

## Recreation out of the state: property rights for camp sites and sense of place

Restrictions in international and domestic tourism caused by the pandemic led to the increased man-induced impact on the local recreational resources in the regions. Sites, which had traditionally been popular among those who preferred 'wild' unorganized recreation, experienced that impact in the entirety. Karakansky pine wood in the Novosibirsk Region is one of such sites. This impact led to worsening of the environmental conditions, the issue of garbage disposal became urgent like never before. A number of characteristics of the forest legislation regulating collection and disposal of garbage in forests offer an additional formal obstacle.

Understanding of the environmental practices of the visitors of this wood and of the possible determinants of these practices is the first step to analyze the tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968). For our research we used the data collected within the scope of the project 'Informal Practices of the Use of Karakansky Pine Wood: Social Appropriation vs. Social Cooperation'<sup>1</sup>. The research strategy is an ethnographic case study. The analyzed data basically include interviews, field notes, and photos. The research project is still ongoing, the field data are being processed and analyzed. This part of the project is focused on the coastal line of Karakansky pine wood, where camp sites are mostly located.

The property rights theory and Svetozar Pejovich's classification (Kapelushnikov, 2004) of titles in particular is the starting point for conceptualizing, first of all because the visitors of the wood refer to the aspects of ownership ('our place', 'keep the place', etc.). Lack of the formalized regulations force the other social agents to build and maintain them on their own ('recreation out of the state', quotation from B.Rodoman ( Rodoman, 2005) ). In such cases property rights are not unified. On the contrary, they are differentiated in terms of their qualitative and quantitative contents. They can be seen both as a method and as a result of appropriation of some coastal space. Thus, the right to use causes the right to transform the physical shape and the other way round. The latter is exercised by erecting the temporal coastal structures: eating areas, shelters, cooling cellars, saunas, footways to water.

Proceeding from the triple-component model of the sense of place (Reznichenko, 2014; Moore et al. ,1994; Jorgensen, et al., 2001), appropriation of coastal space can be fixed at the value level (place dependence). As the scope of research, the sense of place offers a number of methods to take appropriation of the space and of the ways to build certain environmental practices (first of all, the ways to handle the garbage).

The analysis of the sense of place cannot be separated from the scale of place, towards which this feeling is perceived. The campaigns aimed at cleaning the coastal line from garbage are organized by environmental organizations responsible for entire spatial units (Karakansky pine wood, Karakan<sup>2</sup>) or by the residents of the riverside settlements (villages Chingissy, Zavyalovo, Ordynsky District of the Novosibirsk Region). Such activities are not restricted by camp sites alone. In the ecoregional (Ardoin, 2014 ) and bioregional (Eanes et al., 2018) aspects in the long run studies of the sense of place mention that environment-oriented campaigns are mostly performed at

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2 Saturday in Karakan on October21 / Environmental Fund «Green Standart»  
<https://greenstd.ru/novosti-1/post/subbotnik-v-karakane-2-oktyabrya>

the level, where the sense of place is predominant. Such studies analyze arousal of the sense of place under the influence of biophysical characteristics of the respective landscapes. Appropriation of space as seen from the perspective of the property rights ('your Karakan', 'our village') is found at an opposite pole of the chain connecting the sense of place and environmental practices.

Thus, practices of permanent and/or regular agents of the natural resource use (tourists, first of all) are explicable. Issues arise when attention is focused on the so-called 'single-time' visitors or 'strangers' (as defined by the 'long timers', or those who keep coming there for years or even decades).

For this group of visitors the fact of appropriation of the space (which in most cases implies the right to use the camp site) is similar to the organized vacation at an official facility, when the area is maintained and groomed and the garbage is recycled by the facility owner (hotel). Besides, considering the 'broken window' theory, it can be assumed that if the garbage already available in a certain area (as well as partly damaged coastal constructions) is seen as a social norm, the visitors copy those practices as the least costly. On the contrary, garbage collection and its disposal and recycling are seen as mastering of the 'prescriptive' behavior.

Thus, users of a recreational resource having equal de jure rights to use it actually participate in the complex system of socio-ecological relations. Initial formal criteria of how often and how long they stay at the site and biophysical characteristics of this site are reciprocally demonstrated as constituents of the sense of place: place attachment, identity and place dependence.

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