

The institutional context of tourism and the perception of tourism by residents who grew up in Communist Europe



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Preface

I think a right way to start my thesis is to thank everyone for their support throughout the whole masters programme. Firstly, I would like to thank Arie Stoffelen for guiding me and providing me with feedback and advice throughout the whole process. Furthermore, I would like to thank all the lecturers at the University of Groningen that I met with throughout the Pre-MSc and MSc programmes as they taught me so much and caused that I now look at geography, and natural and cultural heritage with completely different eyes.

I cannot forget about my colleagues. Biggest thanks goes to Matthijs Smit, who survived my endless messages regarding university, programme committee and private life. You have been a valuable emotional support in very difficult times. Furthermore, Kirsten Kaman, you were a very important person throughout the year and you helped me to grow a lot. I wish I could have spent more time with other colleagues, however due to COVID-19, the interaction was limited to minimum. Despite that, I am grateful that we had such a small group of cheerful individuals, it was a lot of fun.

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It was a very challenging year for me and thanks to this master's programme I have developed a very different understanding of the World. I very much enjoyed every bit of it, even though I sometimes felt very overwhelmed with all the work. Therefore, I would also like to thank myself for not giving up. Without all the people mentioned (not all of them unfortunately fit in), I would not have achieved what I achieved in this year and what resulted in this Master's thesis as completion of my Master education in the field of tourism geography.

Abstract

Tourism is a very complex sector, that can have an influence on destinations and the residents living in these places. Not only there is an inevitable interaction between the residents and tourists, tourism can also change the environment of the destination. This can cause a so-called ‘touristification’ of a destination and the diminishment of authenticity of the local culture.

Practically, I studied the perception of tourism impacts among residents of Prague (Czech Republic): a tourism-intensive city with a pronounced communist past and hence with a relatively short but intensive period of touristic growth.

Using a qualitative spatial mapping and semi-structured interviews as the main data sources, the results show various impacts on the respondents’ spatial movement. As mentioned before, the environment is very complex due to the fragmentation and path dependency. Therefore, residents can have a feeling that they do not belong into the destination anymore, but still want to keep their freedom as they did not have it prior the fall of the Soviet Union. Hence regulation of tourism can be a very sensitive topic for some residents, but also wanted by some. The overall feeling is that there needs to be balance between the facilities for tourists and residents in order to sustain authenticity but to not lose the positive impacts such as economic benefits.

Therefore, the key finding of the thesis is that there is a need for clear regulation in terms of tourism in central Prague in order to establish balance between the interests of stakeholders and through that encourage sustainable development.

Keywords: Sense of place, place meanings, tourism gentrification, tourist-historical cities, overtourism, tourismification

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1. Introduction

It ended up being completely unlivable as there were tourists all the time and all the shops for residents were closed and changed to luxury shops.... It pushed people out because everything became subordinate to tourists and then there was no space for residents. Now, you cannot go and buy mortadella, baguette and make yourself happy like it was several years ago. Now you can go and buy a handbag from Vuitton or dress from Prada. That is the problem and residents cannot do anything about that. (Lucie, respondent 7)

Tourism can have lasting impacts on destinations and the residents living in them. Indeed, tourism has been growing almost exponentially (not regarding the current COVID-19 pandemic which has ground tourism mobility almost to a halt) but many destinations, not in the least those in heavily touristified areas, have failed to manage the growing numbers of tourists and associated impacts (Egresi, 2018). Growing tourist intensity can have several positive impacts such as economic benefits. However, they can also cause disturbances to daily life of residents, displacement and damage to the image and reputation of the destination through what has been labeled as touristification: a process when a place becomes an object of tourist consumption (Egresi, 2018; Gotham, 2018; Temelová, 2007).

There is a growing research body into the effects of tourism on residents in European cities including Barcelona, Venice and Amsterdam (Weber et al, 2017). Authors such as Cocola-Gant (2018) have conducted research into the impacts of tourism in the destinations including the effect of high tourism intensity on residents' perceptions of tourism and their living environment. The fall of Soviet Union caused that new destinations, like Prague, emerged. Throughout the years these cities turned into highly touristified places; and hence a new research field into the issue emerged. Consequently, the perceptions of tourism by residents who grew up during the regime and how tourism affects their spatial movement provides a fascinating avenue research considering that these people lived in societies under different political-economic regime and have seen a rapid development of tourism happening in parallel to the broader changes to society in the post-communist era. In order to understand the change and the processes present in the destination, it is first important to understand the institutional context of tourism as the level of tourism development is not advanced, in terms of

institutionalization, as in Western countries, as the development was slowed down by the regime.

Therefore, I consider the following main research question to study tourism impact perceptions in a tourism dependent city:

“What is the institutional context of tourism and what are its impacts on the perceptions and spatial behaviour of residents who grew up in Communist Europe?”

To operationalize this question, I look into two specific sub-topics: (1) institutional context of tourism in Prague, in order to understand the contextual background of tourism; and (2) the perception of residents who grew up in Prague during the communist era, in order to understand what impacts tourism has on their lives. To zoom in on the residents’ perception of tourism impacts, I specifically study three elements that are central to a person’s overall impact perception: what is the perception of tourism as a sector, how has tourism changed over time and how is tourism embedded in place. By looking into these processes, I contribute to the literature on urban overtourism by qualitatively studying the perceptions of residents on the tourism impacts in a city of the previous communist regime.

The following chapter discusses the existing literature on the topics of sense of place and placemaking, and gentrification and displacement. Subsequently, I discuss the methodology for this thesis to provide contextual information about tourism development in Prague and specify the data collection and analysis. The key finding of the thesis is that there is a need for clear regulation in terms of tourism in central Prague in order to establish balance between the interests of stakeholders and therefore encourage sustainable development.

2. Theoretical framework

This theoretical framework provides a discussion into the four overarching concepts that, when combined, provided the interpretative model for this study into impacts of (over)tourism on residents' perceptions of living in Prague. In the first section I discuss and create a connection between the two concepts of sense of place and placemaking. The second part of this theoretical framework focuses on the concepts of tourism gentrification and residents' well-being and their interconnectedness. In the last section, I combine the reflections included in the two previous sections and introduce an interpretative model that functions as interpretive lens for the empirical work in Prague.

2.1 Sense of place and placemaking

Unsustainable and rapid tourism development can affect residents' bond with a place, so-called sense of place. One of the first authors, who introduced the phenomenon is Tuan (1974), who combined aspects of meaning, attachment and satisfaction in order to create an umbrella concept of relationships with a place. Indeed, the term "place" is a transformation of the word space. These two words are used interchangeably in daily lives, however in academia place equals space with added meaning (Tuan, 1977). Ryden (1993) added that this happens through the process of living in a certain space. In addition to that, place is a complex subject that is constantly in the process of evolution and social construction, which can lead to places disappearing, changing meanings and/or appearing throughout the years (Massey, 1997; Cresswell, 2015). Amsden et al. (2010) found in his study that tourism can change the social structures of the place and hence influence the social relationships amongst the stakeholders. The residents can become scared that the outsiders (tourists) will damage their home environment.

2.1.1 The elements of sense of place

Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), identify three elements that compose sense of place. First is place attachment, which is defined as the positive emotional bond between individuals and their environment. Indeed, place attachment is described as the emotional bond between an individual and a place, which is a result of feeling comfortable (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001).

The relationship can grow stronger over time as individuals build more experiences and create increasingly deeper and diverse connection to one's environment (Relph, 1976).

Whilst place attachment's focal point is the emotional bond, the second construct: place identity can be identified as a component of one's identity, that is partially created by the environment around the individual. The place can provide meaning to life, increase self-confidence and enhance one's belonging to a community, which shares the same place identity and environment (Nielsen-Pincus et al., 2010). In practice, place identity is a construct that is present within places and allows an individual living in the place to build their identity on the symbols present in the place. However, it has to be acknowledged that place identity can be affected due to gentrification or touristification (concepts discussed in section 2.2) and therefore it is important to pay attention to it during the place making practice.

Finally place dependence is the last construct recognised by Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) and it symbolises the functional relationship between an individual and place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Within this concept, the satisfaction of one's needs and goals by a place are explored (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981). Williams and Vaske (2003) defined place dependence as the functional relationship between an individual and a place, which provides one with satisfaction of their needs and creates an environment that supports one's desired activities.

Despite the fact, that these constructs are recognised as the main elements of the umbrella term "sense of place", some scholars recognised more possible features of the concept. For example, Deutsch and Goulias (2009) added place satisfaction to the pool, which indicates one's satisfaction with services, environment and needs that are provided by a specific place. In combination with place attachment, this term can be used to add psychological dimension to the umbrella concept (Boerebach, 2012).

2.1.2 The construction of a place meanings

People establish a sense of place on the basis of the interaction between the tangible and intangible elements of the environment (Campelo et al., 2014). Tangible aspects are the material-physical features of a place such as geographic location and physical landscape.

Tangible elements are easier to influence, manipulate and change than the intangible aspects of a place as they are physical (Lew, 2017). Through influencing tangible elements of a place, the buildings can be repaired and the places can aesthetically develop, however it does not mean overall development as the people are not considered (Lew, 2017). Indeed, the intangible elements include individual and group beliefs, which, through interaction between places and people represent the place and create the mental image of the environment. It may seem that the physical elements are more important as it creates the embodiment of the destination, however the presence of both elements is equally crucial in order to create and sustain sense of place. However, there is a thin line between the tangible and intangible elements and therefore Lew (2017) identified that tangible and intangible elements are two extremes of a spectrum, which combines the tangible and intangible aspects of a place. The tangible and intangible elements together create a landscape which is a physical environment with ascribed meanings behind them (Kianicka et al, 2006).

One of the stakeholder group ascribing meanings to places is “residents”. Kianicka et al. (2006) conducted a research into the difference of sense of place between tourists and locals, which indicated that both local landscape and social relationships are relevant to the sense of place of locals and tourists. These findings reflect the equal importance of both tangible and intangible elements to create a sense of place. Indeed, tourism can have an impact on meanings of places for local residents by commodification of everyday culture for the purpose of attracting tourists (Hultman and Hall, 2004). Therefore, sometimes residents can go through the process of antagonism towards tourists, when they realise that the atmosphere of the place changed due to them. This can lead to not feeling at home and disassociation with a place (Qazimi, 2014).

In practice, tangible elements have been paid a lot of attention in creating brands for tourism, however intangible elements such as brand identity should be considered as well in order to prevent conflicts amongst stakeholders and displacement of residents. Campelo et al. (2014) writes that focusing on the perceptions of residents of the brand can help to attract new tourists to the area as places that attract the local inhabitants are also going to be interesting for tourists. These elements can be both tangible such as historical buildings, but also intangible cultural heritage such as atmosphere.

