

**THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALISATION
ON THE INTERCULTURAL ENVIRONMENT
AND LOCAL CULTURE OF A SMALL SLOVAK SPA
IN ZÁHORIE: THEORETICAL CONTEXT AND
PRELIMINARY RESEARCH**

LINDA ŠIMEKOVÁ, Bratislava

Abstract: *Príspevok sa zaoberá osvetľovaním teoretických konceptov zviazaných s pojmom globalizácia, ktorými sú lokalizácia, lokálne prostredie, turizmus a glokalizácia. Interpretácie týchto pojmov vychádzajú z diel popredných vedcov a slúžia pre lepšie zorientovanie sa v problematike premieňajúceho sa sveta, ktorá bola priestorovo zúžená na lokalitu kde v súčasnosti dochádza ku stretu globálnych vplyvov a lokálnych odpovedí. Jeho hlavným cieľom je poskytnúť priestor na zadefinovanie teoretickej základne a na operacionalizáciu pojmov, ktoré budú neskôr aplikované na dáta nazbierané počas pilotného výskumu v lokalite Smrdáky, malej kúpeľnej obci na Záhorí ako aj na ďalšie dáta, ktoré pribudnú po absolvovaní dlhodobého stacionárneho výskumu v rovnakej lokalite. Výsledky oboch výskumov budú tvoriť obsahové jadro dizertačnej práce autorky príspevku. Tento príspevok je prvým krokom k spomenutému cieľu.*

Key words: *globalizácia, lokalizácia, lokálne spoločenstvo, turizmus, interkultúrne prostredie*

Introduction

The present situation in rural areas of Slovakia is marked by the occurrence of significant changes caused partly by the spreading of various cultural meanings new to this region through the process known as globalisation. These changes are not being taken for granted, but are interiorised by local communities according to their specific way of life (for more see Danglová 1999). This article aims to further investigate this situation by selecting a few aspects of the study of globalisation and its effects on local community. Its goal is partly to shed light on these changes, by way of an example from field research, but mainly this article serves as a platform for introducing the theoretical framework and use of terms that are then applied to the data collected during the first visit to the selected field. The theoretical constructs will help with further analytical work on the phenomenon of localisation as seen in intercultural relationships in a global world, using the example of a small spa in Slovakia. A basic summary of the research was

drafted after the first visit to the selected field. It was focused on the dynamics between the effects of globalisation and the responses from the local community.

The first assumption generated from the inductive analysis of the data collected during initial research in the field is as follows: The cultural changes in the intercultural environment of a small Slovak spa occur against the background of globalisation trends, such as the development of tourism, the economic crisis, private health care, and influx of foreign capital, and also in how these trends are integrated into specific local cultural manifestations. In this article the term *cultural change* is understood through the optics of social scientists, domestic and foreign, who formulate their arguments about this change under the term globalisation. A short overview of their arguments makes up the first part of this article. Gilles Lipovetsky uses the term *worldculture*, and in one book, in a dialogue with Hervé Juvin, the two argue about the different meanings of this term (Lipovetsky, Juvin 2012). Anthony Giddens deals not only with the basics of the process of globalisation but also with the genesis of the spreading of this term in the sciences and beyond (Giddens 2000). Zygmunt Bauman focuses on the concept of consumerism in the context of globalisation (Bauman 2000), which is also the focus of the work of Arjun Appadurai (Appadurai 1996). Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri coined the term *empire*, reflecting how they understand globalisation in their own way (Hardt, Negri 2000). For a more complex understanding of the term, it is useful to reference Ritzer's concept of *McDonaldisation* (Ritzer 2010) as well as Scholte's reflection on the vagueness of definitions of such complex phenomena (Scholte 2007). Another term closely related to globalisation is neoliberalism. Noam Chomsky was one of the prominent scientists who worked with the term in his own anarchistic way (Chomsky 2011). Ondrej Herec, a Slovak sociologist, enriches the debate about globalisation by naming it an *era of corporations* (Herec 2010). For the purposes of this article another term closely related to globalisation in the selected research location is *tourism*, which is one of the forming phenomena of today's society (Smith 1989, Burns 1999, Giddens 2000). The selected location consists of a spa environment, tightly connected to the concept of tourism (Lenovský 2009). The separate term *glocalisation* describes the outcomes of the coming together of global and local relationships in a community (Robertson 1995, Clifford 1998). The last part of the article is based on such examples occurring in the selected field.

