FEELING AT HOME IN A COMMODIFIED NEIGHBORHOOD

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ABSTRACT

This study explores residents' experiences of living in a touristic neighbourhood. Ashworth and Page (2011) stress that urban tourism has been a topic to which relatively few researchers in Sociology and Geography have focused on. This research contributes to the literature by exploring how feelings of home are affected by tourism. The case studied is located in the old historical centre of Amsterdam, in which tourism has become a hot topic in the fall of 2016. The rapid growth of tourism has resulted not only in a growing amount of tourists, but also an increase in touristic amenities and consumption facilities. Literature about commodification, feeling at home and displacement pressures is used in order to explain how feelings of home are affected. By using a qualitative method, conducting interviews, residents' experiences of living in touristic neighbourhood are studied. The results of this study show that various aspects of feelings of home can become undermined by tourism. The public space is used by tourists for entertainment and it is argued that this leads to the feeling that the neighbourhood is turning into tourist playground in which the residential function is suppressed. For this reason, the concept of 'entertainment pressures' is developed by the author to capture how the abundance of entertainment in the public space can negatively affect a sense of home, which can eventually lead to the coping mechanism of moving out of the neighbourhood. Additionally, other behavioural patterns of residents have been observed through which residents cope with tourism in the neighbourhood.

Keywords: tourism, feeling at home, commodification, entertainment, coping mechanisms

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I   INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 2016 tourism has become a hot topic in Amsterdam. Even though tourism has been present in the city centre of Amsterdam for several decades (Nijman 1999), the recent growth has gained much attention in local newspapers. According to an estimation of Amsterdam Marketing (2016) more than 17 million people, both nationals and internationals, have visited the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area in 2015, an increase of 15 percent compared to 2011. In addition to the growing numbers of visitors entering the city, the amount of consumption facilities and amenities for tourists, such as touristic shops and ice-cream salons, has increased since 2008 (Rekenkamer Amsterdam 2016). The tourist industry has grown, while simultaneously a trend has been identified that indicates a decline in shops for daily groceries (Rekenkamer Amsterdam 2016). Negative opinions have been expressed about this growth of tourism in Amsterdam. Residents showed their complaints in letters to the mayor and they show their discontent by starting initiatives in order to induce change. Even local politicians have started to admit that tourism in Amsterdam has become problematic. At the Staat van de Stad, an event last October, Amsterdam mayor, Eberhard van der Laan, refers to it as 'a couple of minutes before twelve o'clock', emphasising the the urgency of the impact of tourism in the city.

This paper examines how residents experience the aforementioned issue of tourism. Ashworth and Page (2011) argue that urban tourism remains a topic which has attracted relatively little attention by researchers of Urban and Tourism studies. Particularly within the fields of Sociology and Geography, tourism appears to be treated as a minor issue. Due to this lack of attention, urban tourism has not yet been sufficiently defined (Ashworth and Page 2011). What is agreed upon, however, is the transformative power of tourism on a city. The link between urban development and tourism is underlined by several researchers (Law 2002; Füller & Michel 2014; Edensor 2008; Gotham 2005). Additionally, Edensor (2008) argues that the commodification of spaces and culture plays a role in the production of tourist spaces. Similarly, Fainstein (2007) argues that urban culture has become a commodity in the tourist city.

The negative effects that this transformation and commodification can have on the host community has been showed by several researchers (Gotham 2002; Füller & Michel 2014). For

example, Gotham (2002: 1752) demonstrated how the marketing of local spectacle of Mardi Gras led to the 'creative destruction' of New Orleans. He showed how the increase of tourism in the city coincided with a shrinking number of residents and a growth of social problems, like poverty. Füller & Michel (2014) have showed how 'new urban tourism' can turn a residential neighbourhood into a tourist destination and specifically how this can result in conflict and discontent among residents. Similarly, Gotham (2005: 1099) introduced the concept of 'tourist gentrification', which he defines as 'the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues.'. From this, the 'blurring of entertainment, commercial activity and residential space' emerges (ibid.: 1115). He demonstrated how this process can undermine the residential function of a neighbourhood.

All of these studies highlight the negative effects that tourism can have for local residents and they touch upon how feelings of home of residents can be affected. This research contributes to the literature about tourism and belonging by exploring whether and how understandings of home among established residents are affected by the touristification of their neighbourhood. It analyses how residents experience living in a touristic area, near the cluster of the Damstraat in Amsterdam, that continues to grow more touristic resulting in touristic shops and food parlours. Specifically, attention is paid to the effects of commercial change due to tourism, as tourist consumption spaces and amenities are visible expressions of the touristification of a neighbourhood. Furthermore, few researchers have looked into how residents cope with tourism, which is the reason why Deery, Jago & Fredline (2012) argue that future research should focus on this issue. Furthermore, Ap & Crompton (1993) argue that resident's perceptions of tourism could be related to the way how they cope with it. The behavioural strategies can give insights to what extent the sense of belonging is negatively influenced. Therefore, it is explored how residents cope with tourism.

The following section gives an outline of the previous research on home and place attachment, and on tourism and commodification. After discussing the methodology of this research, a case description of Amsterdam and the cluster of the Damstraat is given. The empirical findings will then be presented, discussing experiences of established residents and their view on tourism in the neighbourhood. Lastly, a discussion of the literature and concluding remarks are presented, providing insights in how feelings of home can be affected by tourism.

II   THEORY

2.1.   Home & place

In order to understand how residents experience living among tourism and how tourism may affect feelings of home, it is necessary to first define what feeling at home encompasses. Firstly, it is explained how place can be meaningful. This is done because feeling at home is a place-based emotion (Duyvendak 2011). Then, different elements of home as defined by Duyvendak (2011) are outlined, including familiarity, haven and heaven. Afterwards, it is discussed how feelings of home can be understood as a practice.

Following the constructionist paradigm, places are not just empty decors in which people live their lives. Instead, a place is socially constructed (Massey 1995). Next to its geographical and material form, place is invested with meaning, representation and imagination (Gieryn 2000). Places are 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' (ibid.: 465). This investment of meaning into places is what turns a space into a place. Therefore, this may generate symbolic values that can be attached to places. This is important in understanding feelings of home. Namely, homes are generally seen as places to which individuals and groups attach substantial social, psychological and emotional meaning (Easthope 2004: 135). A home therefore does not necessarily need to be a house (Easthope 2004). When a certain space, like a house, becomes invested with meaning it can become a home. Likewise, places that are not a house, may feel like home. Hence, someone may feel at home in relation to different levels, for example in their house, neighbourhood, city or country.

What is understood as feeling at home, can be explained by the classification of 'elements of home' developed by Duyvendak (2011: 38). The three elements are familiarity, haven and heaven, which are discussed separately in the next section. A sense of familiarity, or 'knowing the place', in these spaces is the first feature of feeling at home (Duyvendak 2011: 38). He argues that familiarity is the precondition of the other elements. A particular form of familiarity as described by Blokland (2003) is used in this research. Blokland (2003: 89) describes familiarity as existing between the extremes of anonymity and intimacy: '(…) it characterizes social relations in which those involved know enough about each other to establish their respective social positions'. She makes a distinction between three kinds of familiarity, of which one is public familiarity. This can be understood as the recognition of people in public

spaces, to which one may develop a superficial level of acquaintance (Blokland & Nast 2014). A sense of community can derive out of this process: 'when interdependent anonymous people keep encountering each other, and *Vergemeinschaftung* occurs' (Blokland 2003: 93, Italics in original). This process of *Vergemeinschaftung* denotes that social relations are becoming communal, creating a comfort zone which stimulates a sense of belonging. An important factor for this public familiarity to come into existence, is neighbourhood use, or 'the local daily routines' (Blokland & Nast 2014). Logically, in the private area this *public* familiarity is not likely to arise. However, when using the neighbourhood, for example by using neighbourhood facilities like doing groceries, residents encounter each other. Seeing the same faces on the street, creates recognition and a sense of community.

However, familiarity on itself is not sufficient to feel fully at home (Duyvendak 2011). Even though people can become familiar with new shops and neighbours, this does not necessarily lead to feeling at home. Therefore, next to familiarity, Duyvendak (2011) distinguishes two other dimensions: haven and heaven. Haven can be related to how environmental psychologists view home. Place attachment is defined as the affective bond between people and a place (Hildago & Hernandez 2001). Homes are viewed as safe, secure and familiar places. These feelings of security derive from continuity in the social and material environment, or the daily routines that people perform (Easthope 2004). Duyvendak (2011) argues that haven often relates to the private sphere. It stands for the physical safety of a place, feelings of being secure and safe. A home is a place to relax, to retreat and for privacy. When analysing home on the neighbourhood level, Van der Graaf & Duyvendak (2009) argue that 'haven' can be related to to 'physical neighbourhood attachment'. Cuba & Hummon (1993) argue that the physical side of attachments should not be neglected as people may feel emotionally connected with places. The characteristics of a place, like the architecture, as well as its function, creates attachments to a place. The physical attachment is strongly influenced by the 'rootedness' of a resident, often related to how many years one has been living in a neighbourhood (Gieryn 2000).

