



“Pale Lager and Double Carp Fries, Please”. The McDonaldization of the Culinary Culture in the Czech Republic

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Abstract

This article explores attitudes of hospitality stakeholders (HSs) and consumers towards fish gastronomy in the Czech Republic with an emphasis on traditional recipes and the impact of globalization. For the exploration of HSs' attitudes, qualitative investigation via in-depth semi-standardized interviews was employed with 19 fish restaurant HSs. The abstraction, appearance of ideal types of HSs, and integration with four aspects of Ritzer's McDonaldization theory were done. For the exploration of consumers' attitudes, sensory evaluation of seven fish dishes with 1698 participants was used. Lastly, a focus group was conducted with regular fish food consumers. Three ideal types of HS named progressive innovators, taste defenders, and occasional traditionalists appeared. For all of them, aspects of McDonaldization were obvious, meaning shift towards rationalization in Czech fish culinary culture and possible dilution of the original identity. As the main reasons for deauthentication of Czech fish gastronomy, a high laboriousness of traditional fish dishes causing high time consumption for restaurant staff, and the inclusion of bones in most of the traditional Czech fish dishes as the main barrier for consumers were identified. Paradoxically, consumers preferred traditional

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dishes more, showing a discrepancy between the attitudes of consumers and HSs. This result drew attention to the need for marketing research on the part of HSs. When already prepared dishes were presented, consumers preferred to choose more time-consuming fish dishes with more input ingredients. In the restaurant, consumers more often choose bone-free dishes. On the other hand, in households, consumers prefer the cheaper purchase of whole fish with bones. Ways of defense against food globalization were outlined: promotion of traditional fish dishes not contradicting the McDonaldization aspects, supporting food with strong national traditions, and the usage of glocalization when the skills, specificity, or original ingredients are sustained despite globalization.

Introduction

In the Czech Republic, the fish has a decisive role in its history, gastronomy, and landscape character, especially in the South Bohemian Region, which is famous for fish farming throughout Central Europe. Fishery and fish farming are not only sources of livelihood for many local inhabitants, but they are also indispensable parts of the Czech culinary scene, including Christmas Eve dining.

Traditional Czech fish culture, fishery and fish farming are in contrast with the significantly topical globalization issue. Not only the economic point of view can be used, but an environmental perspective can be employed showing problems connected with globalization. For example, Chinese sleeper or Stone moroko are listed as invasive species in the Czech Republic. The situation is analogous to many European countries. Globalization is considered to be a cause for dynamic introductions of various catfish species in the Arno River in Central Italy (Haubrock *et al.*, 2020). Lesser attention is paid to the possible influence of the change of fish species structure on the traditional fish gastronomy.

One of the possible approaches to study the globalization process is the use of the prism of George Ritzer's (1983) McDonaldization theory. Most of the recent studies concern with the globalization from the farmers' perspective (Kolinjivadi *et al.*, 2020), or perspective of fish food industries that survived globalization (García-del-Hoyo *et al.*, 2017). The contribution of our study is the exploration of culinary culture. Since the first introduction of McDonaldization theory, it has been used for research in many branches out of gastronomy. Nonetheless, our paper can be considered as a return to its former roots, i.e., culinary field.

This article aims (i) to explore the hospitality stakeholders’ (HS’) attitudes towards fish gastronomy as a part of the fish culture in the Czech Republic, and (ii) to explore the consumers’ attitudes towards fish gastronomy as a part of the fish culture in the Czech Republic. The relationship between fish gastronomy and fish culture is of particular importance because of the presence of traditional Czech fish recipes. In most of the cases, the attitudes of the stakeholders are connected with their perceptions of consumers’ attitudes.

1. Background

Fish, as part of a specific national or regional identity, is mentioned by Zelený & Vinš (2017). They refer fish to the traditions, rituals, and culinary art, as well as to specific landscapes. The fishing process itself and the fishing villages are substantial, as mentioned by Daniel *et al.* (2008) on the example of lobster fishing in Maine. These authors also highlight the attributes as mentioned above (together with lobster gastronomy) as an essential part of the tourism industry resources. Similarly, Petrovska-Rechkoska & Rechkoski (2016) associate rural tourism and fish farms in the case of Macedonia.

The fish can be used to define the gastronomy typical for the country. As an example, Japan can be mentioned with its preparation of sushi, or China (Zheng, 2010) where strong cultural tradition associated with fish was formed in Hangzhou, reflected in the culinary arts, mainly due to the presence of numerous water bodies (Erlich, 2004). Cameron (1999) combines national identity with fish food products in the case of Great Britain and its fish & chips. It is worth mentioning the results of the study of Kormann da Silva *et al.* (2014), who points out that the characterization of local gastronomy is not always solely due to the high number of fishes used.

Not only the usage of fish and its variety of species but also the selection of recipes for cooking is important. Thanks to today’s globalized era, traditional recipes are being challenged with new recipes, threatening to dilute the original regional identity. In particular, McDonaldization is associated with the globalization of culinary culture (Groszlik & Ram, 2013). Eating habits as a part of McDonaldization were studied in countries like Bangladesh (Zaman *et al.*, 2013) or Australia (Finkelstein, 2003). Ritzer’s theory of McDonaldization means a shift towards the rationalization of the organization. In the case of this study, the realized by the HSs. George Ritzer (2017) points out that alternative (non-globalized) foods and beverages have a chance to take on, especially in less developed parts of the world, which are less attractive to large multinationals that cause gastronomy standardization. Hatanaka (2014) reports that McDonaldization is also subject

to volunteer-related seafood projects, as exemplified by the ecological shrimp project in Indonesia, where he sees all McDonaldization aspects.

People arriving in the region are often interested in culinary tourism, but even in this case, the McDonaldization as an initiator of cultural homogenization is crucial, as stated by Pitanatri (2016). He claims that traditional cuisine can be a significant attraction for inbound tourism, for example, in Bali. He supports the statement that local food plays an integral role in sustainable cultural heritage.