2.1.3 Commodification of places

Places become labelled with metaphorical price tags, which are then consumed by tourists. That can lead to commodification: a process which is a result of manipulation of locality (Lukes, 2004, Morgan, 2014). That can lead to disconnection of places and their localities, resulting in displacement of social values of residents (Morgan, 2014). Tourism has often been associated with commodification of places (Friedman, 2010; Morgan, 2014; Winter, 2011) as it can change places so they cater only for one group of stakeholders. For example, catering only for tourists can lead to the same chain stores appearing in every destination leading to lack of diversity and authenticity. This can further result in diminishing localness and increasing placelessness (Relph, 1976; Friedman, 2010), which can lead to the loss of authenticity and disassociation with a place by the original residents.

Ritzer and Liska (1997) identified the concepts Disneyfication and McDonaldization as characteristics of commodified places. The predictability of Disneyfication in combination with efficiency of McDonaldization create places that attract mass tourists. The authenticity of a place is a negotiated concept between stakeholders and a result of social practices within a place. Through the process of commodification, places can become centres of staged authenticity, where an aspect of locality is gentrified to the point, where it does not represent the values and meanings of the local (Lew, 2017). The evidence of economic success of mass tourism in places such as New York's Times Square, Dubai's shopping centres or Disney's theme parks created an attractive outlook on the possibility of income for destinations and encouraged the process of place making (Morgan, 2014; Lew, 2017).

2.1.4 Place making processes

Lew (2017) claims that place making is associated with sense of place and how a group of people and individuals themselves imprint values, perceptions and memories on a landscape, giving it a meaning, thereby creating a 'place' (Tuan, 1977; Massey, 2005). Lew (2017) distinguishes between two types of place making processes: organic and planned. First, organic, or bottom up processes, are shaped through everyday practices such as food and cuisine, and religion. This process can be related to the lived culture defined by Williams (1953) and intangible elements of sense of place (Campelo et al, 2014). Second, place making

occurs by a top-down design effort to influence people's behaviour and shape their perception of a place (Lew, 2017). As previously mentioned, tangible elements are manipulated easier than intangible and therefore planned approach is focusing more on the design of the city and the physical landscape in belief it will encourage change in the intangible elements. Indeed, all places undergo place making processes through human interaction. Despite the fact that organic place making is more fundamental to the cultural soul of a city, many urban areas employ the combination of organic and planned place making in order to "create quality places where people want to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit" (Wyckoff et al., 2015, p.6). Furthermore, places are ascribed a human trait such as "cool" or oppositely "soulless", to create personalities that can be branded (Vitellio and Willcocks, 2011).

When mass tourism is a driver of place making, the shift from organic place making to planned placemaking is almost inevitable (Richards, 2014). As Hall (1997), and Hultman and Hall (2008) claim, planned place making is often driven by political and economic ideologies and the image of the destination is a result of stakeholder negotiations, economic restructuring and policy implementation (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). Overall, the tourism industry is a fragmented industry with interdependent service providers and other affected stakeholder groups such as residents, all of which creates complex, challenging environment for governance. Governance can be defined as the processes of interaction and decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement, or reproduction of social norms and institutions (Hufty, 2011). It is crucial that governance gains holistic understanding of the context of tourism through inclusivity of all stakeholders, including local residents (Bramwell, 2011). In other words, 'good governance' (Pereira da Silva, 2011) practices are needed in order to make sure that planned place making does not alienate people living in places that are becoming touristified. There are several frameworks that offer such good governance approaches to management of destinations, for example, Ansell and Gash (2008), provide an insight into the collaborative governance of tourism framework (Figure 1). This process depends upon the starting conditions such as power-resource asymmetries, which is the unequal distribution of power, constraints on participation and prehistory of cooperation or conflict. The central part of the model focuses on collaborative processes such as trust building, face-to-face dialogues and shared understanding of goals. Inclusivity of stakeholders is crucial in this process as the decisions will shape the environment and hence power-relationships should be reflected upon so unequal distributions do not occur. The authors of the model concluded that time, trust and

interdependence are central for their model. Ansell and Gash (2008) further identified the importance of institutional design within their model. This includes both the basic protocols and ground rules for cooperation, and openness for change and inclusivity in decision making. Their findings highlight the importance of leadership, that will enable the collaborative processes of tourism – good governance (Ansell and Gash, 2008). The collaboration can lead towards more inclusive places for both residents and tourists and create a balanced environment. In practice, the balance between place making and place-making has to be found by the destination management organizations in order to establish inclusivity and create balanced environments. Furthermore, the DMO can establish a network of stakeholders and working groups for the tourism industry in order to foster collaboration and governance. If there is more top-down planning present in the destination, it can lead to socio-cultural and economic issues such as resident displacement and tourism induced gentrification.

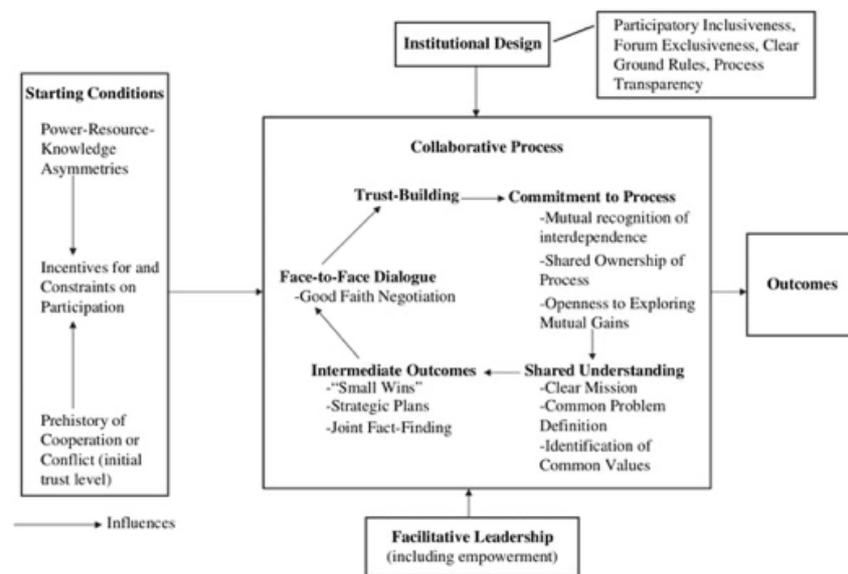


Figure 1 Collaborative Governance (Ansell and Gash, 2008)

Another important model that reflects on the collaboration amongst stakeholders is the ladder of citizen participation, that is used by Arnstein (1969) to address the power relations in a destination (Figure 2). The model consists of eight stages, which are subcategories of three main stages of participation. From the bottom, the first two stages are identified as non-participation, which describes a situation of extreme top-down planning, where no public consultation takes place whatsoever. Participation of medium intensity, described by Arnstein

(1969) as tokenism, allows the community to show their opinion on the projects that are being put in place. In general, tokenism is a phenomenon when a few people from under-represented group are recruited so the process appears inclusive. The top of the ladder described situations where strong community inclusivity is achieved. In such instances, local residents are fully included in the decision-making processes and they are encouraged to take up a part of the responsibility (Mak et al., 2017). If certain development projects, tourism included, do not move beyond the lower steps of the participation ladder, decision-making lacks inclusivity, which can result in mistrust and decrease in resident's wellbeing (further discussed in part 2.2). In such cases, more top-down planning, and therefore place making is present. In such cases it is necessary to promote more inclusive planning in order to prevent negative impacts on residents.

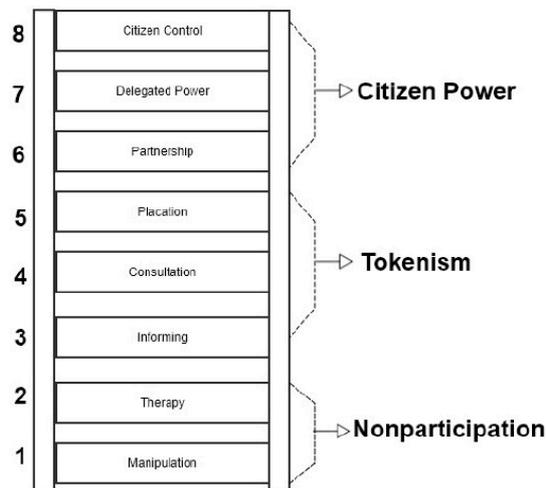


Figure 2 Ladder of citizen participation

It is important to acknowledge the overall context, including path dependency. This term is used to describe regional economic development trajectories, which are influenced by the historical economic and political legacies of an area (Dyba et al, 2018). It is characterised by the existence of processes that are embedded in historical decision making (Isaksen, 2001). For example, the shared history of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is clear today and cities in these regions face similar challenges such as strongly engrained tendency towards top-down decision making and public attitudes toward community assets (Project for Public Spaces, 2017). During the communist era, planning was mostly centralised (Dabrowski and Piskorek, 2018) and overspecialised (Dyba et al., 2018) with lacking innovation in technology

(Berend, 2009). After the fall of the Iron Curtain, a new role was given to regional authorities to pursue development. However the stickiness of institutional context has caused that (Dyba et al., 2018), for most part, countries in Central and Eastern Europe are considered to be economically lagging in Europe (European Commission, 2014). The involvement of stakeholders has been a challenge for the countries as trust issues towards the government are still present amongst the residents and therefore the process of collaborative governance remains a challenge for many cities and countries. Overall, it has to be acknowledged that the countries of the Eastern Block had lower initial starting point for development as a result of the Socialist, centralised planning policies with limited frameworks for regional planning and cooperation (Kaczmarek, 2016). Therefore this, together with often very liberal urban development policies, shifts power to capital-rich developers (Dyba et al., 2018). That can be considered as an example of a failed governance as the involvement of residents is usually minimal and therefore the represented interests are usually one-sided.

Overall, sense of place can have many interpretations considering the tangible and intangible elements that construct it. The heterogeneity of the society causes that the outlooks on the issues associated with tourism can vary amongst stakeholders and therefore an equal collaboration is essential so nobody's interests are left out and sustainability is achieved. However, path dependency can cause disagreements amongst the interested parties and therefore it is important to have a regulating institution that will accommodate the interests of the majority, if not all, of the stakeholders.

2.2 Tourism gentrification and residents' well-being

2.2.1 Gentrification

Smith (1998) defined gentrification as “the process by which central urban neighborhoods that have undergone disinvestments and economic decline experience a reversal, reinvestment, and the in-migration of a relatively well-off middle and upper middle-class population” (p. 198). Furthermore, Gotham (2005) defined tourism gentrification in his research and explained that tourist sites and attractions are contested places, which serve as a battleground for stakeholders with different interests and meanings. Stakeholders then battle to control the production, representation and consumption of spectacular imagery and cultural symbols (Gotham, 2007).

The representation of cultural symbols in this sense can be understood as selective culture, which was identified by Williams (1953) as, due to the fragmented nature of tourism, it is unlikely that the representation of symbols is inclusive of all the involved parties. Hence, tourist attractions can be seen as symbols of unequal social relations and conflict in the society (Lewis, 2015).