Heaven, the last element of home, stands for public identity and exclusivity: 'A public place where one can collectively be, express and realize oneself; where one feels publicly free and independent. Home here embodies shared histories; a material and/or symbolic place with one's own people and activities' (Duyvendak 2011: 38). This corresponds with the work of Low (1992) who argues that attachments are not merely related to the individual and personal level, but instead are based on collective representations. Places therefore derive their meaning from

shared stories, representations and cultural beliefs that are exchanged in these settings. 'Heaven' is related to social neighbourhood attachment (Van der Graaf & Duyvendak 2007) referring to attachment to people in the neighbourhood. This is indicated as 'bonding'. The social interaction in places creates the values that are attached to it.

These three concepts, familiarity, haven and heaven are used in this research to understand how residents feel at home. In addition to these concepts, home is related to local practices. As mentioned above, Blokland (2003) showed how neighbourhood use, or local practices, can lead to public familiarity. Just like Blokland (2003), Duyvendak (2011) argues local practices can generate characteristics of home, as a safe, secure or comforting place. This is what he calls homemaking, which can be understood as a form of placemaking. Gieryn (2000: 468) describes placemaking as 'identifying, designating, designing, building, using, interpreting, remembering'. Placemaking is thus the construction of places, both physically and socially. Feeling at home is therefore not defined as fixed, but as constructed: 'Homes thus are not "places" that are and stay the same, but rather are part of an enduring process of construction, negotiation and redefinition.' (Reinders & Bosch 2011: 6-7). These homemaking practices correspond with work of Benson & Jackson (2013) who incorporated belonging as performativity in the debate about belonging. They argue that by 'doing' places, middle-class residents can claim moral ownership over places. Through repeated everyday activities residents can shape and make places. Feelings of home can thus come into existence due to local practices of 'doing' the neighbourhood.

The last concept introduced related to home as place is 'place identity' (Cuba & Hummon 1993). People can relate their own personal and social identity to places. In other words: 'who I am' coincides with 'where I am' (Van der Graaf & Duyvendak 2009: 17). Place identity therefore does not refer to the identity of places itself. Place is used to express and confirm one's identity, and by doing that, it excludes others: 'Place, in other words, has become part of conspicuous consumption and a tool to distinguish and distance oneself from "others".' (Pinkster 2012: 811). This, in particular, is the case when a feeling of home is endangered. A sense of belonging, just like other soft themes, becomes the clearest in case of danger or disruption (Reinders & Van der Land 2008; Duyvendak 2011). It drives people to express their (nostalgic) memories with a place (Buttimer 1980). At moments of neighbourhood change, the significance of place identity can become more explicit (Dixon & Durrheim 2004). It then becomes clear what or who does not belong: 'What is felt as home, then, develops out of a dialectic between what belongs to the place and what does not; what is mentally near and what

is far; what feels like "inside" and what does not; who are considered "we" and who are labeled "others".' (Duyvendak 2011: 31). It has an exclusive character as some people or things fit in, while others do not. Thus, endangerment of feelings of home distinguishes for individuals what or who fits in, and what does not.

Conclusively, feeling at home is a place based positive emotion that can be defined by three elements: familiarity, haven and heaven. A home can thus be seen as a familiar place in which someone feels safe and secure and publicly at ease. These attachments to place can derive from the physical attribute, from social interaction, as well as placemaking practices or 'doing' place. Additionally, people can relate their individual and social identity to a place. What this encompasses becomes most clear in times of danger or disruption, showing its excluding feature as some may not belong and others do. The study of how feeling of home is affected by tourism, is done by analysing tourism in relation to these different concepts. The following section elaborates on the link between commodification and tourism and its consequences for residents.

2.2. Tourism & Commodification

In this section, firstly the relation between commodification and tourism is outlined. This helps in understanding the processes that are occurring in the historic core of Amsterdam. Thereupon, the concept of indirect displacement pressures by Cócola Gant (2015) is introduced as it helps in understanding the social impact of tourism on residents' experiences. Finally, there is a discussion on how residents may cope with tourism by looking at different behavioural patterns.

Tourists come to visit cities and places in order to see and experience things that are different from home. However, mass tourism does not merely imply the influx of large amounts of tourists into city. In addition to the visitors, the tourist industry encompasses consumption facilities, hotels, transport services and entertainment companies (Gotham 2002). Mass tourism can therefore lead to the change of urban space, as these facilities are based in touristic areas. Additionally, local governments put in effort to attract tourists to cities for economic purposes. Hall & Rath (2007) showed that the local authority created a major tourist attraction in Amsterdam by revitalizing a run-down neighbourhood in Amsterdam and branding it as 'Chinatown'. However, a paradox adheres to this development: the city marketing and creation of amenities for tourists that strive to attract the revenues of tourists, eventually change the setting that was attractive for the tourist in the first place (Urry 1990).

Besides commodifying urban space, tourism is linked to the commodification of urban culture (Fainstein 2007). In context of urban tourism, Fainstein (2007) argues that urban culture has become a commodity as tourism is used by city planners. An example of this is the work of Gotham (2002) in which he explains how local customs, festivals or rituals are used as a commodity to attract tourists. City marketers use these forms of spectacle and transform them into tourist attractions. They are produced for tourist consumption, striving to evoke a spectacular experience. However, by commodifying urban culture and urban space, its uniqueness and authenticity becomes endangered. For example, Halewood & Hannam (2001) describe how the production of 'authentic' souvenirs, endangers its own authenticity: 'Similarly, various tourism commodities, such as souvenirs, are produced and consumed as "authentic" experiences. But, quite clearly, their production can be a "mixed blessing" because while it may be lucrative for a host community, it may also lead to a craft product being mass produced and becoming inauthentic and disassociated from its original meaning.' (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 567). Out of this results that the local distinctiveness is undermined while standardization and homogenization is stimulated.

In understanding the effects of commodification, as seen as the change of urban space and the standardization of local commons, literature about tourism and gentrification is helpful. Several authors have indicated that tourism and gentrification are interconnected (Herrera, Smith and Vera 2013; Gotham 2005; Cócola Gant 2015). Gentrification is generally referred to as the influx of middle class residents in working class neighbourhood, causing displacement and exclusion of the established residents (Marcuse 1985). However, several authors, like Cócola Gant (2015) or Gotham (2005) argue that the affluent middle class tourist can set in motion the same processes, resulting in feelings of displacement and exclusion for the resident. Notwithstanding that in case of the historic centre of Amsterdam, the tourists and touristic amenities are not necessarily middle class orientated, the literature of gentrification offers tools that can help understand how tourism and the change of the shopping landscape can affect sense of belonging. In particular, the concept of 'displacement pressure' (Marcuse 1985) is helpful, as this concept describes the pressures that residents may experience due to changes in the neighbourhood, like the loss of neighbourhood facilities, stores or social networks. Cócola Gant (2015: 2) refers to it as 'a mechanism of exclusion that constrains the quality of life of residents and that, in the long term, can be the cause for their out migration from their place.' (Cócola Gant 2015: 2). Thus, even though tourism might not directly displace residents, tourism may lead to *feelings* of displacement and exclusion.

Cócola Gant (2015) distinguished several displacement pressures, of which one is the lack of consumption facilities for residents. This refers to the trend in which services and stores for residents are in decline, and replaced by tourist-orientated facilities. The disappearance of these stores pressure residents as less stores are available that correspond to their needs, such as daily groceries. Another displacement pressure is cultural and relates to social exclusion. 'Culture as a displacement pressure means the expansion of a consumer practice that creates a safe zone of shared aesthetic codes which becomes a means of excluding others from their space.' (ibid.:.10). To this list Cócola Gant (2015) appended two more pressures, acoustic pollution and lack of physical space. These different displacement pressures are used in this research in analysing how tourism can affect the sense of home of residents.

These different pressures or sets of indirect displacement may lead to a loss of place which can stimulate the decision of moving out of a neighbourhood (Davidson & Lees 2010). Residential mobility, or withdrawal strategies (Ap & Crompton 1993), are one way how residents may cope with the presence of tourism in their neighbourhood. However, in addition to residential mobility, residents adopt other coping mechanisms. Few researchers have looked into how residents cope with tourism, which is the reason why Deery, Jago & Fredline (2012) argue that future research should focus on this. Even though some quantitative researchers, like Carmichael (1999) have distinguished different strategies used by residents, qualitative explorations are sparse. One of the qualitative studies is done by Ap & Crompton (1993), they argue that resident's perceptions of tourism should be related to the way they cope with it. The behavioural strategies can give insights to what extent the sense of belonging is negatively influenced. They developed four strategies of residents' response to tourism: embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal. This continuum starts at positive and ends at negative experiences. *Embracement* implies that residents have a positive stance towards tourists. *Tolerance* is described as an ambivalent view towards tourism. Some parts of tourism are appreciated, while others are disliked. The third strategy is *adjustment,* which means that residents change their activities in order to escape the crowds or inconveniences. The last strategy, which is the most negative, is *withdrawal*. Residents may move out of the neighbourhood temporarily or permanently.