The fish market point of view was explored by Gaviglio *et al.* (2013). They investigated the fraudulent sale practices for seafood. They highlighted the role of seafood retailers and showed a vital link to the naming system of seafood with a lack of product name diversification. Fish producers' situation was studied by Forleo *et al.* (2018) in Italy in the case of aquaculture cooperatives showing the size of the cooperatives more critical than their location.

On the Czech fish market, carp is the most important fish species – almost 85% of live fish trade production in 2018. In the long term, the export/home trade ratio of live fish was about the same (approximately 45% each), and it is evident that fish processing did not exceed 10% of the total production (Rybářské sdružení České republiky, 2019). The main impact on the organoleptic parameters of fish meat has the feed and the water quality (Mareš *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore, the carp meat contains “Y” shaped bones. This fact could be one of the main reasons for people to avoid eating carp. However, carp meat has a highly positive impact on human health (Mráz *et al.*, 2017).

2. Materials and methods

For the research, two approaches were used – qualitative methodology for the exploration of the HSs' attitudes and mixed approach for the exploration of consumers' attitudes.

2.1. Qualitative Methodology: Semi-structured Interviews with Stakeholders

Interviews as a method of qualitative research were previously used by Memery & Birch (2016) on a similar topic when evaluating attitudes toward aquaculture development in the United Kingdom from the HSs' point of view.

For the exploration of HSs' attitudes toward fish gastronomy as a part of fish culture, we used analogous qualitative investigation via in-depth semi-standardized face-to-face interviews from September 2018 to December 2018 in the capital city of Prague and regions Central Bohemia, Southern Bohemia and Western Bohemia in the Czech Republic. Interviews were done with 19 HSs, and their detailed structure can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1 - Profile of the Participating Stakeholders

Code	Occupation	Gender	Czech region	Additional information (% of fish dishes on the menu)
HS1	Owner of a fish restaurant	Male	Western Bohemia	– (75)
HS2	Owner of a fish restaurant	Female	Western Bohemia	Includes pond for fishing (74)
HS3	Owner of a sport pond	Male	South Bohemia	Offers accommodation in cabins and includes a family fish restaurant (100)
HS4	Owner of a fish restaurant	Male	South Bohemia	Low-priced pub based on a service of Czech beer together with fish cuisine (54)
HS5	Owner of a hotel	Female	South Bohemia	Family run hotel with a fish restaurant (52)
HS6	Owner of a fish restaurant and chef	Male	South Bohemia	– (77)
HS7	Owner of a fish restaurant and a mayor of the village	Male	South Bohemia	– (58)
HS8	Owner of a fish restaurant	Female	South Bohemia	Family-owned, owns a fish farm (100)
HS9	Owner of a hotel	Female	South Bohemia	Family-owned for three generations, with fish restaurant (52)
HS10	Owner of a fish restaurant	Female	South Bohemia	– (67)
HS11	Owner of a pension	Female	South Bohemia	With small fish restaurant (54)
HS12	Owner of a fish restaurant	Male	South Bohemia	Includes a wine bar (55)
HS13	General Manager of the restaurant	Male	South Bohemia	Fine dining fish restaurant, offers accommodation in apartments (78)
HS14	General Manager of the hotel	Male	South Bohemia	With fish restaurant (51)
HS15	Professional chef	Male	Prague	Experience in academic sphere (55)
HS16	Professional chef	Male	Central Bohemia	In charge of a fish restaurant (100)
HS17	Professional chef	Male	South Bohemia	In charge of a fish restaurant (92)
HS18	Professional chef	Male	Prague	Professional experience with fish cuisine (100)
HS19	Professional chef	Male	Central Bohemia	Professional experience with fish cuisine (100)

Source: authors' elaboration.

HSs were abbreviated *HS1* to *HS19* in selective verbatim transcription. HSs' identification was made using Google search with the condition of at least 51% of fish dishes offer on the menu. Interviews were carried out when visiting particular facilities, most of them located in pond areas designed for fish farming or in the Czech capital of Prague. HSs were contacted by phone four weeks before the interviews, and the goals of the project were explained to them. While asking questions from the prepared scenario, other questions were gradually added in a heuristic manner, and their subsequent refinement successively occurred. Each interview lasted up to 60 minutes and was conducted by a researcher who was asking the questions and second research assistant recording and making notes.

The investigation of the responses was carried out both within and between the cases, with the deconstruction of the observed phenomena and coding, with the search for repeating patterns with the same codes and with the subsequent merging of cases with common features, respectively, interpretative synthesis (Denzin, 1987). With the use of this approach, new coding categories and the theory conception itself appeared *in vivo* during an analysis of the responses, following inductive Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1973).

Further work appeared in two levels. The first level employed the abstraction, appearance of ideal types of HSs based on Max Weber's theory (Shils & Finch, 2017). Ideal types served as logical structural patterns used as a basis for further working hypotheses. The second level included the presentation of the responses via selective verbatim transcription (although the initial transcription for evaluation was verbatim) together with theory integration done by integration with the literature, i.e., with four aspects of Ritzer's McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1983): efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control. Finally, the process of recontextualization within obtained responses from the HSs was used.

