Case of Prague: Can Overtourism Engender Urban Regime Change?

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Abstract

A new progressive coalition which wanted to address issues of overtourism was formed at Prague's City Hall after municipal elections in 2018. The new city government introduced initiatives such as a first-ever strategy for sustainable tourism or the institution of night mayor. These initiatives are done strategically, in a cooperative, transparent manner, and demonstrate the government's prioritaization of residents' quality of life over economic returns. In so-doing, the government disrupts previous neoliberal urban governance regime characterized by profit-oriented ad-hoc decision making and state capture. However, such disruptions are now contested and mobilized against as shown on the case studies of the coalition's fall in Prague 1 district, the negotiation of short-term rentals' regulation, and the airport expansion debate. This research shows that while overtourism provides an opportunity to reorient governance towards sustainability in a way that disrupts neoliberal urban governance and state capture, this neoliberal urban governance and state capture that allowed the overtouristification in the first place are deeply embedded in local and national networks, thus making possibilities for such political change limited. This research contributes to the discussions on whether change of neoliberal urban governance is possible by providing a case study of partially successful, isolated and challenged urban regime change.

Key words: Overtourism, sustainable tourism, urban regime theory, regime change, state capture, neoliberal urban governance, night mayor, coronavirus

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

"Overtourism" is a word that is gaining traction in Prague. For many, the size and form of tourism in Prague were, before the coronavirus crisis hit, simply "over" the top. Over-crowded streets in the city center, partying tourists who prevented residents from sleeping, touristification of the physical environment in historical areas of Prague, increasing rent due to short-term renting platforms such as Airbnb, and resulting exodus of permanent residents from the city center were all factors that caused a change in attitudes towards tourism. More recently, critical discourse against pro-growth urban regime that lead to this overtouristified state was raised along with calls for prioritizing residents' quality life.

With an overall progressive campaign along with promises of reprioritizing residents over tourists and profits they bring, a new coalition at Prague City Hall and the municipality at Prague 1 where most tourists congregate was elected in 2018, consisting of the social movement Praha sobě, Pirates, and union of center-right parties called 'United forces for Prague.' This new coalition is now pursuing several progressive initiatives towards sustainable tourism. These efforts include Prague's first ever strategy for sustainable tourism that prioritizes protection of residents and the physical city space over commerce; installment of the so-called night mayor to ensure more peaceful nights for the residents, a commission for tourism that weakens the influence of private actors, and other activities such as visual smog guidelines.

Originally, this research was about the night mayor and a pursuit of governance that tried to balance a thriving night life with the regulation of the noise-polluting alcohol-tourism. As I followed him for several months, I learned that his practices differ from previous governments who preferred a laissez faire approach and catered to private interests. He was consistently transparent, strategic and collaborative, balancing economic questions with the well-being of

the residents. I also noticed that his practices are part of a larger change at the municipality level and that in the domain of tourism, a shift from those neoliberal practices is occurring on a broader scope. Resultingly, a new question arose: is the issue of overtourism changing the neoliberal governance regime at the urban scale towards a more sustainable and progressive one? And is such a change from neoliberal hegemony even possible?

In order to examine how the domain of tourism is challenging the urban neoliberal regime in Prague, I explore the following sub questions: Who are the actors in the tourism regime and what do these actors do? How do the efforts at sustainability of tourism impact urban policy making practices? What are the limits of urban regime change through the domain of tourism? And what are the forces behind these limits and contestations?

My analysis is based on Prague's new governing coalition's initiatives for sustainable tourism and the disruptions they bring to previous governance practices. Specifically, this paper will focus on three case studies: 1) coalition fall at the city hall of Prague 1 district (i.e. the historic city center), 2) negotiation of regulation over short-term renting platforms such as Airbnb, and 3) debate over airport expansion. I argue that efforts driven towards sustainable tourism introduce an urban regime change from the previous neoliberal governance yet at the same time, this change is responded to with counter-change efforts of state capture and neoliberal governing practices at Prague 1 district and national level, thereby showing the deep embeddedness of state capture that accompanied overtouristification in the first place. This struggle then points to a unique power tourism domain can have in galvanizing attempts at urban regime changes. By providing a case study of partially successful, isolated and challenged urban regime change, this research contributes to larger discussions on whether urban regime change, particularly the change of neoliberal regime, is possible.

In this thesis, I will define what neoliberal urban governance entails in Prague and introduce the regime change theory that will guide my analysis of how such neoliberal regime is challenged through the crisis of overtouristification in Prague. I will then examine how neoliberal urban government led to overtourism in Prague, how urban regime change was attempted through new government that aims for sustainable tourism, and how such regime change is contested.

1. Literature review

In this chapter, I will define neoliberal urban governance and its manifestations in Prague. Then, I introduce the analytical approach of urban regime theory to examine the concept of change and contestation of such governance. Lastly, I discuss the methods used.

1.1.   Neoliberal urban governance and tourism

The term neoliberalism is a widely overused and contested one. In policy terms, neoliberalism is usually associated with the elimination of institutionalized policy conventions such as redistributive taxation and deficit spending, economic regulation, public goods and service provision, and active fiscal policies… (Centeno and Cohen 2011). In the more cultural-hegemonic understanding of neoliberalism in the Foucauldian tradition, neoliberalism becomes the governing rationality in which everything is economized and every entity of private and public life is governed by market logic (Brown 2015). Despite these general definitions, it is important to emphasize the contextual embeddedness and path dependency of neoliberalism on national, regional, and local contexts as well as on the inherited institutional frameworks, practices, and struggles (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Neoliberalism then plays out at different geographical scales (ibid), where the urban and post-socialist one is the most relevant for this research.

Despite the local variations of neoliberalism, the interconnectedness of these variations to global structures sets up general characteristics of neoliberal cities and their governance. Hackworth (2006) provided a holistic US-centered analysis of neoliberal urban governance in

which he challenges the perceived autonomy of cities by looking at how global market rationality governs urban decision making. Relevant to this is also his study of glocalisation, where responsibility is localized at the urban governance but power is globalized (Swyngedouw 1997). My research speaks further to the topic of autonomy by outlining the limits of power of decision makers in Prague.

Tourism is often analyzed through the lens of urban development that it incentivizes. This development usually takes on the form of urban core development, mega projects, core infrastructure, or creativization of the city, which are all common spatial manifestations of neoliberal entrepreneurial urban governances (Hackworth 2006, Hoffman et al 2003). However, as Ioannides and Petridou (2016) point out, tourism is not often analyzed in tandem with a critique of neoliberalism. Simultaneously, they suggest that neoliberalization cannot be neatly compartmentalized in the process of touristification, nor does it take up same form across different cities (ibid). My research builds on their propositions by analyzing Prague's multilayered intersection of neoliberalism and tourism and the tensions between varying approaches to neoliberal governance's impact on tourism.

Hoffman et al (2003) identify four types of regulatory frameworks that structure relations in the domain of tourism: 1) regulation of visitors to protect the city; 2) regulation of the city to benefit visitors and the tourism industry; 3) regulation of labor markets for the benefit of capital, labor, and place; and 4) regulation of the industry for the benefit of place, consumers, and labor. The regulation benefiting the tourism industry and capital then fit well into the public-private partnership emblematic for neoliberal urban governance. My research points out how these regulatory frameworks are now subjects of contention, marking the crossroad Prague is now facing between neoliberal and resident-oriented approaches to tourism. In this way, I

5

complicate the approach of Judd and Fainstein (1999) who perceived tourism as core accomplice to the urban neoliberal project. In my research, I examine how touristification served as a driver of neoliberal project but at the same time, I examine how the extreme commodification of locality that such project brought turned tourism into challenger of the neoliberal project. In other words, my case study shows that the success of neoliberalism can challenge its premises.

1.2. Prague's neoliberal urban governance

After the fall of communism in 1989, Czech society joined a version of idealised Western democracy. Since the early nineties, along with democratization, privatization, and internationalization, Prague underwent shock therapy under neoliberal restructuring, one that was however embedded in the contextual heritage of Czechia's weak democratic pillars. In this context, cities became easy prey for predatory versions of capitalism especially during the initial phases of post-socialist transformation (Pixová 2020). The neoliberalization in Czech cities has been multilayered and phased to the extent that the transition is still arguably ongoing even though majority of adaptation to global neoliberal restructuring occurred in the nineties (Sýkora 2014). The institutional, social, and consequent urban transformation manifested spatially in commercialization of the city center and suburbanization of the outer city (ibid). This is because despite municipalities being able to benefit from decentralization, post-socialist urban governments tended to prioritize achievement of economic prosperity instead of making long-term plans and strategic planning as politicians often saw unregulated market as the most efficient and just mechanisms of resource allocation (Sýkora 2006).

Horak (2007) provided case studies on how such tendencies manifested in urban processes in the nineties. One of his case studies was the preservation and development of Prague's historic city center, where politicians resisted systematic policy making. Instead, many of them started acting as brokers for developers which offered immediate material gains. His analysis shows how the form of neoliberal policy-making in Prague's historic core consisted of ad-hoc and closed-door decision making. Immediate profit from the tourism sector then appeared as a more appealing alternative to defending broader public interests. Horak also shows that while these decisions were unstrategic and formed with short-term views, they had long term effects (ibid). An example of that is precisely massive touristification in Prague's city center caused by, along with democratization, marketization through which tourism and the commerce it attracted replaced the residential function of the city center (Hoffman et al 2009).

Little academic work maps further neoliberalization of Prague's urban governance in the years after 2000. Pixová (2020) shows that current Prague's governance under the neoliberal regime is marked by unprofessional and undemocratic character with negative impacts of non-transparent business interests on the quality of urban space and life. In her case studies of Prague, she shows how the governance under the domain of Civil Democratic Party, Czech Social Democratic Party, and TOP09 was defined by closed, clientelist, and unstrategic policy making – so closely tied with the local state capture.

1.2.1. State capture

One of the most prominent features of Czech neoliberal governance is the phenomenon of state capture, under which private interests significantly influence public decision-making processes. Jones et al (2000) describe how in Eastern European countries in the post-socialist transition,

firms have had significant influence on the state and the design of political institutions. Innes (2014) recounts how in Czechia, public power is exercised for private gain and these private interests subvert legitimate channels of political influence. As a consequence, entrepreneurial political elites have set up brokerage party systems, in which public policy becomes a side product of economic competition (ibid). These brokerage networks are then not only facilitated through corruption, but also through legal measures. For example, many public procurement contracts are awarded in private or insufficiently competitive manner. Specifically, ZIndex from the Faculty of Economics at Charles university evaluated only 37% of Prague city's procurement competitive enough (ZIndex.cz 2018). This conduct still takes place within legal bounds but of course, it facilitates environment where corruption is possible.

