A CENTURY OF HOSPITALITY IN LATVIA: SPATIAL SUCCESSION

VIESMĪLĪBAS GADSIMTS: TŪRISTU MĪTŅU TELPISKĀS PĀRMAIŅAS LATVIJĀ

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Abstract

Hospitality is both a natural talent that people have and a deliberate and professional act to make the guest feel welcome. In the territory of modern-day Latvia, the accommodation of travellers began in the Middle Ages, with inns later replaced in cities by simpler drive-in homesteads or expensive hotels. Along with the establishment of the Latvian state, national tourism developed, especially in the 1930s, encouraging people to travel around the homeland and creating a network of tourist accommodations in rural areas. World War II and the Soviet occupation completely stopped that development. In this article, the tourist accommodations in Latvia included in publications in the 1930s are spatially mapped and related data are structured in a spatial data basis for further analysis. The development of the tourist accommodation network and spatial continuity up to the present day are studied. The overall network of tourist accommodation reached the scale that had been established in the regions of Latvia until 1940 only in the early 2000s – more than ten years after the restoration of Latvia's independence. Only 3% of tourist accommodations operating today have ensured continuity, operating in the same places where they were a century ago.

Keywords: hospitality, tourism, history, hotels, GIS

Introduction

Facts about the oldest inns in Latvia can be found in documents from the 13th and 14th centuries (Teivens, 1995). The importance of the inn, where travellers could eat and spend the night (there was a separate "German part" for the wealthiest guests, and lodgings for farmers), and rest their horses, began to disappear in the 1860s, when the railway network was built (in 1860, the Ostrov-Dinaburg section of the St. Petersburg-Warsaw railway; and four other railway routes in the following decades) (Eiduks, 2022). The importance of inns as a component of the manor landscape and gathering places for local people disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century when the state alcohol monopoly was introduced in Russia (Teivens, 1995). The inns' impressive stone buildings – or the ruins of them, difficult to find other uses for – can still be seen in many places on the sides of Latvian roads. Only at some of the more than 4,000 inns throughout Latvia was tourist accommodation set up, with developers generally seeking more cosier and less investment-intensive alternatives.

From the 17th century, alongside inns, which were mainly intended for farmers who were bringing farm products to towns, private hotels appeared in the larger cities, over time replacing other types of accommodation. Among the oldest were the Madame Hoyer's Guest House in Liepāja (a restored 17th-19th century interior museum has been set up inside), the Petersburg Hotel in Riga (which operated from 1763 until its nationalisation in 1941; the rebuilt and restored building has survived) (Caune, 1994), Cēra hotel in Jelgava (built in 1825, but destroyed along with the historical Old Town of Jelgava in 1944 when the Soviet and German armies were fighting for the city (Jelgavas albums, 2017). In the 18th century, following lifestyle trends among the European aristocracy, the first resorts developed in Bārbele, Baldone, and Kemeri, and along with medical treatment, hospitality services were also offered there. At the end of the 19th century, the development of Riga as an important industrial and commercial centre of Russia contributed to the increase in the number of arrivals and travellers. They could stay in hotels or furnished rooms for rent (Caune, 2015). A Riga guidebook from the beginning of the 20th century mentions seven hotels in the city centre and the same number in its suburbs (Ilustrets vadons pa Rīgu, 1910), mostly near the Dvinska railway station. The finest from the city hotels, high-class Hotel de Rome belonged to Latvian landlord, construction contractor and patron Kristaps Morberg (the house built in 1878 was destroyed in the autumn of 1944, but soon after World War II, between 1948 and 1954, a larger hotel, Rīga, was built in its place (Caune, 1994), which is now Grand Hotel Kempinski Riga). The building of the Bellevue hotel, which now operates as the Opera Hotel (Caune, 2018), has also survived to this day. Metropole is the only hotel that kept its original name throughout the whole century (Caune, 1994).