2.2. Mixed Methodology: Sensory Evaluation with Untrained Tasters and Following-up Focus Group with Regular Consumers of Fish Dishes

For the exploration of consumers' attitudes toward various fish dishes, quantitative sensory evaluation with 1698 participants was used. According to the norm ISO 6658:2017 (2017), the participants were considered as "sensory assessors". The stand cooling showcase with fish products was used and operated by three workers providing information for each product. Evaluators made the tasting, got a leaflet with recipes for all the presented meals, and filled out the questionnaire. Seven various fish dishes were prepared in order to maintain different dish categorization that can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 - Categorization of the Fish Dishes for the Sensory Evaluation

Category of the fish dish	Description of the category	Evaluated fish dish
New-modern	Dishes new or relatively new to the region. Dishes are new in terms of consumer availability on the Czech market.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Halászlé fish soup• carp gravlax• fried fish balls• fish salad with celery
Old-traditional	Dishes are more or less traditionally prepared in Czech households.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• carp tartar• carp pâté• carp salad with pickled vegetables
With bones	Bones are present in the food, but due to their size, there is a minimum chance of detection by consumers. This category includes fishes with intramuscular bones unless the bones are mechanically separated.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Halászlé fish soup• carp tartar• carp gravlax
Without bones	Bones are not present in the fish meat due to the processing technology or type of fish used. A typical example is an African catfish, catfish, or mechanically separated fish meat.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• carp pâté• fried fish balls• fish salad with celery• fish salad with pickled vegetables
Easy to prepare	Maximally five ingredients. It takes 30 minutes to prepare.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• fried fish balls• carp tartar• carp gravlax
Intermediate preparation	Maximally ten ingredients. It takes up to 60 minutes to prepare.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Halászlé fish soup• fish salad with celery• fish salad with pickled vegetables
Difficult to prepare	More than ten ingredients. It takes up to 90 minutes to prepare.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• carp pâté

Source: authors' elaboration.

Evaluators were asked to state the yes/no preference for each of the dishes. Preferences were expressed via answering to two dichotomous questions exploring (i) whether they would try the preparation at home and (ii) whether they would buy the already prepared dish on the market or in the restaurant.

Descriptive statistics for assessors can be seen in Table 3 that shows balanced gender structure and dominance of the assessors within the productive age group. Only children able to state their preferences were included in the evaluation process and represented the smallest group of assessors. Distribution of the assessors within the particular presented groups copies relatively well the demographic structure of the Czech Republic (Czech Statistical Office, 2018). Since the sensory evaluation took place in the region of South Bohemia, there was approximately half of the assessors with permanent residence in this region.

Table 3 - Basic Descriptive Specifications of the Sensory Assessors

All respondents (n=1698)		Descriptive statistics	
	Answers	n	%
Gender	Men	815	48.00
	Women	883	52.00
	Answers	n	%
Age group	<15 (pre-productive)	120	7.07
	15-64 (productive)	1256	73.97
	≥65 (post-productive)	322	18.96
	Answers	n	%
Region of permanent residence	South Bohemia	896	52.77
	Rest of the Czech Republic	802	47.23

Source: authors' elaboration.

Statistical evaluation was performed using Pearson's chi-squared test of independence ($\alpha = 5\%$) for measuring dependencies of preferences based on categories of the fish dishes mentioned above for both questions separately. The test was followed by posthoc Bonferroni testing with adjusted standardized residuals at $\alpha = 5\%$ (Beasley & Schumacker, 1995).

The follow-up focus group took place with five regular fish food consumers (three males and two females) with age range 30 to 55 years old and took

place in January 2019. The aim was to get more detailed views on the quantitative sensory evaluation of consumers. The presented topics were created in the last phase of the research, i.e., after evaluation of all previous data. Unlike the HSs’ attitudes, the focus group results are summarized in descriptive form.

3. Results

3.1. Qualitative Results

Results of interviews with HSs that could not be categorized into ideal types due to the intersection of all created categories included the most commonly prepared fish dishes, the choice of domestic or foreign production, and the choice between fresh and frozen fishes. The most frequently prepared fish dishes most demanded by customers included mainly Czech fried carp in breadcrumbs¹, carp fries², fish soup, pike-perch, and “naturally” prepared trout³. Less common were carp tartar⁴, catfish, traditional *black carp*⁵, traditional *Novohradsko carp*⁶, pike, and eel. Other fish dishes were considered as demanded with only shallow frequency.

The first group of HSs consisted of respondents using only Czech suppliers. The second group declared to buy fishes mainly from the Czech farmers, but imports from abroad as well. Fishes are imported most often from Italy, Turkey, and the Netherlands. Similarly, HS could be divided into two groups, one buying solely fresh fishes and the other combining fresh and frozen fishes. The most common reason for buying frozen fish is the seasonality of the supply of some species. The reason for buying imported fishes was the high price of domestic production.

1. Seasoned carp fillet with salt and coated in flour, whipped eggs, and breadcrumbs, then fried in the abundant layer of oil until golden brown. Fried carp with potato salad is served for a Christmas dinner in the majority of Czech families.

2. Also called carp greaves of carp strips. Small portions of carp fillets are left in a marinade for 24 hours, then coated in a mixture of flour, spices, and fried until golden brown.

3. Fillet of whole fish grit with caraway seeds and salt and fried in butter.

4. Finely ground skin off carp fillet, flavoured with soy and Worcester sauces and mix of spices.

5. Traditional and still preserved recipe of carp. It is prepared with plum butter, almonds, and nuts. Its sauce can even be seasoned with gingerbread.

6. Portions of carp, salted, covered with garlic, coated in plain flour mixed with sweet pepper and fried until golden brown.

