

The tourist-resident encounter: impacts of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam



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Master's thesis Urban Geography

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ABSTRACT

Laurens Kamps: The tourist-resident encounter: impacts of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam
(Under the direction of Bas Spierings)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam. Extensive media coverage points at the seriousness of problems arising from practically unbridled tourism growth in Amsterdam, while academic literature indicates its potential impact upon sense of place. In order to accurately address the impact of tourism, the sense of place of the research population is to be determined first. Secondly, the impact of tourism hereon is determined while distinguishing between different areas and positive and negative impacts. Lastly, the question of how these impacts are constituted is addressed.

With the use of a qualitative methodology – semi structured interviews and evaluative mapping practices – the research questions have been empirically researched. Results demonstrate areas of inner-city Amsterdam in which students experience positive, negative and bilateral senses of place and their constituting factors. The sense of place of students is found to be constituted through three main dimensions – physical and social environments and personal characteristics. Tourism affects the social and physical environment of inner-city Amsterdam, which in turn impacts the sense of place of students. Personal characteristics clarify interpersonal differences in sense of place and the effect of tourism hereon. These impacts of tourism on sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam are found to be extensive and mostly negative, although positive effects do exist. Certain areas of inner-city Amsterdam were found to show greater impacts of tourism on sense of place of students. The strongest negative impacts of tourism on sense of place were found in the innermost city center, Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein. Several causes of these negative effects were found, including an increased busyness, a changing social composition and the loss of local amenities at the cost of those mainly aimed at serving tourists. The strongest positive effects of tourism on sense of place of students on the other hand, were found in the Nieuwmarkt, Oudemanhuispoort and Centraal Station. Here too, several causes of these positive effects were found, including an increased sense of liveliness, the internationalization of the public and an increase in amenities. These findings may have serious consequences for both the municipality and the tourist-sector of Amsterdam and can be used to alter the ways of viewing tourism in Amsterdam. Further research is recommended in order to extend the external validity and reliability of the findings.

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism, the practice of traveling for recreational purposes, has shown dramatic worldwide growth over the past decades. Increased wealth and leisure time, combined with advancements in transportation technology and the rapid decrease in both national and international travel costs have effectuated this recent surge (Harvey, 1989; Law, 2002; Richards, 2014; Patiño, et al., 2016; UNWTO, 2016; 2017; Colomb and Novy, 2017). The growth trend especially took off after the end of the Second World War, when investors sought to meet the demands of the growing middle classes (Garnham, 1998). However, due to the spatial allocation of the availability, recognition, and signposting of tourist attractions, tourism is geographically unevenly distributed. As such, locations with accessible resources such as cultural capital, natural beauty and certain weather conditions have seen particular interest in the tourist economy (Garnham, 1998; Patiño, et al., 2016). This leads to differences in the concentrations of tourists.

Due to the uneven spatial concentrations, tourism has been found to have varying effects on different levels of scale and different locations (Colomb and Novy, 2017). These effects are often seen as either positive or negative. For example, economic revenue brought in by tourism fuels local economies and can inspire enormous economic growth. It has the potential to create jobs, generate taxes, liven up communities and regenerate areas (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Lee and Chang, 2008). Adversely, tourism has the potential to threaten local identities and authenticity, overcrowding areas and driving up real estate prices (Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen, 2005; Andereck, et al., 2005). Municipalities and regional governments often seek a balance between these 'positive and negative' effects of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). However, it should be noted that negative effects for certain residents can imply positive effects for others. For example, rising real estate prices can be disadvantageous for lower-income residents renting property but advantageous for real estate investors.

