

CONTESTED RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH TOURISM: SPATIAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN A POST-SOCIALIST CZECH VILLAGE

Scientific paper

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of the paper is to examine social change of a post-socialist Czech rural locality and community with regard to the large scale tourism development that has been taking place in this area since the late 1990s. The aim is to understand how the post-socialist transformation through tourism affected local community.

Design – Tourism has become the primary economic endeavour which dominates community life and upon which the local area is dependent. The area serves as a prime example of a rapidly and extensively evolving, and largely exogenous tourism enterprise situated in a rural host community. The attempt is to present and explain the ways in which local rural people experience, create, interpret, and act upon transformation of the locality through tourism.

Methodology - The paper is methodologically grounded in anthropological fieldwork conducted between 2008 and 2013. It is based on the data from participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

Approach – The paper is focused on diverse identities, forms of agency and ambiguous interactions emerging within the rural community. It is argued that multiple views and representations of rurality are contingent on diverse memories of socialist past and post-socialist present.

Findings – Data confirm the emergence of hybrid rural place filled up with changing spatial, social and power relations, and the processes of the internal ‘othering’ and marginalisation of the post-socialist rural place and people.

Originality – The paper presents the outcomes of primary research that is both empirically-driven and conceptually embedded in the concepts of postsocialism, tourism as development, and social change.

Keywords rural development; rural change; tourism; post-socialism; Czech Republic; social capital

INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades complex processes of political, socio-economic and cultural change in the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe have dramatically affected rural localities and populations. The changes primarily influenced the nature of rural economies - both industries and agriculture - which went through a substantial downturn. Declining rural economies have brought about the changes in demographics and socio-economic composition of the rural population, as well as changes in the ownership and management of many rural areas. A rapidly changing rural environment characterized by the shift into the service sector economy has witnessed new demands on the rural resources base. New patterns of economic activity emerged in rural areas; among them tourism, which was seen as a major agent for economic (re)development

and as a lifeline for rural communities. Hence, many rural areas are trying to 'acquire a share of the tourism industry'.¹

The centrality of tourism in rural (re)development has been recognized by many planners and managers. There is a widespread perception that tourism offers salvation in local economic crises.² The goals of rural tourism development include the diversification and stabilisation of local economy, economic growth through business opportunities both within and outside the industry, job creation, incomes, increased investment, population retention or even rise, infrastructure and facility provision.³ As many impact studies indicate, rural communities in general regard tourism with favour. Positive impacts of tourism on local communities were confirmed *inter alia*, by Allen et al. and Akis et al.⁴ In many cases rural tourism helped diversify local economies, thus stopped rural depopulation. There is evidence that it has contributed to the revival of traditional settlements and local culture. An illustrative example is a small community in North Carolina where residents, though not having a direct economic benefit from tourism, are positive towards tourism development.⁵

However, though many local governments attract tourism as a means of economic redevelopment, not all communities actively seek tourism development.⁶ Vast scholarly literature on rural development through tourism can offer many cautionary comments.⁷ Rural redevelopment through tourism has brought about a dilemma that lies in the symbiotic relationship between rural development processes and recreation and tourism. As the nature of rural tourism in general is to exploit rural environments for recreational purposes, it has brought the likelihood of new forms of impact, competition and conflict: since land has become redefined as a resource for leisure, or as a 'tourism resource',⁸ there is a potential conflict between recreation and tourism uses and other forms of land use; other possible conflicts may emerge between non-tourist and tourist activities. Moreover, while demands on rural areas are becoming complex, varied, rapid and ever increasing (the overall demand from recreational and tourist use of rural areas increases), the opportunities to meet these demands are

¹ Davis, J. S., Morais, D. B., "Factions and Enclaves: Small Towns and Socially Unsustainable Tourism Development", *Journal of Travel Research*, 43, 2004, 3-10, p. 3.

² Clout, H. D., *Rural Geography: An Introductory Survey*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1972. Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998.

³ Hall, C.M., Jenkins, J. M., "The policy dimensions of rural tourism and recreation", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 19-42.

⁴ Akis, S., Peristianis, N., Warner, J., "Residents' attitudes to tourism development: The case of Cyprus", *Tourism Management*, 17(7), 1996, 481-494. Allen, L. R., Long, P. T., Perdue, R. R., Kieselbach, S., "Impact of tourism development on residents' perceptions of community life", *Journal of Travel Research*, 27(1), 1988, 16 - 21.

⁵ Cf. Wang, A., Pfister, R.E., "Residents' attitudes toward tourism and perceived personal benefits in a rural community", *Journal of Travel Research*, 47, 2008, 84-95.

⁶ Gill, A., "Local and Resort Development", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 97-111.

⁷ Hall, C.M., Jenkins, J. M., "The policy dimensions of rural tourism and recreation", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 19-42, p. 24.

⁸ Hughes, G., "The cultural construction of sustainable tourism", *Tourism Management*, 16(1), 1995, 49-59.

changing and often shrinking.⁹ On the whole, there prevail contested opinions on what is desirable in recreation and tourism development in rural areas.¹⁰

As many scholars warn, tourism itself should not be considered as a panacea for the longstanding problems of unemployment and economic problems in rural areas. Tourism can serve as an important supplement to existing economic activities. Moreover, significant changes in the face and structure of rural areas and communities brought about by the advent of multinational corporations, technological development, the reduction of farming etc. may provoke fears or resistance on the part of local communities. The faster the changes occur, the more likely negative responses from the local community may be voiced.

The aim of the paper is to describe and assess the social dynamics of change in a post-socialist Czech rural locality and community (Lipno nad Vltavou¹¹) with regard to the large scale tourism development that has been taking place in this area since the late 1990s. Tourism in Lipno has become the primary economic endeavour which dominates community life and upon which the local area is dependent.¹² The area serves as a prime example of a rapidly and extensively evolving, and largely exogenous tourism enterprise situated in a rural host community. We wish to investigate the impact of development through rural tourism perceived by the residents and map changes in community attitudes toward such development over time. Our point of departure stems from the assumption that any profound change affecting rural community should be discussed, planned and implemented in accordance with local population. According to most tourism theorists, for tourism to sustain itself in a local community, the residents must be willing partners in the enterprise.¹³ The community involvement is viewed as essential for many different reasons; among them, due to the fact that rural tourism makes use of the assets of the local community. It can also increase a community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects.¹⁴

The aim is to understand how the post-socialist transformation through tourism affected local community. How, if ever are locals involved in the tourism planning processes and to what extent is tourism development accepted by the community? We try to present and explain the ways in which local rural people experience, create, interpret,

⁹ Butler, R.W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, p. 6.

¹⁰ Hall, C.M., Jenkins, J. M., "The policy dimensions of rural tourism and recreation", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 19-42, p. 19.

¹¹ In the following text a shortened name Lipno will be used.

¹² Gill, A., "Local and Resort Development", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 97-111.

¹³ Murphy, P. E., *Tourism: A community approach*, New York, Taylor/Francis, 1985. Pigram, J., "Alternative tourism: Tourism and sustainable resource management", in Smith, V., Eadington, W. (Eds.), *Tourism alternatives: Potentials and problems in the development of tourism*, Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992, 76-87.