However, this classification does not include forms of resistance. This is remarkable as the process of commodification can lead to local struggles when the use value of a place or good is undermined by the economic value (Molotch 1976). A perceived loss of place by residents can

have strong implications for collective identity, but also sense of safety or well-being (Gieryn 2000). Meethan (1997) argues that the change of the function urban space influences people's daily routines and work, which could negatively affect the locally based identity. Additionally, he argues that this change may lead to social exclusion as this urban change is directed to tourists' interests, instead of residents. However, instead of moving out of a neighbourhood, a possible threat to strong place attachments may encourage community members to engage in place-protective action (Devine-Wright 2009, Easthope 2004). The disruption of place attachments can empower a sense of community because it can stimulate the participation of residents to protect their place (Manzo & Perkins 2006). Resistance may occur against the commodification of space: "They sometimes face resistance from community organizers more concerned about the use-value of place, who oppose growth because of its detrimental consequences for neighbourhood quality of life or environmental health." (Gieryn 2000: 470). A place can then become the object of collective action.

This section elaborated on the link between tourism and commodification. On the one hand, it means the commodification of urban space that becomes more focused on amenities and consumption facilities for tourists. On the other hand, it relates to the commodification of local practices that are used for entertainment purposes for tourists. Resulting out of this process of commodification is the loss of authenticity. In this research it is studied what effect these processes have on feelings of home of residents, which is defined in the previous section. Gentrification literature may help in explaining the effect of tourism and commodification. Thus tourism can evoke indirect displacement pressures that may lead to actual displacement. However, a loss of place attachment can also lead to place protective action.

III   METHODS

3.1.   Research goal and questions

In the previous section, we have established, based on the discussed literature, what processes of commodification are linked to tourism and what consequences for residents it can evoke, such as displacement pressures and coping mechanism. These may be direct or indirect consequences of the touristification of a neighbourhood. This research builds on this connection but intents to focus on the qualitative properties of this connection. Consequently, the aim of this research is to discover how exactly feelings of home of established residents are affected by the growing touristification of their neighbourhood. The main question is: *How does the growth in tourism impact the feeling of home of established residents who live in a downtown neighbourhood?*

This research is conducted based on an emotionalist standpoint. Instead of collecting facts, the aim is to get an 'authentic account of subjective experience' (Silverman 2011: 174). Particular attention is given to lived experience. The related research method is qualitative and uses open ended and flexible questions, or topics, to collect data. This method provides insight in understandings, experiences and opinions of interviewees, something that questionnaires or surveys are less able to give (Silverman 2011).

In order to give an answer to the above-mentioned question, several sub questions were developed. When analysing how the sense of home is affected or changed by tourism, it is necessary to understand whether residents feel at home in the neighbourhood and what different elements shaped this feeling. Therefore, the first sub question aims to answer how residents feel at home: *How do the established residents feel at home in a touristic neighbourhood?* To understand how residents feel at home, a topic list is made that guided the interviews. These topics are based on the theoretical notions as discussed above: haven, haven, familiarity and home as practice. Questions were asked about whether one knows their neighbours, is active in the community and whether someone experiences a sense of community. Additionally, it was asked if the respondent could describe the neighbourhood and how it changed over time, giving insight in the physical attachment and shared histories. Additionally, it was asked where residents do their groceries, in order to get insights in local routines. Because feelings of home

become more clear when in danger (Duyvendak 2011), it was asked if there are situations in which the respondent does not feel at home.

The second sub question relates to the two discussed forms of commodification: the commodification of urban culture and of urban space: *How does the proliferation of tourism-orientated amenities in a downtown neighbourhood impact the residents' sense of home and belonging?* Both the touristic consumption facilities, as the touristic attractions are seen as part of tourism-oriented amenities. Some topics discussed related to tourism in general, thus their opinions about the presence of tourists in the neighbourhood and whether they experienced a growth in tourism. Commodification of urban space is operationalised as the commercial change, thus the increase of touristic shops. In the interviews, particular attention was given to the Damstraat as in this street there has been a rise of tourist shops. More specifically, it was asked whether residents have noticed the change in the commercial landscape, and if yes, how they view this change. Their opinions about these new shops, like the ice-cream, waffle or cheese shops have been questioned. As noted, this commodification of urban culture can be related to spectacle or entertainment. Therefore, a topic discussed in the interviews concerned the entertainment use of the neighbourhood by tourists.

The last sub question is focused on coping mechanism: *How do the residents cope with the presence and growth of tourism in their neighbourhood?* It is aimed to reveal behavioural patterns. Therefore, attention was paid to the different coping mechanisms as defined by Ap & Crompton (1993). For example, it was asked if residents avoid certain places or if they have changed routines or ways of living, or if they tried to resist it.

3.2. Data collection

The data of this research is collected by conducting in-depth interviews with established residents that live in proximity of the cluster of the Damstraat. Residents that have lived in the neighbourhood for longer than fifteen years are defined as established. The preference for established residents is made because place attachments can derive from biographical experiences. It is argued that the longer one lives in an area, the more one may feel attached to it (Gieryn 2000). Additionally, long-term residents have seen the change of the neighbourhood over time.

In total, nineteen interviews with twenty-two respondents have been held in the period from mid-October to mid-December 2016, lasting between forty-five and ninety minutes. Most of them took place at the respondent's home, but three interviews took place in a restaurant. The interviews were semi – structured and guided by a topic list, as mentioned above. Next to the interviews, four meetings and lectures have been attended relating to the topic in order to become familiarized with background information and in order to attain a broad collection of knowledge about tourism and the experience of tourism in Amsterdam.

The collection of respondents is obtained through convenience sampling. A critical note on the sampling strategy is that convenience sampling might not lead to a representative sample of the research population. Therefore, different strategies were applied. A request for respondents has been posted on the Facebook page of the Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood ('I Love Nieuwmarktbuurt') to which two residents responded. Through the personal network of the author, contact could be made with three residents. Additionally, at the monthly neighbourhood meeting in the community centre, the Boomspijker, several residents were invited to participate. Through another community centre, Wijkcentrum d'Oude Stad, a request could be send by email to all the ninety attendants of a neighbourhood meeting about tourism that had taken place in September. Of the received responses a selection was made while paying attention to age, gender, neighbourhood and duration of living in the neighbourhood in order to get a representative sample. Through these different strategies most of the respondents were collected, the remaining number were collected by using snowball sampling.

Of the participants, nine are women and thirteen are men. Approximately half of the respondents are retired. This is a relatively high number when comparing it to the average of the neighbourhood, which is 13.5 percent (OIS Amsterdam 2016: 24). This could be explained by the way of sampling: at the neighbourhood meeting merely elderly people were present. All respondents had a Dutch nationality, except for one woman who originally comes from Italy. This is somewhat in line with the statistics about racial diversity in Stadsdeel Centrum, as only 14.9 percent of the residents is categorized as non-western ('allochtoon') (OIS Amsterdam 2016). Most participants have lived in the neighbourhood for forty years, excluding two respondents, who had only lived there for twelve and eight years. Unfortunately, this was only discovered during the interview. As the cluster of the Damstraat crosses two neighbourhoods, attention is paid during the collection of the respondents to the division of the respondents over the neighbourhood. This is divided equally between the neighbourhoods Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Nieuwmarktbuurt.

Of the twenty-two participants, three did not live in the neighbourhood, but instead were active in it professionally. These include a conversation with the street manager of the Damstraat, the community centre the Boomspijker and a tour guide. Some respondents had a double role, thus as a resident and as a spokesperson for an institution or organization. The Wijkcentrum d'Oude Stad, and two neighbourhood organizations, Pretpark Amsterdam (Theme park Amsterdam) and Reddewinkel (Save the shop), are part of this category. These interviews were held in order to obtain practical knowledge about tourism in the neighbourhood, but also in order to collect information about what actions are being taken against the touristification of the neighbourhood.

All interviews were held in Dutch, and recorded and transcribed. In the software programme Atlas.ti the transcripts were analysed and coded by using in vivo coding. Instead of interpreting the text, in vivo coding uses the actual text as a code. Afterwards, these codes where grouped in categories. The quotes in the results section have been translated to English by the author. The original transcripts and recordings can be requested at the author. All names have been anonymized to safeguard the privacy of the respondents.

In order to assess the credibility of this research, the four criteria of Lecompte and Goetz (1982), as described in Bryman (2009: 376) are discussed. The first criterion is external reliability, which refers to the replicability of a study. This is a hard criterion for qualitative research, as one cannot 'freeze' a social setting (Bryman 2009: 376). In order to be transparent (Silverman 2011), this research attempts to be precise about the different steps taken in this research. Therefore, a detailed description has been given concerning the collection and characteristics of the respondents. The second criterion is internal reliability or inter-observer consistency (Bryman 2009: 376). Seen as this research has not been conducted by more than one observer this criterion can be neglected.

