

SNACKS and the CITY

A microgeographic perspective on touristification of consumption spaces



Iris Hagemans

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A microgeographic perspective on touristification of
consumption spaces

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(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Introduction



SWEET DREAMS ARE MADE OF CHEESE

The glass façade of the Amsterdam Cheese Company on Damrak shows a well-tended interior, combining an industrial look with a romanticized Dutch countryside ambiance. Two decorative cows seem to graze from the concrete floor. The bare brick walls are covered with raw plank shelves with cheese wheels piled up to the ceiling. Apart from a large Delft-blue tulip vase on the counter, decorations are sparse; cheese is obviously the main attraction. The shop's offer and atmosphere stand out at a time when corner shops with specialized daily products are increasingly disappearing. Finding a cheese shop seems particularly unexpected on a high traffic location such as Damrak, the main thoroughfare from Amsterdam's central train station into the city center. However, it is not for being a specialized store or a local corner shop that this shop attracted a large amount of media and policy attention. Rather, the shop has become the first business to be closed on the basis of a zoning plan that bans tourist shops from Amsterdam's inner city. As a test case, the cheese shop immediately illustrates the challenges that this ban on tourist shops brings about. Cheese is a Dutch national symbol and frequently bought by tourists as a souvenir. At the same time, cheese is almost a staple food in the Netherlands, traditionally found in Dutch lunch boxes on a daily basis. Cheese shops are as much part and parcel of the traditional grocery stores as butchers, greengrocers, fish shops and bakeries. Distinguishing the tourist cheese shop from the grocery cheese shop therefore comes down to the nitty-gritty of packaging, presentation and advertising, as illustrated by the court decision following the shop owner's appeal:

The District Court rightly considered it important that the retail formula (...) involved a one-sided supply of Dutch types of cheese. Given the way in which these cheeses are packaged - as also emphasized in (...) advertising messages such as "all our cheeses are ready to fly" - they can be transported and stored unrefrigerated after purchase. (...) Photographs taken by supervisors further showed that the shop and the packaging of some of the cheeses featured touristy expressions such as cows, tulips and images of Van Gogh.(Raad van State, 2018)

Defining and banning tourist shops requires a level of detail that is unusual for zoning plans, not in the least because it conflicts with EU directives aimed at securing a free market. Interestingly, this far-reaching policy measure was introduced by a local government coalition that only two years prior started its term with the promise to counter overregulation and make entrepreneurship easier and more accessible by "trimming" the regulatory framework and helping "businesses and entrepreneurs who are getting caught up in Amsterdam's bureaucracy" (Paternotte et al., 2014: 21). This unexpected policy turn formed the main inspiration for this thesis on the effects of

tourism on consumption spaces and guided the research question in two directions. Firstly, the policy turn reveals the urgency and importance with which tourist shops ended up on the local policy agenda. Secondly, it raises questions around the legal and practical challenges of regulating processes such as touristification, which are at the same time widely recognized and extremely difficult to define. These difficulties start with distinguishing the spatial effects of tourism from other drivers of urban transformation, which is further complicated by the fact that tourism is not necessarily a new phenomenon.

OVERTOURISM AND TOURISTIFICATION

Remarkable this month is the influx of strangers to Amsterdam (...). This morning was very crowded; the Doelenstraat was swarming with open carriages. Traffic was stalled by the multitude of travelers (...), almost all equipped with a portable photography device. The sidewalk at Hotel des Pays-Bas was nearly under siege. (Het nieuws van den dag : kleine courant, 1897)

If it was not for the mentions of open carriages and portable photography devices, the above quote from 1897 would easily blend in with recent articles on increasing tourism in Amsterdam. Reports of crowding, congestion and the alienating effects of foreign languages have featured repeatedly in local and even national newspapers, even the metaphors of being swarmed or under siege are still frequently used to describe the impact of tourism on urban space. In that sense, the spatial impacts of tourism on its destinations, captured in the term touristification, are nothing new. Tourism has been around for decades and host societies, policymakers and scholars have been well aware of its potential drawbacks (Butler, 1980). However, qualitative and quantitative changes in worldwide tourism since the turn of the century have brought about new experiences with and perceptions of tourism (Koens et al., 2018).

Up until about twenty years ago, the role of tourism was considered more relevant in rural settings, both as an important economic sector and a potential cause of local resistance. Tourists in cities were considered to blend in with the way residents, office workers and other visitors use the city, without ever making up such a significant share of users to have a relevant positive or negative effect (Ashworth and Page, 2011). This changed due to the combined impacts of globally increasing wealth and leisure time, which heightened demand for unique consumption experiences (Lorentzen, 2009) and transformed cities from places of (industrial) production to places of consumption. At the same time, cheaper flights made traveling more accessible to a larger population, causing a growth in the number of worldwide travelers. Spurred by perceived inter-

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urban competition, city governments all over the world started to take tourism more seriously as an economic sector (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017) and explicitly aimed to attract more tourists, for instance with city marketing, each aiming to claim a spot in the top ranks of tourist destinations. These strategies include city marketing activities, as well as increasing production of space for leisure and entertainment, such as resorts, theme parks and mega events (Cócola-Gant, 2015; Fox Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017; Liang and Bao, 2015). The city of Amsterdam was no exception (City of Amsterdam, 2006; Dahles, 1998). Altogether, changes in the demand- and supply-side of global tourism changed not only the amount of visitors to tourism destinations, but also their countries of origin, the seasonality with which they arrive and their length of stay, causing tourism to be perceived as more and more intrusive (Innerhofer et al., 2019). While the increasing influx of visitors was initially seen as a mostly positive development, especially when tourism turned out to be a relatively stable economic sector during the Global Financial Crisis, surging tourism in cities gradually caused increasing local resistance. Some scholars argue that this transformed the effects of tourism to such an extent that it created a new phenomenon; overtourism (Capocchi et al., 2019).

The growing literature on overtourism, however, shows a large contrast between studies focusing on the causes and those zooming in on its effects. The impacts of increasing tourism are often highly localized (Martín Martín et al., 2018; Novy and Colomb, 2016; Romero-Padilla et al., 2019). They vary on a micro scale and affect different stakeholders in different ways. Firstly, since tourists make use of all facilities and amenities the city has to offer, effects of tourism can cover a range of topics (Ashworth and Page, 2011; Postma and Schmuecker, 2017). Secondly, the way stakeholders experience touristification can differ, depending on personal characteristics such as economic dependence on tourism (Muler Gonzalez et al., 2018) and home tenancy status (Martín Martín et al., 2018), but also on geographical conditions such as proximity to heritage destinations (Adie et al., 2020). Moreover, both visitors and residents use different spatial and temporal coping strategies to adapt to the effects of tourism (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017; Popp, 2012). However, while there is increasingly more detailed knowledge available about the *experienced* microgeographies of touristification, variations in the way spatial effects of tourism are *produced* remain largely overlooked. Instead, literature on the causes of increasing tourism tend to highlight large global transformations, such as economic changes that increased spending power and leisure time for a growing share of the world's population; consumption preferences that increased interest in traveling; and transformations in the tourism industry that have promoted particular destinations and made traveling cheaper, quicker and easier (Dodds and Butler, 2019; UNWTO, 2018). Little attention is paid to the role of the local tourism sector, let alone to other local actors that shape the spatial effects of tourism. This creates a research gap in which local drivers of touristification are largely neglected.

This does not only inhibit our understanding of touristification, but also limits potential management strategies to mediate this process.

This thesis focuses on the production of touristification on a micro scale, specifically on touristification of urban consumption spaces. Consumption spaces refer to places where shops, services and hospitality businesses coincide with residential functions and public space. While tourism can provide a significant boost to retail and hospitality businesses, large numbers of visitors can lead to crowding and associated nuisance, which in turn can cause avoidance behavior among local residents (Jacobsen et al., 2019). The changing consumer base transforms the consumption landscape by causing changes in the tenant mix, privatization and rehabilitation of public spaces and thematization of businesses (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019; Guimarães, 2021). Consumption spaces are largely overlooked in literature on touristification in cities, which traditionally focused on crowding, nuisance and intrusive behavior by tourists. More recently, the increasing popularity of short term rentals also caused a spike in attention for effects of tourism on housing prices (González-Pérez, 2020; Hübscher and Kallert, 2023). For many residents, however, touristification of consumption spaces is one of the most tangible ways in which they are confronted with the spatial effects of tourism (Díaz-Parra and Jover, 2021). Consumption spaces are critical places where large, societal changes enter the everyday lives of local residents. From the products on offer, to their advertising, the shopkeepers, the visitors and even the sound- and smellscape of the street, tourism can have profound effects on spaces that residents feel familiar with and attached to. Summarizing, literature on overtourism and touristification tends to neglect both consumption spaces and the stakeholders that drive touristification on a local scale. This thesis addresses this gap by focusing on touristification of consumption spaces, specifically on the local mechanisms that drive or mediate it, the way it is framed and problematized and the way it is managed. It aims to answer the following research question:

How are variations of touristification of consumption spaces produced and managed on a local scale?

To answer this question, this thesis draws from mixed method research on consumption spaces in Amsterdam. These methods include city-wide data on developments in consumption spaces over a 15-year period between 2005 and 2020, interviews with entrepreneurs in three consumption spaces in Amsterdam, an analysis of the public debate about touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam in print, online and social media, and an evaluation of policies to manage touristification of consumption spaces. This mixed method approach results from a conceptualization of consumption spaces as places that are shaped in an interplay of global transformations as well as local actors; as places that combine economic with social and symbolic functions; and as

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places that are characterized by a multiplicity of owners, users, issues, normative orders and regulatory frameworks.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Seemingly mundane and often taken for granted, urban consumption spaces are more complex than they seem at first glance, in the ways they are produced, perceived and managed. Four complexities around consumption spaces have shaped the approach for this thesis. Firstly, consumption spaces are shaped by both structure and agency. Transformations of consumption spaces are often caused by macro-economic changes in supply and demand, but cannot simply be extrapolated from them. The way in which global economic changes coalesce in consumption spaces is mediated by a range of local actors all operating in a social and institutional context. As put by Zukin, Kasinitz and Chen (2015), their stories are *“shaped by many different “authors,” all acting for their own reasons and often fiercely competitive with each other. Sometimes their efforts are coordinated, but often by forces of which the actors are only partially aware”*. Secondly, consumption spaces are more than places to get access to daily goods and services, but also places of interaction, encounter, familiarity and meaning. This becomes especially apparent when the consumption space is subject to transformations and local stakeholders start to notice changes in places they feel attached to. Resulting tensions and conflicts among local stakeholders are therefore never mere responses to objective changes, but always involve a layer of interpretation. Thirdly, consumption spaces are often *“congested, heavily regulated and socially and economically complex”* (Foster and Iaione, 2019: 4), characterized as they are by a multitude of owners, users and other stakeholders with different and possibly conflicting interests. Finally, they are spaces where many laws and regulations apply, originating from different scales and aimed at different issues. This means that urban governance always takes place in a setting of legal pluralism, where different and sometimes conflicting bodies of formal state law coincide with informal laws of a diverse group of users (Jacobs, Chevalier, and Stapper 2024). These four perspectives on consumption spaces are taken as a starting point to explore and explain the microgeographies of touristification of consumption spaces.

Producing touristification of consumption spaces: Incentive structure, local business climate and entrepreneur agency

This thesis conceptualizes touristification of consumption spaces as shaped by individual actions of local stakeholders, but at the same time subject to transformations in the incentive structure. Increasing tourism changes this incentive structure by altering both demand and supply. Demand-side changes, firstly, occur when tourists start making up an increasing share of the local consumer base. Varying widely in terms of country of

origin, age, wealth and purpose of visit, tourists are far from a homogenous group with similar behavioral patterns and consumption preferences (Oh et al., 2004). Shopping is an activity that almost all visitors engage in, whether it is their main purpose of visit, out of necessity to buy supplies, a way to kill waiting time, or a way to experience local life in an unfamiliar place (Spierings, 2017). These different purposes and activities can even change from day to day, as visitors plan a more sightseeing based trip one day and calculate time to relax on the next (Popp, 2012). In spite of these differences, the tourist demand is characterized by some common tendencies. First of all, particular types of products, services and hospitality businesses are in higher demand among tourists. Being in an out-of-the-ordinary environment, tourists tend to be more interested in unique local products and experiences (Oh et al., 2007). These can be local products, cuisine, events or activities to consume on the spot or to take home as a souvenir. Increasing tourism can also increase demand for snacks, resulting in an increasing number of take-away food shops. Entrepreneurs therefore have to strike a balance in offering unique local products that are at the same time highly recognizable for international visitors. Secondly, consumption behavior of tourists is often affected by time constraints, lack of information and risk associated with shopping and consuming in an foreign country (Lloyd et al., 2011). A specific consequence of tourists' time constraints, lack of information and risk aversion behavior, is that they tend to cluster around the most well-known tourist highlights (Russo, 2002), causing entrepreneurs in the direct vicinity to experience a relative monopoly (Caserta and Russo, 2002). This is argued to allow entrepreneurs to get away with offering less value for money compared to competing businesses further away from the main tourist destinations (Caserta and Russo, 2002).

The changing demand coincides with supply side changes (Fox Gotham, 2018), as higher footfall due to increasing tourism raises the interest of retail capital. Retail capital refers to the variety of stakeholders who extract exchange value from products and services sold to a consumer looking for use value (Ducatel and Blomley, 1990; Mermet, 2017). These include entrepreneurs, who achieve higher revenue in consumption spaces with higher footfall, property owners, who can extract higher rents (Liu et al., 2020), and the owners and shareholders of retail chains. Well-known national and international chain stores can generate high sales and pay rent prices that independent stores often cannot afford (Mermet, 2017). Higher rent prices increase the pressure on entrepreneurs to either adapt to the changing local demand or terminate or relocate their business (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). The combination of higher demand for fast service and familiar concepts with rent increases and displacement causes concerns about an emerging monoculture of businesses, transforming the consumption and eroding livability for local residents.

The incentive structure, however, meets with a local business climate where different stakeholders form highly interdependent *ecosystems* (Zukin, 2012) that alter the way

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macroeconomic changes translate to different business concepts. These ecosystems include entrepreneurs, consumers, residents, property owners, local government and law enforcement and other stakeholders. To entrepreneurs, they form a social and institutional context that creates small changes in the opportunity structure (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The extent to which increasing tourism causes rent increases for commercial property, for instance, can be mediated by interpersonal relations between entrepreneurs and property owners (Su and Chen, 2017). Entrepreneurs can also engage in collective branding activities that, if successful, can significantly change an area's reputation as well as the type of visitors that are drawn to the consumption space. Such initiatives steer changing demand due to increasing tourism in a different direction. Finally, even after the mediating impact of the local business climate, entrepreneurs do not simply respond to changes with the most economically favorable strategy, but employ different strategies based on personal characteristics such as their taste, ambitions and career paths. The changing incentive structure that creates touristification of consumption spaces and the different responses to these changes are explored in chapter two and three. These chapters illustrate the emergence of microgeographies of touristification, where areas in close proximity are characterized by different entrepreneurial strategies.

Interpreting touristification of consumption spaces: Collective action framing

In this interplay between large economic changes and the local business climate, consumption spaces are always changing. Change in itself is therefore not sufficient to explain conflicts over consumption spaces. Such conflicts depend on a layer of interpretation that turns objective conditions into a social problem (Blumer, 1971). Understanding this layer of interpretation requires a conceptualization of consumption spaces as places that can be meaningful as well as highly symbolic. Jane Jacobs famously defended consumption spaces as meaningful aspects of neighborhood life. Exactly because of the density of functions and destinations, consumption spaces become places of encounter and interaction with others in what she calls a 'sidewalk ballet' (Jacobs 1961). Business owners become public figures providing a sense of familiarity. Local residents build personal memories and experiences, creating feelings of attachment. Consumption spaces play a central role in this process where a neighborhood starts to feel like a home. While Jacobs emphasizes personal attachment, experiences and encounters, later work on gentrification tends to emphasize the symbolic function of consumption spaces. In this perception, local businesses become a signifier of taste and with that of social class (Bourdieu, 1984). As such, they take an important role in the local imaginary, representing what the neighborhood is like and who it is for (Zukin et al., 2015). This is argued to play an important role in middle class processes of elective belonging, where residents choose to live in neighborhoods that seem 'appropriate for them'. However, this sense of belonging is not only important for one's local neighborhood,

but also for spaces to visit. Local businesses in a consumption space then become an important signifier, making some people feel like they belong whereas others may feel out of place or excluded by the symbolic violence of businesses, appearance, audience and atmosphere (Hubbard, 2017).

This symbolic power also plays a crucial role in touristification of consumption spaces, particularly in why touristification is perceived as problematic. It challenges a certain understanding of what the consumption space, the neighborhood and perhaps even the whole city represents and who belongs there. This becomes apparent from the concerns of residents feeling alienated from local consumption spaces. While this feeling of alienation is personal, people can share experiences and come to a collective understanding of an issue. A process of collective action framing by social movements (Benford and Snow, 2000) will then lead to a more or less shared problem definition, sense of importance and urgency and proposed solution. Such social movements are networks that mobilize over a specific issue. They can be highly organized or more loose collections of people and social groups. It is through framing that objective conditions turn into social problems. The extent to which these changes are considered problematic, the way they are addressed and solved therefore depends on the way the issues are framed and represented. This is not an individual or singular action, but happens in a collective and iterative process of interpretation where different actors support complementary or conflicting frames (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Chapter four focuses on the way touristification of consumption spaces has been framed in Amsterdam as well as the pre-existing beliefs about the city that amplify frame resonance.

Policy responses

The interplay of incentive structure, business climate and agency, as well as the meaningful and symbolic nature of consumption spaces, creates several complexities for policymakers who aim to manage touristification of consumption spaces. Firstly, it means that touristification does not affect every consumption space in the same way. Instead there are microgeographies of touristification in which different responses to increasing tourism prevail. Policies, however, cannot easily interact with different contexts, as they need to be applied consistently (Foster and Iaione, 2016). Moreover, since many of the causes of increasing tourism are situated on a global level, the power of local governments to intervene is limited. Urban spaces are also places where many developments take place at the same time and many different types of regulation already exist to manage these different developments (Brown, 2017). The role of framing further complicates management of touristification of consumption spaces. Successful framing by social movements has increased the perceived urgency and importance of the problem and calls for policy action. However, the resistance to touristification is often based on loose definitions and interpretations that are difficult to measure, let alone manage.

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This challenging situation is combined with a complicated legal landscape. Especially at the lowest levels of government, those at the neighborhood, town or city district, policymakers have limited power to address the root causes of global issues such as tourism. At the same time, these lower levels of government have an increasing range of instruments from different policy arenas at their disposal to intervene and address local effects. This increasing range of instruments is a consequence of hyper-regulation, decentralization and privatization, which increased the scope of responsibilities; the number of stakeholders involved; and the multiplicity of normative orders for local governments (Oomen and Durmus, 2019; von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, 2020). Urban tourism policies are therefore situated in a pluralist legal landscape, drawing on *“multiple uncoordinated, coexisting or overlapping bodies of law”* (Tamanaha, 2007: 1). This pre-existing regulation is then *“recycled, stretched, or adapted”* (Aguilera et al., 2021: 17) to respond to new challenges. Chapter five focuses on the way Amsterdam's local government attempts to manage touristification of consumption spaces, drawing on different normative orders. This also reveals the downsides of this management strategy for legal certainty of entrepreneurs who are targeted with this regulation.

Summarizing, the landscape in which touristification of consumption spaces is locally produced and managed consists of three layers. Firstly, increasing influx of tourists changes the way consumption spaces look and function. This includes the increased density of visitors, higher strain on facilities, the increased interest from retail capital, a changing incentive structure for entrepreneurs and changes in the offer and composition of businesses. Secondly, these material changes receive shared meaning in conversations, print, online and social media. This results in collective action frames, supported by individual actors or social movements. The frames gradually weave objective circumstances into social problems and call for policy action. Thirdly, the eventual policy response takes form in a policy landscape, consisting of a range of instruments designed at different scales and for different publics. The pluralist legal landscape shapes the policy response by enabling particular solutions and inhibiting others. This thesis addresses each of these layers, focusing on the inner city of Amsterdam.

TOURISM IN AMSTERDAM: THE HERITAGE CITY AND THE LIBERAL CITY

Amsterdam has a long history as a tourism destination, attracting visitors with a twofold image of cultural heritage and a progressive, liberal atmosphere. Amsterdam's cultural heritage centers around its 17th century architecture, with the UNESCO world heritage Canal Belt and the famous Dutch painters of the *Golden Age*. The Golden Age also laid the foundations for Amsterdam's reputation as a tolerant city, since its status as a

capital of trade and commerce brought many different nationalities to the city, making it into what we would now call a melting pot. This provided the city with an image of tolerance to different social groups and lifestyles, an image that later made the city into a hippie mecca, gay capital and a pioneer of progressive drug and prostitution policies. Internationally, these progressive policies gave Amsterdam a reputation as city where everything is allowed and one can go to 'let it all hang out'. This reputation has always evoked mixed feelings among residents and policymakers and caused a degree of tension and resistance (Nijman, 1999). It was never a reputation that the city officially marketed, but it was not denied either. As in most cities, however, up until fairly recently, tourism was somewhat taken for granted as an insignificant side-effect rather than an important economic sector or something that significantly changes the urban fabric.

This changed around the turn of the century, when Amsterdam started to take tourism more seriously as an economic sector (Dahles, 1998). In the first decade of the 2000s, promoting Amsterdam as a tourist destination became an important policy imperative (City of Amsterdam, 2006). The increased promotion started to pay off in 2013, when the two largest art museums reopened after years of large-scale renovations and destination marketing around these re-openings brought in a record number of visitors. The positive attitude towards tourism at the time is illustrated by the nickname for 2013 as the 'jubilant year'. A year later, resistance to tourism started to increase in Amsterdam. Tourism started to be perceived increasingly negative, even as one of the main threats to livability for inner city residents (City of Amsterdam, 2015). This resistance to tourism in Amsterdam has featured prominently in local media, but also gained considerable national and even some international media attention in items depicting the inner city is depicted as congested, dirty, inauthentic and swarmed with tourists (Pijbes, 2014). These concerns led to the introduction of the Balanced City policy in 2015. The perceived urgency to address the spatial effects of touristification is illustrated by the appeal to integrate balance throughout all policy domains: *"For each policy document, development, change, etcetera, one should ask: How will this action impact balance in the city and how can it make a positive contribution?"* (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 69).

Resistance to the tourist shop

Touristification of consumption spaces has played an important role in the increasing resistance to tourism in Amsterdam, which focused on a number of highly visible business concepts, such as the cheese-gift store and the Nutella waffle shop. Often framed as natural disasters, using metaphors like floods and tsunamis, tourist shops started to be interpreted as problematic because of their perceived the lower status, offer of unhealthy foods and non-Dutch appearance. Even suspicions about money laundering practices in tourist shops became a prominent frame. The increase of such tourist shops is framed as urgent and important because it affects livability in the inner city, causing inner city residents to move out and residents of the wider metropolitan

area to avoid the city center. In policy documents, touristification of consumption spaces is described as starting when an increasing share of footfall consists of *“recreating passers-by”* (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 43) rather than residents doing their daily grocery shopping. This narrative starts from the observation that *“In parts of the city center (...) the influence of Amsterdam’s growing popularity for tourists and day trippers is increasingly visible in the offer of shops and services. A growing share of entrepreneurs sells products that are produced and sold in large quantities and have high profit margins, such as waffles, ice cream and cheese. These potentially high profit margins in combination with higher footfall, increase the attractiveness of these locations, causing an increase in rent prices of commercial property”* (City of Amsterdam, 2017: 11). This is argued to create a *“monoculture”* (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 43) of businesses. *“The consequence is that in a number of busy shopping streets the characteristic diversity of the retail and hospitality offer decreases, and a more uniform offer of shops, services (...) and hospitality aimed at fast consumption emerges”* (City of Amsterdam, 2017: 11). Once it appears, this uniformity is considered to have ripple effects, firstly because *“successful concepts are simply copied, without innovation or added value”*, which is argued to occur *“especially in streets with higher footfall”* (City of Amsterdam, 2018: 31). Secondly, ripple effects are expected because *“fast product turnover and considerable profit margins”* have a *“price boosting effect on property and rent prices of commercial property”* (City of Amsterdam, 2018: 31).

In 2017, countering touristification of consumption spaces was officially adopted as policy goal (City of Amsterdam, 2017). From the start, this goal was pursued by using a range of policy instruments that draw on different normative orders. A first report, ‘Steering towards a diverse offer of shops’, explored the instruments to intervene in the composition of consumption landscapes (City of Amsterdam, 2017). One of the results of this exploration was an updated zoning plan for the inner city, which includes a ban on tourist shops. The ban aims to freeze the process of touristification by tolerating the already existing tourist shops but rejecting any new establishments of tourist shops in the inner city. This ban on tourist shops is legally challenging, because national spatial planning laws and European directives generally do not allow local governments to restrict the type of businesses that can locate in particular areas. However, particular circumstances allow exceptions to this rule. These are circumstances in which either sound spatial planning or a good living environment is at stake (Rijksoverheid, 2008). Zoning plans in Amsterdam have previously referred to this exception to exclude particular retail and hospitality sectors with the aim to *“prevent anticipated or stagnate existing dilapidation of the residential and work circumstances and of the appearance of the designated area”* (Rijksoverheid, 2008 art. 3.1.2). Souvenir shops, for instance, were already banned from the inner city since 2013. The most important difference between these existing restrictions and the ban on tourist shops is that tourist shops are not a generally accepted retail subsector, and they cannot easily be defined by their activities or even offer of products.

The ban on tourist shops solves this challenge by defining tourist shops with a

combination of particular retail sectors, specific products and types of advertisement and presentation that are associated with tourist target audience (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Firstly, the sectors that are banned from the inner city are businesses that sell small quantities of soft drugs or paraphernalia for smoking or growing marihuana (grow shops, headshops, seed shops, and smart shops), souvenir shops, mini supermarkets, phone call shops, gambling halls, money exchange offices, massage parlors and take-out food shops (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Secondly, for shops that do not fall in these restricted categories, limitations are introduced around the offer of souvenirs and take-out food. To define souvenirs, the zoning plan argues that:

“One should not think only of dolls in (...) traditional dress, wooden windmills, key chains with cheeses, windmills, tulips, clogs and the like, but also of textiles (...), ceramics (...) and spoons with prints of national-, regional- or Amsterdam-related symbols. (...) Amsterdam related symbols include items that appeal to the city’s image of easy access to drugs and sex; products with images of cannabis leaves and items with sex related shapes and imagery therefore also qualify as souvenirs.” (City of Amsterdam, 2018 art 1.2.3)

Regulations around souvenirs and fast food products dictate that these can make up a maximum of 5% of floor space, cannot be located at the front of the shop and cannot be advertised in the shopwindow. Thirdly, there is also a ban on shops, services, offices and attractions that cater to tourists in their presentation and business model. This refers to conspicuous and flashy communication, often in English or other, non-Dutch, languages, English speaking staff and souvenir-like packaging. The level of detail required to define and prohibit particular types of touristy products underlines the legal challenges of the ban on tourist shops and therefore the urgency that must have been felt by the local government to intervene.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The public outrage around tourist shops, as well as their integration into policy documents, make the city of Amsterdam a likely case to observe touristification of consumption spaces. Such a likely case is suitable to gain a more in-depth understanding of causal mechanisms. Moreover, because each of the chapters of this thesis focuses on the same case, using different research methods and data, the findings complement each other and identify not only how touristification of consumption spaces works, but also what parameters decide how and where it plays out, when it is problematized and how it is managed.

Data collection and analysis

The second chapter is based on quantitative data on consumption spaces in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020. This includes business registration data of shops, services and hospitality businesses in consumption spaces. It provides information on when businesses are established, when they relocate or when they terminate, whether it concerns independent businesses or businesses that are part of a larger holding and classifies businesses into different sectors. This data is combined with estimated rent prices for commercial properties between 2005 and 2020. The analysis zooms in on the historic inner city where the ban on tourist shops is in effect within the time frame between 2014 and 2020, when touristification of consumption spaces emerged as a social problem in Amsterdam. Combining local expert knowledge with a hierarchical cluster analysis, the chapter identifies different variations of touristification of consumption spaces.

In the third chapter, the perspective of entrepreneurs is researched in semi-structured interviews with 31 business owners, co-owners or store managers in three consumption spaces in the inner city of Amsterdam. The sample aimed for variation in the ways entrepreneurs respond to the changing incentive structure as a consequence of increasing tourism and therefore include both concepts that are perceived as tourist-oriented and as businesses that are perceived as local shops. The interviews focused on the entrepreneurs' backgrounds, their business concepts and the way they had adapted these concepts over time. After that, they were asked about their location decision and local demand. Finally, the interviews probed for the entrepreneurs' relations with customers, residents, other entrepreneurs, street associations and the local government. This approach left room for entrepreneurs to talk about a range of topics that would change local demand or the local business climate, such as globalization and digitalization. Touristification tended to come up unprompted as a topic that was on the front of the entrepreneurs' minds. The interviews have been recorded and transcribed with the respondents' consent and were analyzed in multiple rounds of deductive and inductive coding.

The fourth chapter is based on a selection of policy documents, combined with print, online and social media content. The sampled documents were published before March 2020, when the Covid-19 lockdowns significantly altered discussions about both tourism and consumption spaces. The data gathering is based on intertextuality, which describes how concepts and lines of reasoning can travel between different settings and gradually gain new meanings (Jessop, 2010). To account for intertextuality, the data collection started from policy documents related to the ban on tourist shops and systematically traced back the resources used to legitimize this policy. These documents, references to other documents and texts were identified and added to the sample. The resources that are referred to range from specific documents to the activities of a stakeholder group or a key topic that has been discussed in print or social media. The analysis

focused on frames around tourist shops as well as on social representations of the inner city of Amsterdam. The chapter identifies the beliefs that most clearly amplify the resonance of frames around tourist shops.

The final chapter combines three approaches: Critical discourse analysis of policy and media documents, sampled interviews with entrepreneurs in the inner city and interviews with key informants, which include policymakers and law-enforcers as well as local stakeholders affected by strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces. The analysis compared the input from policy documents, entrepreneur experiences and key informants. This was an iterative process in which entrepreneur experiences were contextualized as instances of a particular policy strategy and these findings were verified with key informants. After that, the analysis focuses on the way the instruments were implemented on a street level. Finally, the interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants provided insights into the effects of strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces on legal certainty, trust relations and institutional discrimination.

THESIS OUTLINE

Chapter 2 proposes a framework that focuses on supply-side factors to quantify touristification of consumption spaces. It argues that touristification is set in motion when a concentration of visitors creates a rent gap that raises the interest of retail capital and enables property owners to extract higher rent prices (Cheung and Yiu, 2023). The higher rent prices displaces some of the existing businesses, while forcing others to adapt. These adaptations take the form of standardization, either by increasing the share of tourist-oriented businesses (Caserta and Russo, 2002) or by increasing the share of chain stores (Mermet, 2017). By applying the framework of touristification to consumption spaces in the inner city of Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020, this chapter aims to identify to what extent touristification has occurred within this timeframe, where it has concentrated and what variations of this process can be observed.

Chapter 3 builds on the idea that increasing tourism changes the incentive structure for local entrepreneurs and contributes a qualitative understanding of entrepreneurial strategies that pays attention to the economic, social and institutional business climate in which businesses operate (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Su and Chen, 2017). Based on entrepreneur interviews in three consumption spaces in the heart of the historic city center of Amsterdam, it creates a more fine-grained understanding of touristification of consumption spaces as well as the circumstances that mediate it. The research focuses on the interplay of structure and agency, by considering how increasing tourism changes the incentive structure for entrepreneurs, as well as how entrepreneurs respond to these changes depending on their personal background and the local business climate.

Chapter 4 focuses on the perception side of touristification of consumption spaces, by looking into framing and frame resonance around tourist shops in Amsterdam's local public debate. In explaining frame resonance, previous studies have tended to emphasize the organizational and communicative strength of the social movements resisting tourism. However, social movements resisting tourism in Amsterdam have been largely unorganized, lacking a coherent message or influential spokesperson. Moreover, effects on consumption spaces has been one of many different issues around tourism that has raised discussions in local media. Yet somehow, this haphazard social movement has managed to put tourist shops on the local political agenda with such urgency and importance that it convinced an initially reluctant local government coalition to introduce legally challenging and costly interventions. Rather than in the organizational and communicative strength of social movements supporting the frames, this chapter argues that the factors that increase resonance lie in the context in which they are received. It looks into cultural resonance, the extent to which frames resonate with pre-existing social representations or beliefs about the affected context.

Chapter 5 focuses on the way in which Amsterdam's city government is responding to increasing concerns about touristification of consumption spaces, among others with the ban on tourist shops. This policy response takes place in a pluralist formal legal landscape, meaning that the city government has a range of policy instruments at its disposal, designed at various spatial scales and for different purposes, at its disposal (Brown, 2017; Michaels, 2009; Tamanaha, 2007). While the number of instruments to curtail the effects of tourism increases, however, interventions to decrease the influx of tourists and, in doing so, address the root cause of touristification, remain limited (Kuenen et al., 2023; Smeral, 2020). This situation invites strategic use of legal pluralism that exists within the formal state law, where existing regulation is combined and applied to pursue a pressing local issue (Aguilera et al., 2021). This chapter explores how this strategic use of policy instruments affects legal certainty and trust relations for entrepreneurs.

The diversity of thematical and methodological approaches focused on a single case, allows this research to analyze the three layers of touristification of consumption spaces: the material effects of tourism on consumption spaces; the way in which these effects are interpreted; and the policy landscape in which touristification is managed. The second and third chapter look into the material effects of tourism on consumption spaces, as well as the variations in the way this process occurs. The fourth chapter focuses on the interpretative layer where the material effects of tourism become a social problem that needs to be addressed. The fifth chapter considers the local policy context within which the response to resistance to touristification is formulated. The focus on policy interventions also sheds light on how the three layers influence each other. Material changes merge into pre-existing beliefs about the inner city of Amsterdam and give rise to collective action frames. These frames affect the way in

which touristification of consumption spaces emerges on the political agenda and the type of proposed solutions to this social problem. These solutions then feed back into the material effects of tourism on consumption spaces.