Researcher Maija Rozīte has summarised (1999) the rapid growth of the hospitality industry in the cities, especially in Riga, in the 1920s, stating that around 60% of hotels (and 70% of taverns) in Riga were founded in the period from 1926 to 1935, and that at that time ~32% of hospitality enterprises and ~43% of employees in this sector were concentrated in Riga: a total of 576 hotels, furnished rooms and B&Bs or similar establishments for guests in the city (Pirmā tirdzniecības skaitīšana 1935). The authors of the above-mentioned publication evaluated the activity of hospitality companies in 1935, commenting that:

"There are not a lot of hotels as independent companies here, and in the provinces, they are often combined with catering companies and clubs in terms of staff, and in terms of facilities, they sometimes do not differ from simple drive-in places." (Pirmā tirdzniecības skaitīšana, 1935)

To highlight specific hotel amenities in the published list of accommodations in 1930s, the presence of the following elements was counted: running water and/or a

telephone in rooms, hotel bath or room with bath, restaurant and garage (Sabiedrisko lietu ministrijas Turisma nodaļa, 1939). In 1930, the number of guests in Riga hotels exceeded 100,000 for the first time, including 1.2% of foreign guests. This was followed by an economic recession, with the number of overnight stays falling by two thirds, but when the number of guests in Riga's tourist accommodation again exceeded 100,000 (in 1937), the share of foreigners (from Lithuania, Germany, Sweden and Estonia) reached 17% (recalculated after a summary of statistics by Rozite (1999)). Promoting incoming tourism became one of the state's strategic tasks; in parallel, great emphasis was placed on the development of a network of tourist accommodations in rural regions to promote tourism as a broad movement of the entire nation. Taking into account that the hospitality industry across the whole of Latvia developed very rapidly in the following years, and this was interrupted by World War II and the subsequent Soviet occupation, the research question is relevant: what is the continuity of the accommodation network established in the pre-war years compared to what it is today?

Data and methods

Starting from 1932, the Emigration and Tourism Department of the Ministry of the Interior of Latvia began to issue a systematised list of tourist accommodations, which was subsequently published regularly every year before the summer season. These lists (of which there were nine in total) were published until 1940. The authors of the study have digitised the content published in them, clarifying the locations for tourist accommodations. Many did not have exact addresses or no longer exist today. These places of tourist accommodation were searched for and compared after centuryold settlement maps of Latvia, lists of telephone subscribers, or various printed materials issued during the analysed period (tourism brochures, maps, guides etc.). Data on the founding years of tourist accommodations, and their owners, were obtained from there and their condition today was analysed by actual maps and a list of accommodations today. To analyse the interrelationships of their operation, the newly created database also includes other related data in a structured manner (on the capacity of tourist accommodation, seasonality, supply, prices, demand, etc.). Periodicals from the relevant period and a collection of original postcards and photographs are used for a deeper understanding of the context. The historical data were merged into the ArcGIS database of contemporary tourist accommodation (created by the authors) to analyse spatial and temporal relationships using clustering, hotspots, density and other analytical methods. The large amount of data on tourist accommodations collected in a structured way provides an opportunity for use for other research in the field in the future.

Results: Creation of a network of rural tourist accommodations covering Latvia in the 1930s

The first edition of Latvian tourist accommodation from 1932 lists 58 places where travellers were provided with accommodation services in rural areas and altogether 2,100 overnight stays were registered there (Iekšlietu ministrijas Emigrācijas un tūrisma nodaļa, 1933). After a year, the number of overnight stays had quadrupled (to more than 8,000), and the network of tourist accommodations in rural areas had also increased to 168 (Iekšlietu ministrijas Emigrācijas un tūrisma nodaļa, 1934).

"In the matter of lodgings, the tourist accommodation organised by the state tourism office provides a great relief, where in certain rural farms, a traveller from the homeland can get hospitable shelter and food suitable for rural conditions for a conditional fee. (...) In areas where there is not yet any tourist accommodation, you should try to spend the night on farms, showing them your passport or membership card of the tourist society. (...) By all means pay for lodging and food, even if the host waives the fee. Don't ask the owner to give you his bed: there are often nicer beds in a hay barn, as long as there is a blanket on the pillow." (Vanags, 1934a)