¹⁴ Haywood, K. M., "Responsible and responsive tourism planning in the community", *Tourism Management*, 9(2), 1988, 105 – 108. Jamal, T. B., Getz, D., "Collaboration theory and community tourism planning", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (1), 1995, 186 –204. Murphy, P. E., *Tourism: A community approach*, New York, Taylor/Francis, 1985. Okazaki, E., "A Community-Based Tourism Model: Its Conception and Use", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(5), 2008, 511-529.

and act upon transformation of the locality through tourism; how they respond - either adapt or resist – to various aspects of rural change. We focus on diverse identities, forms of agency and ambiguous interactions emerging within the rural community. It is argued that multiple views and representations of rurality are predominantly contingent on diverse memories of socialist past and post-socialist present. The qualitative data indicate the emergence of hybrid rural place filled up with changing social and power relations, and the processes of the internal ‘othering’ and marginalisation of the post-socialist rural place and people.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

There are numerous conceptual models and theories that have attempted to explain the nature, magnitude and type of social change induced by tourism, with respect to the relationship between community residents’ perceptions of tourism and its impact. This study adopted the community-based participatory approach¹⁵ which stresses wider involvement and empowerment of various actors, especially host communities¹⁶. It is based on the assumption that the limits of growth are socially constructed therefore it is necessary to set the limits through negotiations and participation so that they contribute to the needs of the local people. While this model enables to reduce too strong focus of the perspective on tourism as an industry, it struggles with another issue – how to delimit and define a community in rural society. Community as an essential aspect of human life implies ‘a group of people organized around certain commonly held interests and attributes that help to create a sense of shared identity’.¹⁷ Sociologically, community can be approached both as a field of social interaction, and as a social system.¹⁸ The former perspective puts emphasis on the dynamic of multiple interactions and interrelations that tie people together within and across social groups. The focus is not on the geographical place or space but rather on the social interaction that gives this space meaning, and thus constitutes a community.¹⁹ Those communities that are endowed with a high level of social interaction (social networks and social capital) are better able to mobilize both internal and external resources to protect the community interests and enhance their wellbeing. On the contrary, communities with a low density of social interaction tend to be either apathetic or at risk of being controlled by internal or external actors.²⁰ They lack voice and opportunities for social participation, which may result in social exclusion of a certain community section. In the similar vein,

¹⁵ Murphy, P. E., *Tourism: A community approach*, New York, Taylor/Francis, 1985.

¹⁶ Saarinen, J., “Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(4), 2006, 1121-1140, p. 1131.

¹⁷ Brown, D. L., Schafft, K. A., *Rural People and Communities in the 21st Century: Resilience and Transformation*, Pennsylvania State University, 2011, p. 35.

¹⁸ Notwithstanding the social construction of boundaries defined by patterns of symbolic and social interaction, we acknowledge the importance of *geographically* bounded social relations for a simple reason – people do live together in a given geographical place, thus place-based social relations play a key role in shaping community’s identity, negotiating its needs.

¹⁹ Brown, D. L., Schafft, K. A., *Rural People and Communities in the 21st Century: Resilience and Transformation*, Pennsylvania State University, 2011, p. 39.

²⁰ Narayan, D., *Bonds and Bridges. Social Capital and Poverty*, Policy Research Working Paper 2167, Policy Research Department, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1999.

change is commonly motivated by outside interests for and by local elites.²¹ Community as a social system, in contrast to the interactional approach, is viewed through diverse institutional entities such as education, local government, economy and the like. These views of community are not mutually exclusive; they are both instrumental in sustaining interdependent activity of community.

As has already been mentioned, the level of the community support for tourism development is closely linked to the level of community's social interaction which includes social networks and social capital. If we want to ask questions such as what is the existing level of community participation, what is the current state of local involvement in tourism development, or how, if ever, are locals involved in the tourism planning process, we need to grasp the concept of social capital as an important tool in assessing the possibility and ability to participate in the tourism development processes.

Social capital is generally viewed as 'the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively'.²² Social capital enables the communities to make and participate in both the internal (horizontal) and external (vertical) relationships with important stakeholders. In general, the communities with limited social capital do not actively participate in social networks – both formal and informal institutions, including internal associations. On the contrary societies with a high level of social capital are endowed with vital community network and civil society that are able to participate in the tourism development processes.

What facilitates or hinders social capital? Social capital can be capacitated, or 'unleashed, by oneself or from outside' via education, training, trusting relations, networks, organisations etc.²³ Thus, social capital is closely linked to the concept of social capacity: it is in fact a consequence of the social capital which refers to the flow and consequences from the stock/source function as well as the sink function of nature. In other words, social capacity and social capital are clearly distinguished. Not every kind of social capital creates a capacity that would become an agency of change in influencing the planning and decision-making processes concerning tourism development and controlling the tourism processes.

The paper is based on the data from participant and non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews and long, in-depth conversations to determine the impact of the fast pace of tourism development on the rural community. We believe that the qualitative methods mentioned above suit the purpose much more effectively than standardized quantitative research methods. They can reveal why certain people behave as they do. Participant observation was used in numerous social events organized by the community members whereas non-participant observation aimed at monitoring of certain interest groups such as visitors/guests, local community etc., with the aim of

²¹ Duncan, C.M., *Worlds Apart. Why poverty persists in rural America*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1999.

²² Woolcock, M., Narayan, D., "Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy", *The World Bank Observer*, 15(2), 2000, 225–249, p. 226, in Okazaki 2008.

²³ Mauerhofer, V., *Social capital, social capacity and social carrying capacity: exploring the social basics of a sustainable development*, ESEE 2011 Istanbul/Proceedings, 2011, p. 11.

recording the movement of studied persons in and around the tourism resort and the village, to determine what they were doing. Observations were made at different locations: it included, among others, counting the number of cars in the parking place on a specific day at a specific time. Semi-structured interviews were designed to investigate community attitudes towards the tourism resort (what the local people do to profit from the tourism development; how are they involved in the tourism development processes, etc.). Long, in-depth conversations were conducted with a wide range of people: officials, merchants, wage earners, owners of tourism enterprises, local government officials, especially the mayor; the intellectual people – the former teacher and librarian. Interviewees were approached in person; appointments were either set for a later interview, or the interview was conducted spontaneously, ‘on the spot’; there were often follow-up interviews to explore further aspects or add necessary data to the existing corpus. The responses were both recorded on a digital recorder and then transcribed, and notes were made by the interviewer during the conversations. The collected data were then coded according to various research interests, such as ‘attitudes towards the tourism development’, ‘involvement in the tourism enterprise/resort’, and grouped into common themes.²⁴

Secondary data was drawn from the various reports and analyses of the current state of tourism development in Lipno,²⁵ from the Czech Statistical Office, Infocentrum Lipno nad Vltavou, and the destination management Lipensko. To understand the nature of change in the community life and to find out how the legacy of the recent (socialist) history of Lipno affects contemporary social relationships and identities, we examined all issues of local newsletters dating back to the 1989, and we drew relevant data from the printed village chronicle that was provided by the local chronicler.

2. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN RURAL SOCIETY OF LIPNO

Lipno nad Vltavou is a village in Southern Bohemia lying near the lake of the same name on the left side of the Moldau (Vltava) river. It is part of the touristic region of Šumava in general, and Lipensko in particular which borders on two German-speaking countries – Germany and Austria. According to the 2011 census, the village has 679 inhabitants. The village is ethnically homogeneous, with 82.36 percent of Czechs, followed by 8.55 of Slovaks. Other minorities include Ukrainians (0.91), Germans (0.73) and Polish (0.18).²⁶ According to the informal information (claimed by the mayor and the local librarian), the village shows 170 Dutch with permanent residence, due to the purchase of recreational flats or houses.²⁷

²⁴ Davis, J. S., Morais, D. B., “Factions and Enclaves: Small Towns and Socially Unsustainable Tourism Development”, *Journal of Travel Research*, 43, 2004, 3-10. *Analýza. Rozvoj obce Lipno nad Vltavou od počátku 90. let* [Analysis. Development of Lipno nad Vltavou since early 1990s], Praha, Incoma GfK, 2013.

²⁵ Kalabisová, J., Plzánková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou* [Measuring the effects of tourism in Lipno nad Vltavou], Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

²⁶ *Czech Statistical Office*, retrieved on 15 May 2013 from <http://www.czso.cz/>

²⁷ These Dutch do not live in the village on a permanent basis, except for one Dutch woman and a man who married a local woman. The couple operates the Lipenka hotel situated in the ‘Old Lipno’ which predominantly serves the recreational needs of organized children’s stays in winter.

Figure 1: **Map of the Czech Republic with Lipno in the south.**



Source: the authors' own creation.

