). It is worth noting the clearly greater share of concessionary tickets on route C (47.35% compared to 19.04% on routes A and B), which is quite difficult to explain. Perhaps there were more people who were entitled to a discount (mainly students and pensioners), or the tram-drivers who dealt with the sale of tickets on route C, incorrectly applying the tariff. Considering the relatively narrow group of people for whom concessionary tickets were envisaged in 2019 (after granting free travel to children and students to the age of 21, as well as those over 68), such a high percentage raises doubts. Apart from the days when the journeys were by KSTM only, out of 28 days this organisation sold more tickets 13 times, and TMW 15 times (Fig. 7).

The figures show relations in reveneus from ticket sales (Fig. 3 and 8). Despite only a small predominance of KSTM in terms of the total number of tickets, this organisation clearly had higher revenues (PLN 3,587.00 compared to PLN 2,942.70 in the case of TMW) which was due to a significantly higher percentage of full-price tickets (Fig. 3). The share of concessionary tickets in KSTM's revenues was only 10.52%, and in TMW's 31.02%. As a consequence, taking into account individual days, KSTM had revenues higher than TMW much more often compared to the number of tickets sold. Out of 28 days (excluding public holidays), this happened as many as 20 times (Fig. 8). However, three days when TMW's predominance was really clear attract attention and they occurred at the beginning of the season (June 22nd and July 6th and 14th) and may result from the presence of an organised group on route C. For example, on July 14th TMW sold as many as 38 concessionary tickets, which was the second highest in the season (the

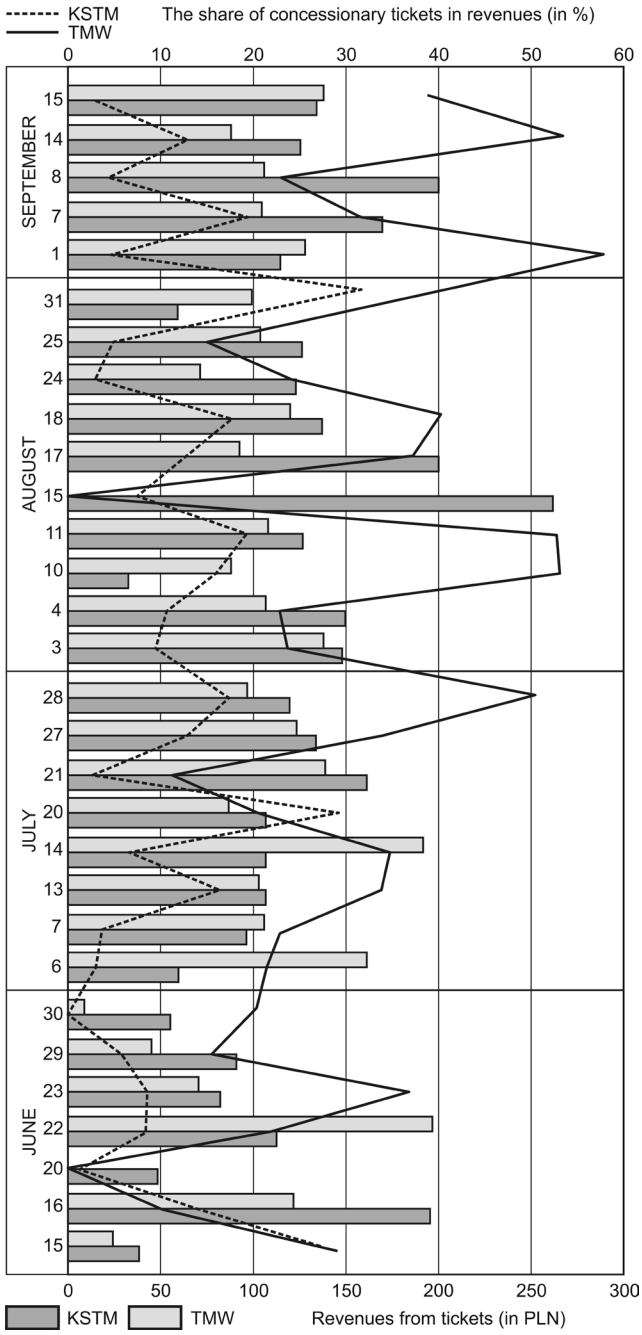


Figure 8. Revenue from tickets
on the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 by carrier and ticket type
Source: author

