

# Dealing with success in the city centre

The impact of tourism on commercial amenities  
and corresponding policy response

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# Colophon

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## Master graduation thesis

**Title** Dealing with success in the city centre  
*The impact of tourism on commercial amenities and corresponding policy response*

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“Who owns the city?”

*Quote by Saskia Sassen*



# Foreword

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This report is the end of an insightful learning process and presents my graduation thesis for the Master Management in the Built Environment at the TU Delft. With a great interest in society in general and urban environments in particular, I am fascinated by the complex issues that arise in our cities nowadays. This fascination has eventually led to this research on the influence of tourism on the city. I found it intriguing that a place could be so popular, so successful, that new problems would arise.

I could never have thought on beforehand that the impact of tourism would become such a hot topic during the course of the investigation. In Amsterdam, the city I used as a case for my research, it has not only reached the newspapers many times, but it has also seen several new policy responses of the municipality during the research process. This created both advantages and disadvantages. It has led to many inspiring interviews, with people that were strongly committed to the subject and were eager to talk about it. At other times, however, it was difficult keeping up with the 'constant stream' of new developments. In any case, it illustrates the relevance and the complexity of the subject at hand.

As a result of my broad interests, I have not always taken the easy path, and have investigated multiple matters that have not been given a place in this final version. However, all of that was needed to achieve this final result. Furthermore, it allowed me to learn what I have learned. Not only have I applied the knowledge that I gained during my master Management in the Built Environment, I also tried to enhance it with theories from the field of urban sociology to increase my understanding of the processes that influence our living environments, together with knowledge of governance aspects to investigate how such processes can be influenced.

The end result provides insight into the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam, combined with an investigation of the most suitable policy response. By doing so, it provides a small but relevant contribution to the understanding as to how we can deal with complex contemporary urban problems. I want to thank my supervisors Sake Zijlstra and Wouter Jan Verheul for giving me the freedom to discover how to achieve this on my own, while simultaneously giving me the tools, the knowledge and the inspiration that I needed. All together I can say that the making of this thesis answered lots of questions, while providing even more food for thought for the future.

Simon van Zoest



# Summary

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## Research proposal

### Problem analysis

A growth of tourism is visible throughout the world. Within this growth, it is urban tourism that shows the biggest increase. Several developments, such as low cost carriers and changing tourist demands, are turning urban tourism into a significant economic sector. This development is however causing growing discontent among residents in several cities throughout the world. An increasing number of locals are not only taking issue with the growth of tourism as such, but also with the negative impact it has on their living environments. They complain about their neighbourhoods being 'taken over', thereby harming their liveability.

Research shows that a city or neighbourhood can indeed become increasingly geared to the experience of visitors instead of residents, a process that is being referred to as tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005). One of the main effects that is being detested by residents is the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in the city centre. According to complaints in multiple cities, this brings about a rise of tourism focussed amenities, which is ultimately detrimental for the range of amenities aimed at locals (Colomb & Novy, 2016).

Concerned residents ask the municipality to deal with the problems that are being caused by the growth of tourism in general, and its impact upon the range of commercial amenities specifically (Fainstein, 2007). However, for a municipality, that is not an easy task. Firstly, it needs to know *what* to steer. When looking at the range of commercial amenities, it is difficult to determine exactly what the influence of tourism is. Secondly, it must determine *if* it wants to steer. Next, it must determine *how* it can steer. All in all, this raises a problem to which the best response is yet to be found. Municipalities are still figuring out what policy is most fit to steer these developments in these circumstances.

### Problem statement

Based upon the problem analysis, the following problem statement has been formulated: it is unclear what the exact impact of the growth of tourism is on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre, and it is unclear what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact.

### Research questions

This leads to the following main research question:

**How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre, and what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact?**

The main research question consists of two parts, that are both subdivided into several sub-questions.

#### Research question part 1

How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?

This question on the *impact* is subdivided into a set of sub-questions:

- 1a: What methodological framework can be used to study the impact of tourism on a city centre?
- 1b: What is the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?



## Research question part 2

What policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact?

This question on *steering* the impact is also subdivided into a set of sub-questions:

- 2a: What methodological framework can be used to study the policy that a municipality can apply to steer this impact?
- 2b: What instruments does a municipality have at its disposal to steer this impact, and what are their characteristics?
- 2c: Which instruments are most fit?
- 2d: What policy is most fit?

## Relevance

### Scientific relevance

Urban tourism has received little attention in the scientific domain for a long time. This is changing lately. However, most research focusses on the *process* of tourism gentrification, instead of on the possibilities to *steer* that development. This thesis provides a new perspective by combining these two elements in a holistic approach.

### Societal relevance

More and more municipalities are currently searching for ways to control the impact that the growth of tourism has on their cities. The expertise in this area is however limited, and cities are searching globally for appropriate, effective policies.

### Utilisation potential

The research is shaped in such a way that it not only entails the municipality of Amsterdam but also provides a helpful contribution for other municipalities. It can act as a so-called 'extreme case' for other municipalities that experience much lower amounts of tourism, and it can act as a 'common case' for municipalities with comparable high amounts of tourism.

## Methodology

The research is based on a qualitative, inductive research approach. The research design is a single case study, for which the city of Amsterdam is chosen. First, a methodological framework is compiled by means of a literature study. This step forms the theoretical basis to answer the first part of the research question, regarding the impact. Next, the context of tourism gentrification is investigated. The problem analysis triggered by residents goes beyond amenities alone, and takes places beyond Amsterdam. In order to get a better understanding of the problems regarding tourism gentrification, a broader picture of the context is painted. The next step is the start of the case study that zooms into Amsterdam. In this step, the impact that tourism has on the range of amenities will be investigated.

The second part of the research starts with compiling a framework to study the steerability of the aforementioned impact. This is done through the combination of two separate frameworks, defined by Adams & Tiesdell (2012) and Hemerijck (2003). Thereafter, the possible instruments that a municipality can use in order to steer the aforementioned impact are investigated, after which their 'fit' is being investigated in the next step. Next, by means of synthesis of these findings, an answer is given to the question 'what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre.'

A series of semi-structured interviews forms the basis of the empirical work for the case study in Amsterdam. The interviewees were selected on the basis of the identification of the relevant stakeholders. This identification pointed out that several of the relevant actors consisted of a heterogeneous group, rather than a single actor or organization. In order to obtain representative insights of these groups within the available capacity and time, representatives were selected as interviewees.

## Impact framework

In scientific literature, the growth of tourism within a city and the influence it has on the urban environment is called 'tourism gentrification' (Gotham, 2005). Most scholars define it as a process through which a neighbourhood is being transformed (Judd, 2003), commercially as well as residentially. Furthermore, most scholars explain that this phenomenon collides with several other developments in the urban sphere.

This process is linked to the concept of the tourism life cycle, a concept devised by Butler (1980). He described a consistent process, through which tourist areas evolve. By doing so, an area that is under the influence of a growth of tourism passes a number of stages, each with different characteristics. The type of tourism, the consequences for the location and the responses of the local residents evolve as well.

The latter two characteristics are further elaborated in the concept of tourism carrying capacity. The definition used in this research is "the capacity of the destination area to absorb tourism before negative impacts of tourism are felt by the host country" (O'Reilly, 1986).

## Steering framework

As stated before, a framework to study the steerability of the aforementioned impact has been defined through the combination of two separate frameworks.

The first framework, defined by Adams & Tiesdell (2012), is a typology through which planning tools can be classified. It makes a distinction between four different planning tool types: shaping, i.e. "shaping the decision environment or context"; regulation, i.e. "defining the parameters of the decision environment"; stimulation, i.e. "restructuring the contours of the decision environment"; and capacity building, i.e. "developing actor's ability to identify and/or develop more effective/desirable strategies".

The second framework, devised by Hemerijck (2003), is used to assess which instruments are most 'fit'. It does this by assessing the different potential instruments based on four criteria, which are illustrated through four questions: does it work; does it suit; is it normatively correct; is it permitted. The logic of consequence, the logic of appropriateness as well as the legitimacy of the different instruments is investigated through these questions.

## Impact in Amsterdam

In this section, the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam will be investigated.

### Tourism in general

Tourism has grown rapidly in Amsterdam, resulting in one of the highest tourism densities in Europe. Geographically, tourists are primarily located in the area between the central station and the Museumplein, with the lion's share being concentrated in the city districts Centre West and Centre East. This area contains among others the red-light district. The significance of the tourism sector is also reflected in large sums of revenue and jobs, especially within the inner city. However, as opposed to some other cities, it is not the case in Amsterdam that the complete inner city is geared towards tourism.

### Stakeholder analysis

Next, the relevant stakeholders are investigated. Their perspective and their position regarding the problem at hand is analysed, together with their dependencies and their capabilities. The last two stakeholder types, the intermediary and the investment vehicle, are individual organizations or individuals of which multiple different entities can operate within a city at the same time. An example is chosen for each of them, to illustrate what such an actor can look like.

- *Tourists*: a heterogeneous group in Amsterdam, that triggers the process central in this research, and according to multiple residents is the perpetrator of the neighbourhood change they detest. One of the possibly subdivisions is that of the 'good tourist' and the 'mass tourist', with the former being more like the residents themselves in behaviour, and the latter being blamed more often for the tourism related problems in Amsterdam.
- *The municipality*: the steering actor in this research. Its problem perception increased strongly over the last ten years. It currently pleads for a 'balance in the city', and acknowledges that this balance

is currently disturbed in some areas, partly because of tourism. It tries to improve this balance, but that does cause certain dilemmas. Furthermore, they depend both on higher governmental bodies and on other actors in Amsterdam, when trying to steer.

- *Residents*: a heterogeneous group, that has changed over the years as well. Their liveability is harmed due to the growth of tourism. Their problem perception regarding tourism strongly worsened in recent years, and a significant share finds the city centre too crowded, and not diverse enough regarding its range of commercial amenities. They do have some influence through their consumer behaviour, however, they remain dependent on the municipality to act.
- *Entrepreneurs*: this is also a heterogeneous group, in which large chains are becoming an increasingly large share. They are the operators of the amenities within this research. Their problem perception differs, as well as their position to influence it. Roughly, a distinction can be made between those that profit of tourism and those that are opposed to it. They have a large influence, but are nevertheless dependent on the municipality and the property owners.
- *Property owners*: a heterogeneous group that consists of many separate actors. They are the owners of the buildings in which the amenities are being operated. A distinction can be made based on its size, or on its social involvement. This also influences their problem perception.
- *Intermediaries*: a type of actor that is primarily occupied with stimulating actor-network relationships and projecting joint visions. For this actor, the organization CentrumXL is chosen as an example. CentrumXL is a neutral intermediary that encourages cooperation between other actors, in order to improve the diversity of amenities in the city centre.
- *Investment vehicle*: a type of organization through which, in the context of this research, other organizations including a municipality can invest in properties with the aim of neighbourhood improvement. The NV Zeedijk is chosen as an example, which is an investment vehicle that is active in and around the Zeedijk, a street in the Red-Light District. Through their properties and to some degree through capacity building, they try to combat monofunctionality and improve diversity in the red-light district.

### Impact subjectively

The impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities is investigated in this section, starting with an investigation of the public debate as a means to explore how this impact is experienced subjectively. Some characteristics stand out when looking at the public debate in Amsterdam over the last ten years. It shows that the public debate regarding undesirable functions and monofunctionality in the city centre of Amsterdam and accompanying policy from the municipality is not new. However, there seem to be two important differences in today's debate. First of all, it currently relates to tourism oriented functions, whereas at an earlier stage criminality and dirty money seemed to have been the underlying causes one wanted to curb. Secondly, the call for excessive legislation and the desire for a municipality that is able to influence the functions one can or cannot find in a city street seems to be much stronger than before, and comes from more angles as well.

The analysis shows that residents currently often despise the quick transition (Dutch: verkleuring) of parts of the city centre as a result of tourism. They see a strong growth of touristic amenities, through which a new touristic monofunctionality arises. Furthermore, these residents complain that these touristic amenities replace amenities that were geared towards them, the host population. The debate is thus not only focussed on amenities one *does not* want, but also on amenities one *does* want. Last but not least, residents are worried about where this process will end, and feel a sense of powerlessness towards this neighbourhood change.

### Impact quantitatively

A quantitative investigation on the range of amenities shows that there is indeed a significant increase in the number of touristic focussed amenities in the city centre. When looking at absolute numbers, it is the souvenir shop that accounts for the biggest share. However, whereas these were already present in large numbers ten years ago, amenities with food for direct consumption shows a more recent growth. Geographically, most of these tourist-oriented amenities concentrate in and around the red-light district, especially in the area where most tourists can be found. Furthermore, it can be seen that although this



growth in tourist-oriented functions has gone at the expense of some neighbourhood-oriented amenities, it does not seem to be the case that neighbourhood-oriented functions are completely disappearing.

When looking closer at the statistics of individual streets, the process through which this transition occurs can further be examined. Apparently, the growth of touristic amenities mainly occurred in streets that not only are located in the tourism district, but that also have a relatively low rent. As a result, they were 'vulnerable' for the quick transformation of streets towards a tourism-focussed area that one critically talks about in the public debate. Nevertheless, this complete transformation towards tourism is limited to a few streets. Last but not least, it is shown that changing consumer behaviour is also an important factor of influence on the alterations in the range of commercial amenities, especially with regard to the disappearance of some of the more neighbourhood-oriented amenities.

## Conclusion on the process

These two analyses together give a good image of the processes that alter the range of commercial amenities due to the growth of tourism. It shows that tourism has grown rapidly over the last couple of years. The growing presence of tourists in the city creates a growing market demand, among others for touristic matters such as tickets for venues & tours, souvenirs, and food & beverages. Entrepreneurs cater that growing market demand by establishing businesses that supply these goods in touristic amenities. They do this primarily in streets where a high number of tourists is combined with a relatively low rent.

The outcome of these processes depends on the context in which they occur. When looking at the city centre of Amsterdam, a high market pressure in general is visible, resulting in a growing competition over scarce resources and space. Furthermore, it is shown that the majority of tourism concentrates on a relatively small area, which also inhabits a lot of permanent residents. Last but not least, it is worth mentioning that it is often being said that Amsterdam has lots of mass tourists, and is among others known for its liberal attitudes with respect to sex and drugs.

These processes, combined with the contextual characteristics, have resulted in a form of tourism gentrification in a part of the city centre of Amsterdam. The range of commercial amenities plays a major role in this tourism gentrification. Residents are opposed to the quick transformation of streets towards a tourist-focussed monofunctionality, which they see taking place through the rise of touristic amenities. At the same time, certain neighbourhood-oriented amenities are disappearing, and the variety of the range of amenities is reducing. To some degree this is due to tourism, to some degree it is due to other developments. In any case, it seems to be a process with that a large proportion of the residents is not satisfied with.

When comparing these findings to the concepts of the theoretical 'impact framework', it appears that the tourism carrying capacity of Amsterdam has reached pressing levels. This can partly be explained economically, through the displacement of resident-oriented amenities by touristic businesses. However, it has not approached the state that daily shopping become inaccessible, as is being reported in for instance the city of Venice. Still, it is visible that on a social level, a large proportion of the residents are largely dissatisfied with the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities. To explain this, one must zoom in on the impact of these processes on the liveability of the residents.

## Impact on the liveability

To examining a bit further how this influences the liveability of permanent residents, it is helpful to make a distinction between two components of this liveability. On the one hand, there are the *needs*; 'the requirements for a healthy human life'. On the other hand, there are the *desires*; the matters that make life more enjoyable, which are experienced subjectively.

One of the negative effects on the *needs* that is often being linked to tourism gentrification is the unavailability of amenities for daily shopping, such as supermarkets. However, in contrast to other cities, this does not seem to occur in severe form in Amsterdam. Other relevant needs are a safe and clean environment without nuisance. These three aspects are at times being linked to tourism, but not to changes in the range of commercial amenities specifically.

A more complete explanation of the discontent of the residents can be given when looking at the impact that the alterations in the range of commercial amenities has on the *desires*. Apart from the functional usage, residents also feel a connection with the places they live in through identity. However, research shows that this sense of identity is being disrupted for residents in Amsterdam as a result of the

growth of tourism in the city. Not only are tourists present in large numbers, the city is also slowly but steadily being transformed in favour of tourism, through a process of tourism gentrification. Residents see amenities geared at *them* disappear one by one, while amenities that are solely geared towards *tourists* take their place. Even before this reaches a point where it becomes a functional problem, this can create tension. Residents identify themselves to a lesser degree with their own living environment, while having few possibilities to influence the underlying processes.

It must however be noted that such feelings are also being strengthened by a progress that occurs in public space globally; a change towards more standardisation and homogenisation. The growth of tourism could reinforce that trend, but it also occurs irrespective of tourism. Such developments especially influence the desires, for which tourism should thus not be fully blamed.

## Conclusion

The processes that occur in the range of commercial amenities, in reaction to the growth of tourism, together with the impact it has on the liveability of the residents, are schematized in Figure 1 below. It is shown that the growth of tourism, together with changing consumer behaviour, alters the dominant market demands that have a bearing on the range of commercial amenities. The market parties react thereupon, resulting in alterations in the range of commercial amenities. This, together with more general changes of public space, has a negative impact on the liveability of the residents. This negative impact can be broken down in an impact on the needs and the desires of the residents.

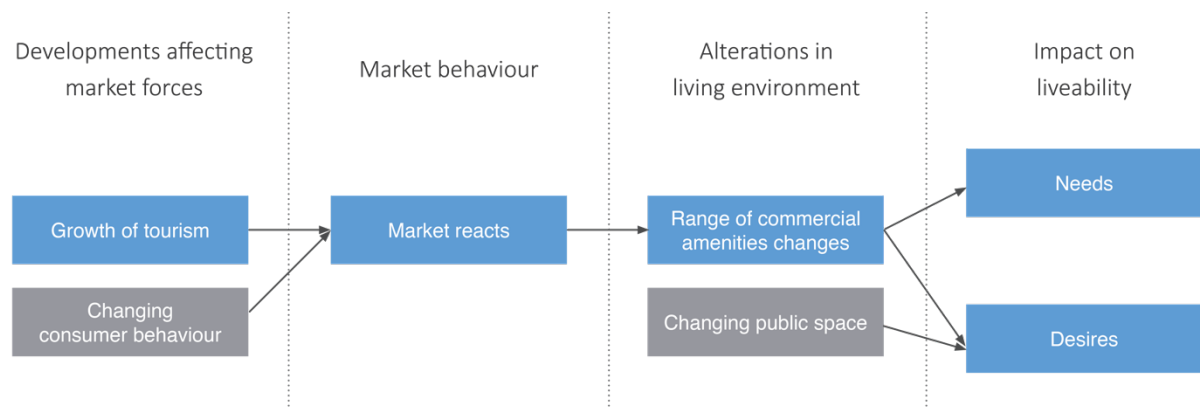


FIGURE 1: FLOW CHART OF THE PROCESS AND IMPACT OF THE GROWTH OF TOURISM ON THE RANGE OF COMMERCIAL AMENITIES

## Steering in Amsterdam

After the thorough analysis of the impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam, this chapter clarifies and assesses the possibilities of the municipality to steer that impact.

### Available instrument types

First, an overview is given of the available instrument types for the municipality of Amsterdam, thereby giving an answer to the sub research question ‘what instruments does a municipality have at its disposal to steer this impact, and what are their characteristics?’. The instruments are divided according to the subdivision shaping, regulating, stimulating and capacity building (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012), as explained in the steering framework above.

#### Shaping

Shaping instruments generally give a good outlook on what public bodies would like to see in the future, and what bottlenecks they think are important to resolve in order to make that future happen. Two things stand out when looking at the shaping instruments on this subject. Firstly, tourism with its positive and negative consequences became an increasingly important subject over the years. Secondly, governmental bodies plead for ‘balance in the city’ in almost all documents from the last three years. They want all different uses of the city to be able to co-exist alongside each other, without one use to be overly dominant over the others.

### **Regulating**

The most important regulating instrument is the land use plan. It provides relatively strong control over the total quantity and the spatial distribution of a certain amenity type, especially regarding its expansion through the establishment of new businesses. When looking at the possibilities for a municipality to steer within these frameworks, a difference is noticeable between retail and horeca (combination of hotels, restaurants, cafes), the amenity categories that seem to be most affected by the growth of tourism. Whereas horeca is subdivided into several categories and is subject to a permit system, alterations within a retail establishment are less steerable for a municipality. However, all steering actions must be spatially substantiated in both cases, with economic motives not being allowed. The permitted substantiation could be extended through the implication of the Environmental Planning Bill (Dutch: omgevingswet). However, the precise details of this new instrument are not yet known, so it remains to be seen what its influence will be.

### **Stimulating**

The category stimulating consists of two different instruments types. First of all, there are several subsidy programs, most of which are aimed at improving basic preconditions or at subsidizing capacity building instruments. Secondly, there is the investment vehicle, on which the rest of stimulating paragraphs in this research will focus. This instrument type, which can be used to acquire properties in which amenities are operated, provides an exceedingly direct control over the range of amenities in a certain street or area. However, it can be a really costly instrument type.

### **Capacity building**

Capacity building instruments are often closer related to institutional arrangements than to instruments literally. They show that the municipality has several options to connect actors, improve social processes and stimulate actors to work towards common goals. These instruments rely for a large share on the self-organizing powers of the actors, with the municipality fulfilling more of a facilitating role. Most of the currently used instruments are more geared towards improving preconditions such as safety and proper appearance than at steering the range of amenities directly.

### **Assessment of the instrument types**

Next, the instrument types mentioned above have been assessed on the basis of the four questions mentioned in the steering framework: 'does it work', 'does it suit', 'is it normatively correct' and 'is it permitted'. By doing so, an answer is given to the sub-question 'which instruments are most fit'.

### **Shaping**

Assessing the shaping instruments is less explanatory than the assessment of the other instrument types. It is clear that shaping the market alone does not achieve the desired result. Rather, suchlike instruments can be seen as a starting point for the other instrument types, that are employed in order to achieve the goals that were communicated through the shaping instruments.

### **Regulating**

Regulating can work quite effectively in limiting the growth of certain unwanted functions. However, both the legislation of the European Union and the willingness of politicians (and to some degree society) limit how far this regulation can go. Both bottlenecks indicate that imposing legislation in order to ensure preconditions such as safety and minimizing nuisance are easier to implement than legislation through which the municipality decides directly what amenities locate where. The environmental planning bill might extend the legal possibilities. However, even then it remains to be seen to what extent regulating alone can be made effective and efficient. In conclusion, regulating can be used in order to create a framework (Dutch: kaderstellend) but should likely have to be combined with other planning type in case a municipality wants to extend its control over the range of commercial amenities.

### **Stimulating**

With respect to stimulating, it is found that an investment vehicle is a highly effective instrument in affecting the range of commercial amenities. However, making it efficient is the biggest bottleneck, due to the expensive property purchases. This is especially true if one starts an investment vehicle in an advanced stage of tourism gentrification, since that often collides with an overheated property market. Furthermore, investing really large sums of money could cause problems with the logic of appropriateness. This approach



thus seems to be most suitable to use as a catalyst, by trying to trigger a process that improves the range of amenities through relatively small interventions. Furthermore, whereas regulating seems to be more appropriate to curb functions one does *not* want, with an investment vehicle one is better able to stimulate what one *does* want.

### Capacity building

Capacity building it is a promising instrument type, but the fact that it is based on voluntary cooperation makes it difficult to make effective. Because of that, the question 'does it work' is far more of a bottleneck than the other three questions. The willingness of actors greatly differs, and one can assume that there will always be certain entrepreneurs and especially property owners that will not (fully) cooperate. That does however not mean that one should not try to make this instrument type work. It remains nevertheless difficult to assess the influence of this type, both because this approach is relatively new, and because its effects are less directly visible.

The findings show that this approach does have some demands regarding the institutional arrangements. The planning type capacity building on its own does already presume a market activating role of local authorities, instead of a hierarchical steering role. It is furthermore suggested to implement a neutral, locally acting intermediary. The municipality can facilitate this, but it is strongly recommended not to make it a governmental actor, in order to ensure its credibility and effectiveness. Last but not least, it is interesting to mention that this instrument type is especially well suited to actively involve residents in their own neighbourhood.

## Conclusions & recommendations

This section concludes on the findings regarding the impact, the policy fit, and the usability of these findings for other cities.

### The impact

The first part of the main research question, 'How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?', is already largely answered in the conclusion of the section on the impact in Amsterdam above. It was argued that the growth of tourism, together with changing consumer behaviour, alters the dominant market demands that have a bearing on the range of commercial amenities. The market parties react thereupon, resulting in alterations in the range of commercial amenities. This, together with more general changes of public space, has a negative impact on the liveability of the residents. This negative impact can be broken down in an impact on the needs of the residents and an impact on the desires.

The assessment of the instruments above does however provide some extra insight in these processes, and the outcomes they (can) have. It shows that the way in which the market reacts is strongly influenced by the instruments that the municipality imposes. The impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities is thus strongly influenced by the manner and the degree in which the municipality influences the decision environment of the market parties. However, it also shows that this influence is not always as intended.

### Policy fit

The investigation of the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities, combined with the assessment of the instruments a municipality can use to steer this impact, give an answer to the second part of the main research question. With this question, it is investigated what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer the aforementioned impact. The following paragraphs will first of all go into detail on the willingness to steer. Next, it is argued that different policy approaches are fit to steer the impact on the *needs* and the impact on the *desires*.

### Willingness to steer

It is shown that the willingness of the municipality to steer is a significant factor of influence on the policy fit. In the event that a city witnesses a high growth of tourism, a municipality has to make a choice *if* it wants to steer, *how* it wants to steer, and *to what degree* it wants to steer. It is not the goal of this research to make that choice. The findings of this research show however that if one does *not* steer, a large growth of

tourism can eventually harm the liveability of the residents. In reaction, residents expect the municipality to intervene.

#### **Different policy fit for the needs and the desires**

In case the willingness to act is present, it proves to be helpful to use the dichotomy between needs and desires to elaborate on that matter. This research shows that to steer the impact on the needs, a different policy is fit than it is to steer the impact on the desires.

#### **Policy fit for the impact on the needs**

The policy that is most fit to steer the impact on the needs is a regulating approach, based on a content driven strategy. The impact on the needs can be substantiated based on objective criteria. Impact on the needs harms the basic preconditions of a clean, healthy and safe living environment. Applying regulating instruments to steer such impact both passes the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequence. Suchlike regulating instruments influence what is *not* part of the range of commercial amenities, in a rather top-down matter. Furthermore, applying suchlike instruments creates a level playing field for the actors involved.

The role of the municipality when applying regulating policy is providing a framework (Dutch: kaderstellend). This can be regarded as a hierarchical role of the municipality. Regarding the institutional arrangements, it was shown that this mainly asks for legal possibilities of higher governmental bodies.

There are however several areas of concern. Firstly, it can only be reinforced in a relatively advanced stage of tourism gentrification, when there is a strong sense of urgency. Secondly, there is the risk that once a municipality prohibits a certain type of amenity, another 'unwanted type' pops up. Taking smaller steps in planning, combined with feedback cycles through which the problem perception of residents is assessed, can be a way to deal with these issues.

#### **Policy fit for the impact on the desires**

The findings show however that regulating alone is insufficient in dealing with the discontent of the residents. The following paragraphs will explain that this is due to the impact on the desires, for which a regulating policy approach is less fit. Rather, a stimulating and facilitating policy is recommended, based on a process driven strategy.

There is no uniform consensus about the impact of the growth of tourism, neither about the norms that should be applied to steer that impact. Furthermore, the desires are increasingly influenced by what type of amenities *are* part of the cityscape, instead of what are *not*. That can come down to very specific details of these amenities. This makes a regulating approach, through which certain amenity types are limited on a top-down matter, unfit.

Rather, a policy that strengthens the feeling of connection that residents have to their living environment is recommended. Two instrument types can be considered by a municipality in this context. The first eligible type is facilitating capacity building, with an intermediary that connects actors in a street and stimulates the making of decisions jointly instead of individually. The second instrument a municipality could consider is stimulation through the use of an investment vehicle, that is put in a use as a catalyst to improve the emergency of certain types of commercial amenities.

Both approaches are based on what is already there, instead of on a 'socially engineered blueprint'. They are process driven, react to their context and emerge along the way. They imply a governance role of the municipality, which gives the municipality less direct control than in the regulating policy approach.

The capacity building can be hard to make effective, which is why it is recommended to share best practices, that illustrate how it could benefit the actors involved. Furthermore, it is recommended for both approaches to use the local contextual characteristics as well as possible, instead of applying a uniform approach.

### **Usability of the findings for other cities**

Tourism gentrification also occurs in multiple other cities, as explained in the introduction. The usability of the findings of the case study in Amsterdam for other cities is affected by a couple of contextual variables. The most important variables and their implications are as follows:

- *The stage of the tourism life cycle.* In an earlier stage, i.e. with less tourists, the sense of urgency that triggers the willingness to steer is less present. Nevertheless, cities in such a situation are

already searching for suitable policies due to the example of cities such as Amsterdam. For them, it is recommended to invest in capacity building instruments on beforehand. Regarding the investment vehicle, it is argued that setting it up in advance is less costly, but could be disputed as well. With regard to regulating, a step-by-step approach is recommended.

- *The geographical distribution of tourism.* The negative effects of tourism gentrification are more severe when the tourism is concentrated on a smaller area. This could be a reason to implement policy to spread the tourists over the city, a topic that was often discussed in the interviews and in the press.
- *The predominant tourist type.* Since the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities is mainly influenced by their consumer behaviour, the predominant type of tourist that visits a destination has a major influence on the impact of tourism. It is however unknown to what degree this is steerable.
- *The willingness of politicians.* This is a significant factor of influence on the policies that are being applied. This variable can for instance be influenced by a negative exemplary role of another city, as explained under the first variable, or by the predominant political orientation of a policy maker.
- *The pressure on the market.* A high pressure on the market before the growth of tourism occurs could amplify the effects that take place, among others with regard to the displacement of certain amenity types. It is therefore recommended for cities in a less severe stage of tourism gentrification to have a clear image of the local characteristics of the markets that influence the range of commercial amenities.
- *The reactions of the residents.* One important difference between Amsterdam and several other cities with severe tourism gentrification, is that in these other cities residents exited the city centre in large numbers. It is therefore recommended for municipalities to actively gather the perceptions of the residents, in order to have a good image of potential displacement factors.

## Reflection

When looking from a broader perspective at the issues discussed in this research, several questions arise. For instance, what will happen in our cities if the growth of tourism develops even further? The tourism life cycle implies a *cyclical* process. However, the findings rather imply a linear process, with a continuous growth of tourism. On the other hand, however, it is visible that a part of the tourists themselves are increasingly escaping from the most touristic places. Will that be a trend that continues? And equally important, what will the residents of those places do?

The second part of the research showed that the range of commercial amenities in a city centre is not engineerable, at least not for a municipality. Moreover, the processes that occur due to tourism are strongly intertwined with other global urban developments. Nevertheless, residents expect municipalities to protect their liveability. This research suggests that in order to achieve desirable results within this complex situation, governments should not choose a role of either government or governance, but are recommended to combine these two roles into a dual approach. Last but not least, it is recommended to engage in debate on the future of the city. In the end, this comes down to the question this thesis started with: “who owns the city?”



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# 1 Research proposal

## 1.1 Problem analysis

### 1.1.1 Growth of urban tourism

A growth of tourism is visible throughout the world. Tourism worldwide has experienced a more than 40-fold increase, from approximately 25 million in 1950 to more than 1.1 billion in 2014. This trend is set to continue: international tourist arrivals worldwide are expected to reach 1.4 billion by 2020 and 1.8 billion by the year 2030 (UNWTO, 2015). An overview is shown in Figure 2.

Urban tourism plays an important role within this growth. Whereas sun & beach holidays and touring holidays have grown approximately 30% over the last 5-year period, the city trips segment has increased by 72% over the same extent of time (IPK International, 2015). This growth is clearly reflected in the statistics of individual cities. Arrivals in all paid forms of accommodation establishments in Barcelona for instance have increased from 1.7 million in 1990 to 7.5 million in 2013, and Berlin has seen a growth of 2.8 to 11.3 million over the same period (TourMIS, 2014).

Because of this growth, the significance of the tourism sector is growing rapidly. According to the latest research of the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC, 2017), travel and tourism generated 10,2% of global GDP and supported one-tenth of all jobs worldwide in 2016. Furthermore, global visitor exports, which is money spent by foreign visitors, accounted for 6.6% of the total world exports and almost 30% of total world service exports. Last but not least, the growth of the sector outpaced the global economy for the sixth time in a row last year. Travel and tourism is thus developing into one of the largest economic sectors worldwide (Richter, 2010).

### 1.1.2 Reasons for rising popularity of urban tourism

The rising popularity of urban tourism has several reasons. First of all, the proliferation of low cost carriers has had a major impact, mainly by making flights more affordable, but also by expanding and improving their flight networks, thereby making more cities reachable in less time and for less money (Dunne, Flanagan, & Buckley, 2010). The increasing availability of internet based services further facilitated this development, by making the booking process easier and information on the destination better accessible (Bock, 2015). Urbanisation is believed to reinforce this trend as well, as people living in cities are more likely to associate with cities, and therefore are more inclined to visit other cities (UNWTO, 2014). In parallel, peoples' perceptions of cities as tourist destinations is also changing. They do not see a city as an entry, exit or transit point anymore, but as a destination on its own. Last but not least, with a growing part of the population taking multiple trips per year, there is a tendency towards several shorter holidays each year instead of just one main holiday (Dunne et al., 2010).

### 1.1.3 Growing discontent from residents

In recent years, this growth of tourism caused increasing discontent among residents in several cities throughout the world. A growing number of locals are not only taking issue with the growth of tourism as such, but also with the negative impact it has on their living environments. This can especially be witnessed in (historical) city centres, where residential uses intersect with a growing amount of tourist uses.

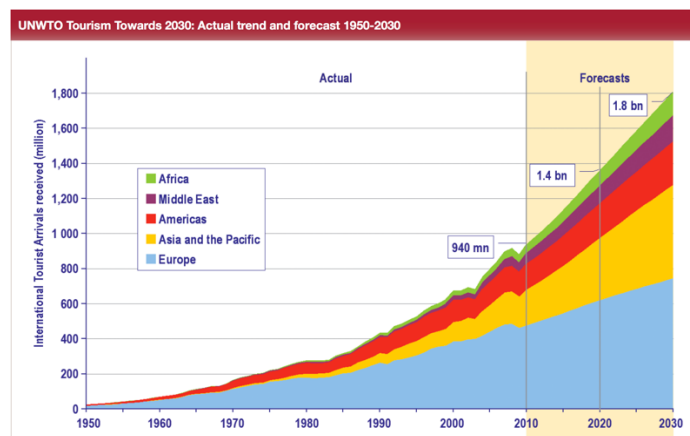


FIGURE 2: FORECAST WORLDWIDE TOURISM (UNWTO, 2015)

(Colomb & Novy, 2016). In Lisbon for instance, people complain about the 'Disneyfication' of historical neighbourhoods due to tourism, thereby harming the social sustainability within their area (Mendes, 2016). News articles about Barcelona state that "the scale of visitor numbers is affecting not only residents' quality of life, but their very ability to live in the area" (Colau, 2014). Locals are protesting against the number of tourists, as show in Figure 3, worrying that the city will lose its identity as more tourist-focused shops or attractions open (Kitching, 2015). Last year this even led to vandalism, with the attack of a tourist bus (Peter, 2017). And within the city of Venice, residents complain that as a result of the pressure caused by tourism and rising rent prices, routine purchases for residents such as underwear are no longer possible in their own city (Colau, 2014). A growing number of residents thus no longer agree with the severe changes in their neighbourhoods, for which they blame the growth of tourism.