To promote local tourism, travellers were invited to submit the addresses of hospitable farms that were not included in the lists of settlements, as well as to encourage the hosts to apply themselves. The Department of Emigration and Tourism at the Latvia's Ministry of the Interior expressed great determination to achieve the set goal:

"Thousands of visitors to the homeland, and a well-established network of tourist settlements and tourism should become a matter for the whole nation." (Tūristu apmešanās vietas, 1933)

Domestic tourism was promoted both with the help of so-called "propaganda materials", and was stimulated by a reduction of the railway tariff for groups of tourists (for >10 persons by 25–50%, determined by the tourism office of the Ministry of the Interior (Iekšlietu ministrijas Emigrācijas un tūrisma nodaļa, 1933)). The network of tourist accommodations continued to grow rapidly, and by the summer of 1940, 1035 accommodations outside of Riga had already joined (see Figure 1), with rural tourist accommodations at double the number of hotels and B&Bs in the regions. Some ~20% had stopped entrepreneurial activities after a few years of operation; however, the active expansion of tourist accommodation continued in 1939, and calls for farms to get involved were published as late as 1940, shortly before occupation by the Soviet army and the loss of national independence.

The involvement of tourist accommodations in the service market was effective and the network of accommodations created in less than one decade covered the whole of Latvia relatively evenly. Their location and demand were largely determined by two most important factors: accessibility, which was based mainly on the relatively well-established railway network (but also by steamships on the seacoast or by the big rivers, and less often by buses, mail cars). The longest distance indicated to a railway station was 38 kilometres (from Tulemuiža, Kaunata parish to Rēzekne station), and often varied around ten kilometres; there was an assumption that travellers were used to walking a lot. It was regularly offered to accompany travellers to the station with a horse-drawn carriage, which was more expensive than the overnight service itself. A higher concentration of tourist accommodations formed at popular tourist destinations that developed at the end of the 19th century (the Daugava River canyon near Koknese and Plavinas; the Gauja River Valley; in the vicinity of Gaizinkalns, the highest hill of Latvia, etc.). The majority of tourist accommodation (55%) was open all year round, a third (33%) operated only in summer (including basically all participating schools), and the rest for a longer season but not all year round.

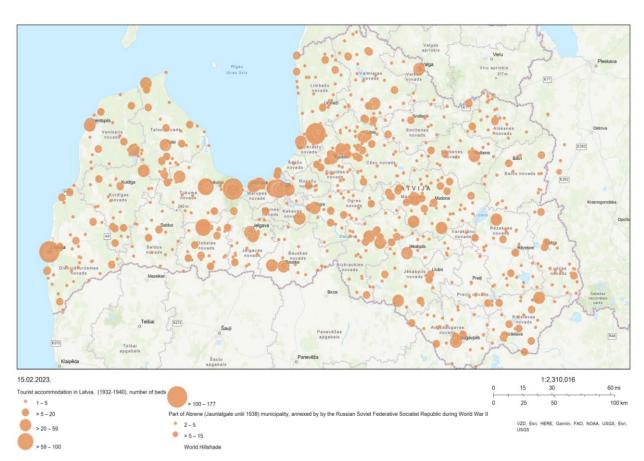


Figure 1. Tourist accommodations across Latvia and their capacity in the period from 1932 to 1940 (authors' figure based on aggregated data from historical publications, 2023; spatial data based on Arcgis.com, VZD and Esri, 2023)

Most of the tourist accommodations were privately managed (72.6%), and owned by either legal enterprises or farms. Almost a fifth (17.6%) of all tourist accommodation was organised by local municipalities, offering tourists mainly schools (142 out of 182 tourist accommodations). A small proportion (5.1%) was under the control of non-governmental organisations (cultural associations, farmers' associations, etc.) and state institutions (4.7%). Prices remained similar, regardless of the sector, although they were generally low. For example, there was an opportunity to spend the night at the architecturally excellent Rundāle Palace, which had been taken over by the municipality, and where a six-grade elementary school was located, in beds for 0.60 lats, which was only three times more expensive than the entrance ticket for a visit to the palace. In the first year of operation (1939) it was used by 365 guests, and after a year the overnight fee was raised to 0.75 lats, while an overnight stay without bed linen remained the same price as a visitors' ticket (Sabiedrisko lietu ministrijas Tūrisma nodaļa, 1940).