1. Theoretical Background

1.1 Globalisation

The main theoretical basis of this article is a term brought to the scientific discourse by the changes in political world order after the year 1989. A formerly polarised world has been interconnected by means of technological innovations, making it possible for information to travel the world much faster than ever before. Marshall McLuhan calls this state of reality a global village. McLuhan first used this term in the 1960s, almost thirty years before the internet went global.

His assumption proved very correct. During the 1980s and 1990s, the concept of globalisation was first introduced to the sciences in the form of two influential books: Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History* in 1989, and Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilisations* in 1993. Both books conceptualized a new world order, a universal and deep change, not only in the world order, but also in the view of the world (Lipovetsky 2012: 11). Another term, worldculture, is defined by Lipovetsky as the beginning of a new relationship to distant phenomena and a more intense understanding of the world as a planetary phenomenon and a joint unit. „*It brings the collapse of borders, a new relationship between here and elsewhere, between domestic and international. Space has diminished, time accelerated and humans have entered into an era of global time and space, which doesn't mean that the cultural spacing has disappeared*“ (Lipovetsky 2012: 17).

Globalisation is a very current topic according to Hervé Juvin. The crisis that the market system put us in is a crisis of culture. „*We are dealing with the crisis of relationship to reality and the crisis of comprehension of the world*“ (Juvin 2012: 114). The crisis of comprehension of the world, which doesn't seem to be working by existing rules but is constantly facing changes from the outside, is occurring also in the selected location for this research, as the first data from the research show, particularly in relation to a certain group of informants. Juvin further argues that the relationship to other, to the strange and distant, has changed, but foremost the relationship of every single one of us toward reality has definitely changed. Image has merged with reality to create an illusion of movement and color, changing reality and turning it into a bridge to imagination and emotions. Reality is no longer derived from the history of politics, nor is it shaped on the foundations of cities or in the noise of barricades, but in game consoles, behind cameras, and in front of televisions. *And close the window please, so that the sunshine doesn't bother us* (Juvin 2012: 124). These statements can be applied to many situations in the selected location for field research. There is a visible effort coming from the village officials to get the inhabitants to spend more time being involved in the active life of the village and less time behind locked doors in front of televisions. The spa is also actively trying to co-create the local culture by organising various cultural events in the spa park all year round.

Anthony Giddens refers to globalisation in less expressive terms. He defines globalisation, similarly to Lipovetsky, not as one process but as a complex group of processes that act in contradictory ways (Giddens 2000:24). He also addresses the global transmission of the term globalisation, a term basically not present in daily language, nor in academic literature, until it came out of nowhere to be used everywhere (Giddens 2000: 18). One of the basic characteristics of the global world is instant electronic communication. According to Giddens, the speed of data flow is significant and „*changes the very essence of our lives, whether we are rich or poor. If it is possible to know the face of Nelson Mandela better than the face of the nearest neighbour, then something in our daily life must have changed*“ (Giddens 2000: 23).

Another typical characteristic of globalisation is the spread of consumerism and the consumerist lifestyle. Zygmunt Bauman points out that philosophers, poets, and moral preachers of old dealt with the question of whether man works to live, or lives to work. Today there is a new dilemma, whether man consumes to live, or lives to consume. But this reflection is possible only because we still feel the need to make a distinction between life and consumerism (Bauman 2000: 98). The means by which consumerism works is quite simple. Bauman describes it as a combination of consumers always wanting new attractions but quickly bored by those they have acquired, resulting in a world changed in all dimensions to fit the consumerist market. This world, like the market, is ever ready to change and to impose its attractions at a constantly higher pace. By doing so, it erases all solid indicators from personal world maps, whether these indicators are of steel, of concrete, or marked only by traditional authority. He adds that the market has already chosen the consumers, who were deprived of the freedom to ignore its leads. But consumers have many reasons to think that they are in control, that they are the judges, the critics, and those who choose. They have the right to reject their loyalty to any choice that is offered on the counter, but not the option to choose among them – since this doesn't seem like a choice to them (Bauman 2000: 102).