maximum figure of 43 fell on September 1st), of which as many as 15 were distributed on one journey (which again is the second highest figure, while the maximum – 18 – were also sold on September 1st). KSTM received its highest revenue on August 15th, when TMW did not run a tram and potential passengers had less journeys to choose from, on August 17th and September 8th (identical figures), and June 16th. The high revenues of KSTM on the penultimate weekend of running on the Heritage Tram Line (as well as the high take-up and the number of tickets sold – cf. Figs. 6, 7 and 8) may be related to the large event held on September 7th. The Popowice Depot Open Day enables Wrocław residents and tourists to explore the historic tram depot along with the historic tram cars collected there. This event gathers several thousand visitors, many of whom are public transport enthusiasts from various cities, and use the Heritage Tram Line on the occasion (the more so that on the day of the event a special line, also served by historic trams, connects Popowice Depot with Opera, where it connects with departures on route A of the Heritage Tram Line). Because TMW's total revenues from ticket sales were characterised by a higher share of concessionary tickets, this predominance is also typical when analysing revenues on individual days (Fig. 8). KSTM only twice in the whole season (apart from the days when TMW did not run) reported a higher share of concessionary tickets, and once (on the first day of operation) it reached a similar figure. On other occasions TMW had a higher proportion, usually two or three times higher.

A lot of information about the functioning of the Heritage Tram Line in 2019 is provided by data showing the total take-up on individual journeys throughout the season, i.e. from June 15th to September 15th. For routes operated by KSTM (Table 2), route A (journeys at 12:00, 14:00 and 16:00) was clearly more popular than B (journeys at 13:00, 15:00 and 17:00). The first option was used by 1,788 people, while the second just 1,260. It can be concluded that the line is used as an attractive means of reaching recreational areas in the eastern part of the city, but the return takes place more commonly by ordinary public transport. Perhaps this is due to the relatively short running hours and the departure time of the last tram from Centennial Hall (17:00[10]) being simply too early (given the considerable length of daylight). In addition, the lack of return tickets did not encourage using both routes together. For route A, the first and last journeys enjoyed higher (and similar) popularity, while on route B, the third and second respectively. This confirms that ZLT should perhaps run longer. High attendance at the first trip from the Opera may indicate that an earlier journey would also be appreciated (e.g. at 10:00[11]), similarly the large number of passengers on the last one from Centennial Hall suggests that there could be a need for a later journey on route B. The data also suggest that passengers spend a longer time around Centennial Hall, not necessarily returning on the next journey. Taking into account return journeys, the last one enjoyed the most popularity (1,079 people; 992 on the first return journeys and 977 on the second), maybe due to the services of a guide. The average number of passengers per route ranged from 12.4 to 20.67, being directly related to the take-up. These figures are not too high, especially if one considers that the *Konstal 102Na* tram with 32 seats appeared most frequently on routes A and B, although it should also be remembered that the

Table 2. Total figures for individual journeys on routes A and B of the Heritage Tram Line operated by KSTM throughout the 2019 season (June 15th-September 15th)

| Journey | Total number of passengers | Number of passengers travelling with | | | Average number of passengers per journey | The share of passengers travelling with city tickets |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ZLT concessionary tickets | ZLT full-price tickets | city tickets | | |
| 12:00 | 620 | 47 | 199 | 374 | 20.67 | 60.32 |
| 13:00 | 372 | 25 | 95 | 252 | 12.40 | 67.74 |
| 14:00 | 558 | 34 | 184 | 340 | 18.60 | 60.93 |
| 15:00 | 419 | 25 | 129 | 265 | 13.97 | 63.25 |
| 16:00 | 610 | 45 | 195 | 370 | 20.33 | 60.66 |
| 17:00 | 469 | 46 | 142 | 281 | 15.63 | 59.91 |
| Total | 3,048 | 222 | 944 | 1,882 | 16.93 | 61.75 |

Source: author.

Table 3. Total figures for individual journeys on route C of the Heritage Tram Line throughout the 2019 season (June 15th-September 15th)

| Journey | Total number of passengers | Number of passengers travelling with | | | Average number of passengers per journey | The share of passengers travelling with city tickets |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ZLT concessionary tickets | ZLT full-price tickets | city tickets | | |
| 13:30 | 355 | 140 | 147 | 68 | 12.68 | 19.15 |
| 14:30 | 246 | 92 | 104 | 50 | 8.79 | 20.33 |
| 15:30 | 302 | 143 | 88 | 71 | 10.79 | 23.51 |
| 16:30 | 258 | 88 | 125 | 45 | 9.21 | 17.44 |
| 17:30 | 284 | 74 | 133 | 77 | 10.14 | 27.11 |
| Total | 1,445 | 537 | 597 | 311 | 10.32 | 21.52 |

Source: author.