One important effect of tourism predominantly viewed in a negative light is that on sense of place; "It is commonplace in Western societies in the 21st century to bemoan a loss of sense of place as the forces of globalization have eroded local cultures and produce homogenized global spaces." (Cresswell, 2014, p.39). While it has seen extensive debate and varying definitions, sense of place is arguably defined most clearly by Shamai (1991) as the 'feelings, attitudes, and behavior towards a place which varies from person to person' and comprises 'knowledge, belonging, attachment, and commitment to a place or part of it'. Sense of place is created through three main dimensions; individual characteristics, the social environment, and the physical environment (Stedman, 2003; Cighi, 2008; Lin and Lockwood, 2014). In turn, tourism has been shown to impact both the physical and the social environments (Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Billig, 2005; Zukin, 2009; Klaver, 2015; Van Dun, 2016). By doing so, tourism thus influences the sense of place of residents (Jones, 1990; Lawson, et al., 1998; Horn and Simmons, 2002; Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Mordue, 2005; Binder, 2008; Hall, 2008; Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009; Korac, 2009; Amsden, et al., 2010; Kaján, 2014; Lin and Lockwood, 2014). For example, tourism can impact the social environment by changing the social composition and behavior in a location. On the other hand, tourism may affect the physical environment by for instance replacing 'local' amenities with those aimed at mainly serving tourists. These changes have been shown to impact the sense of place of residents. For example, by changing

the social composition of a specific place, residents can feel less at home when surrounded by different cultures and languages. Simultaneously, other residents might enjoy the more multinational aspects and feel a stronger connection to their social environment (Mordue, 2005). In a similar fashion, the physical environment can impact the sense of place of residents by, for instance, changing the supply of amenities to the demands of tourists specifically. This can be exemplified by pointing at gift and souvenir shops which replace 'local' stores. Here too, residents might feel less connected to their immediate physical surroundings. On the other hand, certain amenities which also offer residents something (such as boutiques, museums and clothing stores) benefit from tourism development and can be sustained and expanded through its inbound revenue. In this case, residents might feel more attached to the physical environment as it now offers more diverse wares and services or higher quality to them.

There are several reasons to why these effects of tourism on sense of place are important. Most notably, it is argued that a strong, positive sense of place creates support for tourism (Zhu, et al., 2017). This resident support is essential to the success and sustainability of tourism in a place and without it, the tourism industry may fail (Lawson, et al., 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999). On the other hand, sense of place (involving feelings of belonging and attachment) is inherently important to people living in a place (as well as those visiting). As this sense of place is threatened by a decreasing sense of 'authenticity' caused by tourism, residents increasingly view tourism in a more negative light (Gustafson, 2001; Manzo, 2003). Their initial welcoming attitude is exchanged for a slightly more negative one due to the "growing awareness of the way tourism is affecting [local residents'] physical environment and culture" (Boissevain, 1996, p.1). This is especially true in Europe, where 'cultural hubs' such as Prague, London, Paris, Barcelona and Venice have been in demand for decades (Boissevain, 1996; Coldwell, 2016). One city in which these sentiments are now more relevant than ever, is Amsterdam.

Amsterdam, the capital city of The Netherlands, has seen a growing influx of tourists over the past years, with a doubling of the number of tourists over the past 5 years (NBTC, 2017; NRIT Media and CBS, 2015; Geerts, 2015; Amsterdam, 2017; van de Wiel and Hamer, 2016). This growth trend in yearly visitors hit a peak of approximately 17 million visitors, in a city of about 830.000 inhabitants (Van Loon, 2016; Amsterdam, 2017). Over the past three decades, this mass tourism has contributed to the reconstruction of Amsterdam's identity and residents' perceptions of it (Nijman, 1999). With the increasing numbers of both 'day-trippers' (tourists visiting for a day) and tourists spending the night in Amsterdam, the pressure on its inhabitants, businesses and the city council has increased dramatically. This is excessively reflected in the media (Kruyswijk, 2016; van de Wiel and Hamer, 2016; NRC, 2016; Kruyswijk, 2016(2); Smit, 2016). Headlines such as "Inner-city Amsterdam can't cope with strain anymore", "Amsterdam threatened with Venetianising" and "Amsterdam wants to limit influx tourists: 'For many inhabitants no more fun'" dominate The Netherlands' biggest newspapers. Upset residents as well as politicians and the city council of Amsterdam voice their concerns. These concerns include the dangers of overcrowding, littering, noise complaints, gentrification, dwindling safety, increased cost of living and housing, and the feeling that the city center is turning into a theme park and no longer belongs to its residents (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). The busyness of inner-city Amsterdam following tourism development is a phenomenon which many sources remark upon. For example, while being fearful of safety in the narrow streets of the city center, police chief Marjolein Smit noted that "the average