FIGURE 3: ANTI-TOURISM MARCH IN BARCELONA (PETER, 2017)

#### 1.1.4 Impact on the range of amenities

The consequences of the growth of urban tourism reach further than solely the increasing presence of tourists within the city. Due to their presence in large numbers, a growing competition over scarce resources and services within the city occurs (Füller & Michel, 2014). Research shows that as a result, cities or neighbourhoods can become increasingly geared to the experience of visitors instead of residents. This process is being referred to in the literature as tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005). One of the main effects of tourism gentrification that is being detested by residents, is its impact on the range of commercial amenities in the city centre. Market parties respond to the growth of tourism by establishing businesses such as tourist shops and tourist focussed restaurants. Neighbourhoods, primarily within the centre of these cities, are consequently slowly but steadily being transformed and produced for temporary instead of permanent users (Judd, 2003). At first this can create advantages in terms of amenities for residents as well, such as an increase in investments in museums and other cultural venues. However, according to complaints in multiple cities, this growth of tourism focussed amenities is ultimately detrimental for the range of amenities aimed at local residents (Colomb & Novy, 2016).

#### 1.1.5 Municipality's policy

In these affected cities, the dissatisfied residents look at the municipality to 'do something about it' (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). They ask the municipality to deal with the problems that are being caused by the growth of tourism in general, and its impact on the range of commercial amenities specifically. For a municipality however, steering this development is not an easy task.

First of all, it needs to know *what* to steer. When looking at the range of commercial amenities, it is difficult to determine exactly what the influence of tourism is. The city with all of its components is constantly changing, which is especially true for its range of commercial amenities. Furthermore, as described by authors such as Zukin (2011), there are many (other) developments that are influencing this constant change.

Secondly, it should determine *if* it wants to steer. Tourism in general can potentially lead to several dilemmas. Most governments are focussed on the stimulation of tourism because of its contribution to economic growth (Judd & Fainstein, 1999), a focus that is being strengthened by the changing focus within cities from production to consumption (Harrill, 2004), and the rise of 'urban entrepreneurialism', in which economic development plays a central role (Mizuno, 2010). Even after the economic crisis, many city leaders have chosen to intensify place marketing and tourism promotion policies, in order to encourage tourism in their city (Colomb & Novy, 2016). Dealing with the negative impact of tourism instead of stimulating it for its benefits could raise several dilemmas.

Next, it should determine *how* it can steer. The problems described above are relatively new, and contain some complicating characteristics. The process of tourism gentrification is an incremental process

that occurs in the existing living environment, with lots of market pressures. It is unknown what instruments are most effective and efficient under these circumstances, or if new instruments have to be formed. All in all, this raises a question to which the best response is yet to be found. Municipalities are thus still figuring out what policy is most fit to steer these developments.

## 1.2 Problem statement

Based upon the problem analysis, the following problem statement has been formulated:

- It is unclear what the exact impact of the growth of tourism is on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre. Public opinion in several cities indicates that the growth of tourism influences the range of commercial amenities in some way, with adverse consequences for the residents. However, in order to examine this process more thoroughly, and before a municipality can investigate how one can steer this impact, one needs to have a better overview of what this impact with its underlying processes exactly entails.
- It is unclear what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this development. In several cities, the process of tourism gentrification has reached such a point that municipalities would like to intervene. However, they still have to figure out what is the most appropriate policy response.



## 1.3 Research questions

This leads to the following main research question, supported by several sub-questions:

### Main research question

**How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre, and what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact?**

The main research question consists of two parts, that are both subdivided into several sub-questions. Each sub-question is linked to a specific research part.

### Research question part 1

- How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?

Which is subdivided in a set of sub-questions:

<i>No.</i>	<i>Sub-question</i>	<i>Research part</i>
1a.	What methodological framework can be used to study the impact of tourism on a city centre?	Concepts: theory (paragraph 3.1)
1b.	What is the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?	Practice: Case study Amsterdam (chapter 4)

TABLE 1: RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS 1

### Research question part 2

- What policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact?

Which is subdivided in a set of sub-questions as well:

<i>No.</i>	<i>Sub-question</i>	<i>Research part</i>
2a.	What methodological framework can be used to study the policy that a municipality can apply to steer this impact?	Concepts: theory (paragraph 3.2)
2b.	What instruments does a municipality have at its disposal to steer this impact, and what are their characteristics?	Practice: case study Amsterdam (paragraph 5.1)
2c.	Which instruments are most fit?	Practice: case study Amsterdam (paragraph 5.2)
2d.	What policy is most fit?	Synthesis: combination of above (chapter 6)

TABLE 2: RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS 2

## 1.4 Research scope

The scope of the research will be further defined by explaining the individual components of the main research question, as they are being used in this report.

### Tourism

A tourist is understood as someone who 'travels to and stays in places outside the usual environment for no more than one consecutive year, for leisure, business and other purposes' (UNWTO, 1995). It does not necessarily imply an overnight stay, but could also relate to the discovery of a place through a short visit

(Gravari-Barbas & Jacquot, 2016). This research focusses on urban tourism, i.e. tourist activities in which a city is the main destination and place of interest (Ashworth & Page, 2011).

### **Commercial amenities**

The term amenity can be construed broadly. It often refers to point-specific services, i.e. “tied to a specific location, and exhibit externalities with tapering effects”. Examples are libraries, shops, hospitals, parks, et cetera (Knox & Pinch, 2010, p. 275). Even characteristics such as the climate can technically be seen as an amenity (Desmet & Rossi-Hansberg, 2013). It is therefore important to specify what kind of amenity is referred to in this research.

Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz (2001) discern four critical urban amenities; the presence of a variety of services and consumer goods; aesthetics and physical characteristics; public services; and speed. The investigation into tourism gentrification demonstrated that it is in particular the commercial amenities, as part of the first category, that is being influenced and debated in respect to tourism. As explained in chapter 4 on the impact in Amsterdam, market parties react to the growth of tourism by establishing businesses that are geared towards tourists. As a result, the range of commercial amenities changes, which causes discontent among the residents. This research will therefore focus on the range of *commercial* amenities, and will not go into detail with regard to other, non-commercial amenities such as parks and other public facilities.

### **City centre**

The investigation of tourism and its impact on the city showed that in the majority of the cities that experience a large growth of tourism, this is having most impact within the centre of the city. Therefore, this research will focus on the city centre instead of on the city as a whole.

### **Municipality as steering actor**

As explained in the introduction, concerned residents ask the municipality to deal with the problems that are being caused by the growth of tourism in general, and its impact on the range of commercial amenities specifically (Fainstein, 2007). Municipalities are however still figuring out what policy is most fit to steer these developments. The municipality is therefore seen as the steering actor in this research. This implies that steering possibilities that are initiated by other actors will not be taken into account.

### **Policy fit**

“A policy consists of a problem analysis, problem definition, and possibly solutions as well as strategies for reaching these solutions. A policy instrument provides the means to reach these goals” (Eliadis, Hill, & Howlett, 2005, p. 188). The policy fit in this research has been investigated the other way around. Since a number of instruments on the matter central in this research were already being employed in Amsterdam, these instruments were taken as a basis for the investigation. From that starting point, it was investigated what policy is most ‘fit’. Policy fit relates not only to practical considerations of *how* to implement a policy, but involves assessing policy values and understanding *whether* a particular policy is both desirable and practical (Rose, 1991). Furthermore, the institutional arrangements that are needed to deploy these policies are taken into account. Institutional arrangements describe the different (in)formal regimes and coalitions for collective action and inter-agent coordination (Geels, 2004; Klijn & Teisman, 2000).

## **1.5 Research relevance**

The relevance of the research will be illustrated through the scientific relevance, the societal relevance, and the utilisation potential.

### **1.5.1 Scientific relevance**

Urban tourism has received little attention in the scientific domain for a long time (Beauregard, 1998). This is however changing in recent years, with an increasing amount of scholarly attention in among others the fields of urban geography and urban sociology (Colomb & Novy, 2016, p. 9). There is now a relatively large body of literature, that describes the evolvement of urban tourism into “an extremely important economic and social phenomenon as well as a critical force of urban change” (Novy, 2016, pp. 53–54). However, since most relevant research is written in fields such as geography and sociology, the majority of the literature

focuses on the *process* of tourism gentrification, instead of on the possibilities to *steer* that development. This thesis provides a new perspective by combining these two elements in a holistic approach.

The problem statement is primarily based on a societal problem, rather than a scientific problem. Furthermore, the scientific assessment of the issues shows that when looking at the problem objectively, the influence of tourism is less severe than is often assumed. That does however not mean that the subject becomes less relevant, on the contrary. By giving possible explanations for this difference and compiling associated policy recommendations, an increased scientific understanding of this phenomenon is sought.

### 1.5.2 Societal relevance

The subject has significant societal relevance as well. Encouraging urban tourism has been a part of urban development strategies of cities for some time now (Judd & Fainstein, 1999), but as explained in the introduction, recently more and more municipalities are searching for ways to control the impact that this growth has (Colomb & Novy, 2016). They investigate this matter on an individual basis as well as through cooperation and knowledge sharing among cities (Vermeulen, 2015). The expertise in this area is however still limited, and cities are searching globally for appropriate, effective policy in reaction to tourism gentrification (Hermanides, 2015). Since protests against the impact of tourism are increasing, and the growth of urban tourism is expected to continue at a fast pace in the future (UNWTO, 2015), it really is a matter of urgency.

The impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities specifically, and the policy through which that impact can be steered, have great relevance as well. A transition in urban development practice is occurring at the moment, with an increasing emphasis on (re)developing inner cities in a sustainable manner. However, a fundamental new perspective is needed to withstand this transition, including applicable policy (Heurkens, 2014). This can place severe demands on municipalities when trying to influence the range of commercial amenities. Instead of new projects, one has to influence the existing stock, not only quantitatively but also possibly qualitatively. Last but not least, the shift from government towards governance could further hamper the applicability of old working methods, and therefore asks for new insight.

### 1.5.3 Utilisation potential

Since the majority of this research investigates what policy is fit for a *municipality* to steer a certain development, the outcome of this research is most relevant for municipalities. The research is shaped in such a way that this not only entails the municipality of Amsterdam, but also provides a helpful contribution for other municipalities, in the Netherlands and abroad. For other municipalities that experience much lower amounts of tourism, such as the Dutch cities Utrecht and Rotterdam, it can act as a so-called 'extreme case', which shows how tourism gentrification occurs in an advanced stage. Atypical or extreme cases can often be useful because they "activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situations studied" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229). Such municipalities can thus use the research outcomes to acquire a better understanding of the process, and use the policy recommendations to prevent outliers in negative impact, instead of applying 'curing measures'. Furthermore, for municipalities with comparable high amounts of tourism, such as Barcelona and Prague, it can act as a common case. The investigated situation in Amsterdam shows characteristics comparable to the situation in their own city, meaning that the research outcomes will be beneficial for them as well.

## 2 Methodology

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This research is based on a qualitative research approach. The orientation is inductive, meaning that observations and findings lead to broader generalizations and theories (Bryman, 2015). The research design is a single case study, for which the city of Amsterdam is chosen. Paragraph 2.1 will explain why these research methodology choices were made, after which paragraph 2.2 elaborates on the research components. Last but not least, the main method to obtain the empirical findings, semi-structured interviewing, is commented on in paragraph 2.2.1.

### 2.1 Research rationale

#### Qualitative research approach

With qualitative research, it is possible to investigate the “essence of people, objects or situations” (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This research intends to investigate how a change in a situation in a city or neighbourhood affects the different stakeholders, and how these stakeholders can act in order to improve this situation. Qualitative research is therefore the proper strategy to comprehend this subject.

#### Case study

Case study research attempts to “explore, describe or explain events as they actually happened” (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It enables the researcher to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly perceptible (Yin, Bateman, & Moore, 1985). Due to these characteristics, it is often being used as a method to collect qualitative data in applied academic fields such as urban planning and management (Heurkens, 2014). Yin (1994) provided three conditions that can determine what research method to use. In summary, he explains that the research method case study is applicable in the event a “how” or “why” question is being asked, about a contemporary set of events, over which a researcher has little or no control.

The topic central in this research is a contemporary phenomenon, occurring in and having direct influence on society. One cannot have direct control over this phenomenon, or influence the way it occurs. The first part of the research is intended to investigate how the growth of tourism impacts the range of commercial amenities in a city centre. It is the impact of tourism *on amenities* that is being researched, while simultaneously it can be seen that contextual factors have a large impact on this phenomenon as well. A case study allows to focus on the *case*, while retaining a holistic and real-world perspective (Yin, 1994). The second part of the research question; “what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer this impact”, is another *how* question on its own. Furthermore, in order to answer that question, it is essential to understand *why* actors behave the way they do.

#### Single case

Yin (1994) discerns four types of case study. Every type is based on the desire to analyse contextual conditions in relation to the case, with the boundaries between the case and the context not being sharp. He makes two variables: first of all, either a single case or multiple cases, and secondly, the investigation of either a unitary unit (a single-unit of analysis), implying a holistic research, or multiple units of analysis, implying an embedded case study. This research focusses on a single case, being Amsterdam, with a single-unit of analysis, being the range of commercial amenities.

Using a single case is not uncontroversial in science. Yin himself gives several recommendations for high quality case study research, including the usage of multiple rather than single case designs (Yin, Bateman, & Moore, 1985). Other researchers deter the single case as a research method as well, among others because it does not allow formal generalization. However, Flyvbjerg (2006) states that if knowledge cannot be formally generalized, that does not mean that it “cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society” (p. 227). It can add valuable information, and has often helped to cut a path towards scientific innovation.

The last reason to investigate a single-case is a more pragmatic one. A graduation research provides only a limited amount of time and capacity. At the same time, the subject that is being investigated is highly complicated, with many different facets that impact the phenomenon. Choosing a single case provides the opportunity to study the subject matter in greater depth, thereby improving the usability of the findings.

### **The city of Amsterdam**

One needs sufficient access to the data for one's potential case (Yin, 1994). The phenomenon tourism gentrification through urban tourism currently occurs in most countries in only one city, which is often the capital city. A subtler form might be visible in some other cities, but a more advanced form of tourism gentrification allows more data to be collected. With that in mind, the city of Amsterdam is a very suitable choice. Not only is tourism gentrification a hot topic in the public debate at the moment, the proximity to the home city of the researcher also makes data gathering much easier than it would be in the event a city like Berlin or Barcelona would be investigated. Furthermore, given the fact that the researcher has an education primarily based on the Dutch context, a more in-depth research is possible in a Dutch city than it is somewhere else.

Bryman (2015) gives several circumstances under which a single-case study is an appropriate design, with five appropriate single-case rationales: critical, unusual, common, revelatory or longitudinal case. When comparing Amsterdam with other Dutch cities such as Utrecht or Rotterdam, it can act as an unusual case, which shows how tourism gentrification occurs in an advanced stage. Atypical or extreme cases can often be useful because they "activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situations studied" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229). However, compared to other cities with comparable high amounts of tourism, such as Barcelona or Berlin, it can act as a common case.

### **The range of commercial amenities**

The choice for the range of commercial amenities as the unit of analysis was a result of the inductive research approach. While conducting the research, it was decided that one analysis instead of several was needed in order to achieve sufficient depth in the findings within the time available. After investigating the context of tourism gentrification, the impact on the range of commercial amenities arose as both one of the most influential consequences of tourism gentrification, and one of the most difficult processes to steer. The range of commercial amenities was therefore eventually chosen as the unit of analysis, with the idea that it would give the most informative research findings as outcome, and provide the most informative learning process for the researcher.

## **2.2 Research components**

The following paragraphs elaborate on the consecutive components of the research.

### **Theory: Methodological impact framework**

This component answers sub-question 1a; what methodological framework can be used to study the impact of tourism on a city centre? Through an in-depth literature study, it is investigated what is already known about the topic and what concepts and theories have already been applied to this subject. This part of the literature study forms the theoretical basis to answer the first part of the research question.

### **Context: Tourism gentrification**

This step provides insight of the context of tourism gentrification. As explained before, the research method case study is often being used to study contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly perceptible (Yin, Bateman, & Moore, 1985). In this research, the problem analysis is triggered by residents that complain about the impact that tourism has on their living environment. However, this process and its consequences goes beyond amenities alone. Therefore, this step paints a broader picture of the context. This is done through an investigation of both scientific literature and press articles from multiple cities in which tourism gentrification occurs. The information gathered through this step is displayed in blue boxes throughout the research, to enrich or contrast the findings that were gathered in the city of Amsterdam.

### **Case study: Impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities**

The next step concerns the first element of the case study of Amsterdam, and provides an answer to sub-question 1b; 'what is the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in a city centre?' To answer this question, the findings of the first two steps were combined with the findings of the case study of Amsterdam. In that case study, the impact on the range of commercial amenities has been investigated subjectively as well as objectively, after which the influence of relevant developments has been examined as well. Last but not least, the impact on the liveability of the residents is investigated.



### Theory: Methodological steering framework

After the process of tourism gentrification in general and the impact it has on the range of amenities specifically has been identified, the next step is investigating the steerability of this impact. To begin with, a framework for this investigation will be defined, through the combination of two separate frameworks defined by Adams & Tiesdell (2012) and Hemerijck (2003). By doing so, an answer is given to sub-question 2a; what methodological framework can be used to study the policy that a municipality can apply to steer this impact?

### Case study: Gathering of instruments

This step consists of compiling an overview of the possible instruments a municipality can use in order to steer the aforementioned impact, as well as their characteristics, thereby giving an answer to sub-question 2b. This will be done through an investigation of policy documents and conducting interviews with relevant stakeholders in Amsterdam. The instruments have been ordered using the distinction between shaping, regulating, stimulating and capacity-building instruments, as described in the framework of Adams & Tiesdell (2012).

### Case study: Instruments fit

In order to give an answer to sub-question 2c; 'which instruments are most fit?', the instruments from the former step have been analysed on the basis of a framework by Hemerijck (2003). This framework provides four questions that represents four kinds of policy-instrument fit, which will be explained in paragraph 3.2.2. The findings of this section have been primarily based on the series of semi-structured interviews.

### Synthesis: Policy fit

In the last step, lessons have been drawn from a combination of the theory and the case study, in order to find out 'what policy is most fit'. The investigation on the impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities, together with the 'fit' of the different possible instruments, gives insight into the suitable policy approaches of a municipality in this situation.

#### 2.2.1 Conceptual model

The abovementioned steps are combined in a conceptual model illustrated in

Figure 4, to give an overview of the sequence of the steps and their interconnections. As the figure shows, it is shaped as an hourglass model. The empirical and original part of the study concerns a really specific topic; the alterations in the range of commercial amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam in recent years, as a result of the growth of tourism. However, the level of generality shifts through the text, from the general to the specific and back to the general again. By doing so, the empirical data is linked to broader issues and the usability of the findings is enhanced.

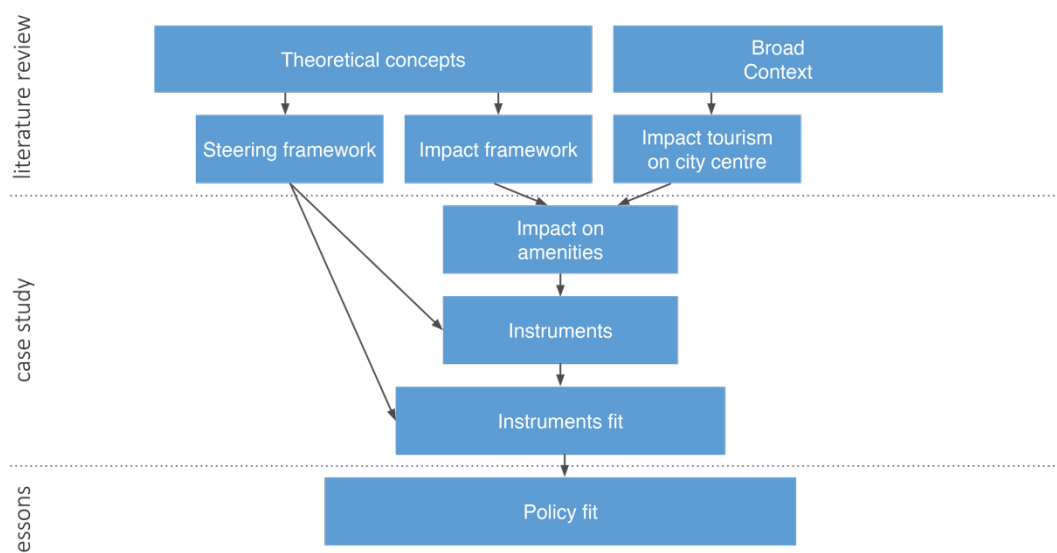


FIGURE 4: CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE RESEARCH COMPONENTS

### 2.2.2 Semi-structured interviewing

A series of semi-structured interviews form the basis of the empirical work for the case study in Amsterdam. As Yin (1994) indicates, the interview is one of the most important sources of case study evidence. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews, meaning that they resemble guided conversations rather than structured queries.

The interviewees were selected on the basis of the identification of stakeholders, as set out in detail in paragraph 4.2. The actor identification pointed out that several of the relevant actors consisted of a heterogeneous group, rather than a single actor or organization. In order to obtain representative insights of these groups within the available capacity and time, representatives of these groups were selected as interviewees. Furthermore, in order to ensure triangulation on the viewpoints of these heterogeneous groups and to capture a differentiated picture, their statements were supplemented with data from other sources such as press articles, literature describing similar actors in other cities, and interviews with other interviewees in which these other actors were discussed. This has led to the selection of interviewees presented in Table 3 on the next page.

#### Style of interviewing

An interviewer has two jobs during an interview process of a semi-structured interview: following one's own line of inquiry, as well as asking one's question in an unbiased manner ensure a proper interview (Yin, 1994). To ensure a natural conversation in which interviewees can talk freely while simultaneously making sure no answers remain unasked till the end, all interviews were held making use of an interview protocol with each question printed on a separate piece of paper. By doing so, it was ensured that every question was asked without making the interview too strict, which enabled the interviewee to speak openly.

Yin (1994) indicates that there are several types of interviews. The first four interviews in the list in Table 3 can best be characterized as prolonged case study interviews, which were used not only to acquire data and insights of the interviewee, but also used the interviewee as an 'informant' to obtain a broader insight of the context and leads for further inquiry. The interviews that were held thereafter can be characterized as shorter case study interviews, of approximately an hour. These were still open-ended and based on a conversational manner, but as findings were being composed, the interviews could be shorter and more direct.

All interviews were recorded and transposed into a transcript, with the exception of the last two interviews, which were summarized. These transcripts and summaries were then coded with codes that were devised from the theoretical frameworks, and subsequently analysed in the coding program Atlas.ti, after which they were used as input to draft the findings of the case study. The outcomes of these interviews were validated with the findings of the literature.

Function	Organization	Date	Cited as
<b>Street manager</b>	CIZ Van Dam tot Stopera CIZ Zeedijk en Geldersekade	27 March 2017	(street manager in city centre Amsterdam, personal communication, March 27, 2017) or (personal communication, March 27, 2017)
<b>Municipal policy advisor</b>	Municipality of Amsterdam	4 April 2017	(retail advisor municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, April 4, 2017) or (personal communication, April 4, 2017)
<b>Board member</b>	Overarching residents' association	5 April 2017	(board member overarching residents' association Amsterdam, personal communication, April 5, 2017) or (personal communication, April 5, 2017)
<b>Chairman</b>	Overarching association of undertakings	5 April 2017	(chairman of overarching association of undertakings, personal communication, April 5, 2017) or (personal communication, April 5, 2017)
<b>Municipal policy advisor</b>	Municipality of Amsterdam	14 June 2017	(advisor space & sustainability of municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, June 14, 2017) or (personal communication, June 14, 2017)
<b>Real estate manager</b>	NV Zeedijk	22 June 2017	(real estate manager NV Zeedijk, personal communication, June 22, 2017) or (personal communication, June 22, 2017)
<b>Programme manager</b>	CentrumXL	3 July 2017	(programme manager CentrumXL, personal communication, July 3, 2017) or (personal communication, July 3, 2017)
<b>Tourist advisor</b>	Municipality of Utrecht	24 August 2017	(tourist advisor municipality of Utrecht, August 24, 2017) or (personal communication, August 24, 2017)
<b>Experienced property owner in Amsterdam</b>	Individual	14 September 2017	(property owner Amsterdam, September 14, 2017) or (personal communication, September 14, 2017)

TABLE 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES



## 3 Theoretical framework

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This chapter forms the theoretical foundation of the research. First, a methodological framework to assess the impact of tourism on a city centre is explained in paragraph 3.1. Next, a framework that is used to study the steerability of this impact is outlined in paragraph 3.2.

### 3.1 Impact framework

This section gives an answer to the sub-question ‘What methodological framework can be used to study the impact of tourism on a city centre?’. The main theoretical concepts that were used are ‘tourism gentrification’ and the ‘tourism life cycle’, which will be explained subsequently.

#### 3.1.1 Tourism gentrification

In scientific literature, the influence that the growth of tourism has on the urban environment, and the manner in which it changes a neighbourhood, is called ‘tourism gentrification’. This term was first utilized by Gotham (2005) in a study on changes within the neighbourhood of Vieux Carre in New Orleans, USA. He devised the definition “transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues” (p. 1102). Gotham explains that the process is commercial as well as residential, and “reflects new institutional connections between the local institutions, the real estate industry and the global economy” (p. 1114). This description is confirmed by other scholars. Judd (2003) for instance defines it as “a process in which the space is produced for and consumed by a cosmopolitan middle-class that demands and reproduces similar urban environments wherever they go” (Judd (2003) in Gant, 2015, p. 4). It is a process through which neighbourhoods slowly but steadily transform in favour of tourism, thereby displacing certain residents from their place (Gant, 2015), which gives it certain similarities with ‘regular’ gentrification. It is however a peculiar kind, since the lower income population is not being replaced by more affluent residents, but residents are rather repressed by the steady pressure of temporary users (Porter & Shaw, 2013). Furthermore, it is characterized by the contrasting combination of global versus local. On the one hand, tourism is a ‘local’ industry, defined by localised consumption of place, grassroots cultural production, and the spatial fixity of the tourism commodity. But on the other hand, tourism is a ‘global’ industry, dominated and intensified by large international organizations (Gotham, 2005, p. 1102). Within this development, consumption plays a central role. Consumption and entertainment occupy an increasingly important role in the city in general (Groot, Marlet, Teulings, & Vermeulen, 2010), which coincides with an increasing standardisation of urban spaces (Sorkin, 1992; Swarbrooke, 2000; Tyler, 2000). The growth of tourism converges with these developments in the transformation of urban neighbourhoods into consumption places, exclusively aimed at entertainment and tourism. It can be seen as a process with a series of positive and negative effects, induced by an “increasing number of tourists, tourist consumption and business interest of investors who perceive tourism as an opportunity to make profit” (Kesar, Dezeljin, & Bienenfeld, 2015, p. 658).

#### 3.1.2 Tourism life cycle

This process of tourism gentrification does not happen at once, but might better be understood as a gradual process. Several authors have elaborated on this process by writing about a so-called tourism life cycle that a tourist area undergoes, with a number of stages along the way. Later on, this is often linked to the ‘tourism carrying capacity’ of an area. Both concepts are useful in assessing the impact that tourism has on the city in general, and on commercial amenities specifically.

The first seminal work on the concept of a tourism life cycle is written by Butler (1980). He elaborated on the idea of a consistent process, through which tourist areas evolve. By doing so, an area passes a number of stages, each with different characteristics. All stages combined are shown in figure 5. It starts with the *exploration stage*, in which small numbers of adventurous tourists are present. There are no specific facilities for visitors, resulting in high use of local facilities and considerable contact with local residents. The physical fabric and the social milieu are unchanged, and tourism has little significance for the economic and social life of the permanent residents. As the numbers of visitors rises, the *involvement stage*



commences. Contact between visitors and locals remains high, and some locals begin to provide facilities primarily or even exclusively for visitors. A 'basic initial market area for visitors' can be defined, and one

increasingly expects public bodies to provide or improve transport and other facilities. Next is the *development stage*, reflecting a well-defined tourist market area. Local involvement and control of development declines rapidly within this stage, partly replaced by external organizations. Changes in the physical appearance are visible, of which some are not approved by all of the local population. The number of tourists at peak periods will presumably match or exceed the local population. In the next stage, the *consolidation stage*, the rate of increase in number of visitors will decline. A large part of the area's economy is tied to tourism, with major franchises and chains being active in the tourist industry. Some opposition and discontent among permanent residents can be expected. When the area enters the *stagnation stage*, the peak in visitor numbers has been reached. Capacity levels for many variables has been reached or exceeded, with accompanying environmental, social and economic problems. The area is no longer in fashion, and exhaustive effort is needed to maintain the number of visitors. As figure 5 shows, thereafter a few options are possible. In the *decline stage*, the area no longer competes with newer attractions, and declines both spatially and numerically. Property turnover is high and tourist facilities are often replaced by non-tourist related structures. Ultimately, the area could become a 'veritable tourist slum' or lose its tourist function completely. However, *rejuvenation* could also occur. Butler gives two ways of accomplishing this: the addition of a man-made attraction, or taking advantage of 'previously untapped natural resources'.

This theory was initially intended for tourism resorts, but since its emergence, it is adopted for several other kinds of tourism areas as well. Based on the analyses of the impact of urban tourism in chapter 4, a (regular) city under the influence of tourism does not seem to fall back into the decline stage, with declining number of tourists. Therefore, compared to this model, urban tourism might differ in the end of the tourism life 'cycle'. The other stages however do seem to be recognizable to some degree, including the influence tourism has on the residents.

### 3.1.3 Tourism carrying capacity

The second relevant concept when looking at the impact is the *tourism carrying capacity* of an area. O'Reilly (1986) explains that there are two schools of thought concerning this concept. The first one sees tourism capacity as "the capacity of the destination area to absorb tourism *before negative impacts of tourism are felt by the host country*" (p. 254), thereby paying more attention to the host country and population, and dictates how much tourists are wanted, rather than how many are possible. The second school, on the other hand, proposes that "tourism capacity be considered as the level beyond which tourist flows will decline because *certain capacities as perceived by the tourists themselves have been exceeded, and therefore the destination area ceases to satisfy and attract them*" (p. 254), thus focussing on the tourists themselves. The first school is closer related to the liveability as perceived by the residents within the city, and is therefore more relevant for this research. Both schools however argue that an even balance in tourism capacity should be pursued.

O'Reilly further argues that the original definitions of tourism carrying capacity only take into account the *physical* impact that tourism has on a destination, while it can have significant consequences on *other* subsystems as well. He therefore distinguishes four kinds of carrying capacity. The *physical carrying capacity* is "the limit of a beach or historical building or site beyond which wear and tear will start taking place or environmental problems will arise". Marting & Uysal (1990) further specified this type of capacity by distinguishing two sub-types: the actual physical limitations of the area, and the physical deterioration

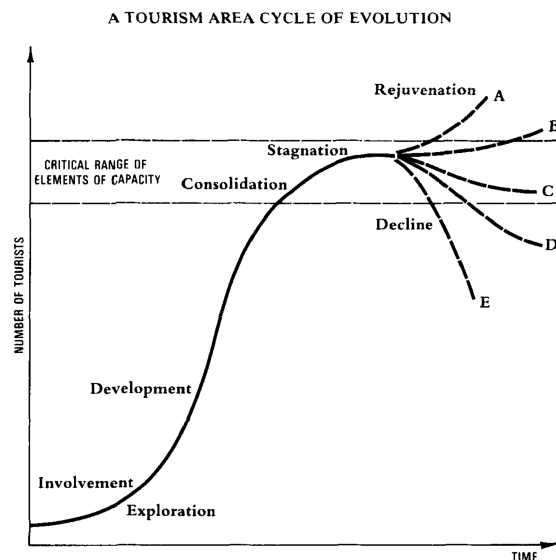


FIGURE 5: THEORETICAL EVOLUTION OF A TOURIST AREA (BUTLER, 1980)

of the environment caused by tourism. Next is the *perceptual* or *psychological capacity*, which O'Reilly defines as “the lowest degree of enjoyment tourists or users of the product are prepared to accept before they start seeking alternative sites or destinations”, thus focussed on the visitors. *Social carrying capacity* on the other hand is more directed at the residents, and is defined as “the level of tolerance of the host population for the presence and behaviour of tourists in the destination area”. Next, the *economic carrying capacity* is “the ability to absorb tourist functions without squeezing out desirable local activities” (O'Reilly, 1986, p. 256). Finally, O'Reilly asserts that the capacity levels are influenced by two major groups of factors; the characteristics of the tourists, and the characteristics of the destination area and its population.

### 3.1.4 Conclusion

This theoretical foundation through which the impact of tourism on the city centre can be investigated, reveals several characteristics of that impact. The theory on tourism gentrification shows that a part of a city or neighbourhood can transform in favour of temporary users, commercially as well as residentially. This process does not stand on its own, but collides with several other developments in the urban sphere.

Furthermore, the theory on the tourism life cycle shows that this process occurs in a number of stages, each with different characteristics. The type of tourism, the consequences for the location and the responses of the local residents evolves also evolve during this cycle. Eventually this can reach pressing levels of the ‘tourism carrying capacity’, which has negative consequences for among others the host population.

## 3.2 Steering framework

This section will provide a framework to study the steerability of the aforementioned impact. This will be done through the combination of two separate frameworks, defined by Adams & Tiesdell (2012) and Hemerijck (2003). The first one, explained in paragraph 3.2.1, provides a means to categorize the instruments. The second one, explained in 3.2.2, is used to assess the ‘fit’ of the instruments.

### 3.2.1 Instrument types

Adams & Tiesdell (2012) made a typology through which instruments can be classified. They distinguish four types of instruments, which are shown in Table 4 below, and further explained in the paragraphs underneath.

Steering from a distance			
'Soft' instruments	<b>Shaping</b>  e.g. shaping the decision environment or context	<b>Regulating</b>  e.g. defining the parameters of the decision environment	'Hard' instruments
	<b>Capacity building</b>  e.g. Developing actor's ability to identify and/or develop more effective/ desirable strategies	<b>Stimulating</b>  e.g. restructuring the contours of the decision environment	
Steering in consultation			

TABLE 4: PLANNING TOOL TYPES (DERIVED FROM TIESDELL & ALLMENDINGER, 2005; VERHEUL & DAAMEN, 2017)

#### Shaping

The first type of instrument is intended to shape the market; these instruments shape the decision environment or the context of individual development actors, and create area potential. They do so by changing the institutional ‘rules of the game’ by which the market parties operate. Common components are making clear what kind of places the government or municipality wants to see developed and restructuring the institutional environment of real estate markets. By doing so, they limit uncertainties regarding external effects, and alter what market actors consider achievable in certain places. Typical sub-types are development plans and indicative plans, but also instruments such as covenants and visions (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012; Heurkens, De Hoog, & Daamen, 2014; Tiesdell & Allmendinger, 2005).

## Regulation

Regulation instruments are intended to constrain the decision environment of individual development actors, by regulating or controlling market actions and transactions. These instruments thus demarcate the area potential, by limiting the available choices that actors can make use of (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012, p. 134). Tiesdell & Allmendinger (2005, p. 64) discern two typical sub-types: state (or third party) regulation, such as planning/ development controls, and contractual (or bi-lateral) regulation, such as restrictive covenants attached to land transfers.

## Stimulation

The third type is stimulation of the market, thereby increasing the area potential and expanding the decision environment of the individual development parties. This kind of instrument increases the likelihood of some desired event to happen, by making certain actions more (or possibly less) rewarding for certain actors. This can be done through for instance direct state actions, for example by resolving constraints or by risk bearing state intervention, or through fiscal measures, such as subsidies, taxes or deductions (Daamen, Franzen, & Vegt van der, 2012, p. 14; Tiesdell & Allmendinger, 2005, p. 64).