It is still a common habit of many employees in my researched community to see guests as patients, not as clients. But the aim of the current owner is to slowly eliminate this sentiment. It is reasonable to assume that the situation will evolve in terms of Bauman's emphasis on consumerism. Arjun Appadurai expresses a very similar view when he comments on the mechanisms behind the global advertising industry. According to Appadurai, such mechanisms employ a crucial technology of spreading surplus creative and culturally pleasing thoughts and images that affect the consumer, but are, in effect, growing distortions of the world of trade, so subtle that the consumer is constantly encouraged to believe that he is an active participant, when in fact, he is only the one who chooses (Appadurai 1996: 42).

For an even more plastic image of the problem at hand I have chosen a specific view of globalisation, whose authors are post-Marxist philosophers, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. They see globalisation as an *empire*, not in the sense of imperialism, because it does not involve any territorial centre of power, but as the centre of constant changes, overcoming political, economic, national, material, cultural, and spiritual barriers. In this sense, empire is a decentralised web of power encircling the entire planet. It does not generate any wars over the change of borders, because it does not have any (Hardt, Negri 2000: 45). They agree with Giddens when they say that globalisation does not consist of one centrally controlled process, but consists of many, sometimes contradictory but always open, processes without predetermined outcomes, which can be influenced and controlled. „*It is possible to create relatively autonomous organisations, not able to stop globalisation, but with the power to regulate it. We currently do not have the models capable of such possibilities. What we have are historical experiences, and we can also practically find out how they can be realised*“ (Hardt, Negri 2000: 60).

George Ritzer gives an account of globalisation through his concept of *McDonaldisation*, a process whereby the principles used in fast-food restaurants (effectiveness, calculus, predictability, and control) begin to dominate more and more in many areas of American society and also in the rest of the world (Ritzer 2010: 1). It is possible to assume, given the fact that the spa in the researched area is owned by a multinational company, that this company and the spa both work according to the above mentioned principles. Only consequences related to the nature of the organisation of life in the spa were identified in the first encounter with the researched area. McDonaldisation as Ritzer defines it is probably not going to fit into the local culture of a small spa, because here the local notions of tradition (of the spa and of the region) play a very important role even in recent days. To provide more substantial evidence for this assumption, further and deeper research is necessary.

Jan Aart Scholte, a Dutch professor at the Centre for Globalisation and Regionalisation of Warwick University, says that most analyses of globalisation are flawed and their interpretation useless because they don't provide a new angle that is not bound up with other concepts. He sees the reason for this condition in four views of globalisation: globalisation as internationalisation, globalisation as universalisation, globalisation as liberalisation, and globalisation as westernisation. Scholte is relativising previous definitions of globalisation because, according to him, the existing types fail in the analysis of new and yet unnamed facts (Scholte 2007: 15).

1.1.1. Globalisation and the Polarity of Opinions

It is clear now, after naming only a few definitions of globalisation, that we are dealing with a hard-to-cover phenomenon and the subject of a very broad spectrum of opinions, ranging from cosmopolitanism (Lipovetsky) to neoliberalism (Chomsky, Kain). Globalisation can also be viewed as a kind of westernisation. But recent globalisation is westernisation only to a certain level. It is defined by Tezenlo Thong as a process whereby societies come under the influence of western culture, or adopt it in such areas as lifestyle, language, politics, law, religion, and values. Westernisation was a driving force all around the world over the last several centuries, which led many scholars falsely to believe that westernisation is equivalent to modernisation (Thong 2012: 898). While Giddens says that globalisation is more and more decentralised – not under the control of any group nor of big corporations (Giddens 2000: 28) – Slovak sociologist Ondrej Herec says otherwise.