Amsterdammer actively avoids parts of the city center, simply because it is no longer doable” (Van Dun, 2016). The behavior, attitudes and feelings of inhabitants (and tourists) in inner-city Amsterdam are seemingly affected by the arrival of tourism. However, these problems have recently shifted towards areas outside of the tourists’ ‘usual’ interaction areas as well. For example, newly advancing concepts such as Airbnb and couchsurfing fulfill the wishes of tourists to experience local life, as a part of a ‘new urban tourism’ trend (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). This entails that tourism is not simply congregating in the city center anymore but is spreading to residential neighborhoods too (along with the different effects of tourism on sense of place). This new trend in tourism aligns with the municipality’s strategy of the adopted distribution policy, which is aimed at spreading the burden of tourism over a larger area, for instance by luring tourists from Amsterdam to the nearby beaches, castles and villages. In order to dampen the negative effects of tourism in Amsterdam itself, the city of Amsterdam is experimenting with all kinds of strain-alleviating methods such as forbidding the notorious ‘beer-bikes’, playing classical music and using colored lights in order to calm down the masses, and moving the immense cruise ships out of the city (NRC, 2016; Anon, 2016a; Anon, 2016b). These policies are largely an answer to local residents’ critiques, as their feelings towards Amsterdam are swiftly changing due to tourism.

The aim of this master’s thesis is to research the impact of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch university students in inner-city Amsterdam, where this influence is strongest and how it can be explained.

Scientific and societal relevance

The scientific and societal relevance of this research is manifold. In order to be able to provide valuable insights and in-depth research, a target group should be pinpointed first. While losing the ability to generalize the findings across larger target groups, this increases the knowledge of a specific group dramatically (Bryman, 2008). Existing research focused mostly on ‘resident’ perceptions of tourism while often ignoring differences between social layers in society (Sharpley, 2013). Following this, highly group-specific knowledge is, while potentially scientifically very valuable, lacking. The research population ‘students’ is absent in most of the existing literature on tourism and sense of place, while it potentially has the ability to change the way tourism and sense of place are perceived (Sharpley, 2013). The fact that no research has been done on this particular research population in this context makes the research at hand especially valuable to the existing academic literature and scientific debate.

Secondly, Sharpley (2013) points out that many locations used as the focus of tourism research are not ‘typical’ tourism destinations, but instead focus on places such as rural and recreational areas and relatively small towns. For instance, the effects of tourism on sense of place of residents have been researched in diverse areas such as Fiji, Alaska and York (Amsden, et al., 2010; Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009; Mordue, 2005; Jones, 1990; Jivén and Larkham, 2003). Thus, while the specific form of tourism researched here – urban tourism – is an important and worldwide phenomenon, it has “received a disproportionately small amount of attention from scholars of either tourism or of the city” (Ashworth and Page, 2011). Furthermore, existing research on urban tourism often focuses on experiences of tourists, instead of those of residents (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015; Pinkster and

Boterman, 2017). Even more specifically, the link between tourism and sense of place of residents is a niche and has received scant attention from academics. Fittingly, while existing literature on tourism in Amsterdam does exist, sense of place is understudied. Sharpley (2013) goes on to state that most case-studies on host perceptions of tourism are restricted to North American cases, and to a lesser extent Australia, New Zealand and the UK. However, this is the case for many topics, as these countries often have relatively large amounts of active universities and researchers.

Finally, by far most research on host perceptions of tourism was done using quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Surveys and questionnaires are used on a large scale to uncover relationships between variables influencing resident perceptions of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). Some see this as “simplistic and theoretically weak”, as it often fails to go into depth on the motivations of individual respondents (Sharpley, 2013, p.42). However, it does hold the potential to research large population sizes and generalize the findings. Qualitative or mixed-method research on the other hand, is lacking in this subject (Lin and Lockwood, 2014; Sharpley, 2013). According to Deery, et al. (2012) qualitative methods of research hold particular relevance in resident perception studies, as the ‘why-questions’ in tourist-related research are underrepresented. These questions have the ability to delve deeper into underlying motives and deeper meanings (Bryman, 2008). This is exactly what is needed in order to research rather intangible concepts such as sense of place.