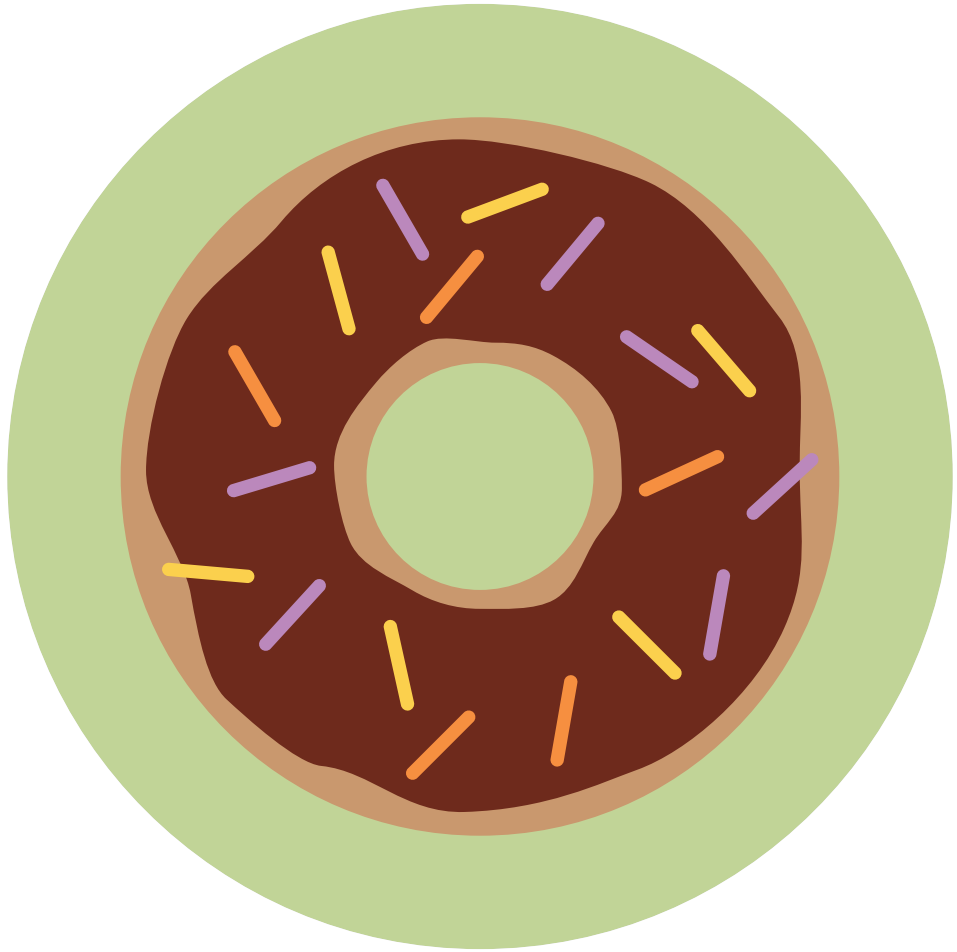
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GEOGRAPHIES OF TOURISTIFICATION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES: How retail capital shapes the effects of tourism on shops, services and hospitality businesses

Hagemans, I. W., Spierings, B., Weltevreden, J.W.J, & Hooimeijer, P. (in print), Geographies of Touristification of Consumption Spaces: How retail capital shapes the effects of tourism on shops, services and hospitality businesses. *Annals of Tourism Research: Empirical Insights*



ABSTRACT

This study proposes a framework to measure touristification of consumption spaces, consisting of concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape. This framework is tested using business registration data and rent price estimates for consumption spaces in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020. Touristification can be identified in the data in the form of concentrations of retail capital, coinciding with standardization, but this occurs without causing significant business displacement. A cluster analysis identifies different variations of touristification. Besides the more typical cases these include nightlife areas, gentrifying consumption spaces and specialized retail areas. This shows that local contingencies cause consumption spaces to respond differently to increasing tourism.

INTRODUCTION

As global tourism flows increased, more and more cities experienced negative impacts on people and places (Dodds and Butler, 2020; Novy and Colomb, 2016). One of the main grievances causing the surge in resistance to tourism lies in its effects on consumption spaces. Consumption spaces are defined in this study as an assembly of shops, hospitality and public space in residential areas. Tourism can manifest in these spaces as crowding and associated nuisance, which often leads to avoidance behavior among local residents (Popp, 2012; Snepenger et al., 2003). This may cause shops, services and hospitality to adapt to the tourist demand, potentially eroding feelings of place attachment among local residents. We refer to this interplay of changes in the consumer base and the consumption landscape as touristification of consumption spaces, a process that spurred resistance to tourism in popular destinations such as Venice (Caserta and Russo, 2002), Barcelona (Goodwin, 2017), Lisbon (Guimarães, 2021), Berlin (Füller and Michel, 2014) and Amsterdam (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). In spite of its growing impact, touristification of consumption spaces has been underexplored. Firstly, consumption spaces are largely overlooked in literature on touristification, which traditionally focused on crowding, nuisance and intrusive behavior by tourists (Neuts and Nijkamp, 2012) and more recently turned towards effects of tourism on housing prices (González-Pérez, 2020; Hübscher and Kallert, 2023; Perić et al., 2022). Secondly, those studies that specifically focus on touristification of consumption spaces tend to explain touristification from a demand perspective. Such explanations center around the differences between tourist- and resident demand (Oh et al., 2007; Snepenger et al., 2003), as well as the way in which this changes the incentive structure for entrepreneurs in the direct vicinity of tourism destinations, allowing them to increase their profit margins (Caserta and Russo, 2002). The changing demand requires entrepreneurs to strike a careful balance between a local authentic offer and atmosphere (Guimarães, 2021) and recognizable products in a familiar setting (Hagemans et al., 2023). When the supply-side is considered, this is often from a city-wide perspective, drawing attention to the way in which this consumption landscape is actively produced. Placing touristification within the third wave gentrification, this literature emphasizes the role of public-private partnerships where state policies and large entertainment corporations join forces to reshape the urban landscape for tourist consumption (Fox Gotham, 2018). Supply-side developments that affect the way in which touristification plays out on a local scale remain largely invisible.

This chapter addresses this gap in the literature and contributes a framework that outlines the local supply-side explanations of touristification of consumption spaces. The framework revolves around concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape. Concentration of retail capital refers to growing interest in particular consumption spaces from different actors that

have a financial stake in shops, services and hospitality businesses (Mermet, 2017; Zukin et al., 2009). This concentration of retail capital is operationalized in this study by increasing rent prices. Business displacement refers to businesses that relocate or terminate as a consequence of the growing tourist consumer base, or increasing rent prices (Meltzer, 2016). This is operationalized by the average annual percentage of relocating or terminating businesses. Standardization of the consumption landscape refers to a growing share of similar businesses. This research considers chain stores (see Cox et al., 2010) and businesses focused on the tourist consumer base (Caserta and Russo, 2002; Guimarães, 2021). Using these three concepts, our aim is to pinpoint where touristification of consumption spaces prevails, but also to identify variations in the way in which tourism affects consumption spaces.

This framework is applied to longitudinal data on consumption spaces in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020. In Amsterdam, effects of touristification of consumption spaces became one of the main causes of local resistance to tourism since 2014. In that year, local media started reporting about crowding, nuisance and dirt in inner city consumption spaces. Over the following years, an increasing share of Amsterdam's residents started to consider touristification of consumption spaces as a pressing issue (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016). Especially tourist-oriented businesses in the inner city were increasingly targeted in both print and social media for creating a monoculture of low quality businesses that cater only to visitors, while alienating local residents. These concerns even elicited a policy response in the form of a ban on tourist shops in inner city zoning plans (City of Amsterdam, 2018). The urgency and importance of the issue in local media and politics, make Amsterdam a likely case to observe and measure touristification of consumption spaces. This study will demonstrate to what degree, where and in which forms tourism has affected consumption spaces in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020.

TOURISTIFICATION OF URBAN CONSUMPTION SPACES: LOCAL SUPPLY SIDE EXPLANATIONS

Touristification is set in motion by an increasing influx of tourists, causing changes in local demand. A crucial characteristic that determines the spatial impact of tourism is its tendency to concentrate within small geographical areas, especially when the number of visitors increases and their average length of stay becomes shorter (Russo, 2002). The shorter visitors stay in a destination, the more they are inclined to focus on the most important tourism highlights and to visit these with the purpose of sightseeing. This purpose comes with a mindset in which negative effects of increasing tourism, such as crowding, longer waiting times and higher prices for consumptions are accepted as part of the sightseeing experience (Popp, 2012). Residents and visitors who are leisure-

shopping or on more goal-oriented shopping trips experience these externalities of increasing tourism much more negatively (Jacobsen et al., 2019; Neuts and Nijkamp, 2012; Snepenger et al., 2003) and may ultimately decide to avoid the consumption space altogether. Exactly these inequalities in the way negative externalities of tourism are spatially distributed and perceived, allow the increase in visitor numbers to continue in spite of its negative effects, resulting in a vicious circle (Russo, 2002). This vicious circle occurs in heritage destinations, but has also been observed in shopping-focused touristic destinations (Su et al., 2020). Our framework focuses on the supply-side changes that result from the concentration of visitors. The increased footfall creates a rent gap that raises the interest of retail capital and enables property owners to extract higher rent prices (Cheung and Yiu, 2023). The higher rent prices cause displacement of some of the existing businesses, while forcing others to adapt. These adaptations take the form of standardization, either by increasing the share of tourist-oriented businesses (Caserta and Russo, 2002) or by increasing the share of chain stores (Mermet, 2017).

Concentration of retail capital

In the areas where tourism concentrates, the higher number of visitors and changing demand cause a concentration of retail capital. Retail capital refers to the stakeholders that benefit from the exchange value generated in consumption spaces (Mermet, 2017). These include property owners, business owners and investors. For each of these stakeholders, the increasing number of visitors creates a gap between the revenue earned by a business or building at its current use and the potential revenue when the use of the space is optimized to cater to the growing tourist demand (Cheung and Yiu, 2023). Business owners could achieve higher turnover in consumption spaces with higher footfall, which enables property owners and investors to extract higher rents. The rent gap also raises the interest of large, often international, holdings, which increasingly concentrate in consumption spaces in inner cities (Mermet, 2017). The deeper pockets of large chain stores further inflates rent prices for commercial property, potentially resulting in the displacement of especially smaller, independent businesses. Concentration of retail capital occurs when these stakeholders that financially benefit from transactions in consumption spaces, show increased interest in a particular consumption space.

Business displacement

The concentration of retail capital shapes the consumption landscape by causing business displacement and by intensifying the pressure towards standardization. Rent increases can result in business displacement in three possible ways (Marcuse, 1985). Firstly, higher rents directly cause both voluntary and involuntary displacement. Some business owners may choose to sell their lease due to favorable market conditions (Mermet, 2017). Others may be forced to move out because the rent has become

unaffordable (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). Secondly, this direct displacement also causes indirect displacement. Some businesses may not experience steep rent increases, for example because they own their property, or because their rents are protected. For these businesses, the disappearance of other retail and hospitality businesses may still cause significant displacement pressure (Marcuse, 1985). Loss of complementary retail and hospitality businesses can cause longer established businesses to feel out of place and may eventually be a reason for business owners to relocate (Mermet, 2017). Thirdly, increasing rents do not only affect businesses that are already located in the area, but also change opportunities for future business owners looking for a location. This is referred to as exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1985). Businesses that are not able to generate the considerable profits necessary to pay increased rent prices will have to locate elsewhere. For the consumption landscape, this means that increasing rent prices drive entrepreneurs to either adapt or relocate to be replaced by businesses that can generate higher turnover, resulting in standardization of the consumption landscape.

Standardization of consumption landscape

Standardization of the consumption landscape occurs in two forms. Firstly, higher footfall raises the interest of chain stores. Well-known national and international chain stores can generate high sales and pay high rent prices in inner cities and therefore afford to pay rent prices independent stores cannot afford (Mermet, 2017). Smaller, independent, specialized and exclusive retail and hospitality outlets often locate in the less crowded consumption spaces with a low density, where lower rents allow them to survive on lower sales. Secondly, in areas where the number of visitors increases, standardization also occurs in the form of tourist shops (Guimarães, 2021). Souvenir shops and hospitality will replace products and services for everyday and comparison shopping, either because the existing business owner changes the offer of products and services, or because businesses disappear and are replaced by a more tourist oriented formulas (Fox Gotham, 2005).

Although the tourist and resident demand might initially not differ significantly, especially international tourists show specific tendencies. They are more likely to shop as a leisure activity and tend to be more interested in unique local products and experiences (Oh et al., 2007; Snepenger et al., 2003). Moreover, their consumption behavior is often affected by time constraints, lack of information and risk associated with shopping and consuming in a foreign country (Lloyd et al., 2011). The more limited the time visitors spend in a particular destination, the less likely they are to venture further into the neighborhood or city. Consequently, speed and convenience become more important when purchasing goods and services, while relatively higher prices and lower quality tend to be expected and accepted as part of the sightseeing experience. This results in a relative monopoly for businesses in the direct vicinity of a popular tourist attraction (Caserta and Russo, 2002). Moreover, the transience of consumers

makes these businesses less dependent on repeat purchases and reputation (Caserta and Russo, 2002). This incentivizes “replacing high quality products with cheap and standardized ones” (Russo, 2002: 170), both in the offer of souvenir products and in the supply of food and beverages (Guimarães, 2021).

Summarizing, touristification of consumption spaces describes the spatial effects of tourism on shops, services and hospitality businesses. These effects are set in motion by an increasing influx of visitors. Focusing on the supply side, this paper zooms in on the raised interest from retail capital, which forces entrepreneurs to standardize or relocate. This creates a loop in which concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape feed into each other (see figure 2.1). The typical case of touristification thus assumes mutually reinforcing relationships between these three indicators. The next section evaluates to what extent concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape resonate with concerns about touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam, after that, the concepts are operationalized and measured with empirical data.

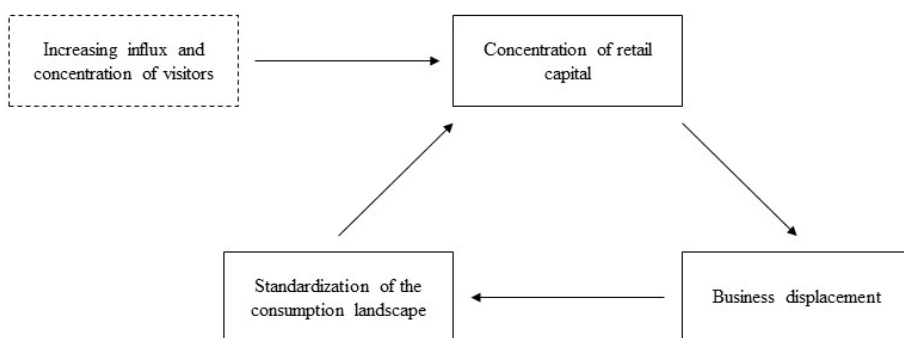


Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework to measure touristification of consumption spaces

THE CASE OF AMSTERDAM: POLICY CONTEXT

Amsterdam serves as a case where touristification of consumption spaces is likely to occur. The city has a long history as a tourism destination, attracting visitors with a twofold image of cultural heritage and a seedy reputation caused by liberal drugs and prostitution policies; a combination that has always caused a degree of tension and resistance (Nijman, 1999). Towards the turn of the century, Amsterdam started to take tourism more seriously as an economic sector (Dahles, 1998) and in the first decade of the 2000s, promoting Amsterdam as a tourist destination became an important

policy imperative (City of Amsterdam, 2006). The increased promotion started to pay off in 2013, when the two largest art museums reopened after years of large-scale renovations and destination marketing around these re-openings brought in a record number of visitors, which was about to increase by about 50% over the next five years (see figure 2.2).

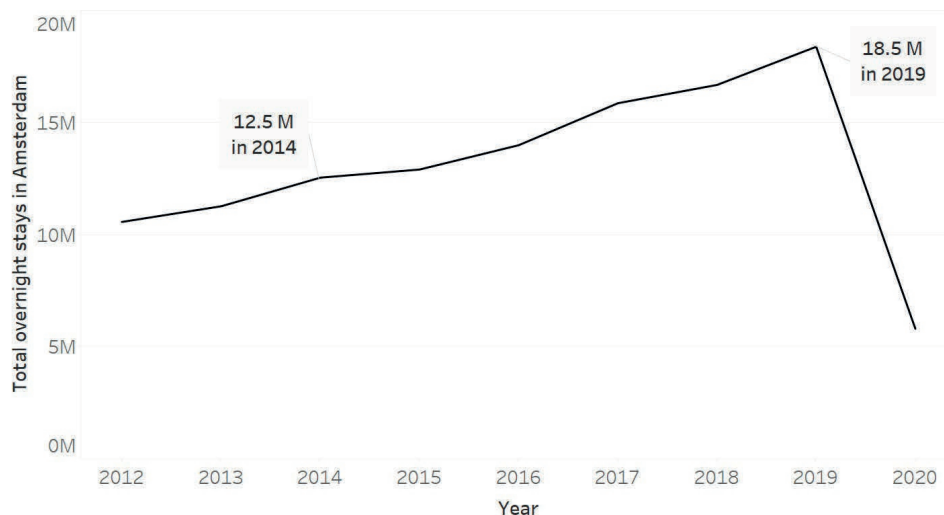


Figure 2.2. Overnight stays in Amsterdam 2012 – 2020 (source: City of Amsterdam, Department of Research and Statistics, Dataset Toerisme in Amsterdam, <https://onderzoek.amsterdam.nl/dataset/toerisme-in-amsterdam>)

In 2013 the attitude towards tourism was still mostly positive, as illustrated by the nickname for 2013 as a 'jubilant year'. A year later, resistance to tourism started to increase in Amsterdam. This initially focused on congestion (especially due to fun-transport such as the beer bike) as well as the housing market. In 2016, touristification of consumption spaces started to gain increasing attention in local as well as national media. This eventually compelled Amsterdam's local government to intervene, first and foremostly with its 'Balanced City' policy (City of Amsterdam, 2015) and eventually even with a ban on tourist shops from inner city zoning plans (City of Amsterdam, 2018).

Policy concerns about touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam are very much in line with the concepts of concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape. Amsterdam's local government describes touristification of consumption spaces as starting when an increasing share of footfall consists of "recreating passers-by"¹ (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 43) rather than

¹ The fragments from Amsterdam's policy documents are translated by the authors

residents doing their daily grocery shopping. This narrative starts from the observation that *“In parts of the city center (...) the influence of Amsterdam's growing popularity for tourists and day trippers is increasingly visible in the offer of shops and services. A growing share of entrepreneurs sells products that are produced and sold in large quantities and have high profit margins, such as waffles, ice cream and cheese. These potentially high profit margins in combination with higher footfall, increase the attractiveness of these locations, causing an increase in rent prices of commercial property”* (City of Amsterdam, 2017: 11). This quote clearly underlines the concentration of retail capital due to higher footfall and the relative monopoly of businesses in the direct vicinity of tourist destinations.

This is argued to create standardization of the consumption landscape, which policy documents describe as a *“monoculture”* (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 43) of businesses. *“The consequence is that in a number of busy shopping streets the characteristic diversity of the retail and hospitality offer decreases, and a more uniform offer of shops, services (...) and hospitality aimed at fast consumption emerges”* (City of Amsterdam, 2017: 11). Once it appears, this uniformity is considered to have ripple effects, firstly because *“successful concepts are simply copied, without innovation or added value”*, which is argued to occur *“especially in streets with higher footfall”* (City of Amsterdam, 2018: 31). Secondly, ripple effects are expected because *“fast product turnover and considerable profit margins”* have a *“price boosting effect on property and rent prices of commercial property”* (City of Amsterdam, 2018: 31).

When it comes to the diversity of the retail offer, this is argued to be threatened by both chain stores and tourist shops. Especially tourist shops are problematized and addressed with policy measures. Tourist shops are defined by their advertisement, offer of products and business model (City of Amsterdam, 2017, loosely translated). In terms of advertisement, tourist shops are described as communicating mostly or entirely in English, as well as having a flashy and obtrusive appearance. With regard to the offer of products, tourist-oriented products are characterized by being packaged in plastic, tins or gift boxes, often with symbols representing Amsterdam or the Netherlands. Besides this, fast food is also seen as an example of a tourist-oriented offer. Especially ice cream and waffle shops have become paradigmatic examples. A final category of tourists shops consists of businesses that offer daily goods for higher prices than competing businesses in other consumption spaces do. This price boosting effect is then argued to drive up rent prices and displace *“ordinary and specialty shops”* (City of Amsterdam, 2015: 43). This adds up to existing struggles faced by traditional local shops and specialty stores due to changing consumption patterns, exacerbating business displacement. Concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape thus clearly resonate with concerns about touristification of consumption spaces by policymakers in Amsterdam. The next section considers whether these concerns can also be captured in data on consumption spaces in Amsterdam.

METHODS

The quantification of touristification of consumption spaces is based on secondary data, including rent prices for commercial property and business registration data in consumption spaces in the inner city of Amsterdam. Data is gathered on an annual basis, ranging from 2005 up to 2020; a time period characterized by a surge in tourism flows as well as increasing local resistance to tourism, especially since 2014. This longitudinal perspective allows a comparison of the extent to which touristification of consumption spaces increased over time, as the numbers of tourists visiting Amsterdam surged. The analysis first assesses the extent to which concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape correlate to evaluate their relevance in the context of Amsterdam. After that, a geographic analysis based on a hierarchical cluster analysis combined with local expert knowledge zooms in to the historic inner city to identify variations of touristification of consumption spaces.

Data is gathered for 74 consumption spaces in Amsterdam's pre-WWII neighborhoods (see figure 2.3). The demarcation of consumption spaces is based on research by the municipal department of Research, Information and Statistics, which identifies clusters of shops and hospitality and has triangulated these with what local residents perceive as different consumption areas. They typically consist of one or a small number of streets and/or squares that form a continuous retail and hospitality area within a residential area. On average they contain 77 businesses, consisting of 48% retail outlets (18% daily and 30% non-daily products), 29% hospitality businesses (12% restaurants, 11% fast-food restaurants, 5% cafes and bars and 1% hotels), 12% commercial services and 12% other businesses, including, for instance, libraries, day care centers, or medical services. Retail planning strategies in the Netherlands have historically restricted the development of out-of-town shopping malls, mitigating the impact of increasing car mobility on the geography of consumption spaces (Spierings, 2006). Amsterdam's consumption landscape therefore continues to be fine-grained and diverse, with a relatively high share of businesses for daily products.

Operationalizing concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape

Firstly, concentration of retail capital is operationalized with estimated rent prices per square meter of commercial property. These estimations are expert valuations conducted on behalf of the Amsterdam's local government as a guideline for prospective entrepreneurs looking for properties to rent. They estimate the annual rent price per square meter for a standardized, hypothetical property in each consumption space in Amsterdam, providing a minimum price for the quieter nooks and a maximum price for the busiest section. This method ensures that characteristics of the building, such as size, building quality and maintenance or amount of shopwindow space are left out of

consideration.

Secondly, business displacement is operationalized as the average share of businesses that leave a consumption space per year. This is a relatively limited measure of displacement. First of all, it does not capture exclusionary displacement. Secondly, it does not include information on the motivations behind the disappearance of businesses. Because business displacement would ideally measure businesses that relocate or terminate as a consequence of rent increases or displacement of complementary businesses, this motivation is essential in distinguishing displacement from regular business dynamics. However, in the absence of data on motivations to relocate or terminate, business displacement is operationalized here as business changeover. This measure is derived from an annual dataset on the registered business in Amsterdam (ARRA)². This data is based on registrations at the Chamber of Commerce, updated with an annual entrepreneur survey conducted by the Amsterdam Bureau of Research Information and Statistics. This allows an annual comparison of business changeover and a calculated average share of business changeover within a particular timeframe.

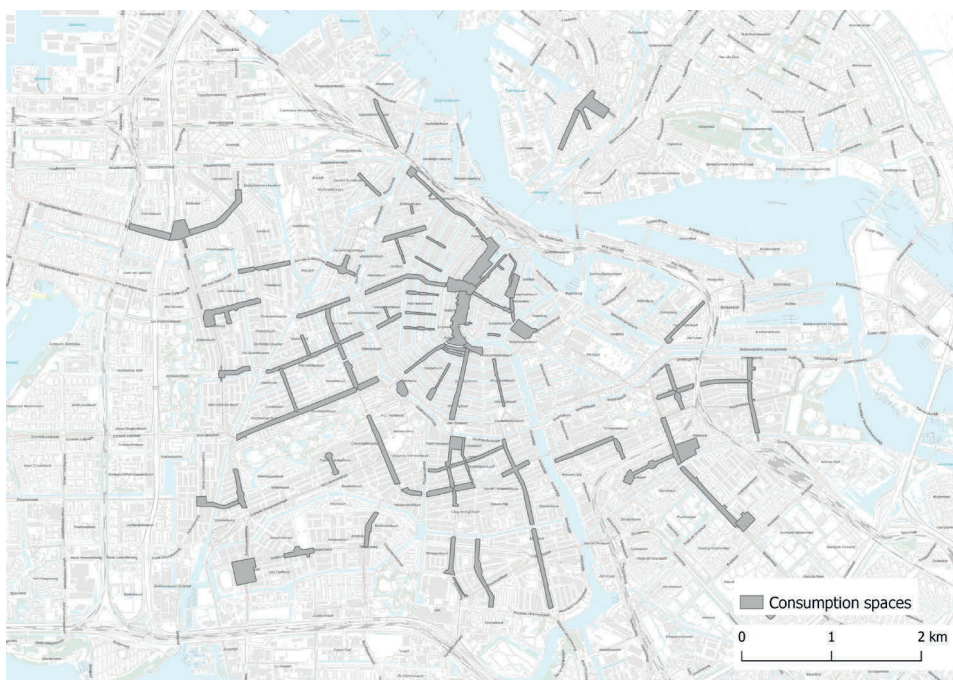


Figure 2.3. Map of consumption spaces in Amsterdam's pre-WWII neighborhoods (source: City of Amsterdam, Department of Research and Statistics)

2 ARRA (2005-2020), Retrieved from the Amsterdam Bureau of Research Information and Statistics, May 2018

Finally, standardization of the consumption landscape is operationalized by two measures; the percentage of chain stores and the percentage of tourist shops in consumption spaces. The analysis includes the percentage of both categories separately for each consumption space to consider their individual effect (although these categories are obviously not mutually exclusive). The share of chain stores is readily available in the data on business registrations, these consist of all stores with multiple locations of the same formula – therefore including franchises as well as chain stores. Our definition of tourist shops is adopted from policy research in support of Amsterdam's Balanced City policy (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016), which considers the following business categories as tourist shops: Mini-supermarkets (for this research this class is limited to businesses with fewer than six employees); shops in bread and pastry; shops in chocolate and confectionary; cheese shops; shops specialized in non-classified products; and ice cream parlors.

To test the validity of this indicator, the number of tourist shops per consumption space in 2017 is compared to observational data gathered by the Amsterdam's Bureau of Research Information and Statistics between 2016 and 2019, which coded the number of shops with 'touristic expressions' in their shop windows. These do not necessarily measure the same concept, since a business that does not classify as a tourist shop can still have touristic expressions. Think of a newsagent, for instance, that displays fridge magnets and key chains with symbols of Amsterdam in its shopwindow. However, both measures indicate businesses that cater to a tourist consumer base. In the 15 spaces for which observation data is available, touristic expressions show a positive correlation with the classified tourist shops (.64, $p < .000$), strengthening the idea that the selected branches are representative of tourist shops as classified by Amsterdam's local government.

We have measured and correlated the indicators in three time periods; between 2005 and 2008, between 2008 and 2014 and between 2014 and 2020. These timeframes have been selected because of the differences in rent price dynamics as well as the changing perceptions of tourism that prevailed in each timeframe. The period between 2005 and 2008 represents the time before the Global Financial Crisis when rent prices for commercial property were rapidly increasing, especially in the highest priced consumption spaces. The time period between 2008 and 2014 represents a time of economic recession following the Global Financial Crisis. During this period, rent prices for commercial property stagnated and even declined in the highest priced consumption spaces. The time period after 2014 represents a time of economic recovery as well as a surge in the number of tourists. This was reflected in increasing rent prices for commercial property, as well as an increasingly negative perception of tourism (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016). Table 2.1 shows how the indicators developed in each of the time frames.

Table 2.1. Overview of indicators in the selected time periods

Concept	Indicator	Year	Mean	Median	St.dev.
Concentration of retail capital	Estimated max. rent price per m2	2005	€ 394	€ 300	€ 283
		2008	€ 535	€ 338	€ 560
		2014	€ 526	€ 300	€ 516
		2020	€ 628	€ 375	€ 583
Business displacement	Business changeover	2005-2008	10.9 %	10.7 %	4.7 %
		2008-2014	10.7 %	10.1 %	3.4 %
		2014-2020	5.4 %	5.4 %	2.3 %
Standardization of the consumption landscape	Share of chain stores	2005	29.7 %	27.6 %	12.5 %
		2008	30.5 %	27.9 %	12.9 %
		2014	30.1 %	29.0 %	10.7 %
		2020	30.2 %	28.9 %	11.2 %
	Share of tourist shops	2005	6.7 %	5.7 %	4.9 %
		2008	7.1 %	6.8 %	4.4 %
		2014	6.8 %	6.4 %	4.5 %
		2020	6.1 %	5.3 %	4.4 %

Assessing touristification of consumption spaces

The analysis first assesses whether the concepts of concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape correlate. If touristification of consumption spaces has intensified over the past years, as presumed in the public debate that led to a ban on tourist shops, one would expect increasingly positive correlations between rent prices for commercial property, business displacement and shares of tourist shops and chain stores. After that, the consumption landscape in the historic inner city - where touristification was considered most problematic and, therefore, a ban on tourist shops is in effect – is analyzed in more detail. Eighteen consumption space in the historic inner city are monitored within the timeframe between 2014 and 2020, when touristification of consumption spaces emerged as a social problem in Amsterdam.

The geographic analysis is based on a cluster analysis, which takes into account concentration of retail capital and standardization of the consumption landscape between 2014 and 2020 for 18 consumption spaces within the inner city area where the ban on tourist shops is in effect. The variables thus include the estimated rent price in 2014, the increase in estimated rent price between 2014 and 2020, the share of chain stores and tourist shops in 2014 and the increase in shares of chain stores and tourist shops between 2014 and 2020. These variables have been standardized to z-scores to make sure that each variable bears the same weight, even though rent prices are measured in euros and can be up to 2000 euros apart, while the share of tourist shops and chain stores are measured as a percentage between 0 and 1. The limited number of cases and variables enables an agglomerative hierarchical clustering, which means

that the cluster analysis starts with every case in a separate cluster. It then iteratively groups the two cases or groups of cases that are most similar. This process is repeated until all cases are grouped in a single cluster. Hierarchical clustering is an unsupervised clustering method that is highly suitable for understanding data structures and identifying similarities between cases, especially when the number of clusters is unknown at the start of the analysis (Dolnicar, 2002). The downside is that the iterative calculation of distances between the cases and clusters can take too long for large datasets. For the limited observations and variables in our study, however, it is extremely insightful to explore the geographic variations in touristification of consumption spaces. We then used our local expert knowledge to identify the cutoff point at which the clusters most clearly describe different types of consumption spaces in Amsterdam's historic inner city. Finally, the stability of the clusters is assessed with a Jaccard score (see Liu et al., 2022 for an evaluation).

TOURISTIFICATION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES IN AMSTERDAM

Concentration of retail capital, as operationalized by increasing rent prices, correlates with standardization of the consumption landscape, both in the form of increasing shares of chain stores and increasing shares of tourist shops (see table 2.2). However, while the correlation between rent prices and shares of chain stores remain constant throughout the investigated time periods, the association between rent prices and shares of tourist shops has increased. The share of chain stores was already higher in the higher priced consumption spaces in 2005, and this has remained the same throughout the investigated time period. Tourist shops, on the other hand, only started to coincide with higher rent prices after 2008. Over time, rent prices started to correlate stronger with shares of tourist shops than with shares of chain stores. This supports the idea that consumption landscapes significantly changed as the number of tourists in Amsterdam surged after 2014.

Higher rent prices and standardization of the consumption landscape, however, do not coincide with higher levels of business changeover in Amsterdam's consumption spaces. To the contrary, between 2014 and 2020 higher priced consumption spaces have seen somewhat less business changeover than lower priced consumption spaces (see table 2.3). This could have different causes. Perhaps businesses in more densely visited areas have been able to adapt to increasing tourism and benefit from the increased footfall to such an extent that they are able to afford the higher rent prices. It could also mean that business displacement occurs in the form of displacement pressure and exclusionary displacement rather than direct displacement. The higher rent prices and changing character of the consumption space cause businesses that

would otherwise have located there to look elsewhere and remaining businesses are forced to adapt or relocate. These forms of displacement do not lead to a higher share of business changeover. Alternatively, consumption spaces that did not see increasing concentration of retail capital may have experienced displacement as well. Looking at the distribution of consumption spaces with a higher degree of changeover, they seem concentrated in the pre-WWII neighborhoods around the inner city. Many of these areas have experienced considerable, often state-led gentrification of the housing market between 2005 and 2014 (Hochstenbach, 2017). In many cases, this was complemented with state-led restructuring of consumption landscapes (Hagemans et al., 2015; Hoekstra et al., 2018). In that case, business displacement in consumption spaces that have experienced touristification might not stand out because business displacement due to gentrification has been higher in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020.

Table 2.2. Correlations between concentration of retail capital and standardization of the consumption landscape

			<i>Concentration of retail capital</i>			
			Rent prices 2005	Rent prices 2008	Rent prices 2014	Rent prices 2020
<i>Standardization of the consumption landscape</i>	2005	Share of chain stores	0.480 **			
		Share of tourist shops	0.248			
	2008	Share of chain stores		0.526 **		
		Share of tourist shops		0.225 **		
	2014	Share of chain stores			0.561 **	
		Share of tourist shops			0.322 *	
	2020	Share of chain stores				0.460 **
		Share of tourist shops				0.586 **

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 2.3. Correlations between concentration of retail capital and business displacement

			<i>Business displacement</i>		
			Business changeover 2005 – 2008	Business changeover 2008 – 2014	Business changeover 2014 – 2020
2005	Rent prices	-0.248 *			
	Share of chain stores	-0.195			
	Share of tourist shops	-0.188			
2008	Rent prices			-0.305 **	
	Share of chain stores			0.069	
	Share of tourist shops			-0.384 **	
2014	Rent prices				-0.277 *
	Share of chain stores				-0.017
	Share of tourist shops				-0.067

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Geographical analysis of touristification in the inner city consumption landscape

Our geographical analysis zooms in on eighteen consumption spaces in the historic inner city of Amsterdam where the ban on tourist shops is in effect. We have clustered these consumption spaces into groups that have seen different variations of touristification in the timeframe between 2014 and 2020, based on a hierarchical cluster analysis. This analysis uses the development of rent prices, shares of chain stores and shares of tourist shops between 2014 and 2020 as a starting point, since correlations supported hypothesized effects of touristification in this timeframe. The findings have been validated with an analysis of the different sectors represented in the different clusters. This showed significant differences between, for instance, the share and type of hospitality businesses, the share of shops for food and daily products and the share of fashion and specialty shops. Combined with our local expert knowledge of the consumption spaces this resulted in five clusters with a specific signature and one outlier.

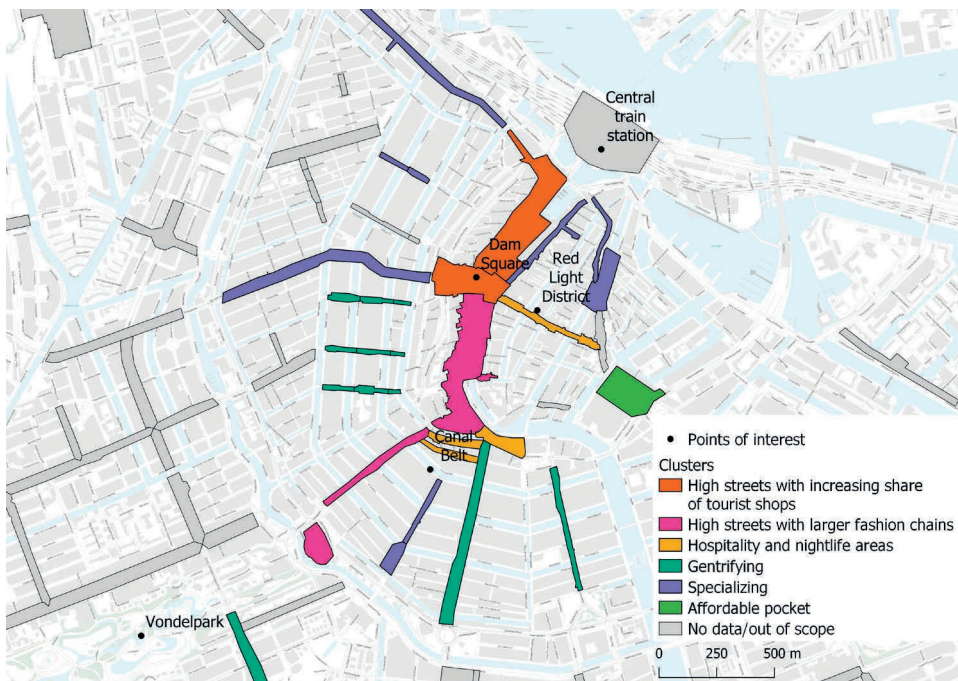


Figure 2.4. Map of retail clusters

In the clustering process, one outlier is only added to a cluster in the final step. It concerns *Waterlooplein*, a square known for its semi-permanent flea market, and its adjacent street, which marks the transition where the historic inner city street pattern with small, windy

roads turns into a large traffic artery. Whether it is due to the competition with the flea market, or because the street is right at the edge of the historic city and receives fewer visitors, the consumption space stands out from the other clusters as an affordable pocket. Estimated at a maximum of € 375 per square meter per year, the price level for commercial property is more comparable to consumption spaces in the outer districts of Amsterdam than to the inner city consumption spaces in its direct vicinity, making the space an outlier in the cluster analysis.