## Capacity building

Capacity building instruments are intended to enable development actors to operate more effectively within their decision environment, and are more focused on social processes. By doing so, suchlike instruments intend to facilitate the operation of the policy instruments described above (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012, p. 134). Tiesdell & Allmendinger (2005) differentiate between three sub-types: actor-network relationships, being (in)formal arenas for interaction and networking between the different stakeholders; social capital, being social institutions such as partnerships through which costs, uncertainties and risks can be reduced; and cultural perspectives, also seen as 'thinking outside the box'.

## Conclusion

These four instrument types illustrate the different possibilities that a municipality has when it comes to influencing market behaviour. Furthermore, Table 4 shows that one can make two classifications within this framework. First of all, the difference between steering from a distance and steering in consultation, and secondly the distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' instruments (Verheul & Daamen, 2017).

### 3.2.2 Assessing policy instruments

In order to find out what instruments are most suitable, it is however not only important to know which instruments are available, but also which are most 'fit'. According to Hemerijck (2003, p. 5), legitimized policy should meet four criteria, which are shown in Table 5 below:

Perspective	Criteria of legitimacy	
	Output legitimacy (empirical) <i>Structural formal</i>	Input legitimacy (normative) <i>Cultural-normative</i>
Logic of consequence	<b>1. Does it work?</b> <i>Instrumental effectiveness</i>  Criteria: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Efficiency</li><li>- Effectiveness</li></ul>	<b>4. Is it permitted?</b> <i>Constitutional legality</i>  Criteria: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Procedural legality</li><li>- Substantive legality</li></ul>
Logic of appropriateness	<b>2. Does it suit?</b> <i>Political-administrative feasibility</i>  Criteria: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Political feasibility</li><li>- Political-administrative practicability</li></ul>	<b>3. Is it normatively correct?</b> <i>Societal acceptability</i>  Criteria: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Procedural acceptability</li><li>- Substantive acceptability</li><li>- Problem perceptions of citizens</li></ul>

TABLE 5: FOUR TYPES OF POLICY-INSTRUMENT FIT (ADOPTED FROM HEMERIJK, 2003, P. 8)

This leads to the following four questions (Translation by Eliadis et al., 2005):

1. In terms of effectiveness, does it work?
2. In terms of feasibility, does it suit?
3. In terms of acceptability, is it normatively correct?
4. In terms of legality, is it permitted?

These questions will be separately explained in the following paragraphs. All information is based on Hemerijck (2003).

#### **Does it work?**

With this question, the instrumental effectiveness is assessed. It concerns the output legitimacy, combined with the logic of consequence. The criteria are efficiency and effectiveness of the policy instrument. Policies are effective if the implementation of the chosen policy instruments leads to the achievement of the intended objectives. Policies are effective when they can be implemented at low relative costs in relation to the societal benefits. Research on this criterion is primarily focussed on the empirical results – success and failure – of governmental policy.

#### **Does it suit?**

With this question, the political-administrative feasibility is assessed. It concerns the output legitimacy as well, combined with the logic of appropriateness. The criteria are political feasibility and political-administrative practicability. The feasibility and practicability firstly concerns the willingness of the various actors to cooperate with the policy, the way in which it can be fit in existing policy, and the relationship between public actors and key target groups. Secondly, it adheres to path dependency, for which it looks at the current political climate, traditions, etc. By assessing all these aspects, one can investigate how the various actors, the political climate et cetera influence the feasibility of the instrument. Within this research, the question ‘does it suit’ will mainly focus on the willingness of the municipality, as that is the steering actor in this investigation.

#### **Is it normatively correct?**

With this question, the societal acceptability is assessed. It concerns the input legitimacy, combined with the logic of appropriateness. The criteria are procedural acceptability, substantive acceptability and the problem perceptions of citizens. It concerns the intersubjective assessment of policy by citizens, and the extent to which the policy, in the perception of the citizens, fits to their desires, emotions, standards and values. Important aspect is the question where the role of the government starts and ends.

#### **Is it permitted?**

With this question, the constitutional legality is assessed. It concerns the input legitimacy as well, combined with the logic of consequence. The criteria are procedural legality and substantive legality. With this question, one assesses if the instrument is ‘permitted’ according to fundamental civil rights, democratic procedures, administrative responsibilities, et cetera.

#### **Conclusion**

These four questions together have been used to assess which instruments are fit for which purpose. They illustrate that it is important not only that an instrument works, but that, among others, the steering actor must also be willing to implement it, that society must accept the utilisation of the instruments, and that the lawfulness of an instrument is of importance as well. The four criteria can be classified either on the basis of the *perspective*, with the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequence, or on the basis the *legitimacy*, with the distinction between input legitimacy and output legitimacy.



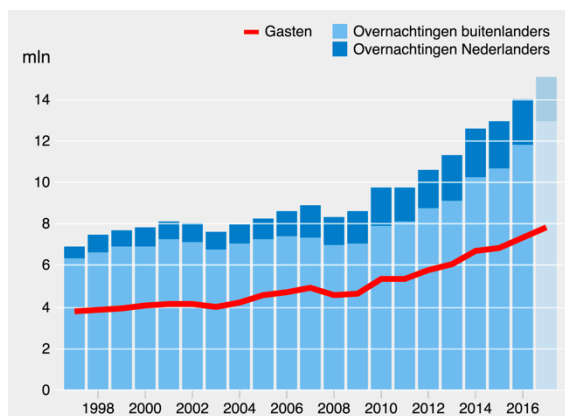
## 4 Impact in Amsterdam

The chapter begins with a general description of tourism in Amsterdam in paragraph 4.1, together with a description of the relevant actors in paragraph 4.2. Thereafter, the chapter will zoom in on the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities. First, this will be approached subjectively by describing the public debate regarding commercial amenities in Amsterdam in paragraph 4.3. Next, the impact on the range of amenities will be analysed quantitatively in paragraph 4.4. With the findings of these paragraphs combined, it can be concluded what processes exactly occur regarding the range of amenities, in paragraph 4.5. Last but not least, the impact that these processes have on the liveability of the residents will be assessed in paragraph 4.6.

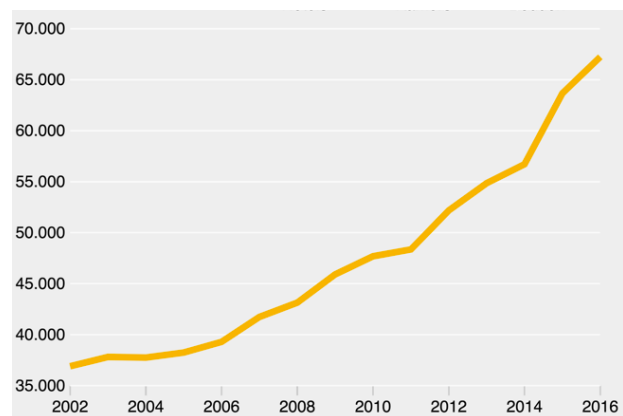
### 4.1 Tourism in general

Within all municipalities in Europe, Amsterdam is the city with the second highest tourism density (i.e. number of overnight stays per inhabitant), after Paris. Furthermore, Amsterdam scores third in the growth in stays and second in growth of bed capacity, next to Istanbul (Roland Berger, 2015). In other words, Amsterdam experiences a very high amount of tourism, which is expected to grow even further in the future. In the following paragraphs, characteristics of tourism in Amsterdam in general will be illustrated.

#### 4.1.1 Growth of tourism



GRAPH 1: NUMBER OF GUESTS AND OVERNIGHT STAYS IN AMSTERDAM BETWEEN 1997 – 2017 (OIS, 2016B)



GRAPH 2: NUMBER OF HOTEL BEDS IN AMSTERDAM BETWEEN 2002 – 2016 (OIS, 2016B)

The number of tourists in Amsterdam has grown largely over the last 20 years, as can be seen in graph 1. Especially since 2010, the number of guests has seen a rapid increase. The record growing tourism numbers are also reflected in hotel stays. Amsterdam is the most popular city in Europe when looking at occupancy rate, next to London and Dublin. With an average of 78%, the occupancy rate is not only high in peak season but also around holidays such as Easter, and in the rest of the year due to conferences in the RAI and at other venues (PwC, 2017).

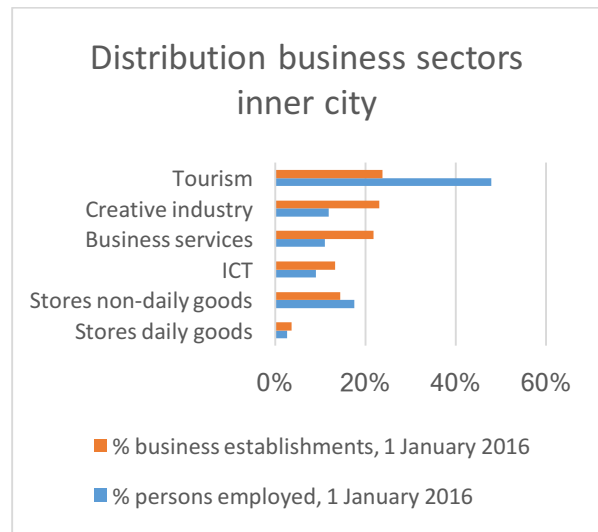
#### 4.1.2 Revenue and jobs

According to Amsterdam Marketing, incoming visitors provided for € 5.7 billion of spending in Amsterdam in 2011. Of this, € 2.7 billion was spend by foreign visitors (business and tourist), € 2.2 billion by Dutch overnight visitors, € 0.7 billion by Dutch day visitors. The remaining € 0.1 billion comes from foreign day visitors (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015, p. 24).





GRAPH 3: DISTRIBUTION BUSINESS SECTORS ENTIRE CITY OF AMSTERDAM (DERIVED FROM OIS, 2016A)



GRAPH 4: DISTRIBUTION BUSINESS SECTORS INNER CITY OF AMSTERDAM (DERIVED FROM OIS, 2016A)

Graph 3 shows the economic distribution of business sectors in the entire city of Amsterdam, both for the number of business establishments as for the number of persons employed. It can be seen that for Amsterdam as a whole, tourism is a medium sized sector. Although it the third sector when looking at the number of persons employed, the sector 'business services' accounts for a much larger number of jobs. Nevertheless, with 19% of the total distribution of jobs, the share of the tourism sector in employment is notable.

This share is much bigger when zooming in on the inner city in Graph 4, consisting of the neighbourhoods Burgwallen-Oude Zijde and Burgwallen-Nieuwe Zijde, also known as the 1012 area. Within these neighbourhoods, which are the areas where most tourists concentrate, the number of jobs in tourism certainly stands out. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the complete area is geared towards tourism, with 50% of the jobs and 75% of the businesses coming from other sectors. Furthermore, as explained in Box 1, the majority of tourism related jobs regards short-term and low-wage jobs, which can be seen as a disadvantage or as an advantage.

#### Tourism-related revenue and jobs abroad

*Tourism is often encouraged by municipalities due to its ability to provide for jobs and create economic growth. In Lisbon for instance, tourism revenue contributed to the economic recovery of the city after the economic crisis, and provided beneficial resources for urban regeneration. Furthermore, short-term rent platforms provided needed income for home owners, especially during the period of the financial crisis, and encouraged redevelopment of blighted properties (Mendes, 2016). Tourism accounts for 7% of the cities GDP in London, and 10% of the jobs (Tyler, 2009). In Berlin, it generated an annual revenue of approximately 9 billion euros in 2009, making it the single most important sector in the city's economy. Furthermore, tourism provides an estimated amount of 200,000 jobs. (Füller & Michel, 2014). The majority of these jobs regards short-term and low-wage jobs. Some scholars critically point that out as a disadvantage. However, with the shift from a production economy to a knowledge economy, thereby primarily leading to high-skilled jobs within the city, jobs for lower-skilled workers could be seen as an advantage as well. Fainstein (2007) compares the tourist economy to the manufacturing economy, "in being able to employ people who do not have very high skill levels" (p. 5), although she does point out the drawback that tourism does not pay most people very well.*

BOX 1: TOURISM-RELATED REVENUE AND JOBS ABROAD

### 4.1.3 Tourism geographically

Figure 6 shows the number of tourists in Amsterdam on an average day, with the size of the red bubble being representative for their presence on that specific location. Figure 7 is the result of a research on walking routes of tourists in Amsterdam, conducted among 30 guests of a hostel and a four-star hotel. Both accommodations are located at the top of the map, therefore giving a slightly distorted picture in that region. Notwithstanding, both maps clearly show an axis of tourists within the city of Amsterdam, leading from the central station in the north-part of the map all the way through the red-light district and the canal belt to the Museumplein. The lion's share of tourists is concentrated in a relatively small proportion of the inner city, namely the city districts Centre West and Centre East, in and around the red-light district.

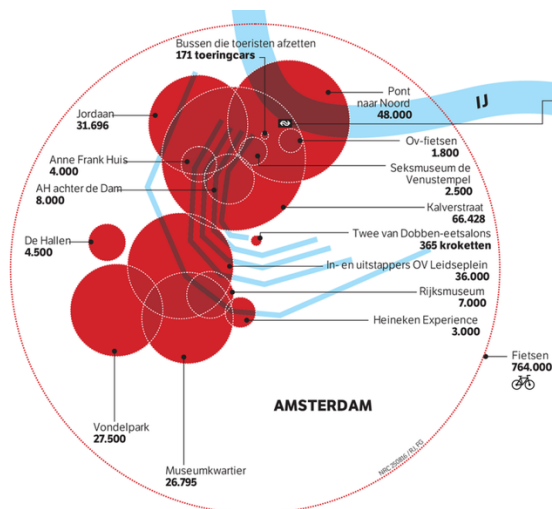


FIGURE 6: VISITORS IN AMSTERDAM ON AN AVERAGE DAY IN AUGUST (DERIVED FROM REMIE & POEL, 2016)

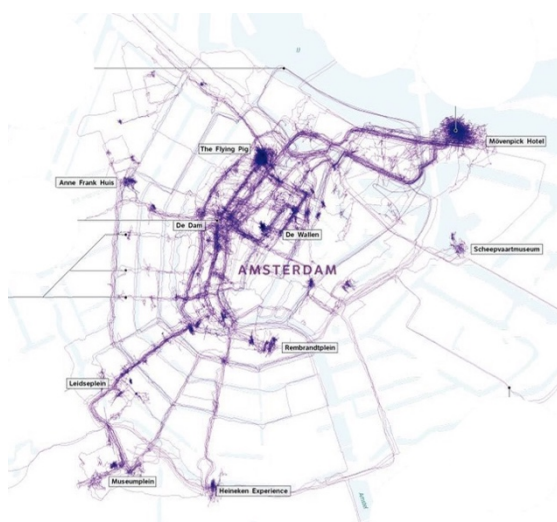


FIGURE 7: TOURIST PATHS IN AMSTERDAM (DERIVED FROM POEL & BOON, 2015)

### Spatial concentration and dissemination

When looking on a spatial level, two main views on the effects of urban tourism can be distinguished (Füller & Michel, 2014). The first one concerns a differentiation of the city centre versus the rest, in the form of a 'tourist bubble' (Edensor, 2008; Judd & Fainstein, 1999). These areas are insulated from the larger urban milieu, with little connection as well as little friction with 'normal' life in the city (Fainstein, 2007). An example of this is visible in Florence. Residential life and traditional functions are being displaced by market-driven pressures within its city centre, leading to the "alienation of the historical centre of Florence from the whole city" (Porter & Shaw, 2013, p. 51). An 'international leisure district' is the result, dismissing every other aspect of urban life (Graham & Marvin, 2001). A similar situation is visible in Prague, with the existence of a 'tourist' and a 'non-tourist' Prague (Pixová & Sládek, 2016).

A clear and visible separation between residential and touristic uses of the city was however criticized later on (Judd, 2003), when it became more apparent that urban tourism had an impact beyond clearly defined tourist areas (Füller & Michel, 2014). In what is called 'new urban tourism', tourists explore more 'authentic' areas (Zukin, 2011) and thereby avoid the well-known tourist spaces (Füller & Michel, 2014). Part of new urban tourism is obtaining a more 'local experience', thus in theory, one would expect less differences between the demands from locals and visitors. However, in practice, tourists are often not constrained to the same sleeping hours and spending power as the local residents. As a result, "conflicts between tourists and residents increasingly occur in neighbourhoods that, in the past, have not been on the tourist map" (Bock, 2015, p. 20).

Box 2: SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TOURISM GENTRIFICATION

Figure 8 shows the population density in Amsterdam. As can be seen, the areas where the majority of tourists locate are neighbourhoods with an average population density (which is shown in grey). Although the density is relatively speaking lower than in some of the surrounding neighbourhoods, it is not the case that the tourism district depopulated, as is visible in other cities that witness severe forms of tourism gentrification. This is confirmed by the absolute population numbers for the city district centre west and centre east, that even show a slight increase between 2005 and 2016 (OIS, 2016b). Last but not least, it is worth noting that the total population of Amsterdam is growing strongly, which is expected to continue in the future (Meershoek, 2017).

#### 4.1.4 Conclusion

The data above show that Amsterdam experiences a very high number of tourists, which has grown rapidly over the last ten years. When looking spatially, it is visible that these tourists concentrate on a relatively small part of the city. However, in contradiction to some other cities, as described in Box 2 and Box 3, this does not result in a 'tourist bubble' or an 'enclavic tourist space'. Whereas these definitions describe places that are "insulated from the larger urban milieu" (Fainstein, 2007, p. 3) with little connection as well as little friction with 'normal' life in the city, this is different in Amsterdam. The area where most tourists concentrate in Amsterdam, namely the city centre in general and the 1012 area in particular, also inhabits lots of permanent residents. This may explain the protest that is coming from the residents, and the friction between the residential use and the touristic use of the city.

#### Changing demographics and depopulation abroad

*A change in the demographics of a neighbourhood has been linked to touristification in multiple cities. A loss of population can be observed in some of these neighbourhoods, as for example in Vieux Carre, New Orleans (Gotham, 2005). This depopulation is best visible in Prague: the number of permanent residents in its historic core has decreased from 170,000 to 53,000 between 1900 and 2001, which is for a large part linked to tourism gentrification (Pixová & Sládek, 2016). Statistics on Zagreb also indicate that tourism slowly but steadily encourages local residents to move out of the inner city areas; the number of residents decreased with 18,9% in ten years, way more than the average population in the entire city, which has grown in the same period (Kesar et al., 2015, p. 663). In the centre of Florence, a decrease of population can be seen as well (Porter & Shaw, 2013).*

*The change in demographic and the loss of population is often unevenly distributed among the inhabitants, with those that are most affected by the negative consequences of the touristification moving first. Both in Vieux Carre, in New Orleans, (Gotham, 2005), in Prague, (Pixová & Sládek, 2016) and in Lisbon (Mendes, 2016) this led to a more affluent population, with poor people being pushed out. There are also population groups that move out because of other reasons than rising rents. In Vieux Carre for example, a reduction in the number of children in the area could be seen, possibly because the liveability for families was further reduced than the liveability for others.*

Box 3: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND TOURISM GENTRIFICATION

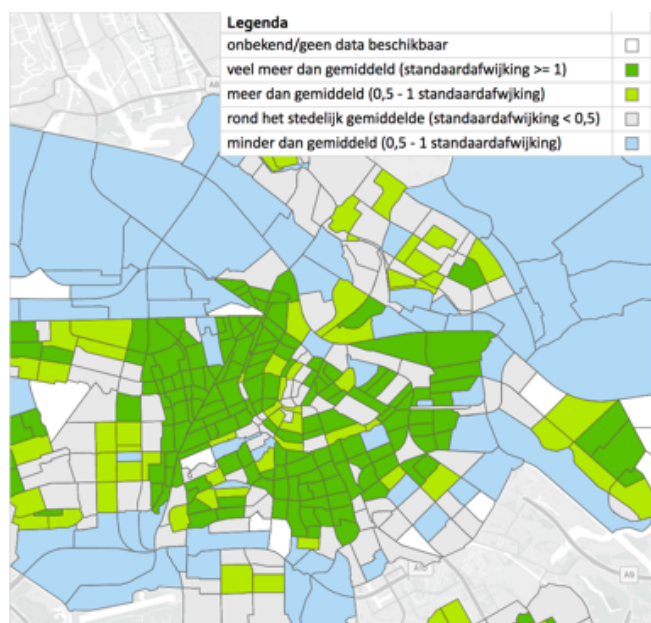


FIGURE 8: RELATIVE POPULATION DENSITY IN NEIGHBOURHOODS IN AMSTERDAM AT 1 JAN. 2016 (OIS, 2016b)

## 4.2 Stakeholder analysis

If policy is being developed and implemented in networks, the practitioner or policy analyst should have a clear image of the actors involved, their perspective and their position regarding the problems at hand, their dependencies and their capabilities. This is necessary because the outcomes of an area development process are determined by the positions and behaviours of the actors involved, the process of interactions they play together and the institutional characteristics of the network in which they are operating (Janssen-Jansen, Klijn, & Opdam, 2009).

This stakeholder analysis therefore aims to map the relevant stakeholders and their characteristics. The total of seven relevant stakeholder types were chosen after the literature review of tourism gentrification. In a later phase of the research, during the first couple of interviews, it was asked what stakeholders were relevant on the subject, which confirmed that the stakeholder types that were selected were indeed the relevant stakeholders. For every type of stakeholder, first a general description will be given, which is uniform for every city. Thereafter, the stakeholder will be further analysed in the current context of Amsterdam. Most of the stakeholders do not consist of one unity, but rather comprise a group of people. Since these groups are rarely homogeneous, the different types will be described for every actor, as they can be currently found in the city of Amsterdam. Next, their position, dependencies and perception will be explained.

The last two stakeholder types, the intermediary and the investment vehicle, are individual organizations or individuals of which multiple separate entities can operate within a city at the same time. This is also true for the city of Amsterdam, where multiple intermediaries and multiple investment vehicles can be found. In order to achieve sufficient depth within the time constraints of this research, one particular organization was selected to investigate for each of these stakeholder types. This selection was made by choosing the stakeholder that was most often mentioned in policy documents and in the press.

### 4.2.1 Tourists

Needless to say, tourists are an important actor within this research. A tourist is understood as someone who 'travels to and stays in places outside the usual environment for no more than one consecutive year, for leisure, business and other purposes' (UNWTO, 1995). It does not necessarily imply an overnight stay, but could also relate to the discovery of a place through a short visit (Gravari-Barbas & Jacquot, 2016). They do not form a homogeneous group. One can make a distinction on the basis of several differentiations, such as whether they travel alone or in a group, their reason of visit, their length of visit, whether they are first visitor or they have visited the destination before, and where they come from.

Furthermore, multiple scholars describe the emergence of 'new urban tourism', through which an increasing proportion of tourists avoids the traditional tourist spaces but rather searches for creative public spaces, which are not a part of the mainstream tourist routes (Füller & Michel, 2014).

They primarily influence the range of amenities in a city centre through their consumer behaviour. Their consumption of for instance food, drinks and entertainment alters the market forces within the city centre, where they are primarily located. What this demand entails depends on the (predominant) type of tourist. However, it can be said that in general, tourists have more purchasing power than residents (Cagica, 2017), even more so if they outnumber the residents.

#### Identification

Amsterdam Marketing, the city marketing agency of Amsterdam, conducts a research regarding the visitors to the Amsterdam metropole every four years (Amsterdam Marketing, 2016). They composed the following four 'core types' on the basis of 12,000 interviews in 2016;

- City trippers: mainly international guests with a lot of interest in museums and culture.
- Dutch day visitors: with an average visit time of five hours. The majority is repeating visitor.
- International congress visitors: this is seen as a target group that spends a relatively large amount of money during their stay.
- Coast visitors, which are more important for the surrounding areas than for the city of Amsterdam itself.

Residents often make a different distinction, between the 'good tourist', who comes to experience the beauty of the Canal Belt, the museums et cetera, and the 'mass tourist', of which it is often said they primarily come to drink, see the red-light district, go to the coffee shops, and so on. This distinction is



frequently linked to generation differences, with the latter category being the younger type (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). It can be debated however if this distinction gives an accurate and comprehensive view.

Originally, the tourist season starts around Easter and runs until late September, with another peak during December. However, according to multiple residents “the crowds seem to have become a permanent feature, and the district is described as ‘bursting out of it seems’ on regular summer days” (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017, p. 9).

### **Position and dependencies**

Tourists are the main factor of influence of the problem definition, with their presence in general and their consumer behaviour specifically. The predominant tourist type can be expected to change as the touristification continues. Cohen (1972) for instance devised a chronological typology of drifters, explorers, individual mass tourists and organized mass tourists, and Plug (2001) suggests that that tourist areas are attractive to different types of visitors as the areas evolve. According to several interviewees, this differentiation between visitor types goes hand in hand with consumer behaviour. The high demand for sweet snacks such as ice cream for instance was linked with a ‘sweet-kick’ that one supposedly gets from smoking marijuana. Hard evidence for such claims does not exist, but it is an interesting thought that if the type of tourists changes when touristification lingers, its position regarding this touristification lingers as well. This in turn could create an effect that puts off the other tourist types, that visit Amsterdam for its other characteristics, such as museums and its authentic life.

### **Perception**

As explained in the former paragraph, a distinction can be made between ‘good tourists’ and ‘mass tourists’. The first group appreciates many of the same aspects residents themselves value about their neighbourhood. This is somewhat different for a significant proportion of the second group, that is attracted by the Amsterdam’s image as a tolerant place, including its liberal attitudes with respect to sex and drugs (Terhorst, Ven, & Deben, 2008). This distinction is probably also reflected in the perception of the problem discussed in this thesis. It is difficult to find hard evidence on this subject, but one can imagine that the second group is both contributing more to the transformation of the commercial range of amenities that residents detest, and they might be less put off by its end result as well. Or, as Nijman (1999) puts it, they are being attracted by the ‘sex-and-drugs theme park’ and make it a reality at the same time.

## **4.2.2 Municipality**

The municipality is the steering actor in this research. It is a complex public organization, with various departments and actors. It represents the public interest for the areas within its boundaries, and it is responsible for the implementation of national policy. It has multiple interests that can be contradictory to each other, and between these interests it should find a balance. The exact composition of a municipality and its place within the national system varies from country to country. In the Netherlands it is the third administrative tie, after the central government and the provinces (Raatgever, 2014).

Many municipalities see their city centres as an important mainstay, economically as well as socially (Raatgever, 2014). They have different means to influence the range of commercial amenities in their city centres, as this research will show. However, as will be illustrated later on, the influence they can exert on their own is limited due to multiple reasons. Beyond that limit, they need to cooperate with other actors to further affect the range of amenities.

### **Position**

The municipality of Amsterdam has started with the administrative order ‘city in balance’ to improve the balance in the city in 2014, and started experimenting with possible measures to restore that balance later on. The ‘City in Balance’ report searches for a ‘new balance between growth and liveability’. Within the report, the municipality of Amsterdam describes their three targets for the City in Balance program. In the first one, it is stated very clearly that “Amsterdam is in the first place attractive for her residents and entrepreneurs. [...] Amsterdam is there *also* for incidental and daily visitors and entrepreneurs”, thereby indirectly stating a preferred order in the balance between residents and visitors (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015, p. 2). However, the second target is named “Amsterdam focusses on growth and prosperity” as well, thus demonstrating the dilemma that the municipality is in.

Regarding the commercial amenities in the city centre, the municipality currently mostly focusses on means to control retail and some other commercial amenities such as ice cream shops. Furthermore,

whereas they first thought that steering these developments was not possible or desirable, their opinion on that matter changed over time. See more about this at paragraph 5.2 on the assessment of the instruments, especially at the question 'does it suit'. One of the important findings of that section is that the problem perception and the proposed solution space largely depends on the political party, especially whether it is a left or a right-wing party. GroenLinks for instance, a left-wing party, stated that they want the city council to do "everything possible to prevent the capital from being flooded by fast food chains", because according to them it contributes to the problem of overweight in the city (Groenlinks, 2017). Right-wing parties however are more reluctant to limit the market freedom. The current coalition exists of two more or less liberal-oriented parties and one left-wing oriented party.

#### **Dependencies**

The municipality is the steering actor within this research. However, they are first of all dependent on higher governmental bodies, such as the national government and the European Union. Furthermore, the assessment of the instruments in paragraph 5.2 and the investigation of the most appropriate policy in chapter 6 show that they are also dependent on other actors such as property owners, entrepreneurs and intermediaries as well.

#### **Perception**

The perception of the municipality of Amsterdam is described in several other paragraphs as well, so to avoid repetition this paragraph will be brief. Their problem perception has increased strongly over the last ten years, largely in line with the problem perception of the residents. The municipality currently pleads for a 'balance in the city', which is disturbed in some parts of the city according to them, among others because of the growth of tourism.

### **4.2.3 Residents**

Naturally, residents play a central role in this research. As explained in the problem analysis in paragraph 1.1, the growing discontent of residents with the changes in their living environment is the 'trigger' of the problem definition. Residents use their own city in different ways. This varies from rather functional, as a residential environment and a place to buy groceries, to more socially, for instance as a place for recreation. Furthermore, just like several other of the main actors, the residents are not a homogeneous group.

#### **Identification**

Over the last ten years, a strong growth in average disposable income per household has occurred in Amsterdam. The municipality of Amsterdam (2016c) gives two reasons for this growth; firstly a strong increase of housing prices, due to which primarily wealthy residents can permit to live in popular neighbourhoods, and the other explanation is that the attractiveness of the mixed living and working environment in the pre-war city is so important for better educated urban households, that once they are located, they do not leave quickly. Furthermore, it is interesting that, according to Pinkster & Boterman (2017) it are especially the long-term, upper-middle-class residents of the canal district that are vocal in the debate on urban tourism and neighbourhood change.

#### **Position**

In contrast to cities such as Venice or Prague, the growth of tourism in Amsterdam has not yet led to the exodus of residents in the city centre. On the contrary: the population is only increasing. The historic city centre has nonetheless become less accessible for less wealthy inhabitants (de Nijs & Zevenbergen, 2014). They residents do object to the consequences of the growth of tourism, among other through protest in newspapers and through multiple coping mechanisms, such as closing windows, going out during festival days or buying a second home as a reaction of the more wealthy residents (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017).

#### **Dependencies**

Residents feel powerless in the face of neighbourhood change, and look at the municipality to act and combat the negative effects they experience. That is however not to say they do not have any influence at all. One way to stimulate local or original amenities is through their purchasing power. More about this way of influencing the range of amenities by residents is explained in box Box 12 on page 72.

### **Perception regarding tourism in general**

As shown in the public debate in paragraph 4.3, the dominant tone of residents about tourism in Amsterdam has shifted in recent years. It was rather positive around 2013, illustrated with news sources such as Het Parool mainly describing positively about tourism in Amsterdam. However, the tone became more critical in 2014 and 2015, with protest against the 'disneyfication of Amsterdam' in the media (Hermanides, 2015) and even the first scientific publications describing that the balance between living, working and recreation seems to be lost, with complaints of residents as a result (de Nijs & Zevenbergen, 2014).

According to a monitor carried out among residents in Amsterdam in May 2016, 44% of the respondents finds it very busy in Amsterdam, 52% finds it fairly busy. In Centrum-West and Centrum-East, the majority of respondents finds the city very busy (respectively 60% and 55%) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016c, p. 49). The perception of the entire city often differs from the perception of one's own neighbourhood. 15% finds its own neighbourhood very busy, 31% finds it fairly busy. In the city centre, respondents more often find their own neighbourhood very busy (39%) (p. 50). How people appraise this bustle strongly differs as well. Of the residents that find it very or fairly busy, 31% finds the bustle pleasant (Dutch: gezellig), 33% does not find it pleasant but does not mind either, and 36% finds it annoying. For residents living in the city centre this is different: more than half of the city centre residents that finds its neighbourhood busy, appraises that bustle as annoying. Residents that are living further away from the city centre on the other hand more often find the bustle pleasant.

A research conducted by Westenberg (2015) furthermore shows that many residents see the increasing crowdedness as a consequence of the rising visitor numbers, and as a real treat for the future. "it is my biggest fear of the future, that everything will be rented out to tourists" (p. 30) one of the residents stated. What increases the stress for some, is that they feel powerless regarding the growth of tourism. Furthermore, they do not see it as a local problem but rather as a more global problem, in which they look with concern to developments of depopulated city centres of other European cities. Residents in the same research argue that depopulation of the inner city should be prevented, due to several reasons: economically, as well as for the liveability of the city. Last but not least, they argue that the growth of tourism also affects the social cohesion in the city.

### **Perception regarding amenities specifically**

A survey conducted in 2015 among the residents of the '9 Straatjes' in Amsterdam, a popular area in the city centre, showed that the residents of that area were concerned about the decreasing diversity, especially among retail. Several respondents see the convenience stores disappearing and a one-sided supply appear, making them worry about an emerging monoculture (Hoffschulte, 2015).

A larger survey conducted in 2016 among residents of Amsterdam dealt among others with the diversity in the range of retail amenities (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016b). 43% of the residents found the diversity of the supply of retail in the district Centrum-West little or too little. The municipality linked this to the more homogeneous supply of large retail chains and the rise of tourist shops like ice cream and waffle shops (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016c).

On average in Amsterdam in 2016, 35% of the residents was of the opinion that there is a lot of variation in the retail supply in their neighbourhood, and 36% thinks there is (too) little variation. In centre-West, 43% of the residents finds the variation of the retail supply little or too little. According to the municipality, this is again probably due to the increasingly one-sided retail supply of large chains and the emergency of for instance ice and waffle shops (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016c, p. 76). Although the city centre relatively has the largest retail density in Amsterdam, the variation of retail does not necessarily reflect this, according to the residents living in the city centre.

#### **4.2.4 Entrepreneurs**

Entrepreneurs in this research are the operators of the amenities. An entrepreneur is an organization or individual that supplies goods to consumers or costumers with the aim of realising operating profit (Raatgever, 2014). They are however not a homogeneous group. An important distinction can be made between entrepreneurs with one establishment, often having local roots, and chains, being national or multinational organizations with a multitude of amenities in their portfolio. Another distinction can be made by the target group of the entrepreneur, with tourist focussed or non-tourist focussed being an important distinction in this context.



## Identification

A global shift can be seen from entrepreneurs with local roots to chains with large portfolios of establishments. That development has not missed Amsterdam. In the retail landscape, the spread of branches operated by the large chains (Dutch: filialisering) has caused shopping streets to become increasingly alike (Lesger, 2013). As a consequence, the entrepreneurs in this research are increasingly multinational companies without local roots in Amsterdam. This is relevant since it can be assumed that entrepreneurs with local roots are more concerned with local issues beyond their own business itself, such as the liveability of the neighbourhood they operate in.

## Position

According to Westenberg, most entrepreneurs are of the opinion that the municipality should not always start regulating by themselves, but they do find it important that the municipality looks at urgent problems on the area or street level, for instance by engaging in dialogue with associations of undertakings, in order to look at possible solutions for these problems together. The entrepreneurs emphasize their independency, and their own initiative to unity. The new ClZ law that is commented on in paragraph 5.1.4 is being discussed positively, but mainly for the younger associations of undertakings. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs also consider it their duty to contribute to the liveability in the city, and they do take responsibilities in that, according to the interviews of Westenberg (2015, p. 44).

Furthermore, the chairman of the overarching association of undertakings in Amsterdam explained that “dynamics of change is the driving force of the economy. [...] If that dynamism is gone the process will get stuck, halt. That is why we focus on growth. Only growth is capable of steering that dynamism” (personal communication, April 5, 2017). It is thus important for them that a potential solution to the problems discussed does not interfere with the dynamism that characterises the market in which they operate. As the street manager that was interviewed put it: “businessmen are there to do business” (personal communication, March 27, 2017).