My research will pick up this notion of state capture as both legal and illegal policy practice in which the decision makers serve the role of brokers to private interests over the residents' interests in order to show how these practices are challenged. In the CEE context, state capture is academically explored mostly on the national state level. Only Pixová (2020) has researched specifically how corporate state capture operates in Czech municipalities and my research will build on these efforts to provide evidence on Prague's brokerage of decision-making power.

The notion of state capture overlaps with the understanding of neoliberal urban governance. They both describe systems under which business takes control over governance, though there are different dynamics. Under neoliberalism, the state reshuffles and deconstructs in order to favor market relations as the governing rationality. State capture is then a process under which domains of public sector that the state keeps become captured by business interests. In the case of Prague, the notion of state capture elaborates the nature of the local neoliberal urban regime by highlighting that the government is still active but that they cater to private sector, not to its

citizens. In the next section, I will discuss how such state capture and neoliberal governance in general can be contested and changed.

1.3.   Urban regime theory and regime change

The literature on neoliberalization of urban governance is also accompanied by the analysis of its contestation. However, this analysis focuses on contestation mostly by civil society (Leitner et al 2006). Such limited scope of contestation is also covered by Hackworth (2006), who sees social movements (in particular those focused on housing issues) as the driver of hope towards challenging neoliberalism. In her book Contested Czech Cities, Pixová (2020) analyses these contestations by social movements. However, she argues that the social movements had little success using common action repertoires and in order to efficiently challenge neoliberal urban governments, the activists often had to enter electoral politics. My research further builds on her evidence on emergence of these activist politicians by examining how these activist politicians now challenge neoliberal practices from governmental positions. Because literature on contestation of neoliberal urban governance from within government is scarce, I turn to urban regime theory to frame the contestation happening within governance examined in this thesis. I will first introduce the theory, then explain its limitation, and lastly discuss how this theory can be applied to analyze urban regime change.

Regime of governance usually denotes institutional structures, organizing paradigms, and outcomes or practices of these institutions and paradigms. Regime theory is a specific concept and an analytical framework that explores one aspect of regimes in particular and that is the nexus of private actors and government. Urban regime is then a regime of long-term partnership

among governmental and non-governmental agents that together govern the city (Stoker 1995). This collaboration is created as both governments and businesses possess resources needed to govern. Together, they add the legitimacy and policy-making authority, as well as jobs, tax revenues, and financing (Mossberger and Stoker 2001). I find the regime approach useful because it provides a framework for understanding governance in a complex manner as it considers the private influences that come from outside government yet that are still parts of that governance, which is particularly useful when studying the dynamics of previously mentioned captured state where the influence of businesses is inseparable from governance.

Mossberger and Stoker (2001) provide an excellent synthesis of Stone's outline of four different regime types: maintenance regimes, which focus on routine service delivery and low taxes; development regimes that are concerned with growth promotion; middle-class progressive regimes, which include aims such as environmental protection, historic preservation, or affordable housing; and lower-class opportunity expansion regimes that emphasize human investment policy and widened access to employment and ownership. The former two regimes correspond closely to that of neoliberal urban governance by prioritizing capital accumulation of private owners over Keynesian values. According to Mossberger and Stoker (2001), the latter two are most difficult to achieve in part because they entail a measure of coercion or regulation of businesses rather than voluntary cooperation. This explains why change between regime types, especially from the former two to the latter two ones, is accompanied by counterchange efforts by the business sphere as my research will examine. It is precisely the transition from the neoliberal developmental and maintenance urban regime to a middle-class progressive regime that this research analyzes.

Critique of urban regime theory points out that the theory draws on public and corporate behavior in the industrial era in the US. As such, this theory is insensitive to changes in economic globalization, institutional hierarchies, and new actors and issues in urban politics (Pierre 2014). Pierre (ibid) argues that in European contexts, a more fitting governance theory would be one that encompasses the influence of local institutions that are embedded in their historical and cultural contexts and that expand the understanding of governance beyond the network of just government and private actors. The framework of urban regime theory is useful in this research in order to allow examination of change of precisely the constellation between the private actors and government, a relationship which was dominant in Prague's urban governance after the Velvet revolution. However, in light of this critique, this research also considers the role of other actors – namely of new institutions within the government and of civil society sector.

Another stream of critique targets the urban regime theory for its structuralist approach, which does not consider the role of global hegemonies and their impact on governance (Jessop 1996), or the role of individual actors and their impact on hegemonies through their activities in governance (Blake 1999). In light of the structuralist approach, the urban regime theory has not developed thoroughly the theory of urban regime change (Mossberger and Stoker 2001).

Urban regime change was briefly mention by Stone (1989) who analyzed the development of a regime in Atlanta between 1946-1988, finding that regimes are rather stable arrangements that can span several administrations. According to him, in order for a regime change to occur, the nonprofit sector would have to be reorganized to become a more substantial and autonomous force that is engaged in productive activities. This would make them independent of business patronage and strengthen their position within the network by adding resources to the network

of governance, which would ultimately lead to a more inclusive governing coalition (ibid). My research examines the emerging role of these non-government, non-business actors in the form of city-owned businesses and their role in the change. Moreover, as regime change is not synonymous with change in city administration, Mossberger and Stoker (2001) set up that the question of whether electoral turnover represents regime change is an empirical one. My research aims to answer this by examining the efforts of new coalition in Prague to alter the previous governance practices and regime. But neither of these attempts to apply the theory to study change overcome the structuralist approach that is by nature limited in theorizing change. To correct that, Rast (2015) suggests that urban regime change can be studied by bringing attention to incremental changes in local governing arrangements and how they intersect with structural shifts to produce transformative change of political order. This is the approach I adopt as I examine the local political efforts how they disrupt the neoliberal urban regime in the domain of tourism.

There are empirical works that apply the concept of urban regime theory on studying change in non-US contexts. Russo and Scarnato (2018) have provided an excellent case study of Barcelona, where coalition of civic movements, *Barcelona en Comu* led by Ada Colau, won municipal elections in 2015 with a critique of how tourism was managed by previous governments and with a progressive program of prioritizing the residents over tourists. Looking at how tourism has galvanized a political change in Barcelona, they suggest tourism has potential to produce regime change by bringing progressive left movements to power. This research is essentially exploring the same topic, though while Russo and Scarnato (2018) examine the detonating factors of this change such as material conditions, media coverage, discursive tools in Barcelona, I focus on the implementation of this political change and the contestation in invokes.

1.4. Methods

Using the regime theory as my analytical approach, this research is based in the discipline of anthropology of governance, which relocates the analysis of governance from the government to the field shaped by various actors that produce specific regimes through interaction (Eckert, Behrends, and Dafinger 2012). This observation of the regime production then required an ethnographic inquiry into who are the actors, what are their interdependencies as well as the processes within these constellations of power are. To realize such an ethnographic inquiry, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the regime, participant observations of key meetings where these actors interact, and I have triangulated these ethnographic observations with the analysis of legislative and strategic documents as well as an observation of media coverage of the issues. All research took place between November 2019 and June 2020.

I have conducted altogether 25 semi-structured interviews with members of the tourism-related regime (Longhurst 2016). To identify relevant actors, in the interviews, I have asked my respondents to draw a map of all actors that have any influence on tourism sector and the map then helped to both answer my research question and guide me through next respondent selection. I have grouped my respondents into 6 categories (for more detail, see the Appendix) – 1) decision makers from Prague 1 City Hall such as past and present mayors and mayor for transportation who was active in efforts for sustainable tourism; 2) decision makers from Prague-level City Hall such as past and present Mayors for tourism, Directors of tourism division, coordinator of the tourism committee, the night mayor….; 3) actors from supporting city-wide organizations such as Prague City Tourism or Institute for Planning and

Development; 4) State-level decision makers – senators and representatives that are pushing for legislative changes to help Prague with sustainable tourism; 5) influencers from civil society such as leaders of movements against short-term renting or Airport expansion; and 6) influencers from business such as leaders of associations that represent convention tourism or hotels and bars in city center – important relevant businesses such as Airbnb and Airport refused to speak to me claiming they do not have a statement which could contribute to my research.

My research is based on interviews with the political elite (Litting 2009). Gaining access was often an issue, which I usually overcame by asking for referral by previous respondents or by being persistent. Due to the corona pandemic lockdown, most interviews were conducted via Skype, which surprisingly helped in gaining access as the time cost of giving interview decreased for my respondents (Janghorban et al 2014). There were cases when I could not get the interview, which is why I at times relied on accounts of other relevant stakeholders. Notable was the tendency of progressive and resident-prioritizing politicians to be happy to participate in an interview whereas getting interviews with those who were identified as actors associated with state capture was far more difficult. I am aware of this bias but given that I focus on the efforts of the progressive coalition and the limits they are running into, the limited perspective of the state capture that I had the chance to receive and the media coverage that complemented my research sufficed in confirming the challenges that the progressive coalition experiences.

I have also done participant observation of important meetings, such as the open meeting when fall of coalition in Prague 1 district was discussed or the first meeting between the night mayor and Prague's clubs and bars. Where I could not attend the meetings, I referred to detailed written accounts of those meetings that the City Hall publishes, though I cross-referenced observations from these reports with other actors to address the risk of ignoring the narrative power of the

publisher. I have also analyzed strategic documents that my respondents kindly shared with me such as the draft of the strategy for sustainable tourism in Prague, strategy for legislative response to short-term renting problems provided by the senators, or nigh mayor's research on types of incoming tourists.

2. Overtouristification of Prague under the neoliberal regime

In this section, I will provide a brief history of overtouristification of Prague under neoliberal regime, discuss the current state of overtourism in Prague, and describe the calls for a change of governance approaches to tourism.