*Konstal N* wagon from 1949 with only 12 seats (Lubka, Stiasny, 2010; Żurawicz, 2013) was used several times. It should be added that on 12 occasions more than 32 people benefited from one journey, i.e. all seats were occupied. A maximum of 65 passengers were carried once. As for purchased tickets, it is difficult to see any special relationships. The share of passengers travelling using city tickets was around 60% regardless of the journey, with a slightly higher figure (67.74%) for 13:00. The passengers using the concessionary fare constituted from 5.97% (15:00) to 9.81% (17:00) of all passengers on individual journeys throughout the season, while the share of concessionary tickets sold ranged from 15.6% (14:00) to 24.47% (17:00).

In the case of route C, operated by TMW (Table 3), the first journey had the largest numbers, followed by the third, while the smallest number used the second. This is difficult to explain, but perhaps lunch time influenced the situation. The average number of passengers per journey ranged from 8.79 to 12.68, which also seems to be low, but it should be remembered that on Saturdays the *Linke-Hofmann Standard* tram car from 1929 with 16 seats only usually operated this route (while on Sundays it was the *Konstal 102N* tram car from 1969 with 32 passenger seats). The share of passengers travelling with city tickets, much lower than in the case of KSTM, was also slightly more variable, from 17.44% to 27.11%. While on routes A and B on each of the journeys throughout the season more passengers used city tickets than ZLT (full-price followed by concessionary tickets), and in the case of TMW this relationship was very uncertain. People using city tickets were usually the least numerous, but the exception was the journey at 17:30 when they were greater than those who bought concessionary tickets on ZLT. On the other hand, when it comes to the proportions of full-price and concessionary tickets sold, the former were more often greater, although the latter dominated quite clearly on the journey at 15:30, and at 13:30 the figures were very similar.

## 5. COMPARISON OF THE TAKE-UP OF THE OFFER IN 2018 AND 2019

The comparison is based on data from both associations operating the Heritage Tram Line in both years, excluding MPK. In 2018 MPK ran journeys on a competitive

line, and in 2019 significantly increased its activity, extending the period of operation and increasing its frequency, therefore data regarding MPK should not be included because it relates to different offers and periods. Analysis for both years (Table 4) covered the time from mid-June (16/06/2018 and 15/06/2019) to the first half of September (09/09/2018 and 15/09/2019). In 2019, 34 journeys more were conducted than in 2018 because the season was one weekend longer, in addition, KSTM operated on public holidays. A consequence was the higher number of guided journeys. In both years KSTM performed more journeys, but TMW had more with a guided commentary. In 2019, passenger numbers clearly increased: on routes operated by KSTM it increased by 34.75% compared to 2018, on TMW routes by as much as 65.33%, and in total by 43.27%. The smaller increase for routes A and B can be explained by the fact that these routes were also served by MPK, hence passengers had a greater number of journeys to choose from (seven return journeys instead of three in 2018). Despite this, KSTM also recorded growth. A much larger increase in interest in the case of route C indicates, however, that a guided offer is desirable and passengers appreciate a relaxing ride around the city centre (without intermediate stops and passenger exchange).

However, it is more important to compare the average number of passengers per journey, as these figures limit the impact of the different operating times. In 2019, a total increase of 27.99% was recorded, which resulted from an increase of 16.6% on routes operated by KSTM and 53.57% by TMW. Thus, it is clear that the modifications introduced in 2019, especially changes in tariff and the honouring of city tickets, contributed to the increase in popularity. Interestingly, despite the fact that almost half of the passengers (48.81%) travelled using city tickets, in 2019 the overall number of ZLT tickets sold also increased by 14.03% in total: 8.87% on KSTM routes and 19.87% on the TMW route. However, it should be remembered that this was mainly due to the change in tariff, because in 2019 only single tickets were offered, while a year before there were also return and family tickets, so one ticket formally sold could be connected with a person or a group of people making two journeys. The change in payment method, however, had a negative impact on revenues, which in 2019 amounted to only 41.77% of those from the previous year (in the case of KSTM it was 34.59%, and TMW 55.90%). However, it must be remembered that the Heritage Tram Line is a specific offer that would not be possible without a subsidy from the city council. Although revenues in 2018 were quite high, even they were not able to cover the basic costs of operating ZLT (Kołodziejczyk, 2019). Determining the method of payment is, therefore, a political decision, which must take into account its availability to both tourists and Wrocław residents and the level at which the authorities are willing to subsidise it. The change in the city tariff, which provided free travel for children and students up to the age of 21, resulted in a decrease in the share of concessionary tickets and in revenues. In both years, however, the clearly greater significance of these tickets on the routes served by TMW is noteworthy, both in terms of the number sold (twice as many) and their share in revenues (three times as high).