## Dependencies

Entrepreneurs have a large influence on the type of commercial amenity they exploit. However, they are first of all dependent on the municipality, and the restrictions and options that are built into the zoning plan. Moreover, they have to make their business profitable. Therefore, they mainly depend on two other actors; firstly, the property owners and their accompanying rental prices, in case an entrepreneur is not the property owner himself. Secondly the customer, which can be roughly speaking either the resident, the visitor or both. Both the customer type and the customer taste can change over time, meaning that an entrepreneur has to keep up in able to remain profitable. In this way, his position regarding a neighbourhood change will mainly be determined by the consequences that this specific change has on his profitability on the short term, and his competitive position on the long term.

## Perception

In order to investigate the perception of entrepreneurs regarding tourism, it is important to distinguish different types of entrepreneurs. The most obvious distinction is the one between those making money out of tourists and those that do not. The latter will have more difficulties with the domination of tourism in a neighbourhood than those that are focused and dependent on residents for their revenue.

This distinction can be seen clearly in the public debate in Amsterdam. Several entrepreneurs in Amsterdam, that probably do not profit from the growth of tourism, joined forces to attract more residents of Amsterdam to their area. The association of undertakings in the Kalverstraat for instance, one of the most popular shopping streets in the city, launched a campaign to attract more locals (Hofman, 2016). And entrepreneurs together with property owners around the Dam, the most popular part of Amsterdam, joined forces in the partnership ‘Paleiskwartier’ in order to attract more residents to their area (van der Keijl, 2017). Both actions mainly consist of marketing activities, and do not contain strict rules that influence the range of amenities. However, several entrepreneurs in the centre of Amsterdam did ask the municipality of Amsterdam for more suchlike, stricter policies, in a policy opinion article that appeared in *Het Parool* (2017) (a local newspaper) in March 2017. They referred to cities such as San Francisco, where legislation is made to constrain the number of chain shops in the city, and ask for a clear vision combined with corresponding legislation.

It is not entirely surprising that entrepreneurs who are geared towards tourists, have a different opinion. Roberto Fava, the owner of the Ice Bakery chain, explained in an interview that entrepreneurs

must adapt to the times, and that there is room for almost eight times as much ice cream stores in the Netherlands as there are now (Wiegman, 2016a). A co-owner of that chain complained in another interview that other chains, that are also present in large numbers in the city of Amsterdam, attract way less criticism, and are treated differently by the municipality (Kooyman & Zilvold, 2015). The owner of Tours & Tickets, another symbol of the debate on tourism in Amsterdam, explained “It is a pity that the discussion about the crowdedness is so activist and biased. The municipality must realise that the tourists simply want to go to the city centre”. In reaction to the monoculture that he is being associated with, he reacted “I believe that we only facilitate the millions of tourists who come to the city during their visit. It is no longer our time to think that a shoe shop or butcher's shop can survive on the Damrak” (Geerds, 2017).

A research carried out by Westenberg (2015) on the other hand shows that a majority of entrepreneurs in the commercial sector in the centre of Amsterdam do not necessarily experience large numbers of visitors as profitable. The extent to which the rising number of people in the city centre has led to more revenue depends mainly on the sector: for entrepreneurs in the restaurant sector it did, but other entrepreneurs stated that the crowdedness did not change or did even lower their revenue. Last but not least, several entrepreneurs complained about a turnover reduction during weekdays and outside the holidays, for which they blamed the reduced number of residents in the city centre.

#### 4.2.5 Property owners

The property owners are the owners of the buildings in which the amenities are located. Again, this is not a homogeneous group. An important first distinction can be made between owners that are occupier at the same time, and property owners that only own the building, but lease it to an entrepreneur that operates the amenity. Another possible distinction is that between property owners with local roots on the one hand, which is the case for instance with an owner occupier, and property owners with more distance to the city on the other hand, such as institutional investors or retail funds. Their main interests in general are the height and the continuity of the rental income, combined with the development of the real estate value (Raatgever, 2014). Additionally, one can also discern property owners that place a greater emphasis on social goals, such as a housing corporation.

##### Identification

Property ownership in the city centre of Amsterdam is very fragmented, meaning that this stakeholder in essence consists of a large group of individual actors in most of the streets. Table 6 shows the ratio of ownership in twelve streets in the city centre of Amsterdam. A combination of this data with accompanying statistics such as average rental prices can be seen in appendix A. As is visible, the type of owner differs per street. In general, it can be said that the higher the average rental price, the higher the number of investors with a large portfolio. Furthermore, a street manager explained that it is not always possible to find out who exactly the owner of a property is (personal communication, March 27, 2017), which is also reflected in the high number of ‘unknown ownership’ in Table 6.

Street/ streets	Ratio ownership						
	Owner/occupant	Housing corporation	Investor, <1mln	Investor, 1-10mln	Investor, >10mln	Government	Unknown
Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat	4%	0%	22%	43%	23%	0%	8%
Haarlemmerstraat	10%	11%	20%	25%	12%	3%	19%
Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat	11%	8%	27%	31%	13%	6%	4%
Jodenbree & Sint Antoniebreestraat	6%	28%	7%	11%	13%	15%	20%
Kalverstraat	3%	0%	0%	23%	53%	0%	21%
Leidsestraat	1%	0%	2%	33%	50%	1%	13%
Nieuwendijk	3%	0%	6%	39%	47%	0%	5%
Rokin	11%	0%	14%	46%	28%	0%	1%
Nieuwe Spiegelstraat en Spiegelgracht	10%	0%	10%	17%	19%	0%	44%
Spuistraat	9%	3%	14%	29%	23%	0%	22%
Utrechtsestraat	5%	0%	13%	23%	32%	0%	27%
Vijzelstraat	8%	2%	8%	26%	25%	2%	29%

TABLE 6: RATIO OF OWNERSHIP IN 12 STREETS IN THE CITY CENTRE OF AMSTERDAM

When asked the property owner of the NV Zeedijk about the ownership in and around the red-light district, he explained “there are no major investors. There are many private investors, many corporations and organisations such as NV Zeedijk. 1012Inc, [...] NV Stadsgoed, Stadsherstel has a fair number of things here, Hendrik de Keizer, which is an association with similar objectives as Stadsherstel. So that is wealth brought together by the members to buy up monumental buildings and restore them to their former glory. [...] So, there are also a lot somewhat social landlords. The rest is in the hands of occupy users. And a few private individuals...” [1:204NV] (personal communication, June 22, 2017). In conclusion, the dominant type of property owner differs per street, but often this stakeholder group consists of a mix of different types.

### **Position**

The chairman of the overarching association of undertakings in Amsterdam explained that in general, property owners were fine with discussing preconditions such as cleanliness and safety, but when it comes to legislation that influences the type of amenities specifically, they say “clear off, I decide what goes into my property” (personal communication, April 5, 2017). Moreover, when the growth of tourism enables a property owner to ask a higher rent, he will be even less willing to cooperate in plans that might constrain that revenue.

Furthermore, as explained by the program manager of CentrumXL, even if a property owner shares the view that the liveability is being degraded by the range of amenities, he is probably less willing to lower its rent in order to make the liveability better, when the rest of the street keeps on making the highest possible profit and possibly benefits (personal communication, July 3, 2017). One can thus be reluctant to cooperate in neighbourhood improving measures due to the free-rider problem. This differs however for property owners whose primary objectives are not making profit, such as housing corporations or certain investment vehicles, an actor type that will be described below.

### **Dependencies**

Effectively, the property owner can decide what kind of entrepreneur rents his property, and is therefore in the best position to decide what kind of amenity is being established in his building. As a street manager explains, “they ultimately determine who will enter their shop. They determine the strictness of their lease. If they say ‘I don’t care, a bakery whatever [rents my property], as long as I get my 4.000 euros, if that’s more than 1.000 euros higher than the usual, I don’t care, I’m going for the highest bidder’, those parties you don’t get at the table. And those parties can make things worse” (personal communication, March 27, 2017).

However, as with the entrepreneurs, property owners also dependent on the municipality and the restrictions and options that are built into the zoning plan. Furthermore, they depend on the entrepreneurs to the extent that they need to find entrepreneurs that are willing to rent their property for the price they ask. That means that if they want a certain kind of entrepreneur or rent but the market changes, their requirements may have to change as well.

### **Perception**

One can thus make a rough distinction between individual property owners, institutional property owners and corporations. According to a street manager in the city centre of Amsterdam, the first two categories are most difficult to cooperate with when trying to make a common vision to combat mono-functionality, whereas on the other hand corporations are great to cooperate with (as stated during an event at Pakhuis de Zwijger, 12 April 2017). Such a distinction was made by other interviewees as well. A program manager of CentrumXL explained that for instance pension funds were only focussed on the numbers, whereas he found out that certain developers were much more concerned with the city itself (personal communication, July 3, 2017). An advisor of the municipality explained furthermore that a proportion of the property owners is foreign with a large international real estate portfolio, and thus less concerned with local problems with the liveability as well (personal communication, April 4, 2017). By contrast, certain property owners around the Dam joined forces in a partnership to attract more residents to the area (van der Keijl, 2017).

The same policy advisor explained that “Amsterdam has a low vacancy rate, which is very good, but at the same time that is of course not an incentive to do something, because it is going well, so why should you take action? It will be rented out anyway. And, of course, that is very different in other cities, which do have to deal with large-scale vacancy. So then, of course, the willingness to work together is much higher”.

An interviewed property owner who has been active in Amsterdam for a long time, explained that according to his perception, the growth of tourism with its impact could not be steered, and even if it would be steerable, the municipality would not do it, because of the revenue it creates. Last but not least, he wondered what other businesses would occur in the city centre if tourism was not there, thereby referring to the retail vacancy in other cities (personal communication, September 14, 2017). This shows that the problem perception of property owners, and with it presumably also the willingness to cooperate in potential solutions, widely differs between different kind of property owners.

#### 4.2.6 Intermediaries

Intermediaries are a particular kind of actor. This type of actor is primarily occupied with capacity building, a planning tool type that is described in paragraph 3.2.1. When acting as an intermediary, one stimulates actor-network relationships, the use of social capital and the receptivity to new ideas. It can be either an individual actor, working within an informal network, of a formal organisation, which among others gives the possibility to act as a conduit for governmental resources (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). Furthermore, it can be an actor whose sole purpose is capacity building, or it can be an actor that also fulfils other roles. An example of such a stakeholder is a street manager. Another example a CentrumXL, an organization that links the different entrepreneurs, the property owners and the municipality within the city centre of Amsterdam. The following paragraphs will elaborate on CentrumXL, to illustrate what an intermediary could look like in practice.

##### Identification

CentrumXL is in this research chosen as the example of an intermediary. CentrumXL has been established as a public-private partnership between the municipality of Amsterdam and (organised) Amsterdam's business community, with the aim of creating an attractive, economically strong and liveable business community (Centrum XL, n.d.). Its program manager explained in an interview that they are constituted as a co-operative structure, without being a separate legal entity. The idea behind CentrumXL is that the collaboration between private and public actors must intensify, because there are various tasks in the public space that you cannot assign to the public sector, neither to the private sector; one should work together to combat them. One of their tasks is investigating what the possibilities of collaboration are in order to make improvements regarding the diversity of amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam, as discussed in the public debate (personal communication, July 3, 2017).

##### Position and dependencies

According to their website, CentrumXL has two objectives; 1. Encouraging the making of contributions or realising joint solutions for retail and horeca areas, and 2. Encouraging cooperation or transfer gained experience between different shopping areas. They have taken a lead role of investigating and experimenting how one can use capacity building, a planning type that is further explained in paragraph 5.1.4, as a means to make improvements in the diversity of commercial amenities. This in reaction to the public debate on that subject. They are however an independent organization. The program manager explained why that is so important: "if I did not have the independence in the event that I would only be paid by the municipality, and the municipality would slowly devour me... I would have no leg to stand on! Because if I was to be seen as a municipality-guy, that would prevent the process from getting off the ground". Furthermore, he explained that he is not the one that decides what goes where; he sees his role more as decomposing the problem, mapping all the information, and making clear what that means for everybody. Since the intended cooperation is completely based on voluntary cooperation, CentrumXL is basically completely dependent on both the property owners and the entrepreneurs.

The program manager summarized their role in the following quote: "in the end, we are not a legal entity, we do not have a means of power or something like that, we are not a controlling factor, we are the connector. Sometimes the bumper sometimes the glue or cement. But that is surely for cooperation, which is key, very important".

##### Perception

The perception of CentrumXL is difficult to pinpoint. They try not to reflect their own perception of the problem, but rather connect the perceptions and goals of others. In order to do that effectively, they seem to try taking a neutral stand. However, that does not mean they do not recognize the problem described in this thesis. As explained on their website, "CentrumXL's focus will mainly be on the areas where the most complex tasks for entrepreneurs and the government lie due to the increasing pressure and intensive activity" (Centrum XL, n.d.), thereby implying they share at least a part of the problem perception.

#### 4.2.7 Investment vehicle

An investment vehicle in general refers to any method by which individuals or organizations can invest (Investopedia, n.d.). An investment vehicle can either be private, public, of a combination of these two. Most investment vehicles are primarily used to gain positive financial returns. However, it can have other

purposes as well. In the context of this research, this is improvement of a neighbourhood by making strategic property investments, thereby gaining direct influence over the program of the city. An example of such an organization in Amsterdam is NV Zeedijk. The following paragraphs will elaborate on that organization, to illustrate what an investment vehicle could look like in practice.

#### **Identification**

NV Zeedijk is an investment vehicle active in and around the Zeedijk, a street in the Red-Light District. It is a public-private partnership originally established in 1985, aimed at converting the Zeedijk from a dilapidated street with lots of criminality into an attractive residential and shopping area for the middle classes (Rath, Bodaar, Wagemakers, & Wu, 2017). Their strategy is basically buying properties, renovating them, and finding good tenants. They do this both with commercial and with residential properties. They give considerable attention to the building plinths, due to their impact on the street. They own approximately one third of the Zeedijk, and some properties elsewhere in the red-light district. Nowadays, they do not buy so much new properties anymore, but are more focussed on the management of existing properties, and capacity building in the neighbourhood. Their shareholders are the municipality of Amsterdam for approximately 80%, several financial institutions, and a housing corporation. Their long-term vision is being decided in cooperation with the shareholders, and the day to day business is managed by the executive board (real estate manager NV Zeedijk, personal communication, June 22, 2017).

#### **Position and dependencies**

The NV Zeedijk owns approximately one third of the Zeedijk, together with some properties elsewhere in the red-light district. Through that ownership, they are able to directly influence a significant proportion of the range of commercial amenities in and around the Zeedijk. However, they are dependent on entrepreneurs for paying the rental price. Although making profit is not their primary objective, an entrepreneur must have a complete plan, which means that he has to pay a rent that corresponds to what comparable companies pay in comparable locations (real estate manager NV Zeedijk, personal communication, June 22, 2017). Furthermore, they are dependent on the zoning plan regarding the possibilities of amenities in their property.

#### **Perception**

Although the NV Zeedijk was originally founded to combat decay and criminality, nowadays they focus more on the growing monofunctionality and discussion on diversity, which is strongly linked to tourism. The property manager explains that they see a shift from retail to horeca, especially due to the emergence of amenities with 'food to go'. They try to create a balance in their area, aiming at a situation in which there is not one function or actor that dominates the others.

### **4.2.8 Conclusion**

On the basis of the individual stakeholder descriptions, an image can be sketched of the positions and the relationships between those different actors, as well as the differences and similarities in their problem perceptions.

#### **Positions and relationships**

The tourists affect the range of commercial amenities with their consumer behaviour, when being present in large numbers in a city centre. A proportion of the entrepreneurs reacts to those changing market forces by gearing their businesses towards tourists, or establishing new tourist-oriented businesses. For this they need buildings to operate their amenities in, which are owned by the property owners. Both groups of market parties thus have a high influence on the process central in this research. They are however dependent on the market to make their businesses feasible and profitable.

A large proportion of the residents is dissatisfied with the effects that these processes have, and complain that it harms their liveability in various ways. They expect the municipality to react, and steer the influence that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities. The municipality is therefore seen as the steering actor in the light of this research, which is expected to steer the aforementioned market behaviour.

Last but not least, one can discern two stakeholder types that are specifically relevant in this research. The investment vehicle provides a means for a municipality to acquire properties and thereby

obtain direct influence over the businesses within these properties. And intermediaries are actors that do not have assets on their own, but are able to connect the aforementioned stakeholder types.

### Problem perceptions

When looking at the problem perceptions, it is noticeable that even within the group of residents, differences can be seen. This could be due to their location, i.e. whether they live within or outside the city centre. However, research indicates that neighbourhood changes are also experienced differently by different types of residents, indicating that the impact on their liveability could (partly) be subjective.

Differences in problem perceptions can also be seen on the part of the market parties. Both the property owners and the entrepreneurs consist of heterogeneous groups, of which at least a part earns money of the growth of tourism, which makes that these individuals most probably do not agree with the problem perception of the residents. However, in both groups there are also actors that are more committed to the liveability of the neighbourhood they operate in, giving them similarities in problem perception with the residents.

The problem perception of the municipality has shifted over the years, together with the problem perception of the residents. They argue that the balance between the different city uses in the city centre is disturbed, and should be restored.

## 4.3 Impact subjectively

The following section describes the public debate regarding commercial amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam between 2008 and 2017. The public debate gives a subjective image of the impact, which will be compared with a quantitative, objective investigation later on. As explained in the introduction, the protest of the residents in the touristic cities is the occasion for this research, and a major reason for multiple municipalities to deal with the corresponding issues. The theoretical framework in paragraph 3.1 showed that this is described in the literature as *social carrying capacity*, in which the subjective experience of the host population plays a major role. Furthermore, the theoretical framework showed that tourism gentrification occurs in a number of stages over time, making it relevant to look back in time when comprehending this phenomenon.

Analysing the public debate, as it is described in the press and in opinion articles, is thought of as a helpful way to create an image of the public opinion over time. The identity of a city, which its dominant characteristics as well as its problems and potential solutions, is increasingly being formed in informal arenas such as the media, public events and public meetings (Verheul, 2015). This also applies to the problems regarding tourism and commercial amenities in Amsterdam. Residents of Amsterdam use their “cultural, social and institutional capital to influence politicians, policy-makers and media”, in reaction to the increasingly pressing issues regarding tourism (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017, p. 12). The public debate thus gives a valuable insight into the experience of the impact of tourism in general, and the matters relating to commercial amenities specifically.

The data comes from a combination of press articles from the last ten years, supplemented with quotes of interviews held in 2017. 2008 has been chosen as a starting point because of two reasons. The number of guests and overnight stays in Amsterdam between 1997 – 2017 (OIS, 2016b) in Graph 1 showed that the number of tourists started to grow rapidly approximately ten years ago. Secondly, the archival research into this subject in Amsterdam-based newspapers showed that 2008 was the first year in which this discussion regarding amenities was frequently mentioned in the newspapers, thereby indicating that it started to become a hot topic in the public debate around that time.

### 4.3.1 Public debate from 2008 till 2012

Back in 2008, the municipality was not satisfied with the diversity in the city centre, and its predominance of ‘low-quality functions’ such as brothels, money exchange offices, mini supermarkets, massage salons and souvenir shops. As a reaction, the municipality introduced the ‘check valve regulation’ (keerklepregeling in Dutch), as a means to curb the proliferation of these functions in the city centre (Ploeg, 2015). More information about the check valve regulation is given in paragraph 5.1.2. Souvenir shops were part of this regulation, but the actions of the municipality were primarily targeted at sex and weed associated functions, amenities that were often being linked to criminality. Tourism played a much smaller role in the public debate regarding functions in the city centre than it does nowadays.

That is not to say that tourism did not play a role at all. A year later in 2009, entrepreneurs in the city centre expected a dip due to the financial crisis. However, economic growth was still visible in the city centre at that moment, which was explained among others by the growth of tourism (Parool, 2009). The crisis was still not clearly visible in the city centre in 2013, which was again to a large extent due to tourism. Although some retailers did have a hard time, tourism made it possible to maintain economic growth in the city centre as a whole (Karman, 2013).

The municipality started 'Actieplan 1012' in 2012, intended to curb degradation and low-quality horeca such as the proliferation of steak houses and pizzerias in and around the red-light district. However, back then it was again primarily due to their link with dirty money, and the operation was part of a major investigation of justice, the municipality and the tax authorities to counteract organized crime. Souvenir shops and headshops were being linked to criminal money as well. The municipality tried to use the zoning plan to make sure that no new branches of these functions could be opened in the city centre (Het Parool, 2012).

#### 4.3.2 Public debate from 2015 till 2017

The public debate regarding amenities in the city centre seemed to have slowed down a bit between 2013 and 2015, given the fact that local news sources such as the Parool published significantly less articles about this subject during these years. However, that changed in 2015. In May 2015, the national newspaper the Volkskrant stated that the debate about the one monoculture had given way for a new one: "sex and weed have become ice and cheese" (Ploeg, 2015). Other news sources also reported on complaints about touristic amenities, such as Tours & Ticket shops, cheese shops, Nutella shops and foremost ice shops in the summer of 2015 (Kooyman & Zilvold, 2015; Wiegman, 2015).

The municipality acknowledged this development as well. Alderman Ollongren argued in an interview that there are too much ice shops and cheese shops, which seemed to have taken the place of the souvenir shops the city they tried to get rid of for a long time (Blokker, 2015). Boudewijn Oranje, chairman of the executive board of the city centre, argued that residents could "lose their anchors" with the neighbourhood if this development continued, and explained that he wanted to intervene (Wiegman, 2015). Both politicians stated that the balance in the city centre was disturbed and should be restored. As a reaction, the municipality introduced the 'city in balance' program, about which more information is given in paragraph 5.1.1. Simultaneously the city district Centre (Dutch: Stadsdeel Centrum) announced that it would start intervening in the excess of ice shops, among others by controlling their permits (Wiegman, 2015).

In the meantime, the public debate intensified. Whereas residents were mostly astonished by the increase of cheese shops, ice cream shops and waffle or Nutella shops at first, more and more irritation was being caused by their growth. Most protesting residents stated that they were opposed to this development because it does not add value to the city in their point of view, while simultaneously replacing convenient stores they did use (Kooyman & Zilvold, 2015). They complained about the quick transformation (Dutch: verkleuring) of streets towards suchlike touristic uses.

News articles talked about the 'iceconisation of the city centre' (Zwetsloot, 2016), with brands such as the Ice Bakery, Nutella and Duo Penotti being used as symbols. The most often used explanation of this phenomenon is that the rents within the city centre have risen so sharply, that only suchlike functions can afford to rent a property within the city centre, in contradiction to ordinary convenient stores or other unique non-chain shops (AT5, 2016; Milikowski, 2016; Oostveen, 2016; Remie, 2016).

An extensive article in the Groene Amsterdammer, an independent Dutch weekly newsmagazine, stated that Amsterdam is in a 'vicious circle'; "as the supply is focusing more on tourists, residents are increasingly avoiding the city centre. Shops and restaurants aimed at locals are having a harder time, have to be closed and are being replaced by another international fashion brand, an ice cream shop or a touristic steakhouse" (Milikowski, 2016). In other streets complaints could be heard as well, for instance about exodus on the Haarlemmerdijk due to high rents that were being linked to tourism, as well as complaints from entrepreneurs from the populair shopping area 'De Negen Straatjes', that saw the rents rising while revenue was shrinking, for which they blamed tourists that 'only look but do not buy anything' (Couzy, 2016b).

The municipality reacted to these complaints by intensifying their approach on the so-called touristic monoculture, among others through research on the available means the municipality has (Couzy,



2016a). Even the Mayor became engaged with the topic, by arguing that legislation should be changed so that the municipality can strengthen their actions (Smit, 2016). Furthermore, several ice saloons received large fines for violations of legislation, or lack of compulsory licenses (Wiegman, 2016b).

Simultaneously, the debate continued. Several local entrepreneurs rose up as well, by complaining about the growing monoculture and stating that in their point of view the municipality should introduce more legislation (Couzy, 2017a; Het Parool, 2017). Other actors, including left wing political party GroenLinks (2017), argued that the city is being 'flooded by unhealthy food and fast food chains', and argued that branching (i.e. influencing what stores are located in a certain street) should be conducted by the municipality in order to curb that growth (Linden, 2017). A councillor of another left-wing party, the PvdA, argued that one should give priority to entrepreneurs that 'want to connect with the city and its residents' (Boutkan, 2017). However, most prominent remained the complaints about the development that fewer and fewer shops in the city centre are focused on local needs, and instead a tourist focussed monofunctionality arises.

### 4.3.3 Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the paragraphs above, through which an image is given of the changes within the public debate over time and the characteristics of the protests and corresponding issues at the moment.

#### **Changes in the public debate**

The paragraphs above shows that the public debate regarding undesirable functions and monofunctionality in the city centre of Amsterdam and accompanying responses from the municipality are not new. Suchlike complaints were already visible in 2008, after which the municipality took action. However, there seem to be two important differences with today's debate. First of all, the debate currently relates to tourism oriented functions, whereas at an earlier stage, criminality and dirty money seemed to be the underlying causes one wanted to curb. Consequently, other types of amenities are used as 'symbols' of the despised urban processes. Whereas these used to be the steak houses, pizzerias and souvenir shops, amenities that were often associated with dirty money, nowadays these are the to-go food amenities such as ice shops and Nutella shops, combined with Tours & Ticket shops and shops that only sell one type of prepacked 'touristic cheese'. These changes in the public debate were also confirmed by several of the interviewees.

Secondly, the call for excessive legislation and the desire for a municipality that is able to influence the functions one can or cannot find in a city street seems to be much stronger than before, and come from more angles as well. Whereas between 2008 and 2010 many residents in Amsterdam were complaining about the 'regulatory fury' (Dutch: regeldrift) and the 'dulling' (Dutch: vertrutting) of the city (van Oosteren & Schaafsma, 2010), nowadays the call for regulation of the cityscape seems to be stronger than ever. Even liberal parties such as the D66 and the VVD, that were against influencing the market behaviour in shopping streets for a long time, are currently arguing for more state intervention.

#### **Characteristics of the current discontent**

When looking closer at what the discontent of the residents of Amsterdam currently entails, several characteristics stand out. It is the quick transition (Dutch: verkleuring) of parts of the city centre as a result of tourism that is often being despised. Many residents see a strong growth of touristic amenities in the city centre, most notably the 'symbols' described in the former paragraphs, such as to-go food amenities and Tours & Ticket shops. It is said that as a result, a new touristic monofunctionality arises. Furthermore, these residents complain in the public debate that these touristic amenities replace amenities that were geared towards them, the host population. The debate is thus not only focussed on amenities one *does not* want, as it was around 2008, but also on amenities one *does* want (chairman of overarching association of undertakings, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Last but not least, residents are worried about where this process will end, and even feel a sense of powerlessness towards this neighbourhood change.

When comparing these findings to the theoretical framework sketched in paragraph 3.1, it seems that the city centre of Amsterdam witnesses a relatively severe form of tourism gentrification, with at least the social carrying capacity having reached a pressing level. This would suggest an advanced stage of the tourism life cycle. To what extent these characteristics are also reflected in the quantitative data regarding the range of commercial amenities, will be explained in the following paragraphs.

## 4.4 Impact quantitative

After the former section gave an image of how the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities is experienced over time subjectively, this paragraph will elaborate on that impact on a quantitative basis. Paragraph 4.4.1 will first give an image of the alteration in the range of amenities in the city centre over time, after which a closer look of a couple of streets is taken in paragraph 4.4.2. By doing so, a more specific indication of the processes within the range of commercial amenities is given, as well as the market mechanisms behind these processes. Last but not least, it is explained in paragraph 4.4.3 that the market forces caused by tourism are not the only significant market forces that influence the alterations in the range of amenities that are being mentioned in the public debate.

### 4.4.1 Alteration in the range of amenities

AT5, a local news source in Amsterdam, investigated the number of tourist oriented amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam in May 2016. They found four main categories: souvenir shops, shops with ice, waffles or Nutella, tourist-oriented cheese shops, and Tours & Ticket shops. These are the most often used examples or 'symbols' of the public debate, as explained in paragraph 4.3. They counted a total of 191 touristic amenities, all visible on Figure 9. 108 of these were souvenir shops (shown in red), 46 were waffle, ice or Nutella shops (shown in green), and the rest are cheese stores (shown in yellow) or Tours & Ticket shops (shown in blue) (AT5, 2016). Another journalist in Het Parool, a local newspaper, stated in March 2017 that the number of tourist shops has grown from 79 to 200 between 2008 and 2017 (Couzy, 2017c), thus stating similar numbers as mentioned in the investigation by AT5.

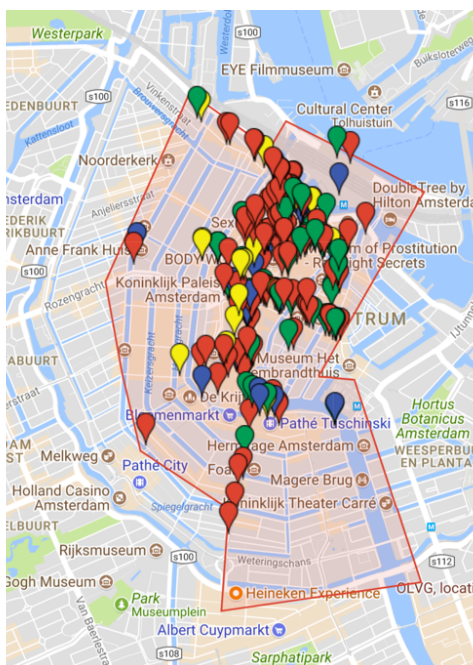


FIGURE 9: TOURISTIC AMENITIES IN 2016 (AT5, 2016)

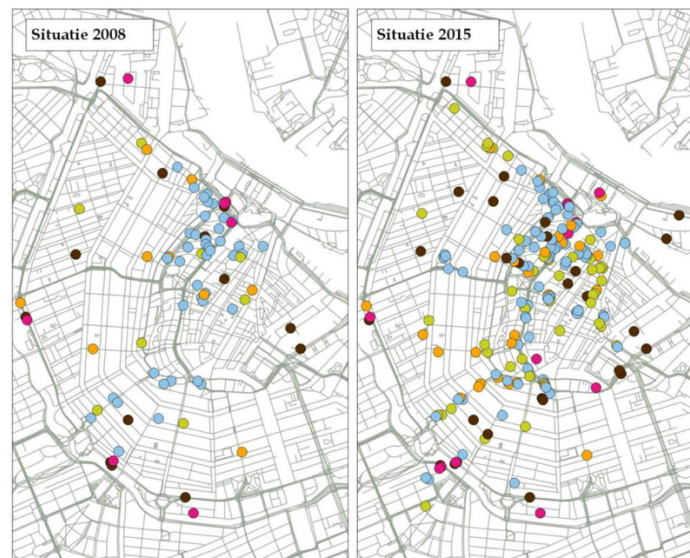


FIGURE 10: TOURISTIC AMENITIES 2008 – 2015 (GEMEENTE AMSTERDAM, 2017b, p. 10)

The municipality of Amsterdam has investigated the alteration in the range of (touristic) amenities themselves as well. Figure 10 shows the change in five categories of touristic amenities between 2008 and 2015. This illustrates that whereas souvenir shops were already present in significant quantities in 2008, the number of cheese shops and especially ice shops have increased significantly over the last 10 years.



FIGURE 11: SHOPS FOR 'DAILY SHOPPING' 2006 – 2016 (GEMEENTE AMSTERDAM, 2017b, p. 14)

Subsequently, the municipality of Amsterdam has investigated the alterations in properties that were formally registered as retail for daily shopping but nowadays contain a touristic amenity, over the period of 2006 and 2016. This in reaction to complaints from residents that amenities aimed at them were being replaced by amenities aimed at tourists. The results are shown in Figure 11, with green dots being shops with a touristic function and yellow dots having a neighbourhood-oriented function. The author emphasized two findings. Firstly, a large share of retail has shifted from a neighbourhood-oriented function towards a tourist-oriented function, indicating an increased focus on tourists, by retailers in the city centre. However, they point out that the presence of supermarkets, an essential daily amenity for residents, remains high. That presence is even higher in the city centre than in other parts of the city (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017b).

### Conclusion

The numbers and figures shown above illustrate a significant increase in the number of touristic focussed amenities. When looking at absolute numbers, it is the souvenir shop that accounts for the biggest share. However, whereas these were already present ten years ago, amenities with food for direct consumption are a much newer phenomenon. Geographically, these tourist-oriented functions concentrate in the city centre, corresponding with the areas where most tourists can be found, as shown in paragraph 4.1.1. Furthermore, it can be seen that although this growth in tourist-oriented functions has gone at the expense of some neighbourhood-oriented functions, it does not seem to be the case that neighbourhood-oriented functions are completely disappearing in the city centre.

The city centre of Amsterdam thus shows characteristics of tourism gentrification, i.e. the transformation of a neighbourhood in

### Alterations in the range of amenities abroad

*Multiple studies from cities abroad show that although tourism can provide a solution to declining revenue from shopping areas at first (Stoffelen, van Zanten, & van der Zee, 2014), the availability of amenities for residents partly diminishes after a while. In the city centre of Florence for instance, existing facilities for residents are being expelled in favour of services dedicated to temporary users. Lots of the traditional commercial amenities such as grocery stores, pharmacies, bookshops, cinemas, local cafes and open air markets can no longer pay the rent, and are thus slowly disappearing (Porter & Shaw, 2013). The same is happening in other cities as well. In the old district of Lisbon, traditional retail such as grocery stores, bakeries and butchers are disappearing in exchange for amenities that only serve tourism, such as gourmet shops and souvenir shops (Mendes, 2016). In Kreuzberg, Berlin, a frequent transformation of retail stores and groceries can be witnessed as well, mainly into galleries, cafés and bars (Füller & Michel, 2014). Similar disappearances of everyday services are also visible in popular neighbourhoods of cities like Prague (Pixová & Sládek, 2016, p. 75), Zagreb (Kesar et al., 2015, p. 665) and New Orleans (Gotham, 2005, pp. 1107–1108), primarily replaced by tourist oriented functions. In Venice it even came to the point that it is no longer possible for residents to buy routine purchases such as underwear within the city (Colau, 2014).*

BOX 4: ALTERATIONS IN THE RANGE OF AMENITIES ABROAD



favour of temporary users. When looking at the carrying capacity, i.e. the capacity of the destination area to absorb tourism before negative impacts are felt by the host country, the economic carrying capacity does seem to reach high levels, although the disappearance of amenities with a neighbourhood oriented function does not go as far as in some cities abroad, as is illustrated in Box 4 on page 54.

#### 4.4.2 Several streets further examined

A better understanding of the processes that occur within the range of commercial amenities, and the mechanisms behind these processes, can be obtained by looking closer at individual streets within the city centre. CentrumXL, an organization that is further commented on in paragraph 4.2.6, has gathered data from twelve streets in the city centre. The data illustrates characteristics such as a rough indication of the rental prices in the period of 2008 till 2016, the distribution of amenity types, communication to tourists, and other relevant aspects. The data from the twelve streets has been supplemented with additional data regarding rental prices throughout the years. Together, these twelve streets create a more precise image of the variety of streets in the city centre of Amsterdam. The full data set is shown in Appendix A: Examination of 12 streets in Amsterdam.



FIGURE 12: 12 EXAMINED STREETS WITH A PROJECTION OF THE MAJOR WALKING ROUTES OF TOURISTS (DERIVED FROM GOOGLE MAPS, 2017; POEL & BOON, 2015)

Figure 12 shows the twelve streets in red, with a purple overlay showing the result of a research on walking routes of tourists in Amsterdam, conducted among 30 tourists of a hostel and a four-star hotel (being the Flying Pig and the Mövenpick Hotel, which clarifies these two purple hotspots on the map) (Poel & Boon, 2015). All twelve streets are located in the centre of Amsterdam, with some in the Canal District, some in and around the Red-Light District, and some located elsewhere in the city centre. The following findings can be distilled from the statistics of these streets:

##### Rent levels

In general, some similarities as well as some major differences between the streets can be seen. The average square meter rents differ widely, with the most expensive street being ten times as expensive as

the least expensive one. On average, the rents have not increased greatly over the last 10 years. That differs when looking at the last two years, which shows a couple of outliers. The most remarkable one is the combination of the Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat and the Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat, four small streets that cross the red-light district all the way from the Dam square to the east side of the city centre. The rent prices of these streets went up with an average of 28% between 2014 and 2016. The second group of rent increases is formed by the Haarlemmerstraat and the Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht, which have each gone up 16% over the last two years. These are all streets with a relatively large proportion of tourists.