2.1. Neoliberal regime and overtouristification

While tourism in Prague existed before the fall of the Wall, its scope was limited. After 1989, tourism became integral to democratization, marketization, and privatization. The relatively intact central core of Prague and the cultural capital it embodied was transformed into the locus of rapid change towards commercialization through touristification. Hoffman and Musil (1999) point out that already in the nineties, this rapid change encouraged many to demand a strategy for tourism from Prague's municipality. However, already then, a strong lobby of associations of hotels, restaurants, travel agencies etc. coalesced around an agenda that favored tourist-friendly policies and financial support. Through their influence, any attempts at regulation of tourism was associated with the former regime and discussions over it were prevented by fear of restrictions of commerce's right to develop their privatized property (ibid). This goes hand in hand with the phenomenon of "zombie socialism" common to post-socialist countries, under which regulation is prevented by associating it with communist practices in order to protect neoliberal doxa (Chelcea and Druţă 2016). Simpson (1999) points out how this city officials' laissez fair approach allowed unregulated and unmanaged commercial tourism-related uses to quickly squeeze out the residential function out of the city and to displace the local population. This resident displacement was further encouraged by commercial gentrification as shops used by local residents were replaced by tourism servicing stores such as souvenir shops (Sýkora 1999). To sum up, neoliberal governance which entailed laissez faire approach and a strong

lobby of private actors (in other words state capture) prioritized profits of business actors over the residents quality of life, which allowed for unregulated touristification of Prague's historic city center.

Fifteen years later, Dumbrovská and Fialová (2014) have examined further development of this rapid touristification, finding that the number of tourists in Prague when compared to the number of residents is twice as high as Vienna and three times higher than Budapest. Moreover, the tourists are concentrated in the old city, causing congestion in the center and extrusion of residential functions by tourism. They conclude by identifying that a tourism ghetto has been formed in the center of Prague, dualizing the urban society in Prague. This tourism ghetto in Prague 1 was maintained until the coronavirus crisis, as the updated tourist penetration rate by districts cartogram shows (Figure 1).
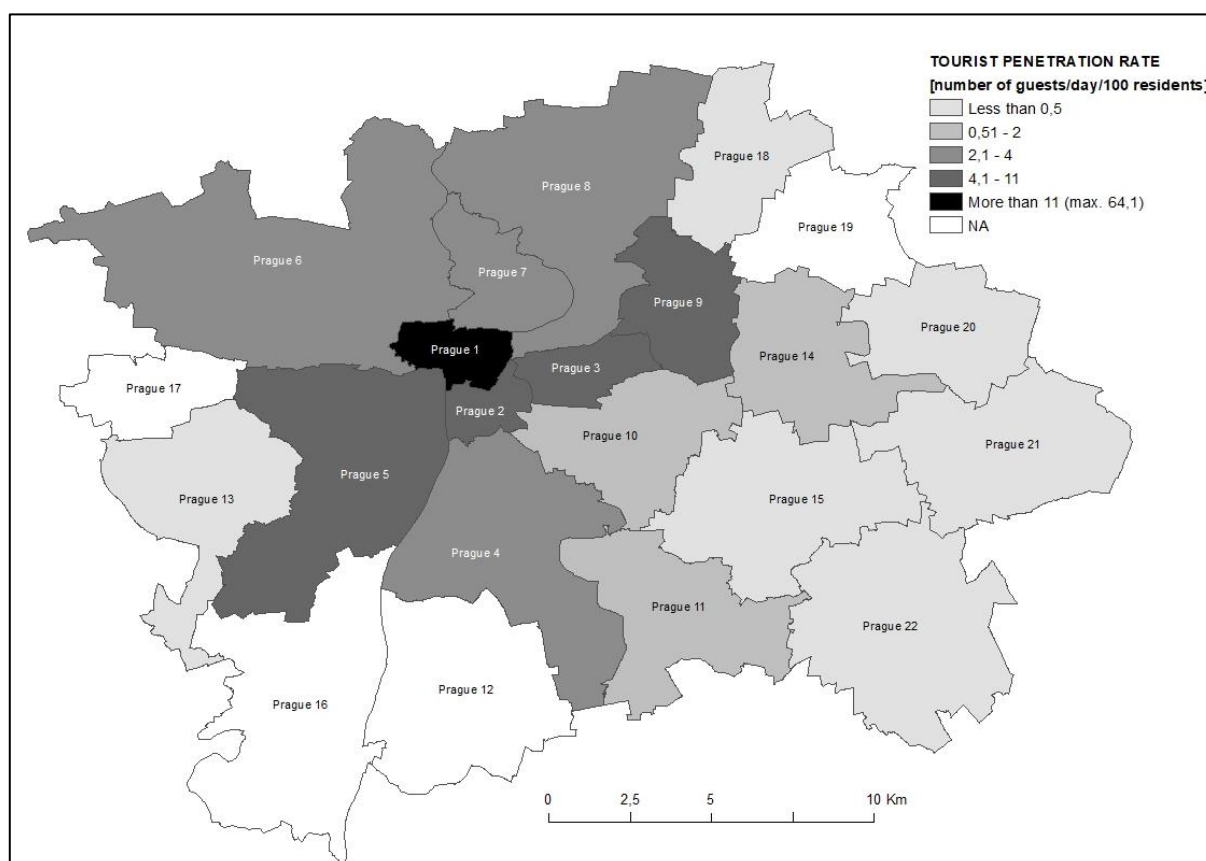
Figure 1: Tourist Penetration Rate in Prague by district (2019). Source: cartogram by Marianovská from IPR (2020), data from ČSÚ (Czech statistical office) (2020).

In 2018, 7,9 million tourists visited Prague, having spent record 18,3 million bednights in the city. The number of tourists coming to Prague was, until the corona crisis hit, growing steadily with circa 2% increase (Prague City Tourism 2019). While Prague is only the eighth most visited European city, when tourist penetration rate (number of tourists/day/100 residents) is calculated, Prague is second most tourist penetrated city after Amsterdam (see Figure 2). This is a result of active governments' efforts to bring in more tourists – former mayor of Prague 1 Lomecký (2020) and Prague's former mayor for tourism Wolf (2020) for the period of 2014-2018 both describe that their goal was to increase the quantity of tourists in order to bolster the tourism industry, and they did so by for example forging partnerships with Asian cities and their travel agencies.

Comparison of tourist penetration rate in European most visited cities in 2018

	Number of tourist bednights (in million)	Resident population size (in million)	Tourist penetration (number of tourists/day/100 residents)
London	71,16	8,7	2,2
Paris	52,55	10,9	1,3
Berlin	32,87	3,7	2,5
Rome	28,55	2,9	2,7
Instanbul	20,98	14,7	0,4
Madrid	19,83	3,1	1,7
Barcelona	19,29	1,6	3,3
Prague	18,25	1,3	3,9
Vienna	17,41	1,9	2,6
Munich	17,12	1,5	3,2
Amsterdam	16,94	0,9	5,4

Figure 2: Comparison of tourist penetration rate in European most visited cities in 2018 (Citymayors Statistics 2018, Statista 2019)

Such intensity of the tourism sector has, of course, benefits. The tourism sector employs 8% of Prague's workforce (ČSÚ 2019). However, despite contributing to 36% of entire Gross Added Value of tourism sector in Czechia (ibid), given the redistributive system of taxes where taxes are redistributed not by share of industry but by size and share of inhabitants, Prague does not receive much direct revenue from tourism. The only revenues Prague receives are from marginal hotel fees. Given that Prague still has to take the burden of supporting the tourism infrastructure, from a political economy perspective, this means that the municipality has little incentive to drive the tourism sector at all costs.

With the intensity of tourism in Prague, its impact on local communities and space is rising. Media is increasingly covering this adverse side of tourism – for example how the amount of tourists in the streets makes the city center uninhabitable; how tourists often behave in disrespectful way as Prague is a favorite destination for stag and hen parties and drunk tourism (Rychlíková 2019a); how the historic city center has been transformed to cater primarily to tourists (Vojtěchovský 2020); how the rise of tourism has led to the growth of Airbnb by 34% in the past years contributing to rising rents (Rychlíková 2019b); or how air traffic is polluting the environment (Váchal 2014).

At this moment, the situation in Prague can be described as overtourism, a phenomenon that is now occurring in a variety of other cities such as Venice, Barcelona, Paris, Dubrovnik, and many others. The World Tourism Organization - UNWTO (2018) defined overtourism as "the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors' experiences in a negative way." To further specify this definition, Koens et al (2018) identify five issues that are associated with overtourism today: 1) overcrowding in city's public spaces; 2) tourists' behavior; 3) physical touristification; 4) displacement due to platforms like Airbnb; and 4) pressure on the local environment. Manifestations of tourism in Prague correspond with Koens et al (ibid) definitions of issues of overtourism almost too aptly (see Figure 3). Given that most tourism is concentrated in Prague 1 district, these problems are then hyper-intensified there.

Issues of overtourism as defined by Koens et al (2018)	Type of impact	Manifestation of overtourism issues in Prague
Overcrowding in city's public spaces	Overcrowding on streets and pavements, as well as public transport, heavy traffic, loss of local identity	Overcrowding in historic city core
		Traffic problems with beer bikes, segways, and Lime scooters
		Loss of local identity through resident exodus from Prague 1
Pervasiveness of visitor impact due to inappropriate behavior	Noise, disturbance, loss of local identity	Noise pollution by partying tourists
Physical touristification of city centers and other often-visited areas	Loss of amenities for residents due to mono-culture of tourist shops and facilities	Visual smog
		Traffic problems with beer bikes, segways, and Lime scooters
Residents pushed out of residential areas due to AirBnB and similar platforms	Less availability of housing, loss of sense of community and security	Rising rents due to platforms like Airbnb
		Reduction of residential function in city center (1/4 of apartments used for short-term renting)
Pressure on local environment	Increased waste, water use, air pollution	Environmental impacts around the airport

Figure 3: Issues with tourism in Prague fit the definition of overtourism

2.2.   Call for change

The pressure to address these issues of overtourism intensified with increasingly higher numbers of tourists along with the negative impacts that shared economy services such as platforms like Airbnb brought along. This change, driven by discontent of local residents, is nicely illustrated by an account of the former mayor of Prague 1 (2010-2018):

After the crisis of 2008, we of course sought after opportunities to open up to more tourists. I started my mayorship with 4.5 million tourists and ended it with over 8 million tourists per year [he states proudly]. I think that the voices that growth is not always preferred started occurring from the citizens some time around 2016/2017. There was no regulation and for example when it comes to short-term rentals, the residents started experiencing troubles with tourists and started pressuring the government more. You know I think Prague could contain more tourists. But I also think that lack of regulation caused this anti-reaction against tourism. I am right-wing pro-free market politician so I cannot say that there should be more regulation, but I think rules should be set up (Lomecký 2020).