Political, socio-economic and cultural history of the Šumava region was heavily influenced by the historical development of 20th century. Before World War Two the whole region of Šumava, including Lipensko was predominantly populated by German-speaking people. The same applies to the original settlement of Lipno,²⁸ a small lumberjack village largely populated by Germans whose population's major subsistence economy became timber floating along the Moldau River. After the Second World War many Germans were displaced due to the post-war geopolitical arrangements. During the Cold War Lipensko became part of an inaccessible border-belt where more than eighty small municipalities ceased to exist. The historical landmark in the development of the whole region was the decision of the former Czechoslovak communist government to construct a dam on the river Moldau that eventually turned into the country's largest water dam. Due to the construction of 'the first work of socialism in Southern Bohemia',²⁹ several small villages were flooded, including the original settlement of Lipno.³⁰ The dam was constructed between 1952 and 1959, filled with water in 1958, and a year later two boats commenced regular cruises for holidaymakers. On July 15, 1959 the Lipno dam construction was officially finished.

During the 1950s the area was gradually repopulated by ethnic Czechs and Slovaks, including Romanian Slovaks, to a lesser extent Ukrainians and Bulgarians who came as temporary workers within the organizational recruitment process to work for the power station and the dam construction.

²⁸ Its history dates back to the thirteenth century when the first written records on the colonization of the territory appeared. However, the village itself officially originated in 1530 (the village chronicle).

²⁹ Zálaha, J., Erhartovi, J. & M., *Krajem Lipna* [Through the landscape of Lipno], České Budějovice, Jihočeské nakladatelství, 1980, p. 26.

³⁰ That is why there are not many historical buildings or other cultural monuments in the contemporary village that could be used as tourist attractions. Moreover, the village misses basic attributes typical of a Czech rural settlement such as a square, pub, or church.

There is no precise statistics as for the number of the immigrants but some informants estimated the arrivals at some 500 people. Many of them eventually settled in the village; got married, and raised children who still live in the locality.³¹ Originally all the people who came as labour force stayed in wooden lodgings for the construction workers which, in the course of time, turned into the blocks of flats that formed the initial basis of the permanent settlement. Other facilities for workers underwent a similar development: a canteen turned into a shop, workers' dining-halls into a restaurant and a hotel. The premises of the state farm and infamously known Border Watch enlarged the village space. The composition of population was rather culturally diverse. As one of the informants commented, the dam construction attracted diverse 'social outcasts' that made a 'special rabble'. Drinking sessions and fights were common. Some of the immigrants were even illiterate. It took some time before the population became relatively culturally homogeneous, particularly through mixed marriages and other enculturation processes provided by the state educational institutions and rich social life that took place in the village during the socialist era.

After 1958 when Lipno officially became a municipality (the village chronicle) local social life started to develop. A new primary school opened in 1958, followed by a kindergarten. In 1960 the Board for Civic Affairs (Sbor pro občanské záležitosti) was established with the aim to organize diverse social events such as civil baptism of newly born babies, a ceremonial welcome of first grade pupils, educational events for local people, pensioners' club etc. The community members used to meet in various public places and buildings, which were either renovated from the original workers' lodgings, such as the House of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (zotavovna ROH), Local National Committee boardroom in the school, the Lipenka restaurant, the Lipno hotel, or newly constructed buildings such as the Orea hotel, the Armin guest house, or the Gabreta hotel. The village hosted summer festivals and children cinema within the framework of the Public Enlightenment Organization (Osvětová beseda), organized regular musical festivals, ball dances and other cultural and sports events. A local library was established in 1959, with 83 permanent readers in 1963 and 130 a year later. Community associations, compulsory organized under the umbrella institution called the National Front involved a local branch of the Czechoslovak Women Union, Czechoslovak Red Cross, Czech Gardening Club, Czech Breeder Club, and sporting organizations such as Svazarm or Tělovýchovná jednota.³²

Till the 1990s the Lipno region was largely viewed as peripheral for many different reasons: its position (a close proximity of state borders that were closed by the Iron Curtain during the socialist era), sparse population and low density, weak economy and strong social problems. By no means was Lipno in the past a 'productive society,

³¹ As one of the informants (a hotel owner who does not come from Lipno) claim, today they are troublemakers. They are envious of some entrepreneurs' business success; 'they can even kick your car', 'they do not want to work – do the rooms, or vacuum-cleaning; they wonder that it is necessary to do such chores every day'. He therefore hires workers from outside of Lipno, especially the nearby town of Český Krumlov. Such an opinion is shared by some of the residents of Czech origin while the people 'from outside' who are stereotypically portrayed as troublesome, lazy, envious and non-cooperative, at least a target of the present study, consider Lipno as their home. Some of them are successful entrepreneurs themselves, doing business in tourism-related services such as guesthouse owners.

³² *Lipno Newsletter*, 2011, 5, retrieved on 9 July 2013 from http://www.lipnonadvltavou.cz/files/media/Zpravodaj_obce_Lipno_nad_Vltavou-05-2011.pdf

linked first and foremost to the land';³³ nor was it a non-tourists, static space.³⁴ Tourism is not a new phenomenon in the village. Lipno was a 'popular recreational destination'.³⁵ Tourism development in the area had already started in the 1960s. In 1974 Lipno even gained a 'status of the recreational area'.³⁶ However, before 1989, tourism was just a marginal source of income as it was possible to develop only in certain areas, due to the proximity of the Iron Curtain.³⁷ Tourism activities were mostly related to the rural character of the setting; they were not in conflict with traditional activities. They could be characterized by the following terms: relaxing, low technological, non-competitive. The list of tourism and recreation activities in Lipno before 1989 include walking, fishing, boating, doing some summer and winter sports – playing volleyball, football, swimming, skiing, both cross country and downhill (the village chronicle). As the authors of the period monograph *Krajem Lipna* claimed, the area was not 'affected by the negative impact of technical civilization' as it was detached from the rest of Czech lands; the landscape remained the oasis of calm and peace, and was a kind of 'museum of nature' with deep forests, clean waters, common and rare flora and fauna.³⁸

According to the local chronicler, before 1989 the village provided domestic collective recreation in the House of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (zotavovna ROH) for thousands of holiday-makers every year. There were two camp-sites visited regularly by Czechs and also East Germans.³⁹ Individual recreation prevailed in the form of domestic second homes ('cottageing') and was oriented towards the summer season only. Winter could not offer many attractions; though there was a local ski slope it was used only by local skiers. Moreover, the village did not have any tourist infrastructure, including an inadequate capacity of accommodation facilities (besides 'zotavovna ROH').

After 1989 the village faced the overall economic and social decline. In the 1990s Lipensko ranked among the most afflicted regions in the whole country, falling into the category of 'problematic recreational countryside'.⁴⁰ The economic decline in agriculture (the state farm's closure)⁴¹ and traditional light industries was followed by

³³ Dewailly, J.-M., "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 123-137, p.124.

³⁴ Saarinen, J., "Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(4), 2006, 1121-1140, p. 1127.

³⁵ Zálaha, J., Erhartovi, J. & M., *Krajem Lipna*, České Budějovice, Jihočeské nakladatelství, 1980, p. 26.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ The main sources of livelihood for the Lipno residents under socialism were employment in the primary sector (power station and light industries such as timber floating and woodworking, peat, graphite and iron ore extraction and paper mills), agriculture activities within the state farm – both animal husbandry (cows and poultry) and crop fading (pea pods, oat, rye, wheat, potatoes), and to a certain extent a tertiary sector (services).

³⁸ Zálaha, J., Erhartovi, J. & M., *Krajem Lipna*, České Budějovice, Jihočeské nakladatelství, 1980, p. 38.

³⁹ In 1978 the number of foreigners, especially Germans visiting Lipno reached the number of 7,028. In 1981 the share of German tourists in the Lipno camp Modřín (The Larch) was 53 per cent, together with other tourists from other fourteen countries including Austria, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Syria, Switzerland, Denmark and Cyprus (*Lipno Newsletter* 2011).

⁴⁰ Perlín, R., Kučerová, S., Kučera, Z., "Typologie venkovského prostoru Česka" [Typology of rural space of Czechia], *Geografie*, 115(2), 2010, 161–187.