The third criterion is internal validity, which implies that the theoretical notions and the observations made by the researcher are a 'good match' (Bryman 2008: 378). By using a topic list based on the theoretical notions, it is aimed to ensure this internal validity. The fourth criterion is external validity, or generalizability. A critique on qualitative research is that it is hard to generalize due to the small samples. However, whereas quantitative studies often aim to generalize facts, qualitative studies often focus on generalizing processes (Silverman 2011). This study does not aim to give statements about how *all* residents experience living in a touristifying neighbourhood. However, it shows how feelings of home can be affected by

tourism. Even though this research has a relatively small number of interviews – nineteen - it can still give insight in the way residents experience living in a touristic neighbourhood and how this is related to feelings of home.

IV   CASE DESCRIPTION

This research takes the cluster of the Damstraat, which includes the successive streets Damstraat, Oude Doelenstraat, Oude Hoogstraat and Nieuwe Hoogstraat, as a central focus. The report of Gemeente Amsterdam (2016) demonstrates a rise in tourist-orientated shops in these streets: three ice-cream and waffle salons, a (tourist) cheese store and a tour & tickets shop opened in the street (Gemeente Amsterdam 2016). Therefore, the process of further touristification is notable in these streets and it provides a good case to study how this change affects feelings of home. The cluster of the Damstraat, indicated by the red line in image 1, is located in the old historical centre of Amsterdam. The streets cross the neighbourhood Burgwallen Oude Zijde. It starts at the Dam and ends near the Nieuwmarkt. The last street, the Nieuwe Hoogstraat, is situated in the Nieuwmarktbuurt. The research area is located in the grey contour in image 1.

Image 1: Map of the research area: the neighbourhoods surrounding the cluster of the Damstraat (indicated by the red line)

The research area which includes both the Burgwallen Oude Zijde and the Nieuwmarktbuurt, was previously considered to be a run-down area. Houses were dilapidated, junkies lived on the streets and some areas were even labelled as 'no-go areas' dominated by the criminal organization Hells Angels. However, the neighbourhood has been upgraded as many houses are renovated. Additionally, Project 1012, initiated by the municipality in 2007, has taken the neighbourhood Burgwallen Oude Zijde out of criminal hands. In both neighbourhoods approximately half of the residents have a Dutch background or is autochthonous. The other half consists of residents that originally have a non-Dutch, but western background or non-western background. The latter number lays around 15 percent (OIS Amsterdam 2016: 28). Both neighbourhoods have relatively high percentages of low incomes in comparison with the average of Amsterdam of 29.6 percent. At the Burgwallen Oude Zijde this number is 37.5 percent and in the Nieuwmarktbuurt it is 31.5 percent (OIS Amsterdam 2016: 34-35).

The area of the zip code 1012, in which Burgwallen Oude Zijde is situated, is the most visited touristic area of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam 2016). Fainstein (2007) has developed three different categories of urban engagement with tourism: the touristic-historic city, the resort city and the converted city. Amsterdam fits into the category of tourist-historic. A key characteristic is that the tourist space is not separated from the residential area, but the tourist and residents are sharing the urban space. The northern part of the Burgwallen Oude Zijde, from the Damstraat to the Central Station, in which the Red Light District is located, is a popular tourist destination. This area, also referred to as the Wallen, offers many restaurants, pubs, coffee shops, sex museums or souvenir shops that provide to the rising number of tourists that come to visit. Twenty years ago, Nijman (1999) wrote of how Amsterdam, in his eyes, was turning into a theme park. He argued that the tourist industry was mostly based on one aspect of the urban culture and identity of Amsterdam: tolerance. All different forms of commodified tolerance were facilitated: the sex museum, the Hash museum, sex shops, sex shows or coffee shops. The commodification of the liberal position of Amsterdam towards sex and drugs, attracted mass tourism to the city.

While Nijman (1999) mentioned mass tourism, the numbers of tourists has increased tremendously since Nijman published his paper. Whereas in the year 2000, there were approximately four million hotel guests (O+S Amsterdam 2001), in 2016 this number has almost doubled to seven million (OIS Amsterdam 2016). Additionally, Airbnb is estimated to currently rent out approximately 14000 houses (OIS Amsterdam 2016), whereas in 2000 this website did not exist yet. Similarly, the tourist industry has grown (OIS Amsterdam 2016).

They distinguish different categories that are part of the tourist industry: hotels, restaurants, passenger transport, culture and recreation, and other. The amount of jobs in these categories has increased from 40000 in the year 2000, to over 60000 jobs in 2015.

However, the definition of tourist industry seems to be problematic as these different categories are not exclusively orientated to tourists. Locals also go to restaurants and undertake cultural activities. The Rekenkamer Amsterdam (2016) has made an illustration (see image 2) that shows some of the recent developments in the tourist industry, focussing on particular aspects, such as bike rental locations, ice-cream shops, cheese shops etc.
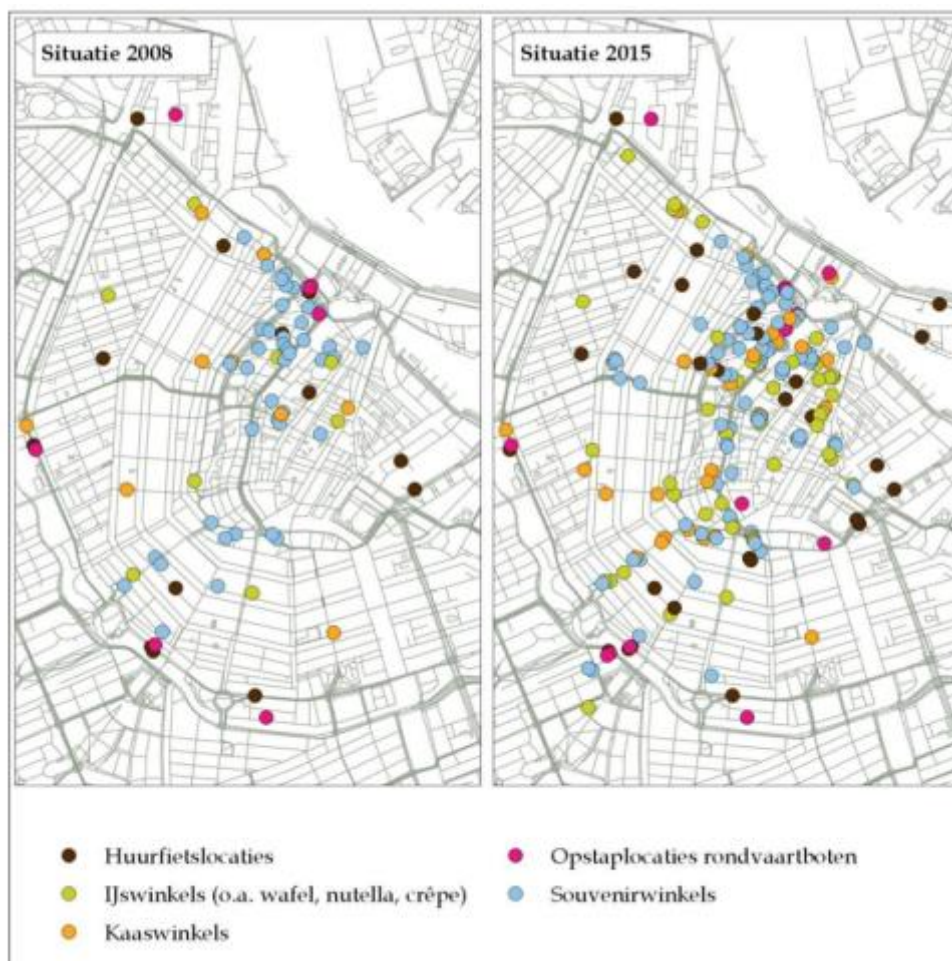

Image 2: map of several parts of the touristic industry in the city centre of Amsterdam in 2008 and 2015 (Rekenkamer Amsterdam 2016).

The number of tourist-orientated shops has increased from 84 to 155 (Rekenkamer Amsterdam 2016). In addition to the rise in touristic companies, a decline has been noticed of shops focused on residents. While in 2006 there were 104 shops in the inner city focused on residents, in 2016 only 74 remained. This means that 68 percent of all the shops for daily needs now has a touristic

utility (Rekenkamer Amsterdam 2016). The reason behind the recent rise of ice-cream and waffle stores is a change in legislation that was made in order to save an ice-cream fabric in the neighbourhood Jordaan. Out of this results that shops are able to sell food without needing a license for the food service industry, a trend that is leading to a new monoculture (Gemeente Amsterdam 2014). Therefore, these shops cannot be classified as restaurants as they are not allowed to prepare food. Zooming in on the Damstraat, this trend of a new monoculture of tourist shops has been identified and thus it provides for an interesting case study.

V   AMSTERDAM: A TOURIST PLAYGROUND

In order to answer the question how tourism affects the feeling of home of established residents, each sub question is discussed separately. To explain how feelings of home and belonging are affected by tourism, it is first necessary to know whether residents feel at home and how. This is discussed in the first section. Subsequently, residents' experiences in relation to the growth of tourism are addressed, focussing on the entertainment industry, as well as the changing shopping landscape. The final section distinguishes different coping mechanisms that residents have employed. In this review of these empirical findings references are made to theoretical concepts, however, a more thorough elaboration is given afterwards in the discussion.