3.1.1. Ideal Types of Stakeholders

HSs can be seen as three ideal types. The first type is the most progressive HS who does not offer traditional dishes (or offer them to a minimal extent), promotes own innovative dishes with heavy use of spices, what leads to the covering of the original fish taste, and uses modern technology of preparation. As a result, catfish goulash can be mentioned. The reasons for the absence of traditional dishes were not adequately explained, and some of the responses showed low knowledge in consumers' preferences. Statements of some of the HSs can be seen below:

If it is a person who does not want to eat fish, it is best to try to suppress traditions as much as possible – to prepare and season the fish in the way it does not taste as fish anymore... These people, on the other hand, have to try completely new non-traditional recipes. (HS1)

As far as traditional recipes are concerned, it seems to me that their inclusion in the regular menu is unnecessary. (HS4)

In some of the cases, the choice of non-traditional recipes and their replacement with foreign recipes is caused by pressure from the customers themselves, as can be deduced from the following:

Guests start to ask about Mediterranean and Asian dishes since our tradition is slowly disappearing. For example, sushi is a trend today... (HS2)

The second group of participants also does not use traditional recipes, which they consider to be too time-consuming in terms of preparation and combine them with words as unhealthy or fatty. This group is less extreme than the first one and does not favor excessive innovations. Instead, it uses light fish treatments, most often with butter, caraway seeds, herbs, and salt. Light adjustments are combined with words as modern, healthy, and enhancing the taste of fish. These HSs usually underline the importance of freshness of fishes. Some of the responses are stated below:

The most commonly used recipe here is 'naturally' prepared carp, which means carp solely with herbs and butter. The unique taste of the fish can be perfectly enjoyed in this way. (HS3)

Guests worry most about freshness; they do not want to eat frozen fish... The preparation of a healthier 'omega3carp'⁷ means a significant increase in orders and demand for carp. This makes people want to consume more carp meat. (HS5)

7. Omega3carp is specially fed carp with cereals, where rapeseed and flaxseed are added (Sampels *et al.*, 2014; Zajíc *et al.*, 2012).

The third group also uses light fish modifications with the same word connotations as the previous group, but also offers traditional laborious dishes. However, this happens mostly exceptionally or is almost removed from the menu:

Young people begin to perceive that fish is a good thing for human health, and their demand for fish dishes has rapidly increased... Mostly, I use the ‘natural’ preparation of fish dishes, pull off the skin, then the meat is light and almost fat-free. However, we prepare traditional regional ‘Novohradsko carp’, or fried carp on garlic... (HS9)

Popular dishes include carp with caraway seeds or pikeperch with herb butter... We used to have traditional recipes on the menu – ‘blue carp’⁸ and ‘black carp’, but nobody wants to eat that anymore. We had to discard them because people want to eat healthier today. (HS10)

3.1.2. The Rationalization as a Reason for Loss of Traditional Recipes

Regardless of the above categorization of HSs, some dishes as carp fries or catfish fries are typical for the menu of all three ideal types of HSs. These dishes are hard to be seen as traditional, comply with the rationalization aspects of the production, and could be considered as globalized products. A possible explanation is offered by the application of the aspects of George Ritzer’s McDonaldization (1983).

3.1.2.1. Efficiency and Substitution of Non-Human Technology

Almost all HSs agreed on the fact that traditional fish dishes are too laborious and time-consuming to prepare. They explained this issue not only from their perspective, where there is a need for high labor intensity of the restaurant staff but also in terms of a guest who wants to eat faster:

We do not make traditional recipes such as ‘blue carp’ or ‘black carp’. They are difficult and time-consuming to prepare, so the cooks would not want to cook these dishes. (HS13)

No one will eat traditional recipes. No one wants to wait 40 minutes for their lengthy preparation; rather, they will have something prepared fast. (HS18)

The presence of bones in some of the traditional fish dishes could be the most significant barrier when ordering food because guests perceive the

8. Traditional carp recipe with root vegetables, onions, wild spices, and vinegar.

content of bones as an essential deciding factor. All HSs agreed that visitors avoid such fishes as perch or pike containing more bones. Avoidance of such dishes can be seen as an adaption of the meal to the guests:

Occasionally, traditional ‘Novohradsko carp’ is prepared, but it is not very popular. It used to be made by grandmothers, horseshoe-shaped carp cuts are wrapped in paprika and flour, but today fillets are preferred because there are not that many bones. (HS7)

My experience is that guests do not want fish with bones. They want a funny meal and do not want to take out bones for 30 minutes. That is why I use the specialized machine for bones cutting and removing. (HS17)

These statements containing indicators of standardization and minimization of time follow the efficiency aspect and underline the particular needs of consumers, as stated by Ritzer: “Most families take as their objective quickly and easily prepared meals” (Ritzer, 1983: 101). Equally, it can resemble a fast-food approach of most of the restaurants: “Fast-food restaurants capitalize on this by being organized so that diners are fed as efficiently as possible. They offer a limited, simple menu that can be cooked and served in an assembly-line fashion” (Ritzer, 1983: 101).

As stated by HS17, the efficiency aspect is connected with the control aspect and substitution of non-human technology. The specialized machines are used to speed up the preparation and to ensure time convenience for the consumer as much as possible by removing the fish bones with a small fishbone splitter machine, not by chefs or guests as previously. Some chefs mentioned the usage of new cooking methods as sous-vide or combi ovens that are not typical for traditional recipes but maintain better control when the food is prepared. These tendencies can be recognized as an aspect of substitution of non-human technology, as mentioned by Ritzer: “There is great interest among those who foster increasing rationality in using rational technologies... that lack the ability to think and act in unpredictable ways” (Ritzer, 1983: 105).

3.1.2.2. Calculability and Predictability

An offer of carp or catfish fries that resemble the typically McDonaldized products such as French fries in their shape, preparation, and characteristics, were present in the vast majority of studied restaurants. Paradoxically, the most common subject of globalization is the traditional Czech carp:

Popular are carp fries. Instead, we sell carp strips; we spice more than other restaurants. (HS8)

I do not see carp fries as good as other dishes, but guests order them very often and repeatedly. The preparation is fast, and the food is cheap. (HS19)

Another emerging aspect is calculability; in other words, quantity is more important than quality. HS19 mentioned that guest gets more food in a shorter time which cannot always be considered of high quality, as mentioned by Ritzer: “... McDonald’s expends far more effort telling us... about the... size of its product (the ‘Big Mac’) more than the quality of the product (it is not the ‘Good Mac’)” (Ritzer, 1983: 105).