⁴¹ Today, there are only seven farmers in the village who cultivate altogether 4.20 hectares (one of the informants).

the closures of other local industries, such as Meopta, the clothes manufacturer, or Mikrotechna in 1992 which provided jobs for approx. fifty local women.⁴² The old established patterns of development were abandoned and a new pattern of tourism and recreational activities was adopted by the local authorities that thought that they could capitalize on their 'under-development', caused by the proximity of the Iron Curtain. What were the motivations that have underpinned recognition of the significance of rural tourism in Lipno? In general, there was an overall positive assessment of tourism as development, sanctioned by government (a rise of the ministry of tourism, departure from state regulation). Tourism was seen as a 'clean' industry that could help peripheral countryside with underdeveloped rural resources recover from social and economic decline. Uniquely preserved countryside and natural scenery, untouched by 'progress' became an economic asset. Local authorities realized that their major chance for rapid economic development lies in specializing in tourism as the major 'export' industry.⁴³ Tourism was seen as the only avenue of economic development, as a 'passport to development'.⁴⁴

Local authorities in Lipno made a deal with a Dutch investor who built (between 1997 and 1998) a tourist resort which has become known as Landal Marina Lipno (private investment of 1 billion CZK by the Landal Green Parks). This tourist resort stretches in the area of 13 hectares (including a yacht port) offering over 306 studios and apartments, with more than 1,600 beds. So far, Marina Lipno resort remains the biggest accommodation provider in Lipno.

Dutch investment in real estate was stimulated by a number of factors: an image of the Czech Republic as a safe place for investment; an expanding real estate market; an increasing attractiveness of the country, especially its environmentally-valued countryside; convenient physical-geographical conditions enabling a wide recreational use; favourable prices, offer and quality of public services, compared to other post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe.⁴⁵ Dutch investors bought the land both from the municipality and local owners and built the tourist resort commonly called a 'Dutch village' as the accommodation units (both studios or apartments) were purchased by the Dutch (tourists or second home users) who either used them for their own recreation or they further rented them for profit – predominantly to the Dutch.⁴⁶

⁴² In 1994 the factory premises were purchased by another industrial plant called Dahl confection, however, the production was shortly afterwards moved to Romania. Recently, one of the major employers in the region – paper mill Vltavský mlýn in the nearby village of Loučovice has started to reduce workforce drastically; from 280 staff in mid-2009 to twenty people to the present.

⁴³ Cohen, E., "The impact of tourism on the physical environment", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 5(2), 1978, 215-237, p. 218. *Czech Statistical Office*, retrieved on 15 May 2013 from <http://www.czso.cz/>

⁴⁴ De Kadt, E., *Tourism: Passport to Development*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979.

⁴⁵ Horáková, H., "Post-Communist Transformation of Tourism in Czech Rural Areas: New Dilemmas", *Anthropological Notebooks*, 16(1), 2010, 59–77.

⁴⁶ The term 'Dutch village' is a vernacular name for standardized recreational houses owned by the Dutch within Czech villages. It is used in public discourse, predominantly by the internet users, to assert strong criticism with this new form of tourism. As we have noticed during our fieldwork, the term is largely refused by the local villagers. On the contrary, Dutch tourists seemed to be rather indifferent towards this term, showing no particular interest. Recently, the usage of the term (in the shape of 'so-called') has increasingly appeared in official reports and documents (e.g. Ministry of Regional Development), and also in the academia.

What was the role of local authorities in influencing the development? Due to the vast changes in public administration in the post-November 1989 period,⁴⁷ local authorities were able anew to influence the development of the municipality under their administration in an unprecedented way. They have gained a relatively high level of legitimacy grounded in 1) the result from municipal elections, and 2) the ability to run regular budgets.⁴⁸ Thus, they have become much more autonomous in deciding on how local development can happen. This especially concerns the position of a mayor which may be paramount in power redistribution and local development.⁴⁹ In the 1990s Lipno local government started negotiations with the foreign investor (Landal) with the aim to encourage local economic development, to avert population decline, and to diversify declining rural economy. According to the local government's strategy, to initiate tourist resort development in Lipno, the village would create conditions for investment to attract private capital that would bear responsibilities and potential risk. The initial intention of the local authorities was to gain land as there was no municipal land in possession of the village. This strategy proved to be successful. The local authorities started to purchase and reunite lands, by using credits, often despite the negative and largely disapproving reactions from the inside and outside the village.⁵⁰ The agreement between the rural political and business representatives and the foreign company became a blueprint for further development plans that were typical of the externally-oriented, large scale, mass enterprise nature. Such a project differs from locally created enterprises for many different reasons; first, it can bring more capital resources therefore there is a tendency to develop a large scale tourism enterprise; second, the decision-making processes regarding the development are rather top-down than bottom-up, implying in less involvement of the locals while the proactive attitude to tourism development comes from the community representatives; and third, operators of tourism-oriented businesses find ways to attract tourists by reimagining the area –its landscape and nature.

⁴⁷ Even very small municipalities are uniquely endowed with democratically-elected local governments who possess a right to administer their own regular budget relatively autonomously. Compared to local authorities in urban areas, authorities of small municipalities have little financial power. Yet, mayors and local governments are extremely significant developmental actors as they may influence the appearance of a locality, and the conditions for the quality of life of the local populations as they have the capacity to mobilize local development resources (Bernard et al. 2011).

⁴⁸ Bernard, J., Kostecký, T., Ilnér, M., Vobecká, J. (Eds.), *Samospráva venkovských obcí a místní rozvoj* [Self-government of rural municipalities and local development], Praha, SLON, 2011. The form of local management loosely corresponds to the international discourse of 'community governance' or a 'community leadership' that has gained momentum in Western Europe since 1990s.

⁴⁹ Idem.

⁵⁰ In the first phase of development the village bought approx. 75 hectares of land. Till today the village acquired altogether 500 hectares of land. As Kalabisová et al. (2013) argue resolved proprietary rights were instrumental in 'successful tourism development'. By 2007 the total value of land in the municipal possession increased up to 5 mil CZK but in 2012 the amount decreased to 8 mil CZK. The reason is an allegedly unfavourable sale of public land to Conduco, plc., by the mayor who was accused of official misconduct in July 2012. He sold lands at 7 mil CZK but could have gained up to 234 mil CZK (MF Dnes Jižní Čechy, 26. 11. 2012). He is on police bail pending further enquiries. So far, the trial has not begun.

2.1. Spatial and social relations in post-socialist tourism development

Landal Marina Lipno represents the first phase of tourism development in Lipno. According to Butler's resort life cycle⁵¹, the goal was to achieve a level of development which would ensure a strong market position. Emphasis was put on attracting investment to develop infrastructure and facilities. As Gill reminds us, the needs of local population are viewed as secondary during this phase; instead, all efforts are put on revenue-generating construction. In Lipno the investment focused predominantly on the recreational complexes, which made the contrast between the new and the old parts of the locality even more visible. A sharp difference between the 'New Lipno' and 'Old Lipno' was caused not only due to the construction of the recreational resort but also thanks to the creation of a new centre of the village between 1999-2002 that had been moved from the 'Old Lipno' to the zone along the main road where a number of tourist-oriented infrastructure emerged –the information centre, new tourist-oriented shops, new restaurants, cafés, customer services, etc. Even a new building for the local government was built on the main road, commonly called 'promenade'. Even though the 'Old Lipno', the original residential area, remained dilapidated or not enough maintained, with a sharp lack of community facilities, residents' responses of that time were largely positive – they were filled with expectations, overwhelmed by the utter change of locality. The residents appreciated its new image and were proud of the overall positive image of the village spreading by the local government and co-operating business circles. Most of the interviewed residents had originally welcomed the intention to construct Marina as they invited the idea to improve the appearance of the village, to change it from an 'uncivilized landscape' to a 'modern' place. As one of the informants said, 'Lipno used to be like a bush but now it is being civilized. If we go "to town" (to the new centre), one has to get dressed, not like in a village. Lipno links village with town. Our children won't be country bumpkins any more'. The post-socialist development through tourism was positively endorsed by the then mayor of a near town of Hluboká nad Vltavou (now a senator), an influential political representative of the Civic-Democratic Party, one of the main right-wing political parties in the Czech Republic. He mentioned a difficult starting position of the village as a kind of construction site for the Lipno dam, which turned it into a village 'without history'.⁵² In asserting the positive assessment of recent development, past Lipno is often represented as a place where there were no people, no social and cultural memory, no collective identity, to remind and/or to continue.