Such an account by a notoriously famous conservative politician shows that tourism has reached form and size that is no longer perceived purely positively. This was then reflected in the political program of several parties running for office in the municipal elections of 2018. In Prague, the social movement which succeeded to get elected into Prague 7 district government in 2014 with the program of fighting corruption and state capture entered the city-wide municipal elections in 2018 under the name Praha sobě (in English Prague to itself) with an overall progressive agenda which included also sustainable tourism as one of the priorities (Praha sobě 2018). Pirates, a relatively new anti-corruption progressive party placed balancing interests of tourists and locals as a second top priority in their program (Pirátská strana 2018). Other parties such as the center-right conservative ODS and populist ANO that were in government during past governing period did not address tourism in their political program at all. In the end, Praha sobě, Pirates and "United forces for Prague" (a union consisting of smaller center-right parties) managed to receive enough seats to form a governing coalition for the period of 2018-2022, replacing Prague's traditional governing parties. Moreover, Praha 1 sobě

(Praha sobě's group running for office in Prague 1 district) received significant voters' support in Prague 1, placing first and obtaining the mayoral position in that city district. Balancing tourism with the well-being of residents was core to their promises given to voters. In other words, overtourism became the central topic of municipal elections in 2018, bringing to power fresh parties who wanted to introduce change in this domain.

3.   Change in the tourism regime through progressive government

In this chapter, I first present a map of actors in the urban regime pertaining to tourism to then outline what changes are taking place in this domain.

3.1.   Changes in the tourism regime

To identify the governing network of tourism in Prague, I asked my respondents to try to draw a power map of actors in this field, including all those who are not part of government but have influence on the domain (see the synthesized version in Figure 4). I organize the actors into two main groups – decision makers and influencers. Decision makers include state-level decision makers (parliament and relevant ministries) which set up the legislative framework for Prague as well as distribute budgetary tools; Prague City Hall which drives strategic direction of tourism and coordinates city-wide efforts through its commissions; as well as contributory organizations that help City Hall in such activities, such as Prague City Tourism and Institute for planning and development. Significant power also lies in specific city parts' offices, especially in Prague 1 City hall that oversees the most touristic part of Prague. The Police is also part of the city-wide network as it participates in relevant commissions and cooperates with city parts.

The influencers can be categorized into three main groups: the businesses with influence through relevant associations and with direct influence of big businesses; civil society through pressure from relevant advocacy NGOs but also through Prague Convention Center which represents Prague in convention tourism; and last but not least the residents and present citizens

that communicate with their representatives and city halls and express their preferences trough voting.

The election results in 2018 have brought new forces into the regime that governs tourism. Prague city hall is now governed by the coalition of Pirates, Praha sobě, and United forces for Prague. The mayor responsible for culture, heritage, exhibitions, and tourism (further as mayor for tourism) became Hana Třeštíková from Praha sobě. Beyond coordinating the commission for tourism, she established the institution and commission of night mayor. Praha sobě also obtained the position of mayor for transport who relates to tourism through the infrastructure they provide. United powers for Prague received the mayor for legislature, public sector, and support for housing which, through her commission, leads the commission for short-term rentals. This means that in the regime of tourism, the new coalition took over all the government related to tourism at municipal level. This electoral takeover was also accompanied by a new leadership appointed to Prague City Tourism by the new coalition, which now is the main partner to Prague City Hall in managing tourism.

Influence from civil society

- Prague Convention Bureau
- For bearable living in Prague
- Stop Airbnb
- Call: 55 million
- Use-it Maps
- Club for old Prague
- Prague's New Town group
- Group of citizens and friends of Malá Strana and Hradčany
- ...

Decision making

State-level powers

- Parliament
- Ministries (for local development, of industry and business, finance, culture, ...)

Prague City Hall

- Mayor for culture and tourism
- Mayor for housing support
- Mayor for transport
- Commission for tourism
- Commission of the night mayor
- Commission for short term rentals

Contributory organizations under Prague

- Prague City Tourism
- Institute for Planning and Development

- Police

- Prague 2 City Hall
- Prague 1 City Hall

Pressure from residents and present citizens

Offices under the new coalition in Prague

Influence of businesses

- POHO – Association of employees and managers in hospitality
- SOHO – Association for cultural and civic cohabitance in Old town
- CAPUS – Czech association for renters and providers of private housing
- Association of hotels and restaurants in Czechia
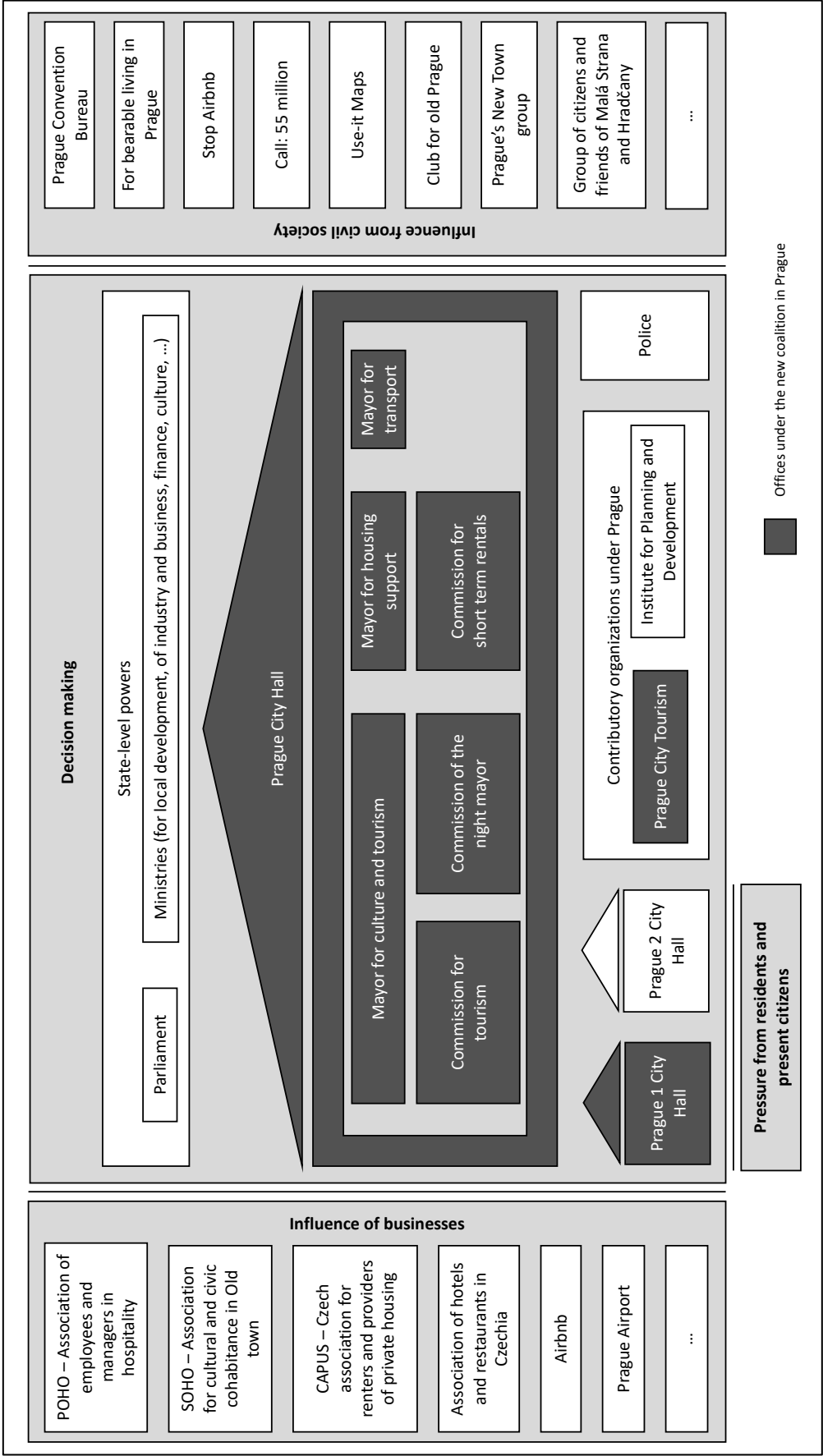- Airbnb
- Prague Airport
- ...

Figure 4: Map of urban regime pertaining to tourism and new forces within it

Beyond the ideological and personal change in the government of Prague and Prague 1, two other recent changes in this map of actors are notable. Firstly, Prague City Tourism (further as PCT) has transformed from a contributional organization (i.e. public non-profit organization) into a business fully owned by Prague city hall. This is to allow PCT to become more flexible in its activities as well as to be able to do long-term planning with its own budget. This change goes hand in hand with strategic transformation of PCT where it is to become a more holistic destination-management organization rather than marketing support for Prague. As such, this is the actor that is to take on more power in the sustainable tourism domain.

The second change lies in the decreasing police power. The Police, according to the chairman of representatives from Civic Democratic Party which was part of the previous governing coalition in Prague and Prague 1, were in charge of managing the excesses of tourism such as noise pollution (Stalin 2019) or tourist disturbances in houses where short-term renting is provided (Městecký 2020). However, police no longer had the capacity to tackle all these issues. This is both because the number of police is tied to the number of permanent residents (Marianovska 2020), which is decreasing in touristic parts of Prague with its rapid touristification, and because the problems associated with tourism where police presence might be required exceeded a manageable number and as such, a more strategic approach became necessary (Stern, 2019). These changes go hand in hand with the sudden consensus on need to regulate tourism as the local state is to adopt more strategic management approach instead of mostly controlling and punitive one.

3.2.   Initiatives for sustainable tourism

My respondents recounted that with the new government in place, the consensus on the need to regulate tourism across relevant stakeholders became more pronounced. For example, this change was reflected in an interview by Jana Adamcova, who was responsible for writing the strategy for sustainable tourism in Prague for Prague City Tourism:

> Now, political actors and citizens all felt that something needs to be done. Everyone deemed it important and demand for a coordinated strategy was there. In the process of writing the strategy, there was really almost no disagreement on wanting a strategy for tourism, what differed was just the level of priority for some actors (Adamcova 2020).