Table 4. Comparison of the use of the Heritage Tram Line offer in 2018 and 2019

| Characteristic | Season 2018 | | | Season 2019 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Routes A and B (KSTM) | Routes C and D (TMW) | Total | Routes A and B (KSTM) | Route C (TMW) |
| Total number of journeys | 286 | 156 | 130 | 320 | 180 | 140 |
| Number of guided journeys | 156 | 52 | 104 | 200 | 60 | 140 |
| Total number of passengers | 3,136 | 2,262 | 874 | 4,493 | 3,048 | 1,445 |
| The share of passengers travelling with city tickets | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 48.81 | 61.75 | 21.52 |
| Average number of passengers per journey | 10.97 | 14.50 | 6.72 | 14.04 | 16.93 | 10.32 |
| Total number of tickets sold | 2,017.00 | 1,071 | 946 | 2,300 | 1,166 | 1,134 |
| The share of concessionary tickets | 51.61 | 31.65 | 74.21 | 33.00 | 19.04 | 47.35 |
| Revenues (PLN) | 15,634.00 | 10,370.00 | 5,264.00 | 6,529.70 | 3,587.00 | 2,942.70 |
| Concessionary tickets share in revenues | 28.49 | 15.87 | 53.34 | 19.76 | 10.52 | 31.02 |

Notes: The number of passengers for 2018 was estimated on the basis of tickets sold, assuming that four people used a family ticket (in practice it could be 3-5).

Source: author.

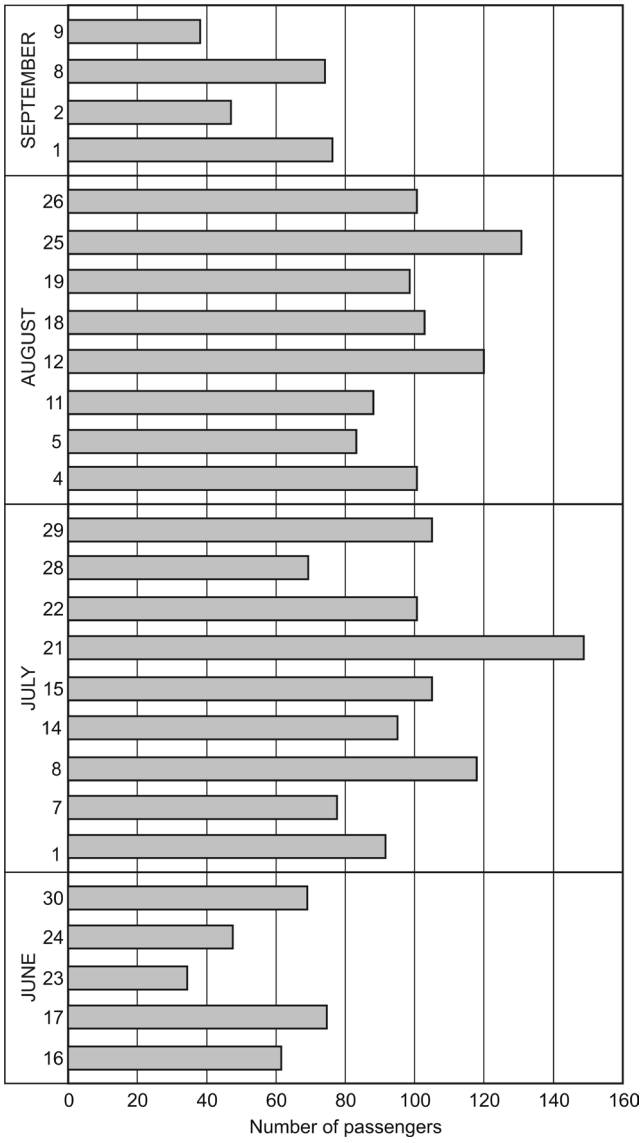


Figure 9. Estimated take-up on routes A and B the Heritage Tram Line in 2018 based on the number of tickets sold
Source: author