Next phases of tourism development in Lipno were marked by rapid expansion (2005 till now). More lands were sold and leased both to foreign investors and Czech-based business corporations. Municipal grounds were used for various tourism-related activities. Local community properties were converted to health, sporting, retirement and other leisure related accommodation purposes. New amenities were constructed, financed partly by public resources, partly by private enterprise. Public investment reached 300 mil CZK between 1993 and 2012 whereas private investment rose ten-fold more. Apart from the local government, the dominant role in the development of the

⁵¹ Butler, R.W., "The concept of the tourist area life-cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources", *Canadian Geographer*, 24(1), 1980, 5-12.

⁵² As quoted in *Analýza. Rozvoj obce Lipno nad Vltavou od počátku 90. let*, Praha, Incoma GfK, 2013.

village is held by two private companies that are considered the most important 'strategic partners' of the municipality:⁵³ Conduco, plc. (the headquarters are in the regional capital, České Budějovice) and Lipno Servis, ltd. (the local company), which operate most tourist services and facilities such as Ski resort Lipno, Active Park, Aquaworld, rental shops, etc. Conduco has recently been infamously mentioned in the media in association with the accusation of the mayor who sold municipal lands to this company allegedly under unfavourable conditions.

Similarly to the first phase of tourism development, foreign investment (predominantly Dutch) was aimed at accommodation. New accommodation facilities providing hundreds of beds emerged such as Lipno Lake Resort (five three-floor buildings offering 600 beds), Riviera Recreational Park (390 beds), Villapark Lipno Dreams (205 beds), Lipno DOKY Holiday resort and Danse (both 295 beds), Villa Park, Lipno Point, Club Canada, Ernesta Club Lipno, Blažek apartments, etc. The largest part of foreign clientele is made by the Dutch (85 per cent), followed by 10 – 12 per cent of German tourists. According to the recent statistics, a number of Czech visitors are increasing. Moreover, visitors' ethnic composition is more varied, including Russians, Belgians, or Danish.

A number of tourist nights have increased ten times since 1997, reaching the level of 400,000 per year.⁵⁴ According to the data provided by the municipality, there has been an increase in the bed-numbers by 840 per cent in the last twenty years and, still, new beds are being built. By 2012 more than one hundred accommodation facilities provide 4,978 beds.⁵⁵ The problem is that the number of beds increases faster than the tourist arrivals. As a result, there has been a steady decline in the occupancy rate since 2010. Another problem dwells in the composition of the accommodation facilities. The major category is so-called apartment flats or houses registered as housing units whose construction ranks among the most important (largely foreign) type of investment in the village. Their foreign owners (mostly Dutch) live outside the locality and use the flats themselves only occasionally, or they used them for a short-term rent to tourists. Thus, the prevalence of apartment flats⁵⁶ extrudes classical accommodation facilities such as guesthouses or hotels or lodgings, which negatively impacts the possibility of generating new jobs for the locals.⁵⁷

⁵³ Kalabisová, J., Plzáková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

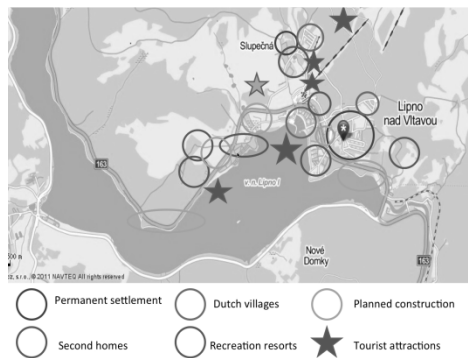
⁵⁴ *Analýza. Rozvoj obce Lipno nad Vltavou od počátku 90. let*, Praha, Incoma GfK, 2013.

⁵⁵ *Infocentrum Lipno nad Vltavou*, retrieved on 3 August 2013 from <http://www.lipno.info/infoservis/>

⁵⁶ For instance in 2008 there was an increase in the number of such housing units serving commercial purposes by 75, that is by 11 per cent compared to 2007 (Kalabisová et al. 2013). 200 new flats of similar kind were built between 2006 and 2011 (*Analýza 2013*).

⁵⁷ Kalabisová, J., Plzáková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

Figure 2: **Distribution of forms of permanent and tourism settlement in Lipno.**



Source: Fialová and Horáková.

Another substantial portion of beds lies in the category of second homes which are concentrated in the vicinity of the Lipno Lake and serve predominantly international clientele. They are vacant for the most of the year, except for a couple of weeks during the winter and summer peak seasons. For the rest of the year they resemble ‘cold beds’. A typical example is one of the recreational resorts called Villa Park consisting of 28 houses. It has Czech owners though the target clientele are the Dutch who are enticed to purchase the houses with the goal of rapid repay and large profit, which has, however, never realized. Today many of the houses are vacant, waiting for sale or rent.⁵⁸

Lipno has turned into a full destination resort targeting both foreign and domestic, rather well-off clientele. To illustrate this statement, the expenditure for a seven-day winter holiday for a couple with two children is expected at 41,220 CZK,⁵⁹ while the average salary in the Czech Republic is about 25,000 CZK. The largest sum of money goes to accommodation, boarding and services associated with skiing (rental, sports equipment, ski passes). There has been an increase in the number of tourist-oriented shops such as gift-shops, luxuries, shops selling brand-name goods, or tourist-oriented restaurants. There are only a few businesses located in the ‘Old Lipno’ that cater solely to local residents as very few tourists venture into the village.

Outdoor recreational activities, facilities, attractions and scenic resources form the basis of the tourism industry in Lipno. The list of facilities and attractions is vast and ever increasing. Above all, Lipno ski resort, the biggest employer at the Lipensko region, operating ski slopes, ironically called by the mayor the ‘sloping meadow’ because of their inadequate steepness, with a total length of 8.3 km, three four-seat chair lifts, a ski-cross track used by children as well as the adults, a fairy-tale slalom snowpark, ski school Lipno equipped with three riding carpets in the Captain Lipánek's

⁵⁸ As the mayor claims the project has proven unsuccessful due to the inner company problems. The positive thing is that the company has built infrastructure that can be used by further buyers or renters. Moreover, pre-emptive right has been given to residents.

⁵⁹ Kalabisová, J., Plzánková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

Foxpark playgrounds and one riding carpet in Ski school Lipno Park, ski equipment depot etc. In the close proximity are located Aquaworld, a children's corner, bobsleigh track, bowling, a wellness centre and a sport hall. Other activities include, for instance, Bikepark Lipno; Adventure Rope Park, the 'highest treetop rope park in the Czech Republic'; in-line skating; cross-country skiing. One of the most visible attractions is Treetop walkway (Stezka korunami stromů) which has been in operation since July 2012, with 'the longest dry toboggan in the Czech Republic, 52 metres'. This attraction was awarded the best prize as a tourist innovation, according to the public voting at the web page www.kudyznudy.cz.⁶⁰

In 2003 a large car park for 730 personal vehicles and 20 coaches was built in the village, next to the Lipno ski resort. Recently its capacity was even enlarged by another eighty parking spaces.⁶¹ The project was supported from the South Bohemian County Council budget. Of the total 13.5 mil CZK two thirds came to Lipno, which evoked amazement and public controversy. Critics argued that the public money should have preferentially gone to the restoration of municipalities that were severely affected by destructive floods. Some local representatives were against the construction of the car park but eventually nobody voted against the project.⁶²

Today's Lipno serves as a prime example of a large scale, rapidly and extensively evolving, and largely exogenous tourism enterprise situated in a rural host community. Outdoor activities dominate this rural area. In fact, the location has become a stage for the activities themselves, rather than a key setting.⁶³ The area is a host to an almost infinite variety of leisure activities that are however different and less complementary with the old patterns. They are active, highly competitive, fashionable, highly technological, 'modern', and individualized. The simple traditional rural setting is no longer capable of meeting demands for the highly specialized contemporary forms of tourism and recreation. This pattern requires the establishment of specific purpose-built facilities, often usable for a single activity (the rope park, bobsleigh track, golf course, etc.). Lipno has turned into a tourist trap⁶⁴ which is embodied by the slogan used on the web sites and in promotional leaflets: 'from ski skis to treetops, from skis to swimsuit, from ski to in-lines'; 'the season in Lipno never stops'.