The representatives of the responsible state institution included the price of the accommodation service in the application to register as tourist accommodation, which had to be set within the range of 0.50 to 0.70 lats including bed linen, or 0.20 lats for a simpler overnight stay in a hay barn (or on a straw mattress). The price for meals was not set. On average, lunch cost the same as the rate for nightly accommodation or often more. This price was 3-4 times lower than those charged for the same services at hotels in higher comfort conditions (in the most expensive Riga hotels the difference was as much as 10 and 20 times higher). Rural tourist accommodation was not subject to the bathing tax (1–5 lats) unlike resort hotels, and a registration fee (0.20 lats) or gratuity (about 10% of the service) was not required either. In addition to meals, price offers of tourist accommodations also include as standard indication of the cost of a litre of milk. During the registration of tourist accommodations, it was required to indicate the competitive advantages of the farm used, for positioning purposes. Among those farms that had indicated some special advantages, apart from traffic facilities and significant tourist sites, the most frequently mentioned locations characteristics were: being near a lake or river (half of the total), forest (a third), aesthetic landscape or terrain (27%), boating and fishing (26%), swimming (17%), and skiing (7%). The sea was mentioned as often (rarely) as catching crayfish or hunting (~5%). Among historical sites, ancestral hillforts were often highlighted. Trained guides could be requested in larger cities or at popular tourist spots. Certain amenities were also emphasised (running water, exclusively vegetarian food, car for trips, radio, availability of Riga (or foreign) newspapers, extensive library, etc.). In some cases, the peculiarities of local identity (e.g. Livs – a Balto-Finnic people indigenous to northern Latvia), places of residence of "significant" politicians, etc. were highlighted. Especially in the second half of the 1930s, outstanding benchmarking farms were highlighted, creating ideal examples, including rural political ideology:

"Tourist accommodations in rural areas are not only placed to stay, but they are also the homes of Latvian farmers, where travellers around the homeland learn to know the life and work of their people." (Vanags, 1936)

Tourist accommodations were mostly small, usually with only two beds. However, the lack of space or furnished rooms was replaced by sleeping in haysheds, often on pre-prepared straw/hay bags. This was practiced by more than half of all tourist accommodations, including most of the participating schools. This description of a 1933 excursion to the primeval valley of Gauja near Cēsis town illustrates how travellers (see Figure 2) were received at the tourist accommodation.



Figure 2. A group of travellers consisting of 40 people at the Vērpji tourist accommodation after an overnight stay in a hayshed. 9 July 1933 (photo from Tālis Pumpuriņš's personal archive)

"On July 8, on a hot afternoon, the tourists of our association went on an excursion to the pearl of Vidzeme — Cēsis. [...] We arrived at Vērpji farm very tired and were surprised by the hospitality with which we were welcomed there. The barn furnished for our lodgings was decorated with maple branches, the floor was strewn with cut sweet-flags, and two bouquets of rye flowers were placed on a white-covered table. While supper was being eaten, night came on, but the moon, rising like a great red disc over the horizon, soon silvered the downs and fields with its mysterious light. In such conditions, few sought a night's rest. Most of them were wandering around the countryside, swimming, or sitting in groups chatting and enjoying the warm summer

night. On the second morning already from 4 a.m. life began again in our camp. After having breakfast and taking pictures with the hospitable hosts, we went to Raiskums Lake." (Ozols, 1933)

To maintain quality, travellers were always reminded in the published accommodation listings that reports of unfriendly and unsuitable tourist accommodation should be submitted in writing to the Tourism Department (Iekšlietu ministrijas Emigrācijas un tūrisma nodaļa, 1933).