Societally, this research is relevant for both the research population and city council. Firstly, sense of place is important for the research population, as ignoring sense of place brings the risk of changing the ‘authenticity’ of places and the feeling of belonging (Binder, 2008; Gustafson, 2001; Manzo, 2003). For instance, a strong negative sense of place can cause residents to steer clear of certain areas, thereby altering the social composition and the ‘authenticity’ of an area. Thus, addressing sense of place and the factors which affect it are of societal importance for the ‘authenticity’ of places and the feelings of belonging of residents. A vicious circle of degrading senses of authenticity and tendencies to avoid areas may ensue (Mordue, 2005; Van der Zee, 2016). However, it is important to stress that authenticity itself is not a static concept but is, like sense of place, in a constant state of flux.

Underscoring the importance of sense of place, it is argued that support for tourism created by “happy hosts” is not only good for cities in general, but is also deemed essential for the success and moreover the sustainability of tourism in a place (Snaith and Haley, 1999). Additionally, resident support for tourism has been found to increase with a strong sense of place (Zhu, et al., 2017). As mentioned, without sense of place and resident support, future success of the tourism industry might falter (Lawson, et al., 1998). This makes sense of place and the impact of tourism on it very important for the city council and similar municipalities. Finally, tourism is still following a growth trend in the city, which means the research will prove valuable as an indicator for the future sense of place.

This thesis places itself firmly within these gaps in the existing contemporary academic literature and stands to add considerable knowledge to the debate on the subject. The gaps are exploited by answering the research questions listed below.

Research questions

The main research question is the following:

What is the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how can it be explained?

This research question is sought to be answered with the aid of three sub-questions:

1. What is the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how is it constituted?
2. To what extent does tourism affect the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam? Where is this effect felt most strongly?
3. How can the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam be clarified through social and physical dimensions?

Case and research population

Amsterdam offers a unique case study with a large historic city center that is currently – and more than ever – being exploited by tourism (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). Tourism and its effects on Amsterdam and its residents has become something impossible to ignore in the city and has recently become one of the most hotly debated topics in the city (Dahles, 1996; Van Limburg, 1998; Wonders and Michalowski, 2001; Korac, 2009; Van der Heide, 2015; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). As seen on the cover page, the iconic Amsterdam sign is trampled by tourists, begging the question ‘who is Amsterdam and who does it belong to?’ (Lahaise, 2015).

While tourism is spread across the historic city center and to a lesser extent outside of it, certain tourist-hotspots – like in most cities – do exist. These include Dam Square, the Rijksmuseum, Anne Frank museum, Van Gogh museum, De Wallen (red light district), Rembrandtmuseum, 9 straatjes (nine streets) and Vondelpark. This is shown below (Fig. 1). This image was created with the use of approximately 500.000 pictures taken by tourists and shared on social media (Egberts, 2015). The geographic locations of these attractions result in highly localized concentrations of tourists, which means the sense of place might be influenced in differing degrees in various areas of Amsterdam. It is thus important to make this distinction, even within the borders of the city center. These anticipated differences in the effects of tourism on sense of place of students are cause for this thesis’ focus on a relatively large area, as opposed to one small-scale location. This way, various specific locations within the inner-city may be researched, and the differences in sense of place may be compared to the effect of tourism on these locations. This subsequently allows the researcher to better assess the true effect tourism has on students’ sense of place.