That is not to say that tourism has automatically increased all rents in streets with a lot of tourist visitors. The popular shopping streets Nieuwendijk, Leidsestraat and the Kalverstraat all witness large tourist-streams as well, but have not seen a sharp rent increase over the last couple years. However, what these three streets discerns from those four streets mentioned in the former paragraph, is the absolute rental price. The prices in the three popular shopping streets were already relatively high, around 2,000 euros per square meter, whereas the four streets first mentioned had a much lower average rent price of around 625 euros in 2014, and increased to an average of 800 euros in 2016. It could thus be said that a much bigger rent increase was possible in the four first mentioned streets.

### **Distribution of functions**

Next, a closer look at the distribution of functions, i.e. the type of amenities in each street will be taken. Are these rent increases due to tourism, and have they correlated with a shift towards tourism-related functions in these streets? To answer these questions, first some observations in general have to be made. Within the distribution of functions, it is worth noting that the number of amenities with daily necessities has not reduced substantially in any of the streets, and is even increased in most streets. This contrasts with stories from tourism gentrification in other cities, that argue that daily shopping for residents is increasingly difficult due to the development of tourism, as illustrated in Box 4 on page 54. The number of shops with non-daily products in Amsterdam did however drop, in almost all of the streets. This could be due to developments such as internet shopping, although that cannot be distilled from these figures directly. More about the impact of suchlike 'external developments' will be explained in paragraph 4.4.3.

When looking more closely at horeca (hotels, restaurants, cafes), the data shows that the number of restaurants has grown in six of the twelve streets over the last eight years. The same is true for the category of snack, lunch and ice, which is correlated with one of the monofunctionalities residents complain about. The growth of this latter mentioned category is mostly visible in streets with lots of tourists and relatively low rental prices. Last but not least, the category 'warm bakeries', which is registered as retail in the data file, has grown largely (11%) in the Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat, which could be linked to tourism as well. However, it has grown 4% in the Vijzelstraat as well, which is a street with far less touristic visitors.

Regarding retail, it is harder to draw one-sided conclusions from the data. Clothing & fashion is the largest share of retail in almost all of the streets, which has increased or stayed the same in most of them. Food, beverages and tobacco are often increased in their share, and white and brown goods have decreased, as well as the category 'other articles'. In addition, the major share of second-hand goods in the Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht stands out with 41%, which stayed more-or-less the same during the last eight years. This can be explained by the fact that these streets form the heart of the Spiegelkwartier, Amsterdam's historic art and antique district. This indicates that mono-functionality is not solely linked to tourism.

### **Touristic characteristics**

Next, the twelve streets were examined on specific touristic characteristics. It is noticeable that streets with lots of tourists often have a substantial number of commercial amenities that communicate directly to tourists, with the highest share being de Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat with 53% of the amenities communicating directly to tourists. Here again, however, exceptions can be seen, such as the Kalverstraat and the Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht, with lots of tourists but very few direct communication towards tourists.

Looking at food supply for direct consumption – a major source of irritation in the debate regarding tourism – once again the Damstraat and Oude Doelenstraat stand out with a very high percentage of 62% of the amenities. Second highest in this category are the Vijzelstraat and the Utrechtsestraat. First mentioned has some tourists going to the Heineken Experience but far less than for instance the Damstraat,

and the Utrechtsestraat does not seem to be part of the major tourist streams at all. Both have a relatively large share of 'food supply direct consumption', around 41%, but almost no direct supply for tourists, and very few communication to tourists. It is therefore not possible to connect food supply directly to tourists. The Utrechtsestraat is a busy, 'regular' shopping street, which could provide a better underlying reason for the number of amenities with food supply for direct consumption in that particular street.

### Categories of streets

These different characteristics combine into several types of street profiles, from which several conclusions can be drawn. The streets that stand out most are the Damstraat and the Oude Doelenstraat. They saw a high increase in rent, which seems to be largely due to tourism, a conclusion that was made by DTZ Zadelhoff (2015) as well. The rent prices at the Damstraat decreased earlier between 2012 and 2013, as a result of declining interest among retailers at that time (DTZ Zadelhoff, 2013). Their location is however relatively good, in the busiest part of the city. Subsequently, they seemed to be 'vulnerable' for a rent increase. This increase occurred when entrepreneurs saw the market that tourism was creating.

Within the rough distribution of functions nothing has changed in the Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat, indicated that the zoning plan remained more or less the same. However, when looking more closely, a sharp increase of 'snack, lunch and ice' horeca is visible, as well as a sharp increase in warm bakeries. All of these categories provide food supply for direct consumption, often solely aimed at tourists. This growth has gone at the expense of more resident focussed functions such as businesses that sell books and magazines, or second-hand shops, coffee places and cafes. It is thus a good example of the quick transformation of streets that residents critically talk about in the public debate.

Nevertheless, these streets do form some kind of an exception on the others. Popular shopping streets such as the Kalverstraat, the Leidsestraat and the Nieuwendijk do not seem to be influenced by the influx of tourism, even if they are part of the network of tourist streams. This appears to be due to the high rent prices in these streets, making sudden changes probably less plausible and new touristic functions less profitable. In addition, there are numerous streets that do not experience large tourist streams, and are therefore not influenced by the growth of tourism either.

Furthermore, it can be seen that two of the characteristics that are being criticized on in the debate on tourism, being monofunctionality and food supply for direct consumption, are not solely linked to tourism. The three popular shopping streets mentioned in the former paragraph have a monofunctionality of clothing and fashion shops, and the Spiegelkwartier shows an even more particular monofunctionality of art and antique. However, these monofunctionalities are never mentioned in the public debate. Regarding the food supply for direct consumption, it is visible that this category has a significant presence in regular, non-touristic shopping streets as well. This is relevant to know when devising policy to curb these characteristics in the range of commercial amenities.

Last but not least, although displacement of residential-focused amenities does seem to be visible in the Damstraat, the statistics show that primarily the amenities with non-daily articles have decreased in numbers, especially businesses that sell white and brown goods or as books and magazines. Other categories such as amenities selling daily necessities show fewer major changes. The disappearance of amenities with non-daily products could also be linked to external developments, apart from the growth of tourism. More about suchlike influences will be explained in the next paragraph.

### 4.4.3 Alterations in consumer behaviour

The range of commercial amenities in a city changes constantly, and the growth of tourism is not the only factor of influence. As explained in the former paragraph, some changes in the range of amenities could also be due to 'external developments', irrespective of the influence of tourism. This was also mentioned in some of the interviews, for instance with the chairman of the overarching association of undertakings. One of the significant developments that is having an impact on the range of commercial amenities, is that consumer behaviour in general is changing. Many customers are increasingly focussing on convenience, with shorter and more efficient shopping trips (I&O Research, 2011). Simultaneously, the factor of entertainment and experience becomes increasingly important in the customer demands (Kooijman & Sierksma, 2007; Moss, 2007). Another important development that cannot be ignored is the emergence of online retailing, which is structurally changing the retail landscape (Hsiao, 2009).

Within the horeca sector, other alterations in consumer behaviour can be witnessed as well. The demand for food & beverages in the Netherlands is growing, which is reflected in a revenue growth of the sector. However, this growth is not distributed evenly, with a strong growth of restaurants and hotels, but a shrinkage in the number of cafes. As with shopping, within the horeca sector customers are also in search of experience, with rising expectations of the quality of the horeca related amenities (Veenstra, 2017).

Market parties respond to these alterations in consumer behaviour, which results in alterations in the range of commercial amenities in the Netherlands and abroad. These developments occur irrespective of the influence of tourism, which means they also influence the range of commercial amenities in cities with a much lower amount of tourism.

In order to better understand the alterations in the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam, and to investigate to what degree they are the result of the growth of tourism or the result of more global developments, a comparison is made between the 7 major cities of the Netherlands. The underlying data set is visible in Appendix B. Amsterdam is experiencing far more tourism than all other cities in the Netherlands, which makes it interesting to compare the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam with that of other cities. This is not to say that a development that only happens in Amsterdam is entirely due to tourism. However, developments that also occur in other cities are most probably due to a more global development rather than due to tourism growth, so it does provide a means to exclude correlations. Statistics of CBS of the seven biggest cities in the Netherlands were used for this investigation, for the period 2008-2015. These seven cities are Groningen, Utrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam, Tilburg and Eindhoven, together with Amsterdam of course. The findings are reported consecutively for retail and horeca (hotels, restaurants and cafes), the two categories that are most often mentioned in the public debate.

### **Retail**

Two categories of retail that showed a shrinkage in numbers in Amsterdam, as explained in paragraph 4.4.2, are the category white & brown goods and the category books & magazines. However, statistics from CBS show that both categories have decreased in all major cities in the Netherlands, making it less probable that these functions have been pushed away *solely* by tourism-related amenities. That alteration in the range of amenities is probably *also*, and possibly even to a higher degree, linked to alterations in consumer behaviour as illustrated in the former paragraph. That thought is in line with other sources as well, that report on nationwide large falls in turnover in physical retail in the non-food sector since 2008 (Raatgever, 2014).

Another complaint of residents in the tourism debate is the loss of diversity. Often used symbols of this diversity are speciality stores, that are not part of a chain of any sort. However, when looking at food related speciality stores, it is visible that their share as a whole has decreased in all of the cities, except for fish shops and cheese shops, which have grown nationwide. Amsterdam does show a slightly larger decrease in some categories, but overall the differences are comparable. One exception to that are cheese stores, which have risen exceptionally in Amsterdam. CBS (2017b) links that to the growth of tourism-focussed cheese stores in the city centre. Summarizing, these statistics show that although the number of cheese shops does show an unusual growth in Amsterdam, the decrease of other categories of retail is largely in line with nationwide developments in the retail landscape. Last but not least, it is often stated that the retail sector witnesses more and more large retail chains, both in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016c) and elsewhere (Zukin, 2011).

### **Horeca**

The growth of restaurants as described in paragraph 4.4.2 is visible in other cities as well, although this growth is almost twice as high in Amsterdam as it is in the other cities. When looking at snack bars and ice saloons, no growth is visible in any of the cities over the last seven years. A growth is visible in Amsterdam when looking more closely at the last year, although that growth does correspond with developments in other cities, where the growth of this category is even higher. The Horeca Branch Organisation (KHN, 2016) is reporting similar figures; the number of snack bars, lunch rooms and ice saloons has grown 5,5% in 2015, a growth that is mainly due to an increase in the number of lunchrooms and ice cream parlours. Lastly, the decrease of cafés in Amsterdam is similar with that of other cities as well. Many cafes have gone bankrupt over the last 10 years, due to diminishing turnover (NOS, 2017).



## Conclusion

The comparison of the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam with that of other cities in the Netherlands yields some nuances. Not all of the alterations in the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam can be solely linked to tourism, and it is very likely that several of the alterations are also or to a higher degree due to changing consumer behaviour. This is also the case for some of the alterations that tourism is accused of in the public debate, including the disappearance of certain neighbourhood-oriented functions such as cafes and non-daily retail. This does not mean at all that the influence of tourism is negligible, since the data shows that the growth of tourism does have an impact on the range of amenities. Furthermore, it is very well possible that the growth of tourism reinforces the alterations that are being caused by changing consumer behaviour. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the different underlying causes when investigating the steerability of the range of commercial amenities, and to not fully blame tourism if other sources are of influence as well.

## 4.5 Conclusion on the process

The analysis of the public debate and the quantitative analysis together create a good image of the processes that alter the range of commercial amenities under the influence of the growth of tourism. In the following paragraphs, it will be concluded how market behaviour in the context of Amsterdam has resulted in these changes in the range of commercial amenities.

### 4.5.1 Market behaviour

With the subjective and the quantitative analyses of the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of amenities combined, a better understanding of the corresponding processes can be obtained. It shows that tourism has grown rapidly over the last couple of years. The growing presence of tourists in the city creates a growing market demand, among others for touristic matters such as tickets for venues & tours, souvenirs, and food & beverages. Entrepreneurs cater that growing market demand by establishing businesses that supply these goods in touristic amenities. They do this primarily in streets where a high number of tourists is combined with a relatively low rent.

### 4.5.2 Context

To understand what the outcome of that market behaviour is, it is important to understand the context in which it occurs. When looking at the city centre of Amsterdam in general, it should be noted that the pressure on the market is high, with very little vacancy in both residential and commercial properties (Mebius, 2017; Stil, 2016; Terra, 2017), resulting in growing competition over scarce resources and space. This in itself creates tension in the city, and dilemmas to be faced by the municipality.

Regarding tourism in Amsterdam, it can be seen that the majority of tourists in Amsterdam concentrate on a relatively small part of the city centre, which in itself is already relatively small, compared to other metropolises. That area also inhabits a lot of permanent residents, this in contradiction to some other cities in which tourism is growing rapidly. Furthermore, although it is beyond the scope of this research to investigate the impact of the *type* of tourists on the range of amenities, it is worth mentioning that it is often said that Amsterdam has lots of mass tourists, and is among others known for its liberal attitudes with respect to sex and drugs (Terhorst et al., 2008). As explained in paragraph 4.2.1, this could influence the market demands that are being caused by the growth of tourism.

Last but not least, it has been pointed out on a more global level that consumer behaviour is changing, which in turn influences the range of commercial amenities in cities as well.

### 4.5.3 Result

In Amsterdam, the market behaviour combined with the contextual characteristics have resulted in a form of tourism gentrification in a part of the city centre, in which the range of commercial amenities plays a major role. The number of touristic amenities is growing, among others in the form of food to go businesses that sell quick snacks you can eat on the street, and Tours & Ticket shops where you can buy tickets for all sort of venues and tours. Residents are opposed to the quick transformation of streets towards a tourist-focussed monofunctionality, which they see taking place through the rise of suchlike functions. At the same time, certain neighbourhood-oriented amenities are disappearing, and the variety of the range of amenities

is reducing. To some degree this is due to tourism, to some degree it is due to other developments. In any case, it seems to be a process that creates discontent among a significant proportion of the residents.

### **Carrying capacity**

When comparing the findings of Amsterdam with the theoretical concepts of paragraph 3.1, it is difficult to determine a specific stage of the tourism cycle for Amsterdam at the moment. When looking at the protests issued by residents, one would say that the consolidation or stagnation phase has been reached. That stage also indicates that the social carrying capacity is reached for a large share of the residents, which is the case “when the local residents of an area no longer want tourists because they are destroying the environment, damaging the local culture, or crowding them out of local activities” (Martin & Uysal, 1990, p. 329). This does seem to be the case for a significant part of the residents.

When looking at it from an economic perspective, the findings of Amsterdam show that a relatively large part of the economy of the inner city is tied to tourism, although that is less the case when looking at the entire city of Amsterdam. Regarding the economic carrying capacity, i.e. “the ability to absorb tourist functions without squeezing out desirable local activities” (p. 256), the findings show that amenities that are primarily being used by locals are disappearing in the city centre. In some streets, these are being replaced by tourism related places. This is primarily the case in the 1012 area, in streets that have or had a relatively low rent. However, when certain types of amenities are being squeezed out, it is not always completely clear if this is due to tourism or due to other developments. Furthermore, the situation in Amsterdam has not yet reached the point where no daily shopping is possible in the city.

The psychological and the physical carrying capacity do not provide an explanation for the discontent of the residents with the alterations of the range of amenities. The physical limitations of the city do play an important role in the tourism debate, expressed by the discontent with the crowding and crowdedness in and around the red-light district (AT5, 2017), but that is largely separate from the type of amenities. Furthermore, the number of tourists keeps on growing, indicating that the psychological capacity has not been reached either.

It thus seems to be a combination of the social and the economic carrying capacity, that has a negative impact on the liveability of the host population, the residents of Amsterdam in this case. The next paragraph will zoom in on that impact on the liveability of the residents, caused by the growth of tourism.

## **4.6 Impact on the liveability**

The paragraphs above have shown how the growth of tourism influences the range of commercial amenities in a city centre. However, to truly understand why this causes so much discontent among the host population, one must examine further how that influences the liveability of these residents. When looking at liveability, one can make a distinction between two components. On the one hand, there are the needs, i.e. ‘the requirements for a healthy human life’. On the other hand, there are the desires, i.e. ‘the matters that make life more enjoyable’. The needs are relatively uniform, whereas desires can differ from person to person, and from culture to culture (Leidelsemeijer & Van Kamp, 2004, p. 81). One can clarify the impact of tourism gentrification in regard to the alterations in the range of amenities by applying this distinction between ‘needs’ and ‘desires’.

### **4.6.1 Needs**

Needs are firm conditions which are, in principle, universal and objective (Leidelsemeijer & Van Kamp, 2004). An example of needs related to the range of commercial amenities is the possibility to acquire one's daily necessities. In other cities where tourism gentrification is occurring, residents often complain about decreasing availability of businesses geared towards residents, sometimes to the point where no daily shopping in the city centre is possible, as explained in Box 4. Regarding Amsterdam, in the press as well as in an interview with a street manager in the touristic area of Amsterdam (personal communication, March 27, 2017), the disappearance of retail for daily shopping was also mentioned, often linked to rent increases. However, this development was nuanced by other stakeholders. A board member of an overarching residents' association explained that although the range of commercial amenities was changing, he did not have trouble finding shops to buy his necessities, nor did he hear complaints about it from other residents.

associations. Complaints were more geared towards the dominance and monofunctionality of other functions (personal communication, April 5, 2017). Similar findings were shown in the quantitative analysis of the range of amenities in paragraph 4.4.

Other necessities in the urban sphere are basic needs such as a safe and clean living environment without nuisance. These requirements can be seen as “agreed-upon general principles of spatial and urban quality” (Savini, Majoor, & Salet, 2015). Safety is often linked to criminality in the city centre of Amsterdam, and to a lesser degree to tourism. Nuisance and a lack of cleanliness are being linked to tourism, among others because of the large tourist crowds that block the pedestrian roads, and the loud voices all night long. However, this is linked to a lesser degree to certain commercial amenities. At least for Amsterdam, the discontent caused by alterations in the range of amenities can thus only partly be explained by the needs.

#### 4.6.2 Desires

Apart from the functional usage, such as being able to go to the supermarket, and economical advantages, such as the availability of employment, people also feel a connection with the places they live in through identity (Hospers, 2013). This goes beyond rational or objective aspects alone, it is the total experience of the city that counts (Verheul, 2015). Related to that is the concept of ‘elective belonging’, as a reason why people choose a particular living environment. Savage *et al.* (2004) argue that especially middle-class residents move to a neighbourhood not only because of its functional aspects, but also because it matters symbolically to them. They want to live someplace ‘for someone like me’. To achieve this sense of belonging, one needs a sense of identification with one’s relational, material and cultural surroundings (May & Muir, 2015).

However, research conducted by Pinkster & Boterman (2017) showed that residents in Amsterdam currently feel that this sense of identity is being disrupted as a result of the growth of tourism in their city. Not only are tourists present in large numbers, the city is also slowly but steadily being transformed in favour of tourism, through a process of tourism gentrification. A street manager resents “there no longer is any daily life, because the residents are being driven away, and it is the terrain for the tourists” (personal communication, March 27, 2017). And the program manager of CentrumXL stated “people are increasingly feeling lost in their own surroundings” (personal

#### Increase in short-term rentals

*Another tourism-related development that has a significant impact on the liveability of residents is the sudden increase in short-term rental housing. Online platforms such as Airbnb make it possible for everyone to rent out his or her house or a part of it from one individual to another (Bock, 2015), which has become a new trend among travellers (Mendes, 2016).*

*This development creates attractive revenue opportunities for locals when renting out part of their apartment (Glaudemans & Marko, 2016; Gravari-Barbas & Jacquot, 2016). In several other cases, however, entire houses are being converted into holiday apartments. For the popular neighbourhood Kreuzberg in Berlin for instance, it is estimated that up to 2% of the housing stock is converted into short-term rental holiday apartments. This goes hand in hand with a professionalization of the sector, including new investment schemes and specialized agencies (Berner & Wickert, 2011; Füller & Michel, 2014).*

*Over the last couple years, local residents are increasingly protesting against this development. These residents partly blame it for a decreasing availability of affordable housing (Bock, 2015; Mendes, 2016; Porter & Shaw, 2013), which could be seen as a ‘need’. Moreover, it is also being blamed for its negative impact on the social cohesion of a neighbourhood, which is more of a ‘desire’ (Füller & Michel, 2014; Stors & Kagermeier, 2017).*

BOX 5: SHORT-TERM RENTALS

#### Loss of ‘neighbourhood feel’ abroad

*In multiple other studies on the influence of tourism on the city, a loss of ‘neighbourhood feel’ and a reduction of the social sustainability of the community was mentioned. In the city centre of Prague, the overall atmosphere is being negatively influenced by the city’s visitors (Simpson, 1999). In Vieux Carre, New Orleans, entertainment and tourism have eroded the bohemian character of the area, resulting in a loss of neighbourhood feeling (Gotham, 2005, p. 1114). In the old district of Lisbon, Mendes (2016) calls it the Disneyfication of historical neighbourhoods, with “destruction and dismemberment of social relations between old residents of the community” as a result (p. 37). Other scholars call it ‘museumisation’, thereby referring to parts of for example Venice and Barcelona. Bock (2015) explains that “this process of museumisation could be amplified to affect more city locations, that have not been designated or apparent tourist areas in the past, in a shorter period of time than ever before” (p. 20).*

BOX 6: LOSS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD FEEL

communication, July 3, 2017). Alterations in the range of amenities are not the only consequence of tourism that causes such feelings, as shown in Box 5 on page 61. However, the amenities do form an important aspect of these processes, as this research shows. Residents see amenities geared at *them* disappear one by one, while amenities that are solely geared towards *tourists* take their place. Even before this reaches a point where it becomes a functional problem, through a lack of daily shopping possibilities for instance, this can create tension.

According to the social identity theory, people divide the world into an 'in-group'; us, and an 'out-group'; them. This distinction is being used to enhance one's self-image and identity (Tajfel, 1981). According to Verheul (2015), people use this distinction amongst others when expressing their emotional attachment to their city, by reducing differences within their own city (the in-group) and increasing the differences of their city with another city (the out-group). This distinction could also explain the negative reactions on the process of tourism gentrification from a social point of view. Although tourists might appreciate Amsterdam for the same characteristics as the residents, such as its historical architecture, they use the city in a different way (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). They display alternate consumer behaviour, and make use of different kind of amenities. Because of that, the range of amenities alters in favour of these tourists. It is very well possible that residents feel that whereas the city used to be geared towards them, the 'in-group', nowadays it is increasingly being produced for and consumed by tourists, the 'out-group'.

As a result, residents identify themselves to a lesser degree with their own city; their feeling of elective belonging is being diminished. Furthermore, the possibilities of residents to influence this process of tourism gentrification are low. If, for example, a completely new project is being built in the city, residents have several possibilities to object against the changes in the zoning plan. However, in the transformation of the range of commercial amenities through the process of tourism gentrification, it is not one particular project that changes the city. Rather, it is a slow but steadily iterative process of multiple objects, whilst the zoning plan stays the same. This could give residents a sense of powerlessness against the transformation of their own neighbourhood.

#### Alterations in public space

It should however be noted that tourism is not the only source of influence on these changes in the urban environment, through which residents identify themselves less with their living environment. Globalisation, together with the rise of the network society, has led to an increasing amount of standardisation, homogenisation and unification (Van der Loo & van Reijen, 1997). This development has not missed the urban environment. Sorkin (1992) wrote about the transformation of America's cities into a 'sinister and homogenous design' in the nineties already, thereby making a comparison to a theme park, or what he addresses as manipulative, dispersed, and

#### Homogenisation & tourism abroad

*Tourism is often seen as a global force of the homogenisation of public space, thereby hollowing out "the rich texture and uniqueness of social relations and their creations and thereby corrupts authentic cultural places" (Sager, 2011, p. 157). Although it can help preserve cultural elements at first, local lifestyle often "degenerates from what it was originally into a commercially organized effigy" as tourism grows (Cagica, 2017, p. 396). Simpson (1999) wrote about "creeping homogeneity and a shift away from a 'true' history towards a more sanitized and popularized identity", as well as "a substantial erosion of the sense of place and identity of the historic core" due to tourism in Prague in 1999 already. In a study on the makeover of Singapore's urban landscape into a 'touristscape', Chang & Huang (2008) criticized the homogenised, global geography of 'everywhere and nowhere'. A research in Barcelona showed that commercial alterations in consumption facilities acted constrained the quality of life of residents, thereby acting as 'indirect displacement' (Gant, 2015). Another example is Florence, where tourism is "expelling most elements of diversity and cultural innovation from the city" (Porter & Shaw, 2013). This standardization cannot only be unfavourable for the liveability of residents, but also destructive for tourism itself, since lots of tourists are looking for unique sceneries, different from what they know from their own environment. Harvey (2001) critically stated that the more Europe becomes 'disneyfied', among others due to and in favour of tourism, the less unique and special it becomes.*

*This change towards more homogenization might have a close link with the spatial concentration of tourism, as set out in Box 2 on page 39. Especially in cities where tourism concentrates on a rather small part of the city, such as Prague or Florence, thereby creating an 'enclavic tourist space', homogenization of the area seems to be likely.*

BOX 7: SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TOURISM GENTRIFICATION

hostile to traditional public space. In the commercial sector for instance, local shops are being replaced by chain stores, and according to some authors, it is becoming increasingly difficult to discern city centres from each other (Spierings, 2006). Many other authors have written about this phenomenon. Relph (1976) for instance talks about 'placelessness', i.e. "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardised landscape", while Zukin (2011) argues that "places are turning into everywhere else". Ritzer (2003) even argues that due to globalization, standardized and homogenous things and places that he calls "nothing" are taking over and pushing personal and local aspects, which he calls "something", out of society. In reaction, a growing need for a familiar living environment is developing (Van der Loo & van Reijen, 1997), together with a growing desire for authenticity (Zukin, 2008).

#### **Conclusion on the desires**

The development towards homogenization of public space is an important factor of influence on the identification and sense of belonging residents feel with their living environment in the city, and shows that it is not tourism alone that is having an impact upon this phenomenon. However, tourism seems to enhance the way residents experience the accompanying neighbourhood changes in two different ways. First of all, tourism appears to accelerate the process of standardisation, commercialization and commodification of the city (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). Secondly, it creates a tangible symbol of this development. Whereas factors of influence such as globalism and the network society are very abstract, the tourist as an influence factor is really concrete, and physically visible. How these developments are linked in literature on other cities is illustrated in Box 7 on page 62. This could explain why tourism is seen as the cause of certain phenomena that are (also) the result of larger developments. Nevertheless, tourism is likely more of an amplifier of these developments than the sole perpetrator.

#### **4.6.3 Conclusion**

The alterations in the range of commercial amenities thus influence the liveability of the residents in two ways. On the one hand, they negatively affect the basic needs, which are relatively uniform and objective for different types of residents. Examples are the disappearance of retail for daily shopping, such as supermarkets, or a reduction of safety due to the emergence of amenities with criminal characteristics. However, such effects seem to be relatively low in Amsterdam compared to some other cities.

In order to fully explain the discontent of the residents of Amsterdam, one also has to look at the desires. These are the 'matters that make life more enjoyable', which can differ from person to person. An example in the light of this research is a sense of identification with one's own living environment. A proportion of the residents feels that their living environment is increasingly becoming geared towards tourists instead of towards them, due to which they feel 'lost in their own surroundings'. This negatively affects the 'desires' of their liveability.

It must however be noted that such feelings are also being strengthened by a progress that occurs in public space globally; a change towards more standardisation and homogenisation. The growth of tourism could reinforce that trend, but it also occurs irrespective of tourism. Such global, external developments especially influence the desires, for which tourism should thus not be fully blamed.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

The processes that occur in the range of commercial amenities, in reaction to the growth of tourism, together with the impact it has on the liveability of the residents, are illustrated as a flow chart in Figure 13 on the next page. The consecutive steps of the process and its impact are explained thereafter.



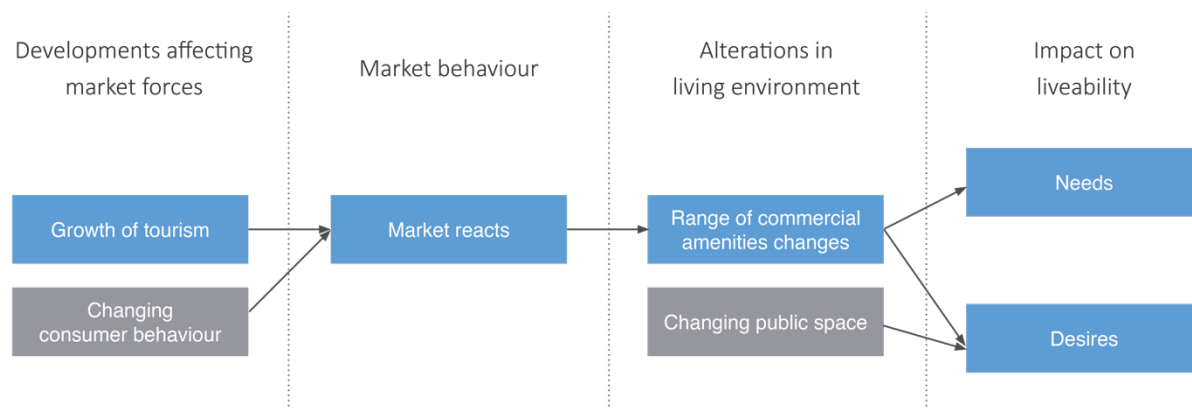


FIGURE 13: FLOW CHART OF THE PROCESS AND IMPACT OF THE GROWTH OF TOURISM ON THE RANGE OF COMMERCIAL AMENITIES

### Developments that are affecting the market

The growth of tourism creates the situation that an increasing number of tourists uses the city centre alongside the residents. Especially in the city centre, this can reach a point where the tourists outnumber the residents. Touristic demands partly differ from resident's demands, for instance due to the touristic demand for tickets for venues and tours, and to-go food. In addition, the tourists often have stronger purchasing powers than the residents. That development results in significant alterations in the market forces that are in play with regard to commercial amenities.

However, it should be noted that the growth of tourism is not the only development that alters the market demands with regard to commercial amenities. The demands of residents themselves change as well, as a result of alterations in consumer behaviour. An investigation of the alterations in the range of amenities in several cities in the Netherlands shows that for instance the decrease of cafes and speciality stores also occurs irrespective of the growth of tourism.

### Market behaviour

The market parties respond to the alterations in market forces described above. In Amsterdam, this especially regards retail and horeca. Entrepreneurs cater the growing touristic demand by establishing businesses that supply touristic goods, while stores in sectors that make less revenue, such as books and magazines, reduce in number. Simultaneously, more and more retail chains that look the same, irrespective of their location, occur in the cityscape. Property owners enable such alterations, especially when it gives them a chance to make more revenue. Finally, it is interesting to mention that a large proportion of suchlike alterations in the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam occurred without major changes in the zoning plan.

### Alterations in the living environment

The market behaviour mentioned above can result in strong alterations in the living environment. The disappearance of amenities that were geared towards residents, such as the aforementioned cafes and books & magazines stores, combined with the appearance of amenities geared towards tourists, can cause a relatively quick 'transition' (Dutch: *verkleuring*) of a street. This especially seems to be probable in streets that combine a large stream of visitors with a relatively low rent, making them receptive for such a change. It can also cause the complete disappearance of amenities that supply necessities for residents, although that does not seem to be the case in Amsterdam at the moment. Nevertheless, it shows that the alterations in the range of commercial amenities are an important factor of the tourism gentrification that was explained in the theoretical framework.

However, it must once again be noted that tourism is not the only factor of influence on suchlike changes in the living environment. Alterations of public space towards more homogenisation, standardisation and unification have been occurring irrespective of tourism for some time, among others due to the surge of chain stores, and the decreasing dominance of local characteristics due to globalisation. A high growth of tourism does however seem to accelerate these processes (Judd & Fainstein, 1999), and creates a tangible symbol of suchlike alterations in the living environment. This means that the processes that occur in Amsterdam is close to the definition that Judd (2003) compiled for tourism gentrification: "a process in which the space is produced for and consumed by a cosmopolitan middle-class that demands and reproduces similar urban environments wherever they go".

**Impact on the liveability of the residents**

These alterations in the living environment negatively impact the liveability of the residents in two ways, as explained in paragraph 4.6. It can harm the 'needs' of the residents on the one hand, which are uniform for different types of residents. On the other hand, it can harm the 'desires', which are experienced differently among different types of residents. In Amsterdam, the effects of the growth of tourism especially seems to impact the latter. Furthermore, it is argued that the abovementioned, globally developing alterations of public space can have a strong impact on the desires as well.





## 5 Steering in Amsterdam

After the thorough analysis of the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities in Amsterdam, this chapter elaborates on the possibilities of a municipality to steer this impact. First the available instruments are clarified in paragraph 5.1, after which they are being assessed in paragraph 5.2.

### 5.1 Available instruments

This paragraph gives an overview of the available instruments for the municipality of Amsterdam to steer the range of commercial amenities, thereby giving an answer to the sub research question ‘What instruments does a municipality have at its disposal to steer this impact, and what are their characteristics?’. The instruments are divided according to the subdivision shaping, regulating, stimulating and capacity building (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012), as explained in paragraph 3.2.1.

This list does not claim to be exhaustive, since one can think of many other possible instruments that could affect the range of amenities in a city centre, either with or without a link to tourism. However, this list shows the most predominant instruments as they are currently being applied, discussed or suggested in relation to the range of commercial amenities in the city of Amsterdam.

#### 5.1.1 Shaping

This section explains the most important shaping instruments, a category that is further explained in paragraph 3.2.1. It mainly concerns the range of commercial amenities specifically, supplemented, where relevant, with brief indication of shaping tourism in general.

##### Structure vision

The structure vision is a document that indicates the spatial coherence between the various sub-developments and plans within the city. It is only binding for the municipality itself (Festen-Hoff & Hobma, 2011). Amsterdam has a strong tradition in urban structure plans, which are guiding for all of the urban development plans within the city (Meyer, Westrik, & Hoekstra, 2014). In 2011, the municipality made a structure vision for the city up to 2040 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011b). In this vision, the growing importance of Amsterdam in an increasingly knowledge-intensive economy is acknowledged. The city is seen as a focal point of knowledge and exchange of ideas and face-to-face communication within and across numerous economic sectors. The policy described is aimed at metropolitan development, including four ‘major movements’: the development of a metropolitan landscape, the ‘rollout’ of the inner city, the rediscovery of the waterfront and the internationalisation of the South Axis. The motto of the structure vision is ‘economically strong and sustainable’, and the central ambition is: ‘Amsterdam develops further as key city of an international competitive, sustainable, European metropolitan area’.

##### Tourism related action in Barcelona

*Barcelona is another city that is often being mentioned when discussing tourism-related protest. A multitude of protest marches (Burgen, 2017) has eventually led to far reaching measures in the “Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020”, in which the municipality bans all new hotels from the city centre, applies the highest property tax rate to vacation apartments, and prohibits licences for the construction of new tourist apartments. Furthermore, there are plans to limit the use of Segway’s and electric scooters, and plans to raise the parking rates for tourist buses (Sorrel, 2017). Nevertheless, most measures are geared towards the limitation of accommodation opportunities. No measures that influence the range of amenities were mentioned, even though the lack of local shops is often being mentioned with regard to the tourism related protests (Burgen, 2017).*

BOX 8: STRATEGIC PLAN FOR TOURISM 2020 IN BARCELONA

In contradiction to some other policy documents, tourism is not a major topic within the structure vision 2040. This could be due to the date of publishing, since the tourism-related problems in Amsterdam were not yet as severe in 2011 as they are nowadays. Tourism is however mentioned as one of the seven promising economic sectors that are of great importance for the city, which is substantiated with the amount of jobs and revenue that tourism provides. Its spatial distribution is mentioned as a condition for the further development of the tourism sector, both from the city centre towards other city districts, as towards the region around Amsterdam. According to the structure vision, the city aims to realise this

dispersion through investments in overnight accommodations, through innovation and through accessibility.