In Latvia, the development of national tourism was especially promoted after the coup d'état by Kārlis Ulmanis, when the tasks of the closed nongovernmental tourist associations were taken over by the Tourism Office under the Ministry of Public Affairs (Olšteina, 2008). The ideology of the authoritarian regime of Ulmanis, to which every sphere of the economy and life was subject (Stranga, 2020), was based on the views of the "leader" and was embodied in three propaganda-enunciated concepts: leadership, unity, and nationalism (Feldmanis, 2005). An especially emphasised nationalism or *Latvianism* became the core of tourism ideology (Olšteina, 2008), the main goals of which were formulated by the Latvian tourism ideologue Kārlis Vanags:

"1) the search for the historical, victorious, working Latvia, 2) the understanding of the Latvian home, Latvian nature, the Latvian heart, and the Latvian people, 3) care for the mental and physical health of the people." (Olšteina, 2008, based on Vanags, 1934b)

During Ulmanis's rule, the development of local tourism continued, encouraging people to get to know their land and people, contrasting tourism with the usual idle recreation of the "majority of society":

"In the monotonous roar of a car engine driving along smooth highways and then in a neatly decorated hotel room. But such a traveller does not hear the voice of the people; they do not feel the rustle of the forest in a printed and delightfully described travel guide; the noise of the seaside promenade, where gossip and fashion criticism are already blaring with the sounds of the Viennese waltz, the unforgettable sound of the sea disappears. So, travel like a tourist! During the tourist journey, everyone also improves, strengthens and tempers their health, gets a pleasant rest for their nerves and changes in living conditions, gets to know the beauty of their homeland, the life of their people, educating themselves, because what you see and experience on a trip teaches you more than a few good thick books!" (Vanags, 1934b)

With the development of travel as a popular movement, simple-style accommodation became essential. In the popularised instructions for tourists (Vanags, 1936), both the advantage of summer lodgings in the open air and the rules for visiting tourist accommodations on farms are highlighted, with calls for understanding and modesty. In this context, one cannot fail to notice the presentation of the hotel as an unfriendly institution for domestic travellers, visited only by older people and those who like comfort. Hotels consider their services only as a commodity to get more profit and tips from the traveller according to Vanags (1936), but the "real tourist" travelling around the homeland can't afford it. Hotel owners were often wealthy. The leading political elite, represented nationally and social-democratically, did not support the rich (often foreign) entrepreneurs, which had been a trend since the 1920s. In order to secure the rural electorate in the competitive conditions of parliamentary democracy, nationalists idealised the "green" Latvian countryside, at the same time denigrating Riga, where social democrats were in the majority (Lipša, 2011). The hoteliers complained that their guests were looked upon as people "who can be robbed of their civil liberties, who can be shaken and inspected at any moment, who can be dictated to about what and when they can eat and drink and when they have to sit at an empty table, or do you need to go to sleep too..." and that it was precisely the laws created by the social democrats that significantly limited their activities (Viesnīcas dzīve, 1925). This was supplemented by the actions of the Riga City Anti-Alcoholic Commission, which had plans to close inns, taverns, teahouses and second-class restaurants (Viesnīcas dzīve, 1925). Consequently, the activity of neither political rival was beneficial to the wealthy hoteliers. It was additionally influenced by the state's involvement in this sector at the end of the 1930s, with the efforts of the authoritarian regime of Ulmanis to create a "network" of hotels (Krastinš, 1992) with state funds. The management model was not clear, as plans were already in implementation to construct hotels financed by the Latvian Credit Bank in the towns of Jelgava, Cesis, Rēzekne, Rūjiena and Valmiera (Rīts, 1939). Their necessity was justified by the creation of Latvia as a "tourism country", emphasising the convenience, cheapness and quality of the new hotels (Tūrisma Apskats, 1939), as well as by the need to create an opportunity for Latvians to enjoy "all the necessary amenities" while travelling, thinking less about international guests in the meantime and assuming that their operation would be profitable (LTA, 1939). Stranga (2020) described how in the Latvian national economy during the authoritarian regime of Ulmanis, the activity of state-owned enterprises was strongly characterised by weak financial results. The coup of Ulmanis coincided with the development of the national economy after the global economic crisis, and Latvia's economy at that time was far from the principles of the liberal market. By rationalising, protecting the local market, and subsidising agriculture, the Latvianisation of the economy – or the reduction of the share of minorities in various areas of the economy – was intensified by government, including

through administrative means and, with the help of Latvian Credit Bank, even expropriating or nationalising companies (Stranga, 2020). The long-established agrarian reform brought political and social success, but in terms of efficiency (many small farms with limited opportunities to modernise them), agriculture lagged far behind other sectors (Stranga, 2020). Perhaps this was one of the reasons for farm owners to seek the additional income offered by rural tourism development.