Herec says that corporations are the driving force of globalisation, and he calls them „*the well organised monsters*“. His argument begins with a simple organisation, which he defines as a monster because it lies on the edge between human and nonhuman, created by humans from humans, but ultimately not human. „*It does not respect taboo, murder, theft. Lies and humiliation of man mean nothing to it. Organisation degrades humans to parts, it exists symbolically, it is a construction of metaphors, it lacks a material base; nevertheless, it has a great impact on reality*“ (Herec 2010: 17). The term *well organised monster* captures the terrors

of life managed by corporations. Freedom in nature outside of the influence of organised society is a romantic illusion. People had to organise in order to survive in nature. Even human organisation is a kind of natural hierarchy. It copies the operation of a cell in a biological organism, with its circulation of information, issuing of orders, and fluctuation of employees. Herec also quotes William Gibson, the founder of cyberpunk, a subgenre of science-fiction that emerged with the dawn of the global age. Gibson sees corporations as a form of life, whose blood is not humans but information (Herec 2010: 27). I agree with Herec when he says that on the threshold of postindustrialist civilisation man does not fight for a new order, because he does not know what to fight for. The classic ideal of utopias and the declared goal of all revolutions, to replace the old social order with a new one, is losing its appeal. The tendency that prevails is to preserve the very process of change. The stream of rapid changes, driving politics, and economics of transnational corporations is declared progress, but there is no goal, no vision of a new society, only the ways and means of the change (Herec 2010: 39). Through further research using ethnography I will identify how the corporation affects the studied community.

1.1.2. Globalisation and Tourism

One of the typical emblems of globalisation is its connection with tourism and the creation of the industry of tourism. The researched location and community cannot be viewed as a centre of tourism since we are talking of a very small spa, focused on medical procedures benefiting a narrow diagnosis. But since spas are an integral part of tourism, it is important to define the relationships that influence the studied area. Ladislav Lenovský, a Slovak culturologist, focuses primarily on a spa city, but his description can be transferred to a smaller scale, since the essence of a spa stays preserved independently of the size of its location. He defines the area where a spa exerts a big influence as a *spa micro region*, or the territory of most intense spa influence in the area. Besides the actual spa centre, it also covers other cities or villages that lie nearby. The spa micro region specifies an area which is relatively homogeneously influenced by the spa industry. For example, as the main employer, spa tourism offers many possibilities for accommodation in the private houses of local people, as well as increased interest among local people in spa tourism and spa culture (Lenovský 2009: 17). Lenovský understands the culture of a spa city as a process and a means of existence for its current inhabitants and its culture under specific rules. The guests of the spa have to adjust their culture (he probably means their lifestyle) to the standards of the spa environment (the daily regime, activities, food, and behaviour). „*Adaptation is the main modifying factor* in the formation of the spa city culture“ (Lenovský 2009: 24). Spa tourism in the researched location takes its shape from the merging of global influences (for example, wellness packages marketed to the wealthy and to foreign guests) with local specific elements such as balneotherapy. These mergings are visible in the spacial layout of the spa, in spa marketing material, in the quality of water, and in other objective, or objectified, manifestations.

The first to turn attention to tourism in anthropology was Valene L. Smith, who defined it as a form of free-time activity that structures the personal human cycle around time for work and time for relaxation. „*As work gives a direction toward relaxation, individuals find recreation in many new contexts. Various forms of tourism can be defined according to kinds of relaxation mobility*“ (Smith 1989: 1). Peter M. Burns, an anthropologist of tourism, expresses a more delicate opinion in his *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*, where he bases his arguments Separated from nature and spirituality, we feel estranged in the emptiness of the postmodernist age. In the context of this reality, tourism steps in as a „*myth of freedom*“ (Burns 1999: 13). On the other hand, Gilles Lipovetsky sees tourism in the age of globalised culture as a phenomenon, where masses of tourists circle the planet from one end to the other as they explore the most perfect fruits of human work. But in this context, their own culture starts to feel distant, mysterious, and confusing. The more people admire truly unique works (ranging from prehistoric art, to Buddhist stupas, to Egyptian pyramids, to the ruins of Mayan temples), the less they are able to understand their own cultural and spiritual heritage. „*Only thing that remains is the touristic pleasure of the hyper-consumer „without future“, who is detached from his own history and only longing for subtle emotions, of everything, of nothing. We see all, but understand very little, not even where we came from*“ (Lipovetsky 2012: 80).