With regard to amenities, one of the intentions for the city as a whole is to intensify land use, as a means to create more support for amenities, more investments for public space, more efficient use of land, and more dwellings within the city. Another relevant intention of the municipality in the structure vision, is to offer space for the growth of amenities in so-called city streets (pp. 8-9).

Furthermore, it is explained that the quality and the use value of public space is mainly determined by the amenities that are adjacent to that public space. "The more varied the supply of amenities, the more varied the public, the greater the chance on exchange between people, goods, knowledge and contacts. Therefore, it is important that the public space is freely accessible for different types of residents, working people and tourists" (p. 114).

### Coalition agreements

In 2014, a coalition agreement was composed by the current coalition parties: VVD, D66 and SP. The title of the coalition agreement is 'Amsterdam belongs to everyone', and it describes the goals of the municipality in the timespan of 2014 till 2018 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014a).

The same political parties renewed their coalition agreement in 2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016a). The new agreement, titled 'Amsterdam continues to belong to everyone', is increasingly focussed towards the strongly growing number of tourists and visitors in the city, and accompanying issues. It states that although this growth is good for the economy, it gives bustle and nuisance in some parts of the city as well.

Therefore, the second chapter is called 'the city in balance', which states that Amsterdam is immensely popular among tourists, with all sorts of consequences. It describes that the hotel capacity is expanded on all levels, and that platforms such as Airbnb and Wimdu have prompted a growth of overnight stays in the rooms and houses of the residents of Amsterdam. It describes that this popularity also has several negative consequences, such as pressure on the amenities, which should be prevented or combated. Among the measures they announced are a stricter hotel policy, a differentiated tourist tax, and an investigation towards the possibilities of a museum at the edge of the city, all aimed to spread the tourists over a greater area of the city.

It is furthermore stated in the agreement of 2014 that there will be more room for businesses such as horeca to be open 24/7, this in compliance however with residential and daily life. Furthermore, it is suggested for the municipality to act as a mediator between business and residents more often in case of horeca nuisance.

As stated before, the balance in the city is a bigger topic in the renewed coalition agreement of 2016 than it was in the original one from 2014. Among the adverse effects that the popularity of the city has, it is stated that this popularity exerts pressure on the amenities of the city. This is however not specified any further, let alone any measures against it (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016a).

### Agreement city district City Centre

The city district City Centre (Dutch: Stadsdeel Centrum) has drawn up an agreement for the period between 2014 and 2018 (Stadsdeel Centrum Amsterdam, 2014a). They aspire among others a mixed city centre, in which is being lived, worked and recreated. They do not want one economic activity to be dominant, but

### Tourism related policy in Utrecht

*The amount of tourism in Utrecht is much lower than in Amsterdam. Nevertheless, they have drawn up policy to accommodate growth and provide direction for tourism in the future. Although the urgency for Utrecht itself is relatively low at the moment, they feel a higher urgency due to the example that Amsterdam sets.*

*An important shaping principle is that Utrecht is and should remain a 'residential city', which makes it attractive for tourists as well. However, the municipality also sees the contribution to employment as a reason to promote tourism. The example that Amsterdam sets has the consequence that Utrecht starts thinking about such dilemmas in an early stage of the tourism life cycle. This is reflected, for instance, in decisions whether or not touring cars should enter the city centre.*

*Regarding touristic amenities, it was visible that the first souvenir shops were popping up, but no special policy regarding this subject was issued. The municipality did however use lots of capacity building measures in general in their policy division processes*

BOX 9: TOURISM RELATED POLICY IN UTRECHT

rather strive for a balance within the area. “Balance is not static”, they state. “On the contrary, the inner city exerts a magical attraction on people who want to do business, on those who want a piece of the pie, on dreamers and scalpers, on egoists and do-gooders. In short, the nicest things happen here, but interests also clash the hardest” (p. 1).

Last but not least, it is argued in an included letter to the formateur of the new council that city centre functions such as hotels, events and (touristic) attractions should be more dispersed throughout the city, in order to maintain the balance within the city centre.

#### **City in Balance program**

The debate regarding tourism and the balance between the different city uses in Amsterdam embarked around 2014, as the public debate in paragraph 4.3 has shown. In reaction, the municipality established the administrative order ‘Balance in the city’ (Dutch: Balans in de stad) in October 2014, which resulted in the start document ‘City in Balance’ (Dutch: Stad in Balans) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). An update was published in June 2016, with the title ‘State of balance’ (Dutch: Stand van de Balans). In these documents, the municipality of Amsterdam describes the trends and developments regarding the balance between residents, visitors and entrepreneurs in Amsterdam. The growing number of residents, the even faster growing number of visitors and the rising rent prices are outlined in the documents, together with the negative side effects (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016d). In the original ‘Balance in the city’ document, a number of experiments were announced, among others concerning crowd management, events on different places, vehicle-restricted shopping streets. The update from 2016 focussed on the crowdedness in some parts of the city centre, and provided a renewed subjective and an objective analysis of the corresponding effects. It pleads among others for more flexible, locally focused policy approaches (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016c).

#### **Agreement city district City Centre**

The city district of the city centre (Dutch: Stadsdeel Centrum) has appointed eight priorities in their agreement of 2014, together with a couple bottlenecks. One of the bottlenecks is ‘mono culture and nonsense’. It describes the phenomenon that many new shops and other commercial amenities are being combined with horeca. Although they see that it contributes to positive innovation in the city, they do not want these initiatives to end in a mono culture. Therefore, they intent a debate about the manner in which such innovations can be facilitated (Stadsdeel Centrum Amsterdam, 2014a).

#### **Conclusion**

Shaping instruments generally give a good outlook on what public bodies would like to see in the future, and what bottlenecks they think are important to resolve in order to make that future happen. Two things stand out when looking at the instruments mentioned above. Firstly, tourism with its positive and negative effects became an increasingly important subject over the years. Secondly, governmental bodies plead for a ‘balance in the city’ in almost all documents from the last three years. They want all different uses of the city to be able to co-exist alongside each other, without one use to be overly dominant over the others. Last but not least, although it is visible that other municipalities want to ‘shape’ the growth of tourism as well, the city of Amsterdam seems to be more concerned with the range of commercial amenities specifically than some others.

### **5.1.2 Regulating**

This section explains the most important regulating instruments, a category that is further explained in paragraph 3.2.1.

#### **Environmental permit**

The establishment of new businesses is controlled through a permit system. Amenities that arise in new or intensively renovated buildings need an environmental permit for a building project, which is tested against the local land use plan. A municipality can thus stimulate the quantity of certain amenity types by including more space for it in the land-use plan, or control other types by limiting their space (Hobma, 2017). However, this only applies to construction of new properties or the conversion of a property with a certain destination in the land use plan into another destination (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). Such a permit is thus not needed if a property owner buys a retail property and decides to rent it out to a different entrepreneur than before, with a different kind of retail business.

### Land use plan

The land use plan (Dutch: bestemmingsplan) is used in the Netherlands to specify the functional arrangements for housing, industrial, ecological or mixed land uses for all parts of the city. It is drawn up by the municipality and is legally binding for urban development. This instrument is considered as a strong instrument for local authorities in terms of development control (Heurkens, 2014).

Retail is specified as one universal category in the zoning plan, without a subdivision. One exception is the restriction to sell bulky goods and products in some areas, since that does not fit spatially in a regular shopping area (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011a). Apart from that, a municipality can mainly steer on the quantity of retail with the zoning plan (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a).

Horeca (Dutch term for hotels, restaurants and cafes) is divided into six categories in the local zoning plan: simple take away food; music focussed venues such as clubs; establishments focussed on drinks such as cafes; venues with full meals such as restaurants and lunch rooms; hotels; and cultural horeca. The municipality is also experimenting with mixing formulas, in which supplementary horeca activities support the main function (Stadsdeel Centrum Amsterdam, 2014b).

One important characteristic of the land use plan is the fact that it may only be used as an instrument of spatial planning, and not as an instrument of economic planning. This means that all alterations in the land use plan must be substantiated spatially, and that the land use plan may not be used for the restriction of competition (Hobma, 2017). Some other characteristics of the land use plan that are worth mentioning separately in the light of this research are illustrated below.

### Check valve regulation

A specific component of the current land use plan in Amsterdam is the check valve regulation. The municipality of Amsterdam has introduced the 'power of amendment authorized functions' in the zoning plan of the area of postcode 1012 (being primarily the red-light district). This restriction is also known in Dutch as the 'keerklepregeling'. It allows the municipality to curb the expansion of unwanted amenities or amenities that are associated with criminality, in the event that the function balance is under pressure. The regulation currently applies to three groups of functions: firstly, windows prostitution and sex establishments; the second group are amusement arcades, telephone and/or fax services, money exchange and smart shops; and the third group consists of massage parlours, mini super markets, souvenir shops and seed and head shops. Most of these functions are associated with criminality and/or dirty money.

As described in the zoning plan, all of these functions are (too) dominant in the area and affect the function balance and the living environment. The regulation prescribes that it is not allowed to establish any new businesses that fall under those categories. Furthermore, when one of those existing businesses disappears, it is also not allowed to start a new business of one of these categories on the same location (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-b). It thus issues a phase-out policy for a number of unwanted functions in the 1012 area.

The keerklepregeling is an amendment authority in the zoning plan. However, in line with the section above, it is not allowed to truly affect the market with this instrument. The inclusion of the three categories mentioned above were all substantiated with extensive research on the *spatial* consequences of their proliferation in the area.

### Fast food in Italian cities

*Multiple cities in Italy have issued measures to limit the sale of fast food or 'foreign food'. Verona for instance tried to stop the opening of new kebab shops, and Florence ruled that all new restaurants and food shops in the city centre must ensure that at least 70% of their produce is local. Venice issued a law that banned new kebab shops and other new fast-food outlets, and limited shops from selling pizza by the slice. Main arguments were to 'preserve decorum and traditions', and protecting the city's identity (Giuffrida, 2017).*

*However, this legislation is facing great opposition from entrepreneurs. When the mayor of Florence decided to withdraw the permit for a McDonalds at the historic Piazza del Duomo, the fast food chain filed a \$20m lawsuit against the city (Ploeg, 2016). In reaction, a petition with over 24,000 signatures was issued by a French citizen, calling on the EU to help Florence to protect its historic city (Edwards, 2016). It is however legislation from the same EU that prohibits cities from protecting their own market, as explained in paragraph 5.2.2.*

BOX 10: REGULATION MEASURES IN ITALY

### Ice cream sale

An exception that looks minor on its own but had a major impact on the range of amenities in Amsterdam, concerns the sale of ice cream. In October 2009, the municipality decided through the implementation of the 'Directive Ice Cream Sale' (Dutch: Richtlijn Ijsverkoop) that shops whose main activity is to sell ice cream, but which do not provide an opportunity for leisure activities, are regarded as retail, and not as horeca (Stadsdeel Centrum Amsterdam, 2014b). Box 11 on the right shows how this legislation came about.

### Horeca stop

De horeca industry is a sector of which the municipality of Amsterdam in principle no longer permits expansion within the 1012 area, which is the area where most tourists (and a lot of residents) concentrate. Rather, they focus on improving the quality of the horeca sector (Gemeente Amsterdam & stadsdeel Centrum, 2009). This element of the zoning plan is

designed to prevent the addition of new horeca establishments, unless the municipality is convinced that a new concept can make a "significant contribution to the transformation of the 1012 area" (p. 39). This characteristic of the zoning plan for the city centre of Amsterdam is often referred to as a 'horeca stop'.

### Primary necessities

As explained above, all alterations in the zoning plan must be substantiated spatially and may not be based on economic arguments. However, planning requirements that serve overriding reasons relating to the public interest are allowed (Steyger, Struiksmā, & Botman, 2015). As Hobma (2017) explains, Dutch jurisprudence shows that this includes the possibility for "inhabitants of an area to meet their needs of primary necessities of life within an acceptable distance of their houses" (p. 7). These primary necessities likely refer to food, drinks and clothes. Because of this, there is more room for municipalities in the Netherlands to regulate retail with necessities, such as supermarkets, in the event resident's access to such necessities within acceptable distance is facing extinction.

### Permit system for the horeca sector

The municipality of Amsterdam makes use of a permit system for the horeca sector. One needs an operating license for every horeca establishment in which customers can consume food or drinks directly in the establishment (with the exception of selling ice cream, as explained above). You must apply for a license if you start a new business, but also if you take over an ongoing business or relocate your business. Additional permits are needed in order to sell alcohol. When applying for a permit not only the business but also the business owner is screened thoroughly. Furthermore, a permit is granted for a specific category of horeca (in accordance to the six categories explained in the section on the land use plan), and cannot be easily transformed into another category (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-c). A similar permit system is currently not in use for retail.

### Environmental Planning Bill

Planned for the end of 2018, the land use plan will be replaced nationwide by the Environmental Planning Bill. The approach of this law is that the government, based on signals from the neighbourhood and the municipal vision, develops a plan for an area or street. Through monitoring and contact with the neighbourhood, the municipality assesses if the environmental plan can provide more room for certain functions, or that it needs more restrictions (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016e).

### Alterations in ice cream legislation

*In 2009, a great deal of commotion rose up amongst residents about the beloved ice cream shop Monte Pelmo in the Jordaan that had to be closed. It was selling ice cream to costumers without a horeca permit. As a reaction, the municipality decided to ease the regulation for suchlike stores (Guitink & Wiegman, 2015), leading to the loosening of the regulation. From that moment, it was allowed to sell ice cream in properties that were assigned as retail in the zoning plan, and Monte Pelmo could stay. A street manager explained how the market subsequently reacted: "years ago it was decided that an ice cream shop does not need a horeca permit anymore. That was picked up by the market three years ago. Entrepreneurs thought 'these people are looking for sweets, they find nothing, so what do we do? We start an ice cream shop in a retail property'. Well, from an ice cream shop it became Nutella, from Nutella it became waffles...". The number of ice cream shops increased from 7 to 70 between 2009 and 2015 (Smithuijsen, 2016).*

BOX 11: ALTERATIONS IN ICE CREAM LEGISLATION IN AMSTERDAM



## Conclusion

The most important regulating instrument is the land use plan. It provides relatively strong control over the total quantity and the spatial distribution of a certain sector, especially regarding its expansion through the establishment of new businesses. When looking at the possibilities for a municipality to steer within these frameworks, a difference is noticeable between retail and horeca, the amenity categories that seem to be most affected by the growth of tourism in Amsterdam. Whereas horeca is subdivided into several categories and is subject to a permit system, alterations within a retail establishment, for instance if ownership is transferred and the new owner changes the type of business while staying in the same destination in the land use plan, are less steerable for a municipality. However, in both cases all steering actions must be spatially substantiated, with economic motives not being allowed. The permitted substantiation could be extended through the implication of the Environmental Planning Bill. However, the precise details of this new instrument are not yet known, and it remains to be seen what its influence will be.

### 5.1.3 Stimulating

This section explains the most important stimulating instruments, a category that is further explained in paragraph 3.2.1.

#### Subsidy programs

The municipality of Amsterdam has several subsidy programs through which they try to influence the range of commercial amenities in the city centre. Examples are a subsidy program to improve the physical structure and appearance of shopping streets, subsidy for a part of the labour costs of a street manager, subsidy for street branding, or subsidy for the establishment of an association of undertakings or a CIZ, stimulation of green public space (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a, 2017b).

#### Investment vehicle

With this instrument, market parties cooperate with the municipality through the establishment of an investment vehicle, which they use to acquire properties in a certain street or neighbourhood. With the ownership, they gain influence over the composition of the functions within the area, instead of leaving it to the free play of the market forces. In Amsterdam, there are two examples of such an instrument that are often mentioned in regard to the discussion amenities and tourism.

First of all, the 'NV Zeedijk'. The Zeedijk is a street in Amsterdam which used to have a very bad reputation, with lots of criminality and such. The NV Zeedijk was founded in 1984 with the aim of halting the deterioration of the Zeedijk by buying up properties, restoring them and renting the premises to bona fide businesses. The public interest is being served by increasing the quality of life and the (legitimate) economic activities on and near the Zeedijk. Furthermore, the NV Zeedijk works together with the municipality to withdrawal buildings from the criminogenic circuit (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014b). Special attention is given to buildings on the ground level, since they are representative for the street and the neighbourhood (NV Zeedijk, 2015). The NV currently owns approximately 80 buildings (Milikowski, 2016). The NV Zeedijk works with a clear branching plan, in which they state that they want, among others, a balance between amenities targeted at residents and amenities targeted at tourists, a diverse choice of functions, and qualitative small businesses. Furthermore, they state that businesses that are primarily targeted on tourists may be represented in fewer numbers (NV Zeedijk, n.d.).

#### Purchasing power of local residents

*A possible way to stimulate local or 'original' amenities is through the use of purchasing power of local residents. A suchlike initiative is introduced in Cambridge in the USA, with the so-called called 'Local First Network'. This network tries to stimulate independent, local businesses, non-profit organisations or artist in the city of Cambridge (Cambridge Local First, 2015). In the city of Amsterdam, the organization 'Stichting de goede Zaak Amsterdam' (Foundation the good company Amsterdam) is currently in the process of drafting a quality mark for shops that are unique, distinctive and supplementary. The idea is that local residents adjust their purchasing behaviour by shopping at shops with this quality mark, thereby stimulating a unique and distinctive supply of amenities. (De Goede Zaak Amsterdam, n.d.). However, since the focus in this research is on measures initiated by the municipality, which is not the case for suchlike initiatives, this report will not deal with this approach any further.*

BOX 12: RESIDENTS CHANGING THEIR CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

A bigger and newer investment vehicle is 1012 Inc. It was established by the municipality of Amsterdam to selectively and strategically acquire buildings within the postal code area 1012, which mostly exists of the red-light-district, in order to improve that neighbourhood. It is an investment company with three participants, being the pension investor Syntrus Achmea, the housing corporation Stadgenoot and the municipality of Amsterdam itself. They all participate with 30%, the remaining 10% belongs to private investors including individual investors in the neighbourhood. One of the objectives of 1012 Inc is to buy prostitution windows and transform them to something else. Since buying them solely with public money would be too expensive, the municipality started looking for private cash flows in 2009, which resulted in establishment of this investment vehicle in 2015 (Soetenhorst, 2016).

Both examples were originally focused on mitigating the negative influences of criminality, instead of those of tourism. They do however give an example of an instrument that gives powerful control over the composition of a street or neighbourhood, which can also be used in order to control the negative side effects of tourism.

## **Conclusion**

The category stimulating consists of two different instruments types. First of all, there are several subsidy programs, most of which are aimed at improving preconditions or at subsidizing capacity building instruments. Secondly, there is the investment vehicle. This instrument type seems to provide an exceedingly direct control over the range of amenities in a certain street or area. However, that does not come free of charge. Furthermore, although the two investment vehicles that are mentioned above do aim at influencing the range of commercial amenities, the original idea of them was to combat deterioration and the influence of the criminogenic circuit instead of the influence of tourism.

### **5.1.4 Capacity-building**

This section explains the most important capacity building instruments, a category that is further explained in paragraph 3.2.1.

#### **Connecting entrepreneurs**

As part of the City in Balance program, the municipality of Amsterdam has initiated a number of meetings between different stakeholders. One of these meetings is a brainstorm with a diverse group of entrepreneurs to think about the balance in the city, combined with potential projects and solutions. Furthermore, a 'balance team' works on bringing businesses together in the neighbourhood 'De Plantage', so they can work together more intensively for better neighbourhood marketing and preservation of visitors. Another example are organized conversations between residents, entrepreneurs and other stakeholders around the district of the Negen Straatjes (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016d, p. 20).

#### **CIZ**

Entrepreneurs within a street or neighbourhood can cooperate in a joint organization or association, in order to influence what is going on within their environment. This is first of all possible through a Company Investment Zone (CIZ, known in Dutch as a BIZ; Bedrijven Investeringszone). A CIZ is a kind of shopkeepers' association in which – if there is enough support – all entrepreneurs in the street or in the neighbourhood participate on a mandatory basis. Together they invest in the quality of their business environment. To establish a CIZ, the business entrepreneurs or owners set up a plan together, containing the actions they want to perform together and the corresponding budget. If the municipality agrees with the plan and the support is sufficient, the city council proposes a levy on all operators/ owners in the affected area. They pay this levy to the municipality, which the municipality will refund in the form of a grant to the CIZ association or foundation. This grant can be used to carry out activities aimed at promoting the quality of life, safety, environmental quality and economic development in the public space (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-a).

The CIZ-legislation does not provide agreements on the use of premises or on the types of functions in a certain area. Rather, it is devised in order to make improvements in terms of "clean, intact and safe" (street manager in city centre Amsterdam, personal communication, March 27, 2017). However, as the municipality itself argues, when entrepreneurs and business owners have decided to work together to improve their (shopping) area, agreements on the use of properties and the type of amenities might be closer as well (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016e). The idea is that entrepreneurs increasingly act for the common interest, due to common activities such as street branding (Blokker, 2015).

### **Association of undertakings**

Another possibility, without a mandatory contribution for all actors in a street, is an association of undertakings (Dutch: ondernemersvereniging). This is mentioned specifically by the Gemeente Amsterdam (2016e) as an alternative for branching, in order to counteract the mono functionality and disruption of the balance of functions within an area. It enables cooperation between entrepreneurs and possibly other stakeholders in a (shopping) street, just like the CIZ, but does not have compulsory participation.

### **Street manager**

The instruments CIZ and association of undertakings described above could be supported by a street manager. A street manager has been appointed in several shopping streets in Amsterdam to assist in the improvement of those areas. This often means supporting the association of undertakings or CIZ in organizing actions, mediating for the rental of spaces to create a good tenant mix, and maintaining good contact with the local authorities. He or she acts as a channel of important information in the interest of the retailers and with respect for the public interest. The manager also helps retailers with submitting a grant or license. Street managers are employed by an association of undertakings, the district, the property owners, or can be jointly appointed by multiple the parties involved (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-d).

In an interview with alderman Kajsa Ollongren concerning the monoculture in the commercial amenities in the city centre, she points out street managers as a relevant instrument. “Apparently, they [landlords of retail properties] make the calculation that they can make good money where lots of people come together. We try to show them, among others through street managers, that they might be able to earn quick money through a mass public, but that the city and they themselves have a long-term interest in diversity, in different kinds of shops. I do not only hear that from residents, but also from entrepreneurs” (Blokker, 2015).

### **CentrumXL**

CentrumXL is more of an actor than an instrument, however, facilitating such an actor could be seen as a capacity building instrument. More detail about the organization CentrumXL is set out in paragraph 4.2.6. They have an important capacity building role in the light of this research. The municipality of Amsterdam gave CentrumXL the task to investigate what the possibilities of collaboration are in order to make improvements regarding diversity of amenities in the city centre of Amsterdam (programme manager CentrumXL, personal communication, July 3, 2017).

### **Conclusion**

The paragraphs above show that capacity building instruments are often closer related to institutional arrangements than to instruments literally. Nevertheless, they show that the municipality has several options to connect actors, improve social processes and stimulate actors to work towards common goals. These instruments rely for a large share on the self-organizing powers of the actors, and the municipality fulfils more of a facilitating role. Several of these options are however more geared towards improving preconditions such as safety and proper appearance than at steering the range of amenities directly.

## 5.2 Assessing instruments

The instruments mentioned in the former paragraph will be assessed to give an answer to the sub-question 'Which instruments are most fit?'. This will be done in accordance to the framework drafted by Hemerijck (2003), through which policy can be assessed based on the four criteria 'does it work', 'does it suit', 'is it normatively correct' and 'is it permitted'. The instruments are subdivided based on the same framework used in paragraph 5.1, with the division between shaping, regulating, stimulating and capacity building.

### 5.2.1 Shaping

#### **Does it work?**

As explained in paragraph 3.2.1, the municipality (together with other governmental bodies) formulates and communicates its vision through multiple shaping instruments, to which market parties have the possibility to commit. By doing so, they give direction to choices made in the market.

Paragraph 5.1.1 illustrated that the various governmental bodies repeatedly advocated for a balance between the different city uses. However, chapter 4 on the impact in Amsterdam showed that a large proportion of the residents is of the opinion that this balance is currently disturbed in the city centre. Furthermore, the statistical analysis of the twelve streets in paragraph 4.4.2 showed that tourism-related functions are indeed overly dominant in some of the streets in the city centre. Although this is not the case in the entire city centre, one could conclude that pleading for a balance through shaping instruments alone does not work under the current circumstances in Amsterdam.

#### **Does it suit?**

Since shaping instruments mainly communicate the vision governmental bodies have for the future, and will therefore generally speaking always reflect what 'suits' from the perspective of the elected politicians, 'does it suit' is less of an urgent question for this specific planning type. That is not to say that one cannot pass a verdict on what does or does not suit regarding steering the range of amenities. However, the answers to this question in relation to the other planning types, in the paragraphs below, give a better picture of what 'suits' and what does not.

#### **Is it normatively correct?**

No major signs of conflict of shaping instruments with the societal acceptability were found, not in the interviews, neither in the other sources of data. Most shaping instruments give a rather nuanced overview, with specific policy being left to the other planning types. Some of them do sketch an image of a distorted balance, but that does seem to correspond with the problem perception of most citizens. It could be possible that some entrepreneurs do not agree with that image, for instance because they cater tourists and they are of the opinion that more tourist-oriented business must be able to emerge. However, the findings show that in so far this is the case, they are more opposed to specific restrictions than to shaping instruments in general.

#### **Is it permitted?**

Shaping instruments in general are non-binding, at least not for actors other than the governmental body itself. Therefore, 'is it permitted' is less of a relevant question. What is or is not permitted in general can better be explained in the paragraphs on this question at the other planning types.

#### **Conclusion**

Assessing the shaping instruments is less explanatory than the assessment of the other instrument types. It is clear that shaping the market alone does not achieve the desired result in this situation. Rather, shaping can be seen as a starting point for the other instrument types, that are applied in order to achieve the goals that were communicated through the shaping instruments.

### 5.2.2 Regulating

#### **Does it work?**

Regulation works to a certain extent in setting limits to the expansion of various functions that are unwanted in large numbers. The limit on horeca in large sections of the city centre for instance did seem to have limited the expansion of the number of horeca establishments. Furthermore, the check valve

regulation was often mentioned as an instrument that worked relatively well in curbing the expansion of functions such as souvenir shops and brothels. However, the effectiveness as well as the efficiency of suchlike in the land use plan incorporated measures are limited, especially in an overheated market.

That is due to several reasons. First of all, the effectiveness is limited due to the fact that you have to describe each of the unwanted functions very specifically, to which entrepreneurs subsequently react. As illustrated by the real estate manager of the NV Zeedijk: “many low-quality tourist functions have been prohibited. Such as the souvenir shop... So, they proceed with a cheese shop. [...] They [the entrepreneurs] look for something else, that does the same in economic terms, but is something different spatially. That is a problem we often encounter” (personal communication, June 22, 2017). An advisor of the municipality explained that although they were satisfied with the check valve regulation, “it is rather limited [...] because you can only exclude what’s in it. [...] Anything that falls just outside such a definition can still be undertaken” (personal communication, June 14, 2017). Regulating instruments can thus create a ‘game of cat and mouse’ between the market and the municipality.

Secondly, a zoning plan is issued for a long period, which makes it difficult to incorporate enhanced insights regarding amenities one does or does not want in the future. A retail policy advisor of the municipality explained that enhanced insight “is difficult to grasp in a zoning plan. Because you look ten years ahead, and it takes a year before it is done. So, you are always behind the times” (personal communication, April 4, 2017). A street manager and the real estate manager of the NV Zeedijk were both of the opinion that one can predict *that* a new function is going to pop up once another one is banned, however, which one that will be is difficult to know upfront.

A licensing system for retail, as it is already being used for horeca, is expected to be effective but difficult to make efficient. With a licensing system, a license has to be granted for every new establishment and every business that switches ownership. This does not only allow the municipality to steer more actively on the amenities that arise in every street, but it also makes it possible to thoroughly check the entrepreneurs through a Bibob procedure, thereby filtering out criminal money. However, in practice this would cost a great deal of capacity of the municipality. An advisor of the municipality explained that “If you do that for retail, you could probably not live up to the promise. You might be able to assign a couple of streets... we are wondering if one can expect added value from that. [...] We have thought about it, it seemed like an interesting idea, but I think it is quite complicated in practice” (personal communication, June 14, 2017).

Difficulties with efficiency in financial terms arise with different types of regulating instruments as well. If the municipality for instance wants to reverse the loosening of rules regarding ice cream stores that were explained in Box 11 on page 71, it would probably have to pay planning damages to the entrepreneurs that suffer from that decision. Enforcement of existing regulations can be costly too, with regular check-ups, and lengthy legal proceedings in case the municipality wants to get rid of an offender.

Furthermore, even if prohibiting many unwanted functions is possible in a far-reaching manner, the market must be able to fill in those possibilities that remain possible. A policy advisor of the municipality reacted for instance on a proposal to constrain the number of chain stores, by stating that 70% of the stores is part of a chain nowadays, which means that according to him restricting chain stores could lead to high vacancy rates (personal communication, April 4, 2017).

In conclusion, although quite something is possible with regulating instruments, several drawbacks regarding effectiveness as well as efficiency can be pointed out. It was said in several interviews that entrepreneurs always know how to find a way. As a result, a cat and mouse game could arise between the municipality and the entrepreneurs, which makes it hard for the municipality to steer the market with regulating instruments alone. Regulating could possibly become more effective once the new environmental bill is issued, but that still remains to be seen.

### **Does it suit?**

The political support within the municipality to regulate the range of commercial amenities does seem to have increased over the years, according to several of the interviewees and the analysis of the public debate. An advisor of the municipality as well as a board member of an overarching residents’ association stated that a development was taking place regarding the willingness of the municipality to regulate the market. However, that is not to say that one fully wants to control everything. As a municipal advisor explained, “It would be going too far, I think politicians say that as well, [...] that as a municipality you decide what goes where. You do not want that. You may want that sometimes, the idea is pleasant, but you cannot

say as a government ‘we only find the diversity desirable if there is one shoe store, one supermarket, and one of that. And two of that are allowed’. You should leave that to the market. If you can prohibit undesired functions, you should leave it to the market to decide what they think they can make money on”.

Furthermore, the willingness to regulate varies along the political field as well, with right-wing parties in general being less inclined to regulate than left-wing parties. An advisor of the municipality explained that both the VVD and D66 value deregulation, and that the VVD does not want to “sit in the place of the entrepreneur and decide what goes where”, whereas left-wing parties such as GroenLinks and the PvdA are much more willing to intervene with far-reaching measures. With a coalition consisting of the VVD, D66 and the left-wing party the SP, this could create tension.

An example of such tension is the debate regarding 24-hour opening hours for retail. The city council agreed to an experiment proposed by the D66 and the VVD to allow retailers in certain streets in the city centre to remain open all day and night (Beentjes, 2017). Main reasons according to an advisor of the municipality were to accommodate second earners (Dutch: *tweeverdieners*) and to “put the city on the map. There are lots of cities that have 24-hour opening hours as well, so it should be able in our city as well”. However, a couple months later the experiment was cancelled before it even began, after objection from different angles and the observance that only touristic shops were interested in joining the experiment (Couzy, 2017b). Several interviewees pointed out this development as one of the discrepancies in political choices. Another example concerns the legislation of ice cream shops, as explained in Box 11 on page 71.

Another complicating matter that was mentioned by several actors, especially those employed by the municipality, is legislation and willingness from politics on a higher level. As set out below at the question ‘Is it permitted?’, the possibilities for the municipality to incorporate regulating instruments are somewhat limited by the Dutch government and the European Union. The municipality thus depends to some degree on these governmental bodies to give them more capabilities. A board member of an overarching residents’ association explained that the municipality of Amsterdam is currently lobbying in The Hague during the formation of the cabinet, in order to receive more regulating possibilities. However, an alteration in national regulations that is in favour of Amsterdam could very well cause problems elsewhere in the country.

In conclusion, the political willingness to regulate amenities seems to have shifted over time. This is in line with the theory of Hemerijck (2003, p. 7), who claims that preferences are by no means fixed, but shift according to the situation. This has happened in Amsterdam as well, with an increased urgency to steer. However, how far one wants to go differs per political party. Furthermore, when it comes to top-down regulating instruments from the municipality, there seems to be a preference for deciding what should *not* be in the city, instead of what *should*.

#### **Is it normatively correct?**

The societal acceptability towards a strict government on this subject seems to have heightened over the years as well. Whereas lots of residents were complaining about overly strict legislation before, for instance regarding the ice cream parlours in 2009, nowadays the desire for interventions from the municipality seems to be much higher within the city of Amsterdam. This is probably due to a changed problem perception of a major part of the citizens. (board member overarching residents’ association Amsterdam, personal communication, April 5, 2017). A similar conclusion can be drawn from the public debate as summarized in paragraph 4.4.

However, that does not mean that one agrees with an all-controlling government. Rather, the perception and accessibility has shifted moderately. In general, one does not want an all-controlling government that decides exactly what amenities should occur where. This viewpoint was confirmed by the chairman of an overarching entrepreneurs’ association, who stated when discussing the subject of branching in retail streets “with the very clear remark that it really needs to be very territorial, within those areas where it is really relevant. And with all the areas that are not relevant, just leave it”.

Moreover, it depends on who you ask. Entrepreneurs from the popular shopping district ‘De Negen Straatjes’ for instance requested more much regulation in the retail market through an opinion article in *Het Parool*, for instance by limiting the number of chain stores in the city (*Het Parool*, 2017). However, a board member of an overarching residents’ association in Amsterdam commented on that article “that is a possibility, of course, but quite far-reaching. That is considered to be far-reaching”.

Although a more thorough research of the citizens’ perception would be needed to give a more precise answer to the question ‘is it normatively correct’, the findings outlined above show that as is the



case with the political willingness, the support of the citizens to steer has also increased over time. However, the role of the government should not be too restrictive, and the majority of the actors seems to be in favour of a local approach instead of solely universal acts. Furthermore, pluriformity in views can be seen among residents as well.

#### **Is it permitted?**

There are multiple legal restrictions on the possibilities of a municipality to influence what kind of commercial amenities locate where. Several of these restrictions are based on legislation of the European Union. In an EU treaty regarding the functioning of the European Union, it is decided that it is not allowed to protect one's own market. Important aspects of this principle are freedom of services and freedom of establishment. In addition, there are certain guidelines that governments must transpose into their national legislation. In the Netherlands, this resulted in the service directory. Because of this legislation, economic regulation is prohibited. The assessment whether something can be included in the rules of a zoning plan or in the terms of a license, based on article 2.1, paragraph 1, under the Environmental Law (General Provisions) Act, is spatial relevance. Only conditions that are spatial relevant may be included, which means that it is prohibited to incorporate legislation on the basis of economic arguments. It is thus not permitted for a municipality to regulate on the basis of arguments like 'there are no market mechanisms', or 'the market is not working properly' <sup>1</sup>.