5.1.   Feeling at home in the neighbourhood

Overall, the respondents emphasize that they feel at home. One aspect that indicates the rootedness of the residents is noticeable in their manner of talking about the neighbourhood and places in the neighbourhood. The use of possessive determiners, such as 'mine', show a sense of ownership of the neighbourhood, but it also reflects how a place is linked to someone's identity. For example, one of the respondents, Joost, refers to the Nieuwmarkt as 'his living room'; an emotional attachment is linked to the square and a sense of ownership over it. Similarly, Isabel describes how the neighbourhood, in the 40 years that she has lived there, has become 'her' neighbourhood:

> "And the neighbourhood has really become *my* neighbourhood. So, this is just my neighbourhood." (Isabel, 67 years old)

As the residents are rooted due to the many years that they have lived in the neighbourhood, this feeling of home is reflected by their knowledge about the physical development of the area. Many established residents have seen the neighbourhood change from a disadvantaged slum where junkies lived on the streets and houses were dilapidated, towards an expensive and popular neighbourhood. Anneke has lived in the neighbourhood for 40 years, she explains:

> "It started as a big mess over here, junks and dealers everywhere, and houses in decay, the metro riots. And in that time it still was a no-go area, also dangerous with drugs, dealers and prostitutes here in the alley (…) After that, is has been a nice neighbourhood for quite some time. But in the last several years, it has changed due to the growing tourism here, that is why we have neighbourhood meetings about it." (Anneke, 73 years old)

Almost all of the attendants of neighbourhood meetings, which she mentions, are elderly residents. For this group social bonds seem to play an important role in the feeling of home. Some of the elderly residents emphasize that due to their retirement they found time to spend in the community, initiating or deepening social contacts in the neighbourhood. Isabel, for example, explains how she discovered a whole new side of the neighbourhood:

> "Yes, I am busy with neighbourhood activities. I have joined the Stadsdorp Nieuwmarkt, which is such a nice club (…) The people are starting from 50 years old. Before I did not have the time! It gave me many new connections. People that I never had any contact with, but that I did know by face. I see them now at the Stadsdorp." (Isabel, 67 years old)

However, others who are not active in the community, also underline their sense of belonging in the neighbourhood. They describe the neighbourhood as rather anonymous. Joop, for example, only knows his direct neighbours who live in the same building or directly next to them. Even though he recognises faces of neighbours on the street, indicating familiarity, he does not know their name. Nonetheless, this anonymity does not bother him:

> "Well, it seems to be part of the city. I do not mind it [anonymity] no. No, I just think that it is a pleasant neighbourhood, a lively neighbourhood." (Joop, 67 years old)

He emphasises that the vivacity of the neighbourhood is the main reason why he feels at home in the neighbourhood. This positive stance towards living in a lively surrounding is shared by other respondents. For instance, Sara misses the livelihood when she spends her days in Amsterdam North in the summer:

"[I miss] the feeling of cosiness. We live on the 6th floor at the Nieuwmarkt and outside there is always something to do. You can hear the buzz (…) When you are at home, then you never feel alone. You are in the middle of the city. You just have to step outside, you quickly see tourists, but you also see neighbours, the Albert Heijn. You know the people over there a little bit. And yes, the city gives the feeling of familiarity, conviviality and sociability." (Sara, approx. 50 years old)

The cosiness, the people, and familiarity create these positive associations with her neighbourhood. However, even though many narratives about feeling at home often began with a confirmative answer, they are quickly followed by emphasising negative developments of neighbourhood change. In the quote above, Anneke mentioned how tourism is changing the neighbourhood. Johannes, an active resident in the community, mentions that he feels at home, but he immediately discusses the negative development:

"Well, I know everything very well over here, so I feel at home. But, immediately I have to say that I do feel like, well, that things are being taken over [by tourists]." (Johannes, 65 years old)

This change in feeling at home is also experience by Isabel, who has moved three years ago from a rather quiet street in the Nieuwmarktbuurt to a busier part of the neighbourhood, the Sint Antoniebreestraat. She describes the struggle she is sometimes having, because on the one hand she is very attached to her neighbourhood where she has been living the largest part of her live, but on the other hand, she sometimes experiences discontent about the current touristic situation:

"The last several years I have asked myself, was it the right decision to move here? Should I not have waited and then moved to another house, out of the neighbourhood. For the first time in 34 years. Just because of this, the crowdedness." (Isabel, 67 years old)

A similar argument is made by Joost:

"I do feel at home, but if I had to choose again… I sometimes question myself whether I would go and live in the city centre, yes or no. I don't think I would go and live here again, it is too crowded. During the day you can hardly walk on the streets, it is full with people, so much noise. No, that is not fun anymore." (Joost, approx. 75 years old)

Interestingly, even though it was argued that residents appreciate the livelihood and vivacity in the neighbourhood, this vivacity has started to undermine the feeling of home consequently. Thus, residents feel at home in the neighbourhood, however, this feeling of home is under pressure. In the next section, it is discussed why these mixed feelings have come into existence.

5.2. Tourist industry

In this section it is discussed what developments have created doubts about feelings of home. These developments are linked to commodification of local customs and the entertainment industry. It will be discussed why the proliferation of tourist attractions stimulate this mixed feeling of home. Additionally, attention is paid to the effect that crowdedness, resulted out of mass tourism, has on sense of belonging. Afterwards, the influence of commercial change and domination of touristic shops is shown. It is argued that all aspects, thus the crowdedness, the tourist attractions and the commercial change, create the feeling that the neighbourhood is turning into a playground for tourists, neglecting the residential function of it.

5.2.1. The entertainment industry

When discussing tourism, the central topic of most of the conversations was about the *nuisance* experienced by drunk, under influence of marihuana and partying tourists. The way that tourists act made many residents feel like their neighbourhood was turning into playground: a place where everything is possible, where entertainment has the highest priority and where respect for residents is hard to find. Maria, a resident that has lived in the neighbourhood for her whole life, explains:

> "Before, tourists would bother you because they thought that every woman was a prostitute of which they could squeeze their behind and make stupid comments to. That was annoying and stupid. Most tourists don't do that anymore. But now, they have no respect as in: people live here. It is just a big tourist party, a large amusement park. And there are no limits, you can scream, you can throw everything on the ground. Your cans, your drinks, your cigarette butts, you can drop everything. You can sit everywhere. Nothing is private, plant trays can all be molested." (Maria, 52 years old)

The perceived *lack of respect* is what bothers many residents. They emphasised that they do not detest the tourists themselves, instead it is their *behaviour* that causes frustration. A distinction is often made between two groups: the good one, the one that comes to see the city,

goes to a museum and spends money, and the bad one, the low budget tourist, that comes to drink, smoke marihuana and party, a group often linked to British tourists.

> "And this type of tourists - because in general I do not have anything against tourists, it is a certain type of tourists - they come here with the idea that you can do anything over here that is not allowed at home. So, we have had enough, these people they pee and poo in the plants. The plants that you see here in our alley, you would not know how often we have planted extra, because they pull everything out!" (Sofia, approx. 45 years old)

This performance of the tourist can play out in different ways other than puking, screaming and partying. Many of them manoeuvre themselves through the city in large groups in a tour of some kind, walking, cycling, or on Segway. The tourist industry has responded well to the growing demand of tourists and they offer a 'real' - but commodified - Dutch experience. One example is the many bicycle rental shops in the city centre. While cycling is the foremost mode of transportation for local residents, tourists rent bicycles to get a local and fun experience. This is a stark contrast in purposes which leads to a difference in mind-set and practice of each party. Jan is a resident that has lived in the neighbourhood for 50 years and who is very active in the community. He explains:

> "I notice that the public space is becoming the ground of the tourist that comes for a form of entertainment experience of the neighbourhood. Renting bicycles and such in Amsterdam. Before it was also crowded, but it is different now. Bicycles are now being rented as an attraction and they are not alone. They are in a group of ten or fifteen. But an Amsterdammer who rings when he wants to pass is annoyed. And then there is a Segway tour coming by. So, the city changes a bit in a sort of playground for tourists." (Jan, approx. 65 years old)

He emphasises that the public space is becoming more in function of entertainment, a playground, which is partly created by the large groups in which they act. This has created a feeling that the public space of what many long term residents experience as *their* neighbourhood, is taken over by tourists and the tourist industry.