The phenomenon of tourism has a great impact on the perception of cultural traditions. Anthony Giddens has written extensively on this topic in the age of globalised society. He agrees with Hobsbawm's definition of the term *invented traditions*, meaning a group of practices or internalised and quietly accepted rules of a ritual and symbolic nature that inculcate certain values and rules of behaviour through constant repetition, which automatically imply a continuity with the past (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). Giddens says that all traditions are invented, and that traditions were always invented for various reasons. He emphasizes that we shouldn't think that this construction of traditions is typical for the modern age. „*Traditions are always about power, whether they are constructed knowingly or not*“ (Giddens 2000: 55). He also addresses the relationship between globalisation and tradition. He says that today, under the influence of globalisation, not only are public institutions freeing themselves from traditions, but so are ordinary people in everyday life. This trend away from traditions is gradually freeing various societies around the world, even those that were more traditional in the past. Giddens says that this process is the axis of a step-by-step emergence of a global cosmopolitan society, one that exists after the end of nature, when only a few aspects of the physical world, still purely natural and untouched by human intervention, are left.

Even though such a society exists after the end of tradition, that does not mean that society has disappeared. It is, however, experienced in less and less of a traditional way, while still defending some traditional behaviour through rituals and symbols, seen as a defense of tradition and its relation to truth (Giddens 2000: 58-9). Giddens sees the fate of these traditions in two alternatives. When tradition is deprived of its content and is commercialised, it becomes either

heritage or kitsch. The industry processing cultural heritage is transforming the message of a tradition into the form of an attraction. The message is then cut from the life energy of the tradition, and the connection to everyday life is severed (Giddens 2000: 60). During the first visits to the researched location, a strong tradition of viticulture in the village was identified, as well as a rich tradition of sport and a cultural past of spa traditions. Further research will be conducted to identify the relationship of local people to traditions in the village and in the spa.

1.1.3. Globalisation Today

The dawn of globalisation dates to the 1980s and 1990s. Since then more than twenty years have passed, and the basis of globalisation has slightly changed. I have based my definition of globalisation on Lipovetsky, who says that globalisation is in its second wave. Thus, it is a fusion of capitalism, the rejection of liberalism, cosmopolitanism and local identity, universalism and particularism, the cult of consumerism, rational calculus, and the new emphasis on tradition (Lipovetsky 2012: 107). In this wave, we cannot speak about globalisation as westernisation or americanism. „*The historical victory of the West is not to be understood as a triumph of a particular cultural content, but as a victory of form (scientific and technological rationality, economic calculus, individual rights), whose general meaning and value first appeared in a particular region and only then it conquered the whole planet*“ (Lipovetsky 2012: 112).

1.2. Localisation and globalisation

Localisation is defined as an adjustment of general content to local specifics, for example, language or culture. It refers to global tendencies adjusted to local circumstances. The relationship between the two processes of globalisation and localisation forms the basis of my academic interest. Giddens says that this relationship is significantly opposed. Globalisation influences the shift of local communities and nations toward the global arena, but it is not without new tensions regarding local autonomy. It is exactly globalisation that is the reason for the assertion of local cultural identities all over the world (Giddens 2000: 24). Peter Csányi, a Slovak historian, sees it very similarly. He says that globalisation makes room for multiculturalism and its significant growth. Globalisation accelerates the modernisation of Europe, in terms of technology and civilisation, by strengthening common European cultural traditions. At the same time, however, with the help of the very same modernisation, local and regional traditions are strengthened (Csányi 2004: 130).