Using the zoning plan as a steering instrument is thus limited due to that restriction, especially regarding specific types of retail. A street manager explained "you may not interfere with the details (Dutch: invulling) of a retail property, because a shop is a shop" (personal communication, March 27, 2017). As opposed to retail, horeca is subdivided into multiple categories, such as night clubs and restaurants (Gemeente Amsterdam & stadsdeel Centrum, 2009). This can be explained by the fact that for example a night club has a great impact on its direct environment, due to its potential nuisance for local residents during the night, which differs from a function such as a restaurant. However, differences between various types of retail are often subtler. Within the public debate, residents clearly make a distinction between an old cheese store with a large assortment of foreign cheeses and a touristic cheese store that only sells one type of prepacked Old Amsterdam. But even if the municipality would want to incorporate regulations against the latter as some residents ask for, it would probably be confronted with legal issues and lawsuits, since these two stores are spatially the same. Economically they can be discerned from each other, but that does not constitute a ground to incorporate new legislation (advisor space & sustainability of municipality of Amsterdam, personal communication, June 14, 2017).

The only relevant exception on this limitation of spatial arguments regards primary necessities, as explained in paragraph 5.1.2. In practice, this mostly relates to retail with 'foodstuffs', in other words supermarkets, as the main provider of daily necessities. Unlike other retail, this category may be regulated by the municipality. This legislation is an exception in the Netherlands. In other countries such as Sweden one does not have this exception, resulting in situations where supermarkets have been driven out of the city centre by market forces. In order to prevent such situations, this exception for foodstuffs is made in the Netherlands <sup>2</sup>.

The new Environmental Planning Bill (Dutch: Omgevingswet) in the Netherlands is expected to broaden the legal possibilities, especially regarding the spatial relevance. An advisor of the municipality explained that it changes incorporated under the Environmental Planning Bill can also be substantiated on the living conditions, such as an impoverishment of the living environment through monofunctionality. However, both interviewed advisors of the municipality explained that a lot remains unclear regarding this new law. The municipality of Amsterdam has asked the national government if they may experiment with it, but that is still to be decided.

#### **Conclusion**

Regulating can work quite effectively in limiting the growth of certain unwanted functions. However, both the legislation of the European Union and the willingness of politicians (and to some degree society) limit

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<sup>1</sup> European Court of Justice 24 March 2011, case C-400/08: Freedom of Establishment - Article 43 EC - National legislation concerning the establishment of shopping centres in Catalonia.

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication on 10-11-2016 with Fred Hobma, associate professor of Planning Law at the Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands.

how far this regulation can go. Both bottlenecks indicate that imposing legislation in order to ensure preconditions such as safety and minimizing nuisance are easier to implement than legislation through which the municipality decides directly what commercial amenities locate where. The environmental planning bill might extend the legal possibilities. However, even then it remains to be seen to what extent regulating alone can be made effective and efficient. In conclusion, regulating can be used in order to create a framework (Dutch: kaderstellend) but should likely have to be combined with other planning types in case a municipality wants to extend its control over the range of commercial amenities.

### 5.2.3 Stimulating

This paragraph will focus on the investment vehicle instead of on subsidies. This choice was made since a major part of the subsidies supports basic preconditions such as cleanliness rather than the range of commercial amenities, and the other part supports capacity building measures, which are covered separately in paragraph 5.2.4. Furthermore, subsidies did not occur in any of the interviews or other relevant documents in this subject, this in contrast to the investment vehicles.

#### **Does it work?**

As explained in several other paragraphs in this chapter, the property owners are key actors. Without either cooperation or restriction of property owners, an effective method can be far away. Acquiring real estate through the use of an investment vehicle can therefore be a highly effective instrument, since it gives you much more influence on the type of entrepreneurs that establish a business in these properties. However, the question whether it is efficient or not is a different matter.

Acquiring properties is obviously a highly expensive business. How much money one would have to spend depends on the market, but tourism gentrification generally occurs in an overheated market, due to the competition between different city uses over the scarce resources. And although one would receive rent for the acquired properties, this rent must often be below or close to the market rent in a particular street, and cannot have large price increases in short periods of time, or else it would not attract the kind of businesses one wants and thereby mitigate the effect of the measure.

Due to these financial constraints, it is realistic for an investment vehicle to restrain to a modest amount of properties in a street or neighbourhood. How much one exactly needs is hard to pinpoint. The NV Zeedijk for instance always aimed at a balance of approximately one-third of the properties in a street, although they are currently doubting if a higher percentage is needed due to the current circumstances.

To increase the efficiency of their approach, the NV Zeedijk tries to create a snowball effect. One of their targets is to create more diversity in the neighbourhood, among others by attracting more residents to their area. In order to do so, they closely look at businesses and trends that are effectively attracting these local residents, and try to attract more suchlike businesses to the neighbourhood. For instance, the street Zeedijk currently has an increasing presence of 'urban fashion stores', which all started with the establishment of one popular sneaker store. They thus closely look at the dynamics of the area, and react to that. In order to make such a 'snowball approach' effective, it must be a locally focussed approach, in which the local characteristics of the street or neighbourhood are used actively.

When asked what is needed to start an investment vehicle like his nowadays, the real estate manager of the NV Zeedijk answered "of course, you need resources to buy real estate. That is ultimately the core from which we work, which makes you credible as well. Because you really achieve something. Another crucial requirement is that you are really present in the area" (personal communication, June 22, 2017).

#### **Does it suit?**

Whether or not applying an investment vehicle suits probably depends on the main target of the investment vehicle. Both the NV Zeedijk and 1012Inc were established to combat degradation, criminality and other serious nuisances. These are phenomena that are hard to be opposed to. However, as explained in the other 'does it suit' paragraphs above, it is a different story when it comes to favouring one legit business over the other. No politicians were interviewed regarding this subject, and there is not much information about it to be found elsewhere, so it is difficult to define a clear assessment on this matter. However, based on the fact that most politicians remain reluctant to decide exactly what goes where in the city streets, combined with the fact that this is a relatively expensive instrument, it can be assumed that using an investment vehicle to influence tourism gentrification on a very large scale does not suit very well.

### **Is it normatively correct?**

The answer to this question is largely in line with the answer to the question ‘does it suit’ above. It is difficult to define a clear assessment; however, it can be assumed that using really large amounts of taxpayers’ money to influence tourism gentrification could raise some objections. However, this question is hard to answer with the available data.

### **Is it permitted?**

The biggest legal obstacle is state aid, both when buying properties and when renting them out. When buying properties, a governmental body may not pay more than the assessed value, otherwise they get into trouble with the European commission due to state aid (Zilvold & Blokker, 2013). When discussing the hypothetical situation in which the municipality would start buying properties to influence the type of stores in the streets, a municipal advisor explained that it then “is the question whether you can rent them out to that nice shop while there is someone who can pay more, because then you might be in the state aid situation. Then you give someone a discount in fact, while more can be achieved” (personal communication, April 4, 2017).

### **Conclusion**

An investment vehicle is a highly effective instrument to steer the range of commercial amenities. However, making it efficient is the biggest bottleneck, due to the expensive property purchases. This is especially true if one starts an investment vehicle in an advanced stage of tourism gentrification, since that often collides with an overheated property market. Furthermore, investing really large sums of money could cause problems with the logic of appropriateness. Due to the subjectivity that is involved with the appreciation of the range of commercial amenities, it might be difficult for politicians to justify spending large amounts of resources on such an instrument. This approach thus seems to be most suitable to use as a catalyst, by trying to trigger processes that improve the range of commercial amenities through relatively small interventions, as is the case in the approach of the NV Zeedijk. Furthermore, whereas regulating seems to be more appropriate to curb functions one does *not* want, with an investment vehicle one is better able to stimulate what one *does* want.

## **5.2.4 Capacity building**

### **Does it work?**

Capacity building in different forms was often mentioned as a promising instrument. This method does however have some obstacles, of which the most important is pointed out by an advisor of the municipality when explaining this working method: “discussing with owners and shopkeepers in a particular street or deciding [jointly] what you want with that street. Should it remain a tourist street, with ice cream shops, or not. [...] But well, then you depend on voluntary cooperation. You cannot enforce it. The owner is the owner, which is a chief asset in the Netherlands; ownership. You cannot simply impose restrictions on that”. The following paragraphs will elaborate on this problem and accompanying findings on capacity building.

### *Willingness of actors differs*

The voluntary cooperation, which makes this method fully depend on the willingness of actors to comply, came up in every interview regarding this subject and has a major impact on its effectiveness. This willingness to cooperate varies per actor and per context. With regard to the different stakeholders, the property owner is the most crucial actor, since he has the most influence on what kind of business sets up in his property. However, not all property owners are inclined to cooperate. A street manager in the city centre explains: “they [the property owners] ultimately decide who comes into their store. They determine how strict their lease is. If they say ‘it doesn’t matter, bakery of whatever, as long as I get my 4,000 euros, even if that is 1.000 more than usual, I don’t care but I am going for the highest bidder’, you cannot get those parties to cooperate. And these parties spoil everything. But if you are physically stronger than the parties that do not support the long-term vision, you can continue”.

When asked if property owners will be willing to team up to combat monofunctionality, an experienced property owner in Amsterdam however reacted pretty straightforward: “That is impossible! Property owners only look at the rent, nothing else” (personal communication, September 14, 2017), thereby indicating a priori that a part of the property owners will not cooperate in such an approach.

A second important actor is the entrepreneur. Large differences in the willingness to cooperate can be seen within this stakeholder group as well. They generally quickly agree about preconditions such as safety and cleanliness. However, entrepreneurs are often very much attached to their individual freedom, and opposed to measures that restrict that freedom. On the other hand, there are also entrepreneurs that plead for more cooperation and regulation, among others in De Negen Straatjes, as outlined in paragraph 5.2.2. There are several (possible) explanations for these differences. One of the interviewees stated that entrepreneurs with local roots are quicker tempted to cooperate than for instance a chain store with a headquarter far away, whereas another interviewee suggested that younger entrepreneurs are more inclined to cooperate than older ones. Moreover, an actor in general is probably more prone to cooperate if the potential advantages of cooperating are more in line with its own short or long term goals. Last but not least, an indecisive actor might choose not to cooperate due to the free rider problem, meaning that others will benefit from his actions without contribution themselves.

A significant number of cooperating actors is needed to make capacity building an effective instrument. However, that does not mean one should wait till literally everyone is on board. How many cooperating actors are required is however hard to pinpoint. The real estate manager of the NV Zeedijk explains “with one-third you can make a difference, which is [however] getting more and more difficult. We have always said a third is enough, [but] we think it might have to become more than that. The pressure is very large, in the area” (personal communication, June 22, 2017). As stated by a street manager in the beginning of this section, you need to be “physically stronger than the parties that do not support the long-term vision”.

#### *Local focus*

Due to these differences in the willingness of actors, the (potential) effectiveness of this working method highly differs per street. As explained by the program manager of CentrumXL, an organization that is concerned with capacity building within the city centre of Amsterdam: “it is really complicated. In a Damstraat it is said [that] if you succeed to retrieve one building, you have won a war. But with the Spuistraat, [...] they want the Spui-Neighbourhood for real Amsterdam residents... Well, maybe that will work [...]. We really try to search what is possible and what not”. He therefore pleads for a really local focus, both to use the capacity you have efficiently, as to use the context of each street effectively.

#### *It asks for a change of mindset*

Furthermore, it was often said in interviews that in order make this working method effective, a change of mindset is needed. First of all, it asks actors to transcend their individual interests and to concentrate on mutual gain. Secondly, a perspective beyond the short term is required, towards (potential) developments which lie further in the future. As stated by the CentrumXL program manager: “ultimately, it asks of everyone to think beyond... You know the problem is, everything in this city and our society is aimed at a relatively short term. [...] So, everyone has that focus too [...]. The question is, you have to ask everyone, would you like to look beyond the short term? That means that you actually ask one to jump over its own shadow” (personal communication, July 3, 2017). However, as already stated in the former quote, a short-term focus is prominent in many systems. Examples of this are the 5-year period of a CIZ after which one has to vote again for its existence, or the four-year period of the city council.

#### *Intermediary*

All these differences ask for an ‘intermediary’; an actor whose task it is to link different actors, stimulate interaction, draw joint visions, investigate what mutual goals there are, et cetera. In other words, an actor whose task it is to facilitate the capacity building process. CentrumXL is an organization that has been given this task in Amsterdam. The organization is paid by both the municipality and the entrepreneurs, which gives it more sovereignty than in case it was financed by one actor alone. The program manager explains why that is so important: “if I did not have the independence because I would only be paid by the municipality, and the municipality would slowly devour me... I would have no leg to stand on! Because if I am being seen as a municipality-guy, that will prevent the process from getting off the ground”. Furthermore, he explains that he is not the one that decides what goes where; he sees his role more as decomposing the problem, mapping all the information, and making clear what that means for everybody. All of this is important for the credibility of the intermediary, and, in that regard, its effectiveness.

The NV Zeedijk fulfils an intermediary role as well, in addition to their role as an investment vehicle. They try to involve entrepreneurs, property owners and residents into a collaborative approach, also in streets where they do not have any property. They try doing this in an informal, personal way, without contracts and such (real estate manager NV Zeedijk, personal communication, June 22, 2017).

Furthermore, both the program manager of CentrumXL, the real estate manager of NV Zeedijk and the street manager explained that all of this is an enormous task. "You constantly have to tell 'you can do this together!' That is not self-evident, for them to do. Even if they have an association of undertakings", the real estate manager of the NV Zeedijk explained about working together (personal communication, June 22, 2017). Persuading actors to jointly decide what kind of amenities should arise in a certain street asks for even more convincing, and thereby more work. A street manager that is among others responsible for a CIZ explained that a lot of the work is physical, for instant due to the constant personal visits. This makes this working method less effective on a larger scale, in the event one has a limited budget.

Because of the former argument, both the NV Zeedijk and CentrumXL explained that in an ideal situation, they would no longer be needed in the long term. However, it remains to be seen if that situation will arise in the future.

### **Does it suit?**

Whether or not it suits depends on how far-reaching the capacity building measures go. Simply voluntarily discussing in a street what each of the actors wants is something the municipality can hardly be opposed to. However, that changes once an intervention, regulation or other type of measure from the municipality is needed to make it more effective.

An example of such a measure is the CIZ-legislation. That legislation obliges all entrepreneurs or real estate owners in a street to cooperate in a Company Investment Zone, thereby enforcing cooperation, as explained in paragraph 5.1.4. However, there are some important details to this legislation. First of all, there must be enough support among the actors. Secondly, the CIZ-legislation is focussed on the themes clean and safe. These are preconditions to which it is hard not to agree. Such a law would most certainly 'suit less' in case it is based on less support, or when it is focused on more far-reaching enforcing measures such as possibilities to start a certain store in a certain street.

### **Is it normatively correct?**

As with the questions 'does it suit' and 'is it permitted', the answer to this question depends on how far-reaching the measures are. However, it can be expected that there will not be much objection against voluntary cooperation between multiple actors in a street. Furthermore, also in line with these other questions, it might be important for this question whether or not legitimacy is reached through broad support among the relevant actors.

Last but not least, as explained in the chapter on the impact, residents often feel powerless regarding the transformation of their neighbourhood. Capacity building could give them the opportunity to get involved, and give them a voice. This could possibly alter their societal acceptability regarding the changes central in this research.

### **Is it permitted?**

Since capacity building is mainly based on voluntary cooperation, the question 'is it permitted' is less of an issue than with enforcing instruments. That is probably the main reason why legal issues hardly ever arose during the interviews or in the corresponding research regarding capacity building. That would be different if a capacity building instrument includes far-reaching enforcing characteristics. A CIZ does include some form of enforcement, but only if there is sufficient support. Furthermore, this enforcement does not restrict entrepreneurs or property owners in their possibilities on the market, but is limited to small operations such as shared Christmas lightning.

When a capacity building instrument would start to include enforcing legislation regarding the possibilities and restrictions to operate certain kinds of amenities, this could raise legal problems. However, such an instrument currently does not exist, so it is not possible to examine that manner at this stage. Furthermore, it can be debated whether such an instrument would still be called capacity building, or rather be assessed as a regulating instrument.

## Conclusion

As stated in the first paragraph of this section, capacity building is a promising instrument type, but the fact that it is based on voluntary cooperation makes it difficult to make effective. This makes that the question 'does it work' is far more of a potential problem than the other three questions. The willingness of the actors greatly differs, and one can assume that there will always be certain entrepreneurs and especially property owners that will not (fully) cooperate. That does however not mean that one should not try to make this instrument type work. It remains nevertheless difficult to assess the influence of this type, both because this approach applied in advanced state is relatively new, and because its effects are less directly visible.

The findings show that this approach does have some demands regarding the institutional arrangements. The planning type capacity building on its own does already presume a market activating role of local authorities, instead of a hierarchical steering role (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012). However, the approach of CentrumXL even suggests the implementation of a neutral 'intermediary', detached from the municipality. The municipality can facilitate this by subsidizing it partly but it is strongly recommended not to make it a governmental actor, in order to ensure its credibility and effectiveness. Last but not least, it is interesting to mention that this instrument type is especially well suited to actively involve residents in their own neighbourhood.

### 5.2.1 Conclusion

The conclusions of the assessment of the instrument types will be explained in the next chapter in paragraph 6.2.





## 6 Conclusions & recommendations

In this section, conclusions and recommendations will be drafted through synthesis of the different research components. First, paragraph 6.1 elaborates on the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities, including the underlying mechanisms. Next, the instrument types and their fit are combined in paragraph 6.2. Both paragraphs come together in paragraph 6.3, which gives answer to the question what policy is most fit to steer the aforementioned impact. Thereafter, the usability of these findings for other cities is assessed in paragraph 6.4. Last but not least, some recommendations for further research are given in paragraph 6.4

### 6.1 The impact

This section gives an answer to the first part of the main research question; How does the growth of tourism impact the range of commercial amenities in a city centre? A comprehensive answer to this question is already given in paragraph 4.7, the conclusion of chapter 4 on the impact in Amsterdam. It was argued that the growth of tourism, together with changing consumer behaviour, alters the dominant market demands that have a bearing on the range of commercial amenities. The market parties react thereupon, resulting in alterations in the range of commercial amenities. This, together with more general changes of public space, has a negative impact on the liveability of the residents. This negative impact can be broken down in an impact on the needs of the residents, which are uniform requirements of a liveable environment, and an impact on the 'desires', which are more subjective matters of liveability that 'make live more enjoyable'. All of these steps are schematized in Figure 14 below, and commented on more extensively in paragraph 4.7.

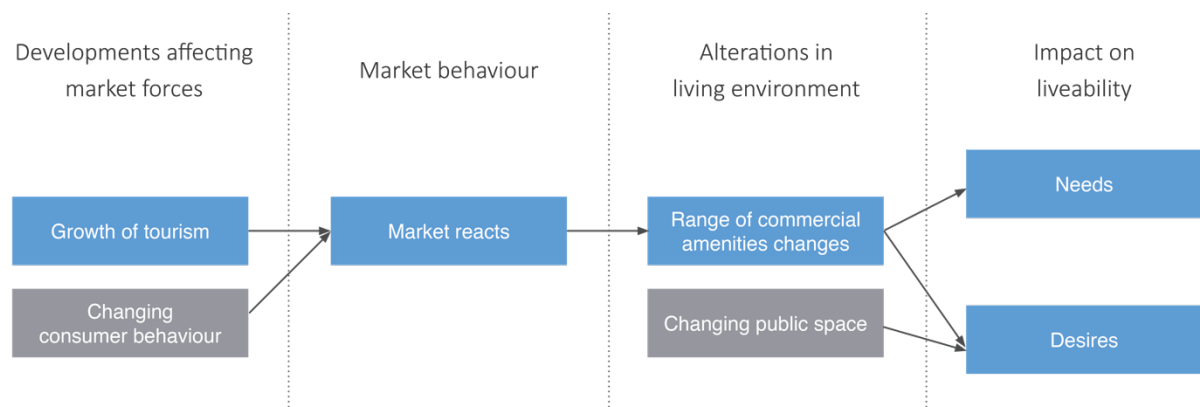


FIGURE 14: FLOW CHART OF THE PROCESS AND IMPACT OF THE GROWTH OF TOURISM ON THE RANGE OF COMMERCIAL AMENITIES

The assessment of the instruments that the municipality of Amsterdam issued in reaction to these processes, as addressed in chapter 5, does however provide some extra insight in these processes and the outcomes that these processes (can) have. When combining the findings of chapter 4 and 5, it shows that the way in which the market reacts in the second step is strongly influenced by the instruments that the municipality imposes. In other words, the impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities is strongly influenced by the manner and the degree in which the municipality influences the decision environment of the market parties.

To use an example; the investigation of the impact in Amsterdam showed a strong growth in the number of amenities that sell ice-cream related products, which coincided with the growth of tourism. When looking at this fact alone, it could be thought that tourists have a strong demand for ice cream, which could very well be true. However, the examination of the legislation that the municipality of Amsterdam issued provides an extra explanation. They issued a horeca stop for the city centre, meaning that, in principle, no more horeca related businesses could be added to the range of amenities. However, that did not prevent the demand for horeca from remaining strong, even becoming stronger due to the growth of tourism. Simultaneously, the municipality eased up legislation for ice cream shops, meaning that from that moment on, selling ice cream was also allowed in properties that were issued as retail in the land-use plan.

This in turn allowed entrepreneurs to cater a part of the horeca demand through the conversion of retail properties to ice-cream parlours. This example illustrates how instruments imposed by the municipality have a significant influence on the impact that the growth of tourism has on the range of commercial amenities. However, it also shows that this influence is not always as intended.

## 6.2 The instrument types and their fit

The following section will conclude on the assessment of the different instrument types that a municipality has at their disposal.

### Shaping

Instruments that shape the market give a good outlook on what public bodies would like to see in the future. Two aspects stand out when looking at the shaping instruments issued by the municipality of Amsterdam on this subject. Firstly, tourism with its positive and negative consequences became an increasingly important subject over the years. Secondly, governmental bodies in Amsterdam plead for a 'balance in the city', with a city centre in which all different uses of the city are able to co-exist alongside each other, without one use to be overly dominant over the others. However, the assessment of the instruments shows that shaping the market alone does not achieve that desired result. Rather, these instruments can be seen as a starting point for the other instrument types in the light of this research.

### Regulating

The most important regulating instrument in the Netherlands is the land use plan. This instrument mainly provides control over the total quantity and the spatial distribution of a certain type of amenity, especially through control over the establishment of new businesses. The municipality of Amsterdam has incorporated several more detailed instruments within the zoning plan, for instance to control the type of horeca, or to curb the expansion of several with criminality associated functions. All aspects in the zoning plan must however be spatially substantiated, which limits its options. The logic of appropriateness also limits how far regulating can go. Both bottlenecks indicate that imposing legislation in order to ensure preconditions such as safety and minimizing nuisance are easier to implement than legislation through which the municipality decides what commercial amenities locate where. The Environmental Planning Bill (Dutch: Omgevingswet) might extend the legal possibilities. However, even then it remains to be seen to what extent regulating alone can be made effective and efficient. In conclusion, regulating can be used in order to create a framework (Dutch: kaderstellend) but should likely have to be combined with other planning types in case a municipality wants to extend its control over the range of commercial amenities.

### Stimulating

Regarding the stimulating instruments, this research focussed on the investment vehicle. This instrument type seems to provide an exceedingly direct control over the range of commercial amenities in a certain street or area, making it highly effective. However, making it efficient is the biggest bottleneck, due to the expensive property purchases. Furthermore, investing really large sums of money could cause problems with the logic of appropriateness. This approach thus seems to be most suitable to use as a catalyst, by trying to trigger a process that improves the range of amenities through relatively small interventions, as is the case in the approach of the NV Zeedijk. Furthermore, whereas regulating seems to be more appropriate to curb functions one does *not* want, with an investment vehicle one is better able to stimulate what one *does* want.

### Capacity building

Capacity building instruments are often closer related to institutional arrangements than to instruments literally. Nevertheless, they show that the municipality has several options to connect actors, improve social processes and stimulate actors to work towards common goals. These instruments rely for a large share on the self-organizing powers of the actors, and the municipality fulfils more of a facilitating role. Most of the currently used instruments are more geared towards improving preconditions such as safety and proper appearance than at steering the range of amenities directly, but that is beginning to change. The fact that it is based on voluntary cooperation however makes it difficult to make effective as a means to influence the range of amenities. Because of that, the question 'does it work' is far more of a bottleneck than the other three questions. The willingness of actors greatly differs, and one can assume there will always be

certain entrepreneurs and especially property owners that will not (fully) cooperate. That does however not mean that one should not try to make this instrument type work. It remains nevertheless difficult to assess the influence of this type, both because this approach is relatively new, and because its effects are less directly visible.

## 6.3 Policy fit

Through synthesis of the former two parts, the investigation of the impact of the growth of tourism on the range of commercial amenities and the assessment of the instruments a municipality can use to steer this impact, an answer is given to the last sub-question. In this sub-question, it is investigated what policy is most fit for a municipality to steer the aforementioned impact.

A policy that is fit does not only involve the usage of certain instruments. The willingness of the policy makers to apply these instruments can be just as important. In addition, the institutional arrangements that are used to implement these instruments influence the policy as well. Institutional arrangements describe the different (in)formal regimes and coalitions for collective action and inter-agent coordination (Geels, 2004; Klijn & Teisman, 2000). The following section will first of all go into detail on the willingness to steer. Next, it is argued that two different policies are fit to steer the impact on the *needs* and the impact on the *desires*, after which the characteristics of both policy approaches will be explained.

### 6.3.1 Willingness to steer

The case study of Amsterdam show that the willingness of the municipality to steer is a significant factor of influence on the policy fit. In the event that a city witnesses a high growth of tourism, a municipality has to make a choice *if* it wants to steer, *how* it wants to steer, and *to what degree* it wants to steer. Within the steering frameworks used in this research, this is mainly reflected in the planning type shaping, and in the question 'does it suit'.

The willingness to steer depends to a large degree on the willingness of the politicians, and it is not the goal of this research to make that choice. However, what this research can do, is showing what should be considered when making that choice. Furthermore, it can give an image of the range of policy options, and assess the policy fit of these options.

One of the main factors that influences these choices is the vision for the city and its city centre. A municipality can even choose to create a tourist district on purpose, by isolating tourists from strange or uncontrollable influences (Cohen, 1972). Or a municipality can choose not to steer at all, and let the market decide what will happen. The findings of Amsterdam, combined with the impressions of other cities as displayed in the 'boxes' throughout the research, show however that in the event a large growth of tourism occurs, these tourists can dominate the city centre. Tourists in general have more purchasing power than residents (Cagica, 2017), even more so if they outnumber the residents. Not deciding to steer can thus create a similar result as creating a tourist district on purpose, which is important for municipalities to realise.

Especially since it is found in chapter 4 that this process eventually harms the liveability of the residents. Residents hold the municipality responsible for the liveability in its territory (Raatgever, 2014). Moreover, residents choose the politicians of their municipality directly, giving them an indirect control over the choices that politicians make. There are thus several factors that strongly influence the willingness to steer. It is therefore not surprisingly that municipalities are actively searching for suitable policies to steer these processes and its impact. This also applies to the municipality Amsterdam, that pursues a balanced city and emphasizes a vision that the accessibility of the public space for different types of groups, and the variety of the range of amenities, are important characteristics of the city. And the impressions of other cities as displayed in the 'blue boxes' throughout the research show that not only Amsterdam, but also other cities are looking for policy to steer the impact that tourism has.

### 6.3.2 Different policy fit for the needs and the desires

In case the willingness to act is present, what policy is most fit to steer the impact of tourism on commercial amenities? It proves to be helpful to use the dichotomy between the needs and the desires as explained above to elaborate on that matter. Therefore, the following section will elaborate on two different policies: one to steer the impact of the *needs* of the residents, and one to steer the impact on the *desires*.

### 6.3.3 Policy fit for the impact on the needs

If a municipality wants to steer the impact that the alterations in the range of commercial amenities have on the needs of the residents, the policy that is most fit is a regulating approach, based on a content driven strategy. The following paragraphs will explain why such a strategy is most fit to steer the impact on the needs, and elaborate on its characteristics.

#### **Characteristics of the impact on the needs**

The impact on the needs is objective, in so far that it does not solely apply to a certain group of residents, but influences the liveability of all the residents as a whole. The impact can thus be substantiated using objective criteria. Examples of this impact are the disturbance caused by malicious horeca establishments, or a situation in which no daily necessities are available anymore in the entire neighbourhood. Such examples harm the preconditions of a clean, healthy and safe living environment.

#### **Policy fit of regulating instruments**

Applying regulating instruments to steer that impact both passes the logic of appropriateness of politics and society, and the logic of consequence, in so far that it works and is allowed to a great extent. Examples of regulating instruments are the horeca stop that the municipality of Amsterdam issued, or the check valve regulation they incorporated into the zoning plan. Such regulating instruments influence what is *not* part of the range of commercial amenities, in a rather top-down matter. Furthermore, it creates a level playing field for the actors involved. As put by the interviewed street manager; “I have nothing against ice cream shops, they are entrepreneurs as well, but I do have something against the fact that there are no clear rules”. Entrepreneurs themselves seem to plead for a level playing field as well (Couzy, 2017d).

#### **Institutional arrangements**

The role of the municipality when applying regulating policy is providing a framework (Dutch: kaderstellend). This can be regarded as a hierarchical role of the municipality. Regarding the institutional arrangements, it was shown that this mainly asks for legal possibilities of higher governmental bodies, being the national government and the European Union.

#### **Areas of concern**

There are several matters that require attention when applying this policy approach. First of all, it can only be reinforced in a relatively advanced stage of tourism gentrification due to the logic of appropriateness. Regulating instruments pose strong limitations on the possibilities of market parties, thereby requiring a strong sense of urgency in order to apply. This is all the more true for politicians that act from a liberal perspective. Secondly, there is the risk of a ‘waterbed effect’. Since regulating instruments do not directly influence the market forces, there is the risk that once a municipality prohibits a certain type of amenity, another type that is also ‘unwanted’ pops up. This effect probably explains the conversion of retail to ice cream shops, after the municipality prohibited the expansion of horeca establishments but loosened the ice-cream related legislation. Such a waterbed effect could also occur geographically, in case one only applies regulating instruments in a small area of the city. Last but not least, a regulating approach is not applicable to an unstructured problem, which is the case with the impact on the desires. More about this in paragraph 6.3.4.

#### **Recommendations**

The areas of concern show a paradox regarding regulating. On the one hand, there are several advantages of regulating *upfront*. Not only would that prevent instead of cure, it could also avoid large compensation fees as a result of planning decisions from the municipality. These fees would for instance have to be payed to an entrepreneur whose freedom of movement is limited after the establishment of his business. However, regulating before a sense of urgency is felt conflicts with the logic of appropriateness. A possible way to deal with this paradox is to strengthen the regulation policy step-by-step. Taking smaller steps in planning, combined with feedback cycles, can be a way to deal with the complexity and unpredictability of cities (Savini et al., 2015). When doing so, it is important to get a clear image of the problem perception of the residents. Furthermore, it can be helpful to be able to amend legislation decisively when applying such a strategy.

### 6.3.4 Policy fit for the impact on the desires

The findings of the case study of Amsterdam show that regulating alone is insufficient in dealing with the discontent of the residents. As described above, regulating mainly combats the negative impact on the basic needs of the residents, while the impact on the desires remains. The findings show that regulating is not fit to steer the impact on the desires. Rather, a stimulating and facilitating policy is suited, based on a process driven strategy. The following paragraphs will substantiate this fit.

#### **Characteristics of the impact on the desires**

Both the characteristics and the suitable policy for the desires differ from that of the needs. This is due to several reasons. Firstly, the impact on the desires is subjective. Desires in general can differ from person to person, and from culture to culture (Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2004). As a result, the range of commercial amenities will be experienced differently by different actors. Pinkster & Boterman (2017) for instance found out that the individual resident perceptions of tourism differs due to generational and class differences.

Secondly, there is no consensus regarding the norms that should be applied to mitigate these problems. Closely related to the former point, different actors think differently about the trade-offs that have to be made. Even within the group of residents, there can be disagreement regarding the degree to which a municipality should intervene, let alone between other stakeholders. Furthermore, the impact on the desires is dynamic, and changes over time. Lastly, in contrast to the needs, desires such as a sense of belonging or identification are more influenced by what *is* part of the range of amenities, instead of what is *not*. This can come down to rather specific details; a cheese shop that sells one type of prepacked cheese to tourists for instance has a different impact on the sense of belonging of an old resident than a traditional cheese shop, with a large and varied selection, that is aimed at residents.

#### **Problems with regulating policy fit of regulating instruments**

The first three characteristics – the subjectivity, the lack of consensus regarding the norms and the dynamics of the problems – make the impact on desires an unstructured problem (Bruijn, Heuvelhof, Veld, & van der Laan, 1998). Bruijn *et al.* argue that in such a case one should not apply a content driven strategy, but a process approach. Moreover, due to the subjectivity that is involved, regulating will probably cause problems with the logic of appropriateness. Besides, even in a severe form of tourism gentrification, it is not found to be appropriate for a municipality to decide exactly what amenities should occur where. Furthermore, imposing regulating policy to combat these problems also creates complications with the logic of consequence. It is difficult to substantiate regulations on these problems spatially, due to the subjective, dynamic characteristics, and since the desires are more influenced by what there *is* instead of what is *not* there, regulating policy also creates complications with the policy effectiveness.

#### **Policy fit of stimulating and facilitating instruments**

If a municipality would like to steer the impact on the desires, a policy provides a better fit if it is aimed at strengthening the connection that residents have to their living environment. This connection is strengthened when residents feel familiar with the way their surroundings look, feel, sound, smell and taste, but can be impaired when a neighbourhood changes rapidly or severely (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). Furthermore, such a policy is more likely to be effective if it stimulates certain types of amenities, rather than restricting others. This should and can however not be decided in a ‘top-down’ manner by the municipality, but should rather be developed in a bottom-up fashion, with the involvement of residents. This has the additional advantage that it potentially deals with the sense of powerlessness that residents can feel regarding the neighbourhood change.

Two instrument types can be considered by a municipality in this context. The first eligible type is the facilitation of capacity building. An example of this approach in Amsterdam is the activities of CentrumXL, an intermediary organization that investigates how different stakeholders in a street can act according to a shared vision of a street. The idea is that by making decisions jointly instead of individually, added value can be created for the street as a whole.

The second instrument a municipality could consider is stimulation through the use of an investment vehicle, such as the NV Zeedijk in Amsterdam. As explained before, an investment vehicle is well suited and highly effecting in stimulating what one *does* want. However, it is not considered appropriate for a municipality to decide exactly what amenities go where. But that does not mean that an investment vehicle cannot be applied in this context. As explained by the property manager of the NV



Zeedijk, they use their properties in order to stimulate processes that are improving the balance in certain streets in the city centre. They for instance stimulate the proliferation of a certain retail type that attracts residents, in order to counterbalance the high number of touristic amenities. Furthermore, they combine the wishes and 'desires' of the residents in these streets in their approach. In that way, an investment vehicle can be used as a catalyst to improve for instance the capacity building processes.

Both approaches are process driven. This means that one does not work towards a content-driven, uniform objective, but rather invests in processes that can lead to improvements of the situation. Furthermore, they are based on what is already there, instead of on socially engineered blueprint that should be realized in the future. Rather, initiatives from the market are connected with civil society through an 'emergent adaptive strategy' (Verheul & Daamen, 2014), that reacts on its context and emerges along the way. Last but not least, especially capacity building but also to some degree the investment vehicle method is based on a bottom up approach, with strong involvement of local actors. If this also involves local residents, this approach could positively affect the feeling of powerlessness that residents experience.

### **Institutional arrangements**

The findings showed that if a municipality wants to influence the impact beyond the needs, it cannot do this on its own, but needs other actors to cooperate. The proposed instrument types stimulating and especially capacity building are 'soft' (e.g. communicative/ relational) instruments (Verheul & Daamen, 2017), that could be facilitated by the municipality. While doing so, the role of the municipality shifts from government to governance. Especially for capacity building, the decision-making process takes place in a network. This means that different actors are involved in the process, with diverging interests and dependencies on each other (Bruijn et al., 1998).