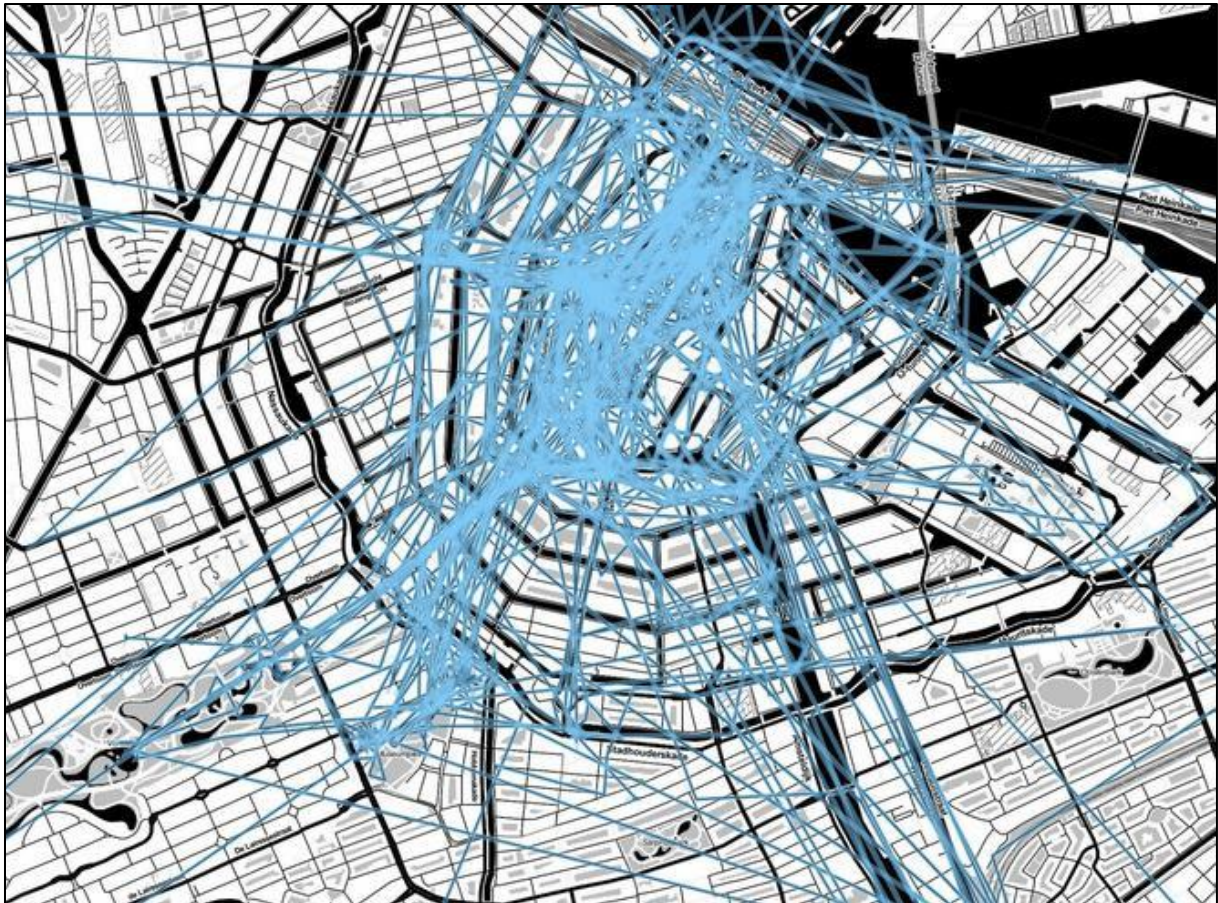


Figure 1: Tourism patterns and hotspots in inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Egberts, 2015.

The target group for this research has been identified as Dutch university students (referred to as ‘students’) from within the Netherlands and living in Amsterdam. Amsterdam is host to a large student population, making it highly suitable for this particular research. Students make up approximately 6.5% of Amsterdam’s population. About 6500 of these students are international, leaving approximately 47.500 Dutch students as the research population for this research (VU, 2015; UvA, 2015). However, the percentage of this population living in Amsterdam is unknown. To narrow the research population down further, only one of the two universities (UvA, as opposed to VU) present in Amsterdam will be researched. This is due to the fact that this university has multiple locations in the city center, meaning that students are more prone to interact with tourism in their daily mobility patterns. The exact dimensions of this study population will be discussed in the operationalization section of the methodology chapter.