There are two sites this phenomenon that explain the process of gentrification. The production-oriented gentrification process is economically oriented and claims that the development is driven by capitalist and market economy. This leads to a move of capital towards the city and hence attracts residents, who are interested by this. According to Smith “gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets” (Smith, 1979; p.546). In opposition to production-oriented gentrification, consumption-oriented gentrification is identified and described as driven by services and consumption preferences of middle-class. The reason for the shift in this could be identified as previously mentioned globalisation and the shift to consumption culture (Clark, 2005). In opposition, Hamnet (1991) argued that these two phenomena are just extremes on a scale and that partial abstraction from the totality is necessary to understand the process of gentrification. Furthermore, Atkinson and Bridge (2005) argued that neither is possible without the other and that combination of both is necessary – the production of urban space and the consumption of urban lifestyles.

To provide an example from tourism, Gotham (2005) conducted a study into tourism gentrification of New Orleans’ French Quarter, where he found that, due to the increased branding of the district as an entertainment destination, the population demographics changed and more middle- and upper-class residents moved in. Despite the fact that the urban space was refined, the original residents moved out due to the lack of facilities for them causing the decrease in sense of place. That provides an evidence that the top-down planning can be beneficial, however the attention has to be paid on all the aspects, including the interaction between the tangible and intangible elements. It can be seen that the development was driven by the market economy but it was not consumed by the original residents, which makes it a perfect example of gentrification.

2.2.2 Tourism gentrification

Gotham (2005), as one of the firsts, recognised the importance of tourism as a driver of gentrification. Prior to his paper from 2005, the academic discussion centred around an understanding of gentrification as a complex process of residential change, when lower- or working- class residents are pushed out in order to create space for middle-class and upper-class residents, which leads to a transformation of an area (Glass, 1964; Gotham, 2018). For example, Kern (2016) studied, how gentrification changes a residential neighbourhood through consumption-oriented events for middle class residents.

So why the wider applicability of the discussion in gentrification studies? Fuelled by economic, financial and cultural globalisation, the exponential rise of mass tourism and demand for leisure activities allowed the growth of an industry which organises mobility of people in search for entertainment (MacCannell, 1973; Urry and Larsen, 2011). The tourism industry is considered as one of the biggest economic influences in places and hence the attention to tourism gentrification in academic literature has been growing. Furthermore Cocola-Gant (2018) claims that the shift from coastal to city tourism possibly increased the potential for tourism gentrification as tourists started consuming residential areas. In addition to that, the use of Airbnb and the consumption of housing as tourism product allowed further gentrification to occur in cities (Judd, 1999; Ioannides et al., 2018; Robinson, 2001).

Similarly to gentrification, tourism induced gentrification can have many impacts on the residents' sense of place, sense of belonging and their wellbeing. Due to the consumption of residential areas, the residents can become displaced and move out of the area, which can lead to the creation of touristified places, which are discussed in the next section.

2.2.3 Touristification

Another term related to tourism-induced gentrification is touristification. These two terms overlap, however there is one important difference between them. Whilst gentrification transforms neighbourhoods to the benefit of socially and economically privileged groups, thereby pushing people in more vulnerable socio-economic positions out, touristification refers

to the conversion of areas to exclusively touristic and commercial places, which could lead to a less attractive residential area and, ultimately, a decreasing number of residents in the neighbourhood (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2020). Some of the global revolutions that helped to advance touristification was the creation of economic and political blocks such as European Union and Schengen Agreement, which caused that border crossings were easier and cheaper (Dunne et al., 2007). Furthermore, the introduction of low-cost airlines encouraged people to travel more for leisure (Bieger and Wittner, 2006). However, consumption is not the only driver of touristification, the liberal planning connected to deregulation underpins a specific type of development, which can lead to touristified areas. Due to these drivers, the rise of so-called Euro weekends or city breaks occurred, where tourists visit a city for a weekend. However, one of the latest developments - home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb, has led to over-touristification of attractive neighbourhoods in the city and hence displacement of previous residents (Ioannides et al. 2018), which can be related to gentrification as both forms affect the image of the area and the inclusivity of various groups of residents.

With the rise in popularity of Airbnb, and overall touristification, the question of tourist-resident relations has been brought into light. The research into such topic goes back to the 1970s, when researchers started to be concerned with the impacts mass tourism can have on local communities (Harril, 2004, Mathieson and Wall, 1982). One of the most influential scholars who contributed to such early critical perspective in tourism studies is George Doxey, whose Irridex Scale described that the relations between residents and tourists normally start with euphoria but are quickly followed by apathy, irritation and eventually antagonism (Doxey, 1975). However Doxey's approach does not acknowledged that most communities are heterogenous and hence the response from residents can be both positive and negative at the same time (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997; Jordan and Moore, 2018). For example, in their case study research into the effects of factors influencing residents' perceptions toward tourism development in UNESCO World Heritage Sites, Rasoolimanesh et al., (2015) found that residents tend to accept the negative impacts of tourism if they financially benefit from it.

Overall, touristification is a phenomenon, which cannot be completely eliminated due to the globalisation of the World. However, in order to reduce the impacts of touristification on the local residents, it is important to include them in the discussion and through the creation of stakeholder networks, practice governance. The next section provides a syntax of the specific impacts of touristification on residents in urban destinations.

2.2.4 The impacts of touristification on residents

Research shows that the quality of life of residents is affected due to the rising number of tourists, type of tourism and the related urban development in a destination (Goodwin, 2017; Weber et al, 2017). These phenomena can lead to overtourism, which leads to increased awareness about the processes that change the city (Koens et al., 2018) such as socio-economic activities in a neighbourhood, that lead to transformation of public spaces into touristified places, which can cause alienation by local residents (Casado Buesa, 2017). Overtourism has also been blamed for reducing resident's buying power (Milano et al., 2017). Not only the presence, but also the behaviour of tourists can further lead to moving out of the residents and hence can lead to Disneyfied touristscape, where local forms of everyday life are transformed and commodified (Sequera and Nofre, 2020). For example, due to touristification in the neighbourhood Barceloneta, which is located in Barcelona, the permanent population decreased by 11% in the period of 15 years (Ballester, 2018). In his study on the resident's dissatisfaction with tourism in Ljubljana, Coldwell (2017) found that the behaviour of tourists is one of the main triggers of residents' dissatisfaction. He found that tourists are not as much interested in cultural experience anymore, but they are getting drunk and doing things that they would not dare to do in their hometown. However, it has to be acknowledged that tourism gentrification is not only negative, it can also transform the qualities of city and urban-meanings, which can become beneficial for the residents as it creates new services and facilities (Gotham, 2007).

All of these impacts can lead to displacement of residents and tourismophobia (Soydanbay, 2017). Tourismophobia can be defined as extreme aversion towards tourists, which can be manifested publicly through protests, and in extreme cases in verbal and physical violence and attacks on tourism infrastructure (Donaire, 2008; Huete and Mantecon, 2018). However, this is just an extreme. Usually, as mentioned before, residents are pushed out of the neighbourhood and displaced. This process of gentrification can be understood as exponential as gentrification is a driver for more gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018). For example, the success of Airbnb, which is one of the drivers of the process of displacement, can be inspirational for other such platforms and hence increase the rate of displacement.

However, path dependency and context, as factors influencing planning and regulation, have to be acknowledged. For example, the fall of Iron Curtain was considered a turning point for city development in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz et al., 2017). The accession of these countries to the European Union, supported the growth of low-cost carrier routes to these countries and hence attracted tourists to these new, almost “exotic”, destinations (Dobruszkes, 2006; Bjelicic, 2007). However, the rapid economic and societal changes happening simultaneously with globalisation led to distinction of Central and Eastern European countries from Western European countries because of the lack of public sector urban planning regulations (Temelová, 2007; Kádár, 2013). Gentrification processes in CEE are mainly driven by the private sector due to weak public sector regulation, whereas in West European cities, the local government is usually at the minimum involved (Galuszka, 2017). Furthermore, the absence of urban policies on tourism, has led to development of unfavourable tourism activities such as stag do or party tourism (Bjelicic, 2007) and hence led to unfavourable impacts on the life of the inhabitants (Kotus et al., 2015). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Rifai (2017) claims that planning of tourism by creating clear regulations is important in order to prevent the negative impacts and despite the fact that new planning methods and destination management organisations can be observed in Central and Eastern Europe, it remains to be seen how and when the tourism policies in these cities will redevelop to build more sustainable tourism environment.

2.2.5 Displacement of residents

When planning fails, displacement can occur. As Crookes (2011, p 26-27) discloses: “the occurrence of displacement signifies that residents have lost their battle to remain. From the resident's perspective, any intervention at this point would now be too late: the ‘damage’ of displacement has already been done”. Hartman et al. (1982) claim that residents have right to stay put and uses displacement to identify the forced moving out of a place, whilst Davidson and Lees (2010) add right to make a place of their own, and right to dwell into the mix. This can be related to statement from Tuan (1977: 3), who claimed that “place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to one and long for the other”. Crookes (2011) proposes to focus on the place-based conceptualisation of displacement introduced by Davidson and Lees (2010) as he is of a belief that displacement is context dependent. Davidson and Lees (2010) recognise the association of displacement with the experience of loss of place and therefore expand on the conceptualisation of displacement and emphasise the lived experience of space. They

identify that even when residents remain in the neighbourhood, they can experience a sense of bereavement, dislocation, and disassociation that can be described as forced disconnection and hence displacement from a familiar place. It has to be acknowledged that displacement of communities is a key element of any definition of gentrification and as mentioned before, tourism gentrification changes residential places to commercial and tourism-oriented places and hence affects the meanings for the residents, which can lead to displacement. Overall, most residents want their neighbourhood to remain “residential”, however with the shift in the housing environment, there is a risk that neighbourhoods or even whole cities turn into theme parks (Egresi., 2018).

Another author who studied displacement is Popp (2012), who, in her study on crowding in Florence, identified several spatial copying mechanism related to overcrowded places: (1) spatial displacement, when visitors are completely displaced and travel outside of the city, (2) interspatial displacement, when the tourists choose less frequently visited places and rather choose more authentic places, (3) micro-spatial displacement, when tourists do not avoid the crowded places, however they stay create their own sphere, for example by sitting down and staying longer in the place. This theory can be applied to the spatial movement of residents as well as they can use the routes for their daily movement.

Indeed, institutional capital investments into projects that are implemented to catalyse and finance urban renewal projects could result in gentrification (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2020). Gentrification, including tourism gentrification, has been encouraged by local authorities through specific planning and regulations (Gotham, 2005) and it plays a major role in changing the image of cities (Ashworth and Goodall, 2013). Most of the issues discussed in this section are not the fault of tourists, but rather the fault of both local and central governments, who failed to plan and regulate the increased tourism activities (Coldwell, 2017). Taleb Rifai (2017), the former secretary general of United Nations’ World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) argued that tourism growth in destinations is not the enemy and “should lead to economic prosperity, jobs and resources to fund environmental protection and cultural preservation, as well as community development and progress needs, which would otherwise not be available. It also means that through meeting others we can broaden our horizons, open our minds and our hearts, improve our well-being and be better people; Shaping a better world” (Rifai, 2017). However, in his statement, Rifai does not consider the power relations that can be present in

the destination causing the differences in planning, access to political representation and overall satisfaction with the living situation.