The network of tourist accommodations in the regions of Latvia after the restoration of the country's independence.

Comparing the network of tourist accommodation as it was created in the 1930s with today (see Figure 3), several significant differences emerge. Nowadays, Riga has a much greater advantage in terms of the number and capacity of tourist accommodations. A cluster analysis of the spatial arrangement confirms that the network of tourist accommodation up to 1940 was much more evenly distributed over the entire territory of the country.

There is a significant difference in the locations of the network of tourist accommodation and centres of accommodation density almost a century later. Today, the previously particularly large concentration of tourist accommodations around Koknese-Pļaviņas, Gaiziņkalns Hill, Jelgava and Talsi have become much less pronounced. Completely different areas of tourist accommodation density are coming into force (see Figure 4): Liepāja, Ventspils, Kuldīga, Jūrmala, Pāvilosta and Saulkrasti. The area of concentration of tourist accommodation in Gauja National Park and the vicinity of Rīga has increased significantly. There is a shift in the location of tourist accommodation from positioning themselves close to the railway network (until 1940) to the network of major roads (in 2023). The coast of the Baltic Sea, which was very insignificant (and much more difficult to access) a century ago, has become very competitive and highly in-demand. There is a much more pronounced concentration of tourist accommodation around the largest cities.

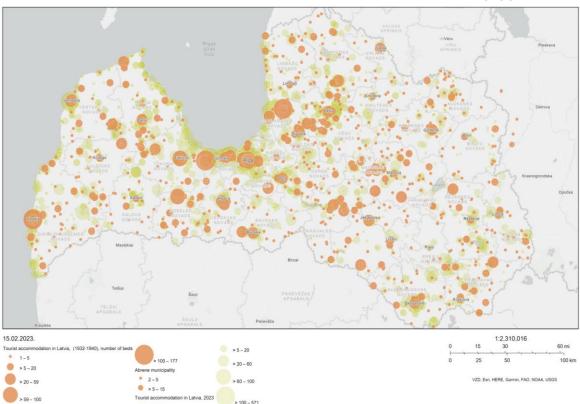


Figure 3. **Tourist accommodations in Latvia and their capacity: comparison between 1940 and 2023.** (authors' figure based on aggregated data from historical publications and contemporary booking platforms, 2023; spatial data based on Arcgis.com, VZD and Esri, 2023)

After World War II, the network of rural tourist accommodations ceased to exist. Private business was no longer possible in occupied Latvia. To adapt the nationalised hotels to the planned economy system, the Communist Administration Hotel Trust was established, sharply separating the services intended for foreign guests and political leaders from those available to "ordinary" tourists (Strautmanis and Ulme, 2019). Although planned tourist resorts or recreational complexes of various sizes or so-called "Finnish saunas" were established in the most scenic rural areas, their activities no longer obeyed freely available commercial demand. The network of rural tourism accommodations was created anew after the restoration of Latvia's independence in 1991. Publication of the collected lists of tourist accommodation was taken over by the non-governmental organisation Latvian Rural Tourism Association Country Holidays, founded in 1993. Their first publication symbolically resumed with a similar number of tourist accommodations (60) (Smalinskis, 2021) as there had been in the first edition of the 1932 compilation (58). However, another ten years had to pass before, at the beginning of the 2000s, the number of tourist accommodations exceeded what had been achieved before 1940.