These forms of entertainment are bothering residents and differences are observed between the current situation and twenty years ago. Whereas twenty years ago, walking around the Red Light District was rather embarrassing and shameful, nowadays, families with children and elderly people walk around to see the famous Red Light district:

"When I was a child, the people that came here mostly were dirty old man that came here gasping and looking for prostitutes, I exaggerate a bit. And sometimes tourists came and watch secretly, preferably out of their car. Nowadays, people come here to celebrate their bachelor parties. There is no shame anymore. People even take pictures with their grandma in front of a porn shop." (Maria, 52 years old)

This behaviour can be explained by what Urry (2002) describes as the 'tourist gaze'. Nowadays, when people visit churches, they no longer come for religious purposes. Instead, they come to see the statues, architecture or frescos. The initial function of churches, but also government buildings or monuments loses importance, as tourists look at them with their 'tourist gaze'. 'They become frozen; they become postcard images themselves' (Fainstein 2009: 9). This is happening in the Red Light District as well. The tourist gaze changes the function of the prostitutes into a tourist attraction and into a commodity. Something that people may watch thoroughly without shame and make pictures of:

"People walk here like they are in a Zoo, and they are looking like they see an animal behind bars. They look at the women at exactly the same way. Watching monkeys. Of course, it is a job that I would not wish for anyone to do, but if you are stared at like this, then I think: I don't want that for nobody." (Floris, approx. 60 years old)

The way tourists walk around at the Red Light District is disapproved by Floris and Maria, who ethically oppose this behaviour. They disaffiliate with the tourist because of this behaviour. As mentioned, the crowdedness in the city augments their discontent. Johannes, who is very active in the community, explains:

If you see how many groups of tourists are guided here. (…) And often they are groups of 40, 50 people. I saw a group today! I estimate around 40 people. (Johannes, approx. 65 years old)

Stemming from this crowdedness, some residents feel that the social cohesion in the neighbourhood decreases:

"The cohesion in the neighbourhood has become less. When you do not see acquaintances on the street, well, then you do not have any connection with the people that you meet in the street. Before, of course, you did meet a lot more acquaintances on the street. It was less crowded. The acquaintances, the people that you knew, yeah, obviously, you could see them coming from quite a distance" (Floris approx. 60 years old)

Thus, the crowdedness can undermine public familiarity as residents are less able to see and recognize neighbours. Familiar faces are hard to find, which creates an anonymous sphere. The same is also addressed to by Sara:

"It is full of tourists, and, I do not have anything against tourists, in general they are nice people. But because it is so crowded, you cannot see your neighbour, and go like 'o neighbour, how is your dog' or 'shall I help you'. And this makes it an anonymous neighbourhood" (Sara, 50 years old)

Another way how feelings of home are undermined can be shown by relating it to placemaking practices, thus the way residents create a sense of home through 'doing' the neighbourhood. A common example is that is hard to drive, cycle and sometimes even walk to your house. Similarly, Joost, explains how, during some times of the day, he cannot walk through the alley on his way to the supermarket, because it is blocked by visitors.

"Over there, that alley to the Nieuwmarkt. I like to go through it when I am doing groceries. There are days that I am unable to pass through the alley. It is completely full, and there is no movement in it. Just like the Kalverstraat was shut the other day, it was locked down, to dangerous. Well, that's just crazy, really too crazy. And it continuous until deep in the night." (Joost, approx. 75 years old)

His local routine, walking through the alley, is disturbed. Another example is that on Saturday morning Joost always has a drink with friends in their local restaurant. However, lately there is no more room for them because it is filled with tourists. Similarly, Isabel describes that she no longer sees familiar faces in her local café. She and her neighbours visit the local pubs less as tourism has no longer been limited to the holidays, but it has become an all year phenomenon:

"It's particularly in the weekend that I think: where is my terrace? That I can't sit on my terrace because it's full with tourists. So I barely go to the Nieuwmarkt. And then, Loosje, that is a pub where all of us used to sit to drink coffee with the neighbours. But that's gone, we are not sitting there anymore. Before, it [tourism] was only in the summer, but now it actually is continuously the whole year" (Isabel, 67 years old)

As these personal statements describe, the combination of the large amounts of tourists and entertaining uses of the public space thus creates the feeling that the city is turning into a theme park. The entertainment industry in its various forms, like organised tours, pub crawls or bicycle rentals, creates tensions as resident's experience nuisance from it and they cannot identify with the behaviour some of these tourists.

5.2.2. Commercial change

Another part of the tourist industry exists of the many tourist shops and restaurants. In this section it is discussed how the change in the shopping landscape affects notions of home and belonging of long term residents. This trend consists of the decrease of traditional shops, as well as the rise in touristic shops, like 'to-go' shops that sell food like waffles, cheese and ice-cream.

In particular, in the cluster of the Damstraat, the presence of these shops is tangible, as its sweet smell is hard to miss when crossing through the streets. When discussing this change with the residents, *nostalgic feelings* were often expressed regarding the local and traditional shops. Over time, residents have seen shops like the local butcher, bakery and cheese shop disappear:

"We have had our milkman, our fishmonger, cheese store, washing salon, we were surrounded by these places. On the corner there was a tobacco shop, and everybody knew each other. You knew as a customer the owners of the store. Anyhow, there was a neighbourhood economy, and this neighbourhood economy has disappeared (…) And now all those places are replaced by shops that are not in service for residents in the neighbourhood, but of visitors" (Jan, approx. 50 years old)

This transition from traditional or local shops to tourist orientated shops, or commodification, causes a feeling that the neighbourhood is taken over by the tourist industry. Jan emphasises the function that these neighbourhood shops had, other than selling goods, namely its social function in the neighbourhood. He mentions that 'everybody knew each other' which indicates

how a neighbourhood economy can also create a feeling of community and public familiarity. These shops fulfilled a symbolic function as a meeting point in which residents meet and are able to have small talk. This positive association with the familiarity that is linked to the traditional stores is shared by Maria. She argues that a balance is importance in the community:

"If you want a balanced community, then you need a certain structure in the area. You need a school, a retirement home, and also neighbourhood shops. And not just the large Albert Heijn. But we need local merchants or grocers. Places where you can come together anonymously, and where you know what to expect, who there will be behind the cash register. That gives a bit of security and peace to a neighbourhood." (Maria, 52 years old)

She argues that a balanced community thus creates a sense of security. The description she gives corresponds with elements of home: haven and familiarity. Having local grocers in the neighbourhood establish these feelings of home. However, these new tourist shops do not create the same positive associations:

"So you are bringing the wrong group in. These people have nothing with the neighbourhood, it is not the actual baker. It is somebody who is import, does not have any emotional connection with the neighbourhood, nor with the residents. And, of course, he wants to earn money. With waffles you are not going to earn money from residents, only from tourists." (Maria, 52 years old)

These new shops do not have this emotional connection with the neighbourhood. A similar example is given by Anneke about the closure of a popular traditional cheese store in the Damstraat, which has been replaced by a touristic cheese shop.

"For a long time there was a good cheese shop in the Damstraat. Also gone. The whole Damstraat now exists of food and drink places, and tourist shops. Because 'Amsterdam Cheese' is not a normal cheese store. It is just tourist cheese, which has nothing to do with Amsterdam" (Anneke, 73 years old)

For Anneke, there is nothing local about this cheese. The 'Amsterdam Cheese' is a clear example of how a local or Dutch product is commodified, while its authenticity is undermined. Moreover, a negative trend has been noticed which makes it hard for traditional stores to survive:

"When there is a mixed public, shops can function better, but now it exists merely out of tourist shops. Other shops disappear because a tourist does not buy clothes or whatever. So you see all the nice stores leave. They cannot afford it anymore, the rents go up, and the owners of those buildings see those guys coming who think 'if I get this building empty, then I can collect the profit'. They start an ice salon or something like that. But those people are thus confronted with enormous rent increase" (Joost, approx. 75 years old)

The interdependence between the shops and its customers is underlined by Joost, and it is argued that it has become under pressure. Tourists are said not to buy the products that traditional shops sell. Another noticeable thing is that some residents doubt the trustworthiness of these new shops. They find it hard to believe that a waffle or ice shop is able to survive while their bakery was not. In particular, as the streets cater an abundance of the same type of shops. This suspicion is expressed by Maria:

"All these replacing shops – you can ask yourself, how are they able, with selling waffles, to make it until the end of the month and pay the rent, while the baker that has been here on the corner for 50 years, on the same location, - and it was a well know baker – but he did not make it. Well, come on. That is not possible." (Maria, 52 years old)

The success of these new shops is sometimes linked to criminal activities by residents where the shops function as cover up to launder money. However, proof of this accusation has not been given. Whether or not these touristic shops are criminal, merely a suspicion against its legitimacy exists.

In this section it has been shown how residents have noticed a trend in which the traditional stores are being substituted by touristic shops. They noticed a downward spiral in which it becomes harder for shop owners of these traditional shops to survive as the rents keeps going up. For this reason, suspicion exists towards these new touristic shops as some residents wonder why these new shops do survive. The arrival of these new shops is viewed negatively as they do not fulfil the social function that the original shops had. Just like the growth of the presence of the entertainment industry in the neighbourhood, the increase in touristic shops leads to the feeling that the neighbourhood is taken over by tourism.

5.3. Coping mechanisms

This section addresses how residents cope with tourism in their neighbourhood. Several mechanisms are distinguished and related to the coping strategies of Ap & Crompton (1993). Not all mechanisms are conscious, nor are they all derived out of negative associations with tourism.

The first mechanism it (considering) *moving out* of the neighbourhood. It fits in the category 'withdrawal' of Ap & Crompton (1993). Most residents feel very attached to the neighbourhood as they are rooted, and preferably they would like to stay. Moving out of the neighbourhood is therefore seen as a last resort and the consideration of it is a clear indicator for when someone feels not at home anymore. Several respondents mentioned that the thought of moving out of the neighbourhood has occurred their minds. As mentioned earlier, Isabel has considered this due to the crowdedness. Correspondingly, Joost argued that if he could choose, he would not decide to live in this place again due to crowdedness and the loudness. Similarly, Maria underlines that she would definitely move out of the neighbourhood if she was not part of her religious community.