He claims that clear regulations and guidelines to support diversification of the sector and management of the visitors are necessary to shape the tourism sector in cities and ensure sustainable development. Some cities already started with implementation of such regulations, for example Barcelona has taken the decision to freeze the number of tourist accommodation in the city centre (Roca, 2017) and limit the number of visitors in the most popular tourist hotspots (Lyman, 2017). Furthermore, the government in Dubrovnik, implemented stricter measures against antisocial behaviour of tourists (Coldwell, 2017). Next, these cities, started taking action against home sharing internet platforms such as Airbnb and are designing new regulations and rules for short-term rentals (Lopez Diaz, 2017).

As it can be seen, the cities have started to observe the issues of gentrification and displacement of residents. It is important that the executive actors of the destination such as destination management organisations set clear goals and a network of stakeholders in order to accommodate tourism growth and to prevent the negative impacts, such as displacement, on the residents.

Overall, gentrification and tourism gentrification can occur due to market driven development of places and their facilities. Furthermore, through tourism gentrification, places can become touristified, which can cause alienation of the locality and authenticity. That can result in negative impacts on residents, causing the loss of sense of place and displacement.

2.3 Interpretative model

In order to understand gentrification, it is first important to understand place making due to the fact that place making can be a driver for gentrification. Therefore, in order to prevent the negative impacts of gentrification, it is important to establish a destination management organization, which would create an inclusive environment, where stakeholders can discuss the planned developmental projects and interventions. However, it is important to consider all the interested parties, including residents. Otherwise, if the intervention is not communicated, the sense of place of residents can be affected and cause emotional displacement from a place. Furthermore, if the change is performed in order to increase attractiveness of the destination for

tourism (i.e. tourism gentrification), the discrepancy between residents and tourists can occur causing issues for the destination.

Tourism gentrification can have several impacts on residents, causing the loss of sense of place, place identity, and displacement. Despite the fact that the tangible elements of a destination are developed through the process of tourism gentrification, the places are at a risk of losing the intangible elements such as the atmosphere that is created by the residents. Furthermore, destinations are at a risk of creating tourism enclaves through the displacement of residents and therefore creating so-called 'ghost cities'. Thus, it is important to implement a 'good governance' practice that would include the opinions of the locals, who create the intangible dynamic environment.

The next section of the thesis discusses the methodology used during the research into the institutional context of tourism and the perception of tourism by residents in a tourism dependent city: Prague. The section first introduces the study area, which is then followed by the discussion of data collection tools. Furthermore, the spatial mapping and interviewing methodology is discussed more in depth. Additionally, the section discusses data analysis, COVID-19 and ethical considerations of the thesis.

3. Methodology

3.1 Study Area

Prague is a city in Central Europe, which, as many other European cities, experiences the effects of overtourism. The Czech Republic was under the influence of the Soviet Union until 1989. That situation affected the type of tourism with domestic tourism being dominant (Dumbrovská, 2017). Furthermore, the limited maintenance of the tourism sites and limited investment led to the preservation of the historical city parts such as the Old Town, Jewish Town and Lesser Town. After the Velvet Revolution and the opening of the country to the World, the unique architecture and culture generated tourism influx to the city. Furthermore, the cultural heritage of the city was ascribed a status of cultural importance by UNESCO, which helped the city gain the attractivity it needed to generate tourism (Widawski and Wyrzykowski, 2017).

However, only nine years after the borders opened, Cooper and Morpeth (1998) expressed their concern about residents' displacement and tourism gentrification due to the absence of plans for sustainable development. This issue can be considered as a result of path dependency as the planning was affected by the distrust in government, unequal social relationships and the lack of institutional resources in the faded Soviet regime (Stark and Bruszt, 1998). As a result, many urban development projects failed (Wedel, 1998) resulting in unequal distribution of tourists in the city and the creation of a so-called "tourist ghetto" in the proximity of the Old Town and other main cultural attractions (Dumbrovská, 2017).

This concentration of tourists has created many issues in the city. *Prague City Tourism* identified several issues that arose with the rapid tourism development such as overtourism, increased touristification, tourist smog, late night business, short term private accommodation, lack of communication between stakeholders and untapped collaboration potential between Prague and other regions within the country (Prague City Tourism, 2020).

The action plan of *Prague City Tourism* is to return the city to its residents through communication, cooperation and rebranding the destination to attract more affluent and cultured tourists (Prague City Tourism, 2020). Consequently, Prague provides an fascinating

case to study the impacts of tourism on the residents, especially with a focus on the residents, who grew up in Communist Europe as they provide an unexplored perspective on the changes and their feelings towards the living conditions in regards to tourism.

3.2 Data collection

Considering the objective of the study to understand how the life of residents is affected due to tourism, I developed a qualitative research design. Qualitative insights into people's spatial behaviour, perceptions about tourism development, and the comparison of these insights with the city's tourism planning allows to understand individual feelings about tourism and its change.

Therefore, I developed a two-step methodology. In the first phase, I needed data to build a context for the second stage of the research. To do that, I explored the institutional context of tourism development in Prague using document analysis and spatial mapping. In the second phase, I zoomed in on residents' perception of tourism in Prague, how their perception has changed over time and how it is embedded in place. The questions used in the interview stage were built on the document analysis as well as on the theoretical framework discussed in section 2.

The institutional context was explored through document analysis and by an interview conducted with a main destination management organization in Prague: *Prague City Tourism*. It was important to understand the context tourism exists in in order to understand the processes and the perceptions of the tourism impacts in the destination. The embeddedness of tourism was explored through spatial mapping, where residents were asked to point out several places on a map. It was important to collect this data as it provided the insight into the impact of tourism on spatial movement of residents. I then analyzed the data using GIS and provided a concrete base for the interview stage of the research with the same residents, which offered more insight into this data and provided a perception of tourism and the change that occurred over the years.

I used the convenience sampling method, which I used through social media platform Facebook in a group with old pictures of Prague. This method was beneficial due to the COVID-19 pandemic as the possibility of an in-person contact and sampling was limited. However, I

acknowledge that this method could lead to exclusion of residents, who do not own social media platforms, and hence create sampling bias (Hay, 2016). Overall, my sampling method resulted in sixty responses from which I decided to choose eleven respondents based on their age, gender and most importantly, their place of residence. I considered the spatial distribution of respondents as the most important as it provided insights into the perceptions of impacts from various parts of the city. Seven respondents identified as females and four identified as males. The age groups ranged from 39 to 69. Description of the participant can be found in Table 1. In order to understand the place of residence of the residents, I added a map with different districts in Prague (Figure 3). Throughout the process, three respondents stopped responding and hence the final number of residents went down to 8.

Table 1 Description of respondents

| Respondent | Gender | Alias | Place of residence | Age |
|------------|--------|----------|--------------------|-----|
| 2 | Male | Jan | Prague 4 | 65 |
| 3 | Female | Anna | Prague 2 | 54 |
| 4 | Female | Eva | Prague 7 | 39 |
| 5 | Female | Marie | Prague 4 | 58 |
| 6 | Male | Jakub | Prague 6 | 53 |
| 7 | Female | Lucie | Prague 1 | 73 |
| 9 | Female | Veronika | Prague 5 | 68 |
| 11 | Male | Michal | Prague 8 | 69 |



Figure 3 Map of Prague city districts

3.3 Spatial mapping

Several academics and their methods on spatial mapping were considered for this thesis. Lynch (1960) described spatial mapping as complex, two-way process that occurs through the association of an observer and the environment. His method includes respondents drawing a map and identifying five elements of the urban environment explaining cognitive association people have with a place – paths, edges, districts, nodes and paths. However, his method was criticised for being too complicated for some as not everybody can draw a map, which could cause a production of unreliable data (Banerjee and Southworth, 1990).

To avoid these issues, the mapping process used by the author was inspired by the method used by Gregory Brown, who uses spatial mapping to explore people's sense of place and, by extension, their potential support for spatial (environmental) conservation of individual places. In his method, he uses sticky dots with varying values to identify places to which people assign high or low recreational, biological and economic (and other) values. Furthermore, in his maps, participants can mark places of an importance for their lives (see e.g. Brown, 2004; Brown and Raymond, 2007).

I adapted this method to fit the qualitative nature of this thesis. I provided the participants with a set of sticker dots of various colours and three printed Google maps each showing a different area: (1) their neighbourhood, (2) central Prague and finally (3) the whole city of Prague. First, the participants were asked to indicate, using sticker dots, the elements of their daily lives such as work, home, shopping etc. Furthermore, the respondents were asked to identify their place of residence, including previous places of residence

In addition to this information, participants were asked, using sticky dots, to identify where, in their opinion, is the highest concentration of tourists in Prague. Furthermore, I asked them to mark on the maps the places they tend to avoid. I further explored the connections between these two in the interview to find out whether the touristification of certain areas influenced the spatial behaviour of the respondents. Following Brown's method, participants were asked to identify and describe their special places on an empty piece of paper on the side of the maps, which were later also discussed during the interview. The purpose of that was to explore the relation of special places and tourist attractions and whether residents see Prague in a similar 'gaze' (Urry, 1990) as tourists. In the end, residents were asked to indicate the route they take

when they visit central Prague. This information was important as it can show the spatial patterns of residents in central Prague and hence provide information whether tourism affects the movement of the participants through the city. To further analyse this information, the respondents were asked about the impact tourism has on their route and the frequency of such visits to central Prague.

3.4 Interviews

3.4.1 Residents

Interviews with residents were conducted through online platforms throughout April-May 2021 and followed a hybrid structure. The interview guide for the interviews can be found in Appendix 1.

Firstly, the interviewer asked about the background information of the participants and their opinions on tourism and organisational structures of tourism in Prague. This information provided a primary perception of the main issues addressed in this thesis.

Moving towards the change of tourism in Prague, residents were asked about their perception of changes in tourism posed by the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and the affiliation of the Czech Republic with the European Union in 2004 in order to understand the differences of each event. Furthermore, the participants were asked to identify places with the highest concentration of tourists within the city of Prague as the document analysis showed that the main concentration of tourists is indeed in Central Prague, exposing the centre to tourismification, which can lead to resident displacement (Ioannides et al. 2018).

The third part of the interview focused on the impacts of tourism on residents addressing the perception of sense of place in relation to Prague and what the impacts of tourism are on the city and its residents. Tourism can cause issues for the residents, causing displacement and loss of sense of place within destinations (Casado Buesa, 2017) and hence the last topic of discussion in this part focused specifically on the experiences of feeling displaced within the city of Prague.

The next part explored the spatial mapping process more in depth, asking about indicated special places. Furthermore, the relation between places of tourist concentration and places respondents avoid was addressed. In the end of this section, the regularity of visits of central Prague was researched in order to understand the recurrence of spatial movement of residents within Central Prague and whether that is affected by tourism.

To close the interview off, the participants were asked to provide an insight into the future of tourism in Prague in terms of organisational structure to be able to correlate those answers with the perception of the same topic by *Prague City Tourism*. In the end the participants were asked whether they have any additional information or feedback they would like to provide in order for the interviewer to improve their skills.