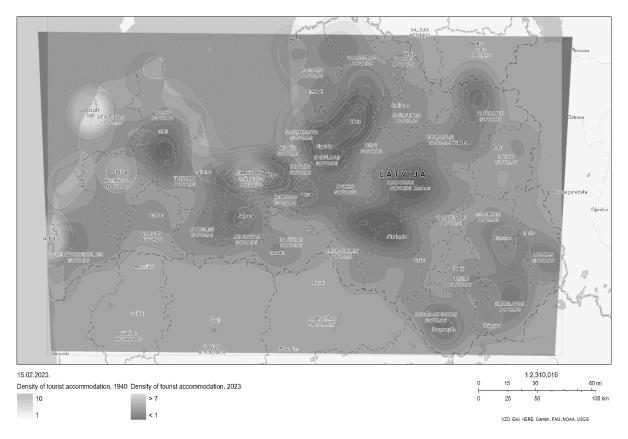


Figure 4. Network of tourist accommodation in Latvia: comparison by density in 1940 and 2023 (excluding Riga) (authors' figure based on aggregated data from historical publications and contemporary booking platforms, 2023; spatial data based on Arcgis.com, VZD and Esri, 2023)

Discussion and Conclusions

In order to be able to cover the network of tourist accommodation in Latvia in its entirety, not all furnished rooms, which were certainly available in larger numbers in large cities like Riga, are not included. On the other hand, the 2023 data used for comparison includes guest apartments that are offered to tourists through the Airbnb platform. This partly highlights the dominance of large cities in the tourism accommodation density data. It should be noted that real demand data has not been analysed here either. Although the total number of registered overnight guests was published every year until 1940, their distribution by specific accommodations was too fragmented. Therefore, the supply side is more represented in the 2023 data, but not all tourist accommodations in the 1930s can be considered heavily visited. Today's tourist accommodation market should be perceived as being much more geared toward real market demand.

In concluding, this study demonstrated the beginnings of the development of the Latvian hospitality market in rural areas, indicating the scale of spatial and temporal differences between different places. Significant changes in travel habits, perception of values, and hospitality service prices during the last century are also pointed out. Accommodation sector have become up to ten times more expensive than catering services nowadays. The development of the hospitality industry in the 1930s was highly politicised; local governments and state institutions were also actively involved in the creation of a network of rural tourist accommodations. The development of the hospitality industry was also not uniformly harmonious, with disagreements between wealthier hotel owners and the responsible state institutions regarding their visions of how to develop "mass tourism" or a network of state-run hotels.

However, it must be concluded that the rates of involvement of the number of rural farms as tourist accommodations were high and achieved effectively until World War II and the Soviet occupation, when in the rural farm segment, it collapsed entirely. After the restoration of Latvia's independence in 1991, more than ten years had to pass for the establishment of a network of rural tourist accommodations to a similar scale as it was at the beginning of 1940. In the location of residences in rural regions, the proximity of water bodies and scenery are still important location factors, even though there has been a shift from positioning themselves close to the denser railway network in the 1930s to a greater connection with national and regional highways today. Assuming that a denser network of tourist accommodations has formed in the most in-demand places, then at the level of tourist destinations continuity has been preserved to a much greater degree, and several places are just as popular even after a century. However, at the level of the specific farms that were involved in hospitality until 1940, only ~3% continue to operate today, indicating the extent to which the economic development of the hospitality sector had been interrupted for at least 60 years.

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Kopsavilkums

Līdz ar Latvijas valsts izveidi attīstījās iekšzemes tūrisms, mērķtiecīgi veidojot tūristu mītņu tīklu lauku apvidos, ko pārtrauca Otrais pasaules karš un padomju okupācija. Šajā rakstā, izmantojot GIS datu analīzi, analizēta viesmīlības uzņēmumu tīkla telpiskā pēctecība pagājušā gadsimta laikā. Šādā mērogā kopējais tūristu mītņu tīkls, kāds Latvijas lauku apvidos bija izveidojies līdz 1940. gadam, atkal tika sasniegts tikai 2000. gadu sākumā. Tikai 3 % mūsdienās darbojošos tūristu mītņu ir nodrošinājušas nepārtrauktību, darbojoties tajās pašās mājās, kur tās bija pirms gadsimta. Savukārt izteiktāks pēctecīgums identificējams vietējo tūrisma galamērķu līmenī, vērtējot pēc tūristu mītņu blīvuma (piedāvājuma), lai arī tur gadsimta laikā notikušas ievērojamas pārmaiņas.

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