The remaining consumption spaces are divided into five clusters, where touristification played out in different ways. The most pronounced differences exist between four streets that together form Amsterdam's main retail arteries, which we have labeled as High streets, and the other consumption spaces. The four High streets are separated into two clusters, where two consumption spaces have seen an increasing share of tourist shops since 2014 and the other two have not. These two form the most stable clusters, with a Jaccard score of 0.87 and 0.91. The smaller consumption spaces veering off of these largest retail arteries fall into three different clusters (see figure 2.4). We identified a cluster of consumption spaces characterized by a large offer of hospitality businesses, take-away food shops and a reputation as a nightlife area. Another cluster consists of consumption spaces in a more mature stage of commercial gentrification. The final cluster contains consumption spaces where rent prices for shops continue to be relatively modest and where both the share of chain stores and the share of tourist shops are low. This cluster includes spaces with a very specific focus and are therefore labeled as specializing areas. The Jaccard scores for these clusters were relatively low, all between 0.6 and 0.75. This means that although the clusters indicate a pattern, exactly which consumption space belongs in which cluster can be uncertain. Figure 2.5 shows how the different clusters score on the indicators of rent prices, share of chain stores and share of tourist shops in 2020, as well as how each indicator developed between 2014 and 2020.

The first cluster contains Dam square, the heart of the inner city of Amsterdam, and Damrak, the main road leading up to Dam square from the Central train station (see figure 2.6). Former director of Urban Planning in Amsterdam Zef Hemel has dubbed these street the touristic 'procession route' (Hemel, 2019). At peak hours, the wide pavements on Damrak are usually bustling, creating a two-way stream of people on their way to and from the train station. The retail and hospitality businesses that line the street are geared to intercepting the large flows of foot traffic with a quick bite or last-minute souvenir. Dam square itself is home to a number of historic buildings, such as the national palace and a medieval church used as an exhibition space, as well as some more commercial attractions such as Madame Tussauds and Mr Ripley's. The mix of high- and lowbrow is also reflected in the consumption landscape, which is a mix of souvenir shops, hospitality and fashion shops. These include exclusive fashion labels, as well as budget stores, fine-dining as well as fast food and expensive, hand-

painted Delft blue vases as well as affordable clog keychains imported from low-wage countries. The data confirms the image of these consumption spaces, Damrak and Dam square, as stereotypical cases of touristification, where higher rent prices coincide with an increasing share of tourist shops and chain stores. These consumption spaces have seen the highest increase in rent prices and have the largest share of tourist shops.

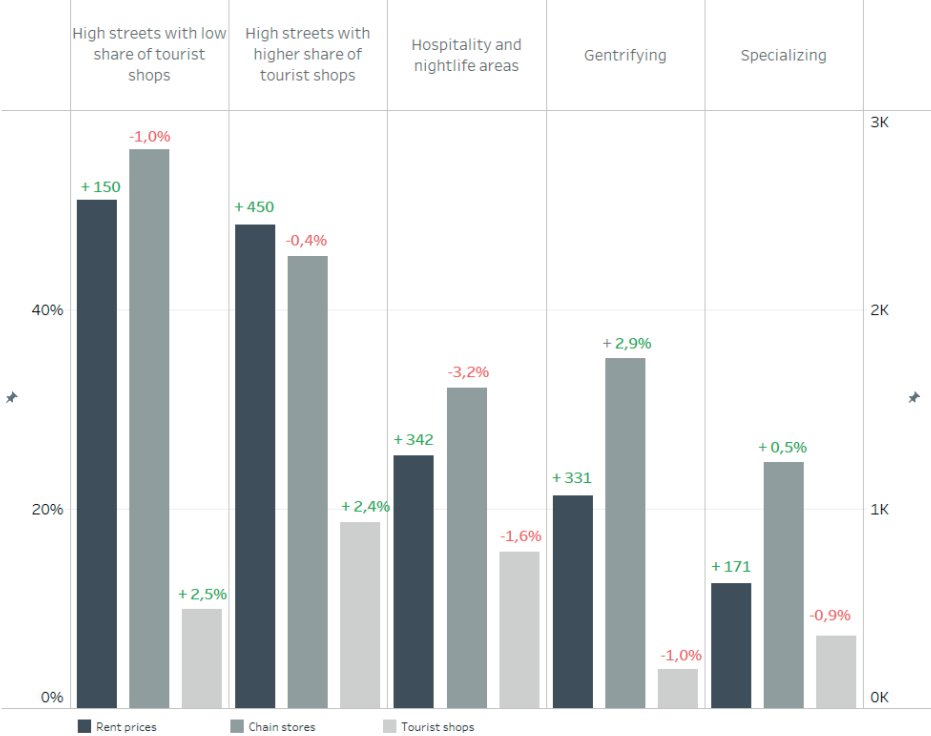


Figure 2.5. Rent prices, share of chain stores and share of tourist shops within the clusters



Figure 2.6. Dam square and Damrak, photos by author

The next cluster consists of two High street areas continuing further to the South, that are highly similar in terms of the type of businesses. They are foremostly shopping streets, where large fashion brands dominate and hospitality businesses are relatively sparse. Tourist shops make up a relatively small part of the consumption landscape. Although the consumption landscape in these places thus seems relatively unaffected by tourism, both streets have featured prominently in debates around touristification of consumption spaces. In Kalverstraat, this seems mostly due to crowding. Over the past years, there have been a number of occasions in which crowding took such extreme forms that the police closed the street off to avoid dangerous levels of density. Leidsestraat (see figure 2.7), situated as it is in the most prosperous area of the Canal Belt and towards Museum square, has traditionally been more upscale, catering to the local elite that resides in the area as well as the relatively affluent visitors drawn to the upmarket hotels, museums and the Royal concert hall. In Leidsestraat, the concerns about touristification seem to concentrate on the final blocks in the Southernmost end where the street ends in Leidseplein, a culture and nightlife area. This part of the street has seen a more pronounced increase of take-away and fast food over the past years. Interestingly, it was also on this part of the street that the ban on tourist shops caused some protest among the local population when it led to the closure of a fish shop. With its offer of take-away fried fish, this shop falls under the category of tourist shops in the zoning plan. However, local residents saw this shop as one of the few examples of 'normal' shops to open up in Leidsestraat. After years of litigation, the shop was eventually banned from the street, to be replaced by a candy store. This example illustrates the limits of city-wide regulation such as the ban on tourist shops. Zoning plans can curtail the types of businesses that are allowed at this particular spot, but do not change the concentration of retail capital and resulting rent gap. This means that entrepreneurs continue to face the same incentive structure that encourages standardization. It may take a different form to conform to zoning plan criteria, but is likely to be perceived by residents as standardization nonetheless. This implies that in those consumption spaces, effectively addressing standardization would be extremely difficult without addressing the underlying rent gap.



Figure 2.7. Leidsestraat, photos by author

The third cluster that emerged out of the data, consists of consumption spaces that have seen a relatively high rent price increase since 2014, but at the same time a decrease of both chain stores and tourist shops. These spaces seem to represent a form of touristification that is not measured in the current definition of tourist shops, focusing mostly on hospitality, take-away and nightlife (see Olt et al., 2019 for more detail about nightlife touristification). One of the streets within this cluster is located right next to the Red Light District, infamous for its dive bars and a popular setting for stag parties. The street itself is home to only a few bars and no clubs or other nightlife places. However, the start of the street is a popular spot for a snack before or after a night out. Similar to Leidsestraat, this led to an increase in take-away businesses that is highly concentrated on one end of the street. The other two consumption spaces that fall into this category are both directly adjacent to Rembrandtplein (see figure 2.8), one of the busiest nightlife and clubbing areas of Amsterdam. While especially the Red Light District has played a pivotal role in resistance to tourism in Amsterdam, this is not necessarily about touristification of shops, services and hospitality. Rather, these areas have featured in discussions about Amsterdam's reputation as a place where 'everything is allowed'. This is argued to cause obtrusive behavior, as well as noise and dirt, particularly at night. Consequently, solutions that have been suggested to manage effects of tourism in these areas focus on cleaning and security rather than on interventions in the consumption landscape.

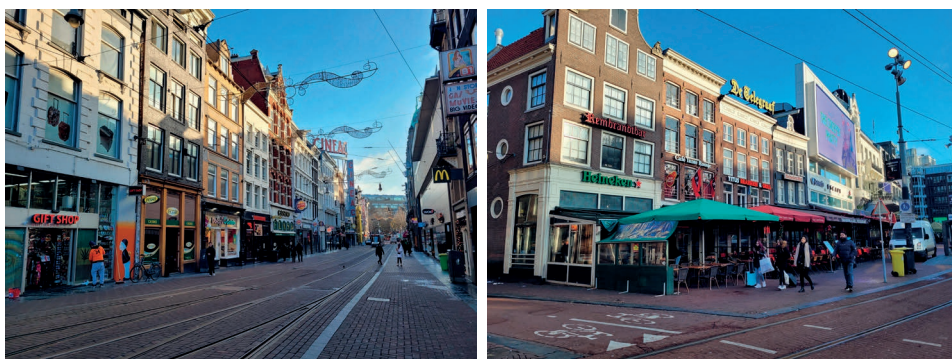


Figure 2.8. Reguliersbreestraat and Rembrandtplein, photos by author

The forth cluster, containing consumption spaces in a more mature stage of commercial gentrification, includes a number of boutique shopping areas that have made a national and even international name for themselves as high-end consumption spaces (see figure 2.9). These spaces have seen relatively high rent increases since 2014 and this resulted in an increasing share of chain stores. At the same time, the share of tourist

shops is low and has even decreased between 2014 and 2020. Looking at the sectors and shops in these areas, what stands out is that the share of fashion shops is more comparable to the High street areas than to the other smaller streets. These often include chain stores. In fact, these gentrifying areas have seen the largest increase in the number of chain stores between 2014 and 2020. However, where the High streets are home to some of the largest brands that are found in all larger inner cities in the Netherlands, the chain stores in the gentrifying consumption spaces are more exclusive. These consumption spaces are popular places for international brands to start a first concept- or flagship store. While this did not lead to higher degrees of business changeover so far, entrepreneurs in these streets do experience increasing rent prices, increased competition with chain stores, and eroding interpersonal ties between local entrepreneurs, all contributing to displacement pressure (Hagemans et al., 2023). The share of services is also somewhat higher in these consumption spaces, especially beauty salons and other grooming businesses are seen in higher frequency. Altogether, the consumption landscape in these spaces seems typical for commercial gentrification (Bridge and Dowling, 2001). These consumption spaces are less geared towards fast service and the traditional touristic symbols, and more towards the international consumption preferences of the middle classes.

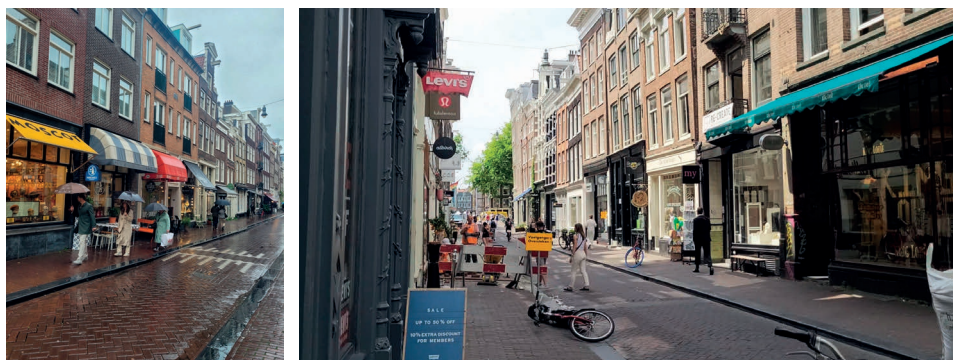


Figure 2.9. Negen Straatjes, photos by author

The final cluster consists of spaces where rent prices for shops continue to be relatively modest, and both chain stores and tourist shops are scarce. This cluster is characterized as specializing, since it includes a number of consumption spaces with a specific niche reputation, such as Spiegelstraat (see figure 2.10). Where touristification of consumption spaces is typically associated with flashy advertisements competing for attention, this narrow and inconspicuous street can leave you wondering whether shops are even opened. This low-key appearance, however, coincides with a high-profile reputation

as a place to be for antique shops and art galleries. This cluster also contains Zeedijk (see figure 2.10), a consumption space with highly different connotations. Different subcultures have played an important role in the street's history, as it developed from a crime-ridden no-go area during the heroin epidemic, to a Chinatown with themed street signs and decorations (Rath et al., 2018). More recently, the street also houses an increasing number of trendy streetwear boutiques where youngsters lining up for the launch of new pairs of sneakers have become a recurring event, much to the surprise of those who are not in the know. What these highly different consumption spaces have in common is their appeal to a niche audience, visiting the space for a very specific product or experience. In a similar way as the gentrifying consumption spaces, these areas cater to an international audience and the tourist demand seems to blend in with that of residents of the wider metropolitan area and national visitors. This does not mean that conflicts, concerns about livability for local residents and displacement pressure are absent from these consumption spaces. Rather, it means that these conflicts are not framed along the lines of tourists versus residents, but play out between different socioeconomic groups or subcultures.



Figure 2.10. Spiegelstraat and Zeedijk, photos by author

CONCLUSIONS

This study identifies where touristification of consumption spaces has concentrated in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020 and identifies different variations in which this process has occurred. It does so using a framework to measure touristification, which focuses on the supply side, in particular the role of retail capital in displacement of small, independent businesses (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Mermet, 2017). Increasing concentration of visitors changes consumer demand and behavior (Popp, 2012) and creates a rent gap (Cheung and Yiu, 2023). This incentivizes business owners to adapt to

changing demand, enables property owners to extract higher rent prices, and raises the interest from larger chain stores (Mermert, 2017; Muler Gonzalez et al., 2018). Specifically in tourist destinations, this results in an increasing number of tourist-oriented formulas with high turnover of products (Caserta and Russo, 2002; Guimarães, 2021; Hagemans et al., 2023).

Standardization, rent prices for commercial property and business displacement were quantified in data on 74 consumption spaces in the pre-WWII neighborhoods of Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020, a time period characterized by a surge in tourism flows as well as increasing local resistance to tourism, especially since 2014 (Jakobs and ten Berge, 2013; SEO, 2017). The results show that touristification of consumption spaces emerges most clearly from direct relations between increasing rent prices for commercial property, coinciding with growing shares of tourist shops, especially after 2014. Strikingly, the increased rent prices and standardization of the consumption landscape seem to have taken place without causing disproportionate direct business displacement. This may mean business displacement takes the form of exclusionary displacement or displacement pressure rather than direct displacement (Marcuse, 1985). It may also mean that a considerable share of business owners near tourist destinations is able to adapt to changing demand and increasing rent prices.

Zooming in on the geography of touristification of consumption spaces in the historic inner city of Amsterdam, different variations of this process emerge. The tendency towards standardization concentrates in the four largest retail arteries. In the two main thoroughfares from the Central train station into the inner city, a higher share of tourist visitors results in more souvenir products, take-away food and mini-supermarkets. In the High Streets continuing South towards the Canal Belt, standardization takes the form of increasing shares of chain stores, especially in fashion. These results draw attention to the pivotal role of supply-side changes in consumption spaces. The concentration of retail capital largely dictates where standardization of the consumption landscape occurs. The relative importance of the tourist demand determines whether standardization takes the form of increasing chain stores, or revolves around an increasing share of tourist-oriented businesses. However, standardization seems in the first place a consequence of increasing rent prices forcing entrepreneurs to adapt.

Just outside of the main High Streets, where rent prices are considerably lower, tourism seems to affect consumption spaces in different ways. We identified hospitality clusters, consumption spaces in a mature stage of gentrification and consumption spaces that seem to be specializing in a specific niche. Exactly what type of consumption landscape emerges depends on local contingencies, for instance in the local consumer base, characteristics of the built environment, the area's reputation, or the history of local entrepreneurs. Both to further our theoretical grasp of and to improve strategies to mitigate touristification of consumption spaces, it would be worthwhile to gain a better understanding of such mediating circumstances, which have either kept interest

from larger chain stores at bay or averted the emergence of a relative monopoly for business owners in spite of increasing tourism. Gentrification literature has provided interesting starting points on the local limits of gentrification, which tend to include characteristics of the local building stock, social networks and public image (Walks and August, 2008). Translating this to touristification of consumption spaces, it could mean, for instance, that certain types of properties do not attract larger investors and chain stores as easily as others, that strong local networks prevent avoidance behavior among residents, or that a particular public image prevents the type of concentrated and short sightseeing visits that lie at the root of the relative monopoly for business owners. Such characteristics could be pre-existing or the result of carefully executed strategies by local stakeholders to mitigate touristification of consumption spaces. Focusing on mitigating local circumstances and collective stakeholder strategies is at odds with the premise implied in Amsterdam's ban on tourist that, if not regulated, touristification will have a domino effect that creates a monoculture throughout the city. Taking this finding seriously would imply that context-dependent strategies that include rather than regulate local stakeholders can be more efficient in addressing the fine-grained spatial effects of tourism on consumption spaces.

The most important limitations of this study are due to the fact that consumption spaces are dynamic and constantly transforming in response to societal changes. The multitude of changes affecting consumption spaces at the same time, can obfuscate some of the findings. Firstly, our study found that touristification did not cause higher degrees of business displacement. This may be due to the fact that other consumption spaces have also experienced displacement in the investigated timeframe, perhaps as a consequence of gentrification or due to increased competition with online shopping. Secondly, a ban on tourist shops has been introduced in the inner city of Amsterdam in 2017. This is likely to have reduced the growth in tourist shops in the timeframe from 2014 to 2020, although it is impossible to tell where and to what extent. Although the dynamic nature of consumption spaces is inevitable, one of the ways to disentangle the effects of increasing tourism would be to combine the proposed framework with indicators that focus on the demand side, particularly on visitor numbers. In a digitalizing world, more and more consumption spaces have such data available. For the researched timeframe, there were no stable indicators of visitor density yet. Especially in the main retail arteries, business associations often have introduced tools such as laser or wifi-based counting devices several years ago. However, smaller consumption spaces are often lagging. Moreover, the way in which visitor numbers are measured changes rapidly in response to technological progress and increasing privacy regulation. Once visitors counts will be registered more consistently, these could provide more insights into where tourists have concentrated and whether there is a critical threshold beyond which touristification leads to standardization.

In the absence of consistent data on visitor numbers, our study demonstrates

that supply-side indicators provide a useful categorization of touristification. Using only rent prices, shares of chain stores and shares of tourist shops as indicators, the cluster analysis distinguished consumption spaces with highly different atmosphere, reputation and composition of businesses. These differences can have important practical implications. Foremost, they imply that in cases where rent prices are high and increasing, it would be difficult to manage or mitigate standardization without somehow reducing the interest of retail capital. For spaces where rent prices have remained relatively low or where they are stagnating, it would be better to focus on specific local issues than to address them with generic policies to manage touristification. Some of the identified variations of touristification are likely to translate to other cities and contexts. Commercial gentrification and tourist nightlife areas, for instance, have been observed in different instances. However, the variations of touristification are context-specific and therefore likely to change over time or between different places. The most important merit of this framework for other cities and contexts lies in the fact that a number of fairly simple indicators can grasp where the most important differences in touristification occur. In this way, the framework can serve as a starting point for discussions about context-specific interventions to manage touristification.

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CROWD-PLEASING, NICHE PLAYING AND GENTRIFYING: Explaining the Microgeographies of Entrepreneur Responses to Increasing Tourism in Amsterdam

Hagemans, I. W., Spierings, B., Weltevreden, J.W.J, & Hooimeijer, P. (2023). Crowd-pleasing, niche playing and gentrifying: Explaining the microgeographies of entrepreneur responses to increasing tourism in Amsterdam. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 102, 103627.



ABSTRACT

Touristification of consumption spaces describes a process in which retail and hospitality businesses adapt to the tourist demand, eroding place attachment among local residents. While this is an important cause of resistance to tourism, little is known about the mechanisms that drive or mediate this process. We address this gap by interviewing entrepreneurs in Amsterdam. We found three distinct areas in close proximity where entrepreneurs responded to increasing tourism in markedly different ways; by crowd-pleasing, niche-playing and gentrifying. The resulting microgeographies of touristification of consumption spaces have not only been overlooked in literature, but also in urban policies. This causes a mismatch between the more generic, city-wide regulation and the highly differentiated effects of tourism on consumption spaces.

INTRODUCTION

One of the inevitable ways in which host societies are confronted with increasing tourism, is through its effects on consumption spaces (González-Pérez, 2020; Guimarães, 2021; Novy and Colomb, 2016; Snepenger et al., 2003); defined in this study as an assembly of shops, hospitality and public space in residential areas. While tourism can provide a significant boost to retail and hospitality businesses, large numbers of visitors can lead to crowding and associated nuisance, which in turn can cause avoidance behavior among local residents (Jacobsen et al., 2019). The changing consumer base may cause shops, services and hospitality businesses to adapt to the tourist demand, eroding feelings of place attachment among local residents. We refer to this interplay of changes in the consumer base and the consumption landscape as touristification of consumption spaces, a process that spurred resistance to tourism in popular destinations such as Venice (Caserta and Russo, 2002), Lisbon (Guimarães, 2021), Berlin (Novy and Colomb, 2016) and Amsterdam (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017).

In Amsterdam, heated public debates about touristification of consumption spaces inspired far reaching policy interventions, culminating in a ban on tourist shops in inner city zoning plans (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Combining restrictions on specific sectors, products, advertisement and business models, the ban on tourist shops stretches the limits of what national planning laws allow local governments to regulate. Remarkably, these policy interventions took place in absence of a thorough understanding of how touristification of consumption spaces works and what factors drive or mediate it. Over the past years, both policy research in Amsterdam and literature on touristification tended to focus on how residents experience effects of tourism on consumption spaces (Jakobs and ten Berge, 2013; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). Recently, a number of studies have measured how consumption spaces change when tourism increases (González-Pérez, 2020; Guimarães, 2021). However, the mechanisms behind these changes remain unaddressed or extrapolated from macro-economic approaches focusing on changing consumer demand (Caserta and Russo, 2002) and increased interest from retail capital (Fox Gotham, 2018; Gonzalez and Waley, 2013).

This study builds on the idea that increasing tourism changes the incentive structure for local entrepreneurs and contributes a qualitative understanding of entrepreneurial strategies that pays attention to the economic, social and institutional business climate in which businesses operate (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Su and Chen, 2017). It is based on interviews with entrepreneurs in three consumption spaces in the heart of the historic city center of Amsterdam, resulting in a fine-grained understanding of touristification of consumption spaces as well as the circumstances that mediate it. The next sections conceptualize how increasing tourism changes the incentive structure for entrepreneurs, as well as how entrepreneurs respond to these changes depending on their personal background and the local business climate. After that, the findings

from three case study areas are presented, where different entrepreneurial strategies dominated in response to a growing number of tourists. The conclusions reflect on the factors that drive these different responses and advocate a microscale approach both to study and to address touristification of consumption spaces.

Incentive structure: changing consumer demand and the role of retail capital

Increasing numbers of tourists change the incentive structure for entrepreneurs in consumption spaces in two crucial ways. Firstly, they change local demand. Tourists, varying widely in terms of country of origin, age, wealth and purpose of visit, are far from a homogenous group with similar consumption preferences (Oh et al., 2004). However, especially international tourists share some common tendencies, simply as a result of being on holiday in an unfamiliar environment. They are more likely to shop as a leisure activity and tend to be more interested in unique local products and experiences (Oh et al., 2007). Moreover, their consumption behavior is often affected by time constraints, lack of information and risk associated with shopping and consuming in an foreign country (Lloyd et al., 2011). Entrepreneurs therefore have to strike a balance in offering unique local products that are at the same time highly recognizable for international visitors. A specific consequence of tourists' time constraints, lack of information and risk aversion behavior, is that they tend to cluster around the most well-known tourist highlights (Russo, 2002), causing entrepreneurs in the direct vicinity to experience a relative monopoly (Caserta and Russo, 2002). This is argued to allow entrepreneurs to get away with offering less value for money compared to competing businesses further away from the main tourist destinations (Caserta and Russo, 2002).

Secondly, the increasing concentration of visitors raises the interest of retail capital (which in this case applies to hospitality businesses and consumer services as well as shops). Retail capital refers to the variety of stakeholders who extract exchange value from products and services sold to a consumer looking for use value (Ducatel and Blomley, 1990; Mermet, 2017). These include entrepreneurs, who achieve higher revenue in consumption spaces with higher footfall, property owners, who can extract higher rents (Liu et al., 2020), and the owners and shareholders of retail chains. Well-known national and international chain stores can generate high sales and pay rent prices that independent stores often cannot afford (Mermet, 2017). Increased interest from chain stores can therefore be both a cause and effect of increasing rent prices, together causing voluntary and involuntary displacement of independent entrepreneurs. Some may choose to sell their lease due to favorable market conditions (Mermet, 2017). Others may no longer be able to afford the increasing rent price and are forced to move out (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). The economic incentive structure thus leaves entrepreneurs with the double challenge of adapting to the tourist demand and doing so in such a way that their revenue can increase in pace with the growing footfall and increasing rent prices.

Entrepreneur responses: personal background and business climate

Changing local demand and increased interest from retail capital thus alter the economic incentive structure for entrepreneurs. Their response to these changes, however, also depends on both the social and institutional context in which they operate (Su and Chen, 2017) and on personal characteristics (Sorenson, 2018). The social context describes interpersonal relations of the entrepreneur (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018), for instance with regular customers, competitors, other entrepreneurs in the area, perhaps even with property owners, banks, suppliers and law enforcers (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Sorenson, 2018; Zukin et al., 2015). These relations are one of the factors that cause entrepreneurs to be very rooted, especially in the retail sector (Koster and Pellenbarg, 2019). The institutional context transcends interpersonal relations and refers to an opportunity structure (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). This opportunity structure covers a wide range of factors at different levels of scale, some of which facilitate easier access to entrepreneurship, while others limit employment opportunities for particular social groups who are then more likely to start their own business (Hall, 2021). These could range from national institutions, such as the tax system, to local regulation such as zoning plans and permits. Finally, the opportunity structure is not only shaped by governments, but also by institutions such as media, industry organizations and a business or street association (Zukin et al., 2015). All of these can be factors that stimulate entrepreneurs to adjust, to stay rooted in a particular place or to move out, either aggravating or mitigating touristification of consumption spaces in the process.

Finally, business strategies adopted in response to increasing tourism also depend on the personal background of entrepreneurs (Hall, 2021). After all, they are more than calculating, profit-maximizing actors (Berg, 2014). Desires, ambitions, resources and abilities vary greatly between different entrepreneurs and all play an important role in business decisions, for instance to locate in a particular place, or to stay put (Sorenson, 2018). Moreover, entrepreneurs are driven by different degrees of and different types of entrepreneurial passion: Some are highly attached to the specific niche in the market that they have discovered, while others identify strongly with their role in growing and developing their business (Cardon et al., 2009). While the first type might be more inclined to relocate their business in response to changing local demand, the latter is more likely to stay put and adapt their business strategy. The next sections will outline how the entrepreneurial strategies in three consumption spaces in Amsterdam have been analyzed and what this teaches us about touristification of consumption spaces.

MICROGEOGRAPHIES OF ENTREPRENEUR RESPONSES TO INCREASING TOURISM IN AMSTERDAM

3

Touristification of consumption spaces has played an important role in the growing local resistance to tourism in Amsterdam. When the number of tourists surged in 2014, tourism started to be perceived increasingly negative, even as one of the main threats to livability for inner city residents (City of Amsterdam, 2015). The resulting resistance to tourism in Amsterdam has featured prominently in local media, but also gained considerable national and even some international media attention in items depicting the inner city as congested, dirty, inauthentic and swarmed with tourists (Pijbes, 2014). This inauthenticity is expressed in metaphors comparing the inner city to a museum or theme park from which local residents feel increasingly alienated (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). The increasing number of tourist-oriented businesses, often reconstructing a local identity for the tourist gaze (Guimarães, 2021), contribute to this perceived inauthenticity. Resistance to tourism started to focus more and more on tourist shops, problematizing their lower status, unhealthy foods and non-Dutch appearance, even raising suspicions about money laundering practices. This is argued to affect livability in the inner city, causing inner city residents to move out and residents of the wider metropolitan area to avoid the city center.

Alarmed by the increasing concerns about touristification of consumption spaces, Amsterdam's local government researched the effects of tourism on shops, hospitality businesses and consumer services extensively. This included mapping touristic sectors in the inner city (City of Amsterdam, 2017), identifying and counting businesses with 'touristic expressions' in their shop-window (Groep and Graaff, 2020) and survey research on residents' valuation of consumption spaces (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016). Meanwhile, literature on overtourism in Amsterdam concentrated on explaining resistance to tourism (Gerritsma, 2019), effects on the housing market (Overwater and Yorke-Smith, 2022) and efforts to manage overtourism in a comparative context (Hübscher and Kallert, 2023; Koens et al., 2019). A notable exception where local businesses play an important role, is Pinkster and Boterman's (2017) study among Canal Belt residents. They demonstrate how transformations to shops and services erode residents' sense of belonging (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). Entrepreneurs, however, seem largely overlooked in media, policy and literature, except for a subset of entrepreneurs that have been very vocal about the negative effects of increasing tourism on their business (Bolderen, 2016).

The explicit concern for livability and relative neglect of entrepreneur perspectives is tangible in the local policy response to touristification of consumption spaces. The most important pillars of this policy response are zoning plan restrictions and increased monitoring. Since 2017, inner city zoning plans include a ban on tourist shops. This

ban restricts particular sectors, such as souvenir shops and take-away shops, but also curtails the use of non-Dutch language, the offer of tourist-oriented products and flashy advertisements (City of Amsterdam, 2018). The changeability of these criteria requires more elaborate monitoring by the municipal law-enforcement department. However, not only compliance with zoning plans is monitored more extensively, businesses in the inner city are also subjected to more frequent all-encompassing checkups by a special, interdisciplinary task force looking for violations with regulation from health and safety to employment and tax law. These checkups are motivated by the idea that tourist oriented businesses are more likely to be involved in so-called *undermining* criminal activity, a deliberately vague term that refers to the legal infrastructure that supports illegal activities (Vols, 2019). This idea stems from the history of criminal activities in the Red Light District (Traa and Coenen, 1996), but is also rooted in a demonstrated connection between tourism and money laundering activities, as suspicious transactions are less likely to be discovered in touristy areas with a higher number of bank transfers from abroad and more frequent use of cash (Biagi et al., 2012; Ryan, 1993). Altogether, this makes the policy response to touristification of consumption spaces one in which entrepreneurs are regarded with suspicion, rather than an effort to change the incentive structure entrepreneurs respond to.

Case study areas

The incentive structure is crucial to the aim to unravel the mechanisms behind touristification of consumption spaces. To allow variation in the incentive structure, a comparison is made between three consumption spaces: *Damstraten*, *Hoogstraten* and *Negen straatjes*. These specific cases share some important characteristics, yet seemed to have been affected by increasing tourism in different ways. The most important similarity is that all three areas receive a high number of tourists as spaces that connect Dam square, the heart of the historic inner city to other important tourism destinations. *Damstraten* and *Hoogstraten* form the main throughfare from Dam square into the Red Light District. *Negen straatjes* is a brand name for a cluster of shopping streets that run perpendicular to the famous 17th century Canal Belt. Moreover, the case study areas are similar in the way they all have a long history as secondary shopping streets (Lesger, 2011). Because the streets are rather narrow, with small business spaces, they have a relatively high share of independent shops. Directly adjacent to, but not part of the main retail arteries of Amsterdam, they traditionally housed more niche businesses as well as some shops, services and hospitality outlets that cater to the inner city population. The *Negen Straatjes* area is located in a rather upmarket residential area, while *Damstraten* and *Hoogstraten* are located in an area with a socialist history and a traditionally high share of social housing. However, all areas are characterized by a city-wide, regional and national function rather than as consumption spaces for local residents. The increase of tourism led to rising footfall in all three case study areas and each of the case study

areas have seen the rent prices per m2 for new leases of commercial property more than double since 2008 as a result.



Figure 3.1. Case study areas (photos by author)

The increasing number of tourists and rent price increases seem to have affected the case study areas in different ways, however, since the three areas saw different types of changes in their consumption landscape. In *Damstraten*, an increasing number of stores for comparison goods have been replaced by take-away businesses. The transformation of the consumption space has caught the attention of local residents, media and government. It became the focus area of policies to curtail the emerging touristy monoculture in Amsterdam's consumption landscape (City of Amsterdam, 2017). The transition to more take-away businesses has been less prominent in

Hoogstraten and *Negen straatjes*, which are still characterized by a high degree of businesses for comparison shopping. However, while *Hoogstraten* show a relative consistency of the consumption landscape, *Negen Straatjes* area seems to have seen a larger transformation. The area used to be known for its exclusive as well as more quirky boutiques. The quirky boutiques that played a crucial role in the area's image are increasingly replaced by clothing shops and an increasing number of chain stores. While the properties tend to be too small for the largest clothing brands, a growing number of smaller, more exclusive labels has opened flagship stores in *Negen straatjes*.

METHODS

The perspective of entrepreneurs is researched in semi-structured interviews with 31 business owners, co-owners or store managers in the three consumption spaces in the inner city of Amsterdam. Respondents were selected from independent businesses, local chain stores (concentrated in the metropolitan region of Amsterdam) and franchise businesses. Large, national or international chain stores were excluded from this selection, since the location strategy, pricing and product offer of these businesses tends to be more centralized.

Table 3.1. Overview of respondents

	<i>Damstraten</i>	<i>Hoogstraten</i>	<i>Negen straatjes</i>	Total
<i>Shops for daily products</i>	1	3	1	5
<i>Specialty shops</i>	1	5	4	10
<i>Tourist shops</i>	3	1	1	5
<i>Take-away</i>	2	1	2	5
<i>Hotel, restaurant or café</i>	3	0	3	6
Total	10	10	11	31

The respondent sample aimed for variation in the ways entrepreneurs respond to the changing incentive structure as a consequence of increasing tourism. To this end, different types of businesses were selected, as well as businesses that were established in different periods of time and that seem to be perceived as more tourist- or more resident-oriented. Firstly, the types of businesses include shops, cafes, fast food places and restaurants. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of the different types of interviewed entrepreneurs over the three case study areas. Secondly, the sample was made sure to include entrepreneurs that located in the case study areas before and after 2014. This year represents not only a surge in the numbers of tourists that visited Amsterdam, but also the emergence of increasing resistance to tourism (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016).

In the final sample, the longest established entrepreneur had been located in the case study area since 1983 while the most recently added entrepreneur opened his business in 2020. Since one of the strategies to deal with increasing tourism could also be to move out of the area, respondents also included a number of entrepreneurs that had closed their business or relocated in the past few years. Finally, the aim was to include both businesses that are perceived as tourist-oriented and businesses that are perceived as resident-oriented. Indicators from Amsterdam's ban on tourist shops³ (City of Amsterdam, 2018) were used to sample businesses in tourist-oriented sectors, such as souvenir shops and mini-supermarkets, as well as businesses with souvenirs or touristic imagery in their shopwindow. Resident-oriented businesses were samples based on a resident organization that promoted businesses they see as resident-oriented (Stichting de Goede Zaak, 2016). Because the owners of businesses were not known beforehand, respondents were not purposefully selected based on their personal background. However, the respondents showed significant range in terms of gender, migration background and business history. Out of the 31 respondents, ten were women, twelve had a migration background, out of which eight were foreign-born. While most had started their own business, six of the interviewed entrepreneurs continued a family businesses.