3.4.2 Prague City Tourism

The interview with *Prague City Tourism* was conducted in February 2021 in order to understand the institutional context of tourism and gain insight into the tourism marketing and planning process in Prague. The organisation is relatively new (it was founded in 2020 building on previously created agendas of the city of the Prague) and was established with the purpose of creating sustainable tourism in Prague and returning the city to the residents. In this sense, the organisation embodies a shift away from a very liberal, market-led and growth-oriented tourism policy in Prague that was established shortly after the Velvet Revolution to a vision that is more concerned about ensuring that Prague remains a liveable city with a healthy mix of economic activities and service provision.

The nature of the interview was semi-structured with predetermined topics. This form of interviewing provides some flexibility to both the interviewer and the interviewee (Hay, 2016). Furthermore, the interview followed a hybrid structure with simple-to-answer and non-threatening questions at the start moving towards more complex and sensitive topics. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 2.

To start, the interviewee was asked to provide background information on the *Prague City Tourism organisation* and the character of tourism in Prague including benefits, negatives, motivations of tourists and organisational structure. The second section of the interview

focused on the change in tourism in Prague, including the change of tourism marketing and management regime over time and the impact of this change on both type and intensity of tourism. Furthermore, this section investigated the nature of commodification and tourismification within the city of Prague and whether there is a difference in tourism development between Western and Eastern Europe in terms of organisational structures as, in Eastern Europe, societal and economic changes occurred more rapidly due to rapid globalisation (Temelová, 2007; Kádár, 2013).

The third section of the interview addressed the topics of sense of place and tourist concentration in the city of Prague. Understanding the topic of sense of place from the organisation's point of view provided the author with an important distinction between the residents' and the organisation's definition of the term. Furthermore, this section explored the impact of overtourism on previously mentioned sense of place and the effect on perceptions of the city of Prague. According to Milano (2017), overtourism is to be blamed for reducing sense of place leading to the collapse of socio-cultural connectivity. Therefore, understanding the perception of this issue by the organisation was important as overtourism is a common occurrence in the city of Prague.

The fourth section focused on the impacts of tourism on residents including the issues connected to Airbnb and displacement. The organisation is the main destination management authority in Prague and hence the perception on these issues was important to understand in order to paint a concrete picture of the institutional background of tourism in Prague. Participation of residents, including rights of residents to the city was also addressed in this section in order to gain further understanding of the institutional context.

Finally, closing questions focused on the future of tourism in Prague, including the impact of COVID-19 and the Airbnb. In order to combat antisocial behaviour, cities across Europe started taking actions against the home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb (Lopez Diaz, 2017). Therefore understanding of the actions taken by *Prague City Tourism* were essential to determine the institutional context and its future. In the end, interviewee was provided with the option to add some information or comment on the contents of the interview in order for the interviewer to receive feedback and adapt their methods appropriately.

3.5 Data Analysis

After the interviews were conducted, each was transcribed and sent back to the respondent for authorisation. This method improved trustworthiness, rigour and credibility of the data through the process of member checking with the participant community and provided the participant with the information that was used during the analysis (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Hay, 2016). After the transcript was finished and approved, the interview was transferred into Atlas.ti for coding. The coding of the interviews is important in order to reduce, categorise and analyse data (Cope, 2014). The coding scheme can be found in Appendix 3 and consists of codes that were created based on literature review or that were added to the coding scheme based on researcher's interpretation of information disclosed during the data collection processes. Using the codes from the literature was the most appropriate for the study as both the spatial mapping and the interviews were built on the literature.

The data collected from the spatial mapping stage were analysed as hot and cold spots using GIS. Furthermore, the information was combined with the relevant data from the interviews to paint a holistic understanding of tourism environment within the city of Prague and the impacts it has on residents and their spatial behaviour.

3.7 COVID-19

I want to acknowledge that the masters programme and the thesis were affected due to COVID-19 pandemic and hence the whole process was moved online. I acknowledge that this could have an effect on the rigorousness of the data, however in order to prevent risks to the participants, especially due to their age, I found it very important to keep the research online, even when the World started opening up.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Qualitative research often invades someone's privacy through personal questions and hence the privacy and confidentiality of the participants has to be ensured (Hay, 2016). In order to ensure this, I implemented several practices. First, all the participants were given an alias and, in the research, only their aliases were used. Furthermore, all the data was stored in a locked folder, hence ensuring nobody, apart from the researcher, had access to the data. Secondly, the

author recognised the importance of having informed consent as it provides the participants with the outline of the research and their rights (Hay, 2016). The informed consent can be seen in Appendix 4. The participants were informed about the recording of the interview and later, they were provided with the transcript for authorisation.

One of the big changes in the research was the presence of COVID-19 pandemic. Normally the research would be conducted in person and hence it would provide more rigorous data due to the instant reaction period. Furthermore, whilst online research should be no more harmful than face-to-face (Eynon et al, 2008) it presents an additional layer of ethical issues due to blurred boundaries between private and public data (McGowan, 2014).

This brings me to the issue of my positionality. I acknowledge that I come from the Czech Republic and hence Prague has a special place in my heart. However due to the fact that I never lived in Prague and hence only knew about the problematic as an outsider, I believe that my subjectivity was reduced and I conducted the research objectively. In general, I believe it helped with the research that I knew, where places in Prague are located and had a general knowledge about Prague as it helped me with collecting more in-depth data.

Throughout the research I decided to pay more attention to these risks and through following Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity and the rules prescribed by the University of Groningen, ensured that the safety, anonymity and integrity of the research is preserved.

In the next part of the thesis I discuss the results. First, I introduce the results collected in terms of the institutional context of tourism in Prague including the participation of residents in decision-making. Following that, I evaluate the perceptions of tourism and the change. Furthermore, I introduce the impacts of tourism on the sense of place of my respondents. In addition to that, I discuss overtourism and displacement of residents including touristification and the motivation of tourist to visit Prague. Last but not least, I introduce the results of the spatial mapping and evaluate the connection between tourism and the movement of my respondents.

4. Results

4.1 Institutional context of tourism in Prague

4.1.1 Formal institutional structures of decision-making in Prague

Understanding the institutional context of tourism is important in order to understand the relevant processes within the sector such as new legislation or changes in branding of the destination (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). However, destinations in Central and Eastern Europe are facing a risk of distrust from the side of residents due to path dependencies caused by the previous regime and lacking inclusion in decision-making processes that, until recently, were characterized by limited participation from the bottom up (Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz et al., 2017).

The new, previously mentioned destination management organization (DMO) in Prague called *Prague City Tourism* aims to break with this trend. The DMO has introduced a new conception of tourism, which is aimed to balance the economic benefits with the quality of life in the city. They claim that Prague is currently in the stage, where the market is saturated and hence the life in the city should be managed by implementing new products for both residents and tourists. The DMO explained the role of the institution as such:

“The role of the institution is to balance the interests of individual stakeholders, but most importantly, the role is to see the long-term goals. The DMO should explain to the other stakeholders that the long-term goal is worth a specific type of discomfort or for example uncertainty”

Furthermore, the organization claimed that:

“The city is like a clock and changing even the smallest piece can have a lasting effect on the city. Due to this there will always be discrepancy between residents and institution”

To interpret the quote, the DMO expects discrepancy between them and the residents, however their goals are to help the residents feel like they belong to Prague. Therefore,

it seems to me that there should be an effort to get rid of the discrepancy, which seems to be missing from the goals of the DMO. However, it also has to be acknowledged that society is heterogenous and therefore there will always be various outlooks on the matter.

The organization seems to have a clear understanding of their goals and they outline them in their new conception. These goals include returning Prague to residents, regulating home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb and recreating the brand of the city by putting the cultural heritage into a vibrant setting. To achieve these goals, they collaborate with many stakeholders such as the Magistrate of the Capital City of Prague. However, the research has found that there is limited awareness about the institutional context amongst the residents. When asked about the institutional context, many residents claimed that the main organization is Czech Tourism, which provides marketing of the Czech Republic in the foreign countries. The limited recognition can cause issues for the DMO and hinder their progress in achieving their goals as the residents are also important stakeholders of tourism in Prague and limited knowledge can reduce the level of interaction with the DMO.

Jakub claimed that the political representation in general is starting to understand the fact that some parts of Prague are becoming a ghost city and they try to regulate it. However, despite the intentions of Prague City Tourism to break with the tourism-growth oriented past, amongst some residents, there was a negative feeling about regulation of tourism in Prague. As Michal said:

“if we want to keep some form of economic freedom, we cannot really regulate it [tourism cannot be regulated in order to keep freedom of the residents]”.

Additionally, he claims that residents living in the main tourist locations are dependent on tourism and hence they are waiting for it to come back after the pandemic. Furthermore, Marie claimed that where there is tourism, there is prosperity and that residents already lived behind a wire and they do not want that again. However, Marie’s statement can be considered as contradictory as the respondent does want a livable city, however with unregulated tourism, the city can end up completely unlivable. Therefore, it can be important to introduce some regulations in order to prevent unlivable environment caused by overtourism. Their statements also show the fear of regulation due to the previous communist regime and therefore it is important that the DMO discusses the implications of the regulations with the residents to prevent discrepancy.

In addition to that, Anna, who runs a business in the tourism sector told me that they have negative experiences with tourism organizations in Prague due to their lack of interest into the private sector

“We did not have any support from them as a private sector so I believe Prague City Tourism is kind of a blah blah organization [the organisation does not do anything]”.

Furthermore, Anna claimed, that Prague has an extraordinary image in the World and hence there is not much else to do and the organization is just enjoying the benefits.

4.1.2 Participation of residents in decision-making

Another big goal of the organization is a shift from government to governance, where residents have a word in decision making processes (Bramwell,2011). According to *Prague City Tourism*, there is a lot of space for residents to get involved and discuss the developments of the city such as questionnaires about current developments and discussions, where residents have the right to express their opinions. For example, there was a questionnaire about the use of an old fishmongers’ house in Prague 1. To support their statement, Lucie, a resident from Prague 1, has claimed that there are indeed such incentives to encourage residents to participate, and despite the remaining powerful hand of the market, no all is lost, but it takes a lot of effort and time to change it. Additionally, there is an incentive from the Magistrate of the Capital City of Prague to prevent the spread of shared housing such as Airbnb, which has caused a depopulation of the city center by the original residents. There is a collaboration considering this issue between the DMO and the Magistrate. It could be considered as an evidence of the shift of focus from economic to sustainable development. The DMO claimed that the residents are the city and hence competent representatives are needed. They provide an example of Amsterdam, where the representatives managed to regulate home sharing platforms. Furthermore, they claim that the fact that it is not yet been managed in Prague is due to the later development (due to the Iron curtain) and hence the politicians are not sure what they can and cannot do during such situations.