As in 2019, in the previous year there was a noticeable increase in numbers depending on date, although it is not so pronounced and the maximum figures were recorded in July and August, while in September there was a decrease. For 2018, the data related only to the sale of tickets, hence numbers can only be inferred indirectly, considering one return ticket as two trips and assuming that four people used family tickets (in practice there could be three to five – two adults and up to three children). The number of passengers is therefore an estimate. In addition, detailed daily data is available for routes operated by KSTM, while for TMW only aggregated data for three accounting periods are available. Analysing the figures for routes A and B, it is noticeable that they increased significantly in July relative to June (Fig. 9), despite the launch of a, in a sense, competitive route by MPK. This is confirmed by data on revenues (Fig. 10). The trend slightly affected the first weekend of running (June 16th and 17th) when the newly renovated *Konstal 102Na* tram debuted on the line, hence the novelty effect could have worked attracting more passengers (they were, however, to a large extent public transport enthusiasts rather than tourists). The average daily figures on the routes served by KSTM in June was 57.8 and income was PLN 271.00, in July it was 101.33 and PLN 454.40 respectively, in August 103.25 and PLN 456.00, and in September 58.75 and 273.50 PLN. The data for June and September are therefore very similar as are July and August. The highest daily figures were recorded on July 21st and August 25th, and the lowest on June 23rd and September 9th (Fig. 9). Revenue results are similar, although August 25th is higher than July 21st (Fig. 10). Evidence of the increase over time might

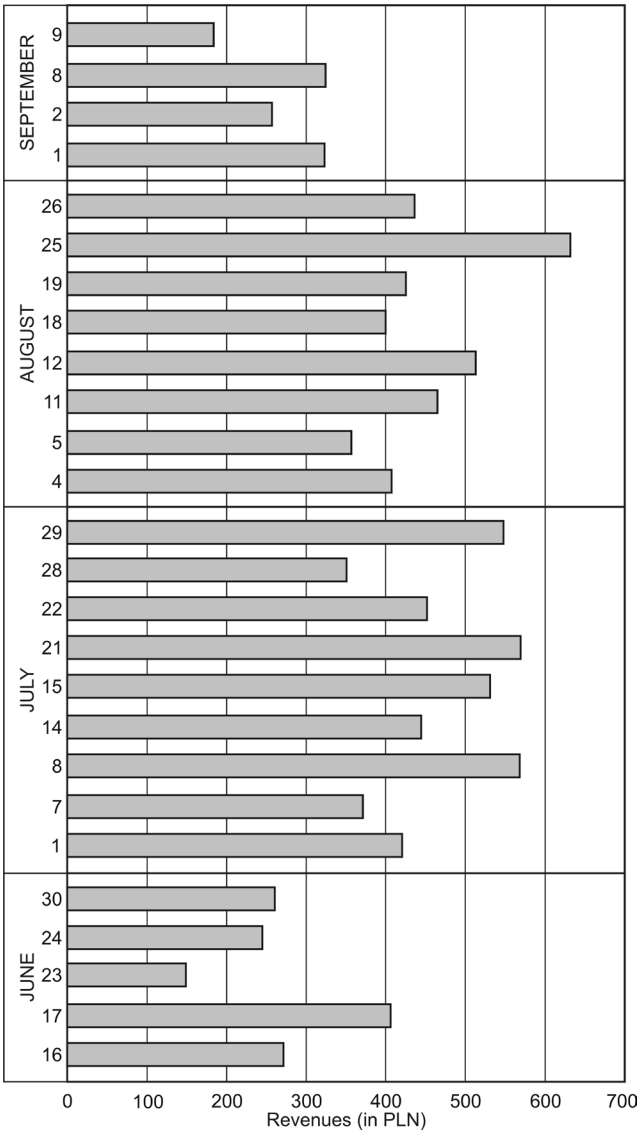


Figure 10. Revenues on routes A and B of the Heritage Tram Line in 2018
Source: author

be a comparison of passenger numbers and ticket revenues on the second and the penultimate weekend of running (respectively 83 and 123, and PLN 400.00 and 584.00). Although the weather was comparable, the last weekend of the summer holidays was clearly more popular than the first. The line's growing popularity along with its operating time is demonstrated by the data compiled for the accounting periods. In the first (June 16th-July 1st) TMW recorded an average daily income of PLN 62.67, in the second (July 7th-July 29th) PLN 270.50, and in the third (August 4th-September 9th) PLN 227.00. In the case of KSTM, these results were PLN 295.00, PLN 482.25 and PLN 395.17, respectively. Thus, it can be seen that in both cases the highest revenues were recorded in July and probably in August, but the result was underestimated in September.