The last aspect of repressing the traditional fish dishes is connected with predictability. As Ritzer claims: “... people want to know what to expect when they enter a given setting or acquire some sort of commodity. They neither want nor expect surprises... people want to be sure what they encounter is much like what they encountered at earlier times” (Ritzer, 1983: 102). Some foreign guests of Czech fish restaurants are concerned about the quality of the food, which is entirely new and unpredictable for them, so they act in a manner following the predictability principle ensuring standardized tastes, even though the fish dish is not traditional anymore:

Russian tourists often bring their own food to my restaurant and order beer only. I ask them to leave or tell them I charge a relatively high fee for their own meal at my restaurant... German tourists have quite different taste preferences; sometimes, they season the carp tartare in the way the beef tartare is seasoned. (HS1)

Beer, a traditional drink of the Czech nation, is consumed with fish dishes quite commonly, as some of the HSs said. Beer drinking is highlighted not just during the eating of the fish dishes, but also during various events connected with fishes. Ordering relatively quickly tapped Czech pale lager is much more predictable than choosing from a wide variety of wines, mainly if there is only one taped beer and the guests are not experts in wine and food pairing:

During some of the fish harvest, Czech beer is regularly drunk. Usually, there is not just the fish meat, but the pig slaughter meat too. I can see the same preferences with my students when fried fish is served; they mostly prefer pale lager. (HS15)

When frying is chosen as the cooking method for fishes, you can see many guests ordering a beer. (HS16)

3.1.3. How to Protect the Traditional Fish Dishes from Globalization?

Most of the HSs were unaware of the impact of McDonaldization. This tendency was also evident for HSs who offer globalized products such as carp

fries, import fish from foreign countries, or do not use traditional Czech fish preparations. They were convinced to be the ones who influence abroad and foreign visitors:

We do not adapt to foreign influences; on the contrary, foreign tourists and guests adapt to us. (HS1)

There is no influence from abroad, nor do we want to offer foreign fish. We stick to our identity. (HS10)

One of the HSs who was partially aware of foreign influence offered a different perspective. It indicated the combination of modern foreign technologies together with typically Czech ability to adapt and improvise. This sort of globalization called glocalization was described by Robertson & Lechner (1985). They questioned the large-scale influence of actors and supported the role of sub-societies and individuals: “As the general process of globalization proceeds, there is a concomitant constraint upon such ‘traditional’ entities to ‘identify’ themselves in relation to global-human circumstance” (Robertson & Lechner, 1985: 103). Thus, the thought of the HS3 is the basis of the connection between globalization and regional potential and can be seen as the first pillar for the defense of traditional dishes:

Rather, we, the Czechs, as a fishing superpower, have a considerable influence on abroad and the surrounding area. As a nation, we have an excellent ability to improvise, and in connection with modern technology, we reach a high standard. (HS3)

The opposing phenomenon to fish dishes with globalization features is the pervasion of traditional dishes as Christmas fried carp served with potato salad and fish soup across all three ideal types of HSs, even the ones denying any traditional recipes. Christmas traditions seem to have a tremendous protecting potential for traditional fish dishes. Traditional fish soup is not in contrast with the above-mentioned aspects of McDonaldisation, therefore resisted globalization trends in its original form. However, traditionally prepared fried carp contains a higher amount of bones, and traditional preparation of potato salad is very laborious. Both of these factors contradict aspects of efficiency and substitution of non-human technology. Besides, some HSs mentioned the preparation of the laborious black carp. Therefore, if food consumption is associated with broader national tradition, both restaurant staff and consumers are willing to sacrifice some of the convenience aspects:

Carp with garlic butter or ‘naturally’ prepared catfish are most popular, but we offer ‘black carp’ during Christmas time. (HS11)

The last factor supporting regional dishes regards well-known personalities promoting Czech cuisine. Most of the HSs perceived the role of local/regional professional chefs more necessary than the role one of the famous TV chefs:

I do not fancy TV shows, such as those with Mr. Pohlreich⁹. If they are watched by an experienced professional, they will understand what Mr. Pohlreich means. However, if the general public watches it, it is influenced by this and has, on this basis, ridiculous demands and ideas about what the menu should automatically look like in all Czech restaurants. (HS2)

Mr. Miloš Štěpnička¹⁰. Thanks to him, the fishing tradition became known throughout the country... and as a result, tourists and enthusiasts in fishery and fish gastronomy come to our region. (HS5)

As cultural traditions supporting traditional fish gastronomy, fish pond harvests, fish markets, fish day festivals, and Christmas markets were mentioned by HSs. Almost everyone recognized the educational system as a bearer of fishing traditions and gastronomy, specifically the local fishing school and the University of South Bohemia engaged in fishery, fish farming, and fish gastronomy. HSs underlined the importance of educating young children in fishery and fish gastronomy:

We used to be the only ones in Central Europe with a fishing school. Not only Czechs but also foreigners were students of this school. As a result, even nowadays, there is a dominant fishing tradition. (HS6)

I think the best way could be to change the upbringing of children in school canteens. Unfortunately, the current system is already building up reluctance to freshwater fishes in children, and this should be changed. (HS14)

3.2. Mixed Results

Quantitative results from consumers' sensory evaluation showed statistically significant differences within all three tested food categories (new/modern, presence/absence of bones, difficulty of preparation) both in the case of dishes that consumers would prepare at home and ready to eat dishes that consumers would buy at a store or in a restaurant. The choice between old-traditional and new-modern fish dishes showed a tendency of consumers to choose old-

9. Mr. Pohlreich is one of the most famous Czech TV chefs.

10. Mr. Štěpnička is a famous regional chef who provided many fish specialities to the general public. He is an author of many fish cookbooks.