The general feeling from the respondents is that there is a lack of knowledge about the organization and a distrust towards their decision-making processes. That could be, as mentioned before, a result of the path dependency (Dyba et al, 2018; Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz et al., 2017). Furthermore, the organization was established in July 2020, amid the COVID-19 crisis, which can be a result of limited knowledge about the purpose and the goals of the organization amongst the respondents. It is interesting to see that there is indeed an option for the residents to participate in decision making processes in the destination, however only one resident knew about such incentives. Furthermore, as the organization acknowledges, Prague was opened up to the World quite recently and hence the general political representation is still conservative in what they can and cannot do, which has an impact on the processes in the city such as home-sharing platforms pushing out the residents by increasing rent.

4.2 Perception of tourism and its change

4.2.1 Perceptions of tourism

When identifying the positive perceptions, the participants spoke about the economic benefits tourism brings such as diversification of the market or employment. Furthermore, they claim that tourism brings innovation, cultural awareness and the improvement in care for cultural heritage making Prague a global cultural hub.

On the contrary, the negative aspects of tourism discussed by the participants were increased prices of food in restaurants in the main tourist areas, overtourism, depopulation of central Prague by original residents, which created a ‘ghost city’ and causes the loss of authenticity. However, many of the participants argued that they understand that this situation is similar in many other cities in Europe such as Barcelona.

Many residents had personal experience when it comes to tourism. One of the most affected residents is Jakub, who has decided to move out due to the rising issues connected to tourism and short-term rentals near his current home. He says:

“Well, what they started with are these Airbnb rentals, which not only make other rents more expensive, but for us, people surrounded by them, it means that sometimes you have to argue with them [tourists] about the fact that they cannot

shout and play loud music at midnight because there are people going to work in the morning..... Also, at the entrance to our house there are taxis and buses stopping because there is a hotel nearby and they leave the engine running for like half an hour, that is not a normal situation.”

Another resident, Anna, an entrepreneur in tourism has claimed that she does not feel any negative impacts of tourism on herself. That supports the discussion by Rasoolimanesh et al., (2015), who in their case study claimed that residents who have a direct benefit from tourism do not feel as many negative impacts as the ones who do not have an income from tourism.

As it can be seen, there are many negative and positive impacts of tourism in Prague. Many residents have discussed finding of balance as a way to go forward. They understand that there is a need for tourists, however the whole city centre should not be oriented just on them, but should also be inclusive for residents.

4.2.2 The change in tourism

The Czech Republic was under the communist regime until 1989, when the Velvet revolution happened. Since then, the borders opened up to the World, creating a new market and bringing in previously untapped income from the cultural heritage of the city of Prague. The residents were asked to reminisce about the times before the revolution and how the revolution changed the tourism environment in the city.

The participants reflected on how, prior the revolution, tourism was not ran by market economy, but by quotas posed by the central state. Hence the main tourist markets were the Eastern Europe and Eastern Germany. Additionally, the only possible way to travel was within organised structures, not on your own. Furthermore, according to many, tourism services such as hotels or restaurants were not up to a European standard. However, many respondents described this period with a feeling of nostalgia by reflection on how romantic Prague was in those times. Jakub reflects:

“In the 80s, we used to go and play guitar on the Charles Bridge. Now you cannot even stop there [because of the number of visitors], let alone play a guitar. Not to

mention the bridge is leased by some criminal association that would send security on you”

The increased number of tourists causing that residents cannot do what they did before can be considered as one of the negative aspects of the change. However, the revolution has brought many positives to the city as well. Veronika reflected on how she finally felt free and how she welcomed many new tourists from West and other parts of the World such as the Middle East and Africa. Furthermore, participants discussed the improvement of services, infrastructure and overall care for the cultural heritage of the city. Michal reflected on this change:

“The change was gradual. At first, people who had some relationship or roots in Czech arrived due to nostalgic reasons. That was the first wave - when people were curious. We were kind of feeling up each other [getting to know each other]. I guess that people needed to know that we do not have palms and we use 220V, toilet paper and phones.”

The discussions shifted to the change posed by accession of the Czech Republic to the EU in 2004. Despite the fact that the residents did not feel that this accession marked an as significant change as the Velvet Revolution, they agreed that because of the accession, overall globalisation was boosted as it was easier to travel and to connect to people from other countries. Marie claimed that the two events cannot be compared but should be considered as the first and second landmark steps in a broader overall development process. In addition to that, the respondents observed the growth in individual tourism, in comparison to organised tourists, who then search for accommodation on their own causing a growth in home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb. When asked about which type of tourism, the participants think is better they claimed that both types have their positives and negatives. In terms of organised tourism, the tourists only move through the main touristic areas and in groups (further discussed in 4.6) which can cause increased traffic in those places, however they do not use the home sharing platforms. When considering the individual travellers, the participants claimed that these tourists do not cause such issues in terms of taking up all the space, however the negative is that they usually use home-sharing platforms causing the displacement of residents. Overall, the feeling was that there is not an ideal way of travelling and it will always have a certain impact such as increased rent or limited spatial movement.

Overall, there was a positive outlook on the change as it has brought new opportunities for the residents in terms of entrepreneurship and freedom to travel. As it can be seen from the analysis of the interviews, there was a negative outlook on tourism prior the revolution as it was completely regulated. The path dependency can also explain the discrepancy between the governmental organisation and the residents towards the regulations of tourism.

4.3 Impacts of tourism on the residents' sense of place

Each respondent, including the representative from *Prague City Tourism* was asked, what they consider sense of place to be. From the answers, the definition of sense of place as perceived by the respondents could be summarized as such:

A sense of place is how a place affects you as an individual, either positively or negatively. It is the houses and the streets, but it is also the atmosphere and the people living in the place. Furthermore, it is about the history and the events that you can sense from your surroundings, which can induce feelings of belonging. It is also about the authenticity of the place created by the residents, which, over time, creates a spirit of the place and makes the place unique.



Figure 4 Michalská street, early 2000



Figure 5 Michalská street, 2021

As it can be seen, there are many elements creating the phenomenon, including tangible and intangible aspects (Lew, 2017). Lucie provided a specific example of Michalská street in central Prague (in Figure 4 – a picture from early 2000), which is one of the earliest occupied places in Prague. She says that it was repaired a lot due to the grants from European Union and hence, for her, the sense of place was negatively affected. I personally visited the street in 2021 in order to see the difference (Figure 5). As it can be seen, there is a drastic difference between

the two pictures. According to Lucie, a place should be authentic and not pretend what it is not. However, she also acknowledges that the change was inevitable as the street was in a bad state.

Additionally, the participants were asked to identify, what creates the sense of place in Prague, which was then analyzed and divided into tangible and intangible elements (Table 2).

Table 2 Tangible and intangible elements of sense of place in Prague

| Tangible elements | Intangible elements |
|--|--|
| Little side streets in Central Prague | How the atmosphere radiates from the buildings |
| Old houses and hidden places | Food |
| The two hills divided in the middle by the river | Czech character - funny and friendly people |
| The dense concentration of old and new buildings | Intangible culture |
| The location of Prague on the hills | Atmosphere of the place |
| The silhouette of the Prague Castle | Feelings you have in a place |
| Varying architectural styles | Authenticity |
| Cultural heritage | |
| Empty streets | |

As it can be seen, there are many elements identified by the respondents as parts of sense of place in Prague. As some scholars claim, intangible elements are as important as tangible and the sense of place can disappear without them (Lew, 2017). To support that, *Prague City Tourism* claims that sense of place is mostly about the dynamic interaction between people and their behavior:

“It is great that Prague has a good scenery, but on its own the city is dead. You always have a soul in a living body, without it, nobody cares.”

Furthermore, if you do not have people, sense of place can disappear and create touristified places. However, according to Jan, it has to be acknowledged that Prague is too big to have one sense of place and that it has to be localized in order to achieve a better understanding of

the phenomena. Furthermore, he claimed that some of the parts have already lost their sense of place:

“Well I would not generalize it for the whole Prague, but I think that individual places have the sense of place, and some have lost it. Like the arcades near Wenceslas Square or overall the Wenceslas square, Vodičkova, Jindřišská, I think, at least by photos, they had sense of place in the 60s or 70s, but they lost it. Also there is something different in the little streets of the Old Town, something different is in Lesser Town or in Kampa. I would not generalize it. If you’d take the administrative borders of Prague, you cannot say that Smichov has the same sense of place as Přední Kopanina, Vinohrady or the Old Town and therefore I would say that the sense of place is a very local thing.”

When asked about the impact of tourism on sense of place, there were many varying answers on the issue. Some participants claimed that some places have lost their magic due to overcrowding, whilst other participants claimed that tourists can add something to the place. Marie claimed that sometimes drunk tourists can affect sense of place during the evening but it definitely does not diminish it. On the contrary, it underlines it due to the dynamic interaction amongst people.

As it can be seen, sense of place is indeed a very individual feeling (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001) and the perceptions can vary and even be contradictory to each other. What most of the participants agreed upon was the image of Prague during the coronavirus crisis. Many of them enjoyed the little streets of Prague, however they agreed that the city is sad when it is empty. That can be due to touristification of the place as the residents are not really present in central Prague creating, due to the pandemic, a ‘city of ghosts’.

4.4 Overtourism and displacement

4.4.1 Motivation of tourists to visit Prague and overtourism

Another important topic to understand the perceptions of tourism in Prague is to understand the main motivations tourists have to visit the destination. The respondents expressed various opinions on the issue, however the general feeling was that there are two types of tourists

arriving to Prague. The first one, which comes here to experience the culture and see the heritage, and the second one, which comes here to drink or to post pictures on their social media. A very important factor, according to the residents, is the unique concentration of architecture in Prague. Jakub reflected on his Australian friend visiting as:

“We took him through the old Prague and to the castle and he was looking from above and said that it is all just theatrical scenery, he did not believe that this could exist”

Jan also claimed that Prague is kind of a must-see destination such as Venice or Rome. This type of tourism is encouraged by cheap flight tickets, making it easier for tourists to come and visit. Furthermore, Marie and Anna discussed the affordability of the city as a big motivator in comparison to other European capitals.

Overall, the participants discussed that the motivations differ case by case and you cannot generalise the motivations of all tourists. There are some who are interested in the cultural heritage; however, the growth of stag-do/alcohol tourism are also observed by the participants.

When considering overtourism, many participants identified that it is an issue in Prague, however the tourists only move in some specific streets with the tourist shops and hence it is easy to move around them. Furthermore, considering the current situation connected to COVID-19 pandemic, many residents felt the extreme difference between the situation claiming that Prague was overcrowded before, but now it is sad.

4.4.2 Touristification and displacement

Touristification is a phenomenon, which occurs in places which are transformed from residential areas into areas only focusing on tourists (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2020). The transformation can cause physical and emotional displacement of residents and can create so-called ‘tourism enclaves’, inducing the loss of perceived authenticity among residents (Lew, 2017) and further development of ‘Disneyfied’ destinations (Sequera and Nofre, 2020). One of the respondents reflected on the touristification of Prague:

“I do not like going to certain places because there is a lot of people, it is expensive there, I cannot buy normal groceries, but they only sell stuff for tourists. It even displaced me from Kampa and the Lennon Wall because it became a Disneyland [Kampa and Lennon Wall were places that had a meaning for them but due to overtourism, they decided to avoid the place]”.