The call for regulation among decision makers is articulated often through sustainability. Prague's mayor for tourism Třeštíková (2020) mentions sustainability as "a reason to balance economic benefits of tourism with the strategic interests of the city, such as improvement of quality of life of residents, their safety, protection of culture and heritage… The purpose is to maximize tourism's benefits and minimize its costs." Beside this discourse of balancing economic benefits with residents' interests, authenticity was a key concept for many of my respondents, who used it in order to place more urgency on the need to protect local communities.

Under the new government, a few initiatives that aim to realize these visions of sustainability are already being realized. For example, the mayor for culture appointed PCT to draft the strategy for sustainable tourism, Prague's first ever comprehensive strategy for tourism; she has created the institution of the night mayor that now aims to regulate the negative impacts of tourism in night; and the commission for tourism now consists of and caters to a new set of

Prague's stakeholders. In the following three sections, I will examine these initiatives and how they alter the previous urban governance practices.

3.2.1. Strategy for sustainable tourism by Prague City Tourism

Prague City Tourism is disrupting the way tourism is being managed by the mere act of creating a strategy for sustainable tourism, which did not exist before. Marianovská (2020) from the Institute for Planning and Development, who has also written academic work on touristification of the city center, wonders: "I can't believe Prague never had a strategy for tourism. I mean since the nineties. […] it was implicitly agreed that growth was the strategy but there was no discussion on what do we want from tourism and what are we willing to give up to it." Just by replacing non-regulation with a comprehensive strategy, previous governing practices are fundamentally disrupted.

The strategy challenges previous practices by stating explicitly other values than economic growth to be honed. The goal of the strategy is to balance the economic benefits of tourism with the benefits of the residents as well as the protection and development of cultural and historical heritage. In the vision posed by this strategy, quality of life is then newly redefined as a state that is achieved through care for residents, public space, and the destination. In practical terms, the proposed strategy seeks to replace the previous chase for as many tourists as possible with a new focus on quality over quantity of tourists. The strategy now discusses the ideal types of tourists – those who stay longer, those who return, those who seek cultural experiences, congress tourists… Economic growth, in contrast to previous governance where this was the only implicit goal, has shifted to the background, weakening significantly the previous understanding of city center as a place that caters to private interests.

The strategy stands out also for being done in an inclusive, participatory and open manner. To be specific, the strategy was discussed with actors from the City Hall (namely Prague's mayor, mayor for culture and tourism, chairman of the commission of culture, exposition, tourism and foreign relations, Prague 1 mayor for tourism, night mayor, experts from Institute for planning and development, and representatives of Prague convention Bureau (Prague City Tourism 2020). As I am writing, the strategy is being shared with the expert public as well as the public for comments and Institute for Planning and Development is to facilitate feedback through survey. It seems that the intentions for the strategy are to make it participatory and transparent, though of course how much will PCT take into consideration public's opinions still remains to be seen. However, already now, it is clear that the strategy is a disruptive tool to the previous neoliberal governance by replacing non-regulation with an approach that places residents first.

3.2.2. The night mayor

The night mayor has no regulatory competencies as he was appointed as an assistant to the mayor for culture and tourism in order to step into the function as quickly as possible. This put him in a role where he has to rely on collaboration – both with the actors of the nightlife and the political representation whose support he needs. Below, I provide two case studies which show how he took on such a collaborative approach along with the open attitude that fosters bottom-up engagement.

One of the busiest nightlife spots in the historic city center is Dlouhá street, where mostly tourists go to party. Because of the noise pollution in Dlouhá street, the Prague 1 mayor from

new coalition Čižinský wanted to impose a curfew on bars as the complaint of citizens rose along with residents moving out of this city district. The Night mayor describes how such a restrictive approach seemed to have been the only way at that time but that such an approach was flawed as it was not based on collaboration.

> I think everyone around assumed that in order to achieve change, the businesses in Dlouhá [main party street of the historic center] have to be harshly regulated and policed because they would just not cooperate. But it turns out I am the first one who sits down with them at the table and actually listens (Štern 2019).

The night mayor got in touch with the Association for cultural and civic cohabitance in old town (SOHO), which existed since 2012 but was inactive due to lack of interaction with the City Hall until the night mayor sought contact with the bars in Dlouhá. The Night mayor describes how without having any regulatory power, he sought after solutions with the bar owners to ensure more resident-conscious nightlife in Dlouhá:

> We sat down with SOHO and I explained that we need to make sure that tourists stay indoors as much as possible to prevent them from shouting at 3 am in the streets. Together, we found solutions also inspired by abroad, such as entry fees that will discourage bar hopping or designated smoking area under the scrutiny of the door security so that they can remind the smokers to not shout. And the bar owners now collaborate on doing this because they understand that it is in their interest too, if you want to talk about sustainability you know… (Štern 2019)

The night mayor also collaborated with SOHO and other clubs and bars on agreeing not to let pub crawls in to prevent wandering large and loud groups of tourists. This effort of his has spun

off – an example of this is Karlovy lázně, the biggest disco in Central Europe, deciding to join this movement without discussing this with the night mayor. The night mayor interprets this: "I think they see these changes in governance of nightlife are happening and they want to be the good guys too now that they see that the relationship with the city hall exists and they no longer can rely on the laissez faire approach of decision makers." This shows that the night mayor replaces restrictive approach with a collaborative one that is simultaneously able to invite proactive engagement of the subjects of night governance through the notion of sustainability, not just pure economic gains.

This was even more apparent in a meeting of club owners and producers and the night mayor, which he called to discuss sexual harassment prevention in clubs and drug-harm reduction. In this meeting, the night mayor suggested the agenda of finding ways how to connect the NGOs that advocate for these and the club owners. He sat in the corner of the table, listened, and let the club owners discuss how to best implement the NGOs' suggestions, which showed a lot of humility in his approach as well as preference to let the stakeholders find bottom-up solutions (for example, agreeing together on employing security only from firms that provide training on these issues). Moreover, this serves as an example of holistic governance – he set up collaboration between the club owners, producers, NGOs, and government representatives such as members from the National anti-drug office. This holistic approach, described as the third wave of night governance by Hadfield (2015), replaces restrictive and punitive approaches where police and prohibition would be the tool to addressing such issues and recognizes the complexity of night.

To sum up, the night mayor disrupts previous neoliberal practices by being strategic, collaborative, transparent, and by bringing the quality of residents' life into the picture. The

new institution of night mayor disrupts the previous laissez faire relationship between private sphere and the public sphere by forming a relationship with the night businesses and other stakeholders that accounts for city's livability.

3.2.3. Prague's commission for tourism

The efforts of the night mayor and Prague City Tourism are driven by the City Hall – namely, through the mayor for tourism and her commission. The commission's agenda covers various aspects of tourism that the mayor and commission members suggest for discussion – visual smog guidelines, tourist information services, strategy for tourism, short-term rentals, Airport extension, regulation of tourist services… The commission is constituted by both city hall members who hold relevant agendas, that is decision makers, and influencers from civic sector who are invited to join the commission when relevant topics are discussed. In comparison with the same commission under the previous tourism mayor in 2014-2018, this commission consists of more experts and less representatives of businesses. The previous tourism mayor Wolf (2020) described this new commission as more expert, "neighborhoody", and liberal. This in itself demonstrates a regime change through weakening of ties between private actors and public actors.

The commission has a mainly coordinating role where various projects are presented, discussion of its members from various tourism-related domains on the project takes place, and next steps are suggested. One thing to highlight here is that the commission's set up, agenda, and format are formed in such a way as not to prevent tourism but as to balance it out with the interests of residents – it is in this manner that sustainability of tourism becomes structurally

embedded in the activities of the commission for tourism. This is visible in the activities of night mayor and Prague City Tourism as well – they do not aim at restricting tourism but at finding ways to include the interests of tourism industry and interests of residents into the governance. While they might be politically differently-oriented than previous governance, they still look for mediation. As such, I would argue that the shift in approach to tourism and the arising need to regulate it is not just a normative shift in whether tourism should or should not be regulated but also a shift in the practice of governance over tourism.

Within the discussions of commission, the economic benefits from tourism are often shifted into the background. One example of that was the discussion on integrated information system for tourists. The committee was discussing the format of electronic stands with information and suggestion on how some stakeholders can be involved. At the end of the discussion, the mayor said all these ideas are great and that one thing it will not contain are any commercial advertisements. Moreover, she challenged the cost of the information system given that it is mainly for tourists, not residents (Comission for Tourism 2019).

To conclude, the mayor for culture, the affiliated commission, the efforts of Prague City Tourism and those of the night mayor are all examples of decision makers that are disrupting the previous ways urban governance was done in the domain of tourism. In the search for sustainability, they deprioritize and balance the economic growth with the benefits of the residents, they have a strategic and long-term approach that is based on collaboration and inclusion and restrictiveness was replaced by holistic engagement. As such, this change does not lie purely in the ideological shift that was brought about by the election of the new coalition, but also in a shift of practices. In these arenas, the new municipal government has introduced an urban regime change which brought about a progressive regime (Mossberger and Stoker

2001). However, this digression from practices of the neoliberal urban regime and captured

state is now running into contestation and its limits as the next chapter will illustrate.

4. Contestation of the regime change

The previous chapter outlined the tourism domain as a site of urban regime change. The rapid growth of tourism and calls for sustainability enabled ideological and practical change in urban governance. This change was initiated by elections which brought about new wind to city halls. However, despite the fact that city- and city-parts-level decision makers have set on a new direction, their efforts run into limits and contestation from actors that are also part of the governing regime. In this chapter, I will discuss how the power of decision makers in urban governance interferes with influences of business sphere and national-level decision making on three case studies – the coalition fall in Prague 1 district, the negotiation of short-term rentals regulation, and the debate on airport expansion.

4.1. Coalition fall in Prague 1 district

In the communal elections in 2018, Praha sobě marked an election success not just at Prague City Hall, but also in Prague 1. Praha 1 sobě run for election in Prague 1 with the political program of ending corruption and clientelism at the Prague 1 City Hall, making the city hall operate transparently, and limiting the negative impacts of tourism in order to ensure quality of life for residents. In synchronization of city-wide efforts of Praha sobě, Praha 1 sobě claimed they will address noise pollution through the night mayor, cancel non-transparent and dubious rent in Prague 1, regulate Airbnb, limit visual smog, or forbid touristic beer bikes (Praha 1 sobě 2018). With this program, they placed first in the elections and formed a coalition with Pirates, Green party for Prague 1, and 'We, those who live here'.