The interviews were conducted between January and May 2021, which meant that some of the businesses were closed for at least some of this time period due to Covid-19 measures. While most interviews were conducted face-to-face, telephone interviews were used to reach entrepreneurs who were not around or preferred not to make physical appointments during the pandemic. Because touristification of consumption spaces has become a rather sensitive topic in Amsterdam, topics around tourism, crowding, nuisance or resident resistance were avoided at the start of the interview. Instead, the interview firstly focused on the entrepreneurs' backgrounds, their business concepts and the way they had adapted these concepts over time. After that, entrepreneurs were asked about their location decision and local demand. Finally, they were probed for their relations with customers, residents, other entrepreneurs, street associations and the local government. This approach left room for entrepreneurs to talk about a range of topics that would change local demand or the local business climate, such as globalization and digitalization. Tourism tended to come up unprompted as a topic that was on the front of the entrepreneurs' minds. The interviews have been recorded and transcribed with the respondents' consent and were analyzed in multiple rounds of deductive and

3 Tourist shops are defined using a combination of sector, offer of products, ways of advertising and business model. Tourist-oriented sectors include souvenir shops, businesses that sell small quantities of soft drugs or paraphernalia for smoking or growing marihuana, mini supermarkets and take-away food shops. Businesses that do not fall under these categories can still be seen as tourist shops. In this case they are distinguished by an offer of souvenirs or take-away food and drinks that comprises more than 5% of the total floor space, or by conspicuous and flashy advertisement, often in English. In terms of business model, it is argued that customers are often assisted in English, spend relatively little time in the shop, products are often packaged in souvenir-like packaging and prices are higher than those in local shops.

inductive coding. The next section presents the most important findings from the three case study areas, where entrepreneur strategies were characterized as crowd-pleasing, niche-playing and gentrifying.

Crowd-pleasing in Damstraten: Snacks, drugs and souvenirs

Entrepreneurs in *Damstraten* describe a changing incentive structure that closely matches the expectations from literature on touristification of consumption spaces. Firstly, they describe how tourism gradually increased crowding and nuisance, with peaks of extreme crowding in 2019. This resulted in congestion, with several entrepreneurs commenting that you could hardly walk or cycle through the street anymore. Moreover, local facilities, such as waste management, became overcharged. A café owner described himself “*Sliding into the store on fries and pizza slices*” every morning. Some also noticed a change in the rhythm of the street, with the peak hours moving from the afternoon to the evenings. The evening party crowd is also argued to cause some nuisance. The owner of a specialty store has experienced situations in which she was threatened or harassed by people in the street. Moreover, at some point she needed to call an ambulance on a weekly basis for visitors who had passed out in front of her shop:

There have been Saturdays that I was crying when I closed off the shop at the end of the day, you know. Yelling and vomiting and passing out in my porch.

Specializing in bulky homeware, this shop is perhaps the most obvious example of a business that mismatches with the increasing number of tourists in the street. It therefore does not seem to benefit from the increased footfall to the extent that other entrepreneurs do. In fact, the increased foot traffic only reduced the number of customers for this store, since local consumers started to avoid the area.

The businesses that seem to benefit most from the increased footfall are take-away stores for food or drinks and restaurants for, as one of the entrepreneurs called it “*fast, casual dining*”. Consistent with earlier findings on tourist demand (Lloyd et al., 2011; Oh et al., 2007), familiarity is seen as an essential strategy to appeal to the increasing crowds. The owner of an Argentinian steakhouse noticed this first hand, as he leases two adjacent properties. He initially started the steakhouse on one side and opened a tapas restaurant on the other. After a while, he noticed that due to the familiarity and fast service, the steakhouse was doing much better and he ended up integrating the second property into the steakhouse. He describes this restaurant as one of the least innovative concepts he has introduced, but claims that the location requires this type of familiarity:

A tourist, who is here for only two days or three days, wants to go to

the Anne Frank house, wants to go everywhere. They actually have little time and creativity to think about anything else. But what do they all eat? Everybody eats pizza, right? Everybody eats a hamburger. Everybody drinks Coca Cola. (...) So you don't want a difficult concept that they don't understand, because then they won't come in.

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The changing incentive structure pressures entrepreneurs to adopt a strategy that can be characterized as crowd-pleasing: Capitalizing on the increased footfall by selling recognizable products with a familiar presentation. This does not necessarily mean cutting purchasing costs and offering lower value products for a higher price (as suggested by Caserta and Russo, 2002). Firstly, some entrepreneurs argue that quality of their offer continues to be very important. Tourists are not always seen simply as one-time visitors, but also as potential return customers. The owner of a cheese store, for instance, emphasized that some tourists will order more products from the online shop upon returning home. A café owner claimed that many of his customers returned to Amsterdam more frequently and tended to come back to the same café and even *"leave something behind and return to see whether it is still there"*. Moreover, some entrepreneurs point out that online reviews and personal recommendations from friends or hotel receptionists are very important among tourists. Because of these feedback mechanisms, customer satisfaction is of vital importance even for one-time visitors. Secondly, the owner of the before mentioned Argentinian steakhouse argues that there is no real economic incentive to reduce costs because *"you can make perfectly fine [profit] margins with regular purchasing. (...) You would have to be a real scrooge if you start to buy cheaper to save money."*

Rather than saving costs on purchasing, entrepreneurs describe a pressure to reduce the variety of their offer. This cheese store owner, for instance, stopped offering rare cheeses and instead used more and more shelf space for the typical Dutch cheeses that were most in demand:

You start to cut things from the assortment, the things that actually cost money sometimes, very special things that you just have because you want to have them. So you start taking the edges off everything. (...) Yeah, and then entrepreneurship isn't fun anymore.

The pressure to adopt a crowd-pleasing strategy is intensified by increased interest from retail capital (Liu et al., 2020). Many entrepreneurs experienced rent increases, some were even contacted by real estate agents inquiring about taking over their lease. Rent increases often caused entrepreneurs to reconsider staying put or leaving. Interestingly, this did not seem to cause a lot of direct displacement. Most entrepreneurs, including the ones that left, agreed that the central location of *Damstraten* was worth the higher price because it generated more footfall. However, not all entrepreneurs are willing to

adopt the crowd-pleasing strategy that enables them to benefit from the higher footfall, which depends in great deal on the type of entrepreneurial passion that motivated the start of a business in the first place (Cardon et al., 2009). Entrepreneurs driven by a passion to grow and professionalize their business, for instance, are more willing to adapt their business concept to changing demand, whereas those who highly identify with the products or services they sell are more reluctant to adopt the crowd-pleasing strategy that the street requires.

Rather than direct displacement, increasing tourism and rent increases cause displacement pressure. This is exacerbated by the changing business climate, the consumption landscape gradually changes character. Especially notable was the shift from comparison shopping to fast food. A number of prominent, longer established businesses, such as the Dr. Adams shoe store and a specialized cowboy-boot store, have disappeared over the last couple of years. These specialty shops have been replaced by take-away food businesses, causing some entrepreneurs to refer to the street as a 'snack-street'. Remaining businesses for comparison shopping feel increasingly out of place. While food stores and hospitality businesses experience more complementarity with other entrepreneurs, they also noticed increasing competition, up to a point where a baker saw that his garbage bags were opened by competitors who wanted to know what suppliers he ordered from. This caused a widespread feeling that local social ties between entrepreneurs became weaker or even hostile.

The local business climate is not only affected by tourism, but also by the increasing resistance to tourism. Some entrepreneurs worried that increasing local resistance harms the area's reputation, exacerbating avoidance behavior among local residents and perhaps even discouraging tourists from visiting the inner city. Moreover, the resistance to tourism also affects the institutional context and relations with the local government. Especially the perceived link between tourist oriented businesses and crime and the intensified checkups left some entrepreneurs feeling targeted. The owner of a souvenir shop, for instance, was suddenly labeled as 'criminogenic' by a local alderman:

I had to look it up to see what it means. It means that you are susceptible for criminal activities. I am in the dullest business in town, I was selling keychains and fridge magnets. And (the alderman) has the audacity to claim I'm criminogenic.

This causes some entrepreneurs to consider their position in the inner city as precarious, scrutinized by local residents and unwanted by a local government that will seize every opportunity to drive them out.

Summarizing, findings in *Damstraten* are largely consistent with the expectations in literature on touristification of consumption landscapes. Crowding and a changing composition of visitors change local demand. Entrepreneurs notice a growing preference

for take-away food and drinks, fast dining and recognizable products. Increasing rent prices make adjusting to this demand an imperative. For some entrepreneurs, this is too much out of line with their vision. This may drive them to relocate or terminate their business. This caused most businesses for comparison shopping to disappear, leaving the remaining businesses that do not provide food and drinks or daily products feeling out of place in the area, as local and regional consumers increasingly avoid the street.

Niche-playing in Hoogstraten : An ecosystem of fabrics, phone repairs, vintage and vegans

Entrepreneurs in *Hoogstraten* experienced rather different changes in the incentive structure due to increasing tourism. Similar to *Damstraten*, many entrepreneurs noticed an increase in foot traffic and shoppers in the years leading up to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, this never reached such levels that it was perceived as crowding. In fact, the street was often described as rather quiet. Even in the absence of crowding and nuisance, however, some businesses saw a gradual disappearance of local customers. This disappearance occurred before the number of tourist surged and was attributed to increasing competition with supermarkets, larger department stores and online shopping, rather than to nuisance caused by tourism. To the contrary, tourism was often mentioned to mediate the effects of increasing competition, since tourists filled the gap in local demand left by local residents.

When asked about how the increase in tourism changed local demand, entrepreneurs would often speak about cultural differences. Some entrepreneurs made a private game out of guessing their customers' nationality and predicting the products they would buy or the amount of money they would spend accordingly. The differences in demand that they describe, however, are often very particular rather than confirming the demand for authentic local products, familiarity or fast service (Lloyd et al., 2011; Oh et al., 2007). The owner of a vintage clothing store described, for instance, how tourists tend to love fleece fabrics:

Especially if there is a brand name on it, well, you blink and the rack is empty. And the Dutch, on the other hand, want absolutely nothing to do with it.

More than to increasing tourism and cultural differences, however, entrepreneurs seem to respond to current trends or adjust their business as a result of their professional development. The owner of a store specialized in underground lifestyles (for instance burlesque, clubwear and drag) described how her offer became more extravagant due to the revival of the drag scene, but also as a product of her growing creativity and skill in garment making. The owner of a smart shop noticed increasing interest in health benefits of psychedelic products and updated his shop façade and interior with a more

professional look to appeal to this new clientele. Many entrepreneurs thus adopted a niche-playing strategy; specializing their offer according to both changing demand and their professional development as an entrepreneur.

Not only the tourist demand is experienced differently at *Hoogstraten*, pressure from retail capital also seems significantly lower. To some extent, this is because part of the buildings is owned by social real estate corporations, which rent out properties somewhat below market prices with the ambition to reinforce livability and accessibility of the inner city. However, many of the businesses that rented from private owners did not experience high rent increases either. Some felt like this is due to the fact that property owners appreciated their business model. The owner of the underground lifestyle store, for instance, mentioned that the property owners were artists who appreciated her craft. Others felt like their reliability as tenants and good relations with the property owner had prevented major rent increases, consistent with earlier work on social embeddedness of entrepreneurs (Su and Chen, 2017). Of course, another possibility is that the lower footfall simply does not justify the types of rent increases that entrepreneurs in *Damstraten* face. The question of whether to stay, relocate or quit is therefore not as readily on the minds of entrepreneurs in *Hoogstraten*, especially not for those businesses who sell comparison goods and cater to a niche market. To the contrary, displacement pressure was most obviously felt by the owner of a shop with liquor and refrigerated drinks, who doubted whether local demand offset the rent prices or whether he would be better off either in a busier part of the inner city or in a residential area outside of the city center.

The perceived symbiosis with other businesses is part of the reason why entrepreneurs are happy to stay in *Hoogstraten*. In a remarkable contrast with *Damstraten*, where the location near Dam square and the Red Light District draw the crowds and specialized stores seem to feel increasingly out of place, the most mentioned crowd-puller in *Hoogstraten* is a fabric and haberdashery store. This shop has been in the same location for decades and became a sort of local institution, benefitting many of the surrounding businesses. The owner of a phone repair shop, for instance, argues the older crowd exiting the haberdashery store often comes in for help with their phones when they spot his shop across the street. The underground lifestyle store benefits from the creative people attracted by the fabric and haberdashery store. In turn, she often refers her customers to the vintage store across the street to accessorize the outfit they just bought at her shop. In fact, she argues most of the businesses in the direct vicinity of her shop can generate clientele:

It's a nice combination of everything, you know? I've also had customers who came in to the bicycle shop to bring their bikes for repair and said: 'Oh what a special shop across the street'. That they walk in here and discovered the shop that way.

Although entrepreneurs in *Hoogstraten* experience notably different effects of tourism, the institutional context of increasing resistance from local residents and distrust from the local government is highly similar to what is described in *Damstraten*. The owner of the vegan candy store, for instance, noticed that his shop was mentioned as a tourist shop on a Facebook page that addresses touristification in Amsterdam. In response, he invited the owner of the Facebook page into his shop to change this perception. He also decided to register as a parcel pickup point to make sure more local residents would get acquainted with his shop. This strategy was also used by a phone repair shop. In addition, this phone repair shop removed some of the Amsterdam themed lighters from his store, because a local resident told him that the touristy imagery made local residents feel out of place.

The neighbors don't want, you know, tourist stuff like lighters and so I got rid of them. (...) [a customer] said 'with this kind of products, we prefer not to come here'.

Distrust from the local government surfaces especially in increasing encounters with law-enforcers. These law-enforcers would come to check, for instance, whether the T-shirt shop does not sell T-shirts with touristy images of Amsterdam. Some businesses have had problems with their advertisements. A sign with 'staff wanted' was seen as touristy because of the use of English language, and several shops were told that they had to move the signage on the shop window back to one meter behind the window. Some entrepreneurs felt harassed by these encounters, even to the extent that they started to consider moving out of the inner city, as the owner of a vintage store explains:

It really trumps your passion for entrepreneurship (...) it makes me think: 'Do I really want this in my life? (...) The local government breathing down my neck over nothing?'

Altogether, the experience of increasing tourism at *Hoogstraten* differs markedly from that at *Damstraten* and expectations from literature on touristification of consumption spaces. The amount of visitors increased, but not to such an extent that it was perceived as crowding. Moreover, it did so at a time when local demand changed due to increasing competition with international chain stores and online shopping. In that sense, increasing tourism may have preserved rather than overturned local businesses. Especially businesses that offer comparison shopping benefit from the increasing tourist footfall. Rather than feeling pressured to appeal to a broader audience with more recognizable products, many have adjusted their offer and presentation to cater to a more specific niche. The longevity of businesses and their niche markets creates a lot of complementarity that many entrepreneurs appreciate. Retail capital seems to play a role in preserving this

local ecosystem of specialized businesses as well, by keeping rents somewhat lower than they are at the start of the street. Nevertheless, entrepreneurs experience increasing resistance from residents and distrust the local government. Especially the changing relationship with the local government seems difficult to cope with, in some cases even a reason to consider relocating or terminating their business.

Gentrifying in Negen Straatjes: Flagship harbor

Similar to *Damstraten*, Entrepreneurs in *Negen Straatjes* have also seen an increase in the number of visitors that caused avoidance behavior among local residents. However, this started earlier and under different circumstances, leading to changes that resemble commercial gentrification rather than touristification (Mermet, 2017; Zukin et al., 2015). In the late 1990s, the local entrepreneur association started branding the area as '*Negen Straatjes*', allegedly to compete with the nearby shopping area *Jordaan*. The brand name took flight and popularized the area as a shopping and tourist destination. It was picked up by national and international media (Osten Gerszberg, 2008), as well as travel guides that quickly mentioned *Negen Straatjes* as one of the best shopping areas in Amsterdam. The owner of a travel book store perceived that:

[The street's] image hasn't really changed, because it was already known for small, nerdy shops. It just became much more commercial, because of course we started calling it Negen Straatjes and started really exploiting it.

The increasing number of consumers includes visitors from other neighborhoods in Amsterdam, from other cities in the Netherlands and from abroad. Several entrepreneurs also mentioned increasing number of expats, who they emphasize do not appreciate being confused with tourists. This illustrates how entrepreneurs in *Negen Straatjes* experienced less of a dichotomy between the (native Dutch) resident and the (foreign) tourist, but rather perceived the growing visitor number as a variety of people with different backgrounds and consumption preferences.

Several entrepreneurs argued that the increased popularity caused avoidance behavior among local residents. A number of restaurants had to start more active crowd management strategies, for instance by placing a "wait to be seated" sign, or by hiring someone to manage queues in front of the restaurant. This was experienced negatively by local customers, who prefer their local restaurants to be accessible without queueing or booking. The owner of a pancake restaurant clearly saw a tipping point when her restaurant gained international media attention and suddenly became much more popular:

All of a sudden there were queues at the door. And well, what that brings with it is that – Dutch people don't queue up for a pancake. So

we lost our daily guests. (...) If you become too busy, too popular, the neighborhood actually rejects you a bit.

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The area's reputation did not only increase the number of visitors, entrepreneurs emphasize how *Negen Straatjes* attracts an increasingly higher income segment of consumers. This seems especially true for tourists. The owner of a store for vintage bags, for instance, mentioned that Dutch customers are often surprised by the prices of second hand bags while tourists are more aware of the value of the exclusive labels she sells. The owner of a pastry store argues that tourists are more willing to pay a somewhat higher price for higher quality products, as other cultures often value good food and drinks a lot more than the Dutch tend to do. He is especially pleased if he can meet the high standards of French visitors. Entrepreneurs thus tend to adopt a gentrifying strategy, specializing their offer and presentation into an increasingly upmarket version. Consistent with later stages of commercial gentrification (Mermet, 2017), the influx of people with higher spending power raised interest from retail capital, most notably in the form of chain stores. So far, these have been mostly smaller chains, international chain stores opening a first or one of the first locations in the Netherlands, or flagship stores, which preserves the exclusive image of the shopping area. The interest from large, international holdings is argued to drive up rent prices and make it more difficult for independent entrepreneurs to compete. Several entrepreneurs described sudden rent increases or harassment by their property owner. A bookstore was displaced when the property owner decided to sell the building, for which he could get a better price without renters. Entrepreneurs feel powerless when it comes to rent price developments. The owner of a night store claims, for instance, that if he would protest his rent increase:

The property owner says 'if you don't pay (...) we're just going to work on the foundations... And then you need to close down for a year and you're just not going to earn money and then you're broke'. (...)The property owner is more powerful, it's his own building.

This leads to more typical stories of direct displacement in *Negen Straatjes*, including the paradox that the very pioneers who set the area's transformation in motion are the ones who end up being displaced and 'killing what they love' (Zukin, 2010), as the long-established owner of the pastry shop explains:

We have had an unprecedented success. With very little resources, we have put ourselves on the map, and it is of course a nice area. At one point, we became so popular that rents simply went through the roof. The rents went from 3,000 to 9,000 euros, for example. That eroded the business offer enormously.

The upgrading of the consumption landscape and the increasing number of chain stores changes the local business climate. Many entrepreneurs lamented the disappearance of the really quirky small shops, such as the toothbrush shop and the button store. Interestingly, many entrepreneurs considered the area's reputation and consumption landscape beneficial from an economic perspective. The more exclusive chain stores and flagship stores tend to be crowd pullers and the high-end reputation of the area draws in affluent consumers. Their resentment of the changing business climate seems to come from a more personal perspective, as the area they highly identified with changes into something that does not match their personal taste.

The increasing number of chain stores also affects the social context in which entrepreneurs operate, for instance their contacts with other entrepreneurs and the shopping street association. Several entrepreneurs mentioned that they used to know all of the other businesses in their block, but do not seem to get in touch with the chain stores, where employee turnover is higher and the owners are distant. The increasing number of chain stores has also caused a lack of commitment in the shopping street association. It is often company policy for chain store locations to not get involved in street associations. This has caused freeriding problems, up the point where it was difficult to raise funds for Christmas lights, something several entrepreneurs say was never a problem before.

Finally, some entrepreneurs mention a changing relationship with the local government quite similar to what was mentioned by entrepreneurs in *Damstraten* and *Hoogstraten*. However, these experiences seem to vary greatly. The owner of a book store hardly had any contact with the local government at all, while the owner of a cookie shop received a rather hostile phone call from a public servant threatening to close the shop if it would sell cookies for direct consumption rather than tins of cookies to take home. Several entrepreneurs have experienced an increasing number of check-ups. This restaurant owner, for instance, felt like she was regarded with increasing scrutiny:

The queues at the door had to change, I think my outdoor seats were checked ten times every summer. I get an application for the Commodities Act twice a year, while my neighbor says: 'I never get them.' And then I thought: 'whatever', it could all be coincidence, I mean... But at a certain point you think: 'Well, I don't know, but I think I'm being targeted'.

She actually went to the inner city district chairman to ask whether there was a specific reason for the closer scrutiny she experienced over the years, and got her suspicions confirmed. The problem seemed to lie in her business's English name, which the inner city district chairman claimed had *"a negative ring to it"*.

Summarizing, the experience of increasing tourism in *Negen Straatjes* is closely

entangled with the area's upgrading into a more upmarket shopping destination. This is largely the result of contingencies in the institutional context (Zukin et al., 2015); the upgrade was set in motion by a collective branding strategy launched by the shopping street organization, and took flight when this brand was picked up by international media. Ultimately, it seemed to spiral out of control to the point where the very businesses that initiated the brand name now risk displacement due to its success. An increasing number of chain stores drives up rent prices and erodes social ties between entrepreneurs. The gentrifying strategy of entrepreneurs is in some ways the opposite of the crowd-pleasing strategy that is expected in consumption spaces that experience touristification. Nevertheless, some entrepreneurs in *Negen Straatjes* have noticed effects of increasing resistance against tourism in a similar way as *Damstraten* and *Hoogstraten*. Especially restaurants and food stores noticed that local residents started to avoid their business as they got more popular and that they are increasingly targeted by local law-enforcement due to the area's reputation as a tourist attraction.

CONCLUSIONS

As essential actors in the transformation of consumption landscapes, entrepreneurs provide valuable insights into the mechanisms of touristification and the circumstances that mediate this process. Our interviews with 31 entrepreneurs in *Damstraten*, *Hoogstraten* and *Negen Straatjes* in the inner city of Amsterdam, confirmed that increasing tourism changes the incentive structure faced by entrepreneurs, due to changes in local demand (Caserta and Russo, 2002) and rent increases for commercial property (Fox Gotham, 2005; Mermet, 2017). However, these changes can be highly localized and the strategies with which entrepreneurs respond to these changes depend on the social and institutional context entrepreneurs operate in. Different business strategies dominated in the three case study areas: Crowd-pleasing, niche playing and gentrifying. In the first case study area, *Damstraten*, entrepreneurs dominantly adopt a strategy of crowd-pleasing. Increasing tourist flows cause the consumption space to experience frequent crowding. Consistent with earlier findings the fast paced, hectic environment creates a higher demand for fast dining and take-away food and drinks (Guimarães, 2021), as well as for familiarity (Lloyd et al., 2011). Combined with increasing rent prices, this forces entrepreneurs to become crowd-pleasers that can quickly service the growing consumer base with a recognizable business concept. Those that adjust to these changes benefit from the increasing footfall and offset the steep rent increases. This makes direct business displacement less pervasive than in *Negen Straatjes* or other cases of commercial gentrification (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). However, the changing demand causes significant displacement pressure, especially for entrepreneurs who would rather quit or relocate than change a concept they highly identify with (Cardon et

al., 2009). This displacement pressure is intensified as more and more local businesses either adapt to the changing demand or relocate. Especially remaining businesses for comparison shopping perceive a loss of complementary and social ties with other entrepreneurs, causing them to feel increasingly out of place in *Damstraten*.

The dominant strategy in *Hoogstraten*, the second case study area, is niche-playing. Entrepreneurs increasingly specialized in niche products and services, either in response to trends or as part of their professional development. This specialization is possible because rent prices are relatively low. The social and institutional context play an important role in maintaining low rent prices, as a high share of properties is owned by social corporations and the many entrepreneurs mention positive relations with their property owner. The combination of specialization and relatively affordable rent prices creates a resilient local ecosystem of complementary businesses that many entrepreneurs see as an important asset. The tourist demand seems to preserve rather than jeopardize the favorable local business climate, since it reduces the impact of increasing competition with large chain stores and online shopping. Retail capital and complementarity between entrepreneurs thus interplay to mitigate touristification of the consumption space.

Our third case, *Negen Straatjes* is characterized by a dominant strategy of gentrifying, as the local consumer base has become increasingly affluent over the past years. In contrast to the expected shift to lower quality and take away businesses in touristy areas (Caserta and Russo, 2002; Guimarães, 2021), entrepreneurs have increasingly specialized in high-end products and services. This seems largely due to a successful branding strategy that promoted *Negen Straatjes* as a boutique shopping area. The increasing popularity of the area and its more and more high-end reputation have raised the interest of retail capital (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Zukin et al., 2015), especially chain holdings looking to open a flagship store in the streets and driving up rent prices. This causes direct business displacement, as well as eroding some of the social connections among the local entrepreneurs.

These three divergent cases leave a lot of questions unexplored. Firstly, with the interviews taking place during Covid-19 lockdowns, they raise the question how such external shocks affect entrepreneur strategies in tourist destinations in the long term. In the past decade, the Global Financial Crisis reduced local purchase power, causing many entrepreneurs to see tourists as a relatively stable target group. Travel restrictions due to Covid-19 completely reversed this situation and prompted entrepreneurs to reorientate to local customers. The coming years will show whether this will make a lasting difference. Secondly, this paper focused on direct effects of tourism on consumption landscapes. However, there may also be indirect effects, due to transformations on the local housing market as a consequence of increasing tourism. Especially developments around short term rentals deserve more research attention, as they may cause depopulation and reinforce the disappearance of local consumers.

In Amsterdam, city-wide restrictions on short term rentals and a traditionally large social housing sector cause the three case study areas to remain densely populated. The housing market could therefore be a mitigating factor. A comparative case where depopulation has played a larger role could shed more light on this matter. Thirdly, our findings encourage new ways to manage touristification of consumption spaces, which include rather than antagonize local entrepreneurs. We suggest to turn our attention to how stakeholders such as entrepreneur collectives, resident organizations and property owners could form local coalitions to manage touristification of consumption spaces together in a more small scale setting.

Such a more small-scale policy approach would also do more justice to the microgeographies of touristification of consumption spaces that this study revealed. Our case studies illustrate that tourism does not affect all consumption spaces in the same way, a finding we expect to also see in other popular tourist destinations. Rather, consumption spaces change as a result of an interplay between the local incentive structure and entrepreneurial strategies formulated in response to these changes. These strategies, in turn, are highly dependent on the institutional and social context. This is particularly important, because the varieties of touristification of consumption spaces are not only a blind spot in scientific literature, but seem to be overlooked in urban policies as well. Entrepreneurs in each of the cases mentioned increasingly negative framing of the inner city, tourism and tourist shops in local media, which exacerbated avoidance behavior among local residents. Concerns about touristification of consumption spaces also compelled the local government to increase restrictions and law-enforcement throughout the inner city of Amsterdam. For many businesses, these restrictions were confusing and detrimental, complicating their relation with the local government. To some, the local business climate starts to feel rather hostile, something that weighs in on decisions to relocate or terminate their business. This draws attention to the risk of pursuing a generic strategy to address touristification of consumption landscapes, when the process is in reality much more specific. In those areas where increasing tourism did not lead to crowding, these policies seem to cause more displacement pressure among entrepreneurs than the process they aim to mitigate.

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THE ROLE OF FRAME RESONANCE IN RESISTANCE TO TOURISTIFICATION: How Amsterdam came to ban tourist shops from its inner city

Hagemans, I. W., Spierings, B., Weltevreden, J.W.J, & Hooimeijer, P. (2023). The role of frame resonance in resistance to touristification: how Amsterdam came to ban tourist shops from its inner city. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1–17.



ABSTRACT

Recent studies on urban policy responses to increasing tourism have moved beyond the physical impact of tourism to also include the way tourism is framed by social movements. This paper contributes to this line of research with a focus on frame resonance: the extent to which frames strike a responsive chord with the public in general and policymakers in particular. We introduce a specific form of frame amplification through cultural resonance; the appeal to pre-existing societal beliefs. Using an analysis of policy documents, print, online and social media, we demonstrate that frames around tourist shops in Amsterdam appealed to pre-existing beliefs that portray the inner city as: a delicate mix of functions, an infrastructure for criminal activities, and a business card reflecting the city's quality of place. These beliefs amplified frame resonance to such an extent that they convinced an initially reluctant local government to ban tourist shops from the inner city, a policy that undermines the accessibility and inclusivity of urban spaces that the local government aims to promote (SDG 11). These findings suggest that the contingencies in the local context that enable or foreclose the cultural resonance of frames are essential in understanding policy responses to touristification.

INTRODUCTION

About a decade ago it would have been hard to imagine a product with a more lovable image than Nutella. Yet, when in recent years a growing number of pastry shops in Amsterdam started to display large jars of Nutella in their shop windows, local print and social media responses were rather hostile. The cocoa spread was often associated with war rhetoric about fights and battles. This happened against the backdrop of urban social movements raising awareness of the negative effects of tourism on the accessibility and inclusivity of urban spaces (Sustainable Development Goal 11) in cities around the world (Capocchi et al., 2019; Clancy, 2020; Dodds and Butler, 2020; Novy, 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020; Romero-Padilla et al., 2019). In Amsterdam, tourist shops became controversial and particularly Nutella grew into a symbol of everything about tourism that local residents resent. The local government responded to this resistance with a legally challenging zoning plan that bans tourist shops from the inner city (City of Amsterdam, 2018), an unexpected policy turn considering that the same coalition had started its term with the intention to deregulate the retail sector (Paternotte et al., 2014). It illustrates the importance and urgency with which tourist shops emerged on the local political agenda, which this paper explains by the successful framing of touristification by social movements.

While increasing resistance to tourism has become a worldwide phenomenon, there are large differences in the specific effects of tourism that are problematized in different contexts, as well as in approaches urban governments take to mitigate these effects. Explanations for these differences have tended to focus on the physical impacts of tourism and the destination's carrying capacity (Adie et al., 2020; Innerhofer et al., 2019). The popularization of the term *overtourism* illustrates this (Koens et al., 2018). It explains resistance to tourism as a response to a growing visitor flow, which overcharges local facilities, causes crowding, congestion and waiting times to access local businesses, damages heritage sites and results in increasing nuisance. This focus on visitor numbers presents a very limited perception of issues around tourism as emerging in response to objective circumstances and disappearing when these circumstances change. This is hardly ever true for social problems (Blumer, 1971), and seems unlikely to be the case in Amsterdam, where observable effects of tourism on consumption spaces are variegated (Hagemans et al., 2023). Instead, the key to why tourist shops became such a prominent issue in Amsterdam lies in the way they were framed.

Framing forms the interpretative layer between an occurrence or event and a social problem. It describes the way in which a topic is interpreted and discussed, which can have important implications for the extent to and the way in which it will be addressed (Schweinsberg et al., 2017). The interpretation will depend on the local context. In an average shopping mall, the replacement of a shoe shop by a pastry shop will probably be interpreted as a result of the increase in online shopping or of a shift in consumer

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demand. In a popular tourism destination, the same event can easily be framed as a token of touristification and used to problematize the change-over. Framing is therefore essential to explain how issues end up on the local policy agenda. Moreover, frames are introduced, promoted and adopted by different actors and social movements, both unconsciously and strategically (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). This draws attention to the role of power in defining an issue and mobilizing support for a proposed solution, an awareness that is critical to the ambition to foster accessible and inclusive urban spaces (SDG 11). After all, social movements that resist tourism can both protect the accessibility and inclusivity of urban spaces or undermine it by othering and excluding other users of space, including tourists and the tourism sector.

Framing has gained increasing attention in studies on resistance to tourism (Aguilera et al., 2021; Milano et al., 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020; Russo and Scarnato, 2018). However, these studies explain the success of frames foremostly by the clarity and coherence of the frame content, as well as the popularity and visibility of the organizations and spokespersons that support it. Especially Barcelona stands out as a case in which social movements have been successful in finding a collective message and popular spokesperson (Milano et al., 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020). However, social movements that demonstrate such a high level of organization around a very specific issue seem to be the exception rather than the rule (Novy and Colomb, 2019; Russo and Scarnato, 2018). In Amsterdam, the social movements that specifically target tourist shops have either been temporary or played a very marginal role in the public debate, largely lacking a coherent message or recognizable spokesperson.

This chapter addresses this gap in the literature by contributing a focus on the context in which the frame is produced and received, specifically on cultural resonance; the extent to which frames resonate with pre-existing beliefs (Buijs et al., 2011). Such resonance increases the credibility of frames and makes them seem more natural (Benford and Snow, 2000). Our analysis demonstrates how frames around tourist shops in Amsterdam became successful by making clever use of representations of the inner city that were already widely accepted among local residents and policymakers.

RESISTANCE TO TOURISTIFICATION AS A FRAMING STRATEGY

Touristification refers to the positive and negative ways in which tourism affects destinations by introducing new ways of using space, changing economic flows and power relations between local stakeholders and transforming the landscape (Ojeda and Kieffer, 2020). Over the past decade, negative perceptions of tourism have gained dominance, especially in heritage cities. Here, increasing numbers of visitors are argued to challenge sustainability of cities and communities (SDG 11), for instance by

causing resident displacement on the housing market (Cocola-Gant and Gago, 2021; Postma and Schmuecker, 2017) as well as congestion and nuisance, due to intrusive or inappropriate behavior (Smith et al., 2019). This perceived loss of place has caused increasing resistance from social movements (Milano et al., 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020); networks of individuals, informal groups and organizations that unite over particular values, beliefs and interests, which drive them to undertake collective actions (Tilly, 1978). These actions respond to transformations or situations that somehow disrupt their daily life, values or rights (Castells, 1983).

A central objective of social movements is to put their issue on the political agenda (Benford and Snow, 2000). To achieve this, they mobilize support for a particular understanding of an issue (Benford and Snow, 2000; Goffman, 1974). This takes place in a collective and iterative process where different actors support complementary or conflicting frames (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Frames generally serve three purposes; to promote a specific interpretation of a phenomenon; to mobilize other actors to adopt their specific understanding; and to propose a particular course of action (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Put simply, these frames answer the respective questions: What is going on? Why should we do something about it? And what can be done about it? These elements are referred to as diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Diagnostic frames identify and interpret a problem, often using stylistic figures of speech, such as metaphors (Budd et al., 2018). This typically includes a narrative that identifies causes, effects, victims and culprits. In the beforementioned example of the pastry shop replacing a shoe shop, the interpretation that this is caused by increasing tourism and affects livability for local residents is a diagnostic frame. However, a problem definition in itself is not enough to put a problem on the political agenda. This also requires importance and urgency. These aspects are emphasized in motivational frames, the 'call to arms' (Benford and Snow, 2000). Motivational frames tend to emphasize how and why a problem will only get worse unless immediate action is undertaken. Furthermore, they often attempt to convince actors of their ability and responsibility to address the problem. In our example, motivational frames could portray the shop changeover as causing a domino effect on other businesses. Finally, prognostic frames propose the particular action that can be taken. Prognostic frames typically propose a solution, as well as a responsible party that should carry out this proposed course of action. The ban on tourist shops introduced in Amsterdam started as one of such proposed solutions. Together, diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames can put a problem on the political agenda. Whether frames are successfully adopted on the political agenda, however, depends on resonance (Benford and Snow, 2000).