The participants reflected on how the city has changed over the years creating a centre with one purpose – to sell goods to tourists. The main points of discussions were the inauthentic shops located in the proximity of the Old Town selling Russian hats and matryoshkas, which are not part of the Czech culture. Lucie, who lived in Pařížská street, a luxury shopping street in the proximity of the Old Town Square remembers the change of the neighborhood as:

“We lived in a corner house on Pařížská and Široká and there was a butcher under our flat. For a very long time it was empty and then it was rented to Prada. It ended up being completely unlivable as there were tourists all the time and all the shops for residents were closed and changed to luxury shops.... It pushes people out because everything became subordinate to tourists and then there is no space for residents. You cannot go and buy mortadella, baguette and make yourself happy like it was several years ago. Now you can go and buy a handbag from Vuitton or dress from Prada. That is the problem and residents cannot do anything about that.”

Many respondents reflected on the fact that there are no services for residents around the Old Town and hence there is no normal life. To try to return Prague to the residents, *Prague City Tourism* have been trying to develop a mixture of services which will be attractive to both residents and tourists to create a balance between the interests of each stakeholder. Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, the city center has been struggling with the economic dependence on tourism causing many tourist-oriented shops to be closed.

However, the participants did not consider the issue of touristification to be only present in Prague. Quite on the contrary, they discussed that this thing is happening in many other cities in the Czech Republic and in Europe in general. Some of them claimed that they already got used to how the city is and despite the fact that it is a shame, there is nothing they can do about it.

Overall, the shift in management of the destination is dependent on *Prague City Tourism* and the general political representation. By establishing balance between residents and tourists, the destination can experience not only economic growth, but also overall development (Rifai, 2017).

From the results and the analysis, it is obvious that a form of touristification and related displacement is observed by this study’s participants. The dependence of the city on tourism and the focus on tourists brought many negatives for the destination, especially in the times of global pandemic, when tourism was halted. Residents lacked the knowledge about what they can do and who they can talk to about issues caused by overtourism, despite the recent participatory plans of *Prague City Tourism*. Some respondents seemed to just got used to it, because they perceived they had no other choice but to accept the high tourist intensities and tourist-oriented service provision. Of course, the new destination management organization can bring in many new ideas on how to return Prague to its residents, however, it seems like it will be a long-distance run.

4.6 How is tourism affecting spatial movement of residents?

In order to identify the displacement more in detail, in the first stage of the research, residents were sent a map, where they marked their special places, daily routines, walks through Prague, places with many tourists, and places they avoid.

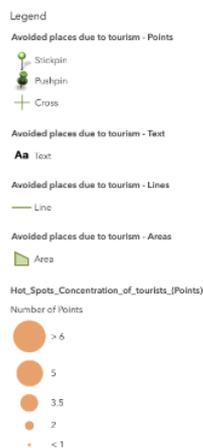


Figure 7 Legend explaining different elements of Figures 8,9 and 10

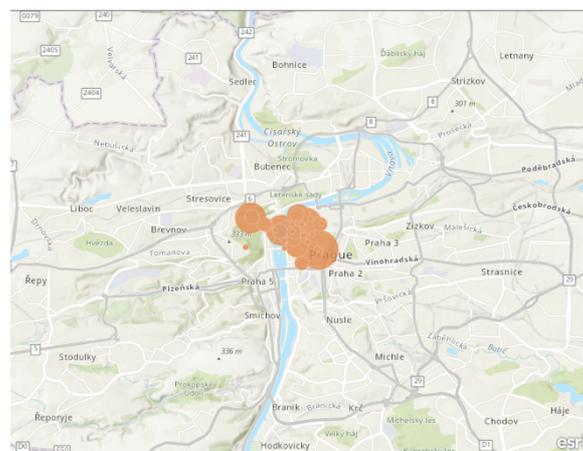


Figure 8 The concentration of tourists in Prague

Figure 7 provides a legend for Figure 8, 9 and 10. Figure 8 maps the main tourist locations that the respondents identified (zoomed in on central Prague in Figure 9). As it can be seen, the perception is that there is indeed a high concentration of tourists in central Prague, whilst there is none in other city parts. During the interviews, the respondents indicated that the main tourist-exposed places are located on or nearby the Royal Route, which consists of the Prague Castle, Lesser Town, Charles Bridge and the Old Town. The general route of the classic ‘mass tourist’, based on the perception of the residents, is marked with a green line in Figure 9.

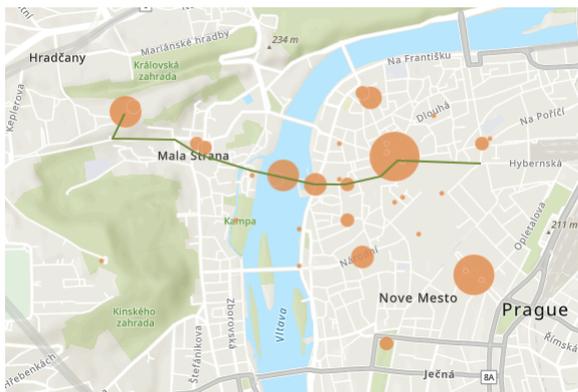


Figure 9 General mass tourist route (marked in green line)

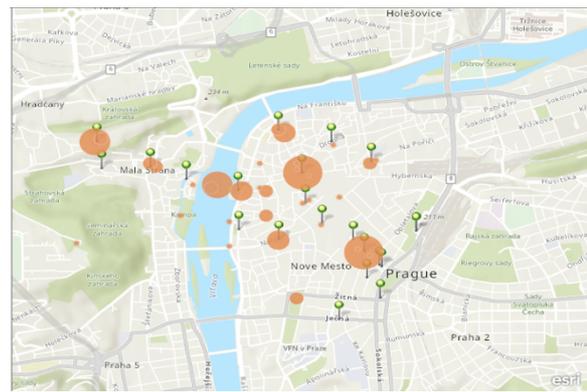


Figure 10 The impacts of tourism on spatial movement

Residents specifically identified the Wenceslas Square, the Jewish Town and Republic Square as the centers of tourists’ attention. The concentration of tourists is perceived to be very high in these parts, whilst the respondents did not recognize the rest of the Prague as sites of specific tourist attention. Despite the fact that the organization is trying to develop new tourist attractions outside of the historical center to relieve pressure of the touristified center, the overall feeling of the residents is that there is not a possibility for Prague to develop such attractions and therefore there is no way to relieve pressure from the historical city center.

When asked about the impact on spatial movement, only two residents marked in the maps that they avoid central Prague due to tourism (Figure 10). Eva reflected on avoiding Wenceslas square due to the criminal activity that is brought there by tourism such as drug selling or human trafficking. Jakub commented that he feels uncomfortable in these places as not only they lost authenticity but they are also overcrowded. However, when asked about how they move throughout the city, many respondents discussed that they use the little side streets to avoid tourists, because, as mentioned before, they usually only use the main touristic paths. On the contrary, Jan claimed that his special places are also the places where many tourists go to

because that is exactly what tourists want to see. He claims that where locals like it, tourists like it too.

Understanding frequency of visiting central Prague is important in order to analyze patterns. In general, older respondents do not visit the historical part of Prague as often as they did before due to health reasons such as limited mobility. On the other hand, younger respondents such as Anna visit the city center as much as they can due to the concentrations of cafés and restaurants.

Generally speaking, tourism does affect spatial movement of the participants as they learned to use different routes than the ones with highest tourism exposure as they feel dissociated with the streets due to inauthentic shop offers and high numbers of tourists. That can be related to the displacement theory by Davidson and Lee (2010), who identified that the residents do not have to be completely displaced, even a mental dissociation with the place can be viewed as displacement. As previously mentioned, many of the residents have claimed that they still visit central Prague, but they know their way around to avoid these places.

5 Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to find out what the institutional context of tourism is and what are its impacts on the perceptions and spatial behaviour of residents who grew up in Communist Europe. In order to answer this question, the institutional contexts and the residents' perceptions were researched and discussed throughout this thesis. The results show that indeed the tourism environment has been influenced by the past communist regime and created a complex issue for the destination management organizations. In other words, there is a lack of interest into participation from the side of residents as there is a lack of trust towards the institution. That could be considered a path dependency of the past communist regime. After the Velvet Revolution, the change in tourism was drastic and started bringing more tourists and creating more dynamic environment in central Prague, which was considered by the residents as positive. Furthermore, the residents do not feel comfortable about creating new regulations that would affect the free market as it would give them a feeling of being locked away, just like before 1989. Overall, the general feeling was that there is nothing residents can do about the current image of tourism in Prague, which can be perceived as a negative as the destination management organization is trying to shift the focus in order to establish governance in the destination.

However, when considering the perceptions of residents on the tourism, the research showed a clear sign of touristification of Central Prague and displacement of residents from their environment – physically and mentally. Despite the fact, that some residents did not avoid central Prague due to tourism, the general movement was affected and moved to side streets, where tourists usually do not go. That could be related to interspatial displacement defined by Popp (2012) as the residents go 'off the beaten track' in order to avoid the general paths of tourists.

In terms of the feelings towards the change in sense of place, both residents and *Prague City Tourism* believed that tourism does influence Prague and its residents, however the city without tourists, in the current COVID-19 pandemic, was perceived to be a sad sight. The important element of the finding was that, for some participants, the sense of place of Prague diminished and therefore they do not feel the need to visit it anymore. That can be related to the tangible and intangible elements. There have been new developmental projects in Prague that created

more aesthetically developed city, however the lack of focus on residents caused that the intangible elements of the sense of place have diminished (Lew, 2017).

The new destination management organisation in Prague faces an uphill battle to improve the current situation as they struggle with dealing with both perceptual and economic path dependencies that followed on from the past communist regime and the subsequent rapid, unregulated touristic growth in the city centre. Finding a balance between tourism activities and liveability, with a participatory role for local residents and entrepreneurs, will be very complicated in this context. Consequently, at this point, it seems likely that the current situation, where tourism is seen as both a blessing and a curse to local people's sense of place, will not be resolved in the near future.

When considering future research, it would be relevant to use mixed methods analysis in order to focus on the difference in perception between people, who grew up before and after the revolution. First, quantitative research design can generate relevant results in terms of perceptions on sense of place and tourism effects on the phenomenon. Those results could then be researched qualitatively in order to obtain in-depth information about the difference between the perceptions of the change. Furthermore, the institutional context of Central and Eastern European countries, who had a communist state structure until the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, should be researched more in depth as the complex environment might need a different governance model than the Western countries due to the different developmental paths (Temelová, 2007; Kádár, 2013).

In practice, the methodology and the findings from this thesis can be used by destination management organizations in tourism dependent cities in countries of previous communist regime to evaluate whether there could be similar perceptions and issues caused by unregulated development. In order to find balance between the negative and positive impacts, and the residents and tourists' facilities, it is important to create and communicate regulation, find and sustain positive impacts such as economic benefits and prevent negative impacts such as displacement and touristification of city centers. Therefore, I believe that the research approach could be applied in other place-specific tourism contexts to be able to compare different cases and gain more in-depth insights.