traditional recipes, both when preparing dishes at home ($p < 0.01$) and when buying already-made food ($p = 0.03$). When choosing fish dishes with or without bones, consumers did not seem to avoid dishes with bones during home cooking. More to this, they preferred those dishes that naturally contain bones ($p = 0.03$) for home preparation. The situation was inverse for already-made meals, where consumers preferred significantly more dishes without bones ($p < 0.01$). For home-cooked meals, consumers preferred significantly more dishes with intermediate preparation time and difficult to prepare meals than easy to prepare meals ($p < 0.01$). However, when they visit a restaurant or buy ready-to-eat meal elsewhere, they prefer dishes that are difficult to prepare, less prefer intermediate preparation dishes, and least easy to prepare dishes ($p < 0.01$). Results can be seen in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4 - Measured Preference Dependencies for Home Preparation on Category of the Fish Dish

All respondents (n=1698)		Category of the fish dish			p-value ¹
Would try the preparation at home by him/herself	Answers	New-modern	Old-traditional		0.00*
	Yes (%)	22.25 _a	24.52 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	-2.90*	2.90*		
	No (%)	77.75 _a	75.48 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	2.90*	-2.90*		
	Answers	With bones	Without bones		
	Yes (%)	24.19 _b	22.50 _a		
	<i>residual²</i>	2.16	-2.16		
	No (%)	75.81 _b	77.50 _a		
	<i>residual²</i>	-2.16	2.16		
	Answers	Easy to prepare	Intermediate preparation	Difficult to prepare	0.00*
	Yes (%)	19.16 _a	26.25 _b	24.97 _b	
<i>residual²</i>	-8.07*	6.77*	1.84		
No (%)	80.39 _a	73.75 _b	75.03 _b		
<i>residual²</i>	8.07*	-6.77*	-1.84		

¹ Pearson's chi-squared test, * denotes a significant difference at $\alpha = 5\%$; ² adjusted residuals (standardized), * denotes significant difference for Bonferroni correction of p-values at $\alpha = 5\%$.

Note: .00 values represent $p < .01$; subscript letters denote a subset of category of the dishes whose column proportions do not differ significantly at $\alpha = 5\%$.

Source: authors' elaboration.

Table 5 - Measured Preference Dependencies for Bought (Already Prepared Product) on Category of the Fish Dish

All respondents (n=1698)	Category of the fish dish			p-value ¹	
Would buy the already prepared dish on the market or in the restaurant	Answers	New-modern	Old-traditional	0.03*	
	Yes (%)	24.97 _a	26.72 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	-2.16	2.16		
	No (%)	75.03 _a	73.28 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	2.16	-2.16		
	Answers	With bones	Without bones		0.00*
	Yes (%)	21.57 _a	28.83 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	-8.95*	8.95*		
	No (%)	78.43 _a	71.17 _b		
	<i>residual²</i>	8.95*	-8.95*		
	Answers	Easy to prepare	Intermediate preparation	Difficult to prepare	
	Yes (%)	21.08 _a	26.54 _b	37.16 _c	
<i>residual²</i>	-10.01*	1.77	11.65*		
No (%)	78.92 _a	73.46 _b	62.84 _c		
<i>residual²</i>	10.01*	-1.77	-11.65*		

¹ Pearson’s chi-squared test, where * denotes a significant difference at $\alpha = 5\%$; ² adjusted residuals (standardized), * denotes significant difference for Bonferroni correction of p-values at $\alpha = 5\%$.

Note: .00 values represent $p < .01$; subscript letters denote a subset of category of the dishes whose column proportions do not differ significantly at $\alpha = 5\%$.

Source: authors’ elaboration.

Comments from the focus group enabled justification of the quantitative results. Participants supported the selection of traditional and well-known fish dishes over lesser-known and modern fish dishes due to patriotism, efforts to preserve the Czech tradition and neophobia. The choice of recipes with intermediate to difficult preparation for cooking at home was justified by higher palatability of more laborious dishes and the possession of more time in households. Dishes with difficult preparation were stated as preferred in restaurants because consumers rely on the professionalism of chefs who are able to prepare demanding dishes. Consumers do not consider the aspect of preparation time of more complex dishes in restaurants, and if so, they are willing to pay a higher price for such dishes.

Focus group results related to bones in fish dishes uncovered the reasons why there is a preference for meals with bones in households, but a preference for bone-free meals when buying already-made meals in restaurants. The convenience factor had been mentioned, i.e., the customers assume that if they have already paid for fish food in the restaurant, it should not contain bones. Consumers consider bones uncomfortable in terms of etiquette when they do not want to show their ignorance in boning in restaurants and consider the aspect of wasting time. On the other hand, in households, they are willing to sacrifice the time needed for boning. Participants also mentioned the potential ignorance of fish consumers to prepare fillets without bones in households, so they rather prepare cuts containing bones. The price aspect was mentioned when buying whole fish containing bones since it means savings for households and longer shelf life. In this case, consumers can schedule how they prepare it according to their time possibilities. Alternatively, they can use even the tail and head, as well as bolder fish belly, or roes, e.g., for broth preparation. Another reason for buying the whole fish is the usage of carp scales for typical Czech Christmas tradition consisting of placing one carp scale under each dinner plate as a symbol of wealth in the next year.

4. Conclusions

The Czech culinary tradition associated with fish dishes can be seen as part of the Czech identity, just as in other countries, i.e., China or Great Britain (Zheng, 2010; Erlich, 2004; Cameron, 1999), where fish gastronomy plays an essential role in national identity formation. The results of this research support the results of Kromann da Silva *et al.* (2014) as the fish gastronomy in the Czech Republic is characterized by less than a more significant number of fish dishes. This study broadens the McDonaldization and globalization connection presented in the study of Grosplik & Ram (2013).