However, only a year after the elections, group of representatives from 'We, those who live here' terminated the coalition agreement and decided to form a new coalition with parties that were part of the government under Lomecký before Praha 1 sobě's election success. Hejma from 'We, those who live here' which placed fourth in the elections, became the new mayor of Prague 1. As mentioned in the special meeting to discuss the coalition fall by Michálek, one of the Pirates, this political coup clearly disrespected the preferences of voters who have shown trough the elections that change driven by the topic of tourism was desired (Praha 1 2020).

The New mayor Hejma claims that the reasons for terminating the coalition agreement was managerial failure of the new coalition and deepening value disagreements. His vice-mayor Špačková added that her main goal is to ensure "stability of the city hall, which was seriously harmed by the lack of strategic action in 2019." (Pražský noviny 2020) Čižinský, the mayor of the fallen coalition from Praha 1 sobě, argued that it is easy to say vaguely that there were managerial problems (Bohuslavová 2020). In the special meeting to discuss the coalition fall, he stated what he thinks are the real reasons for the fall:

> We were voted in order to introduce change, we were a radical rejection of corruption and call for transparency and openness of the city hall. With the coalition fall, clientelism will return to Prague 1, which we were trying to eliminate. Today, we are witnesses of the fact that we were uncomfortable to whose who previously benefited at the cost of local residents. We stopped corruption at Prague 1, we opened the city hall, started communicating with citizens openly, and to serve with priority to the residents. This means ensuring that residents could sleep at night and that they are not disturbed by tourists. I would say that by the measures we were taking we were not toeing on the line. (Praha 1 2020)

Čižinský (2020) claims that the "return of old order" as he calls the political coup was not ideological but to ensure continuation of old economic structures. Senator Kos mentions that "everyone knows managerial problems are substitute justifications – it is about the paid positions, redistribution of money from the city hall, privatization of apartments, and others." (Praha 1 2020) Beyond these, the fallen coalition interprets the coup as an impulse that came from those who benefit from tourism and who realized changes are being made. Čižinský (2020) points to their government's efforts to terminate all non-transparent rent contracts in Prague 1 as well as termination of all exceptions given to bars to keep their outdoor seating open beyond 10pm. Skála (2020), one of Praha 1 sobě representatives in Prague 1, states that while corruption cannot be really proven, the fact that hundreds of bars have unjustified exceptions from the national noise curfew which were awarded in non-transparent manners during previous governance in Prague 1 is a manifestation of how the previous Prague 1 governance fostered practices in which corruption and clientelism are possible. The fact that Praha 1 sobě aimed to change that was, according to Čižinský (2020), the reason why private-interest-driven support for old orders gained strength in order to allow such a coup.

While it is outside of the scope of this work to prove corruption and clientelism, I can provide a case study of the pressures that these businesses exacerbated to ensure prevention of new coalition plans. The Association of employees and managers in hospitality (POHO) is an association of circa 45 bar and hotel owners and managers that operate around 300 outdoor seating areas in the touristic areas in historic city core. This association mobilized after the new coalition wanted to terminate all exceptions to the night curfew for those outdoor seating areas as they would lose a portion of their clientele then. Bauer (2020), the leader of POHO, complains: "Before, we could live and do business freely here. Not anymore, which is why we of course favor the fall of this coalition." He explained that he tried to unsuccessfully convince

the new coalition that these exceptions should be maintained, so he met up with Hejma who disagreed with prohibition of outdoor seating beyond 10pm. Hejma thus gained his support. This is of course legitimate, yet Hejma's agreement with POHO's agenda suggests Hejma prioritizes the benefits of private sphere over the quality of life of residents in the true spirit of clientelism. What fascinated me was then the public format of POHO's support of Hejma.

In the special Prague 1 meeting to discuss the fall of the coalition, POHO sent some of their members to support Hejma's coalition. Some interpreted this as an act of intimidation by sending a group of bodyguards to stand by the discussion over the future government of Prague 1. Bauer (2020) complained that this interpretation is based on prejudice and that they were not bodyguards – it is just that "people in hospitality often look scary." Whether these members were or were not bodyguards will likely remain unresolved, however, they were for sure intimidating. Already during the opening remarks of Čižinský, these members started shouting over him "You are a communist, go home!" in the spirit of zombie socialism, referring to attempts to regulate business as communist practice in order to protect profit making (Chelcea and Druţă 2016). Čižinský was asking for mutual respect but silence was ensured only when he said that he will have to ask police to help ensure order in the room.

Under Hejma's governance, efforts of previous coalition to limit negative impacts of tourism and to prioritize quality of life of residents were mostly discontinued. The night mayor is now moving under Prague City Tourism as collaboration with Prague 1 city hall was crucial for the success of majority of his projects and his function will focus on city-wide initiatives. Outdoor seating areas will retain their exceptions and will stay open past 10pm. Dubious rent agreements for tourist stores in the historic city core will remain unchallenged. The old orders have returned in the sense that tourism industry beats livable environment again. Furthermore, privatization

of city apartments has been reopened by the new government, which means Prague 1 is losing a significant tool in addressing the resident exodus from Prague 1 that goes hand in hand with touristification of the city center.

From the perspective of sustainable tourism, the fall of the coalition in the part of the city where most tourism occurs is a setback. It illustrates the counterstrike that can take place in order to undermine efforts to introduce regulation and challenge non-transparent clientelist practices. Despite the fact the voters expressed their preference to change the city governance practices in Prague 1, opposition and 'We, those who live here' pursued poorly justified takeover that continues to prioritize private gains over public interests. Moreover, within this process, private actors whose earnings were threatened were able to gain support of the new representation and pressure politicians with intimidating gestures. This shows that while consensus on the need to regulate tourism is demonstrated through elections and the government starts to pursue it, structures of the old regime that wish to maintain the strong tie between the public and the private, mobilize to overthrow such efforts. In this sense, efforts to regulate tourism run into the embedded clientelist practices that rest on the prevailing bond between the administrators at the city hall and private interests. In other words, the captured state successfully mobilized in order to prevent loosening of the broker relationship between politicians and profit-seeking actors.

4.2.   Short-term rentals

Another example of an arena of contestation over regime change is the negotiation of regulation of short-term rentals through platforms like Airbnb. I will first describe the intersection between

short-term renting and sustainable tourism to then analyze how efforts to regulate short-term rentals are challenged by state capture and glocalization.

Unregulated short-term renting has an impact on sustainability of tourism by both making the quality of life of residents suffer and in reducing authenticity of the city center by contributing to the exodus of permanent residents from Prague 1. Residents who live in houses where short-term rentals take place complain that they have lost their home as tourists are often inconsiderate and loud, preventing permanent residents from peaceful sleep, that no improvement can be negotiated because the tourists stay only for couple of days and have little incentives to change, and because the shared areas of the house became a public space (Městecký 2020).

The second issue is that renting apartments short-term has become more profitable than renting them long-term, which has led to the removal of a portion of apartments from the housing market to short-term rent market, contributing to the housing crisis in Prague. Housing in Prague is now the least affordable among all European Capitals, requiring 11.2 annual gross salaries to purchase one's own place (Linhart et al. 2019a). While other factors such as lack of new construction play a role, the rise of short-term renting has impact on housing market especially as this segment has growth drastically. Between 2016 and 2018, the capacity of short-term rent has increased by 34% and is now nearing the 50% mark of all accommodation (Linhart et al 2019b). Beyond the implications this growth has on the housing market, it also means that Prague is getting closer to the point where the majority of tourists could be accommodated in unregulated segment rather than licensed establishment further deepening the clash between local residents and tourists who currently, if staying in short-term rentals with no regulation, are reported to decrease residents' quality of life (Městecký 2020). This is especially

threatening in the old town, where one fourth of all apartments is used for short-term rentals (Linhart et al2019).

The unregulated nature of the short-term rentals segment is now being challenged – both from decision makers and civil society, from which notable are the group StopAirbnb and 'For bearable housing in Prague'. Needed to say, short-term renting as such is not deemed problematic by anyone. The issue rises when the scale of short-term rentals exceeds the original intention of shared economy – that is when entire apartments are dedicated to short-term renting year-round and when firms start to manage short-term rentals of apartments as a business. In this case, platforms like Airbnb are conceived of as providers of hotels that are spread across the city with no regulation.

There are now three main directions in which negative sides of scaled-up short-term rentals can be addressed, however as I show in the following sections, all directions are full of obstacles imposed by state capture. The first direction is to keep short-term renting on this scale illegal. Under the current legislation, short-term renting is considered an entrepreneurial activity, however, if an apartment was registered as a housing unit, it is illegal to use it for another (that is entrepreneurial) purpose. The solution proposed along with the wish to keep short-term renting illegal is to actually enforce and police such illegality. Prague has no data about who runs short-term rentals, which is why it relies on targeted calls from neighbors and police intervention. However, such an approach is ineffective and runs into limits imposed by fear of mafia-like lobby. Městecký (2020), the leader of 'For bearable housing in Prague', reports that using police to prevent noise pollution is avoided as inhabitants fear repercussions for speaking out and police intervention is not always fruitful:

Our membership is anonymized as one third of our members is now afraid to speak out which is the problem of any organizing against the providers of short-term renting. Often, it happens that someone calls police on rowdy tourists in short-term rentals. When the police come, they have already quieted down and then, nothing (except potentially a warning for the tourists) happens. But in a week, someone rings the bell on the door of the person that called the police. Usually it is a buff guy somewhere from Eastern Europe who tells them they will never call the police again. I mean after threats like these people are scared to speak or to turn to the police.

When repressive functions should be used for avoiding the transformation of apartments into short-term rental units, which would perhaps be a more structural solution to this problem, the fear of mafia-like lobby is present as well. A senator for Prague, Hilšer (2020), who took on the topic of short-term renting describes this fear and reasons for it:

When I talked to the administrators in Prague 1 City Hall, they told me they are afraid. They fear for their life – like should they really address these issues assertively. For example, there was this issue when they found out that a firm is reconstructing an apartment dedicated to housing purpose into an Airbnb apartment – they were cutting the apartment into 6 smaller units. They did so without a reconstruction permit. They do it so that they start reconstructing without this permit but if someone wants to examine this they officially demur which prolongs the process and meanwhile, they just finish the reconstruction so that there is no way back. And of course, the officer who raised this issue and who worked on this does not work there anymore... I mean I can imagine there are big money and big interests in this business so the pressure is strong. I am wondering – you know I drive a scooter to work – if something happens to me as I pick up this topic… (Hilšer 2020)

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace whether mafia-like behavior like the one described above really exists (though these reports suggests that). However, it can be argued that the fear of state-capture itself facilitates an environment where state-capture is possible by making repressive solutions to unregulated short-term renting not efficient.