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS IN INCREASING FRAME RESONANCE

Resonance is a measure of frame success, describing the ease with which a frame is remembered, the extent to which it is shared and the effectiveness with which it mobilizes other actors to follow the proposed course of action (Benford and Snow, 2000). Frame resonance depends on several factors, including the physical setting in which a frame is presented (Hajer and Uitermark, 2008), the credibility of the frame articulators and the occurrence of notable events or developments that make a particular frame more tangible at a certain point in time. This variety of explanatory factors makes it notoriously difficult to explain why some frames are more successful than others (Buijs et al., 2011; Poletta and Ho, 2006). This is why the bulk of framing studies focuses on the content of frames, rather than on the context that enabled these frames to become influential (Phi, 2019).

From literature on environmental framing, we know that context and especially pre-existing beliefs about the affected context can play an important role in amplifying frame resonance (Buijs et al., 2011). Relating to these pre-existing beliefs creates cultural resonance, which makes frames seem more natural, familiar and credible (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). These beliefs can be common sense understandings or folk knowledge that people use to interpret the world around them (Moscovici, 2000). Buijs et. al. (2011) conceptualize these beliefs as social representations. Contrary to frames, social representations are not related to any specific issue; they do not define a problem or propose a solution (Buijs et al., 2011). Rather, they are ways in which people perceive and make sense of an 'object' such as nature (Buijs et al., 2011), or a place. In the case of tourist shops in Amsterdam, diagnostic and motivational frames claim, for instance, that increasing tourism causes a monotonous consumption landscape, which erodes the attractiveness of the inner city. These frames resonate with the belief that a mix of functions is one of the key elements that make the inner city of Amsterdam attractive. This belief predates frames about touristification of consumption spaces and in itself does not immediately call for action.

Beliefs consist of normative values, cognitive beliefs and aesthetic elements (Keulartz et al., 2004). Normative values relate to the moral status attributes to different stakeholders or even objects that underpin judgements of what is considered right or wrong for this specific context (Keulartz et al., 2004). This could entail judgments about what and who belongs or who should have the right to shape a place. Cognitive beliefs refer to the mechanisms that are assumed to affect a place or an object (Keulartz et al., 2004). This often includes a narrative about what elements are considered vulnerable and in need of protection. Finally, aesthetic elements refer to what we find beautiful or ugly, as well as the emotions and feelings of attachment that come with this judgment. Figure 4.1 displays the conceptual links between frames and cultural resonance. In the

next section, we will present Amsterdam's ban on tourist shops in more detail. After that, we will outline our methods and findings on frames and social representations in discussions around tourist shops in Amsterdam.

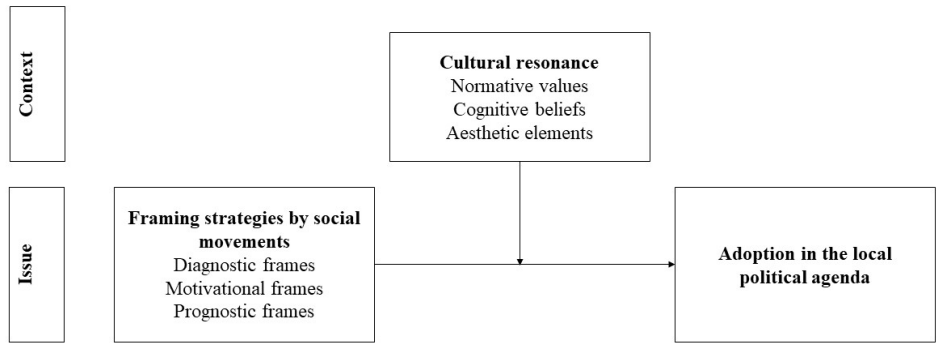


Figure 4.1. Conceptual model of frames and cultural resonance

AMSTERDAM'S BAN ON TOURIST SHOPS IN A LEGAL CONTEXT

Amsterdam's ban on tourist shops is legally challenging, because national spatial planning laws and European directives generally do not allow local governments to restrict the type of businesses that can locate in particular areas. However, particular circumstances allow exceptions to this rule. These are circumstances in which either sound spatial planning or a good living environment is at stake (Rijksoverheid, 2008). Zoning plans in Amsterdam have previously referred to this exception to exclude particular retail and hospitality sectors with the aim to *"prevent anticipated or stagnate existing dilapidation of the residential and work circumstances and of the appearance of the designated area"* (Rijksoverheid, 2008 art. 3.1.2). Souvenir shops, for instance, were already banned from the inner city since 2013. The most important difference between these existing restrictions and the ban on tourist shops is that tourist shops are not a generally accepted retail subsector, and they cannot easily be defined by their activities or even offer of products.

The ban on tourist shops solves this challenge by defining tourist shops with a combination of particular retail sectors, specific products and types of advertisement and presentation that are associated with tourist target audience (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Firstly, the sectors that are banned from the inner city are businesses that sell small quantities of soft drugs or paraphernalia for smoking or growing marihuana (grow shops, headshops, seed shops, and smart shops), souvenir shops, mini supermarkets,

phone call shops, gambling halls, money exchange offices, massage parlors and take-out food shops (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Secondly, for shops that do not fall in these restricted categories, limitations are introduced around the offer of souvenirs and take-out food. To define souvenirs, the zoning plan argues that:

“One should not think only of dolls in (...) traditional dress, wooden windmills, key chains with cheeses, windmills, tulips, clogs and the like, but also of textiles (...), ceramics (...) and spoons with prints of national-, regional- or Amsterdam-related symbols. (...) [including] items that appeal to the city’s image of easy access to drugs and sex.”
(City of Amsterdam, 2018 art 1.2.3)

Souvenirs and fast food products are allowed provided that they take no more than 5% of floor space, are not located at the front of the shop and not advertised in the shopwindow. Thirdly, tourist shops are defined by conspicuous and flashy communication, often in English or other, non-Dutch, languages, English speaking staff and souvenir-like packaging. The level of detail required to define and prohibit particular types of touristy products underlines the legal challenges of the ban on tourist shops and therefore the urgency that must have been felt by the local government to intervene. The remainder of this paper will explain this perceived urgency by looking at the way touristification of consumption spaces has been framed and how these frames resonated with pre-existing beliefs about the inner city of Amsterdam.

METHODS

The analysis of frames around tourist shops and beliefs about Amsterdam’s inner city is based on written texts from policy documents as well as print, online and social media content, published before March 2020, when the Covid-19 lockdowns significantly altered discussions about both tourism and consumption spaces. As a reflection of the time in which they were produced, written texts are especially useful to research how frames have developed – something that would be difficult to reconstruct in hindsight with the use of interview data. Due to social media, these written texts are no longer always paraphrased and edited, but also include a growing share of unmediated content to triangulate the frames identified in policies and print media. This content can still be biased. Residents who feel very strongly about either positive or negative effects of tourism may be more likely to share their opinion on social media than those who take a more neutral position, for instance. This makes online, print and social media content about tourist shops in Amsterdam a poor representation of the population of residents. However, the sampling approach is not intended to generalize to a population, rather

it is designed to represent as accurately as possible the content that compelled policymakers to intervene in touristification of consumption spaces. To achieve this, documents were sampled based on intertextuality.

Intertextuality acknowledges how texts have an inherent historicity, never emerging in isolation, but always combining and elements from other texts (Fairclough, 1992). This chapter specifically focuses on intertextual chains of texts that build on each other as they transform from speeches to media articles, reports, books and casual conversations, each time being paraphrased, interpreted, critiqued or elaborated on (Fairclough, 1992). In this way, concepts and lines of reasoning can travel between different settings and gradually gain new meanings (Jessop, 2010). The analysis unravels such intertextual chains by starting at the end point; policy documents related to the ban on tourist shops are gathered and systematically traced back the resources used to legitimize this policy. The first sample of policy documents included the Balanced City policy, communications about the Balanced City policy on the local government's website and research reports used to motivate the ban on tourist shops or monitor its effects. From these documents, references to other documents and texts were identified and added to the sample.

The resources that are referred to range from specific documents to the activities of a stakeholder group or a key topic that has been discussed in print or social media. In case of references to an organization or initiative, relevant content for the sample is gathered from the initiative's website, newsletter, and its Facebook and Twitter accounts. In some cases, references were made to a keyword that was discussed in print and social media. One of the policy documents that introduced the need to address touristification, claims that *"ice cream and Nutella shops were frequently mentioned in media over the past year and a half as shops that annoy Amsterdammers"* (City of Amsterdam, 2017: 11). In those cases, a keyword search was conducted with social media tools Coosto and Fanpage Karma. Coosto was also used to retrieve online news articles. Print media articles were gathered using the LexisNexis database. The references to keywords that we encountered were *Nutellawinkel* (Nutella shop) and *toeristenwinkel* (tourist shop). As a validity check, we also searched for synonyms to tourist shops that we found in the texts, such as *toeristenmeuk* (tourist trash). However, we found that those searches generated next to no new documents.

The referenced documents and texts were again searched for references. All gathered content relevant to tourist shops or beliefs about the inner city of Amsterdam was added to the sample. Our sample gathering stopped when content was no longer related to tourism or consumption spaces. Policy communications around the ban on tourist shops referred, for instance, to a very broadly formulated future vision for the metropolitan area of Amsterdam. Since this document does not refer to consumption spaces or tourism, it was not used to gather references to other texts. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the number of posts or articles gathered from different sources.

The sampled data was coded in different rounds using MaxQDA. The first round of coding distinguished the different diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames. In subsequent rounds, the frames were combined into larger categories where appropriate. Several lines of argumentation were combined, for instance, into a motivational frame describing tourist shops as a slippery slope of touristification, which will only increase unless it is stopped by policy interventions. The next step looked for links between diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames. A diagnostic frame that portrays tourist shops as criminogenic, for instance, links to a prognostic frame that proposes stricter monitoring and law-enforcement to reduce the number of tourist shops. This resulted in a reduced number of frames, as well as a small selection of the main storylines where diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames combined and created an urgent appeal to intervene.

Table 4.1. Overview of selected content

Type of media	Source	Number of posts/articles
Local media	Parool, AT5, Groene Amsterdammer	251
National media	NRC Handelsblad, Volkskrant, Trouw, Telegraaf, Quote, Financieel Dagblad, Vrij Nederland, NOS	55
Policy documents – Balanced city	Website, supporting research, policy	20
policy documents – other	Retail policy, inner city district policy, other policies referred to	41
organizations – blogs and newsletters	Vereniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad (<i>Friends of Amsterdam's Inner city</i>), Red de winkels (Save the Shops), D'Oude stad (<i>The Old town</i>), MKB Amsterdam (<i>Amsterdam SME organization</i>), Amsterdam City	37
organizations – social media	MKB Amsterdam (Amsterdam SME association), Amsterdam City, We live here, Pretpark Amsterdam (<i>Theme Park Amsterdam</i>)	225
Keyword searches	Nutellawinkel (<i>Nutella shop</i>), toeristenwinkel (<i>Tourist shop</i>)	458

The social representations that the frames resonate with, largely emerged from the data sampling method. Tracing back references quickly revealed a number of key documents. These were all strategic research or policy documents, explicitly intended to promote a new understanding of the inner city. As such, they anticipate a wider discussion about the concepts as well as implementation in future policies (see Fairclough, 1992 for the role of anticipation in intextual chains). These documents were analyzed to identify normative values, cognitive beliefs and aesthetic elements they attribute to Amsterdam's inner city, which, considering the strategic nature of the texts, were rather explicit. Due to the sampling approach based on intertextuality, the analysis did not start with pre-conceived notions of what social representations have influenced frames around tourist shops. This revealed social representations about the inner city of Amsterdam that were

coined in a completely different context than the context of touristification. This search identified a larger number of storylines than this paper could cover. The paper therefore does not give an exhaustive list of beliefs of Amsterdam's inner city. Nor can it make any claims about the prevalence of these different beliefs. Rather, it identifies those beliefs that most clearly amplify the resonance of frames around tourist shops.

The results will first present the diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames around tourist shops in Amsterdam. After that, the three most important beliefs about Amsterdam's inner city that created cultural resonance are identified. In this way, the findings move beyond the way a problem is framed, to include the extent to which the context in which the frames are received enables them to strike a responsive chord.

DIAGNOSTIC FRAMES: DEFINING THE PROBLEM

Amsterdam has a long history with tourism that has always caused a certain level of resistance (Gerritsma, 2019; Nijman, 1999), but the most recent surge in resistance to tourism has emerged around 2014 (City of Amsterdam, 2015). In that year, local newspapers started publishing about congestion, nuisance and littering as a consequence of increasing numbers of visitors. Tourists are often depicted as culprits, in many accounts they are even de-personified by the use of metaphors. The most prominent metaphor compares increasing numbers of visitors to a natural disaster. It would be quite common, for instance, to find descriptions of tourists *pouring into* and *flooding* the city, or analogies of *volcanic eruptions*, *explosions* and *tsunamis* (Schoonenberg, 2016; Trouw, 2015). Shops and consumption spaces were not immediately introduced into these debates around tourism, but entered the discussion in two ways.

First, before the rise of tourist shops was even reported as affecting livability for local residents, it was described as an indicator of money laundering activities. This concern first appeared in a newspaper article raising awareness for increasing drug trade in Amsterdam. The author linked fast-food and ice cream shops in the inner city to the drug trade, claiming '*concerns are not about ice cream, but about laundering of drug money*' (Heijdelberg, 2015). This started persistent speculations on the legality of ice cream and waffle stores that gained recurring attention in local media for years after this first publication.

The second way in which consumption spaces were introduced in public debates around tourism, was through a petition named Save the Shops (*Red de Winkels*), started by a shop owner in Amsterdam's inner city. The petition was covered in local as well as national media. It drew attention to developments that actually largely predate the recent surge in tourism, such as the increasing number of chain stores, disappearance of small shops with an offer of daily products and the increasing prominence of hospitality over retail. So-called tourist shops were scapegoated for these transformations. This

culprit frame frequently holds business owners personally responsible, portraying them as self-centered: *“not asking themselves whether their shops or hospitality businesses benefit their environment, but only looking at how it affects their own wallets”* (Crommert, 2017). A local politician even spoke of predatory entrepreneurs (*roofondernemers* in Dutch) (Boutkan, 2017).

The problematization of tourist shops seems to revolve around an interesting mix of national identity and socioeconomic status. Tourist shops are framed as lower quality in terms of their appearance, offer and appeal to people with unsophisticated taste. Touristy hospitality businesses, for instance, are often referred to as *vreetwinkels* (Chorus, 2017), referring to an unattractive way of overeating, and criticized for selling, unhealthy and high-calorie foods. Waffle stores started to play a prominent role in these debates. These also received criticism for their smell, described in Dutch as *weeig*, which means sweet, but in a negative, nauseating way. Shops and hospitality businesses are also criticized for their lower status presentation, described as uncared for, shabby and flashy or obtrusive. These arguments are often used side-by-side with comments about representation of the Dutch identity or fit with local customs. English advertising and English shop names are problematized. Moreover, products such as waffles and churros are critiqued for not being Dutch. Consuming foreign snacks on a touristic visit to Amsterdam is seen as an indicator of bad taste and ignorance. Even cheese shops that specialize in Dutch cheeses are challenged for not fitting in with the local context, with the argument that Dutch people would visit a specialty cheese shop for foreign cheeses, but buy their Dutch cheese in the supermarket where it is more affordable. All of these frames, problematizing the lower status, unhealthy foods, non-Dutch appearance and the suspicions of money laundering practices, seem to coincide in the Nutella shop. These waffle shops with large Nutella jars in the shopwindows gained popularity in the years prior to the Covid pandemic and became the stereotypical example of touristification. Nutella itself grew into a metaphor for lack of authenticity, blandness and alienation of local residents. This metaphor was successful in media as well. When Amsterdam introduced measures to curtail tourist shops, several newspapers quoted this as Amsterdam's revolt against Nutella in headlines such as: *‘Legal help protects business owners from Nutella shops’*, *‘This is my city, no Nutella dealer can take it away from me’*, or *‘We are grateful for any business that does not transform into a Nutella shop’*.

MOTIVATIONAL FRAMES: THE CALL TO ARMS

The most frequently mentioned motivational frame, emphasizing the importance, urgency and need for intervention, is that increasing tourism threatens livability for inner city residents. A local newspaper illustrated this with vignettes of inner city residents

planning to leave as a consequence of increasing tourism. They were described as *oer-* (ancient or native) and seasoned inner city residents that have stayed in the area through rough times, but were unable to cope with the effects of tourism:

"After having lived through the misery of the drug epidemic, it seemed that, due to resident protests, the neighborhood was doing better. However, recent years show an apparently irreversible deterioration." (Appels, 2018).

These complaints relate foremostly to crowding and nuisance due to obtrusive behavior of tourists. However, tourist shops play a role in these debates as facilitators, either because they sell alcohol or soft-drugs, or because they sell souvenirs that promote Amsterdam as a place to 'let it all hang out' (Nijman, 1999). Even fast food businesses are considered to facilitate rowdy behavior, because they cater to people with sugar cravings after using drugs or alcohol.

Besides stressing the importance, there are also several frames that stress the urgency of interventions, for instance by referring to the situation in the inner city as 'five minutes to twelve' (Couzy, 2016). It is argued that touristy functions have found a business model that is hard to compete with as a non-touristy business. Tourist shops supposedly sell low value products with very high profit margins, a business model that drives up rent prices of property in touristy areas. As a result, businesses that offer value for money can no longer compete and will be displaced. Moreover, some argue that successful formulas of tourist shops are likely to be copied by other business owners. In line with the natural disaster metaphors used to describe increasing numbers of tourists, the increase in tourist shops is described as an uncontrollable *overgrowth*, or as businesses *mushrooming* or *sprouting up* (AT5, 2018; Bolderen, 2016; Smithuijsen, 2016).

PROGNOSTIC FRAMES: PROPOSING A COURSE OF ACTION

A final step in collective action frames is to propose a solution, as well as a responsible party to implement this solution. Up to some extent, it is argued that residents, business owners and property owners can all play a role in addressing tourist shops. Some point out, for instance, that residents increasingly shop at larger supermarkets and chain stores or online. This appeals to residents' responsibility to buy local. This idea led to the emergence of *Stichting de Goede Zaak* (which could be translated to both 'the just cause' and 'the right business'). The organization's mission is to raise awareness for what it sees as desirable businesses among Amsterdam's residents. It even hands out trademarks for businesses that provide a *"contribution to the diversity of the shopping landscape in*

their street, neighborhood and city" (Stichting de Goede Zaak, 2016).

More often, however, the local government is seen as the responsible party to address touristification. A recurring question, indignantly posed by resident organizations and echoed in media, is how it is possible that the local government simply allowed increasing numbers of tourist shops to emerge. This illustrates the extent to which the local government's power to intervene is taken for granted. It is even captured in the concept *brancheren* (branching). Another government-led solution that is frequently quoted is more monitoring and law-enforcement to counter the emergence of tourist shops, under the presumption that tourist shops are often fronts for money laundering. Prognostic frames thus seem to overestimate the local government's power to intervene both with zoning instruments and monitoring procedures.

BELIEFS ABOUT AMSTERDAM'S INNER CITY

Three pre-existing beliefs about Amsterdam's inner city amplify resonance of frames that problematize tourist shops. These portray the inner city as a delicate mix of functions; an infrastructure for criminal activities and a business card that reflects Amsterdam's quality of place. In all three of these beliefs a specific text, policy or research project came to the fore as the most referenced and prominent articulation.

Functional mix: The inner city as a delicate mix of functions

The document that was most often referred to in discussions around tourist shops is a policy published in 1993, *Beleidsplan Binnenstad*, which reflects on the function of the inner city (City of Amsterdam, 1993). Such a reflection was necessary because of two developments. First, the inner city's central function was increasingly undermined by suburbanization of both offices and retail (van Duren, 1995). Moreover, a consultancy agency found that local government employees experienced ambiguity in policies directed at different functions of the inner city (City of Amsterdam, 1993). There was a need for clearer guidelines on when and where to prioritize economic interests over residential concerns and vice versa. *Beleidsplan Binnenstad* aims to create these guidelines by distinguishing residential, economic and recreational functions as the three pillars that make the inner city a vibrant center. It depicts the inner city as a patchwork of small residential, economic and recreational concentrations, and emphasizes that all three functions need protection as they are all essential to the *functional mix* (City of Amsterdam, 1993).

The functional mix continues to be a powerful symbol, even though the challenges faced by the inner city changed. This representation originated in a context where economic and recreational functions were perceived as under threat, risking the inner city to become a residential, dormitory town. Instead, it is now the residential function

that is perceived as under pressure, especially from increasing recreational functions that transform the inner city into a 'theme park'. The normative belief that the inner city should be a mix of residential, economic and recreational functions thus remained the same, while the cognitive belief changed from a perception that the economic and recreational functions needed protection, to a situation in which the residential function needs protection from economic and recreational functions.

The functional mix initially referred to a mix of residential, economic and recreational functions and considered retail and hospitality businesses as part of the recreational function. Over the years, however, it started to be used to refer to diversity within the retail and hospitality landscape. The representation of a functional mix was used in 2013 to ban a number of retail businesses from zoning plans in the inner city. This concerned brothels, coffeeshops, grow-, head- and smartshops. The zoning plan argued:

"Although retail contributes to the functional mix (...) an excess of similar retail establishments is not desirable. An excess leads to monoculture and attracts a too uniform group of visitors" (City of Amsterdam, 2013).

In line with the perceived vulnerability of the residential function, aesthetic elements of functional mix relate mostly to the attachment of local (especially long-term) residents to the inner city. In describing what an attractive consumption landscape for local residents would look like, diversity is used as a key concept. What such diversity entails can be ambiguous and earlier research on consumption landscapes in Amsterdam has revealed how diversity is used as a way to promote middle class tastes and aesthetics (Eck et al., 2020). This seems to reverberate in discussions about tourist shops, as diversity of the retail landscape is often mentioned in combination with evaluations like attractive and high quality.

The belief that represents Amsterdam's inner city as a delicate mix of functions is directly reflected in diagnostic, motivational, and prognostic frames used in debates about tourist shops. This becomes evident not only from the use of the terms functional mix and diversity itself, but also from the extensive use of its antonyms, such as monoculture, uniformity, overgrowth and overconcentration. Similarly, the opposite of attachment to the city for inner city residents, alienation, frequently finds its way into debates around tourist shops. Frames that problematize tourist shops are therefore perceived as more natural and credible due to pre-existing beliefs of the inner city as a place of functional mix. The fact that the importance of functional mixing is articulated in policy documents and led to previous interventions where certain businesses were banned from zoning plans is also significant, as it implies that safeguarding the balance between these functions is a government responsibility and suggests that the local government has the ability and instruments to intervene.

The nefarious city: The inner city as an infrastructure for criminal activities

An alternative image that frames about tourist shops frequently refer to, presents the inner city as an infrastructure for criminal activities. These claims date back to a national enquiry conducted in the 1990s to evaluate the legitimacy and effectiveness of policing methods (Traa and Coenen, 1996). Amsterdam's inner city, the Red Light district in particular, was included as a case study. The report introduced a new approach to studying criminal activities. Instead of only focusing on criminal activities as such, it argued that one should also consider the semi-legal or legal infrastructure that supports criminal activities. This infrastructure includes businesses that are used as a front for money laundering, but also businesses that are more loosely connected to criminal organizations. Hospitality businesses, for instance, were singled out for their role as the setting for meetings, recruitment of new members, liquidations or other criminal settlements, as well as the places where criminals spend their earnings. The report argues that to effectively reduce criminal activities, interventions should address the entire infrastructure of supporting semi-legal or legal businesses, where criminal activities are most disruptive to the wider society.

The appeal to address the criminogenic infrastructure in the inner city resulted in an ambitious project to reduce the size of criminogenic industries in the Red Light district. The project, named Plan 1012 after the Red Light District's zip code, was introduced in 2007. It was presented foremostly as a break with progressive policies towards prostitution, which received increasing criticism as turning a blind eye towards violence against women and "slave trade" (NRC Handelsblad, 2005). Aalbers and Deinema (2012) describe the project's impact on perceptions of prostitution:

"Whereas up until recently regulated prostitution was sometimes, although not without controversy, associated with labor emancipation as well as with a progressive liberal value set, it is now branded as crude, amoral commercialism (...), or as 'criminogenic'" (p.138).

Although prostitution became the most discussed aspect of Plan 1012, it targeted a broader range of so-called criminogenic branches. These included coffee shops, brothels, smart shops, mini-supermarkets, gambling halls, sex-related establishments, souvenir shops, money exchange offices and headshops (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008). Businesses in these branches were considered criminogenic; at risk of becoming part of the criminal infrastructure. It was argued that there were too many of such businesses in the inner city, making it impossible to monitor their activities with the closer scrutiny that is required for these criminogenic branches. The redevelopment project therefore aimed to reduce the size of these branches, regardless of whether the businesses that disappear are actually involved in criminal activities.

With regard to cognitive aspects, businesses in the inner city of Amsterdam are

considered vulnerable to competition with the large sums of money made in criminal activities and in need of laundering. This threatens the normative idea of a city that should be as free as possible from criminal interference, an idea that is hard to argue against. These arguments reverberate in the discussion around tourist shops and their alleged criminal activities. They lend credibility to the idea that tourist shops are actually money-laundering fronts that have been able to locate in the inner city despite due diligence checks that are in place. It also strengthens the idea that more monitoring and law-enforcement would result in a reduction of tourist shops in the inner city.

The aesthetic elements of this belief are less upfront, but are implied in descriptions of criminogenic businesses as negatively affecting the streetscape by their perceived uniformity and unkempt looks: *"Besides the criminogenic aspect, many of these functions have a shabby appearance"* (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008: 6). This creates an association between small independent shops, especially more makeshift businesses (Hall, 2021), and criminal activities. The aesthetic aspects of shabby looking, lower status businesses, comes to the fore more clearly in the belief that depicts Amsterdam's inner city as a business card.

The Red Carpet: The inner city as a business card

Besides reducing alleged criminogenic functions such as brothels, coffee shops and souvenir shops, Plan 1012 also aimed to introduce higher class economic functions (see Aalbers and Deinema, 2012 for a critique). The project's starting document calls it *"a revival of the entrance to Amsterdam. We aim to transform the uniform economic structure, with relatively many poor quality and nuisance-causing functions, to a more diverse and high-end offer"* (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008: 4). It describes the inner city, especially the streets directly veering off the central train station where most visitors enter the city, as trashy and a poor representation of Amsterdam's quality of place. It speaks of replacing the lower-value economic activities with higher status (*hoogwaardige*) functions and transforming the area into a Red Carpet into the city. This Red Carpet is described as a combination of *"an A1-shop location with an international profile"* and *"small scale retail, craft, hospitality and offices, hotels and culture"* (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008: 12).

This representation of the inner city emphasizes the aesthetic aspects of allure and status. Feelings of attachment among residents of the wider metropolitan area also play an important role. It promotes the inner city as a place that these residents identify with and feel proud of. This comes with a normative element that considers the inner city of Amsterdam as a place that should be of high quality and high socioeconomic status. This amplifies frames problematizing lower status businesses in the inner city of Amsterdam as something that reflects on residents of the entire metropolitan area. When it comes to cognitive beliefs, there seems to be a strong belief in symbolic value. The aim to upgrade is based on 'key interventions', a number of strategic, highly visible

locations where an upgrade can take place. The belief is that when these symbolic functions are introduced the rest of the area will follow. The other way around, low quality functions located in highly visible places can cause deterioration of the area. This belief is echoed in motivational frames around tourist shops, which often stress how touristification occurs on a slippery slope: Once a number of businesses in the street start to change character, more will follow.

DISCUSSION

This study was inspired by an unexpected policy shift with regard to tourist shops in Amsterdam. A local government coalition that started its term with the intention to deregulate the retail and hospitality sector, ended up introducing a legally challenging ban on tourist shops, stretching the limits of the level of regulation that national planning laws allow. The policy turn was claimed to be a response to increasing local resistance. However, the local resistance did not stem from an organized social movement that framed problems around tourist shops in a consistent and coherent way. Rather, it consisted of a loose collection of social media pages, small resident organizations, temporary protests and newspaper articles, all of which actually address a wide range of issues surrounding tourism. This seems at odds with earlier findings around framing and resistance to tourism, especially in Barcelona, which emphasize frame content and articulators as the main determinants of resonance (Milano et al., 2019; Russo and Scarnato, 2018).

Rather than by content and articulators, the success of frames that problematize tourist shops can at least partly be explained by their cultural resonance with pre-existing beliefs about Amsterdam's inner city. By systematically unravelling the public debate, starting with policy documents around the ban on tourist shops and gradually retracing sources quoted in these policy documents to account for intertextuality, this analysis arrived at three dominant frames about tourist shops, as well as three pre-existing beliefs about Amsterdam's inner city that have increased frame resonance. Tourist shops in Amsterdam are problematized in diagnostic frames that portray them as creating a monoculture that threatens livability for local residents, as shabby and lower quality businesses and as criminogenic. Each of these frames are amplified by pre-existing beliefs. The touristy monoculture and threat to livability resonates with the belief that the inner city should contain a carefully balanced functional mix. The portrayal of tourist shops as lower social status resonates with the representation of the inner city as a business card, a Red Carpet that symbolizes Amsterdam's quality of place. Lastly, the frame that depicts tourist shops as criminogenic resonates with pre-existing representations of the inner city as an infrastructure for criminal activities. Appealing to these pre-existing beliefs seems to have been a remarkably successful strategy in

framing the emergence of tourist shops as an urgent, public problem that the local government needs to address.

Table 4.2. Summary of frames and social representations

Representation of the inner city as...	Key documents	Diagnostic frames	Motivational frames	Prognostic frames
... a delicate mix of functions	Beleidsplan Binnenstad (City of Amsterdam, 1993)	Tourist shops are a mismatch with the local identity The consumption landscape changes into a monoculture	Livability for local residents is under threat The growth of tourist shops will only continue unless it is curtailed	The local government should prevent tourist shops from locating in the inner city
... a business card	Project 1012 (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008)	Tourist shops are shabby and of lower social status		
... an infrastructure for criminal activities	Enquête opsporingsmethoden (Traa and Coenen, 1996)	Tourist shops are fronts for money laundering		The number of tourist shops can be reduced by increasing monitoring activities
			It is five minutes past twelve	Residents should shop local

A particularly influential belief portrays the inner city of Amsterdam as a criminal infrastructure, a representation that was integrated in local policies long before tourism started to surge in 2014. Initially coined to investigate criminal activities as part of a wider infrastructure, the concept has an ambiguous effect on discussions around tourist shops. The association with criminal activities makes problems around tourist shops more urgent and important and therefore legitimizes interventions. At the same time, the fact that it concerns *criminogenic branches* rather than actual criminal activities avoids the scrutiny that would be required to actually provide evidence of illegal actions. Perhaps most importantly, the believed vulnerability of consumption landscapes to criminal activities adds credibility to frames that scapegoat business owners as culprits. Another notable finding is that apart from an appeal for residents to shop local, prognostic frames tend to see the local government as the responsible party to intervene. A possible explanation for this lies in the fact that the key documents that coined the most important social representations are all policy documents. This reinforces the idea that the local government is responsible for and able to protect a balanced consumption landscape. After all, policy interventions in consumption spaces

in the past have been legitimized with exactly the same arguments. The fact that frames resonate with pre-existing beliefs that the local government has openly supported and claimed responsibility for, made it extremely difficult for the local government to ignore the problematization of tourist shops.

CONCLUSION

This chapter's most important contribution is that frames will be amplified if they resonate with pre-existing beliefs that add to the credibility of the problem and the feasibility of the intervention. Some of these beliefs may occur in different contexts or even be linked to larger paradigms. However, the case of tourist shops in Amsterdam demonstrates how crucial circumstances that pressure local governments to intervene can be highly localized. The way forward to a better understanding of policy responses to resistance to urban tourism therefore requires close scrutiny of the local context that enables or forecloses the cultural resonance of frames on touristification.

These conclusions illustrate how the variety in policy responses to tourism can be a response to framing by social movements as much as to the observable physical impacts of urban tourism. This fits in with the growing literature on local resistance to tourism that moves beyond the objective impacts that are central in literature on overtourism (Capocchi et al., 2019) and includes framing as a central concept (Aguilera et al., 2021; Milano et al., 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020; Russo and Scarnato, 2018). However, these studies on the role of framing in resistance to tourism have predominantly focused on frame content and articulators to explain the success of social movements that resist touristification (Milano et al., 2019; Russo and Scarnato, 2018). This explanation falls short, especially in cases such as Amsterdam where the level of organizational strength of social movements resisting touristification is limited and consensus on the nature, the urgency and the solution of the problem is far from self-evident. Such conditions are not typical for Amsterdam. Social movements resisting touristification are more often loosely organized coalitions consisting of smaller resident or other interest groups with conflicting interests (see Vianello, 2016 for an example from Venice). These findings therefore contribute a focus on cultural resonance.

For future research, more attention to the context in which the frames are received. Besides cultural resonance is recommended. This could include aspects such as the extent to which the problems addressed in frames are tangible and play a central role in the everyday lives of the audience (Benford and Snow, 2000). Another interesting direction for future research would be to investigate the role of cultural resonance in explaining a lack of frame resonance. It would be worthwhile to consider pre-existing beliefs in tourism destinations where resistance to tourism has been relatively absent or unsuccessful, as it is argued to be in Paris (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2016).

Taking framing seriously has important managerial implications for the ambition to foster accessible and inclusive urban environments (SDG 11), since it inevitably introduces questions of power: Inclusive and accessible for whom? The case of tourist shops in Amsterdam demonstrates how this can leave local governments in a difficult position. On one hand, tourism can affect the inclusivity and accessibility of inner city consumption spaces for local residents. They may feel alienated from a consumption landscape that mainly caters to tourists or even lack access to daily goods and services (Guimarães, 2021; Novy and Colomb, 2019). With the sustainability of the inner city community in mind, local governments should therefore take concerns about the effects of tourism at heart. On the other hand, inclusivity and accessibility should also extend to tourists and the tourism sector. In the case of Amsterdam, framing strategies depicted tourists as a natural disaster and entrepreneurs in the tourism sector as criminals. The local government responded too readily to these highly resonating frames, introducing policies that stereotype tourists and exclude entrepreneurs. This does not only affect inclusivity, but also undermines the positive contributions tourists and the tourism sector could make to the city's resilience and cultural diversity.

These findings call for an approach that pacifies rather than escalates frames around touristification. To achieve this, the most important nuisance-causing malpractices would benefit from a small scale approach, in cooperation with local stakeholders. At the same time, the aim should be to disentangle these malpractices as much as possible from a wider debate about touristification. Such a small scale, urban acupuncture approach (Lerner, 2014) allows more focus on tangible issues and contextualized solutions, while minimizing effects to the wider entrepreneurial climate. The public debate on the future of tourism at the urban scale should strive to use more inclusive language. Several authors have warned for risks of scapegoating, where tourism is blamed for effects that are also a product of other societal changes such as globalization, gentrification and digitalization. In fact, these changes led to an increase in protests and contestations that predated the most recent surge in tourism (Clancy, 2020; Novy, 2019). In this way, tourists and tourism sector can become subject to 'othering' narratives that are exclusionary and ultimately unproductive.