2.1.1. Social and physical impacts on locality and community

With the large scale tourism development, a number of negative effects on Lipno locality and its community life have occurred. A trend towards institutional ownership of land and a rapid growth in numbers of second homes, so-called apartment flats and tourist attractions has resulted in the decrease in access for the public to a number of resources and the privatization of rural landscape. Other effects include a rise in prices, a rise in the real estate tax (Lipno has adopted the highest possible coefficient); an

⁶⁰ *Infocentrum Lipno nad Vltavou*, retrieved on 3 August 2013 from <http://www.lipno.info/infoservis/>

⁶¹ Kalabisová, J., Plzáková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

⁶² *MF Dnes* Jižní Čechy, 12. 2. 2003

⁶³ Butler, R.W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998.

⁶⁴ Dewailly, J.-M., Flament, É., *Géographie du tourisme et des loisirs*, Paris, SEDES, coll. DIEM, 1993.

increase in traffic in peak seasons, etc. Tourism is highly seasonal (the majority of visitors arrive in 6-8 weeks in summer, and in winter), and it has a mass tourism nature. The destination is overcrowded during July and August, and during winter months; the demand is spatially concentrated.

As the tourism enterprise engulfs the rural community the result is (1) social disruption of local community, and (2) disruptive and irrevocable change of physical environment.⁶⁵ These two aspects are not mutually exclusive. The social can be exacerbated by the physical aspect, as is the case in Lipno where unprecedented fast, massive construction of recreational units, second homes, and the development of tourist attractions heavily impacts the social dimension.

The former aspect deals with social impact of tourism on local society and community life. Tourists inevitably disturb lifestyle of local communities.⁶⁶ The increasing number of tourists and visitors contribute to downgrading of the local community life and social coherence. There is an essential difference: residents view the community as their home and a place to live whereas tourists and recreationalists view the community as a resource that is commodified and consumed.⁶⁷ A fast and unregulated development of tourism contributes to the commercialization of human relationships.

As for the latter, as Cohen showed there are two factors which influence the environmental impact of tourism: first, the intensity of tourist site-use and development, and second, the transformational character of tourist development. The first aspect deals with the number of tourists visiting a locality, the length of their stay, what they do there and which facilities they use. Lipno has witnessed a large scale development of the infrastructure, with an unforeseen increase in tourists and visitors attributed to the high level of private holiday home ownership and the growth of one-day visitors, concentrated in a relatively limited area. The second factor explains the relation between the expansion of tourism and the transformation of the locality. Cohen points out that an element of transformation of the environment is found in most attractions serving tourism as major adaptations and changes have to be made on a 'natural' site.⁶⁸ At worst, one can come across 'contrived', artificial attractions which, though open to anybody, including the residents, are predominantly used by tourists and visitors. At best, the changes touch only upon the visual environment, influencing the aesthetic quality of the locality.

As tourist development in Lipno has been large scale, rapid and intensive it has a marked impact on the appearance of the locality. The newly built tourist complexes and facilities have utterly changed the character of the local area that has become a

⁶⁵ Jenkins, J. M., Hall, C. M., Troughton, M., "The restructuring of rural economies: rural tourism and recreation as a government response", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 43-67.

⁶⁶ Dewailly, J.-M., "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 123-137.

⁶⁷ Urry, J., *Consuming Places*, London, Routledge, 1995. Gill, A., "Local and Resort Development", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 97-111.

⁶⁸ Cohen, E., "The impact of tourism on the physical environment", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 5(2), 1978, 215-237.

regulated tourist 'sight'.⁶⁹ The height, style and material of buildings have contributed to the completely different visual image of the area. The impact of exogenous large scale tourist projects on the physical environment, both natural and man-made is particularly severe, owing to the stark contrast between the tourist facilities built according to the 'international standards' and often still quite preserved nature.⁷⁰ The environment is artificially transformed and adapted to the tastes and desires of tourists. Dewailly used the term landscape 'under siege' to indicate rapid transformation processes which no longer provide space for rurality, tranquillity and peace.⁷¹

The construction of tourist infrastructure raises ambiguous reactions among the locals. On the one hand, direct impact of tourism facilities and activities on the landscape evokes strong negative reactions. Some of the residents consider the newly built tourism infrastructure as 'ugly', 'inappropriate for the rural environment', like 'fata morgana', or 'architectural monstrosity' (informants' statements).

On the other hand, the highly developed infrastructure is positively endorsed by many stakeholders, especially rural entrepreneurs who are economically reliant on tourism, and the residents who fully endorse the modernisation ethos promoted by the local power elite. By and large, recreational facilities and a wider offering of leisure activities, including the possibility to participate in more and more events are beneficial for some, representing better quality of life, while for the others such a conception of progress can be less favourable. The enlarged offer of tourist attractions accompanied by their spatial clustering can be translated as environmental degradation and utmost transformation of the local identity, and hence resented by local residents.

The fast building boom in Lipno has resulted in the transformation of a whole landscape and the village alike. The inner territory of the village has been urbanised, accompanied by the extensive enlargement of the built area. Tourist development in Lipno resembles a centrifugal phenomenon: it usually starts around a core and then expands towards the periphery while the core undergoes the most intensive ecological transformation.⁷² The same applies to Lipno where the entire change in appearance of the core took place. New buildings (recreational resort Landal Marina Lipno) and shopping and entertainment facilities (Aquaworld; restaurants, a promenade along the dam, new services associated with entertainment activities) remind us of a 'resort landscape', even 'seaside resort' with an aesthetic value of its own.⁷³ As the tourist system tends constantly to expand, the same processes of commercialization and defacement affect other parts of the village (Villa Park, Lake Resort, Lipno Dreams, etc.) which brings the intensification of transformational activities. The result is that the whole region - from the core to the periphery- is partly or completely transformed through tourist development. New tourist attractions and accommodation resorts are being built with the aim to supplement or supersede those already existing. An

⁶⁹ Idem, p. 219.

⁷⁰ Idem, p. 233.

⁷¹ Dewailly, J.-M., "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 123-137, p. 123.

⁷² Cohen, E., "The impact of tourism on the physical environment", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 5(2), 1978, 215-237, p. 226.

⁷³ Ibid.

illustrating example is a project that has been extended into the fringe area called Kobylnice, originally a quiet place used by domestic second home users (cottage-dwellers). In 2011 a Czech developer's plan to build 42 houses, just next to the existing settlement, emerged. The project was approved by the local government and the construction commenced despite the stout resistance of the local cottage-owners. So far, eight houses have been built but no one is sold yet. The construction site is a sad reminder of failed investment projects.

Such type of rural development through large scale tourism seems to be self-destructive as it destroys the very landscape quality which attracts tourist development in the first place. Observations made in the tourist area in the past two years, however, disprove the abovementioned idea. The tourists and visitors alike, fully concentrated on amusement and tourist facilities show signs of the 'society of experience' that seems to surmount the necessity of 'pure' nature. Many of them have subsumed into the logic of Lipno Card, probably the smartest trick by Lipno Servis, ltd. which enables tourists to visit as many attractions as possible at reduced rates. They seem to embody the tourist resort's slogan 'from ski to treetop pathway', and 'the season in Lipno never ends'.

2.1.2. Local community involvement in tourism development

To understand the impact of tourism on local community, a community-based participatory approach based on the assumption that the limits of growth are socially constructed needs to be employed. Rather than relying on external investment to stimulate economic development, this approach looks inwards to mobilize local actors.⁷⁴ There is a widely held assumption that no matter how fast and radical the changes induced by tourism are, an effective community participation can mitigate potential conflicts over tourism development and help sustain a 'balance' between various, often conflicting interests. The communities that are endowed with a high level of social interaction (social capital and social networks) are usually better equipped to mobilize both internal and external resources to protect the community interests and enhance their well-being. Social capital, both in the form of communication networks among relevant development actors, and as a high level of civic participation of local inhabitants, their mutual trust and a sense of belonging to the locality, is a significant factor in endogenous rural development.