The aspects of McDonaldization in fish gastronomy in the Czech Republic were evident for all three ideal types of HSs even though they did not realize them. Based on the results, we named the first group as *progressive innovators* since they avoid any traditional fish recipes, promote their modern/new/own fish dishes, and use spices and technological preparations covering the authentic fish taste. This group had only shallow knowledge in consumers' preferences or gave in to consumers' demand for foreign recipes. The second group of HSs can be called *taste defenders* since they stand for the cooking methods supporting the original taste of fish dishes and perceive the consumers' demands for healthy and fresh dishes. We named the third group *occasional traditionalists* as they were the only agents preparing

traditional food in contradiction with McDonalidization aspects at least to a minimal extent but throughout the whole year. Otherwise, they copied the recipes of *taste defenders*. The categorization of HS can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6 - Appearance of Ideal Types of Hospitality Stakeholders with Use of Max Weber’s Theory

Ideal types of categories	Hospitality stakeholders	Most commonly used words/ words that can be used for the characterization of their cuisine	Example of a fish dish
Progressive Innovators	HS1, HS2, HS4, HS8, HS16, HS17, HS18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • modern, untraditional, new-fashioned, accelerating, foreign, exotic, technology, spices 	catfish goulash
Taste Defenders	HS3, HS5, HS6, HS12, HS13, HS19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • modern, untraditional, careful, flavour, taste, healthy, fresh, light, natural, butter, caraway seeds, herbs, salt 	‘naturally’ prepared carp
Occasional Traditionalists	HS7, HS9, HS10, HS11, HS14, HS15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • light, flavour, taste, healthy, fresh, light, natural, butter, caraway seeds, herbs, salt butter • traditional, identity, authenticity, garlic, sauce, flour 	grilled fish with herbs and butter or ‘Novohradsko carp’

Source: authors’ elaboration.

Ritzer’s (1983) aspects of McDonalidization, in particular efficiency, the substitution of non-human technology, predictability, and calculability, can be found in Czech fish gastronomy, meaning significant shift towards rationalization and possible dilution of the original identity by overshadowing of some traditional recipes. The main reasons for the pervasiveness of these aspects are the high laboriousness of traditional dishes causing high time consumption for restaurant staff, and the inclusion of bones in most of the traditional Czech dishes as the main barrier for consumers. The results of Pitanatri’s (2016) study can be broadened, since some of the tourists arriving into the Czech Republic participate in the McDonalidization by ordering globalized food, bringing their own food into restaurants or by trying to avoid traditional tastes of the dishes by their seasoning. Thus, for culinary tourism, not only the supply of traditional dishes but also its demand by the arriving tourists is crucial. Predictability can be seen in choosing the Czech pale lager as an accompaniment to fried fish dishes. A characteristic fish dish with a manifestation of the calculability aspect is easy-to-prepare carp fries typical for all three ideal types of HSs.

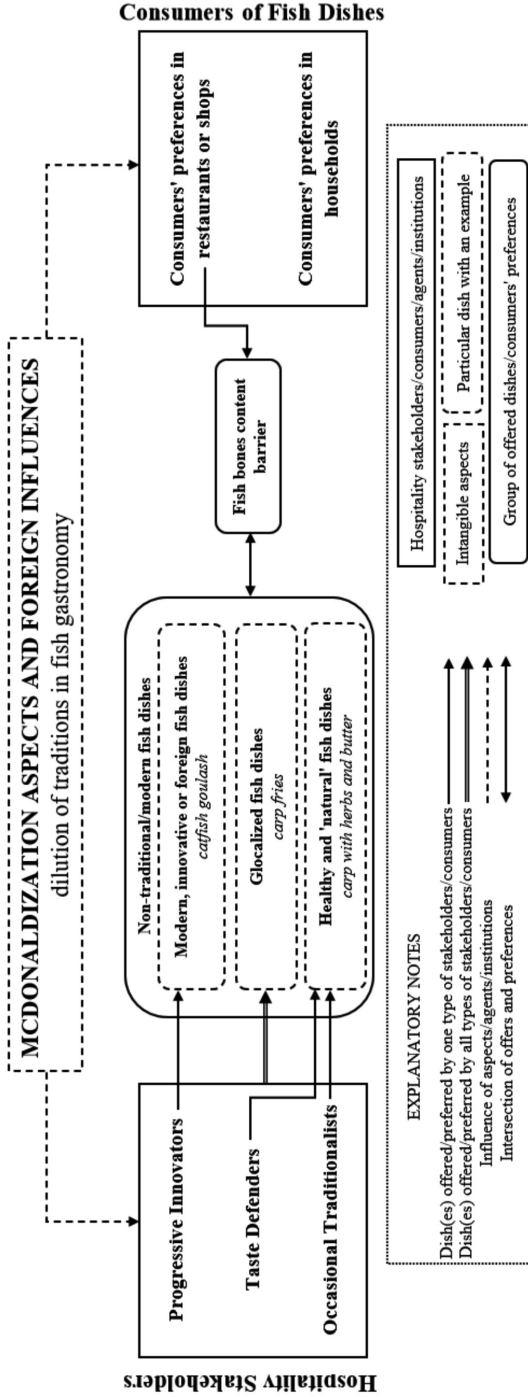
The novelty of this study can be seen in outlining the ways of defense against food globalization. Widening the Ritzer's (2017) study, successful alternative non-globalized food in the Czech Republic seems to be traditional fish dishes not contradicting the McDonaldization aspects, such as fish soup, or traditional dishes that have a strong bond to national traditions (e.g., Christmas) such as fried carp with potato salad. A different perspective can be offered when the glocalization theory is concerned. Specific adaption to globalization done by local groups, in this study HSs, leads to the presence of McDonaldization aspects while keeping traditional skills, specificity, or ingredients. Thus, with the use of glocalization prism, carp fries can be seen as both, demonstration of efficiency and calculability aspects, and the use of most typical and traditional Czech fish.