This relationship is viewed critically by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, both mentioned earlier. They reject the global/local dichotomy, which is based on the assumption that global means homogeneous with non-differentiated identity, and local preserves heterogeneity and diversity. It is very common in these discussions to assume that the diversity in local identity is to a certain extent natural, or at least, that its origin is unquestionable. The origins of local differences lie in the past, and that is why they must be protected from the intrusion of globalisation. This argument can very easily slip into some kind of primordialism, which mo-

difies and romanticises social relationships and identities. What requires special clarification is the production of local quality, meaning the social mechanisms which create and transform identities and differences that are viewed as local. Differences in local quality did not exist in the beginning and are not natural, but they are the consequences of the means of their production. Similarly, globalisation should not be understood in terms of cultural, political, or economical homogenisation. It should be understood, the same as localisation, as a means of production of identity and diversity, as a means of creating homogenisation and heterogenisation. „*For a better definition of the difference between global and local we can speak of various systems of streams and barriers, in which the local quality or perspective gives a priority to reterritorialisation of barriers and borders and on the other hand the global quality privileges the mobility of deterritorialized streams,*„ (Hardt, Negri 2000: 44,45).

To explain these theoretical concepts and relationships I use an example of a participant observation in an urban environment. Coca Cola, as part of a worldwide marketing campaign to support the sale of its product, went to the streets among ordinary people, offering them a chance to have their name printed on the label of the bottle – but they had to wait their turn. In Kamene Square in Bratislava there was quite a queue, and among the waiting were the old, the young, some with children, some without, the homeless, Roma women with large handbags, tourists, and students. The scene was also observed by activists trying to revive this concrete square, but with nowhere to sit. They were not amused by this type of reviving. As part of the Coca Cola campaign, young women gave out free can samples of the drink to people crossing the square. One of the activists commented that the square would turn red by evening, from all the empty cans on the ground, in the bushes, and in the flower beds. They say that this campaign might bring people to stop and spend time in a place where they usually just quickly walk by, but the absence of benches will force people to sit on the big flowerpots, thereby crushing the plants, herbs, and flowers, and destroying the efforts of the local activists to make a nicer square. The impact from the outside, in the form of the marketing campaign from the world's biggest beverage maker, exhibits a different degree of acceptance on the local level, varying from a quiet and almost invisible protest of local young activists to „very thirsty“ people walking through the square and stopping by.

1.2.1 Glocalisation

The term that binds the processes examined in this article has its origin in economics. It was Roland Robertson who brought the term into the debate surrounding the cultural aspects of globalisation. He noticed that as the world gradually continues globalising, global and local contexts have a tendency to interact with one another (Robertson 1995: 24-44). Since the term is derived from economics and is connected with brand-building, he argues that in the context of globalisation, ideas and processes are inevitably interpreted and accepted differently, depending on the convenience and history of particular groups. In some cases this is happening strategically, as when global marketers come up with new local

traditions, under the assumption that diversity sells (Robertson 1995:29), especially diversity based on the exotic, something different from common western forms of tradition. According to James Clifford, the author of *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, glocalisation is an interiorised globalisation, and he goes further by saying that the features and lifestyles promoted by global culture are always subject to a form of adaptation, or re-interpretation, connected to local cultures, and thus to the process known as localisation (Clifford 1998: 4).