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7. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview scheme residents

| Themes | Talk about | Purpose |
|---|---|--|
| General information | Gender, Age | To obtain general information about residents |
| | Places of residence throughout the years and reasons for moving residence | To obtain insights into the history of residence and reasons for changing residence |
| | Tourism in Prague – what is the biggest positive/negative | Starting with this topic provides an overview about the overall perception from the start – can be built on throughout the interview |
| | Organisational structure of tourism in Prague | Posed to see the perceptions of institutional context of tourism in Prague |
| Change in tourism in Prague | Tourism before vs after the revolution = observable change | The revolution opened up borders to the World and hence tourism in Prague changed in its nature |
| | Change in tourism after entering the EU, bigger/smaller influence than the revolution | There was observable change in tourism after Czechia joined EU (also with introducing LCC), according to residents, what was the biggest contributor |
| | Where is, according to residents, the biggest concentration of tourists | To address the issue of disproportionate concentration of tourism in central Prague |
| Impact of tourism on residents (focus a lot on personal experiences) | Does tourism have influence on you? | To obtain the perception of the impact's tourism has on the participants |
| | Sense of place – understanding | Understanding different perceptions of sense of place is important as it will produce a complex definition of the phenomenon for the purpose of the thesis |
| | What makes Prague Prague | This will create a complex understanding of the sense of place and its indicators in Prague |
| | How is it created? | Understanding the perceptions of residents on the forming aspects is crucial to interpret the picture of sense of place and tourism in Prague |
| | Impact of tourism on SOP | Ioannides et al. (2018) identified impacts of tourism on sense of place and exploring this topic during the interview provides individual perceptions of residents on this issue. |
| | Personally - displacement – have you ever felt out of place? Why? | Tourism can have effect on the feelings of displacement for residents – emotional/physical (Casado Buesa, 2017). Exploring this topic acquires the individual experiences and perception of this issue |
| Spatial mapping | Places with meanings (tell me a bit about them? Why did you choose them?) | Understanding special places can provide an insight into their routines and also if they cross over with other stickers (such as places |

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| | | with tourists) it can symbolise the interaction with tourists |
| | Correlation between places with tourist concentration and places residents avoid | This question further explores the data collected in the spatial mapping progress, deepening the understanding of the impacts of tourism on spatial movement |
| | Regularity of visiting central Prague and purpose (tourist in their own city? Shopping?) | To further understand the impacts, the regularity of visits to central Prague is explored and connection is made between residents' movement and frequency. |
| Closing questions | Do you think COVID-19 will affect the type of tourism in Prague? | Keeping up with the trends and getting the understanding of the current situation |
| | Future of tourism in Prague – organisational, involvement of residents etc | With the changes PCT is implementing, it is important to understand what the perception of future is for the residents, as well as for the organisation |
| | Additional info/feedback | |

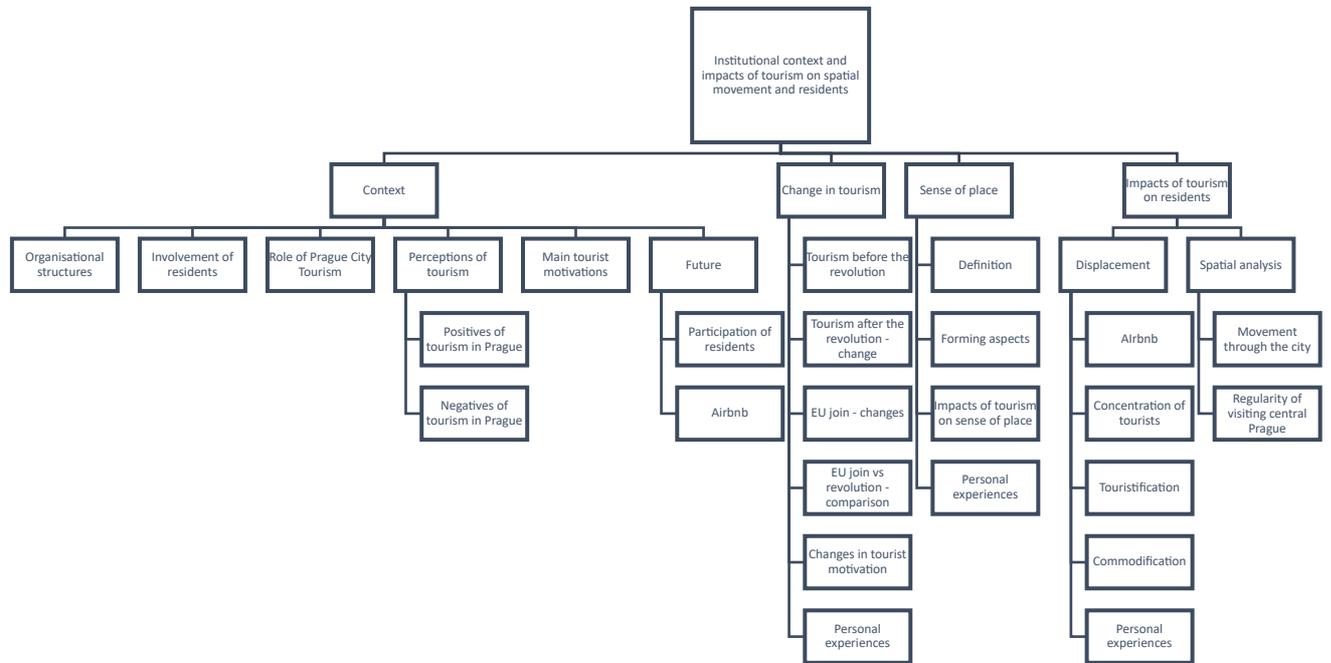
Appendix 2 – Interview scheme Prague City Tourism

| Themes | Talk about | Purpose |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| General information | Prague City Tourism as organisation – goals, view of organisation on tourism | To obtain insights into the organisation |
| | Main benefits + negatives of tourism in Prague | Tourism has many positive and negative impacts; this question will help understand the perception of PCT on the situation in Prague |
| | Motivation of tourists | Understanding motivation of tourists will help us understand the main tourism type in Prague |
| | Organisation of tourism in Prague + involvement of stakeholders | Tourism is a fragmented sector and hence it is important to understand the institutional organisation of tourism in Prague |
| Change in tourism | Why is tourism growing (globalisation, change of regime) | Understanding the change from the point of view of a DMO |
| | Change of regime and its impact on tourism | The fall of Iron Curtain was considered a turning point for city development in Central and Eastern Europe The accession of these countries to these countries into the European Union, supported the growth of low-cost carrier routes to these countries and hence attracted tourists to these new, almost “exotic”, destinations (Dobruszkes, 2006; Bjelicic, 2007). |
| | Commodification | Local forms of everyday life can become commodified for the purpose of tourism |
| | Tourismification | Touristification aims to convert areas to exclusively touristic and commercial places, which causes decrease in residents in the area (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2020). A phenomenon observed in cities with high tourism numbers |
| | Development Western Europe vs Eastern Europe | The rapid economic and societal changes happening simultaneously with globalisation, led to distinction of Central and Eastern European countries from Western European countries, where urban planning was detailly planned (Temelová, 2007; Kádár, 2013). |
| | Interest of tourists into culture? (change) | Observable change, when tourists are more interested in drinking than in culture |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | Prague generates 60% HDP of tourism in Czech, problem? | Dependency on Prague, overtourism |
| Sense of place and concentration of tourism | Sense of place/genius loci, the elements of place | Understanding sense of place and the elements a place should have to be memorable from the perception of PCT |
| | Prague genius loci | Understanding the main elements of genius loci in Prague from the perception of PCT |
| | Influence of organisation in development projects | Some development projects can change the image of a city and hence affect the genius loci of a place – institutional context |
| | 257 arrivals per hectare – possible over tourism – perception, issues | Overtourism can affect one's perception of a place, with such a high number of arrivals per hectare there is a high change of overconcentration of tourists. Does it add to sense of place or does it affect it? Overtourism was blamed by Milano (2017) for reducing residents buying power, sense of place and belonging, which leads to collapse of socio-cultural connectivity. |
| Impact of tourism on residents | Airbnb – increase, effects on residents | Airbnb has led to over-touristification of attractive neighbourhoods in the city and hence displacement and depopulation of indigenous communities (Ioannides et al. 2018). |
| | Residents moving out due to over tourism, issue? | Due to tourismophobia, residents are displaced of their natural environment (Cocola-Gant, 2018). |
| | Participation of residents in decision making | Understanding the institutional context of tourism in Prague |
| | Right of residents to the city | Over tourism = displacement of residents, do they have the right? |
| Closing questions | Plans about tourism, Airbnb, COVID-19 – Airbnb flats being rented out as residential flats | Cities taking actions against antisocial behaviour, home sharing internet platforms etc (Lopez Diaz, 2017) |
| | COVID-19 – rebranding destination | Finding new sustainable markets to combat the impacts COVID-19 had on mass tourism in Prague, crucial as Czech is 60% dependent on the profit from tourism in Prague |
| | Participation of residents in the future? | Institutional context |

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------|--|
| | Add something/questions on me? | |
|--|--------------------------------|--|

Appendix 3 – Coding scheme



Appendix 4 – Informed consent (in Czech)

INFORMOVANÝ SOUHLAS PRO ÚČASTNÍKY VÝZKUMU

Byla jsem seznámena/a s podmínkami, cílem a obsahem výzkumného projektu Terezy Kubištové s pracovním názvem „What is the institutional context of tourism and what are its impacts on the perceptions and spatial behaviour of residents who grew up in Communist Europe?/Jaký je instituční kontext cestovního ruchu a jaké jsou jeho dopady na vnímání a pohyb obyvatel, kteří vyrostli v komunistické Evropě?“. Rozumím jim a souhlasím s nimi.

Souhlasím s účastí na tomto projektu. Dávám své svolení výzkumnici, aby materiál, který jsem jí poskytla, použila za účelem sepsání diplomové práce, popř. odborného článku a pro jakékoliv další odborné publikace a prezentace vycházející z tohoto výzkumu.

Souhlasím se způsobem, jak bude zachována důvěrnost a jak bude má identita chráněna během výzkumu i po jeho skončení.

Souhlasím snahráváním mého rozhovoru svýzkumnici a sanalýzou výsledného zvukového záznamu a jeho přepisu. Dávám souhlas k tomu, že výzkumnice může v odborné publikaci citovat informace, které jí poskytují.

Souhlasím s tím, že použité citace podléhají autorizaci ze strany respondenta.

Rozumím tomu, že pokud se v průběhu rozhovoru objeví pro mne obtížná témata, mohu odmítnout odpovědět na jakoukoliv otázku nebo kdykoliv ukončit rozhovor.

Rozumím tomu, že mohu odstoupit z tohoto výzkumného projektu kdykoliv před publikací práce.

Výzkumnice:

JMÉNO:.....

PODPIS:.....

DATUM:.....

Účastník:

JMÉNO:.....

PODPIS:.....

DATUM:.....