> "If I would not live in this community, then I would never want to live here! Really, not even when they offer me gold. I do want do live in Amsterdam, but not at this location. No, you know, if you cannot go out of your house, day in and day out. Or if you cannot walk in a straight line, because people constantly are in your way. Or in the morning, that you have to put you plant back into the plant tray, or you need to buy new plants. Cleaning the sidewalk, because people have puked or pied on it. Picking up the cigarette butts, the cups. Every day all over again. At one point, well, you think it" (Maria, 52 years old)

The nuisance caused by drunk, loud tourists and the crowdedness are the main reason why residents consider moving out.

The second strategy, which is also part of the category 'withdrawal' of Ap & Crompton (1993) is *moving out temporarily*. Just like avoiding certain spaces on certain moment, some residents avoid the city during peak moments to minimize experiencing nuisance. Festivals like the Gay Parade, Kingsday or Aprilfeesten are for some the perfect moment to plan a small holiday or trip.

"We have skipped the Gay Pride often. It is like, when we need to plan something, then we do it on a date like that. You know it, so you can take precautions." (Lodewijk, 73 years old)

Similarly, Joost moves out the city during Queensday, however, this is not something of which he is annoyed:

"Definitely with Queensday, then I want to be gone. Also because of the noise pollution, because then the boats are laying the in canal over here. And until about 11 o'clock they make so much noise that the windows are shaking. The city is so crowded. And I have experienced it for thirty years, Queensday, so I don't have to anymore.

When asking if he minds leaving during these festivals, he answered:

"No, not at all, it is a fun trip. It is part of living in a large city. You should not complain about that." (Joost, approx. 75 years old)

This quote shows how Joost does not always mind the precautions that he has to take, like moving out temporally. Moreover, he thinks that the tolerant attitude is something that residents of the inner city should have. To move out of the city on some moments during the year, which one knows in advance, is not a problem. For Joost and Lodewijk, moving out temporally does not seem to affect their sense of home. As they know beforehand when to plan a trip out of the neighbourhood, they show a rather tolerant attitude. However, when the festivities do no longer happen occasionally, but on a regular basis this tolerance slims. Jan, for example, escapes out of the city every weekend to his little house in the woods.

"We have a house now somewhere on the Veluwe, where we sleep in the weekend. Because in the weekend it is the most crowded." (Jan, 60 years old)

Avoidance strategies is the third category, corresponding with 'adjustment' strategies (Ap & Crompton 1993). To cope with the extreme crowdedness many of the residents actively avoid certain spaces on certain moments of the week and day. The Damstraat, for example, is a street that residents often avoid due to the crowdedness. Also, the small alleys are avoided as they can be completely full with tourists. This strategy, avoiding places, is enacted by Joop who developed a habit to do the groceries in the morning or on Saturday, to avoid the crowd:

"When I am doing my groceries on the Nieuwmarkt, most of the time I go in the morning and not in the afternoon (…) then it is quiet. Particularly on Saturday, when you do most of your groceries, then it is a lot quieter, in the morning. So when you go before 10 or 11 o'clock, then it is just cosy." (Joop, approx. 65 years old)

In the morning the neighbourhood is cosy again, just like he knows it. By avoiding certain crowds by choosing the most preferable moments, he can experience his neighbourhood like he knows it. Joop, just like some other respondents, in general, did not express himself very negative about tourism. One explanation could be found in this routine, because as Joop avoids certain places on crowded moments, he avoids the experience of nuisance. By minimizing nuisance his general experience of tourism in the city may be more moderate.

The next mechanism is *tolerance* (Ap & Crompton 1993). Not all residents share the negative view concerning tourism. Even though all residents do experience some forms of nuisance because of tourists, not all residents want to express themselves negatively about tourism. Nick for example underlines that Amsterdam is not a theme park or playground: 'No! It feels like a place where one can be free, where one can express one's opinion'. He underlines how he loves living in a vibrant neighbourhood, emphasising the uniqueness of living in a historic, medieval place. Additionally, there is an argument that tourists have always been a part of the neighbourhood, and he argues that residents should not complain that much. Even though Nick admitted that he sometimes experiences some nuisance from tourists, he does not label it as bad. Like Nick, several respondents indicated that they do not want to be associated with the ones that express themselves very negatively about living among tourist. This group, referred to as the 'moaning scene' by Sjoerd, is 'radicalized' and merely complaining without searching for solutions for the problems.

Additionally, even though the discontent is expressed, the behaviour of tourists is often put in perspective with the behaviour of locals. For example, narratives about the nuisance experienced by tourists on bicycles also mention the dangerous cycling behaviour of locals. It is underlined that locals can perform unsocial behaviour as well. In particular, student associations can cause nuisance, for example by the initiation rituals by which new members need to fulfil embarrassing assignments in the public space. Just like tourists, locals play loud music on their boats on the canals. Additionally, young locals visit the Nieuwmarkt to have a drink in the evening. All these examples also cause nuisance for residents that live in this area,

and by mentioning them, the respondents are able to 'step back' and put the nuisance experienced by tourists in perspective.

Several mechanisms have been discussed: moving out (temporarily), avoidance strategies and tolerance. However, the continuum of Ap & Crompton (1993) does not cover all behavioural patterns. Resistance to the nuisances caused by tourism was not part of their categorization. However, in this research various forms of *resistance and place protective action* have been observed, creating an additional coping strategy. The aim is to try to make politicians aware of the problem and they try to influence them to come with solutions. The nuisance by tourists was the reason for Floris to become active in the community. He joined the Schouw, which is an initiative in which residents walk with the local police officer to write down all their observations.

> "The neighbourhood is starting to show resistance, because of the tourism. I do notice that we do find each other, new bonds you know. For example, we are active in the Burgwallenoverleg [the neighbourhood meeting]. We walk the Schouw, we also do that since a year. And further, on a smaller scale we have actions in the alley, one of which are the small gardens." (Floris, approx. 60 years old)

The reason why Floris joined this group is based on the endangerment of feelings of home, as discussed in the previous section 5.2.1. Different elements of home were undermined like placemaking practices and home as a haven. However, Floris argues that new social bonds come into existence due to the collective focus to change the situation. This corresponds with the findings of Manzo & Perkins (2006) who argue that a new sense of community can come into existence when place attachments are disrupted. Thus, the decision to join a group which was based on a decrease of feelings of home, also stimulate another element of home: social bonds.

Another form of observed resistance is the initiation of a petition Reddewinkel (Save the shops). It was initiated by a shopkeeper of the Damstraat in order to spread his concern and get attention from politicians concerning the domination of tourist shops in the city centre and the disappearance of traditional shops. Another resident started the Facebook group 'Pretpark Amsterdam' (Theme park Amsterdam). He noticed that when residents complain, policy makers do not take them seriously. However, when they form a sort of entity with a name, suddenly, these politicians seem to take interest in their qualms:

"We are just neighbours, and what we notice a lot, is that people [politicians] do not want to respond. (…) and, then it apparently is not sufficient to say that you are a resident, but if you give it a name, then suddenly it is okay." (Bart, approx. 35 years old)

Bart is not the only one who is critical about the way in which the municipality deals with the problem. Sjoerd, who is part of Reddewinkel, explains how residents have a feeling of powerlessness, as the municipality is not very responsive and reactive to the expressed problems:

"Many residents have a feeling of powerlessness, and it radicalises people. They feel like they are not supported by the police forces. They feel left alone by the municipality. The police stations are removed. If you call with a complaint, they send you into the woods. All officials only have one thing on which they can act." (Sjoerd, approx. 60 years old)

The radicalisation to which he refers relates to the very negative sound about tourism which is produced at neighbourhood meetings or in the local newspaper. The description of Sjoerd also shows how this lack of support by the municipality creates a more negative experience of tourism by some groups in the neighbourhood. The negative stance towards the municipality is shared with several respondents who tried to bring up the problems, but who were not taken seriously.

In this section several copings mechanisms of established residents have been identified in which they deal with tourism in their neighbourhood and a loss of the feeling of home. The most negative based strategy, withdrawal, is moving out the neighbourhood, resulting out of an endangerment of element of home 'haven'. Next to withdrawal, the adjustment strategy of avoiding places, has been observed and it is noted how it can safeguard feelings of home by the avoidance of *nuisance*. However, not all residents have a negative opinion on tourism but instead show a more tolerant attitude. An additional coping mechanism has been identified, which is *resistance* and place protective action. Paradoxically, the endangerment of feelings of home (haven) that stimulate to enact changes in tourism in the city can stimulate feelings of home (heaven) through new social bonds.

VI DISCUSSION

The aim of this research was to discover how exactly feelings of home of established residents in a downtown neighbourhood are affected by the growing touristification of their neighbourhood. In this chapter the connection is made between the empirical data and theory pertaining to the topic.