1.2.2 Local quality, local community, local specifics

Local environment can be described as a local quality along with people living as a local community. This community is connected by a common place of habitation, by an affiliation to a narrower or wider definition of place, for example, a residential block, an inhabited yard, a street, or an affinity to one communal place. The social relationships in a local community extend from zero (new block, new street) to neighbourhood. For this to happen, however, it is necessary for two or three generations to stay in one place of habitation. On the other hand, neighbourhood relationships are weakened by an increasing individualism and alienation from the social environment (Apáthyová-Rusnáková 1995: 311). We can find an example of local culture in any given regional or municipal monograph, where a certain typical way of life is described through kinds of local occupations, foods, customs, music, social culture, and significant personalities born there. This specifically local way of life is constructed and objectified by way of a historical awareness of its own specificity and the unique nature of its cultural heritage. These notions are then legitimised as the findings of a scientific inquiry. For local people, the notion of themselves as unique is interiorised as a part of their local identity. Nowadays, this image is subject to influences coming from the outside via mass media, such as television and the internet, and also from the chance to travel to any part of the world.

The local environment which was selected as the author's field research focus is subject to the above mentioned processes because glocalisation is taking place there. In this small spa village in the Záhorie region of Slovakia more than half of the guests fall into the category of Type A Insurance, which in Slovakia means that their stay at the spa is completely covered by the state owned insurance company. This type of stay is possible only with a doctor's recommendation for a specific diagnosis. The spa is also visited by people seeking treatment and relaxation not covered by insurance; they pay for everything themselves. For these „samoplatci“ as they are called (literally paying for themselves), the spa offers a little more than the basic services, in the form of wellness or special free-time programmes, for a fee. In the past these services had different names and were offered for free, which is the reason why many insurance-funded guests coming to this spa for many years currently feel betrayed and left out of their own spa. These people, my informants, like to think of the old times as the „golden times, when you didn't have to pay a fee for every single thing.“ It is clear that the long-time guests expect an unaltered approach, but in times that are

now very different. Influences from the outside have not yet been accepted and transformed into local forms. They are viewed as disruptions of the peace, of the long-time, well-regulated running of this small spa.

It is very similar with the guests coming to this spa from Arabic countries, whose presence is perceived by the long-time guests from Slovakia as something disruptive. These guests have a very different culture as well as a very different appearance, most evident in their clothes. The problem, according to my informants, is that they are treated differently by the spa staff, „they are treated as kings and can do things that we have been forbidden“. The reason for statements of this type might be envy or the tendency in a spa environment for guests to generate spa gossip, thanks mainly to the closed nature of the community. More in-depth conclusions will be possible only after hearing from the Arabic guests themselves, which will take place during the main stage of the research in the near future. Lack of time prevented their inclusion in the first stage of the research.

Another example of the infiltration of global influences and the reactions of the local community are evident during the evening dances organized by the spa in the „Cafe“, where many generations of spa guests come into close contact with one another. The musical tastes of the younger and the older generation are very different, and since the spa is very small, there is only one dance hall where a dance is held two times a week. While the middle-aged and older guests prefer local musical groups singing live, with a repertoire of Slovak, Moravian, and Balkan music originating in the middle of the previous century, the younger guests are focused on the DJ playing recent music, which does not even have to be dance music, as long as it is recent popular music. Sometimes, during a single evening, guests dance to Slovak folk songs as well as foreign popular music, with a short intermission in between during which no music is played. This practice is not that uncommon and can be observed at any Slovak wedding nowadays. The dances held at the spa are popular among inhabitants of neighbouring villages and even towns. There is something special about a spa dance, which cannot be found anywhere else, and since this is the only spa in the region, it draws a lot of attention. For many people, it represents one of very few opportunities to dance in public. In the spa, everybody dances. As one lady of the older generation said, „*I can dance to Madonna and nobody cares.*“ The repertoire of DJs at the evening dances consists of Balkan and Italian popular songs, the most recent pop music from the USA, songs written by a long-time and legendary guest of the spa, and popular foreign songs with Slovak lyrics, so that everybody can sing along. And they do. The situation reflects different expectations depending on generation, but from a more general point of view, it also represents a glocalised mosaic.

Conclusion

Several assumptions have been formulated on the basis of the theoretical concepts discussed here, such as globalisation, localisation, glocalisation, and tourism, as well as on the basis of the findings from the first stage of the research. I will continue to explore these assumptions in the near future during a long-term

research study in the selected community. The findings from that study will form the content of a dissertation written by the author of this article.

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