During the sensory tasting, consumers chose traditional and well-known fish dishes more sensitively than new and less known fish dishes. It was the case not only when preparing food in households, but also when buying ready-made meals, e.g., in restaurants. The results showed a discrepancy between the attitude of consumers and HSs and drew attention to the lack of awareness of restaurant operators and the need for marketing research on their part. Consumers also preferred to choose more time-consuming fish dishes with more input ingredients.

Restaurant operators often do not want to prepare such meals due to the excessive demands on their staff. It would be appropriate to conduct a marketing survey, especially finding a willingness to pay for more demanding meals, so that operators could evaluate whether it is worth preparing laborious meals. One of the examined topics in which HSs agree with consumers' attitudes is displeasure connected with fish dishes containing bones. In the restaurant, consumers are reluctant to prefer such dishes and more often choose bone-free dishes. In households, the situation is the opposite, when consumers prefer the cheaper purchase of whole fish with bones not only for its longer shelf life and consumption of all parts of fish but also for keeping some of the Czech traditions.

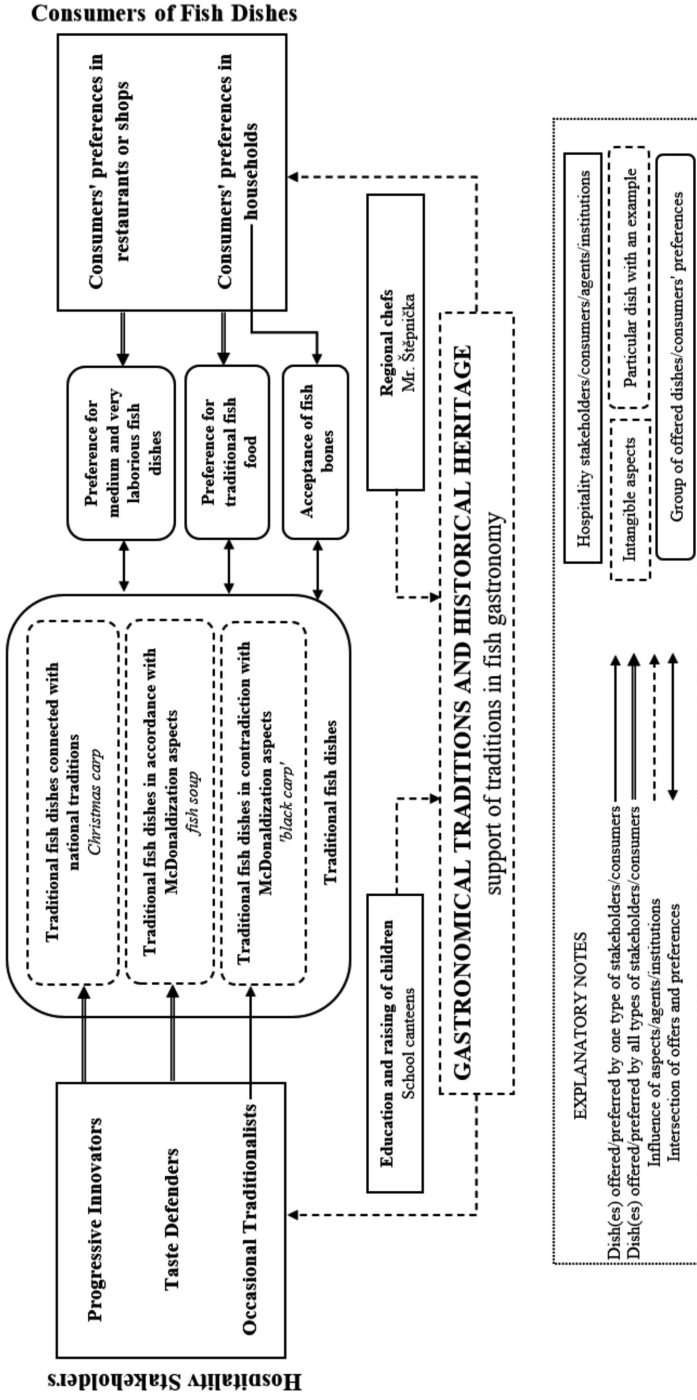
Figure 1 and Figure 2 show a summary of qualitative and mixed results. In the first figure, the relationship between modern dishes offer and McDonaldized consumers' preferences are demonstrated. The second figure explains the relationship between traditional dishes cooked by stakeholders and consumers' preferences in accordance with gastronomical traditions. A group of traditional dishes has a chance to succeed at consumers preparing their dishes at home because of the acceptance of fish bones, the preference of traditional dishes itself, and the preference of medium to very laborious dishes in terms of preparation. The main reason for the preference of modern fish dishes among consumers in restaurants is the reluctance to consume fish dishes with bones. However, some of the traditional dishes

Figure 1 - Summarization of Qualitative and Mixed Results: Modern Fish Dishes and McDonaldized Consumers' Preferences



Source: authors' elaboration.

Figure 2 - Summarization of Qualitative and Mixed Results: Traditional Fish Dishes and Traditionalized Consumers' Preferences



Source: authors' elaboration.

have a good chance of succeeding in restaurants and shops as they are in concordance with aspects of McDonaldization, for example, traditional bone-free alternatives as fish soup. The HSs should give particular emphasis on them or glocalize traditional fish dishes.

George Ritzer (1983) claims that hand production and originality means the more mysterious experience for consumers. One of the words connected with the rationalization that he uses is *dehumanization*. Based on this statement, we suggest the term *deauthentication of gastronomy* in terms of the current situation of traditional fish dishes in the Czech Republic. For further investigation, it would be useful to expand the link between healthy/natural fish dishes and customers' preferences. It would be even more appropriate to make an objective comparison of the healthiness of traditional and modern dishes, which could be done by taking samples of meals of both categories directly in restaurants, followed by chemical-technological analysis.

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