So how does the growth in tourism impact the sense of belonging of established residents who live in a downtown neighbourhood? We have seen that the empirical findings of this paper demonstrate how tourism can lead to the feeling that the neighbourhood is taken over by tourists. Not only in numbers, but also in amenities that stem from tourist's needs instead of resident's needs. Entertainment possibilities are in abundance and tourists use the public space as a playground. As tourists come to a city to get a local experience, the tourist industry has commodified various forms of local customs. By acting like a local, such as riding a bicycle or eating local dishes, this 'unique' or 'local' experience is obtained. As the tourist industry has responded eagerly to this, the streets of Amsterdam are filled with these types of companies that provide this commodified localness. The above-mentioned development of commodification has in several ways affected the sense of belonging of residents in the neighbourhood. This statement is supported by discussing how different components of feeling at home are affected, referring to the elements of home of Duyvendak (2011) and home as practice (Blokland 2009; Benson & Jackson 2013).

The various forms of entertainment in the city centre, such as Segway tours, pub-crawls or guided tours, have created the feeling for some residents that the city is turning into a playground for tourists. This feeling is stimulated by the way some tourists act in the public space, thus with a lack of respect for residents and the public space. The effect that this behaviour can have on sense of belonging can be related to 'home as a haven' (Duyvendak 2011). This haven, the home as a place to relax and retreat, has come under pressure by the nuisance that is produced by drunk and loud tourists. The 'acoustic pollution', one of the indirect displacement pressures by Cócola Gant (2015), hinder the possibility, for some residents, to relax. This tourist performance can thus be seen as a stimulus for eroding sense of belonging.

The crowdedness is another factor that causes nuisance. The presence of large groups of tourists in the public space leads to the lack of physical space (Cócola Gant 2015), as some times streets are literally blocked. The crowdedness can also undermine public familiarity (Blokland 2003). Blokland (2003) argues that high neighbourhood use leads to strong public familiarity. However, even if the neighbourhood use is high in the city centre of Amsterdam, the large crowds of tourists on the streets make it harder for residents to literally see each other on the streets and recognize familiar faces. For this reason, the influx of large amounts short-term visitors may disturb the process of *Vergemeinschaftung* in a neighbourhood. Additionally, it is shown that tourism can undermine local routines and practices, or 'doing' the neighbourhood (Benson & Jackson 2013), as residents change their daily routines to have a quite shopping experience. Local pubs and squares are occupied by tourists, which makes it unable for local to sit or walk there. Social interaction with neighbours in these places therefore cannot take place, which undermines place attachments and thus results in a loss of place.

Regarding the changing commercial landscape, several forms of indirect displacement pressures have been noticed (Cócola Gant 2015). One of these pressures is the lack of consumption facilities. As mentioned there has been a decline in traditional or residential orientated stores. Unlike in the case of tourism gentrification, it is not that residents are not able to afford the goods offered in the new touristic orientated shops. Instead, it is strongly related to cultural pressures, as the goods or food offered, like touristic cheese or waffles, do not correspond with the lifestyle and wishes of local residents. Feelings of nostalgia may occur regarding this change of the commercial landscape, which may indicate that the sense of belonging is under pressure (Buttimer 1980).

The decrease of local or traditional shops is not merely experienced negatively because of the use value of a baker or butcher. In addition to the practical purposes, these traditional shops have a symbolic value. These shops were *meaningful* places for many residents as they were part of the local economy and part of the neighbourhood. Additionally, a sense of familiarity was attached to them as residents visited the shops regularly and they knew the shop owners by name. A loss of these forms of social interaction can explain a loss of place attachment (Low 1992). With the transition of local shops into touristic shops, several places that were initially meaningful for residents, lost this meaningfulness. Similarly, it can be argued that the place identity of these places, as they were meaningful places, has been undermined as new place attachments are not formed with the touristic shops.

For many residents, feelings of home are thus slowly becoming more eroded. For some, this has resulted in considering to move out of the neighbourhood. Indirect displacement pressures then may lead to *actual* displacement (Davidson & Lees 2010). However, the main reason for residents to consider residential mobility relates back to the tourist performance and the nuisance this causes. Even though Cócola Gant (2015) has added 'acoustic pollution' to the list of pressures, the nuisance that is created by the use of the city as a playground in all its various forms, is not captured in it. Therefore, this research develops the concept of 'entertainment pressures' as an indirect displacement pressure. This is defined as the practice of commodified forms of entertainment in the public space, supported by the tourist industry. This category consists of commodified forms of local practices, like cycling, but also organised walking tours, pub crawls or bachelor parties. Just like other indirect displacement pressures, it undermines the residential function of the neighbourhood and undermines feelings of home.

However, while some move out of the neighbourhood because they do not feel at home anymore, others stay to resist. Some residents actively try to change and influence this development in order to safeguard their beloved neighbourhood. By starting initiatives or involving in community activities, residents create awareness and they strive to diminish the impacts of this touristification. Interestingly, several residents have become active in the community in order to act against tourism as they felt less at home because of it. New social ties have come into existence which can have a positive effect on sense of belonging as it may lead to 'bonding' (Van der Graaf & Duyvendak 2009). This is in line with Manzo & Perkins (2006) who argue that a disruption of place attachments may lead to place protective action, which can empower a sense of community. Tourism can thus erode sense of belonging, but it can eventually stimulate sense of belonging as residents come into resistance and form new social bonds.

Moreover, not all residents experience such a significant impact from tourism, besides mild to moderate nuisance. While some experience their neighbourhood as becoming a tourist playground, others insist that tourism has always been part of the neighbourhood. Several other coping mechanisms can explain this. By avoiding certain spaces on certain times, residents can experience their neighbourhood in the ways that they know and love it. This rather positive position is remarkable as Meethan (1997) argued that the change of people's daily routines may negatively affect a locally based identity. However, in this case residents seem not to mind the adjustment of daily routines, like when to do the groceries. Similarly, during certain festivities

residents move out of the city for several days. They decrease the amount of nuisance experienced as they have created habits to avoid it. Therefore, these coping mechanisms protect existing feelings of home as the home as a haven is less effected by for example the lack of physical space or acoustic pollution.

A limitation of this study is that one trend relating to tourism has not been investigated, which is the decrease in available housing opportunities for residents. This research did touch upon the issue commercially, as it demonstrated how respondents perceived a negative development in which the costs of having a traditional store were rising, making it harder for traditional stores to maintain. Even though this trend has been noted, the relation between housing and tourism has not been addressed. The experienced take-over of a neighbourhood, as showed in this research, could possibly be related to the change in housing supply for residents. This is particularly of interest as tourism is related to this development, for example as many houses and apartments are rent out through Airbnb. Further research could focus on the possible relation between feelings of home and housing.

VII   CONCLUSION

This study focused on how tourism affects the sense of belonging of long term residents. It attempted to outline certain ways in which the recent growth in the number of tourists visiting the city centre of Amsterdam affects sense of belonging. Similarly, it is analysed how the growth in amenities related to tourism impacts notions of home. Additionally, this study explored how residents cope with these changes. This has been done by connecting the concepts of home and belonging to literature about tourism, commodification and gentrification.

It is demonstrated that feelings of home can become eroded due to the touristification of the neighbourhood, and this study outlines a few ways in which this may occur. First of all, the nuisance caused by the behaviour of some tourists negatively affect the home as haven, one component of feeling at home. Not the tourist, but the tourist performance in combination with large amounts of visitors in the neighbourhood creates tension. Second, public familiarity is undermined as the crowdedness in the neighbourhood makes it hard to recognize familiar faces. Third, placemaking practices or local ways of 'doing' the neighbourhood are undermined.

Additionally, the transition from traditional stores to touristic shops can erode sense of belonging. As the traditional shops were meaningful places for regular customers and place attachments existed, the disappearance of them leads to a loss of place. Moreover, because these place attachments are not formed with the new shops that focus on tourists' interests, the feeling of home erodes. As this study has looked into the change of the shopping landscape, the concept indirect displacement is borrowed out of literature about commercial gentrification. The data suggests that tourist industry can initiate and stimulate feelings of displacement and exclusion that may lead to different coping mechanisms like *actual* displacement, thus moving out of the neighbourhood. Even though residents move out of their house by choice, this is based on how the liveability and daily routines of the residents is undermined. Next to residential mobility, other coping mechanisms are observed such as tolerance, avoidance strategies, moving out temporally, and place protective action. The latter mechanism is added to the continuum of Ap & Crompton (1993), as none of their categories captured resistance. This resistance, though seeming negative, can actually reinforce sense of belonging.

This research developed a new displacement pressure – entertainment pressures – to capture the pressure that the entertainment use of a neighbourhood can evoke for residents. It is defined as the pressure that is caused by the commodified forms of entertainment that are performed by tourists in the public space. This pressure can stimulate experienced nuisance and undermine feelings of home as these entertainment practices hinder residents in everyday practices and disturb the home as haven.

Conclusively, this study has shown how sense of belonging of established residents can be affected by the touristification of their neighbourhood. Different factors, like the entertainment industry, the behaviour of some tourists, and the changing shopping landscape can erode existing place attachments and feeling of home.

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