How are Lipno residents involved in rural tourism development? Who supports the change induced by tourism development and who benefits from the large scale tourism development? Tourism development tends to divide the community into groups that support or resist tourism development.⁷⁵ The divisions rarely follow the 'for or against'

⁷⁴ Woods, M., McDonagh, J., "Rural Europe and the World: Globalization and Rural Development" (Editorial), *European Countryside*, 3, 2011, 153-163.

⁷⁵ Davis, J. S., Morais, D. B., "Factions and Enclaves: Small Towns and Socially Unsustainable Tourism Development", *Journal of Travel Research*, 43, 2004, 3-10. Dogan, H., "Forms of Adjustment: Sociocultural Impacts of Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16, 1989, 216-36. Doxey, G., "A Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritants", in *Impact of Tourism*, Proceedings of the 6th Annual Conference of the Travel Research Association, San Diego, Travel Research Association, 1976. Pearce, P., "Tourist-Resident Impacts: Examples, Explanations and Emerging Solutions", in Theobald, W. (Ed.), *Global Tourism: The Next Decade*, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1994, 103-23.

attitude towards tourism since attitudes towards tourism development may differ, depending on whether the people are business owners, planners, politicians, developers, workers, residents, retirees, second home owners, etc. These groups are not necessarily equally represented or involved in participatory processes.⁷⁶ Stakeholders may hold differing visions of how they perceive the future of the community. The demands they place on rural areas vary in nature and scope. As some scholars have noticed,⁷⁷ many of the notions of rurality have been created to fit the preferences of those who own and use such rural areas.

There is a whole host of factors that determine who gets involved, why, and in what ways: why and under what conditions local residents may choose to, or may be driven to, become involved in tourism.⁷⁸ It depends on the perspective, the touristic discourses, one's societal values, attitudes, past life experience, knowledge and priorities. It is associated with power relations constituted by different actors and discourses on capacity.⁷⁹ Many impact studies confirm that residents who benefit most from progress, that is economic gains and sociocultural improvements are more likely to support tourism. Our research outcomes, however, challenge this assumption by pointing to the contested opinions on what is desirable in rural development in this specific place. Rivalry between factions in the community is caused predominantly by the diversity of meanings of development and modernity.

2.1.3. Contestation over the meaning of modernity

The large scale development through tourism in Lipno is presented as a modernisation project that will ensure the local community the economic and demographic survival, prosperity and common good. In this sense it is aimed to reach a better, more modern future. What is at the core is the model of post-socialist modernity shaped by the Western-oriented emphasis on a self-regulation market economy, liberal democracy and an active civil society. It seems that those who reject this post-socialist modernity are against modernity *per se*. However, when we look closely into a nature of socialist ideologies, we shall see that socialism, like capitalism, has also been defined as a modernisation project. These two large scale projects of modernity, socialist and capitalist (which is now emulated in post-socialist countries), while sharing a common goal – to construct an entirely new social, political and economic order, and to re-orient society towards a future ideal by dislodging its past as 'negative other',⁸⁰ defined themselves in direct opposition to the other. Socialism legitimized itself as a more progressive, more genuinely modern project than capitalism, seen by socialist planners as backward and flawed.⁸¹ The same aspiration can be detected with post-socialism; as

⁷⁶ Saarinen, J., "Traditions of sustainability in tourism studies", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(4), 2006, 1121-1140.

⁷⁷ Butler, R.W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998. Murdoch, J., Marsden, T., *Reconstituting rurality: class, community and power in the development process*, U.C.L. Press, London, 1994.

⁷⁸ Stronza, A., "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 2001, 261-83.

⁷⁹ Hall, C. M., *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*, West Sussex, Wiley, 1994.

⁸⁰ Brandstädter, S., "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process", *Critique of Anthropology*, 27(2), 2007, 131-145, p.134.

⁸¹ Bauman, Z., *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Oxford, Polity Press, 1991.

Brandstädter claims its aim is to replace a socialist modernity which is viewed as outdated and obsolete. Post-socialism thus creates a space for cultural struggles between two modernist projects backed by two opposing ideologies - socialism and capitalism. These struggles are over the meaning and ownership of modernity.⁸²

The contest over the concept of modernity is an unequal power struggle. On the one hand, Western discourse of modernity is presented as 'natural', as an ideal to pursue as it is clear from the interviews with the local power elite, especially the mayor, from the analyses made to order⁸³, and from the media representation. Such discourse of progressiveness silences any resistance. Any calls for a slower pace of 'modernization' sound backward and obscurant.

As has been stated, the rivalry between factions in the community is caused by the diversity of meanings of development and modernity. Who actively participates in the new modernity? Who, on the other hand, resists it? Those who oppose the rapid tourism development in Lipno reject the kind of modernity that is dictated by the hegemony of the market, which tends to destroy the pre-existing balance of social life; they prefer 'traditional' arrangements of the community and images of the countryside to be retained. Though many of them fully participated in socialist modernity, by actively building the 'better socialist world typical for full employment, active participation in communal associations such as Czech Red Cross, Women Union, Gamekeepers Union, under the patronage of the National Front, now they seem to retract from the making of another modernity. Now when the old pattern was unsettled, they have not been able to adapt quickly to the new notions of modernity brought by the post-socialist discourse. The closing of factories and demise of the major breadwinners in the area forced the local people to think about today's modernisation as a 'de-modernisation of the country and their own selves', a step backwards.⁸⁴ They are not involved in tourism planning or activities; instead, they seem to be passive objects, affected by the new modernisation plans. Their social capital has been stuck up in the local social networks created during socialism. Today, active participation in the surviving community associations such as Czech Red Cross or a newly established *Lipen* association does not allow them to influence the decision making processes concerning rural tourism development in the village. This outcome underlines the thesis that even a high level of local civic participation does not always correlate with the increased awareness of the need to control the development.⁸⁵ These associations do not participate in the development processes and in the control of tourism. Therefore, despite various local forms of civic participation, many locals appear to be the most marginal actors. In the language of the new managers, they are represented as lazy and spoiled by socialism. These argue that they do not work properly, that some of them even do not want to work at all because 'living on the dole suits their human nature better'. This argument is often used to account for the above average rate of

⁸² Brandstädter, S., "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process", *Critique of Anthropology*, 27(2), 2007, 131-145.

⁸³ *Analýza. Rozvoj obce Lipno nad Vltavou od počátku 90. let*, Praha, Incoma GfK, 2013.

⁸⁴ Pine, F., "Retreat to the Household? Gendered Domains in Postsocialist Poland", in Hann, Ch. (Ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, London, Routledge, 2002, 95-113.

⁸⁵ Bernard, J., Kostelecký, T., Ilner, M., Vobecká, J. (Eds.), *Samospráva venkovských obcí a místní rozvoj*, Praha, SLON, 2011.

unemployment in the village, 13.4 per cent^{86, 87} Kalabisová et al. put it unequivocally: the main reason for such a high rate is a 'long-term unwillingness of a narrow group of local inhabitants to work'.⁸⁸ Such reasoning, however, fails to explain why the rate of unemployment before 2012 was much lower: it even dropped from 2006 till 2008, from 11.27 (in 2006) to 7.39 per cent. After that there has been a steep rise, to reach the current level. It is obvious that 'cultural' factors obscure the real reasons embedded in the current economic crisis.

On the other hand, those who have been impacted by the tourism enterprise positively are largely the people for whom post-socialist modernism is 'both an aspiration and a way of life'.⁸⁹ They are active participants who tend to benefit from the large scale tourism development and can take advantage of tourism. They involve various sections of the community including active resource users, project planners and leaders, local merchants and businesspeople, and local politicians. Their aim is to improve living conditions on a 'modernized' model of local society. As has been mentioned before, the impetus for tourism development in this rural area came from the mayor who ranks among the most active actors.⁹⁰ The decision-making processes regarding the development are top-down, with the involvement of the main 'strategic partners' such as local company Lipno Servis. Those local inhabitants who do not belong to the 'mainstream' stakeholders (who are in opposition to the major power structures) are not involved in the planning, nor are they informed and consulted about the scope of development. As they bitterly admit, they are even discouraged to attend regular meetings of local government to discuss the policies and plans for tourism though the access must be free by law to everybody who is interested. In fact, very few local people were informed of any plan or invited to participate in discussions concerning the launching of the tourism project.