Furthermore, it is suggested to implement a neutral, locally acting intermediary as a facilitator of the capacity building approach. The municipality can facilitate this but it is strongly recommended not to make it a governmental actor, in order to ensure its credibility and effectiveness. The municipality can however be one of the co-financiers, for instance together with the entrepreneurs. The same applies to the investment vehicle. It probably does not pass the logic of appropriateness to make it fully funded by the municipality; a joint financing with private parties, as is the case in Amsterdam, is more realistic. This does however create a managerial paradox. On the one hand, you do not want to have these actors close to you as a municipality, but on the other hand you want to maintain a proper steerability. It is up to municipalities to find a balance between these two values.

### **Areas of concern**

Capacity building is a relatively efficient instrument type insofar that it is not very expensive, but it is difficult to make effective. Entrepreneurs and especially property owners are key in a successful capacity building approach, but they are often not interested in cooperating in a strategy that limits their freedom, and thereby their potential revenue. This is especially troublesome since these actor groups are very fragmented, with lots of different individuals in each street. With the investment vehicle, it is the other way around; although it is highly effective, it is hard to make efficient. Especially when buying properties in a late stage of tourism gentrification, with high pressure on the real estate market, this can become a highly expansive policy. Potential legal issues due to state aid is another area of concern.

### **Recommendations**

In order to make capacity building more effective, part of the approach should be convincing that it is possible to increase the size of the whole cake by working together. Sharing best practices of successful strategies could help in doing so. It was recommended by both intermediaries that were interviewed to apply a locally based approach, in order to make the best possible use of the characteristics and actors that are already there. Furthermore, the analysis of the impact in Amsterdam showed that the biggest transitions towards touristic amenities occurred in streets that are located in the touristic area of the city centre, and have a relatively low rent, so these streets would probably be most eligible for an effective approach of both capacity building and the investment vehicle. Another characteristic when choosing streets for this approach is the presence of socially oriented property owners, such as housing corporations.

In order to make the investment vehicle more efficient, it was already suggested to apply in as a catalyst, in an adaptive manner, as a means to improve desired processes. Furthermore, by investing in such an instrument in an early state of the tourism cycle, with less pressure on the real estate market, less resources would have to be allocated to this instrument.

## 6.4 Usability of the findings in other cities

Tourism gentrification also occurs in multiple other cities, as explained in the introduction. When comparing Amsterdam with other Dutch cities such as Utrecht or Rotterdam, Amsterdam can act as an extreme case, which shows how tourism gentrification occurs in an advanced stage. Atypical or extreme cases can often be useful because they “activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situations studied” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229). Furthermore, compared to other cities with high amounts of tourism, such as Barcelona or Berlin, it can act as a common case as well. However, the usability is influenced by other aspects as well.

The usability of the findings of the case study of Amsterdam in other cities concerns the level of policy transfer. This is also called lesson-drawing, which addresses the question “under what circumstances and to what extent can a programme that is effective in one place transfer to another” (Rose, 1991). The findings of Amsterdam show that a couple of contextual variables are of influence on the impact of the growth of tourism and on the corresponding policy response. Therefore, the usability of the findings in other cities will be assessed in the following paragraphs using the most important variables.

### 6.4.1 The stage of the tourism life cycle

The most substantial variable in this research is the growth of tourism, conceptualised in the stages of the tourism life cycle. Whereas Amsterdam is in a relatively advanced stage of tourism gentrification, it is valuable to look at the policy possibilities for cities in an earlier stage.

The findings of Amsterdam show that a sense of urgency of the problem is needed for a positive logic of appropriateness. Providing a framework for safety and cleanliness is something everybody can agree upon. However, in order to implement further intervention in the range of commercial amenities, the problems must have reached a severe state. Both the majority of the citizens as the politicians in Amsterdam did not want the municipality to intervene until the problems were relatively advanced. Based on that idea, one would not want to start intervening, or even avoid having to intervene, in cities with a much lower number of tourists, such as Rotterdam or Utrecht. The following paragraphs will elaborate on what one can do.

#### **Capacity building**

Capacity building might be easier to set up in a city with a less severe form of tourism gentrification, in the event that that correlates with less pressure on the market. As the chairman of the overarching association of undertakings explained, “that is also an important precondition; in order to change people, it should not go well” (personal communication, April 5, 2017). In other words, actors might be more inclined to cooperate in making a joint vision in an earlier stage of tourism gentrification. Therefore, it is recommended for municipalities that are in an earlier phase of the tourism gentrification, to facilitate capacity building instruments upfront. Besides, strong social, local networks between the different actors in a street could benefit neighbourhoods beyond the context of tourism gentrification.

#### **Investment vehicle**

An investment vehicle is a relatively far-reaching instrument, both in costs as in the role of the government it implies. It is therefore up to politicians to decide whether they want to apply such an instrument or not. Nonetheless, it is advised, in the event one wants an investment vehicle, to start it in an early phase of the tourism gentrification. Following the logic of the former paragraph about capacity building, it is more efficient to start an investment vehicle in an earlier stage of the tourism gentrification, assuming that that correlates with less pressure on the market. In such a situation, the acquisition of the properties is significantly less expensive.

#### **Regulating**

The conclusions on the policy impact on the needs in paragraph 6.3.3 showed that regulating before a sense of urgency is felt conflicts with the logic of appropriateness, making the implementation of far-reaching regulations difficult. Therefore, it is also advisable for cities in an earlier stage to strengthen the regulating policy step-by-step. In order to amend legislation decisively, it is important to have a proper image of the market, as elaborated on in paragraph 6.4.5, and to have an up-to-date image of the problem perception of the residents.

#### 6.4.2 The geographical distribution of tourism

The investigation of the impact in Amsterdam showed that the negative consequences were mainly felt in and around the red-light district, as the area where most tourists concentrate. Furthermore, Amsterdam as a whole is a relatively small city compared to other metropolises such as Paris or Berlin, making that the high number of tourists concentrate on a relatively small area. This could eventually lead to the emergence of a 'tourist bubble', as explained in Box 2 on page 39. In a city with a more dispersed city centre, such as Berlin, the tourists and with them the touristic market demands for commercial products would probably be dispersed over a larger area as well, resulting in less extreme effects. This could also be a reason to implement policy to spread tourists over the city, a topic that was often discussed in the interviews and the press. This is however beyond the scope of this research.

#### 6.4.3 The predominant tourist type

Since the impact of tourism on the range of commercial amenities is mainly influenced by the touristic consumer behaviour, the type of tourists that visits a destination has a major influence on the impact of tourism. Therefore, the predominant tourist type that visits a destination is also an important contextual variable. It should however be realised that this can change over time. The steerability of this variable is largely unknown, and beyond the scope of this research. More about this variable is explained under the recommendations for further research, in paragraph 6.5.3.

#### 6.4.4 The willingness of politicians

Paragraph 6.3 explained that the willingness to steer is a major factor of influence on the policy that is being issued, and that this willingness can be influenced by a sense of urgency. This makes it difficult for a city with a less severe form of tourism gentrification to issue a far-reaching policy approach, that allocates lots of resources and limits freedom of many actors severely. However, a tourist policy advisor of the municipality of Utrecht explained that they already had the topic of tourism relatively high on the agenda, because of the situation they see in Amsterdam. Apparently, another city can fulfil a 'negative exemplary role', thereby creating a rationale to act in another city. Another factor of influence on this variable will be the predominant political orientation. An alderman acting from a political perspective will presumably be less inclined to limit market freedom than an alderman with a more leftist political ideology. Nonetheless, if politicians are not inclined to steer, other actors can take the role of the intermediary.

#### 6.4.5 The pressure on the market

The pressure on the market is an important variable, also irrespective of the effects that the growth of tourism causes. Amsterdam already had a horeca stop before the problems with the touristic amenities occurred, with coincided with a growth in population. This presumably led to pressure on the horeca market, irrespective of the tourism growth. Once the growth of tourism occurred, thereby creating even more demand for horeca, this pressure started to displace other functions. This would however have occurred differently in the event of less pressure on that particular market. It is therefore recommended for cities to have a clear image of such market pressures, also in a less severe form of tourism gentrification.

#### 6.4.6 The reactions of the residents

One important difference between Amsterdam and several other cities with severe tourism gentrification is the reaction of the residents. In multiple other cities, residents left the city centre in large numbers. Such a 'depopulation' of the city centre, as could be witnessed in city centres of cities such as Prague (Pixová & Sládek, 2016, p. 73), Zagreb (Kesar et al., 2015, p. 663) and Florence (Porter & Shaw, 2013), probably creates a different sense of urgency. However, such a reaction of the residents through exit could also prevent the residents of reacting with voice, i.e. protest. It is therefore recommended for municipalities to actively gather the perceptions of the residents. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate if the effects of tourism in the cities mentioned above were the main factors of displacement, or if other factors were more predominant.

## 6.5 Recommendations for further research

Last but not least, several recommendations for further research will be given, based on the findings of this report.

### 6.5.1 Displacement factors

The impressions of the changing demographics abroad in Box 3 on page 40 showed that tourism gentrification was linked to a loss of population in several cities. However, such a depopulation of the city centre was not visible in the city of Amsterdam. This raises the question at what point tourism gentrification reaches a level where it displaces residents from their place, and what factors are of influence on this phenomenon. Related to this, it would be valuable to research how this collides with regular gentrification, and to what degree this displacement of residents is unevenly distributed among different types of residents. The latter would also be an interesting subject for a follow-up research of Amsterdam, to investigate if tourism has influenced the composition of the population.

### 6.5.2 Life cycle with regard to urban tourism

It is described in paragraph 7.1 of the reflection that whereas the tourism life cycle as envisioned by Butler (1980) implies a *cyclical* process, the processes that are visible in Amsterdam and similar cities have more characteristics of a linear process, in which tourism keeps on growing. This could imply that the growth of tourism has to reach a more advanced stage before a cyclical process will occur. However, it could also mean that the tourism life cycle is less applicable on urban tourism. It was originally devised for tourist *resorts*, a context that could create different mechanisms than large metropolises. Therefore, it would be of added value to adjust the theory of the tourism life cycle to the occurrence of urban tourism, or to devise a new, theoretical '*urban tourism life cycle/process*'.

### 6.5.3 Steering on the appearance of commercial amenities

This research is mainly focussed on steerability of the *range* of commercial amenities. However, findings indicate that also the appearance of individual amenities could have a significant impact, especially on the desires of the residents. For instance, when discussing the discontent of the Tours & Ticket shops, a board member of the overarching residents' association explained "it is mainly the red colour of those facades. We as homeowners have to paint everything here in canal green, and Bentheimer yellow and all those restrained colours, and such a shop and also that hop on hop [boats] just pop in with that red colour. It is mainly the irritation level. [...] We as residents are of the opinion that that clashes. It is visual, because you do not experience any hindrance. But it does not fit into the cityscape" (personal communication, April 5, 2017). This indicates that the visual appearance of tourist shops can be a significant factor of influence on the impact on the desires. It would therefore be helpful to investigate the possibilities at mitigating these negative effects through municipal policy, for instance through regulations on building inspectorate (Dutch: Welstand). The same interviewee explained that in Italy, municipalities apply way more regulation than in Amsterdam, under the cloak of protected cityscape (Dutch: beschermd stadsgezicht). A comparison of both cities on this subject would form an interesting basis for further research.

### 6.5.1 Regulating and the Environmental Planning Bill

The assessment of the regulating policy fit ended with the recommendations to involve residents in the planning decisions, and to amend legislation decisively. Both characteristics form promises of the Environmental Planning Bill (Dutch: omgevingswet), that is planned to come into effect in the Netherlands somewhere in the coming years. It would be interesting to investigate to what degree this new form of legislation could live up to those promises, and provide new instruments that municipalities can use to steer tourism gentrification.

Another possible topic of further research regarding regulating instruments, is its reactivity. The regulating instruments that were deployed in Amsterdam were all reactive, to the extent that they were deployed to limit unwanted phenomena *after* these phenomena occurred. When investigating how suchlike instruments can be made more effective, it would be interesting to examine if they can be made proactive, or can one only lower the response time without dodging the reactive behaviour?

### 6.5.2 Logic of appropriateness

The logic of appropriateness proved to be a major factor of influence on the policy fit. However, the questions that comprise the logic of appropriateness can both be assessed more thoroughly. The 'does it suit?' question from the perspective of the municipality could for instance be assessed through interviews with a range of city council members. However, a limited number of interviews was possible for this research due to time constraints. It was decided to interview advisors of the municipality instead of politicians in order to not only get an answer to the 'does it suit' question, but also to get a better overview of what works and what does not, without getting answers to these questions with a coloured background, as a result of one's political background. Further research that focusses more on the political choices could be of added value to the findings of this research. The 'is it normatively correct?' question could be answered more thoroughly as well. Hemerijck explains that "research in the context of the 'is it normatively correct question' usually consists of sociological survey research regarding changes in values and norms of citizens about social problems and political institutions" (Hemerijck, 2003, p. 14). Such a sociological investigation is therefore also suggested for further research.

### 6.5.3 Influence of the type of tourist

This research did not expand thoroughly on the different types of tourists and their impact. However, it is likely that different types of tourists have different types of consumer behaviour, and thereby have a different impact on the range of commercial amenities. In this light, Figure 15 on the right is an interesting concept. As explained briefly in paragraph 3.1.2, the different stages of the tourism life cycle attract different types of tourists. An 'undiscovered location' with very few amenities aimed at tourists such as Uzbekistan attracts a different type of tourist than a well-known location such as Lloret de Mar. This idea is further developed by Freeman & Thomlinson (2014), who combined the tourism life cycle of Butler (1980) with a tourist typology conducted by Cohen (1979). As Figure 15 shows, the type of visitor changes over time as the number of visitors grows. Whereas it starts with drifters, i.e. people who characterize themselves as 'travellers' as opposed to tourists, Freeman & Thomlinson explain that this evolves from 'hippies to yuppies', all the way to the point where large tour operators start operating in the destination. While that happens, the first types opt out and start searching for other destinations.

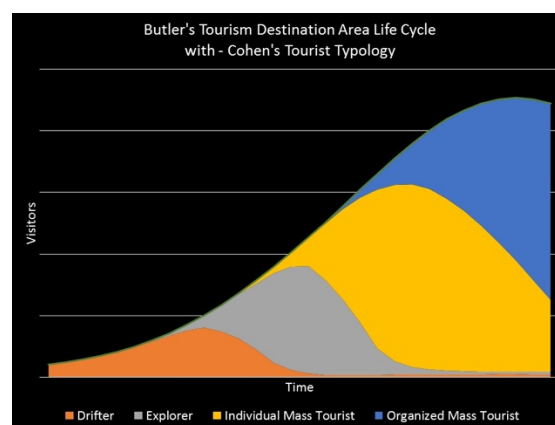


FIGURE 15: TOURISM LIFE CYCLE COMBINED WITH TOURIST TYPOLOGIES

As Figure 15 shows, the type of visitor changes over time as the number of visitors grows. Whereas it starts with drifters, i.e. people who characterize themselves as 'travellers' as opposed to tourists, Freeman & Thomlinson explain that this evolves from 'hippies to yuppies', all the way to the point where large tour operators start operating in the destination. While that happens, the first types opt out and start searching for other destinations.

It would be helpful to investigate to what degree this theory also applies to urban tourism, combined with an investigation of the impact of the different types of tourists on the city in general, and on the range of commercial amenities specifically. This could help municipalities in forecasting the impact of the growth of tourism. Furthermore, if a severe impact of such dynamics is found, research investigating the steerability of the type of tourists could support municipalities in dealing with these consequences.

### 6.5.4 Mechanisms in the range of commercial amenities

Closely related to the former topic, it would be interesting to investigate with regard to the range of commercial amenities if supply only follows demand, or that it is also the other way around. It is already shown that the range of commercial amenities, in this case the supply, follows the demands of the tourists. But it may also be the case that the type of tourists eventually changes due to the change of amenities. And if that happens, does that apply to cities as a whole, or only for a certain neighbourhood? The latter would imply that different types of tourists will eventually locate in different parts of the city. Such characteristics are relevant to understand for municipalities, when envisioning the future impact of tourism.

### 6.5.5 Steerability of the growth of tourism itself

This research was limited to the steerability of the range of amenities *in case a growth of tourism occurs*. However, as was understandably often stated in the interviews, in case one truly wants to address the

challenges caused by the growth of tourism, one should also have to look at the growth itself. Or as an advisor of the municipality explained, when there is a fire you should not only deal with the symptoms, but also catch the pyromaniac, which in this case is the tourist. Not to say that the tourist is a bad man, but nonetheless he is the cause.

It is not for nothing that there is much debate going on about the steerability of this growth of tourism in general. It would first of all be helpful to investigate to what degree the number of tourists that visits a city is controllable, not only regarding increasing that growth, but especially regarding mitigating it. Related to this, the steerability of the *geographic allocation* of these tourists is a relevant research topic as well. The findings of Amsterdam show that the negative effects mainly occur in those places where a very high number of tourists concentrate, indicating that spreading these tourists might contribute to the reduction of negative effects.





## 7 Reflection

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When looking from a broader perspective at the issues discussed in this research, several questions arise. How will cities develop in the future? What role will tourism play in that future? And what shall the role of the municipality be in those stories?

Tourism has been applauded for a long time by municipalities and governments. However, as shown in this research, the growth of tourism can also have negative effects on the city. This causes discontent among residents, which subsequently leads to protest and resistance (Colomb & Novy, 2016). In reaction, municipalities are searching for ways to give the growth of tourism a place in their cities. Even municipalities that, as yet, experience much smaller numbers of tourists, start thinking about the potential consequences. However, municipalities also see the revenue that is involved with the growth of tourism. A street manager in Amsterdam told that a Danish television crew came to Amsterdam to investigate how they could bring that 'fantastic growth of tourism' to Denmark. They were jealous of Amsterdam's situation, and wanted that for their own. This shows what dilemmas municipalities face in the development of their cities. The following paragraphs will shed a light on some of the considerations that come into play when dealing with these questions.

### 7.1 Impact

Regarding the impact of tourism on the city, it is interesting to think about what might happen in a really far advanced stage of tourism gentrification, way beyond the situation of Amsterdam. One sometimes spoke about a potential 'snowball effect' in the interviews, through which the number of tourists grows, the city centre becomes increasingly geared towards tourists, residents start avoiding the city centre, the purchasing power of the tourists becomes even more dominant, et cetera. Eventually, this could lead to the depopulation of the city centre by its permanent residents, as was indicated in several other cities. Will that lead to an example of the tragedy of the commons? Or will the market find a way to 'correct itself'?

The tourism life cycle as envisioned by Butler (1980) implies a *cyclical* process. The main characteristic of such a process is that it returns to its initial state after undergoing a few different processes. However, the processes that are visible in Amsterdam and similar cities have more characteristics of a linear process, in which tourism keeps on growing. This is probably strengthened by the fact that tourism worldwide keeps on increasing. It would nevertheless be interesting to investigate if market mechanisms would eventually reach an equilibrium, and what that situation would look like.

The combination of the tourism life cycle with the tourism typologies, as explained in paragraph 6.5.3, shows that certain types of tourists start searching for other destinations at a certain moment in the tourism life cycle. The emergence of 'new urban tourism', in which tourists explore more 'authentic' areas and thereby avoid the well-known tourist spaces (Füller & Michel, 2014), shows that this search of less touristic places becomes a growing movement. However, the figure in paragraph 6.5.3 with the tourism life cycle and the tourist typologies combined also showed that the organized mass tourist will largely replace these other tourist types. No examples were found of cities where even the mass tourist did not go anymore, due to uncontrolled tourism gentrification. And an equally significant question is; where should the residents go in the mean time?

### 7.2 Steering

This research showed that steering an influential urban development such as the impact of the growth of tourism is not an easy task. There was no single instrument or single policy found that could deal with all of the negative effects on its own. Rather, it is suggested that municipalities should apply a combination of policies simultaneously. However, even then it remains to be seen what the outcome will be. The paragraphs below will elaborate on some of the matters that are involved when steering such a development.

#### 7.2.1 Steerability

The city with all of its components will always remain a dynamic system. Or, as David Harvey (1989) states, it is always be in a 'process of becoming'. This means that it will always be different than it was in the past,

and will always keep on changing. The same is true for the range of commercial amenities within the city. In the light of this research even more importantly, the findings show that the range of commercial amenities in a city centre is not engineerable, at least not for a municipality. This is different for an owner of a large shopping mall, that can align its different amenities to create the optimal mix, and control every single amenity while doing so. That does not apply to the range of commercial amenities in a city centre, with its fragmented properties and its wide variety of actors involved. The findings of this research show that this does not mean that the range of commercial amenities is ungovernable. However, one should realise that achieving a certain 'blue print end goal' by one actor is not possible. It will always need the other actors in the network, and the outcome will always be a dynamic result of all the decisions of all the actors in that network combined. For the actors involved, it is important to realise this.

Another important realisation is that the problems regarding tourism are not isolated from other urban processes. On the contrary, this research showed that global processes such as the changing consumer behaviour and the homogenisation of public space are of significant influence on the problems discussed. Or, as one of the interviewees stated; "the problem [...] can partly be explained by the increase in tourism, but can also partly be explained by all the other aspects of such a metropolitan environment".

### 7.2.2 Dilemmas

The growth of tourism poses several dilemmas for a municipality. The dilemma whether a municipality should steer at all is already explained extensively in paragraph 6.3.1 on the willingness to steer. However, even if a municipality is willing to steer, some other paradoxes remain. These paradoxes are not confined to the growth of tourism, but are reoccurring elements of urban planning. Two paradoxes, that both stem from the desire to control, are explained below.

#### **Control versus spontaneity**

On the one hand, the municipality wants to and is expected to guide the neighbourhood change into a desirable scenario. However, important aspects of that desirable scenario are a great variety in the range of commercial amenities, tailored to the dynamic use of the current and future residents and other city users. A high degree of spontaneity is needed in order to achieve that scenario, which is at odds with the desire for control. Savini *et al.* (2015) call this the *intervention dilemma*. When steering, pursuing an open view reduces the impact on wider urban and regional dynamics, but interventions that define more explicitly become selective and thus exclude unpredicted possibilities (Mazza, 2002). Municipalities thus need to figure out what type and degree of control is needed to stimulate spontaneous processes (Savini *et al.*, 2015).

#### **Control versus legal certainties**

Another paradox imposed by the need for control relates to legal certainties. This research showed that especially the property owners have strong control over their resources, control that cannot be simply reduced or influenced. Such certainties are an important element of planning in Western democracies (Savini *et al.*, 2015). However, because of that, the means of a municipality to influence these actors are limited. The logic of appropriateness is highly influential on the possibilities to make changes with regard to this paradox.

### 7.2.3 Role of the government

The findings of this research imply a dual role of the government, in this case the municipality. On the one hand, it acts as a 'traditional governmental authority', by constraining market possibilities in a top-down manner, through content-driven regulating instruments. Simultaneously however, it takes a governance role by acting in a network, enabling bottom-up initiatives through process-driven instruments. This gives the municipality less direct influence over the outcome over these processes. Residents however hold the municipality responsible for the problems in their living environment, and expect the municipality to solve these problems. This research suggests that in order to achieve desirable results within this complex situation, governments should not choose a role of either government or governance, but are rather recommended to combine the two roles into a dual approach.

### 7.3 Conclusion

Last but not least, it is recommended to engage in debate on the future of the city. The growth of tourism is one of the many developments that changes how our cities will look and work in the future. Not all stakeholders agree about how that future can and should look. An experienced property owner in Amsterdam for instance stated that the times have changed, and that you cannot stop the growth of tourism. But a street manager on the other hand stated that if this trend continues, “if it really is a trend, and you get more and more tourists, that only have come to hang, smoke and drink, [...] than you have to say ‘all right those shops in the old city centre are actually useless, because all we need is to-go food’. Well I cannot support that. Because the city is not theirs.” This illustrates the diverging views on the subject at hand. Most interviewees agreed however, that a long-term vision for the future of the city was needed. Municipalities can and should not decide what that future looks like on their own. They need to engage in debate about it, with all relevant stakeholders. In the end, this comes down to the question this thesis started with: “Who owns the city?”



## 8 Literature

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# 9 Appendices

## Appendix A: Examination of 12 streets in Amsterdam

Along major tourist routes?		Rental price																			
		2008				2012				2014				2016				diff/yr			
		vanaf	tot	%var	2008	vanaf	tot	%var	2012	van	tot	%var	2014	vanaf	tot	%var	2016	Variance diff over 10yr	diff/yr over last 10yr	diff/yr over last 4yr	diff/yr over last 2yr
Street/ streets	Nr																				
Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat	1 ++	€ 400	€ 900	63%	€ 650	€ 375	€ 900	70%	€ 638	€ 350	€ 900	79%	€ 625	€ 400	€ 1.200	100%	€ 800	38%	3%	6%	14%
Haarlemmerstraat	2 +/-	€ 225	€ 500	61%	€ 363	€ 225	€ 450	50%	€ 338	€ 225	€ 550	72%	€ 388	€ 250	€ 650	80%	€ 450	19%	3%	8%	8%
Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat	3 +	€ 400	€ 900	63%	€ 650	€ 375	€ 900	70%	€ 638	€ 350	€ 900	79%	€ 625	€ 400	€ 1.200	100%	€ 800	38%	3%	6%	14%
Jodenbree & Sint Antoniebreestraat	4 -	€ 125	€ 300	70%	€ 213	€ 125	€ 275	60%	€ 200	€ 125	€ 275	60%	€ 200	€ 125	€ 275	60%	€ 200	-10%	-1%	0%	0%
Kalverstraat	5 +	€ 2.200	€ 3.000	18%	€ 2.600	€ 2.200	€ 2.800	14%	€ 2.500	€ 2.200	€ 2.800	14%	€ 2.500	€ 2.000	€ 3.000	25%	€ 2.500	7%	0%	0%	0%
Leidsestraat	6 +	€ 1.750	€ 2.500	21%	€ 2.125	€ 1.700	€ 2.400	21%	€ 2.050	€ 1.700	€ 2.400	21%	€ 2.050	€ 1.700	€ 2.600	26%	€ 2.150	5%	0%	1%	2%
Nieuwendijk	7 ++	€ 800	€ 2.200	88%	€ 1.500	€ 800	€ 2.200	88%	€ 1.500	€ 800	€ 2.200	88%	€ 1.500	€ 800	€ 2.500	106%	€ 1.650	19%	1%	3%	5%
Rokin	8 +	€ 750	€ 1.250	33%	€ 1.000	€ 500	€ 1.250	75%	€ 875	€ 550	€ 1.250	64%	€ 900	€ 600	€ 1.350	63%	€ 975	29%	0%	3%	4%
Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht	9 +	€ 175	€ 350	50%	€ 263	€ 200	€ 425	56%	€ 313	€ 200	€ 450	63%	€ 325	€ 250	€ 500	50%	€ 375	0%	5%	5%	8%
Spuistraat	10 +	€ 400	€ 1.250	106%	€ 825	€ 300	€ 1.200	150%	€ 750	€ 300	€ 1.200	150%	€ 750	€ 300	€ 1.200	150%	€ 750	44%	-1%	0%	0%
Utrechtsestraat	11 -	€ 400	€ 750	44%	€ 575	€ 275	€ 750	86%	€ 513	€ 275	€ 750	86%	€ 513	€ 350	€ 800	64%	€ 575	21%	0%	3%	6%
Vijzelstraat	12 +/-	€ 175	€ 250	21%	€ 213	€ 175	€ 250	21%	€ 213	€ 175	€ 250	21%	€ 213	€ 175	€ 250	21%	€ 213	0%	0%	0%	0%

Along major tourist routes?		Ratio ownership										Distribution functions									
		Owner/occupant	Housing corporation	Investor, <1m	Investor, 1-10m	Investor, >10m	Government	Unknown				'08									
Street/ streets	Nr											Daily	Not daily	Restaurant	Cafés	Daily	Not daily	Restaurant	Cafés	Daily	Not daily
Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat	1 ++	4%	0%	22%	43%	23%	0%	8%				13%	27%	4%	35%	21%	13%	27%	4%	35%	21%
Haarlemmerstraat	2 +/-	10%	11%	20%	25%	12%	3%	19%				21%	55%	3%	11%	10%	23%	50%	4%	10%	13%
Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat	3 +	11%	8%	27%	31%	13%	6%	4%				6%	65%	2%	8%	19%	12%	59%	2%	12%	15%
Jodenbree & Sint Antoniebreestraat	4 -	6%	28%	7%	11%	13%	15%	20%				20%	50%	0%	8%	23%	20%	50%	0%	8%	22%
Kalverstraat	5 +	3%	0%	0%	23%	53%	0%	21%				2%	94%	0%	2%	2%	4%	89%	0%	4%	3%
Leidsestraat	6 +	1%	0%	2%	33%	50%	1%	13%				10%	74%	0%	8%	8%	11%	70%	0%	9%	10%
Nieuwendijk	7 ++	3%	0%	6%	39%	47%	0%	5%				10%	74%	0%	8%	8%	11%	70%	0%	9%	10%
Rokin	8 +	11%	0%	14%	46%	28%	0%	1%				11%	58%	8%	17%	6%	14%	48%	8%	12%	18%
Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht	9 +	10%	0%	10%	17%	19%	0%	44%				10%	83%	0%	5%	3%	10%	83%	0%	5%	2%
Spuistraat	10 +	9%	3%	14%	29%	23%	0%	22%				14%	36%	7%	21%	22%	20%	23%	12%	24%	21%
Utrechtsestraat	11 -	5%	0%	13%	23%	32%	0%	27%				14%	32%	3%	23%	18%	13%	45%	3%	22%	17%
Vijzelstraat	12 +/-	8%	2%	8%	26%	25%	2%	29%				18%	43%	6%	10%	23%	19%	34%	7%	17%	23%

Along major tourist routes?		Distribution horeca										diff									
		'08										'16									
Street/ streets	Nr																				
Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat	1 ++	8%	0%	62%	17%	13%						7%	0%	59%	27%	7%					
Haarlemmerstraat	2 +/-	12%	0%	46%	16%	26%						15%	0%	38%	29%	18%					
Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat	3 +	7%	0%	27%	13%	53%						7%	0%	43%	21%	29%					
Jodenbree & Sint Antoniebreestraat	4 -	0%	0%	33%	25%	42%						0%	0%	27%	37%	36%					
Kalverstraat	5 +	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%						0%	0%	57%	43%	0%					
Leidsestraat	6 +	0%	0%	33%	60%	7%						0%	0%	46%	47%	7%					
Nieuwendijk	7 ++	0%	0%	33%	60%	7%						0%	0%	46%	47%	7%					
Rokin	8 +	25%	0%	56%	6%	13%						21%	0%	31%	16%	32%					
Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht	9 +	0%	0%	67%	33%	0%						0%	0%	75%	25%	0%					
Spuistraat	10 +	10%	3%	42%	8%	37%						16%	5%	42%	12%	25%					
Utrechtsestraat	11 -	7%	0%	50%	10%	33%						7%	0%	52%	13%	28%					
Vijzelstraat	12 +/-	16%	0%	26%	21%	37%						16%	0%	36%	32%	16%					

(Derived from Centrum XL, 2017)

Street/ streets	Nr	Along major tourist route	communication to tourist		Language presenting in			Food supply direct consumption				Supply for tourists							
			Yes	No	Dutch	English	Dutch +1	Not filled in	No food	Not filled in	Need	Yes, good	Yes, bad	Not filled in					
Damstraat & Oude Doelenstraat	1	++	53%	43%	4%	2%	90%	0%	4%	4%	69%	4%	0%	23%	4%	49%	6%	41%	4%
Haarlemmerstraat	2	+/-	5%	85%	10%	40%	28%	1%	23%	8%	27%	10%	4%	51%	8%	28%	59%	6%	7%
Oude & Nieuwe Hoogstraat	3	+	10%	82%	8%	10%	65%	0%	17%	8%	54%	2%	0%	36%	8%	40%	3%	29%	8%
Jodenbreë & Sint Antoniebreestraat	4	+	9%	85%	6%	39%	28%	0%	28%	5%	22%	2%	5%	65%	6%	81%	9%	6%	6%
Kalverstraat	5	+	8%	83%	9%	21%	34%	0%	36%	9%	10%	2%	3%	76%	9%	81%	4%	6%	9%
Leidsestraat	6	+	19%	75%	6%	48%	38%	0%	7%	7%	27%	5%	0%	62%	6%	61%	7%	25%	7%
Nieuwendijk	7	++	39%	58%	3%	28%	54%	0%	15%	3%	30%	1%	0%	67%	2%	48%	4%	45%	3%
Rokin	8	++	19%	68%	13%	24%	38%	0%	19%	19%	30%	0%	3%	52%	15%	58%	8%	19%	15%
Nieuwe Spiegelstraat & Spiegelgracht	9	+	1%	87%	12%	27%	59%	0%	3%	11%	12%	0%	1%	76%	11%	87%	0%	1%	12%
Spuistraat	10	+	30%	65%	5%	67%	23%	0%	5%	5%	31%	1%	2%	61%	5%	64%	12%	18%	6%
Utrechtsestraat	11	--	12%	83%	5%	44%	12%	0%	40%	4%	40%	4%	1%	50%	5%	94%	1%	1%	4%
Vijzelstraat	12	+/-	10%	82%	8%	31%	45%	1%	5%	8%	42%	0%	5%	44%	9%	85%	1%	6%	8%

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## Appendix B: Comparison development amenities 7 cities NL

### Vestigingen van bedrijven; bedrijfstak, regio

Onderwerpen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen	Vestigingen
Perioden	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil	Verschil
Regio's	Nederland	Groningen (G)	Utrecht (GA)	Amsterdam (C)	's-Gravenhage (R)	Rotterdam (G)	Tilburg (GA)	Eindhoven (GA)
Bedrijfstakken/branches SBI 2008	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal	Aantal
4711 Supermarkten	0%	0%	-3%	15%	19%	11%	0%	-4%
4719 Warenhuizen e.d.	61%	100%	60%	55%	60%	100%	50%	60%
4721 Groentewinkels	-23%	-50%	-25%	-17%	-33%	-26%	0%	-50%
4722 Slagerijen en poeliers	-14%	-25%	0%	-20%	-9%	-23%	-14%	-14%
47221 Slagerijen	-14%	-25%	0%	-19%	-15%	-24%	0%	-14%
47222 Poeliers	-14%	0%	0%	-33%	0%	0%	-100%	0%
4723 Viswinkels	22%	0%	33%	17%	20%	43%	100%	0%
47241 Winkels in brood en banket	-4%	-33%	50%	-12%	21%	-17%	0%	-20%
47242 Winkels in chocolade en suikerwerk	-1%	0%	-25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	-50%
47291 Winkels in kaas	11%	0%	0%	71%	-17%	-25%	0%	0%
47292 Winkels in natuurvoeding	10%	0%	33%	17%	20%	20%	0%	-33%
47293 Winkels in buitenlandse voeding	2%	-25%	0%	10%	10%	-5%	0%	0%
4743 Winkels in wit- en bruingoed	-27%	0%	-22%	-45%	-29%	-38%	-33%	-29%
4752 Winkels in doe-het-zelfartikelen	-5%	-27%	10%	-11%	-17%	-17%	-8%	-16%
47591 Winkels in meubels	-13%	-11%	-13%	-11%	-19%	-12%	-29%	-31%
4761 Boekenwinkels	-21%	-33%	-17%	-30%	-20%	-9%	0%	-25%
4771 Winkels in kleding	-7%	-5%	0%	1%	-6%	-7%	-16%	-8%
4773 Apotheken	19%	0%	40%	12%	38%	4%	40%	29%
4779 Winkels in antiek en tweedehands	-18%	-7%	-13%	-23%	-17%	-26%	0%	-19%

The percentages show the differences 2008 and 2015

(Derived from CBS, 2017a)