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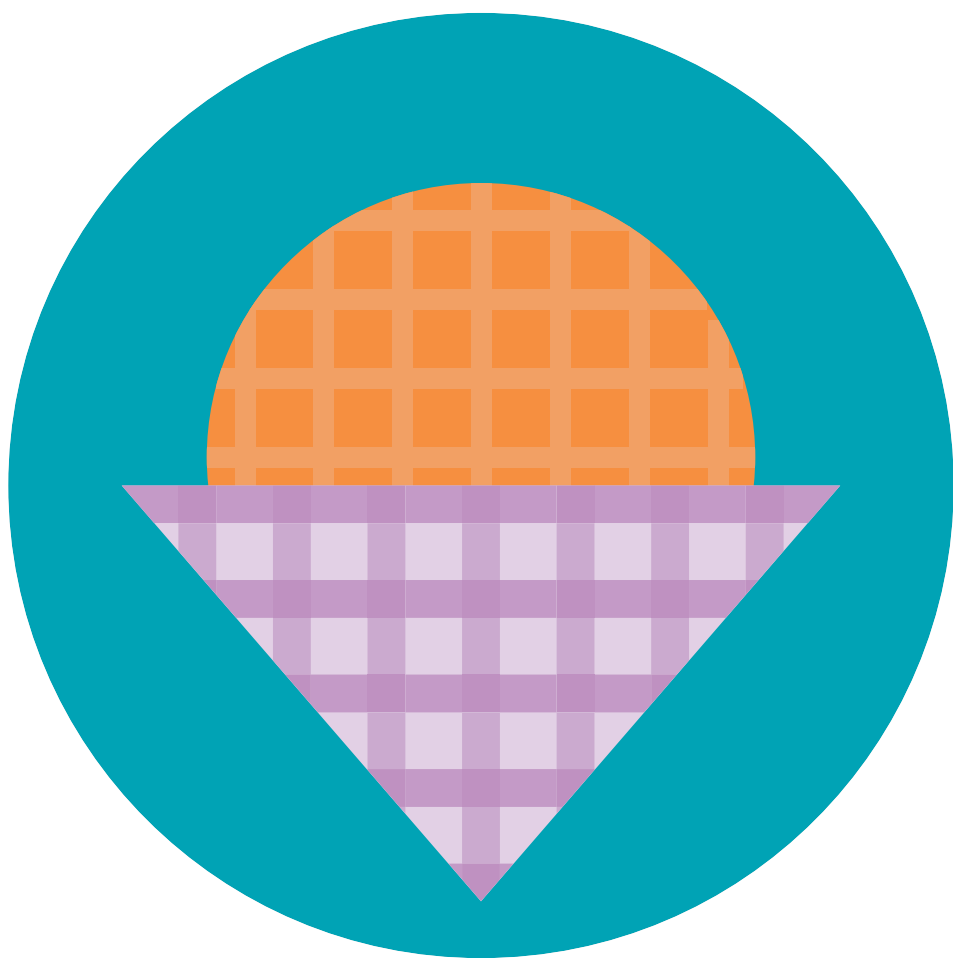
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“I REFER TO IT AS THROWING WADS”: Strategic use of multiple normative orders to manage touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam

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ABSTRACT

As multifunctional places that combine shopping and hospitality with public space and residential functions, urban consumption spaces are sites where different normative orders surface and sometimes clash. In Amsterdam, such a clash emerged over touristification of consumption spaces, eroding place attachment for local residents and urging the city government to take action. Based on policy analysis and interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants, this chapter demonstrates how Amsterdam's city government is responding to this issue, using legal pluralism that exists within formal state law. Specifically, the city government combines four instruments to manage touristification of consumption spaces, targeting so-called tourist shops with the aim to drive them out of the inner city. This strategic combination of policy instruments designed on various scales and for different publics to pursue a local political goal, jeopardizes entrepreneurs' rights to legal certainty. Moreover, implicitly based on class-based tastes and distrust towards particular minority groups of entrepreneurs, this policy strategy results in institutional discrimination that has far-reaching consequences for entrepreneurs in itself, but also affects trust relations among local stakeholders.

INTRODUCTION

Urban spaces, characterized as they are by multifunctionality and a diversity of users, often form the backdrop where larger societal transformations become visible and cause tension, issues and conflicts. With this diversity and multifunctionality comes a variety of normative orders, both external to and within formal state law. Within formal state law, city governments have an increasing amount of local, national and international laws at their disposal. Especially in the field of migration and human rights, city governments are demonstrated to actively interpret, adapt and strategically select aspects of national and international laws (Davis, 2019; Heirwegh and Van de Graaf, 2019; Oomen et al., 2022; Oomen and Durmus, 2019). With that, an increasing number of studies see city governments as co-creators rather than mere executors of national and international laws (Marcenko, 2019). However, taking national and international laws as a starting point, these studies only partially expose the discretionary space for local governments as a consequence of legal pluralism within formal state law. Viewed from the perspective of a city government faced with a pressing local issue, legal pluralism enables a strategic selection from multiple normative orders, each with their own policy instruments and law-enforcement options, to pursue local political goals. This chapter demonstrates how this can deteriorate legal certainty for local stakeholders and result in institutional discrimination.

This is illustrated by a case study in Amsterdam, where touristification of consumption spaces has become a prime concern over the past decade. Consumption spaces are places where shopping and hospitality coincide with public space and residential functions. While tourism can provide a significant boost to retail and hospitality businesses, too many visitors can lead to crowding and associated nuisance, which in turn can cause avoidance behavior among local residents (Jacobsen et al., 2019). The changing consumer base may cause shops, services and hospitality to adapt to the tourist demand (Guimarães, 2021), eroding feelings of place attachment among local residents. This touristification of consumption spaces has received a lot of local (Boutkan, 2017), national (Bolderen, 2016) and even international (Zee, 2017) media attention, urging the city government to take action (Groenlinks et al., 2018). The city government responded to this issue using an assembly of policy instruments (City of Amsterdam, 2017). In their street-level implementation, these instruments are combined and targeted towards so-called tourist shops, but in practice disproportionately affect particular socioeconomic groups of entrepreneurs. Due to this disproportional effect, this chapter argues that the strategic application of multiple normative orders within formal policy results in institutional discrimination. Moreover, the increased scrutiny towards particular entrepreneurs reverberates in trust relations among local stakeholders.

The next sections conceptualize legal pluralism within formal state law, outline the pluralistic legal landscape around urban tourism, and explain how legal pluralism can

affect legal certainty, result in institutional discrimination and deteriorate trust relations between local stakeholders. This is followed with a description of the methodological approach and the findings in the context of Amsterdam. These focus firstly on the different instruments combined to manage touristification of consumption spaces. The chapter concludes with a section on how the strategic combination of these instruments not only jeopardizes legal certainty for entrepreneurs, but also results in institutional discrimination that reverberates in a business climate of distrust.

LEGAL PLURALISM WITHIN FORMAL STATE LAW

Traditionally, legal pluralism focuses on forms of law that exist outside of formal state law, these include customary laws, religious laws, laws and customs related to particular ethnic or social groups (von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, 2020). However, formal state law is increasingly considered as pluralist in itself. Within formal state law, plurality exists between laws and policy instruments designed at different scales and targeted at different publics (Tamanaha, 2007). While there is some disagreement about whether this plurality within formal state law should be considered a case of legal pluralism, it is increasingly clear that *“the state is not a distinct, well-defined entity that can be clearly distinguished from society”* (Sani, 2020: 102), but an arena in which different normative orders exist and compete. This is especially true at the lowest levels of government, in towns, cities or neighborhoods. Here, hyper-regulation, decentralization and privatization have intensified legal pluralism by increasing the scope of responsibilities; the number of stakeholders involved; and the multiplicity of normative orders (Oomen and Durmus, 2019; von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, 2020).

Firstly, legal landscapes occur on an increasing number of scales, ranging from the local to the trans- and international (Michaels, 2009). This results in overlapping juridical systems, embedded in separate institutions, often without a clear hierarchy (Tamanaha, 2007). Secondly, laws are designed for different publics, fragmented across different interests. This can lead to conflicting aims or contradictory implications. This type of pluralism is growing as an increasing share of social life is regulated, a development that is particularly visible in public spaces (Brown, 2017). A final fragmentation of the legal landscape, which has received less attention in literature on legal pluralism but turned out of crucial importance to this case study, consists of the distinction between administrative, criminal and private law. This distinction is especially important because these areas of law come with specific authorizations and procedures (Crijns, 2014).

Legal fragmentation creates discretionary space for local policymakers to strategically use policies at different scales and for different publics to regulate issues that are important and urgent at the local level (Oomen et al., 2022). Heirwegh and van de Graaf (2019) identify discretionary space at the initiation, decision-making

and implementation phase. In the initiation phase, the local government and other stakeholders can strategically frame an issue, for instance to navigate it away from the local and into a national or international arena, or to fit within a particular discourse. These strategic framing efforts leave a high degree of autonomy to policymakers in the decision-making phase. Exposed to a variety of interpretations, they have a wide variety of policy approaches at their disposal and make a decision based on factors ranging from their personal bias, pragmatism and external pressure from different stakeholder groups (Heirwegh and Van de Graaf, 2019). Finally, the implementation phase leaves discretionary space for street-level bureaucrats to decide when to actually enforce laws or when to allow exceptions. This means that legal pluralism allows considerable discretionary space for city governments to choose the instruments with which to intervene and where and how to implement them.

Legal pluralism within formal state law is thus becoming more and more relevant in urban settings, since *“the legal landscape today consists of ever more spaces that are regulated at different scale with general or specialized legal regimes, each aiming at different goals and different publics”* (von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, 2020: 39). Moreover, globalization of the legal landscape obviously goes hand in hand with globalization of the issues city governments are required to address. The urban scale often forms the stage where global issues play out. Tourism is a typical example where causes, benefits and externalities are unevenly distributed over local, national and global scales (Russo, 2002). This leaves city governments with the challenging task to manage local effects of tourism without being able to address its global causes.

MANAGING TOURISTIFICATION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES

A worldwide increase in the number of travelers has made tourism an important economic sector for many cities, but also increased its spatial impact by introducing new ways of using space, changing economic flows and power relations between local stakeholders and causing transformations of the landscape (Ojeda and Kieffer, 2020). Managing the effects of tourism, however, is far from easy for city governments. It often entails a considerable policy shift after decades of promoting tourism in pursuit of economic benefits (Milano et al., 2019). Even for those city governments that explicitly commit to curtailing tourism, policy instruments to do so are often limited. As a global phenomenon with highly localized and concentrated impact, tourism is notoriously difficult to regulate at the local scale where the impacts are felt most prominently (Goodwin, 2017; Koens et al., 2019; Milano et al., 2019; Peeters et al., 2018; Santolli, 2017), particularly in urban settings where tourist and residents share the use of many urban features (Ashworth and Page, 2011).

Tourism policies therefore address a wide range of different issues (Goodwin, 2017), such as short term rentals (Aguilera et al., 2021), cruise ship tourism (Vianello, 2016) or nightlife (Nofre, 2013; Olt et al., 2019), which are often part of a separate policy arena with its own agenda. This has two important implications. Firstly, important decisions affecting the future of urban tourism might be made by policymakers with highly different goals in mind. Secondly, policymakers have a wide range of instruments from different policy arenas at their disposal to manage the effects of tourism. This regulation is then “recycled, stretched, or adapted” (Aguilera et al., 2021: 17) to respond to new challenges. Urban tourism policies are therefore inherently situated in a pluralist legal landscape, drawing on “multiple uncoordinated, coexisting or overlapping bodies of law” (Tamanaha, 2007: 1). This pluralist legal landscape encourages strategic policy choices, applying legal instruments designed at different spatial scales and with different goals in mind to address a pressing local issue.

INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION, LEGAL CERTAINTY AND TRUST

Strategically applying different types of regulation can have crucial implications for legal certainty and trust relations, both among local stakeholders and between local stakeholders and the city government. Legal certainty refers to understandability and predictability in the way law is applied. It is considered a fundamental principle of European and Human Rights law (Fenwick, 2016) and plays an important role in “shaping the relations between institutions, people and other legal entities” (Oomen et al., 2022: 3609). It implies that laws are sufficiently clear to enable those who are subject to them to foresee legal consequences of their actions and protect them from arbitrary application of state power (Fenwick, 2016). This arbitrariness is exactly what is at stake when policy instruments disproportionately affect some stakeholders over others, based on political reasons unrelated to the policy instrument’s intentions.

Arbitrariness in the application of law becomes a case of institutional discrimination when it disproportionally affects minority groups (Pincus, 2019). Institutional discrimination refers to “*differential treatment (...) that is either perpetrated by organizations or codified into law*” (Small and Pager, 2020: 52). This differential treatment is often unconscious, based on institutional practices that are in theory neutral, but affect different social groups in different ways often because “*it is applied in a context with a preexisting (...) difference, gradient, or level of segregation*” (Small and Pager, 2020: 54). In the case of touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam, the group of entrepreneurs that are disproportionally affected are defined by their business concepts targeted towards tourists. However, behind these considerations are often ideas about desirable and undesirable businesses, businesses that are seen to add

to elusive qualities such as diversity of the retail offer and businesses that are seen as monotonous (Eck et al., 2020). These evaluations are often implicitly based on cultural capital, class-based tastes and preferences employed to distinguish oneself from lower socioeconomic classes (Bourdieu, 1984). Another factor that comes into play is distrust towards particular types of entrepreneurs, such as ethnic entrepreneurs or entrepreneurs from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Eck et al., 2020; Hall, 2021). Social and cultural class-based dislike and distrust moves beyond arbitrariness, because it is systemic and can lead to institutional discrimination in practice. The distrust from government officials towards particular types of entrepreneurs can also create ripple effects on trust relations between stakeholders on the ground and with that on the local business climate.

Trust relations are highly important for entrepreneurs, whose success largely depends on interpersonal relations with regular customers, competitors, other entrepreneurs in the area, property owners, banks, suppliers and law enforcers (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Sorenson, 2018; Zukin et al., 2015). These relations thrive on presumed shared interests, for instance to provide customers with honest and safe products; to remain in business and pay bills to property owners, banks and suppliers; to contribute to a favorable consumption landscape; and to compete on a level playing field. Such expectations are crucial to trust, which can be defined as *“a more or less stable perception of actors about the intentions of other actors, that is, that they refrain from opportunistic behavior”* (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007: 4). It is exactly this perception of the entrepreneur's intentions which is at stake when suspicions are raised about criminal activities, especially when these suspicions are confirmed by an authoritative institution such as the city government. The distrust from the city government can ultimately lead to loss of regular customers, deteriorating support from entrepreneurs in the area or entrepreneurs associations, difficulty in finding property, securing loans or getting deliveries. In this way, distrust from the city government can be both a reflection of and a catalyst for a local business climate of distrust.

METHODS

The analysis of the legal landscape around touristification of consumption spaces combines three approaches: Critical discourse analysis of policy and media documents, sampled interviews with entrepreneurs in the inner city and interviews with key informants, which include policymakers and law-enforcers as well as local stakeholders affected by strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces.

A first starting point consisted of a critical discourse analysis of Amsterdam's tourism policy and official policy strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces in particular. The analysis focused on four key documents (see table 5.1) as well as

communications surrounding them, such as research reports used to legitimize policies or to monitor their effects and from court cases that appealed to decisions based on these policies. The first key policy document is the ‘Balanced City’ policy, introduced in 2016. Responding to an upsurge in residents’ resistance to tourism since 2014, this was the first strategic document specifically focused on the negative impacts of tourism. It aimed to *“find renewed balance between growth and livability”* (City of Amsterdam, 2016: 2). In 2020, the ‘Balanced City’ program was followed up with the program ‘Inner City Approach’. This came with a shift in ideology. While the ‘Balanced City’ program focused on balancing the economic benefits of the tourism industry with the negative externalities for local residents, the ‘Inner City Approach’ overtly sides with local residents. The program’s aim is formulated as *“restoring the inner city into a place residents from all over Amsterdam like to visit and where local residents feel at home”* (City of Amsterdam, 2020: 6).

Table 5.1. Overview of key policy documents

Balanced City (<i>Stad in Balans</i>)	2016	Tourism policy program aimed to <i>“find renewed balance between growth and livability”</i> (City of Amsterdam, 2016: 2)
Steering towards a diverse offer of shops (<i>Sturen op een divers winkelgebied</i>)	2017	Exploration of the different instruments that can be used to protect diversity of the consumption landscape despite of increasing tourism
Shopping diversity in the city center (<i>Winkeldiversiteit Centrum</i>)	2018	Zoning plan for the inner city, including a ban on tourist shops
Inner City Approach (<i>Aanpak Binnenstad</i>)	2020	Updated tourism policy program aimed to <i>“restore the inner city into a place residents from all over Amsterdam like to visit and where local residents feel at home”</i> (City of Amsterdam, 2020: 6)

Effects of tourism on consumption landscapes were one of the issues addressed in the ‘Balanced City’ program, but did not immediately lead to interventions. In 2017, a report titled ‘Steering towards a diverse offer of shops’ explored the instruments to intervene in the composition of consumption landscapes. This report was extremely insightful for our study, because it compared both formal and informal instruments for interventions. One of the results of this exploration was an updated zoning plan for the inner city, which includes a ban on tourist shops. The ban aims to freeze the process of touristification by tolerating the already existing tourist shops but rejecting any new establishments of tourist shops in the inner city.

To shed light on the more informal strategies, a second point of departure for this study consisted of interviews with entrepreneurs in the inner city. These are semi-structured interviews with 31 business owners, co-owners or store managers of independent businesses, local chain stores and franchise businesses in the inner city of Amsterdam. These interviews discussed a broad range of topics revolving around the changes in local demand and business climate the entrepreneurs noticed as a consequence of increasing

tourism. Changing experiences with law-enforcement and local policies were one of the topics that were probed for and provided an entrepreneur perspective on strategies used to manage touristification of consumption spaces. Finally, interviews with key informants were conducted, to triangulate the experiences mentioned by entrepreneurs that were not directly congruent with what is mentioned in policy documents. The respondents included local policymakers, representatives of law enforcement and a special monitoring taskforce, representatives of social corporations who own commercial property in the inner city, entrepreneurs who have been involved in conflicts with the municipality and a lawyer who represented entrepreneurs in several of these conflicts.

The analysis compared the input from policy documents, entrepreneur experiences and key informants to see where the different perspectives line up. Out of this comparison, four instruments were identified as playing an important role in Amsterdam's approach to manage touristification of consumption spaces (see table 5.2). These are combinations of direct and indirect interventions, by the city government or by other stakeholders. Each of these instruments were analyzed by firstly focusing on the formal goals with which they have been introduced and legal context that enabled them to be applied to touristification of consumption spaces. Secondly, the way in which the instruments were implemented on a street level was considered. The interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants provided insights into the effects of these policy strategies on legal certainty and trust relations. Finally, a comparison of the different accounts, allowed the study to identify and explain the diverging experiences of different types of entrepreneurs that make this a case of institutional discrimination.

FOUR INSTRUMENTS TO MANAGE TOURISTIFICATION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES

Table 5.2 lists the four instruments used to manage touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam, the goals with which these instruments have been introduced and the way they have been implemented to manage touristification of consumption spaces. The first and most important instrument is the inner city zoning plan, which bans tourist shops. A second instrument used to address existing tourist-oriented businesses consists of more general laws and regulations around shops and hospitality businesses. This regulation is used to manage touristification of consumption spaces by means of targeted law enforcement actions. Thirdly, the Public Administration Probity Screening Act (abbreviated as BIBOB in Dutch), designed to prevent the government from inadvertently facilitating criminal activities, is used to screen businesses that are considered touristy. This screening potentially leads to refusal or revoking of business licenses. A fourth instrument consists of property purchases, often at arm's length through social corporations.

Table 5.2. Instruments used to manage touristification of consumption spaces

	Goal with which the policy instrument was introduced	Way in which the policy instrument is applied to tourist shops
<i>Zoning plans</i>	Protect a good living environment (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2021 Art 3.1)	Prevent the establishment of new tourist shops in the inner city
<i>General laws and regulations for shops and hospitality businesses</i>	Protect the health and safety of neighboring residents, customers and employees	Conduct integrated check-ups specifically targeted at businesses that are considered touristy
<i>BIBOB Act</i>	Prohibit that the government unintentionally cooperates in facilitating criminal behavior and laundering of money generated by criminal activities (Kuin et al., 2020: 1)	Require additional screening in targeted inner city streets and withdraw or refuse hospitality permits
<i>Property purchases</i>	Use properties for municipal services, protect monumental buildings or to rent out properties at affordable rates to important societal functions, such as education and cultural institutions	Prevent vacant properties in the inner city from becoming tourist shops

Zoning plans: Banning tourist shops from the inner city

The most direct measure used to manage touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam is a ban on tourist shops, which was introduced in 2017. Traditionally, zoning plans can allocate certain areas for commercial use, but cannot specify or restrict the types of businesses that locate there. Up until 2008, exceptions to this rule were limited to strict spatial planning conditions (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2008 Art. 10.1), such as limitations on businesses selling bulky or hazardous goods (City of Amsterdam, 2017). These conditions broadened under the updated spatial planning law that was introduced in 2008 (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2021 Art 3.1). From then on, zoning plans could also restrict activities in order to protect a “good living environment” (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2021 Art 3.1). This update was made to enable easier implementation of sustainability goals in zoning plans (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2003 Art 3.4) and thus had no direct relation to consumption spaces. Nevertheless, it also created opportunities to curtail retail and hospitality businesses that were argued to affect a good living environment. In Amsterdam, it soon resulted in restrictions on souvenir shops, soft drug-related businesses (grow shops, headshops, seed shops, and smart shops), money exchange offices, phone call shops, massage parlors and gambling halls (City of Amsterdam, 2013). The ban on tourist shops builds a similar case, but besides targeting a specific sector, it also includes restrictions on the offer of specific products, types of advertisement and presentation and business models that are associated with tourism. Firstly, a number of specific retail sectors are banned from the inner city. Besides the earlier mentioned

businesses such as souvenir shops and gambling halls, this includes mini supermarkets and take-away food shops (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Secondly, for shops that do not fall in these restricted categories, limitations are introduced around the offer of souvenirs and food and drinks to go. The souvenir offer should, for instance, comprise a maximum of 5% of the total floor space, which should not be located at the front of the shop (City of Amsterdam, 2018). Thirdly, with regard to advertisement and presentation, the zoning plan argues that tourist shops are distinguishable by their conspicuous and flashy communication, often in English or other, non-Dutch, languages. Finally, in terms of business model it is argued that customers are often assisted in English, spend relatively little time in the shop, products are often packaged in souvenir-like packaging and prices are higher than those in local shops.

Zoning plans are part of administrative law, which means that public authorities can sanction anyone who violates the law with a fine or with administrative coercion (Crijns, 2014). The latter means that the public authority has the right to restore a situation that is in violation with administrative laws to a situation of compliance. Only if the defendant appeals the decision it will be evaluated in court. It is then up to the defendant to provide evidence that they did not commit the violations they have been accused of. Many cases of violations of administrative law are therefore resolved without ever being evaluated by a judge (Bröring and Naves, 2010). A representative from the municipal law-enforcement department confirmed that administrative coercion is the preferred action to regulate the ban on tourist shops. This means that a business that is considered in violation with the zoning plan can be closed until it complies with the zoning plan. Closing businesses that do not comply with the zoning plan is preferred over a fine, because of its visibility. This can provide opportunities to get positive media attention, but also to demonstrate the effectiveness of the ban on tourist shops to the internal organization or even directly to the mayor. The latter happened in the case of candy shops. Candy shops were initially seen as compliant with the zoning plan, but recently gained negative media attention for being touristy.

[Candy shops] raised a lot of questions from the mayor: "How is it possible that that's just allowed?" (...) So the moment something came up, which was really a candy shop and then all kinds of other things, we were like: Then we'll close this one, so we can show that to the mayor, like: "Look, this is not allowed, this is a candy shop and a suitcase shop and it's going to sell everything and anything and we don't want that, and that's why we think this is touristy and a [regular] candy shop is not".

The ban on tourist shops thus seems to have a highly symbolic value in demonstrating the city government's ability to address touristification of consumption spaces.

“And that’s just the door”: The labyrinth of laws and regulations for shops and hospitality

A second set of instruments used to manage touristification of consumption spaces consists of laws and regulations shops and hospitality businesses have to comply with to ensure the health and safety of neighboring residents, customers and employees. These include building codes, environmental laws, fire safety laws, employment laws and food safety regulations, some of which fall under administrative and some under criminal law. Consistent with international observations that an increasing share of social life is regulated or even hyper-regulated (Brown, 2017), each of these bodies of regulation have been designed with specific goals in mind, in some cases resulting in contradictions. This makes it difficult, if not impossible to comply with all regulation, as illustrated by this hospitality lawyer:

You need an escape route for which the door must open outwards, i.e. onto the street, (...) [but] the building and housing inspection prescribes that doors should open inwards. (...) And that's just a door.

Moreover, these laws and regulations are monitored and enforced by different organizations, which transcends the level of the city government. The municipal law-enforcement department, for instance, monitors building safety and compliance with zoning plans, while food safety and hygiene are monitored by a dedicated authority and criminal laws around employment are monitored by the police or military police.

Touristification of consumption spaces started to play a role in the decision when, where and how to monitor and enforce regulation. When the ban on tourist shops required increased monitoring in the inner city, the municipal law-enforcement department decided to integrate their regular inspections into these monitoring actions. These all-encompassing check-ups were mentioned in the ‘Balanced City’ program as a way to reduce the number of ice cream and waffle shops in the inner city (City of Amsterdam, 2016: 81). A representative of the law-enforcement department, however, claims that these integrated inspections are foremostly practical:

Imagine the zoning plan does allow this type of shops, then at least you can make sure all other things are in order. And because the same inspector can do the entire check-up and you can put it all in the same enforcement notice, this is a logical way to approach it.

Regardless of the reason, the fact that monitoring the ban on tourist shops is combined with monitoring of general laws and regulations for shops and hospitality businesses means that entrepreneurs in areas and sectors that are considered touristy are more likely to be monitored. Moreover, considering the complexity and inherent contradictions

in the regulation businesses have to comply with, entrepreneurs who are monitored are likely to face a sanction. A representative of the special task force concurs that it has a '100% score' and has yet to come across a business that complies with all regulation. In most cases these are violations of zoning laws and fire safety regulation.

Several entrepreneurs noticed increasing attention from law-enforcers over the past few years. This restaurant owner, for instance, felt like she was regarded with increasing scrutiny:

The queues at the door had to change, I think my outdoor seats were checked ten times every summer. I get an application for the Commodities Act twice a year, while my neighbor says: 'I never get them.' And then I thought: 'whatever', it could all be coincidence, I mean... But at a certain point you think: 'Well, I don't know, but I think I'm being targeted'.

She actually visited the inner city district chairman to ask whether there was a specific reason for the closer scrutiny she experienced over the years, and got her suspicions confirmed. The problem seemed to lie in her business's English name, which the chairman claimed had *"a negative ring to it"*.

Once inspections have brought up more serious issues that may provide grounds to revoke a license, such as violations of employment laws, entrepreneurs are – understandably – treated with increased scrutiny. However, this does not simply mean increased monitoring of the specific regulation that was violated in the past, but increased monitoring by a multidisciplinary team of all laws and regulations shops and hospitality businesses have to comply with. These checkups can become quite impactful as the inspection team and the issues they report on continue to expand every time. A hospitality lawyer has seen multiple cases where the city government seemed to be digging for criminalizing evidence with actions ranging from removing fixed items of furniture to find mouse droppings and screening neighborhood camera footage to monitor an entrepreneur's social contacts. A representative from the municipal law-enforcement department referred to this as *"throwing wads"*, meaning that in the absence of evidence of the more serious offences the businesses are suspected of, the task force monitors for a wide range of smaller violations as well. Moreover, the results of these inspections can be used to build up a case against particular entrepreneurs based on the BIBOB act.

Integrity screening as part of the BIBOB Act

The Public Administration Probity Screening Act, or abbreviated in Dutch as BIBOB⁴, was introduced to "prohibit that the government unintentionally cooperates in facilitating

4 Wet bevordering integriteitsbeoordelingen door het openbaar bestuur

criminal behavior and laundering of money generated by criminal activities.” (Kuin et al., 2020: 1). Private parties who are either employed by governmental organizations or receive subsidies or permits can therefore be subjected to a screening process. The screening looks into possible criminal behavior of the business owners or criminal funds used or laundered in the business. Recent research demonstrated that this law is actually applied very seldomly by larger governmental organizations or for large tenders. However, it is commonplace among city governments, especially around real estate transactions and permit requests, particularly for hospitality businesses (Kuin et al., 2020). These permits can be either withdrawn or refused when the screening process concludes that the risk that an entrepreneur will use the permit for criminal activities is too high. The emphasis on risk makes this a somewhat controversial policy, since this means it can impose sanctions based on activities that have not taken place yet (Vorm, 2014).

Integrity screenings under the BIBOB act do not only assess the risk of criminal activities before these have actually taken place, they also focus on a criminal infrastructure rather than only criminal activities. This is part of a strategy to counter crime that undermines society. Crime that undermines society refers to the points where criminal activities merges with legal structures, for instance in businesses that launder money or provide services to criminal organizations. Advocates argue that it is exactly at these transition points that criminal activities have the most disruptive effects on society (Tops and Pronk, 2019). Despite persistent criticism that crime that undermines society is ill-defined and scarcely supported by evidence, the concept has raised increasing concern in the Netherlands over the past years (Vols, 2019). This led to the introduction of a special task force that includes local and provincial governments, tax and financial inspection services, police, customs, military police, immigration services, labor inspection and the food safety authority. While this is a national approach, as listed on the website of the Regional Centers of Information and Expertise (www.riec.nl) there are differences in the types of businesses that are targeted for such check-ups. In Amsterdam, tourist shops became one of the focus points in discussions about crime that undermines society.

When traced back to its origin, the association between tourist shops and crime that undermines society seemed puzzling, since the most widely quoted report on crime that undermines society in Amsterdam actually debunks this association. It concerns a report on the impact of the drug economy, which claims that “hundreds of millions, if not billions” (Tops and Pronk, 2019: 4) of criminal earnings in Amsterdam need to find their way into legal monetary flows. Interestingly, although this report has been criticized for grossly overestimating the size and impacts of the drug economy (De Koning, 2019), it concludes that evidence for systematic money laundering in (tourist) shops in the inner city is lacking:

The Tax Office is doubtful, to say the least (...). The department has tested and came to the conclusion: those ice cream shops are simply busy, there have high turnovers and corresponding profits. The department

says it has made serious calculations on costs and revenues (...) 'and our conclusion is: those high turnovers are realistic.'

Information about who prioritized tourist shops in the inner city of Amsterdam and for what reason is not publicly available. However, some indicators of crime that undermines society are published in an online dashboard at zichtopondermijning.nl. With regard to sector-specific indicators, it seems that overrepresentation plays an important role. This is measured by the number of business and their turnover compared to the local catchment area. By these standards, cafes, restaurants, snack bars and the confectionary industry are overrepresented in Amsterdam's inner city. The importance of this overrepresentation is confirmed by a representative of the taskforce crime that undermines society, who argues:

When you look at the inner city – if you open your eyes you can actually see it. There is an overrepresentation of certain industries. Look at the souvenir shops for example, the tourist shops, how many - yes, there are a lot of tourists in Amsterdam, but how many ashtrays and how many T-shirts can you sell?

For the taskforce, this overrepresentation provides sufficient evidence to target tourist shops in the inner city. After all, because the different administrative bodies in the partnership have authorization to conduct inspections, motivation or evidence is not necessarily required, as explained by a representative:

Everyone has to comply with applicable laws or regulations, and if we decide to start [here] and we continue up to [there] (...) then that's what we're going to do. (...) With administrative law, you can just check on anyone who is eligible. And yes, that is everyone.

These combined issues are then used to build a case against the entrepreneur that may lead to revoking the business' hospitality license. Appealing to the BIBOB act, the city government then claims an entrepreneur to be continuously at fault, leading to the conclusion that the entrepreneur uses the license to for criminal purposes. Such a decision can be made without any court intervention, leaving entrepreneurs with the choice to either appeal to the decision or sell their business. Selling the business without a license, however, has tremendous implications. Firstly, without a hospitality license, the business would sell at a much lower price. Secondly, selling a business that was flagged in a BIBOB screening will make it very difficult to get a license for a new hospitality business in the future. The stakes are thus incredibly high for entrepreneurs in this position, as they face the loss of not only their assets and income, but also their

future as a business owner.

The ongoing inspections also impact the entrepreneurs' local network. The inspections tend to take place during the workday and are therefore highly visible to customers, local residents and other entrepreneurs in the area. Especially since the inspections are conducted by an increasingly large team that includes police and military police, they may easily raise suspicions. Moreover, the city government often informs the property owner of its intention to revoke the hospitality license before the entrepreneur has had a chance to appeal, causing tension between the property owner and tenant. The entrepreneur therefore experiences increasing distrust, not only from the city government, but throughout the interpersonal networks that are so important to small business owners (Zukin et al., 2015). Interviews with entrepreneurs confirm that negative media attention, as well as visible law enforcement actions can create distrust. Entrepreneurs frequently mention suspicions that other businesses in the street are not playing a fair game.

I know that you can't pay this rent just by repairing phones. And also not by selling ice cream and waffles or Nutella, sandwiches. (...) Across the street is a liquor shop, (...) that's so obviously not their main income.

Targeting tourist shops, these inspections also disproportionately affect particular socioeconomic and ethnic groups that are overrepresented in these types of businesses. One of these are Coptic entrepreneurs, a group about which local media has raised suspicions (Vugts, 2019). Such suspicions towards particular ethnic groups of entrepreneurs also came to the fore in our interview with the representative from the law enforcement department. She emphasizes how differences in normative orders play a role, making it harder for her to work with entrepreneurs with different backgrounds.

There are a lot of Pakistanis and Egyptians [in that street] and they work in a different way. (...) When someone else has opened a candy shop, for example, and it is doing well [they copy the formula] and suddenly you have five candy shops. (...) We try to make clear to such an entrepreneur, like: "A candy shop is allowed in itself, but it is not desirable because, (...) there are already five candy shops", so to speak. But they also think in a different way, (...) they won't even hear the second part. They don't think that's important at all, because they just want to make money and open a candy shop.

The taskforce for crime that undermines society particularly targets entrepreneurs who have violated regulation in the past. This is more common among entrepreneurs that start with a relative lack of experience, which makes them less aware of regulation, as

confirmed by this hospitality lawyer:

The older generation takes it a bit too easy sometimes. They do work very hard, are in the business a lot, all that, but have not always taken the rules very seriously. The younger generation has a very different mindset. But that is actually a change that the younger generation of hospitality entrepreneurs of native Dutch origin also had to make, compared to the old pub owner with his drawer of cash and "I'll see what the tax office finds out".

Starting a business with a relative lack of experience and knowledge about the local legal context is more common among first generation migrants. This makes these entrepreneurs more likely to violate rules and therefore raise suspicion among policymakers and law-enforcers.

Managing touristification by purchasing property

A final way to manage touristification of consumption spaces is by means of property purchases. The municipality of Amsterdam owns a substantial amount of real estate, either property that is in use for municipal services, protected for its monument status or that is rented out at affordable rates to important societal functions, such as education and cultural institutions. A report commissioned by the city government to evaluate the costs of this property in 2010 recommended to sell part of this real estate, especially the properties that were not used for municipal or societal functions (Rekenkamer Amsterdam Centrum, 2010). Over the past decade, the general tendency for Amsterdam's city government has thus been to sell rather than purchase real estate. Creating an attractive consumption landscape was not seen as something that should be accomplished by property purchases. In fact, questions were raised about the need for the municipality to own property in consumption spaces in the first place (Boonstra, 2012).