The locals' attitude towards tourism development is overwhelmingly characterized by passivity and indifference. Why are the residents incapacitated though they are endowed with social capital? The inability to influence tourism-related development is exacerbated not only by the apparent uselessness of the residents' residual unproductive social capital (inherited from the socialist era), but also by a lack of communication and cooperation opportunities in the community. There is no 'local' pub or club in the village where the residents could discuss the matters freely. Local men accustomed to 'having their beer' can meet at three different public places that are all, however, placed outside the village centre: first, at Karolina restaurant⁹¹ that serves drinks and meals at reasonable prices both to foreign (especially Dutch) guests, and to the locals who live nearby; second, at a small, dilapidated kiosk at the football field

⁸⁶ The current rate of unemployment in the region is 7.12 % (*Czech Statistical Office*).

⁸⁷ *Czech Statistical Office*, retrieved on 15 May 2013 from <http://www.czso.cz/>

⁸⁸ Kalabisová, J., Plzánková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

⁸⁹ Brandstädter, S., "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process", *Critique of Anthropology*, 27(2), 2007, 131-145, p.136.

⁹⁰ He has held this post for almost twenty years.

⁹¹ The restaurant is part of the guesthouse of the same name operated by the family whose origins are in Romania. They came to Lipno in 1977 as part of a state-organized recruitment of labour force to this region. The guesthouse is one of the few cheap accommodation opportunities in the whole village used predominantly by Czechs.

located on the outskirts of the village; third, at an outdoor refreshment shop as part of the petrol station placed behind the village. There used to be a favourite local pub in the 'Old Lipno' at the Lipenka hotel but after the change in the ownership (the current owner is a Dutch man who married a local woman) it ceased to serve the former purposes. As many of the informants claim they are no longer welcome as 'they just sit over a beer for an hour and do not spend much.' Many locals feel alienated from planning and development decisions, they are not involved in exercising control over development, thus the chances of development may not be compatible with local preferences. Those who openly oppose current tourism-related development are particularly domestic second-home owners (of cottages and chalets) who do not agree with turning the place into resort; they have come to find a quiet place for their summer or winter holidays and feel threatened by the fast pace of tourism-related development. As Gill mentioned, opposition to development in rural areas is sometimes strongly expressed by urban, rather than rural residents who are often largely economically dependent on the local area.⁹²

CONCLUSION

The aim of the present paper has been to describe and assess the social dynamics of change in Lipno with regard to the large-scale tourism development that has been taking place since the late 1990s. Within the community-based participatory approach it has focused on the changes in community attitudes toward tourism over time.

From the local power elite's point of view, supported by two specially designed analyses⁹³, as well as by frequent media coverage, the tourism-related development in Lipno sounds like a success story. The community budget is in the black, economic survival is secured, and the community seems demographically stable. In the past twenty years the municipal property valuations rose more than twenty times. This makes Lipno one of the Country's most successful municipalities. While many Czech municipalities are in debt, the municipal assets of Lipno are vast, including a new local government building, the building of Aquaworld, the Lipno ski resort facilities, the central car park, retirement homes, the camp-site, the coastal promenade, and the Marina Lipno yacht port. But as Hall reminds us, increased consumption of capital, man-made or natural, does not necessarily imply living better; in a similar vein, growth does not always mean development.⁹⁴ Issues of rural tourism and recreation go beyond a conventional economic analysis. Economic impact needs to be balanced against the social, cultural and environmental effects.⁹⁵

⁹² Gill, A., "Local and Resort Development", in Butler, R. W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998, 97-111.

⁹³ *Analýza. Rozvoj obce Lipno nad Vltavou od počátku 90. let*, Praha, Incoma GfK, 2013. Kalabisová, J., Plzánková, L., Studnička, P., Tinková, V., *Měření efektů cestovního ruchu v obci Lipno nad Vltavou*, Praha, Vysoká škola hotelová, 2013.

⁹⁴ Hall, C. M., "Changing paradigms and global change: From sustainable to steady-state tourism", *Tourism Recreational Research*, 35(2), 2010, 131-143.

⁹⁵ Holden, A., *Environment and Tourism*, New York, Routledge, 2000. Long, P., Lane B., "Rural Tourism Development", in Gartner, W. C., Lime, D. W. (Eds.), *Trends in Outdoor Recreation, Leisure and Tourism*, Wallingford, CAB International, 2000, 299-308.

The scale and pace of transformation in Lipno is unprecedented. Its image has utterly changed from a peripheral village to a fully-fledged tourist resort. The place as entertainment and recreation is now perceived as a product to be promoted and sold,⁹⁶ not as a rural place; in other words, it has been stripped of any notions of rurality. The traditional appeal of the landscape makes way for the image of Lipno as a tourist destination, a resort which must be able to compete with other places within a global economy.

Large scale transformation inevitably impacts upon rural social coherence. Conflict over development in Lipno basically takes place between the interests of a newly-created middle class which strives to increase the quality of life by creating a 'new rurality', often at all costs, and between those who are marginal, who have failed to adapt to the new logic of a Western-style of modernity.

Our research data illuminates a special layer of incapacitated residents characterised by apathy, passivity and indifference who either lack the 'effective' social capital or do not comply with the requirements of post-socialist discourse on progress and modernity. The current development through tourism in Lipno 'dislodges earlier cultural models and social arrangements, and establishes new parameters of progress and backwardness'.⁹⁷ A new hierarchy between central and marginal worlds emerges; these worlds intersect both physical and symbolic zones; they are accompanied by distinct, often incompatible practices and life-styles. Geographically marginal spaces, in our case 'Old' Lipno translate into cultural marginality.

The research outcomes indicate that the pace of expansion of the tourism enterprise in the village, its rate of growth, combined with the local community's inability to cooperate or to get involved in the planning and decision-making processes has already surpassed the threshold of socially sustainable development. To ameliorate the prospects for the start up of socially sustainable development, the local power elite that is largely responsible for the current state of development, could consider three recommendations. First, tourism operations should not expand too rapidly as there is a risk of encountering community resistance caused by negative attitudes toward tourism. Instead, the adoption of the slower consumption approach could reduce the harmful effects of touristification which affects community social coherence. Secondly, the project of Lipno as a one-sided, tourism-dependent community is in a sharp contrast to the concept of rural multi-functionality typical of a pluralistic attitude to rural development. It would be advisable to initiate local small-scale and medium-sized businesses in the form of providers of additional tourism-oriented services. A possible revival of traditional local economies such as agriculture, forestry and fishing could complete a mosaic of economic activities Thirdly, the role of residents in the tourism development process could be reconsidered. As has already been stated, the current project has never been envisaged as community-based tourism. Hierarchical, top-down steering modes within the current local governance prevail instead of communitarian-led modes. Yet, the insertion of community interests into the planning and management

⁹⁶ Kotler, P., Haider, D. H., Rein, I., *Marketing Places: attracting investment, industry and tourism to cities, states, and nations*, New York, Free Press, 1993.

⁹⁷ Brandstädter, S., "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process", *Critique of Anthropology*, 27(2), 2007, 131-145, p. 138.

of tourism is highly important to support socially sustainable development. Better information dissemination and community interaction with the power elite will foster social capital and extend social networks, which, in effect, will empower the community.

The only way sustainable development is initiated and secured lies in the art of negotiation, compromise and a willingness by all parties to participate in the dialogue over what is to come.⁹⁸ Future development in Lipno must reflect the overall global trends but must not neglect local conditions and preferences. The involvement of certain aspects of endogenous potentials such as trust among the local residents, civic and political participation in various local forms, the ability to mobilise resource, and the involvement of local residents into local social networks create the necessary potential for socially sustainable tourism.

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⁹⁸ Butler, R.W., Hall, C. M., Jenkins, J. (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*, Chichester, John Wiley, 1998.

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Acknowledgement

This work was financially supported by the Czech Science Foundation [grant number P404/12/1040].

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