The choice for Dutch university students as the research population in this research has multiple motivations. First of all, the biggest section of tourists in Amsterdam is between the age of 20 and 30 (30.5%). The second age-group is that of 60+ years with only 15.4% (Van der Poel and Boon, 2015). Amenities in touristic areas are therefore aimed largely at young people, potentially attracting Dutch students too. Furthermore, students are the biggest population to attend nightlife activities such as bars, café’s, clubs, and coffeshops, which are concentrated in the city center. This increases the overlapping areas of action in which both parties are present simultaneously, causing interaction between both groups (Hägerstrand, 1970).

Secondly, this specific research population is interesting because it may potentially offer a distinct image of tourism in Amsterdam. This means that students may potentially view tourism differently than other resident populations. However, it should be underscored that this is not taken for granted, but may reasonably be assumed when following existing academic literature. As stated, not all groups of residents view the effects of tourism as negative, and as such, sense of place of residents can be influenced positively by tourism as well (Mordue, 2005). This point is reflected by Snaith and Haley (1999, p.595), stating that “the resident population should not be viewed as homogeneous in its support for tourism development”. More specifically, it is assumed that the sense of place of older generations is impacted more negatively by tourism than that of younger generations, as older generations have been found to be less favorable towards tourism development than younger populations (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995; Binder, 2008; Sharpley, 2013). As put by Williams, et al. (1995); “As with the McCool and Martin study, older-timers in the present study are generally less favorable toward tourism development, and conversely, newcomers are more supportive of tourism development”. This is in part due to the fact that older residents feel out of place when their daily rhythms slow down relative to those around them (Lager, et al., 2016; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). Furthermore, the increase in amenities, atmosphere and foreign peers might be factors of tourism which influence the sense of place of specifically students in more positive ways (Mordue, 2005). Finally, Fan and Li (2016) point out that the higher an individual’s education, the more favorably they generally perceive tourism. Thus, science points at students for their potential ability to create a distinct and perhaps more nuanced image of tourism and its effects on residents. A potentially more positive image of resident perceptions of tourism would (certainly in the case of Amsterdam) be a ‘welcome’ deviation from the existing image created in academic literature and extensive media coverage on the subject. It would furthermore help form a more comprehensive framework of resident perceptions of tourism in Amsterdam. As shown, both of these types of sources have predominantly put tourism in a ‘bad light’ from a resident’s point of view.

It should be noted that within the research population too, some distinction should be made. Due to the geographically fixated positions of universities in any country, many students are required to move residencies in order to partake, thus in fact becoming ‘tourists’ or ‘outsiders’ themselves. This way, the dividing line between ‘host’ and ‘guest’ is becoming increasingly blurred, which is especially the case for this research population (Sherlock, 2001). This may produce some interesting distinctions between Dutch students from Amsterdam and those who moved there from elsewhere. Like older, more established residents, deep-rooted students may perceive tourism differently than non-endemic students.

Following the delineation of the case at hand, the research questions to be addressed, the value of this research for both science and society, and the description of the research population, this thesis now moves towards more scientific accounts of the core concepts employed. This is done in the theoretical framework below.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter starts by conceptualizing and examining the contemporary and past discussions around the core concepts used. The key concept of sense of place will be examined through different dimensions while reviewing previous work on the subject. From this analysis of the theory and context around sense of place, one workable definition will be chosen. Finally, comparable studies and their outcomes will be reviewed, which will provide a background to the case study at hand.

Tourism

Tourism forms the starting point for this thesis; researching its impact on the sense of place of students is the very aim of this work. While the concept of tourism is defined quite clearly and can be addressed relatively succinctly, the categorization of a 'tourist' may pose a bigger challenge. This issue is addressed below. The World Tourism Organization has defined the phenomenon as "traveling to and staying in places outside [the] usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes" (UNWTO, 1995). In using this definition, the organization adopts a holistic viewpoint of the phenomenon. While comprehensive, it often somewhat opposes the 'traditional' view of tourism, which is focused on leisurely visits (Oxford University Press, 2016). The main difference between these definitions lies in the driving force behind the visit; be it leisurely or otherwise. These distinctions are important to make. For instance, an individual living in Haarlem and working in Amsterdam (a train ride of 13 minutes) would be considered a tourist in the definition of the UNWTO and not in that of the Oxford Library. As shown below, applying a definition like that of the UNWTO would bring issues with discerning tourists from locals.