Ironically, property ownership in consumption spaces is at the same time seen as an important strategy to counter crime that undermines society. Rather than the municipality itself being the property owner, this tends to be in cooperation with a private social corporation, causing the entire transaction to fall under private law. This approach started with the foundation of the *NV Zeedijk* in 1985. The Zeedijk is a narrow street that runs directly from Amsterdam's central train station into the Red Light District. In the 1980s, it became the epicenter of the drug trade and heroin epidemic, a place avoided by "*people of sound mind*" according to a former police detective quoted on *NV Zeedijk's* website. The city government aimed to reverse this process of deterioration by funding a social corporation, *NV Zeedijk*, to buy properties and rent them out to trustworthy entrepreneurs. The corporation still exists today with the city government as its main investor and shareholder. This strategy has been repeated in different inner city areas,

most ambitiously around Amsterdam's Red Light District. Property ownership was seen as a way to make sure that at least a considerable share of the businesses would be owned by *bona fide* entrepreneurs (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008). As concerns about touristification of consumption spaces increased, so did renewed calls for property purchases to stimulate desirable businesses and prevent further touristification. These investments are subsidized by the city government, which has reserved financial support to acquire *beeldbepalende panden*, visually dominant properties (City of Amsterdam, 2020). The idea is still that these purchases avoid properties ending up 'in the wrong hands'. However, the wrong hands now not only include criminal organizations, but also functions that are considered to be overrepresented and cause a monoculture of businesses (City of Amsterdam, 2020). While commercial property owners are likely to seek out entrepreneurs that can pay the highest rent prices, the government-sponsored social corporations base their selection of renters on the effects the entrepreneurs have on the attractiveness of the consumption landscape and livability for local residents. In the past years, avoiding businesses that cater to tourists has become an important goal. A representative from one of the corporations explains the current most important challenges as:

[Maintaining] the livability of the inner city. Because we have a beautiful city center, but due to tourism the diversity of retail is decreasing and you get all these monotonous functions, whose profitability is questionable and that are very much focused on the tourist.

In deciding what is an addition to the inner city and what is considered more monotonous, socioeconomic background plays an important role. Among some entrepreneurs it seems perfectly acceptable to motivate the decision to start a business or choose for a particular concept with the claim that it was a good business opportunity. This motivation is perceived very negatively by other stakeholders, including by city government representatives (Boutkan, 2017). These would rather have entrepreneurs motivate this decision to start a business based on their passion for a particular business concept or the desire to contribute to the neighborhood. The representatives from social corporations who rent property to entrepreneurs emphasized that they specifically look for entrepreneurs with a very clear narrative about the business they want to start. This excludes entrepreneurs who start their business in a more open ended way. For social corporations, such inquiries are seen as a red flag:

We often get calls saying: 'I see a property for rent, (...) I want to start a mini-supermarket there'. And then I say: no, that's not allowed and we don't see the point at that location and that doesn't fit, isn't allowed et cetera. ' Oh well then I want to start a greengrocer's or then I would

also like to sell this and that' (...) they actually want all sorts of things.

The normative order that particular types of businesses are undesirable, erode livability and diversity of the consumption landscape and are more likely to be associated with criminal activities is also adopted by the social corporations that rent out property below market prices to desirable entrepreneurs. A representative from one of these corporations, for instance, admitted to be careful to accept entrepreneurs in particular branches because they have been associated with crime that undermines society. This means that the same types of entrepreneurs that are more likely to encounter increased inspections by the special task force, are also more likely to be excluded from particular properties.

Institutional discrimination: how the combination of four legal instruments disproportionately affects entrepreneurs from minority groups

While all four instruments disproportionately affect some entrepreneurs over others, it is in their concerted implementation that the impacts of the four instruments become particularly harmful. Using an implicit categorization of desirable and undesirable entrepreneurs, the four instruments are used in specific areas and targeted at specific types of businesses. This concerted implementation of the four instruments causes wide discrepancies in entrepreneurs' experiences with regulation around touristification of consumption spaces. While some benefit from more favorable rent prices of social housing corporations and rarely encounter law-enforcers unless they come by for a friendly chitchat, others are regularly subjected to extensive check-ups and receive far-reaching sanctions that may even force them to close their business. The inequality in these experiences, however, largely remains hidden. Entrepreneurs are often not aware that their experiences differ so vastly. Moreover, even if they suspect that they are treated with a higher degree of scrutiny than their peers, they do not know why.

What types of businesses are seen as touristy and targeted for extra monitoring and law enforcement depends in the first place on their business concept and presentation. In accordance with the ban on tourist shops, businesses with non-Dutch shop names, flashy presentation, souvenir products or take-away formulas attract increasing scrutiny. Among the interviewed entrepreneurs who had experienced a higher degree of scrutiny from the city government, were entrepreneurs with different backgrounds in terms of education, former employment and migration background. However, looking at the entrepreneurs for whom this approach has been most impactful, it seems to affect entrepreneurs with non-Dutch backgrounds and in lower socioeconomic positions disproportionately. This disproportional effect seems to have three main causes. Firstly, it stems from negative attitudes towards particular ethnic groups of entrepreneurs. Secondly, it is caused by a larger cultural distance between these entrepreneurs and the city government. Thirdly, it occurs because entrepreneurs who start a business with

relatively little experience are more likely to have violated laws in the past.

The role of social corporations completes the integration of the four instruments. The inspections by a special task force are motivated by a narrative of tourist shops as a breeding ground of crime that undermines society. These inspections are very likely to bring up issues and may even lead to businesses having their license revoked under the BIBOB Act. Such outcomes are widely communicated, as they are considered important for the visibility of the city government's approach to manage touristification of consumption spaces. As such, they reinforce narratives that associate tourist shops with criminal activities. This narrative inflates the urgency to purchase properties and prevent more businesses ending up in the wrong hands. The social corporations that purchase these properties with government subsidies then exclude the same types of entrepreneurs that are targeted by the inspections. Negative media attention for particular socioeconomic and ethnic groups plays a role in this exclusion, but it is also based on cultural capital. Finding the right narrative about your business, which resonates with policymakers and property owners, requires a degree of cultural capital. This creates privileges for entrepreneurs with a higher socioeconomic position, while excluding those who do not meet these criteria. Especially first generation migrant entrepreneurs experience this exclusion. They tend to start businesses in what Hall (2021) refers to as a makeshift way; starting small, flexibly responding to changes in demand and supply and learning on the job.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter analyzed Amsterdam's policy approach to manage touristification of consumption spaces with a combination of different policy instruments from different scales and areas, using legal pluralism within formal state law as an analytical lens. In Amsterdam, touristification of consumption spaces resulted in a clash, primarily between a subset of entrepreneurs who benefit from the increasing flow of tourists and a group of local residents who experienced a loss of place. In this conflict, Amsterdam's City government openly sided with the local residents, promising to restore Amsterdam as a place for '*Amsterdammers*' and to curtail the perceived monoculture in the consumption landscape (Groenlinks et al., 2018). However, faced with a paucity of instruments to intervene in the composition of businesses, strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces ended up combining various instruments that were designed with different policy goals in mind. The four most important instruments are zoning plans, general regulation for shops and hospitality businesses, the BIBOB act to screen for criminal activities and property purchases by state-sponsored social housing corporations.

Amsterdam's city government was able to draw from these different normative orders because tourist shops have been portrayed as both a threat to livability for local

residents and a breeding ground of crime that undermines society. Accusations of crime that undermines society in particular played a pivotal role, as they motivate integrated law-enforcement actions by a special task force. This integrated law-enforcement actions took place even though crime that undermines society itself is loosely defined and accusations towards tourist shops hardly seem substantiated with evidence other than their perceived overrepresentation. This superficial evidence suffices to motivate law-enforcement actions by the special task force, which primarily monitors administrative law rather than criminal law. This does not only mean that everyone can be monitored at any place and any time, but also that sanctions do not require court evaluation unless the defendant decides to appeal (Crijns, 2014). Once entrepreneurs have been targeted for closer inspection, overlap and contradictions within the formal state laws that shops and hospitality businesses have to comply with creates a high degree of discretionary space in the implementation phase for street-level bureaucrats. This often results in sanctions being imposed – a chance that is described by a representative of the special task force itself as “a 100% score”. The highly visible inspections also raise suspicion among local stakeholders, such as other entrepreneurs, customers, local residents and property owners, resulting in a business climate of distrust.

Together, the ambiguous definition of crime that undermines society; the far-reaching authority in applying administrative law; and the contradictions within general laws and regulations around shops and hospitality businesses enabled a strategic application of law by the city government that has had tremendous impact on the legal certainty of entrepreneurs. It led to an arbitrary implementation of different policy instruments, driven by the local political goal to get rid of tourist shops. For some, it made continuing their businesses practically impossible. The targeting of tourist shops with administrative and criminal law is complemented with a property purchasing strategy in which private law is used to exclude prospective entrepreneurs. These property purchases are subsidized by the city government as part of the strategy to prevent touristification of consumption spaces, but executed by private social corporations. With their intention to ensure a livable neighborhood for local residents, these social corporations seem partial to middle class values regarding consumption and entrepreneurship.

The strategic combination of different forms of law to regulate touristification of consumption spaces moves beyond arbitrariness and becomes a case of institutional discrimination as it disproportionately affects lower socioeconomic class and migrant entrepreneurs based on class-based tastes and distrust. This is partly because these entrepreneurs are perceived with a higher degree of suspicion by both the municipal law-enforcement department as well as the social corporations that rent out commercial properties (as observed in earlier studies in Amsterdam, such as Eck, 2022; Eck et al., 2020). On top of that, these entrepreneurs do not possess the cultural capital to present their business with a narrative that resonates with law enforcers or social corporations who own property. Finally, the more makeshift businesses that are typical

of first generation migrants (Hall, 2021) are more likely to have violated rules in the past, as these entrepreneurs tend to start with less experience with and knowledge about regulation.

Touristification of consumption spaces is only one example of local problems that invite city governments to use an assemblage of instruments, each of which designed with a different purpose in mind. Such legal pluralism within formal state law is inherent to many issues faced by city governments, which are often global in scale. This leaves city governments unable to address issues at their root cause. At the same time, city governments have an increasing number of instruments at their disposal to address their local effects. Strategically combining different instruments throughout the initiation, decision-making and implementation of policies therefore seems like a pragmatic and effective approach to deal with local issues (Heirwegh and Van de Graaf, 2019). This underlines the importance of critical perspectives on legal pluralism within formal state law, especially at the local scale, where multifunctionality coincides with a diversity of stakeholders and normative orders. This chapter demonstrates how the strategic application of different normative orders not only affects legal certainty for local stakeholders, but also risks institutional discrimination and can deteriorate trust relations among local stakeholders.

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CONCLUSION

6

FRIES AS A FEAST FOR THE EYES

The narrow streets and sidewalks along the *Negen Straatjes*, encompassed as it is in the touristy Canal Belt, are no stranger to crowds and congestion. Recently, however, overcrowding seems to have reached unprecedented levels. More strikingly, these crowds are not on a sightseeing tour around the entire UNESCO heritage area or on a shopping spree to visit its exclusive boutiques. Instead, they are purposefully queueing for one business in particular. The queues in front of this business have grown to such an extent that they require barrier posts, supervised by a team of security guards, crowd managers and cleaners. Waiting times can allegedly surpass the hour. Considering that the *Negen Straatjes* has been described in this thesis as a high-end, boutique shopping area, known for fashion and flagship stores, one might think these visitors are waiting in line to purchase the newest designer products at luxury labels. Nothing could be further from the truth. These visitors are queueing for a product so mundane, it can be found in almost every city on almost every street corner: Fries.

Admittedly, this particular business has made a very successful effort to turn the ordinary product of fries into an experience. Its freshly-painted woodwork and minimalistic window dressing create a clean look that allows the eye to wander to the historic façade. In fact, only a small layer at the bottom of the shopwindow is used to showcase a stock of unpeeled potatoes. Inside, customers can witness these potatoes being hand-cut on the stainless steel countertops, before they are fried and presented in a cardboard box with a gold-plated logo, drowned in one of six types of mayonnaise and sprinkled with cheese. Altogether, it provides the snack bar with a robust and authentic atmosphere. More than its look and feel, however, the most important factor that distinguishes this snack bar from its vast competition in the inner city of Amsterdam, lies in its online presence. The business itself posts clever videos with fries-related magic tricks on TikTok and its potato-cutting video has received over three million views. Most importantly, though, its fame seems to result from popular accounts posting about and recommending the business. This unexpected change in the local clientele in *Negen Straatjes* shows how this thesis is, after all, only a snapshot and how times can change in unpredictable ways. When the fieldwork for this thesis was conducted, local business owners in *Negen Straatjes* feared the area's carefully cultivated boutique image was spiraling out of control, creating an increasingly exclusive, more and more unaffordable and ultimately detrimental reputation. Shortly after, this process was disrupted in a way most entrepreneurs or other stakeholders – this researcher included – never saw coming: By algorithms.

The case of the chip shop shows how local stakeholders can play an essential role in determining where and how the effects of tourism are felt most urgently. Although examples of businesses that singlehandedly change the local clientele like this chip shop did are rare, the results of this thesis show that business associations, property

owners, local residents, consumers, media and local policymakers frequently propel or mitigate touristification of consumption spaces. Another point this case demonstrates, is the very real spatial impact of framing and interpretation. The physical crowding around this business results foremostly from the way it is discussed and presented online. Online content and social media were also pivotal to the growing resistance to touristification of consumption spaces. Businesses tell a story about the neighborhoods and who belongs there. Whether intended or unintended, they make some feel right at home while alienating others. Conflicts over transformations in consumption spaces therefore always depend on a layer of interpretation. Consumption spaces are thus conceptualized in this thesis as places that change in response to large societal changes, but are at the same time shaped by local actors, and as places that are meaningful and interpreted.

These conceptualizations of consumption spaces animate the lived experience of businesses and consumption spaces in a way that has been largely absent from studies on touristification. Studying the spatial effects of tourism on its destination, touristification studies have paid remarkably little attention to consumption spaces in the first place. Instead, literature on touristification traditionally focused on crowding, nuisance and intrusive behavior by tourists (Neuts and Nijkamp, 2012) and more recently turned towards effects of tourism on housing prices (González-Pérez, 2020; Hübscher and Kallert, 2023; Perić et al., 2022). Consumption spaces, with shops, services and hospitality businesses that reflect the consumer base and play an important role in feelings of belonging, feature less often in tourism literature. Moreover, studies that focus on touristification of consumption spaces tend to either focus on the way changes in consumption landscapes are perceived by the host society, or on the international drivers of touristification. This fits in with a wider discrepancy in overtourism literature, which focuses on global causes of increasing tourism as well as highly localized effects. This leaves the stakeholders that shape the way touristification plays out on a local scale largely out of scope. This thesis addresses this gap by focusing on how touristification is produced and managed on a local scale. It uses the city of Amsterdam as a case study, where touristification of consumption spaces gained a prominent place in public debates about touristification and led to challenging policy interventions – the most notable example being the zoning plan that bans tourist shops from the inner city that formed the initial inspiration for this research. The widely shared resentment against tourist shops makes Amsterdam a likely case to observe touristification of consumption spaces. Such a likely case is a fitting environment to take a closer look into the local mechanisms behind touristification and the contextual factors that mediate it. Focusing on a single case study also enables interdisciplinary research that views touristification from different perspectives.

The thesis started out with a data exploration of touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam, which revealed that this process occurs in different variations.

The emerging microgeographies of touristification inspired follow up research in three directions. Firstly, it inspired qualitative research of entrepreneur responses to increasing tourism, shedding light on the mediating and mitigating factors that create local differences in the way it plays out. Secondly, the microgeographies of touristification draw attention to the discrepancy between the urgency with which touristification of consumption spaces ended up on the local political agenda and the highly concentrated and variable effects of tourism. This discrepancy inspired an approach centered on framing and frame resonance. Thirdly, the variations of touristification expose some of the negative effects of formulating a city-wide policy in response to a process that affects different places in different ways. The question of governing touristification of consumption spaces also zoomed in on how policy measures used in Amsterdam affect local stakeholders. This combined approach, focusing on the material effects of tourism, the way they are interpreted and framed and the policy landscape within which these effects are managed, forms the main contribution of this thesis.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 2 quantifies touristification of consumption spaces in Amsterdam between 2005 and 2020 by exploring relations between concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape. It draws attention to the pivotal role of retail capital, since higher rent prices for businesses inevitably coincide with a more standardized consumption landscape. This process tends to take place without causing higher degrees of business changeover, which does not necessarily mean that business displacement does not occur, but does suggest that in general higher rent prices indicate a favorable business location. While there have been consistent correlations between concentrations of retail capital and standardization of the consumption landscape since 2005, however, the type of standardization occurring in the highest priced consumption spaces changed within the researched timeframe. Concentration of retail capital is progressively less associated with a higher degree of chain stores and instead coincides more and more with tourist-oriented businesses such as souvenir and fast food businesses. Zooming in on the geography of these changes, a cluster analysis reveals areas where touristification has impacted the consumption landscape in different ways.

The typical cases of touristification, where increasing rent prices coincide with increasing shares of tourist shops, are highly concentrated around the heart of the historic inner city. Consumption spaces directly adjacent to these hotspots of touristification have been affected by higher visitor numbers in different ways. The higher priced main retail areas have seen increasing standardization in the form of chain stores, especially in the fashion industry. In consumption spaces where rent

prices have remained somewhat lower, however, standardization has been largely kept at bay. Here, local contingencies in the consumer base and consumption landscape create variations of touristification, such as nightlife areas, gentrifying consumption spaces and specialized retail areas.

Chapter 3 considers touristification of consumption spaces from the perspective of entrepreneur strategies in the inner city of Amsterdam, with particular attention for the economic, social and institutional context in which they operate. Three distinct areas are distinguished where entrepreneurs responded to increasing tourism in markedly different ways. The first is characterized by a strategy of crowd-pleasing, capitalizing on fast service and familiarity. Entrepreneurs in this area confirm that the fast-paced, crowded environment creates increasing demand for recognizable concepts with a broad appeal. Increasing rent prices intensify the pressure to adapt to this changing demand. Even in the absence of rent increases, however, businesses for comparison shopping felt more and more out of place in the crowded, fast food-dominated consumption space. Altogether, crowding, increasing rent prices and the changing composition of businesses, make touristification feel inevitable to entrepreneurs in this area. This is highly different in the second case, where the influx of tourists, although increasing, never amounted to such numbers that it caused crowding and rent increases were largely kept at bay. In this context, entrepreneurs were able to benefit from increasing tourism, especially since it filled a gap in local demand caused by increasing competition with international chain stores and online shopping. Rather than feeling pressured to standardize, many entrepreneurs in this area specialized their offer and presentation to cater to a more specific consumer niche. The longevity of businesses and their specializations create a sense of complementarity among local entrepreneurs, which was seen as an important asset. The final case is characterized by a gentrifying consumption landscape. A successful branding strategy portraying the street as a boutique shopping destination attracted an increasingly affluent consumer base of local, regional and international visitors. The increasing popularity of the area raised the interest of retail capital, especially chain holdings looking to open a flagship store in the streets. Although entrepreneurs benefit from the high-end reputation and affluent consumer base, the increasing interest from chain stores drives up rent prices, causing direct business displacement, as well as eroding some of the social connections among the local entrepreneurs.

These results draw attention to the role of entrepreneurs, property owners, business associations, residents, consumers and local government to mediate or mitigate touristification of consumption spaces. It results in microgeographies of touristification of consumption spaces that have not only been overlooked in literature, but also in urban policies. This causes a mismatch between the more generic, city-wide regulation and the highly differentiated effects of tourism on consumption spaces. In some cases, it seems to result in regulation that aggravates rather than mitigates the effects of tourism

on consumption spaces. Entrepreneurs in each of the cases mentioned increasingly negative framing of the inner city, tourism and tourist shops in local media. This did not only aggravate avoidance behavior among local residents, but also compelled the local government to increase restrictions and law-enforcement throughout the inner city of Amsterdam. For many businesses, these restrictions were confusing and detrimental, complicating their relation with the local government. To some, the local business climate starts to feel rather hostile, something that weighs in on decisions to relocate or terminate their business.

The gap between the urgency with which touristification of consumption spaces ended up on the local policy agenda and the highly concentrated and variegated nature of touristification raised a number of follow-up questions, both to better understand the mechanisms behind how touristification of consumption spaces emerges, how it ends up on the local policy agenda and how the policies designed in response to touristification of consumption spaces affect local stakeholders. Using an analysis of policy documents, print, online and social media, **chapter 4** highlights three influential frames around tourist shops that are amplified by pre-existing beliefs about the inner city of Amsterdam. Firstly, tourist shops are problematized in frames that portray them as creating a monoculture that threatens livability for local residents. This resonates with pre-existing beliefs that a functional mix between residential, economic and recreational functions is one of Amsterdam's most attractive features. Secondly, tourist shops are framed as shabby and lower quality businesses that do not fit in with the allure of the historic inner city. This resonates with the social representation of the inner city as a business card, a Red Carpet that symbolizes Amsterdam's quality of place. Finally, tourist shops are depicted as criminogenic businesses. This frame resonates with pre-existing representations of the inner city as an infrastructure for criminal activities. Appealing to these pre-existing beliefs seems to have been a remarkably successful strategy in framing the emergence of tourist shops as an urgent, public problem that the local government needs to address.

A particularly strong belief in the case of Amsterdam lies in the concept of a criminal infrastructure, a concept that was integrated in local policies long before tourism started to surge in 2014. Initially coined to investigate criminal activities as part of a wider infrastructure, the concept has an ambiguous effect on discussions around tourist shops. The association with criminal activities makes problems around tourist shops more urgent and important and therefore legitimizes interventions. At the same time, the fact that it concerns *criminogenic branches* rather than actual criminal activities avoids the scrutiny that would be required to actually provide evidence of illegal actions. Perhaps most importantly, the believed vulnerability of consumption landscapes to criminal activities adds credibility to frames that scapegoat business owners as culprits. The association between tourist shops and criminal activities gives a tremendous boost to the urgency and importance of the issue. This demonstrates that framing does not

only impact the way tourist shops are perceived, but also the instruments the city government has at its disposal to intervene. This is addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 demonstrates how Amsterdam's city government strategically uses policy instruments designed at different scales and for different publics to manage touristification of consumption spaces. Based on policy analysis and interviews with entrepreneurs and key informants, it identifies four different legal instruments in the realms of administrative, criminal and private law that are combined to target so-called tourist shops with the aim to drive them out of the inner city: zoning plans, general regulation for shops and hospitality businesses, the BIBOB act to screen for criminal activities and property purchases by state-sponsored social housing corporations. Amsterdam's city government was able to draw from these different normative orders because tourist shops have been portrayed as both a threat to livability for local residents and a breeding ground of undermining criminality. Accusations of undermining criminality in particular played a pivotal role, as they motivate integrated law-enforcement actions by a special task force. This integrated law-enforcement actions took place even though undermining criminality itself is loosely defined and accusations towards tourist shops hardly seem substantiated with evidence other than their perceived overrepresentation. Once entrepreneurs have been targeted for closer inspection, overlap and contradictions within the formal state laws that shops and hospitality businesses have to comply with creates a high degree of discretionary space in the implementation phase for street-level bureaucrats. This often results in sanctions being imposed. For hospitality businesses, when violations start piling up, they can result in the decision to revoke a hospitality license, appealing to the BIBOB act. It is then argued that the business is continuously at fault therefore uses the hospitality license for criminal purposes. Finally, the targeting of tourist shops with administrative and criminal law is complemented with a property purchasing strategy in which private law is used to exclude prospective entrepreneurs. These property purchases are subsidized by the city government as part of the strategy to prevent touristification of consumption spaces, but executed by private social corporations. With their intention to ensure a livable neighborhood for local residents, these social corporations seem partial to middle class values about consumption and entrepreneurship.

Together, the ambiguous definition of undermining criminality; the far-reaching authority in applying administrative law; and the contradictions within general laws and regulations around shops and hospitality businesses, enabled a strategic application of law by the city government that has had tremendous impact on the legal certainty of entrepreneurs. It led to an arbitrary implementation of different policy instruments. For some, it made continuing their businesses practically impossible. Particular groups of lower socioeconomic class and migrant entrepreneurs are affected disproportionately, partly because they are perceived with a higher degree of suspicion by both the

municipal law-enforcement department as well as the social corporations that rent out commercial properties (as observed in earlier studies in Amsterdam, such as Eck, 2022; Eck et al., 2020). On top of that, these entrepreneurs do not possess the cultural capital to present their business with a narrative that resonates with law enforcers or social corporations who own property. Finally, the more makeshift businesses that are typical of first generation migrants (Hall, 2021) are more likely to have violated rules in the past, as these entrepreneurs tend to start with less experience and knowledge of regulation. These past violations seem to form the most important motivation to conduct increasingly thorough inspections, causing issues to pile up especially in businesses that were more vulnerable in the first place. This disproportional effect makes the strategic combination of different forms of law to regulate touristification of consumption spaces a case of institutional discrimination (Small and Pager, 2020). At the point where regulation based on class-based tastes and distrust disproportionately affects lower socioeconomic class and migrant entrepreneurs, the strategic combination of different forms of law to regulate touristification of consumption spaces moves beyond arbitrariness and becomes a case of institutional discrimination.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY

Increasing resistance to tourism in Amsterdam is part of a larger ‘backlash against tourism’ over the past decade, which has been observed all over the world, but especially in European cities (Adie et al., 2020; Novy and Colomb, 2016). Yet, the types of issues that take center stage and the way in which local governments respond to these issues vary widely (Goodwin, 2017; Koens et al., 2019; Peeters et al., 2018). This thesis explains the variety of policy responses to increasing tourism by focusing on local actors that reshape and resist how touristification plays out, social movements and framing processes determining which issues become most salient and the local legal context in which a policy response is formulated. With regard to the spatial effects of tourism, the main contribution to the theory lies in the revealed microgeographies of touristification, demonstrating how and why touristification of consumption spaces occurs in different variations. With regard to the interpretative layer of touristification, a key finding relates to the importance of cultural resonance to determine what effects of tourism are perceived as most problematic. This form of resonance focuses on the role of the context in which frames are received and the pre-existing beliefs that make frames more credible. Finally, with regard to the policy instruments at hand, the results highlight the challenges of managing touristification as a process that is widely recognized yet difficult to define. Moreover, the findings draw attention to the drawbacks of strategically using pluralism within the formal state law. This is demonstrated to affect legal certainty for entrepreneurs and to risk institutional discrimination.

Variations of touristification

The first contribution to theory lies in the way touristification of consumption spaces occurs in different variations that are locally produced. On the demand side, especially international tourists show specific tendencies. They are more likely to shop as a leisure activity and tend to be more interested in unique local products and experiences (Oh et al., 2007; Snepenger et al., 2003). Moreover, their consumption behavior is often affected by time constraints, lack of information and risk associated with shopping and consuming in a foreign country (Lloyd et al., 2011). This results in a relative monopoly for entrepreneurs in the direct vicinity of tourism destinations, allowing them to increase their profit margins (Caserta and Russo, 2002). At the same time, it requires entrepreneurs to strike a careful balance between a local authentic offer and atmosphere and recognizable products in a familiar setting. These demand-side changes play into the supply side of stakeholders that produce the consumption landscape. For business and property owners, the changes in local demand create a rent gap between the value extracted at the current use and the potential value that could be extracted if the business was optimized to cater to the growing tourism demand (Cheung and Yiu, 2023). Placing touristification within the third wave gentrification, this literature emphasizes the role of public-private partnerships where state policies and large entertainment corporations join forces to reshape the urban landscape for tourist consumption (Fox Gotham, 2018). This thesis focuses on supply-side explanations in a framework revolving around concentration of retail capital, business displacement and standardization of the consumption landscape. This not only allows us to identify the places where touristification of consumption spaces prevails, but also the variations in which it occurs.

The findings show that retail capital and especially property owners are decisive in causing standardization of the consumption landscape. However, in the absence of pressure from increasing tourist influx, this standardization takes the form of a growing share of chain stores and fashion industry rather than increasing shares of tourist-oriented businesses. It is only when crowding and avoidance behavior among the local consumer base coincides with increasing rent prices that touristification of the consumption space propels. While this type of touristification is perceived highly negatively by residents, its effects on entrepreneurs are more mixed. Increasing rent prices require them to adapt their business concept, but relatively low shares of business closures indicate that many entrepreneurs are able to successfully do so. However, the required adaptations, combined with significant changes in the local business climate, cause displacement pressure for entrepreneurs whose interests and ambitions do not align with the more standardized tourist offer. Altogether, the changes to the incentive structure in the areas where retail capital concentrates are so pervasive that there is little room for local stakeholders to resist standardization. This is different in the consumption spaces that have not seen such concentration of retail capital.

For consumption spaces that have not seen increased concentration of retail capital, the tourist demand compensates for dwindling local consumers due to increased competition with online shopping. Tourism therefore fosters existing local retail and hospitality ecosystems. In some cases, entrepreneurs are able to change the local clientele, by serving as an anchor store for a specific target group and even attracting complementary businesses. In other cases, entrepreneur associations employ collective branding strategies to encourage a particular local image or take action to avoid negative effects of increasing crowding on cleanliness and safety. Image and clientele can also change significantly due to media coverage of a particular business or area or more and more due to social media attention for businesses and consumption spaces. The local government plays a mediating role feeding into each of these areas. Regulatory frameworks such as zoning plans, business licenses and building codes directly impact where businesses can locate and what types of businesses and opening hours are allowed. Indirectly, they also affect the rents that can be extracted in different locations. Even more indirectly, the local government influences the institutional context in which entrepreneurs operate with, for instance, policies around hygiene, safety and waste management, policies that stimulate entrepreneur collaboration or tourism management strategies.

The interpretative layer of touristification

The microgeographies of touristification gave rise to a second contribution of this thesis, related to framing and frame resonance. After all, the highly concentrated and variegated nature of touristification seems insufficient to explain the urgency with which this issue ended up on the local political agenda. Building on recent studies on resistance to tourism that have moved beyond the physical impact of tourism to also include the way tourism is framed by social movements (Aguilera et al., 2021; Milano et al., 2019; Paredes-Rodriguez and Spierings, 2020; Russo and Scarnato, 2018), this contribution focuses the extent to which frames around touristification resonate with policymakers. It considers cultural resonance of frames around touristification; the extent to which frames resonate with pre-existing beliefs (Buijs et al., 2011). Not only the concept of cultural resonance has not been introduced in literature on resistance to touristification, the approach employed in this thesis to sample documents based on intertextuality is another important contribution to the theory.

This approach revealed pre-existing beliefs that add to the credibility of the problem and the feasibility of the intervention. Appealing to these pre-existing beliefs seems to have been a remarkably successful strategy in framing the emergence of tourist shops as an urgent, public problem that the local government needs to address. The focus on intertextuality also showed how the key documents that coined the most important social representations are all policy documents. This reinforces the idea that the local government is responsible for and able to protect the attractiveness of the

consumption landscape. After all, policy interventions in consumption spaces in the past have been legitimized with exactly the same arguments. The fact that frames resonate with pre-existing beliefs that the local government has openly supported and claimed responsibility for, made it extremely difficult for the local government to ignore the problematization of tourist shops. Some of these beliefs may occur in different contexts or even be linked to larger paradigms. However, the case of tourist shops in Amsterdam demonstrates how crucial circumstances that pressure local governments to intervene can be highly localized. The way forward to a better understanding of policy responses to resistance to urban tourism therefore requires close scrutiny of the local context that enables or forecloses the cultural resonance of frames on touristification. It also shows the power of interpretation to completely reframe an issue into a different domain, which requires and enables a different set of policy instruments.

Plurality of normative orders and available policy instruments

While framing and frame resonance explain how an issue ends up on the political agenda, the resulting policy response also depends on the available policy instruments (Aguilera et al., 2021). These could be policy instruments designed specifically to manage touristification, but may include instruments designed with other policy goals in mind. Especially at the lowest levels of government, those at the city or city district level, the number of policy instruments is increasing due to hyper-regulation, decentralization and privatization (von Benda-Beckmann and Turner, 2020; Oomen and Durmus, 2019). Hyperregulation and decentralization increase the number of issues addressed in local, formal state law. Privatization increases the number of stakeholders involved in governance. Together, this creates a multiplicity of regulation, encompassed in administrative, criminal and private law, enforced by different public and private actors, aimed at different publics and designed with different goals in mind. This introduces an increasing number of normative orders into local politics. Finally, local governments also face increasing normative orders on national and international scales. Especially in the field of migration and human rights, city governments are demonstrated to actively interpret, adapt and strategically select aspects of national and international laws (Davis, 2019; Heirwegh and Van de Graaf, 2019; Oomen et al., 2022; Oomen and Durmus, 2019). The plurality of normative orders enables local governments to strategically select from different policy instruments throughout the initiation, decision-making and implementation of policies (Heirwegh and Van de Graaf, 2019). This means that a pressing local issue is reformulated to fit into different normative orders, so that it can be addressed with a multiplicity of policy instruments.

The strategic application of policy instruments from different normative orders can have important drawbacks. Because regulation is enforced based on criteria unrelated to the policy's intentions, it introduces a level of arbitrariness into the implementation of laws. This affects legal certainty for local stakeholders. Moreover, it moves beyond

arbitrariness and becomes a case of institutional discrimination when it disproportionately affects particular socioeconomic groups. Finally, distrust from governing institutions can deteriorate trust relations between among local stakeholders. These potential drawbacks of strategic selection of policy instruments from different normative orders form an important contribution to literature on touristification. Due to the increasing nuisance caused by tourism and the increasing local resistance, the legitimacy of policies that address touristification is often seen as self-evident and potential victims of these policies tend to remain obscure.

Intersections between material effects of tourism, framing and resonance and policy context

The previous sections outline what this thesis has contributed to existing theory about variations of touristification, framing and frame resonance and the implementation of policy instruments to manage touristification. However, the fact that this thesis researched material impacts, interpretation and policy measures while focusing on the same case, also provides insights into the way these aspects interplay. First, as established in framing literature (Benford and Snow, 2000), the material impacts of tourism on consumption landscapes and the way these impacts are interpreted feed into each other. Once a narrative has become influential, every case that confirms this narrative becomes newsworthy and adds to the repetition of a frame. Once the frame of a touristy monoculture was coined, for instance, the definition of what this monoculture consists of seems to become wider and business changeovers, street portraits and resident complaints that fit the narrative of an emerging monoculture gain more media attention. This media attention can also change the material impacts of tourism on consumption spaces, for instance when allegations that certain types of businesses are associated with criminal activities cause property owners to avoid renting out to such businesses.

Secondly, policy instruments and material impacts of tourism impact each other. This is most overtly so in the case of zoning plans and in this case the ban on tourist shops. This policy directly impacts the type of businesses that locate in the inner city by curtailing certain business types, products and types of presentation. In consumption spaces where the majority of customers are tourists, this invited entrepreneurs to find new business concepts that do not fit the description in the ban on tourist shops, but still cater mostly to tourists. This, in turn, provoked the law enforcement department to reinterpret the existing regulation so that it could also apply to these new business types.

Finally, the way an issue is framed enables the use of particular policy instruments. In this case study, frames around criminal infrastructures have significantly increased the policy instruments at the local government's disposal. At the same time, the study of social representations shows that many of the pre-existing beliefs that impacted frame

resonance around tourist shops originate from earlier policy documents. Policies can therefore make a significant contribution to societal beliefs, while also increasing the sense that addressing these problems is a government responsibility.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

This thesis identifies some of the difficulties and risks involved in managing touristification on a local scale. Most importantly, these interventions risk becoming symptomatic, focusing on the effects of increasing (resistance to) tourism without addressing its causes. The way in which touristification of consumption spaces is managed in Amsterdam is a clear example of this dynamic. The policy instruments aimed to reduce touristification regulate so-called tourist shops, but fail to address the changing incentive structure behind the types of shops, services and hospitality businesses that emerge around popular tourist attractions. Such interventions risk creating a mismatch between the consumption landscape and local demand. As a result, functions may be maintained while demand is lacking. Alternatively services for which there is demand may not emerge. In the first case, consumption spaces become unviable for entrepreneurs who can no longer offset their increasing rent prices by adapting to the tourism demand. In the second case, a lack of facilities for the growing influx of visitors may cause more queueing, congestion and waiting time – which have been identified as important contributors for negative experiences of crowding (Neuts and Nijkamp, 2012). Moreover, these interventions risk antagonizing local stakeholders, such as entrepreneurs and property owners. This is particularly problematic considering their important role in the way touristification of consumption spaces plays out. More effective and fair strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces would thus focus on the incentive structure. This includes strategies to discourage concentration of retail capital; reduce crowding, congestion and nuisance caused by increasing numbers of visitors; or stimulate collaboration among local stakeholders.