The second direction of addressing the scaled-up provision of short-term renting is through legislative changes. Magistrate is now placing efforts to ensure new legislature through Chamber of Deputies with a law proposition that would 1) make data sharing between short-term rental providers and the city obligatory so that the city can hold those who run short-term rentals accountable; 2) cities could make their own orders in relation to regulation of Airbnb – for example the maximum number of days for an apartment to be shared via short-term rent; 3) increase of the rights of owners in the house so that the owners can comment on and impact how the shared spaces are used; 4) change of construction regulation so that it reflects the potential of using the space for rent.

Pushing for the interests of Prague on a legislative, that is state-level, is extremely difficult. Firstly, several respondents reported a strong lobby of private interest that still opposes any regulation exists. Hilšer (2020) mentions that "there are strong actors who have powerful tools to prevent any regulation. There are owners of about 300 flats in the city center who have strong lobbying power." Both Městecký (2020) and StopAirbnb mention the influence of Tykačová, wife of a coal magnate and the sixth richest Czech, Tykač, who owns around 300 flats and has significant influence over keeping short-term rent deregulated.

Secondly, there is limited will among state-level decision makers to help Prague address issues that are relevant only to the capital city. Patrik Nacher (2020), representative that is pushing for these changes in Chamber of Deputies, claims that:

> Prague is alone and it really is not strategic when it wants something from the national level. When I come as Prague's deputy and even get the chance to explain something, they [other deputies] see it as an isolated problem and they just listen skeptically then. When these isolated problems accumulate – I mean we discussed tourist guides, taxi services and these things that pertain only to Prague for which we need a national-level law intervention – then other deputies lack solidarity.

It was only through the coronavirus crisis that the parliament has voted upon the need of short-term rental platforms to share information about the users of these platforms. This success was because one of the first cases were tourists that stayed in Airbnb, yet who were hard to trace because of the lack of available information about the guests. The change here happened because of a national risk, which meant solidarity no longer had to be negotiated. This isolation of Prague in dealing with its issues can be explained through the notion of glocalization so common to neoliberal urban governance (Swyngedouw 1997), under which Prague has to bear the responsibility for itself without having the power to do it.

At this moment, systematic changes through the repressive approach or the legislative changes trough the national-level decision making seem unlikely and unpredictable. As such, the third direction that short-term renting can be regulated at this moment is through reactive and what I would call guerilla solutions through grants. At this moment, Prague 1 is unwilling to wait for legislative change and started issuing grants that will make short-term renting more difficult – for example, Prague 1 city hall will finance door opening systems that react to finger prints that

are inserted into the system in advance, which will make short-term renting more troublesome However, there are concerns about the legality of such action and lawsuits driven by the providers of short-term rentals are already being placed and as such, it still remains to be seen whether such programs are successful (Heller 2020).

To sum up, despite Prague-level governance's willingness to achieve change in how short-term renting is regulated, the efforts towards change run into their limits delineated by state capture in the administrative spheres and lack of solidarity from national-level decision makers for Prague's issues. In other words, the neoliberal regime is so deeply embedded in the administrative and national state structures that even regime change at the municipal level is not sufficient. In this case, glocalized distribution of power and keenness of neoliberal economic structures to maintain the status quo manifest as significant obstacles in urban regime change.

4.3.   Airport extension

The debate over extension of Prague's airport is another case study of how efforts for sustainable tourism reach the limits of state-level decision making, which still prioritizes economic growth over sustainability and which shows little concern for the quality of life within Prague. In this way, this case study shows how urban regime change runs into the limits of state capture and neoliberal approaches on the national level again.

In November 2019, Czech government announced over 2 billion EUR investment into the expansion of the airport, which would also include a new runway. This expansion could mean

doubling of the capacity to bring in incoming tourism (ČTK 2019b). According to the principle of induced demand, setting up the infrastructure for 30 million passengers would likely lead to drastic increase in number of tourists who come to Prague (Lee et al 1998). Such drastic rise would have significant impact on further overtouristification of Prague and would make all other initiatives for sustainable tourism less impactful as David Skala (2019), the new coalition's mayor for transport from Prague 1 claims:

> It is really nice all these things we see happening in the realm of tourism – the night mayor, PCT, the discussions we are having… Yet if the airport will be expanded, nothing really matters. They can try to change the portfolio of tourists and make them visit other parts of Prague but every single one will just want to see the Charles bridge. I am not sure Prague 1 can take more of these, already now it is too crowded.

The important question to ask here is who benefits from the airport expansion. Beyond the obvious benefits in the form of profits from increased traffic for the airport and for the airlines, the airport leadership argues this expansion is done to increase the comfort of passengers. However, only 30% of the passengers are Czech, the rest are tourists which means that the Czech investment is not primarily targeted at the benefit of Czech fliers (Masare 2020). There is no evidence this would change and as such, it seems that the expansion is not primarily in the interest of Czech citizens.

Another stated reason for the expansion of the airport is for Czechia to have a truly global airport, as the minister for finance Alena Schillerová states (Novinky 2019). Elsewhere, she mentioned that she wants the biggest Czech airport to stand at the forefront of global developments and not to only react to them (ČTK 2019a). She was not more explicit on why is it important for her to have a truly global airport, though one can assume that her unjustified

wish links to the narrative of global cities for which busy airport and connectivity is key (Sassen 2001). According to the concept of Global city, connectivity generates flow of capital, which makes cities compete for the status of Global cities. As such, airports play a key role. However, such involvement of cities in neoliberal types of competition also generate substantial inequalities for its peripheries and global city thus benefits mostly those who are involved in professions in corporate and service oriented businesses (banking, consulting, marketing,.) (ibid). Therefore, when the Ministry of Finances urges the expansion of the city airport under the pretense of driving the global standards for air traffic, they are implicitly aiming to benefit a certain class of global citizens. While there are vague predictions that the increased traffic at Prague airport will generate economic growth for Prague, we must be cautious to scrutinize who exactly is to benefit from such growth. Senator Wagenknecht (2020) adds that behind the scenes, economic interests that would arise from the expansion process itself play significant role. It is the lobby of large construction companies and benefits that could come from land sale that pushes the government to pursue the airport expansion.

To sum up, the increase in capacity will help airport and airlines' profit making and will benefit mostly foreign or frequently flying passengers and the businesses and elite engaged in neoliberal enterprise. In other words, the expansion is made based on the arguments of economic growth. Within the plan of airport extension, such economic growth is not being balanced out by sustainability – whether the one of tourism or the one of environment and pollution that neighboring city parts are complaining about. This shows that the airport expansion is driven by market logic so inherent to the pro-growth neoliberal regime that does not prioritize benefits of resident. Moreover, the pressure private actors exert on state to pursue the expansion to ensure their own profit suggest that this pro-growth neoliberal regime is, in the case of airport expansion, again embedded with state capture.

There are a few protesting the expansion of the airport and the regime that instrumented it. The city parts around the airport have been protesting against the extension because of its impact on quality of life of residents (airport generates significant air and noise pollution) through a petition. There was also movement called "Don't expand, don't demolish the Airport" by Vít Masare (2020) originally driven by environmental concerns. He started a movement and demanded attention of Prague's mayor for transport from Praha sobě, who ignored such requests for long time. Masare (2020) recounts how he was sitting one day in a café with a group discussing this expansion when the mayor for transport walked by and wondered what this group of activists was doing there. When addressed, the mayor for transport apparently said he could not really be against the expansion because that would be a hopeless struggle.

Lack of concern or focused discussion on the topic of airport expansion at the city hall is likely caused by similar fear of inability to influence state-level decisions such as these. The grounds for complaints from city parts seemed isolated and environmental concerns seemed not to have sufficient support. This suggest that any mobilization against the airport expansion was limited by the homogenic character of neoliberal practices on national level which made any resistance seem likely to fail. This is also why "Don't expand, don't demolish the airport" has transformed into a movement where the airport is not mentioned and instead acquired a name "55 billion [2 billion EUR] for future, or into the air?" which is supposed to evoke less Prague-specific concern and ask citizens – would they prefer the investment went into sustainability or into air traffic industry in general? In this way, the movement is aiming to challenge the regime practices which prioritize private interests over the public ones. To do that, it also helped that the topic of airport extension became more connected to the issue of overtourism, which helped to attract more traction to the topic. However, despite the efforts to mobilize against the

neoliberal regime and state capture to prevent the airport extension, Prague city hall has only limited tools left now. Namely, Prague can raise issues in the zoning decision process as its last resort. In order to do that successfully, they would have to gain wide support of opposition parties, which seems rather unlikely.

The extension of airport is an example of the isolation of Prague where its efforts for regime change that would ensure sustainable tourism reach the limits of the national neoliberal regime, which still prioritizes economic growth over sustainability, which is marked by state capture, and which shows little concern for the quality of life within Prague. I asked senator Wagenknecht (2020) who joined the resistance against the airport expansion how is it possible that the airport will be expanded even though it is really not in the best interests of resident. He himself brought up the notion of state capture, claiming that it is the private interests that really still pull the strings here. This case study then shows again that regime change has run into the limits of national neoliberal structures yet again.

The three case studies I have provided show that municipal efforts to introduce urban regime change in the tourism domain are only partially successful. To be specific, attempts at urban regime change run into limits of state capture in the district and national levels and as well as of the hegemonic pro-growth neoliberal regime at national-level. And it runs into these limits in arenas where the regime change would be impactful in achieving more sustainable tourism but where simultaneously, significant incentives to mobilize against such urban regime change exist. Namely, the contestation of urban regime change happens in Prague 1 district where there is most tourists and where tourism industry profits most, in the arena of negotiation for short-term rentals which has direct impact on quality of life of local residents but where lot of profits from platform like Airbnb are made, and in the arena of airport expansion that influences

significantly the number of tourists that will come to Prague but simultaneously, presents significant investment opportunities. This suggest that urban regime change in the domain of tourism has a dualistic nature – one where regime change happens at a municipal level but one that also is constrained by the challenges imposed by old regime constellations which hold onto power on district and national level.