When it comes to more detailed data, attention should be paid to the change in popularity of guided journeys on routes A and B. In 2018, they were the least frequented out of the three return journeys (308 tickets were sold for the entire season, while 359 tickets for the first, and 404 for the second), which was a surprise. In turn, in 2019 guided journeys had the greatest interest (428 tickets sold, for the others 366 and 372 tickets, respectively; data on take-up – see Table 2). The change probably resulted from more intensive promotion of these journeys by both KSTM and the Wrocław Guide's Club (*Wrocławski Klub Przewodników*), which provided the services. The specific stability of the offer could also have been important, because in both seasons guided journeys were held at the same times.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The Heritage Tram Line in Wrocław is an appropriate way to use, and consequently maintain, the large and very diverse collection of historic trams from 1893 to the penultimate decade of the 20th century that have survived in Wrocław (Bufe, 1992; Kołodziejczyk, 2011; Sielicki, 2012, 2013). Despite the fact that it is a tourist product with an already established position, in recent years it has undergone numerous modifications aimed at increasing take-up, which has not been as high as the total number of seats available (Kołodziejczyk, 2019). The goal was in addition to adapt the offer to the needs of contemporary tourism. The changes introduced in 2019, especially the significant reduction in ticket prices by unifying them with single ticket prices for regular public transport and by honouring all city tickets, have contributed to a significant increase in numbers (by more than 40%) compared to 2018. This should be considered a good solution, as it has increased the availability of the offer. Tram cars are a part of cultural heritage and should be made available to residents and tourists on appropriate terms. Although tourist lines worldwide usually have a separate fare with higher ticket prices (e.g. Porto), they are more and more often equated with the regular city tariff (e.g. Warsaw and many Czech cities, e.g. Karlovy Vary). This gives the offer a paratourist character, which despite its drawbacks, the advantages seem to outweigh them.

The consequence of the tariff change was of course a decrease in revenues and these in 2019 constituted only slightly more than 40% of those from the previous year. However, taking into account the fact that even in 2018 the revenues from tickets did not cover the basic costs of operating the line (not to mention the work of guides, printing promotional materials and the necessary maintenance of the vehicles; cf. Kołodziejczyk, 2019) and each year the line functions mainly due to subsidies, it is a matter of an official's decision what part of the costs will be covered by public financing. It should be noted, however, that the line could bring in more income if the sale of souvenirs was allowed, which is currently not permitted due to financial rules. Changing the operating hours of the line should also be considered in order to include the morning and evening hours, enabling access to recreational areas around Centennial Hall or to enable spending a whole day there, as well as returning from organised events (e.g. very popular multimedia fountain shows). Of course, this will increase costs, but higher attendance might cover them. It is also crucial to adopt fixed dates for the beginning and end of the operation of the Heritage Tram Line, as they have varied significantly in recent years. As a consequence, the promotion has in practice to be started from scratch every year, and tourists are not sure whether on arriving (e.g. in May or the end of September) they will be able to ride on vintage trams. A good example of stability of seasonal offer are 'cyclobuses', i.e. buses adapted to transport bicycles, in the Czech Republic. In the main tourist regions (e.g. Ore Mountains, Giant Mountains or Orlické Mountains and foothills) their running time is constant each year.