1. Reduce concentration of retail capital

Retail capital is an important driver of touristification of consumption landscapes. Increasing interest from chain stores and higher rent prices for commercial property seem to inevitably lead to standardization – although the local consumer base and area's reputation then play an important role in the type of standardization that follows. The other way around, relatively low rent prices can keep touristification at bay. In the absence of larger chain stores and steep rent increases, small entrepreneurs often benefit from the increased influx of visitors and manage to specialize rather than standardize their business while the number of tourists increases. Reducing rent prices

for commercial property could therefore be an effective way to mitigate or at the very least delay touristification of consumption spaces. Considering that competition with chain stores has been observed since the latter half of the twentieth century, there is ample policy experience with measures to reduce concentrations of retail capital (Fernandes and Chamusca, 2014).

A very direct way to reduce rent prices would be via property ownership. Strategies to financially support property owners who align with policy goals to transform the consumption landscape have been used in Amsterdam in the past, for instance to reduce coffeeshops and prostitution (City of Amsterdam and Central city district, 2008). Similarly, a number of social property owners have received financial support to invest in property to curtail the number of tourist-oriented businesses (City of Amsterdam, 2020). These social property owners rent out their properties below market price to entrepreneurs that are considered to contribute to the diversity of the consumption landscape. Although this is very effective in maintaining affordable rents, it is also a rather costly solution. Moreover, this thesis has demonstrated that it makes the selection of entrepreneurs a political process that is taste-dependent, vulnerable to prejudice and creates unfair competition. It is worth considering whether these risks weigh out the benefits, especially if touristification remains confined to a number of concentrated areas and access to daily goods and services for local residents is not compromised. Alternatively, if property purchases are deemed necessary to safeguard livability for local residents, they might be put to better use by providing space for public and semi-public functions that are being displaced from the inner city, such as healthcare and community functions. These would still break the perceived touristy monoculture and provide local residents with important local destinations, without causing unfair competition.

In most cases, more indirect policy measures to reduce concentration of retail capital would be favorable because they are more affordable and still significantly alter the incentive structure for property owners and entrepreneurs. Most examples of such indirect measures focus on favoring small, independent entrepreneurs over larger holdings (Guimarães, 2016). They include regulation to prevent smaller properties to be merged into larger business spaces that are often preferred by chain stores, encouraging more flexibility in leases for commercial property could benefit small entrepreneurs (Hall, 2021). One could think of allowing shorter lease periods or allowing a single property to be occupied by multiple businesses. Zoning plans can also have a price-reducing effect. Zoning particular properties as workshops for artisanal production, for instance, could reduce the rent gap that emerges when the number of visitors increases by limiting the options to adapt to the tourism demand. However, it is important to keep in mind that regulation to promote small, independent entrepreneurs is not the same as curtailing touristification. After all, many small, independent entrepreneurs seem to benefit from increasing visitor numbers.

2. Manage crowding, congestion and nuisance

While reducing concentration of retail capital is likely to mitigate touristification of consumption spaces to some extent, the findings from entrepreneur interviews suggest that affordable rent prices cannot avoid touristification entirely. Entrepreneurs with favorable rent prices located in the direct vicinity of tourist highlights still experience considerable displacement pressure due to the changing consumer base and local demand. The main factors causing this changing demand are crowding and congestion. Local residents start avoiding consumption spaces that become too crowded, while visitors continue to go there, but with the particular mindset of sightseeing (Popp, 2012). It is this mindset that creates a demand for fast service and familiar business concepts. In spaces where crowding occurs to a lesser extent, resident and tourist demand are much more compatible. A second approach to manage touristification of consumption spaces could therefore be to reduce crowding. Crowding is a negative perception of density, which means that strategies to reduce crowding could focus on reducing the number of visitors or on changing the negative perceptions of density.

Effectively reducing the number of visitors is notoriously difficult, especially in urban destinations where visitors can arrive via many different forms of transportation (Smeral, 2020). Most policies aimed at reducing the number of visitors therefore focus on visitor dispersion or segmentation to attract tourists that are considered less likely to cause nuisance. However, as illustrated by the example of the TikTok-induced success of a local chip shop, city marketing strategies experience increasing online and social media competition in shaping tourist perceptions and promoting destinations. A more radical approach would be to commit to an actual decrease in the number of visitors, or degrowth (Kuenen et al., 2023; Milano et al., 2019). A number of degrowth strategies have become commonplace, such as limiting the number of hotels and restricting on short time rental, for instance via AirBnB (Hübscher and Kallert, 2023). These could be complemented with measures to reduce the number of flights or to charge admission for particular areas within the inner city (Smeral, 2020).

Especially in cases where restricting the number of visitors proves to be challenging, it would be recommended to also focus on the perception of density. The most important strategy to reduce perceptions of crowding would be to increase the carrying capacity of spaces with the highest concentration of visitors. Depending on the location and its most important bottlenecks, this could include extra cleaning and policing, traffic regulation or infrastructural changes (Neuts and Nijkamp, 2012). The consumption landscape can actually play an important role in reducing perceptions of crowding, by increasing the offer of shops, services and hospitality businesses available to residents and visitors. In that sense, current policy measures to manage touristification by reducing the number of tourist shops may end up limiting local carrying capacity and increasing perceived levels of crowding. In the case of Amsterdam, a specific recommendation would be to increase the number of hospitality licenses. In the current situation, tourism has most

profoundly led to a significant increase in food shops. Because most of these businesses do not have a hospitality license, they are not allowed to offer seating space and serve their customers indoors. This results in increased crowding of customers with food and drinks in take-away packaging. Increasing the number of hospitality licenses therefore seems like an important opportunity to reduce congestion, nuisance and littering.

3. Foster the local business climate

The final factor that is essential to how tourism affects consumption spaces is the local business climate. Relations and interactions between entrepreneurs, consumers, residents, property owners, law-enforcers and the local government can mediate touristification, especially outside of the main tourism highlights where visitor pressure and rent prices for commercial property are lower. Strategies to manage touristification would thus be far more effective when they can tap into the transformative powers of local stakeholders.

Fostering the local business climate would mean, firstly, to avoid the type of antagonistic language that has been observed in this research. The most obvious example is the identification of criminogenic sectors and businesses in policy documents. This research has demonstrated how this results in arbitrary use of regulation that affects legal certainty for entrepreneurs, risks institutional discrimination and creates or exacerbates distrust between local stakeholders – hindering efforts to collaborate. Moreover, this antagonistic language also reduced the credibility of subsequent interventions. If an entire sector has been marked as criminogenic and likely to be involved in criminal activities, the fact that most businesses in this sector have not disappeared seem to signal that the local government has little control over criminal activities in the city, an argument that was frequently repeated in print, online and social media. Finally, this research also demonstrated how social beliefs and representations can travel between different issues and contexts. Some of the negative perceptions of tourist shops were the result of earlier conflicts over consumption landscapes. In the same way, the hostility between local government and entrepreneurs caused by regulation to manage touristification can reverberate in other policy domains that require collaboration.

A more inclusive strategy to manage touristification of consumption spaces would stimulate cooperation with and among local stakeholders. Collectives in which local governments cooperate with local stakeholders are often more successful in addressing problems such as touristification than either state or market forces are (Foster and Iaione, 2019). This is because government regulation requires a formal problem definition, should apply to different contexts and needs to be enforced and policed to be effective. This is difficult in the case of problems that are contextual and open for interpretation as touristification of consumption spaces. Rules that are introduced by local stakeholder collectives can be much more flexible and contextual. They would not

need to define, once and for all, what a tourist shop is, for instance, but could update and refine rules as they go. Moreover, these rules do not need to be enforced and monitored by external actors, since stakeholders can monitor and sanction each other. Of course, success is not guaranteed. Creating collaboration between stakeholders with diverse interests can be difficult to begin with and some initiatives do not mature into actual collectives. Even if collectives do emerge, touristification of consumption spaces may not end up on the top of their list. However, while stimulating the local business climate and collective entrepreneurship may take a long time to gain results, it is a much more inclusive and durable approach.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The most important limitations in this research are related to the dynamic nature of developments in consumption spaces, the consumer perspective and data availability. Firstly, as illustrated by the case of the chip shop at the start of this chapter, consumption spaces are dynamic and continuously change in response to global and local developments. This does not only mean that the findings from this research are by definition dated. It also makes it nearly impossible to filter the effects of tourism from other developments that took place during this research project. To name some examples: During the fieldwork stage of this research, Covid-19 caused the number of tourists to drop dramatically and shops and hospitality businesses have been through multiple periods of lockdown. On a local scale, the ban on tourist shops that formed the main inspiration for this study, is also likely to have reduced the growth in tourist shops in the timeframe from 2014 to 2020, but it is impossible to tell where and to what extent. Many of the case-specific findings are therefore temporary. The reputation of the *Negen Straatjes* as an exclusive, boutique shopping area, for instance, is seen by some as on the verge of change due to the extreme popularity of some of the local businesses on TikTok. It would be interesting to follow up with a focus on online representations of space and how it affects visitor flows and touristification. While these outcomes are highly transient, however, the findings with regard to how consumption spaces change remain valid. This is a dynamic process of structural changes and local agency, which results in material effects, an interpretative layer that turns particular effects into social problems and a policy context that enables or restricts the types of interventions introduced to regulate an issue.

Secondly, the consumer perspective has been largely implicit in this thesis. This is a deliberate choice, since it was the production-side where the most important gap in the literature was identified. However, especially in devising strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces with a collaborative, bottom-up approach, the perspectives of local residents, tourists and other consumers would be extremely useful.

Such research could elicit in more detail where and why different consumer groups have different needs and demands, what factors affect feelings of belonging for local residents and how these can be mitigated to find a middle ground where entrepreneurs benefit from the influx of tourists while minimizing the harm for local residents.

Finally, more quantitative demand side indicators could also serve to disentangle effects of tourism from other societal changes impacting consumption spaces. Especially visitors counts would be extremely valuable, as they could provide insights into where tourists have concentrated and whether there is a critical threshold beyond which touristification leads to standardization. In a digitalizing world, more and more consumption spaces have such data available. Especially in the main retail arteries, business associations often have introduced tools such as laser or wifi-based counting devices several years ago. However, smaller consumption spaces are often lagging. Moreover, the way in which visitor numbers are measured changes rapidly in response to technological progress and increasing privacy regulation. For research purposes, this creates the dilemma of whether to use highly accurate and detailed data that is available for a limited number of consumption spaces and timeframes, or whether to rely on indirect measures that are available for a longer time period and a larger number of cases. For this research, the decision was made to prioritize a longitudinal perspective and focus on supply side factors. However, for future research, it would be interesting to complement these findings with quantitative as well as qualitative insights in the demand side.

After exploring touristification from different perspectives in a single case study, an important next step would be to identify a number of comparative cases. These should be cases that have experienced a comparable increase in numbers of visitors, but where the growing tourist influx resulted in contrasting types of resistance to tourism. This could be a case where resistance to tourism has been lower in spite of a growing tourist influx, Paris is often mentioned as such an example (Gravari-Barbas & Jacquot, 2016). Alternatively, it could be a case where a comparative level of resistance to tourism has focused on different issues and effects on the consumption landscape have remained less controversial. These cases could explore to what extent the differences in resistance to touristification are caused by different material effects and by variations in framing and cultural resonance. A third contrasting case could be a place where effects of consumption spaces have been comparably central in resistance to touristification, but policy responses have differed. Lisbon could be an interesting example, where regulation has focused on protecting small, independent businesses rather than on curtailing tourist-oriented shops and services (Guimarães, 2021). Such cases could compare how different institutional arrangements affect livability, perceptions of touristification and the local business climate for entrepreneurs.

A final direction for future research would be related to the policy recommendation to address touristification with a place-making strategy (Lew, 2017). Place-making

strategies propose a flexible approach in which local stakeholders collaboratively take small steps to address a problem. Rather than creating a once-and-for-all solution, this should be seen as starting an incremental change. With regard to touristification of consumption spaces, these could be strategies to change the way different groups of visitors and residents use and perceive the consumption space. Such processes tend to take time and come with specific challenges. However, regardless of the results, a place-making approach always has the added-on benefit of stimulating collaboration between stakeholders such as residents, entrepreneurs, property owners, law enforcers and policymakers. An experiment that stimulates and monitors such a place-making approach to manage touristification of consumption spaces could form an interesting follow-up project. It could assess how perceptions of touristification change due to the interventions, but also compare the effects on livability for local residents, consumer experiences of residents, day-trippers and tourists, legal certainty for entrepreneurs and the local business climate with the current approach in Amsterdam.

Concluding from the above, strategies to manage touristification of consumption spaces should be as contextual and flexible as the issue itself, to prevent situations in which regulation is used haphazardly and unfairly. The adopted microgeographic perspective in this research showed that the material effects of tourism on consumption spaces vary between times and places, depending on local context and stakeholders. Moreover, it showed that this process is never a self-evident problem, but highly dependent on interpretation and framing. Unless they can actually address the root causes of crowding and rent price increases for businesses, local policies are therefore bound to remain symptomatic, quickly outdated and beneficial to some while risking to exclude others. The way forward should be a microgeographic response to manage touristification of consumption spaces.

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APPENDICES

Nederlandse samenvatting

Curriculum vitae

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

In de afgelopen tien jaar kregen steden over de hele wereld te maken met toenemende weerstand tegen toerisme. Een belangrijke klacht die op veel plaatsen terugkomt is het effect van toerisme op winkel- en horecagebieden, oftewel consumptieruimten. Consumptieruimten waar toerisme zich concentreert, kunnen te maken krijgen met drukte en overlast. Bovendien kan toenemend toerisme haar stempel drukken op het soort winkels, diensten en horeca. Wanneer winkels en horecagelegenheden zich steeds meer aanpassen aan de groeiende toeristische vraag, kunnen lokale bewoners zich vreemd voelen van het lokale winkellandschap. Dit proces, waarin de samenstelling van consumenten en het aanbod in winkels en horeca op elkaar inspelen, wordt beschreven als toeristificatie van de consumptieruimten. Dit fenomeen speelt een rol in de weerstand tegen toerisme in steden als Venetië, Barcelona, Berlijn, Lissabon en Amsterdam. Ondanks het belang van toeristificatie van consumptieruimten, is er relatief weinig onderzoek naar gedaan. Onderzoek naar weerstand tegen toerisme richt zich bijvoorbeeld eerder op drukte en overlast, of recent vaker op de impact van toerisme op de huizenmarkt. Wanneer specifiek wordt gekeken naar toeristificatie van consumptieruimten, gaat het bovendien vaak over de manier waarop lokale bewoners deze toeristificatie ervaren. De oorzaken van toeristificatie blijven buiten beeld, of worden hooguit gezocht in grootschalige ontwikkelingen zoals de wereldwijd toenemende welvaart of grotere beschikbaarheid van goedkopere vliegreizen. De rol van lokale belanghebbenden die consumptieruimten vormgeven, zoals ondernemers, ondernemerscollectieven, vastgoedeigenaren, sociale bewegingen en de lokale overheid, blijft vaak buiten beschouwing. Dit proefschrift kijkt daarom specifiek naar de lokale mechanismes die toeristificatie versnellen of afremmen, die bepalen hoe toeristificatie geïnterpreteerd wordt en hoe het door de lokale overheid wordt geadresseerd. Daarmee wordt antwoord gegeven op de volgende onderzoeksvraag:

Hoe worden variaties van toeristificatie van consumptieruimten lokaal geproduceerd en gestuurd?

Onderzoeksopzet

Om deze vraag te beantwoorden, richt dit onderzoek zich op drie aspecten van toeristificatie: De materiële impact van toerisme op de samenstelling en het functioneren van consumptieruimten; de manier waarop deze materiële veranderingen worden besproken en leiden tot collectieve probleemdefinities en voorgestelde oplossingen; en het beleidslandschap waarbinnen een antwoord op toeristificatie wordt geformuleerd. Deze drie aspecten worden onderzocht in één en dezelfde case, de binnenstad van Amsterdam. Effecten op consumptieruimten spelen in Amsterdam een belangrijke rol in publieke debatten rondom toeristificatie. Er zijn zelfs internationaal gezien unieke

beleidsinterventies geïntroduceerd om toeristificatie van consumptieruimten in goede banen te leiden, zoals een verbod op toeristenwinkels in het bestemmingsplan van de Amsterdamse binnenstad. Dit maakt Amsterdam een geschikte plaats om meer diepgaande kennis op te doen over de causale mechanismes die bepalen hoe en waar toeristificatie van consumptieruimten zich concentreert, op welke manier het aangekaart wordt als probleem en hoe beleid hier op inspeelt.

Om recht te doen aan de drie aspecten van toeristificatie, is een combinatie van methodes gebruikt. Deze omvatten een inventarisatie van data over consumptieruimten in de gehele stad over een periode van 15 jaar, tussen 2005 en 2020; interviews met ondernemers in drie consumptieruimten in Amsterdam; een analyse van het publieke debat rond toeristificatie van consumptieruimten in fysieke, online en sociale media; en een beleidsevaluatie van de lokale maatregelen die zijn genomen om toeristificatie te sturen. De data over consumptieruimten is op verschillende schaalniveaus geanalyseerd. Nadat stadsbreed gekeken is naar samenhang tussen de verschillende indicatoren van toeristificatie, is de historische binnenstad onder de loep genomen in een clusteranalyse. Dit resulteerde in een typologie van consumptieruimten die op verschillende manieren geraakt werden door toenemend toerisme. Uit deze clusteranalyse zijn drie consumptieruimten gekozen die ruimtelijk dicht bij elkaar lagen, maar ondanks dat zeer verschillende ontwikkelingen lieten zien. Uit deze drie consumptieruimten zijn 31 zelfstandige ondernemers geselecteerd voor interviews. Om zo veel mogelijk verschillende ervaringen met toenemend toerisme op te halen, zijn de interviews afgenomen met ondernemers met uiteenlopende bedrijfsconcepten, waaronder een aantal concepten die als toeristisch worden ervaren en een aantal concepten die over het algemeen als lokaal georiënteerd worden gezien.

Om te achterhalen welke frames er worden gebruikt rondom toeristenwinkels is een documentanalyse uitgevoerd van beleidsdocumenten en offline, online en sociale media. Hiervoor zijn teksten verzameld op basis van intertekstualiteit. Beginnend vanaf het Amsterdamse verbod op toeristenwinkels, is achterhaald naar welke documenten verwezen werd, om zo tot een reconstructie te komen van bestaande overtuigingen die een rol speelden in frames rondom toeristenwinkels. Op basis van dit veldwerk ontstond gaandeweg een steeds vollediger beeld van zowel de manier waarop toeristenwinkels in beleid aangepakt werden, als de effecten van dit beleid op ondernemers. Om te komen tot een beleidsanalyse, zijn deze bevindingen aangevuld met interviews met sleutelfiguren die de gevonden resultaten in context plaatsen en verifiëren.

Bevindingen en conclusies

Hoofdstuk 2 gebruikt data over winkelhuren, verdringing van ondernemers en standaardisatie van het consumptielandschap om toeristificatie van consumptieruimten in Amsterdam tussen 2005 en 2020 te meten. De resultaten laten zien dat winkelhuren een essentiële rol spelen in processen van standaardisatie. Hogere winkelhuren gaan

namelijk hoe dan ook gepaard met meer standaardisatie, of het nou in de vorm van meer ketenwinkels is of in de vorm van meer toeristische bedrijvigheid. Gedurende de periode tussen 2005 en 2020 werd toeristificatie wel dominanter in de consumptieruimten met de hoogste huren. De samenhang tussen winkelhuren en percentages ketenwinkels neemt af terwijl de samenhang tussen winkelhuren en percentages toeristenwinkels juist toeneemt.

Uit een clusteranalyse van consumptieruimten in de historische binnenstad komt een typering van gebieden die op verschillende manieren op de toenemende aantallen toeristen reageerden. Een beperkt aantal consumptieruimten in de hoofdstraten tussen het Centraal station en de Dam, toonden een stereotype beeld van toeristificatie, waarin hogere winkelhuren samenhangen met een groeiend aandeel toeristenwinkels. Direct grenzend aan deze hotspots van toeristificatie zijn er echter grote verschillen te zien. Afhankelijk van lokale verschillen in de winkelhuren, bezoekerssamenstelling en het consumptielandschap, vind je hier gebieden waar grote modeketens overheersen, gebieden die vooral draaien om het nachtleven, consumptieruimten die tekenen vertonen van commerciële gentrificatie en gespecialiseerde winkelgebieden.

Hoofdstuk 3 bekijkt toeristificatie van consumptieruimten vanuit het perspectief van ondernemers in de binnenstad van Amsterdam, met speciale aandacht voor de economische, sociale en institutionele context waarin deze ondernemers opereren. Dit hoofdstuk vergelijkt drie consumptieruimten, de Damstraten, Hoogstraten en de Negen Straatjes, die op heel verschillende manieren veranderden als gevolg van toenemende bezoekersaantallen. In de Damstraten was de overheersende strategie een van publiekstrekken. Ondernemers gaven aan dat de drukte en doorloopsnelheid in het gebied vraagt om herkenbare producten die een breed publiek aanspreken. Stijgende winkelhuren maken het voor hen extra belangrijk om op deze veranderende vraag in te spelen. Dit is heel anders in de Hoogstraten. In dit gebied zagen ondernemers wel een toename in het aantal toeristen, maar ervoeren ze minder drukte en geringere huurstijgingen. Toenemende bezoekersaantallen resulteerden daardoor niet in druk om te standaardiseren, maar boden veel ondernemers juist de mogelijkheid om hun aanbod en presentatie te specialiseren. De veranderingen in het consumptielandschap in de Negen straatjes laten zich eerder beschrijven als commerciële gentrificatie. Een succesvolle merkstrategie van het gebied, met nadruk op haar bijzondere boetiekjes, trok een steeds welvarender lokaal, regionaal, nationaal en internationaal publiek. Voor ondernemers lag de uitdaging daarom eerder in het tegemoetkomen van de vraag van een steeds hoger marktsegment dan in het conformeren aan de toeristische vraag. Hoewel ondernemers profiteren van de exclusieve reputatie van het gebied en de welvarende bezoekers, hebben veel ook te maken gehad met huurstijgingen en verdringing.

Hoofdstuk 4 identificeert, door middel van een analyse van beleidsdocumenten en offline, online en sociale media, drie invloedrijke frames rondom toeristenwinkels. Bovendien toont dit hoofdstuk aan hoe deze frames versterkt worden door hun culturele

resonantie met bestaande overtuigingen over de Amsterdamse binnenstad. Toeristenwinkels worden ten eerste geproblematiseerd als een monocultuur die de leefbaarheid van de binnenstad voor lokale bewoners bedreigt. Dit resoneert met bestaande overtuigingen dat de functionele mix van wonen, werken en recreatie bepalend is voor de aantrekkelijkheid van Amsterdam. Ten tweede worden toeristenwinkels neergezet als rommelig en laagwaardige bedrijvigheid die niet past bij de allure van de binnenstad. Dit resoneert met een visie op de binnenstad als een visitekaartje, een rode loper die de hoogwaardigheid van Amsterdam reflecteert. Tenslotte worden toeristenwinkels neergezet als criminogene bedrijven. Dit frame resoneert met de bestaande overtuiging dat de binnenstad een infrastructuur vormt voor criminele activiteiten. De resonantie met deze bestaande overtuigingen lijkt een bijzonder succesvolle strategie te zijn geweest om toeristenwinkels neer te zetten als een urgent publiek probleem dat actie van de lokale overheid vereist.

Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op de beleidscontext waarbinnen de lokale overheid een antwoord formuleert op toeristificatie van consumptieruimten. Dit hoofdstuk toot aan hoe de lokale overheid in Amsterdam strategisch gebruik maakt van beleidsinstrumenten die op verschillende schaal en voor verschillende doeleindes ontworpen zijn om toeristificatie van consumptieruimten te sturen. Deze aanpak combineert vier verschillende juridische instrumenten uit het bestuursrecht, strafrecht en privaatrecht, die gecombineerd worden ingezet om toeristenwinkels de stad uit te krijgen. Dit zijn bestemmingsplannen, algemene regelgeving voor winkels en horecabedrijven, de BIBOB wetgeving om ondermijnende criminaliteit tegen te gaan en vastgoedaankopen door sociale corporaties gesteund door de lokale overheid. De vage definitie van ondermijning, de vergaande handelingsvrijheid onder het bestuursrecht, en de tegenstrijdigheden in regelgeving voor winkels en horeca, zorgen er samen voor dat de lokale overheid een strategische keuze kan maken uit verschillende beleidsinstrumenten en die vrij willekeurig kan inzetten. Dit heeft enorme impact op de rechtszekerheid van ondernemers. Bepaalde groepen ondernemers, met name ondernemers uit lagere sociaaleconomische klassen en ondernemers met een migratieachtergrond, worden buitenproportioneel geraakt door deze regelgeving. Dit laat zien hoe de strategische implementatie van verschillende beleidsinstrumenten kan resulteren in institutionele discriminatie.

Samen leveren deze hoofdstukken drie belangrijke bijdragen aan de bestaande literatuur over toeristificatie. Ten eerste toont dit onderzoek aan dat consumptieruimten op verschillende manieren reageren op toenemend toerisme. Lokale actoren zoals ondernemers, ondernemerscollectieven, vastgoedeigenaren, sociale bewegingen en de lokale overheid spelen daar een belangrijke rol in. De resulterende microgeografie van toeristificatie van consumptieruimten wordt zowel in de literatuur als in stedelijk beleid te weinig erkend en vormt daarom één van de belangrijkste theoretische bijdragen van dit onderzoek.

Ten tweede brengen de resultaten de rol van culturele resonantie aan het licht.

Deze vorm van resonantie gaat in op de context waarin frames ontvangen worden en kijkt naar de bestaande overtuigingen die er frames geloofwaardiger maken. Dit is een relevante toevoeging aan de literatuur over weerstand tegen toerisme, omdat gebruikelijke verklaringen voor het succes van frames hierin vaak tekort schieten. Frames zijn doorgaans succesvoller wanneer ze een duidelijke, coherente boodschap verkondigen en door een bekende woordvoerder of een goed georganiseerde sociale beweging vertegenwoordigd worden. Weerstand tegen toerisme is echter in veel gevallen gefragmenteerd en ongeorganiseerd. Culturele resonantie zou daarom in meerdere steden een alternatieve verklaring kunnen vormen voor het succes van frames die toeristificatie problematiseren.

Tenslotte vestigen de bevindingen aandacht op de beleidsuitdagingen bij het sturen van toeristificatie van consumptieruimten. De lokale overheid heeft weinig middelen tot haar beschikking om de wereldwijde oorzaken achter toenemend toerisme te sturen, maar beschikt wel over een groot palet aan instrumenten om de lokale effecten van toerisme aan te pakken. Deze omstandigheden nodigen uit tot een aanpak die strategisch gebruik maakt van beleidsinstrumenten die op verschillende schaal geformuleerd zijn, met verschillende doeleindes in gedachten. Dit onderzoek toont aan dat een dergelijke gecombineerde inzet van beleidsinstrumenten kan leiden tot willekeurige implementatie en institutionele discriminatie. Door de toenemende weerstand tegen toerisme wordt de legitimiteit van beleid dat toeristificatie adresseert te weinig in twijfel getrokken en blijven potentiële slachtoffers en schadelijke effecten vaak onzichtbaar. Deze risico's van de strategische combinatie van beleidsinstrumenten vormen daarom een andere belangrijke bijdrage aan de literatuur over toeristificatie.

Beleidsaanbevelingen

Het gekozen micro-geografische perspectief in dit onderzoek toonde aan dat de materiële effecten van toerisme op consumptieruimten variëren tussen verschillende tijden en plaatsen, afhankelijk van de lokale context en belanghebbenden. Bovendien toonde het aan dat dit proces nooit een vanzelfsprekend probleem is, maar sterk afhankelijk is van interpretatie en framing. Tenslotte is het voor lokaal beleid vaak maar deels mogelijk om de groeiende toeristenstroom tegen te houden of om onderliggende oorzaken van verdringing en huurprijsstijgingen voor bedrijven aan te pakken. Daarmee wordt lokaal beleid al snel symptomatisch, gemakkelijk achterhaald en gunstig voor sommigen, terwijl het anderen dreigt uit te sluiten. Een betere oplossing zou daarom liggen in een combinatie van meer generiek beleid dat de oorzaken van toeristificatie adresseert en een meer micro-geografisch antwoord op de lokale weerslag van toerisme consumptieruimten. Concreter gezegd stelt dit proefschrift drie oplossingsrichtingen voor.

Afremmen van de stijgende winkelhuren

Snel stijgende winkelhuren kwamen naar voren als een belangrijke aanjager van toe-

ristificatie van consumptieruimten. Door het afremmen van deze huurstijgingen zou toeristificatie daarom vertraagd kunnen worden. Dit zou bijvoorbeeld kunnen het samenvoegen van panden aan banden te leggen, flexibelere huurcontracten toe te staan, of bestemmingsplannen in te voeren die winkelhuren drukken. Deze ingrepen hebben als bijkomend effect dat ze vaak voordelen bieden aan kleine ondernemers ten opzichte van grote winkelketens.

Handhaaf drukte en overlast

Een alternatieve aanpak kan zich richten op drukte. Verminderen van drukte kan zowel door bezoekersaantallen te beperken, of de negatieve perceptie van deze bezoekersaantallen te verzachten. In Amsterdam wordt al veel ingezet op het verminderen van bezoekersaantallen, bijvoorbeeld door spreiding van bezoekers te bevorderen, vakantieverhuur te reguleren en het aantal hotels te verminderen. Verdere maatregelen kunnen bestaan uit het beperken van vluchten naar de luchthaven of het instellen van toegangsprijzen voor specifieke delen van de stad. Naast het terugdringen van bezoekersaantallen, kan het ook zinvol zijn om de draagkracht van drukbezochte gebieden te vergroten. Afhankelijk van de soort overlast kan dit door extra schoonmaak, handhaving, politie-inzet of verkeersregulering. Consumptieruimten kunnen hierin een belangrijke rol spelen. Het uitbreiden van het voorzieningenaanbod van winkels, diensten, en recregelegenheden kan wachttijden verminderen en de perceptie van drukte verlagen.

Koester het lokale ondernemersklimaat

Goede onderlinge relaties tussen ondernemers, ondernemerscollectieven, vastgoedeigenaren, sociale bewegingen en de lokale overheid kunnen een stabiliserende rol spelen bij de toeristische ontwikkeling, vooral buiten de belangrijkste toeristische trekpleisters waar de druk van bezoekers en de winkelhuren lager zijn. Effectieve strategieën om toeristificatie van consumptieruimten te beheersen benutten daarom de krachten van lokale belanghebbenden. Een belangrijke stap om een positief ondernemersklimaat te koesteren is het vermijden van antagonistische taal. Termen zoals “criminogene bedrijven” voor toeristenwinkels verminderen het vertrouwen van ondernemers in de overheid. In plaats daarvan zou een inclusieve beleidsaanpak de nadruk leggen op samenwerking tussen lokale belanghebbenden.

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PhD trajectories are notoriously unpredictable and challenging. For my personal PhD journey, the most unforeseen and difficult part was the COVID-19 pandemic, which at the time felt like it was completely sidetracking my course. The consecutive lockdowns changed my working routines from sociable days at the department, either in Amsterdam or Utrecht, interspersed with stimulating meetings with respondents and stakeholders – to solitary days at home with a laptop. Moreover, the public discussions around urban tourism, crowding, shopping streets, and entrepreneurship that had been so central to my motivation to undertake this research in the first place, came to a sudden end as tourism largely halted and shopping became a predominantly online experience. The tourist-dependent, small, independent entrepreneurs in Amsterdam's inner city whose experiences I was so keen to extract and understand, were hit hardest by the pandemic. Continuing with my dissertation as if nothing had happened was therefore not only challenging from a practical point of view, but at times also felt nonsensical or even tone-deaf to the hardship faced by the stakeholders that played such an important role in my research. This was an especially trying period, and I am deeply grateful to everyone who supported and motivated me to keep going.

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most essential in forming me into the person I am today. Thank you, Alda, for raising me to be an independent and critical thinker. Rien, the years I spent on my PhD have been turbulent for you as well. I feel blessed to still have you with me and grateful for the time we have spent growing closer as a family. Myrthe and Nyke, the challenges of recent years have shown me how much we can count on each other, thank you for being there for me. I would also like to thank my nieces Myrna and Ize. I am forever inspired by your perseverance and optimism, you will always be my heroes. Then, if there is one person who has seen every word of this thesis written, witnessed every meltdown and was part of every small celebration, that would be Otis. Although it feels a bit strange to thank my cat, I am not sure I could have succeeded in this endeavor without his constant, calming presence. And finally, Renate, thank you for being part of my growth process, not only in my PhD but in every aspect of my life. I feel like I could write another thesis about all the ways in which you have supported me, but I can also summarize it in four simple words: You make everything better.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Iris Hagemans (1986) grew up in Groesbeek. After obtaining her diploma at Stedelijk Gymnasium Nijmegen, she moved to Amsterdam first and foremost to experience urban life. It was her intention to start her studies, but she was at a loss for which study to choose and took a gap year to work, travel and think about her next step. Very predictably, a year went by without much serious consideration of studies, careers or next steps at all. With the deadline for applying to Universities approaching, her eye fell on a leaflet promoting the study of Human Geography at the University of Amsterdam, sporting a slogan she likes of: "Amsterdam: 244 km² of study material right at your feet". This sounded quite promising then. Now, almost twenty years later, she can confirm that this promise still holds true, as the same 244 km² continue to fascinate her.

After finishing her bachelor's degree in Human Geography, Iris continued her education at the University of Amsterdam where she graduated cum laude from the Research Master Urban Studies. Her master's thesis consisted of a comparative study on the impacts of commercial gentrification on long-term social housing residents in Amsterdam and Melbourne. This incited a fascination for shopping streets as functional, economic, social and symbolic places, where global transformations enter the everyday lives of local residents. After graduating from her Master's degree, Iris was able to continue her work on shopping streets, collaborating in a joint research project that resulted in a number of publications in international journals and edited books, as well as presentations in academic and professional conferences.

After this, Iris worked at a Geographic IT company, where she has worked for about three years before becoming fascinated with an entirely new controversy around shopping streets that entered local discussions: Touristification. She was fortunate to find an NWO-funded program at the department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning at Utrecht University and the Centre for Market Insights at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences that focused specifically on the current challenges of crowding faced by urban consumption spaces. Her research on this topic is published in several international journals and resulted in this dissertation. Iris continues her work on shopping streets at the Centre of Market Insights, now specifically focusing on the role of technology in making urban consumption spaces healthier as well as more inclusive.

SNACKS and the CITY

From the products on display in shopwindows, to the smells emitting from food stores and the sidewalk ballet of entrepreneurs and their patrons, consumption spaces offer a glimpse into the soul of the city. Beyond providing daily goods and services, they are spaces that represent the local character and signify who belongs there. Over the past decade, cities all over the world have witnessed a growing perception that consumption spaces are increasingly tourist-oriented, presenting a growing offer of attractions, souvenirs and – seemingly most resented – snacks. The fact that this shift fueled resistance to tourism has been particularly evident in Amsterdam, where opposition to tourist shops gained significant media attention and prompted the city government to intervene.

In this dissertation, Urban Geographer Iris Hagemans explores both the material changes to Amsterdam's inner city consumption spaces in response to increasing tourism, their interpretation in the local public debate and the policy strategies formulated to curtail touristification of consumption spaces. Guiding readers through the diverse consumption spaces of Amsterdam's inner city – from haberdashery shops and cheese stores to waffle stands and vintage boutiques – Hagemans identifies the microgeographies of touristification in consumption spaces and critiques the disconnect between these nuanced realities and the broad generalizations dominating public debates and city-wide policies.