4.4. Turn of events: Coronavirus

The global coronavirus pandemic has imposed an unexpected plot twist on the domain of sustainable tourism. As tourism has completely stopped during the lockdown, tourism will have to restart again, which provides both an opportunity and challenge to sustainable tourism as the tourism expert Marianovská (2020) from Institute for Planning and Development lays out:

> In relation to tourism and corona, I think there can be two trajectories now and it really depends on if there are sufficiently strong people at the City Hall and PCT who can push through their goals for sustainable tourism and who will be able to think long-term. The first trajectory is that tourism must be restarted as quickly as possible so that it can be renewed right away, so that employment opportunities are not lost and profits etc. and the economic-entrepreneurial outlook, which is the dominant outlook since the nineties, wins. This outlook can dominate and the pressures will be strong – pressures not to regulate, not to limit the industry in any way […] The second trajectory is that the city realizes that now, finally, they have the chance to influence tourism into the future when it grows again, set the rules, set the direction in which it wants the city to develop and to start trying now make tourism sustainable, pleasant to the environment, pleasant to the local life…

Though it is still to be seen how the pandemic impacts Prague's tourism sector in the future, there are already some indications that further development will continue along the lines of the contestation between regimes that was apparent until before the crisis. In other words, it seems like actors behind the urban regime change are doing their best to turn coronavirus into an opportunity for sustainable tourism but these efforts will keep running into challenges that the national level and administrative level in Prague 1 district impose. However, there are also indications that the coronavirus crisis might enable further challenge to neoliberal practices by opening a new realm of possibilities for the public and decision makers.

The new progressive urban regime aims to turn the crisis into an opportunity as Prague's mayor for culture, Hana Třeštíková (2020), concurs: "We want to utilize the crisis as an opportunity for a restart so that we can do it again and better this time. This is why the strategy for sustainable tourism is even more crucial now." The strategy for tourism by PCT is now withstanding pressures to address current calls for rapid economic growth without any regulation by continuing to work on the strategy but simultaneously, creating a new coronavirus-related strategy that would complement the more long-term strategy. Through that, they are hoping original vision of the strategy won't get blurred by the economic downturn that tourism sector is now experiencing. To be able to implement the long-term strategy for sustainable tourism, throughout the lock-down, Prague City Tourism continued to transform into an independent organization with Prague as the full owner, taking over the efforts for sustainable tourism by the magistrate. As such, PCT is strengthening its position with independent budget, reorganization, and incorporation of the night mayor. The commission for tourism still meets and holds the coordinating role.

However, the structures of profit-oriented thinking and captured state that are challenging the efforts to sustainable tourism are also mobilizing during the times of corona. Already now, Prague City Tourism is trying to convince Prague's hotels not to decrease their prices in order to keep as profitable as possible as this would have detrimental effect on PCT's strategy on attracting different kind of tourist portfolio that does not seek just a cheap place for a party. However, this is a conversation where PCT has little leverage to convince the relevant businesses not to adopt the pro-growth approach (Slepička 2020). It is of course understandable and legitimate that these hotels seek survival. Yet complaints about how the narrative of survival is being abused by state capture are already being placed. For example, former mayor from Prague 1 Čižinský (2020) critiques that Prague 1 city hall forgave rent to pubs and bars in city center that cater to tourists in order to prevent them from closing down even though they are part of the overtouristification of the city center. He interprets this act as Prague 1 city hall's inability to bid farewell to the economic structures associated with previous practices of state capture.

The mobilization of state capture in the times of coronavirus is also apparent on national level – namely pertaining the issue of airport expansion. While the airport is now letting about 450 employees go in light of the crisis, they still continue their expansion plan with no change (Deml 2020). Moreover, as the airport will lose some income due to the coronavirus crisis, its leadership is now planning to ask the state to fund the expansion further - the CEO mentioned for example using money from the state fund for infrastructure development (Bouška 2020). In the case of airport discussions, the corona crisis seems to be a catalyst for further state capture and not an avenue for change so far as airport expansion and Prague's livability is concerned.

However, while challenges by state capture and pro-growth mindset continues to hamper efforts at sustainable tourism, corona crisis also provides a locus of mindset change away from unregulated growth, which might spark further change towards a more progressive regime. City dwellers have the chance to wander in the streets of Prague for the first time since the Velvet revolution without tourists, organizing for example "Tour of Charles bridge without tourists." (Procházky pražskou krajinou 2020). Bars and pubs started reorienting themselves to Czech customers by reducing prices and local residents can be now seen meandering the touristic city center as if it belonged to them again (Smlsal 2020). This new attitude towards tourism is to be explored further trough future research, but already now there are suggestions it may have impact on decision making. For example, Jurečka from opposition party in Prague's governance claimed: "If you asked me before corona, I would be in favor of airport expansion. Now, I would be challenging it." (Masare, 2020). Coronacrisis has already also introduced a change in mindset of state-level decision makers to regulation of Airbnb as the corona crisis has shown that regulation and power over shared economy is necessary in light of national security and that Airbnb should be treated as a hotel services (Nacher 2020).

To sum up, in the domain of tourism, the pandemic provides further space for contestation over urban regime changes as the new progressive regime attempts to strengthen its position. Simultaneously, neoliberal practices and state capture are taking advantage of the business opportunities that arise in the midst of the crisis. However, the corona crisis has also offered an opportunity to rethink the public space and who it is for as well as to shift attitudes towards regulation – whether those will help to further disrupt neoliberal practices is yet to be seen.

Conclusion

My research shows that while tourism provides an opportunity to unite political fronts on a need to drive sustainability and disrupt neoliberal policy making, the neoliberal urban governance that allowed the overtouristification in the first place is deeply embedded in local and state networks. This then sets limits on how far such urban regime change reaches as actors mobilize against such change. At times, the change also runs into limits imposed by glocalization which is symptomatic to neoliberal governance as the local regime carries the burdens of such governance without having power to influence it on the state level. Despite uncovering that change is contested and limited, this research still aims to provide hope by having illustrated a partially successful attempt at a change of neoliberal regime – one that is however isolated to tourism domain and Prague-level municipality.

So as to answer to Mossberger's and Stoker's (2001) question on whether regime change is possible through electoral turnover, my answer, having examined the efforts of Prague's new coalition, would be yes, it is. But given that regime is a governance in which other non-government actors play integral role, the change in configuration of the positioning and power of these actors have will be challenged and limited by the hegemonic counter-movement. This means that regime change through electoral turnover is possible but it will be a contested and limited one.

What helped to drive the urban regime change in Prague's case was, beyond the electoral change driven by residents' need to address overtourism, the altered role of Prague City Tourism, who is turning from city's supporting organization into city's business. Stone (1989) posited that in order for a regime change to occur, the nonprofit sector would have to be

reorganized to become more substantial and autonomous force that is engaged in productive activities. Adding resources to the network of governance would strengthen the nonprofit sector's position within the network, which would make the government more independent of business patronage and would ultimately lead to a more inclusive governing coalition that caters more to the public (ibid). My example shows that perhaps, city-owned businesses such as PCT that enter the governance can also play significant role in changing regimes by being able to uphold values of the public while counterweighting the private sector with its own resources. By this, I provide an empirical example of how urban regime change can be studied through incremental changes in local governing arrangements as Rast (2015) suggested.

My research shows that overtourism is an issue that can spark partially successful attempts at urban regime change – one that substitutes neoliberal governance and state capture by middle-class oriented progressive regime (Mossberger and Stoker 2001). It is thus worth further examining the domain of tourism and its power to galvanize change. During my interviews, I learned that the domain of tourism can serve as an arena where on the municipal level, need for change is widely recognized. I interpret this due to tourism's capacity to physically manifest the impacts of unregulated growth. Firstly, it has direct impact on residents' quality of life, which is then widely pronounced in elections and residents' demands. This shows that tourism domain possesses capacity to bring about shift towards more participatory politics where residents become a priority. Notable was the example of social movement against airport expansion that has managed to gain more traction once the issue stopped being presented just as a climate threat but started being associated with overtourism – precisely because the issue of overtourism can be associated with tangible impact much easier than other issues on progressive agendas such as climate change. Secondly, tourism impacts directly Prague's decision makers too. Many of my respondents referred their opinions on the need for regulation

to their experiences from their place of residence. Not surprisingly, Prague's decision makers who often reside in the touristic centers directly experience the externalities of overtourism. This also explains why state-level decision making and in particular the parliament where Prague's representatives form only a small portion of the institution lacks understanding for the need to alter the governance approach in this domain. Moreover, the tourism sector is also a lucrative sector that in Prague generates significant profits, which then encourages the lobby and private actors to invest into mobilizations against attempts to regulate tourism. As such, overtourism arguably energizes and intensifies politics. This intensification creates dialectics of the limitations imposed by hegemonic practices designed to maintain status quo but it also formulates new political possibilities on the level most impacted by overtourism.

Appendix

Grouping of respondents

Respondent group	Name	Role	Notes
Prague 1 City Hall	Pavel Čižinský	Former mayor of Prague 1 district (2018-2020)	
	Oldřich Lomecký	Former mayor of Prague 1 district (2010-2018)	
	David Skála	Mayor for transport in Prague 1 (2018-2020)	
Prague level city hall	Hana Třeštíková	Mayor for culture, heritage protection, exhibitions, and tourism (2018-2022)	Interview by email
	Jan Wolf	Former mayor for culture, heritage protection, exhibitions, and tourism (2014-2018)	
	Jiří Sulženko	Director of division for culture and tourism	
	Jan Štern	Night mayor	6 interviews conducted
Supporting city organizations	Jana Adamcová	Board member from Prague City Tourism, responsible for drafting Prague's strategy for tourism	
	Petr Slepička	COO of Prague City Tourism	
	Veronika Marvanová	Tourism expert at Institute for Planning and Development	
State level	Patrik Nacher	Representative at Chamber of deputies, drives short-term rentals legislative regulation efforts	
	Marek Hilšer	Senator, concerned with short-term rentals regulation	
	Lukáš Wagenknecht	Senator, concerned with short-term rentals regulation and airport extensin	
Civil Society	Roman Muška	Director of Prague Convention Beareau	
	Petr Městecký	Leader of "For bearable housing in Prague"	
	Johanna Nejedlová	Leader of Consent NGO	
	Vít Masare	Leader of Call: 55 billion into the future of the air?	
Business	Petr Bauer	Leader of POHO (Association of employees and managers in hospitality)	
	Jiří Chvojka	Leader of SOHO (Association for cultural and civic cohabitance in Old town)	

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