A problem that appeared in 2019 was the fact that trams on routes A and B served all stops passed, and how therefore to ensure a high quality of guided service. With the constant exchange of passengers, the sale and checking of tickets by the conductor and the appearance of random people in the tram car who treat it simply as a convenient means of transport, it is difficult for the guide to maintain a narrative and for those interested (mainly tourists) to listen to what is said. The problem could persist even with the introduction of audioguides (difficult distribution of devices between changing passengers), as well as when playing previously recorded texts (noises made by uninterested passengers; an additional problem in this case is the synchronization of recordings with the speed of the vehicle). Therefore, it seems that guided journeys should stop only in

selected places, e.g. near the main tourist attractions, and not necessarily at interchanges and stops where there are no places of tourist interest. For routes where the guide only appears on selected journeys, a distinction can be made in the number of stops. However, it seems a better solution to divide the offer into a route (routes) with a guide service and with a very limited number of stops, and a route (routes) without a guide and with all stops. The first option would be directed at tourists, while the second, in the case of Wrocław, would be an attractive offer to get to places for weekend recreation. It should also be emphasised that for some people the attraction is the ride by historic tram itself and they are not necessarily interested in the story of the places being passed. A possible solution to these problems is an app for travellers that would allow them to familiarize themselves with information about the tram, its route and the attractions passed. In the last case, it would be necessary to relate it to the location of the vehicle. This interesting solution therefore requires equipping historic trams with geolocation devices and creating an appropriate program, but this costs.

The Heritage Tram Line in 2019 was therefore an offer that combined certain elements that gave it the features of elitism (introduced in previous years e.g. a guided commentary or free historical leaflets) with a significant increase in accessibility, which is part of the concept of egalitarianism. Referring to the SWOT analysis carried out for the Heritage Tram Line in 2018 (Kołodziejczyk, 2019), it must be stated that in 2019 all the mentioned strengths remained, but also most of the weaknesses. However, the line became much more accessible, so the main drawback, i.e. the high ticket price, was removed. With the exception of the inability to buy souvenirs and the lack of morning or evening journeys, the weaknesses relate to virtually all tourist lines and result from the characteristics of public transport where the passenger (tourist) must adapt to routes and timetables. Unfortunately, the potential opportunities have not been used so far and all the threats indicated have remained.

## ENDNOTES

[1] According to Rogalewski (1979), the basic function of tourist facilities is to provide services for tourists, while paratourist devices meet the needs of other areas of socio-economic life, and tourists use them as if by the way, as one of many groups, among which the inhabitants of a given area or town predominate (cf. Kowalczyk, Derek, 2010). Paratourist infrastructure (or general infrastructure) is similarly defined by Płocka (2009), who emphasises that it serves various sectors of the national economy, including tourist services. As an example of paratourist facilities, communication infrastructure is often mentioned (Kowalczyk, Derek, 2010; Płocka, 2009), and the Heritage Tram Line fully fits this (especially in the version from 2019). Sometimes the term 'tourism transport base' is used in this context (e.g. Pawlikowska-Piechotka, 2009).

[2] For example, tourist lines in Porto go as far as the museum of public transport, while in Kraków the tram line operated by historic vehicles starts at the Museum of Municipal Engineering (see Golonka, Pochwała, 2010).

[3] Kołodziejczyk (2014a) presented various simple products that make up the complex product on the example of railway lines used in tourism. Many of the elements listed there can also be used on urban tourist routes served by historic (or stylised) trams.

[4] Egalitarianism is the theory that the basis of a just social system should be the principle of equality of citizens in economic, social and political terms (Kubisa-Ślipko, n.d.). In the context of a tourist product, the economy is the most important aspect and pricing should make it available to the widest possible group of potential recipients.

[5] In the first three years of operation, ZLT operated on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, however on Fridays only in the summer season. Since then, it has remained a weekend-only offer, which has its justification in the heavy tram use on selected routes in the city centre on working days.

[6] The Heritage Tram Line has been implemented from the very beginning as a public service run by non-governmental organisations. Every year, a competition is announced for its organisation and running.

[7] In the first years of operation of the Heritage Tram Line one stop was planned on the route to and from Centennial Hall. It was located at a large interchange, which on the one hand was advantageous in terms of take-up, but on the other sometimes hindered the movement of regular trams due to the longer time needed for passenger exchange (ticket sales) in case of vintage tram cars. Later this was abandoned.

[8] Data presented for 2019 refers only to KSTM and TMW, i.e. the period from June 15th to September 15th when the offer of the Heritage Tram Line was at its most extensive.

[9] There was a similar situation on June 20th (Corpus Christi), but then the average take-up on journeys provided exclusively by KSTM was not that high (however, it was still the second highest figure for June).

[10] MPK was still running a journey from Centennial Hall at 17:45, but it was going to the depot which allowed no return to the city centre.

[11] In 2019, the first journey on route A (at 11:00) was by MPK.

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