Although frequently associated purely with international visits, tourism also encompasses national visits. While international tourists are expected to influence the sense of place of residents to a larger degree than national tourists, as they speak different languages and have other customs, values, and mannerisms than residents and national tourists, both groups will be taken into account in this thesis (Mordue, 2005). Within this thesis, tourism is defined as 'traveling for recreational or leisurely purposes outside of the usual environment'. A number of dimensions of tourism to be taken into account in this thesis may then be discerned. These dimensions are based on Sharpley's (2013) literature and represent intricate parts of tourism. They have furthermore been shown to affect social and physical environments in various ways, in turn affecting residents' sense of place and perceptions of tourism in differing fashions. For instance, the density of tourism in an area has been found to affect resident perceptions of tourism – where the greater the density, the more negative perceptions generally are – (Sharpley, 2013). The chosen dimensions are listed below and will be addressed in greater detail in later sections;

1. 'Traditional' and new urban tourism
2. Stage of tourism development and density of tourism
3. Type of tourists and their respective activities and practices
4. Local's economic dependency and amount of interaction

Even with this clear definition, the distinction between a tourist and a local may be difficult to make. For example, how can one distinguish a tourist from a local within a mixed social environment in a public space of inner-city Amsterdam? One person may witness the next as a tourist due to his appearance (for example with camera), language (non-native), or behavior (for example mannerisms). However, this individual may just as well be a foreign expat taking work-related photographs. Similarly, the next person, seemingly local (speaking the native language and being possessive of local mannerisms) may in fact be a tourist from within the same country. This 'blurring effect' may meddle with the ability of participants of the social environment to accurately point out actual tourists (in the above definition). The fact that tourists are increasingly looking for 'local experiences' adds to the blurring effect (Füller and Michel, 2014). For instance, this new urban tourism obscures the line between 'insider and outsider' by having tourists dine at 'local' restaurants, visit attractions popular among local populations and reside alongside local residents through Airbnb (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). Following this line of reasoning, where accurate identification of tourists is blurred, the identification of tourists in the eyes of the research population is essential. What do students see as tourists? This question will be answered in the results section, as it is part of the research guide (App. 1).

With the definition of tourism determined, what is *urban* tourism defined as? This is simply tourism in an urban environment, such as a city. As shown above, urban tourism is a relatively understudied part of both tourism and urban studies (Ashworth and Page, 2011). However, it has become an increasingly relevant field of study, as the world population is increasingly urbanizing and urban tourism has grown rapidly. Subsequently, the visitor economy (encompassing all elements of a visitor destination) has been acknowledged as an important source of potential income (Law, 2002; Reddy, 2006; Dickinson, Jones and Leask, 2007). Many cities, their inhabitants, and city councils have become heavily dependent on the economic revenue brought in by tourism (Ashworth and Page, 2011). This has gotten to the degree that cities (as well as rural areas and larger regions) are vying over tourists (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2007). In order to attract them, cities have adopted policies which make their cities more attractive for tourism. To this end, city councils have invested in tourist attractions such as museums, waterfronts and historical sights, and have funded extensive advertisement campaigns (Law, 1993; Hall, 2008). These strategies have proven to work to varying degrees. For some cities, these policies have backfired. For example, certain cities experienced overcrowding and were stuck with the image of being a touristic attraction which would prove to be hard to get rid of (Hall, 2008; Ashworth and Page, 2011). Amsterdam is a good example of this. The city started off attracting large amounts of tourists through international advertisement campaigns and a brushing-up of its image as a drug, prostitution and crime riddled city, but later found itself sighing under the pressure of extreme tourist numbers (Dahles, 1998; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2007; Hall, 2008; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017).

Another way in which these approaches may backfire is by a dwindling support for tourism. As shown, various actors and instances may oppose each other due to their conflicting interests. For instance, while the city council may be looking to invest in the visitor economy in order to attract more tourists to a place due to its much-wanted incoming revenue, local residents may oppose these plans due to the effect of tourism on their sense of place. Within the resident population, different attitudes may exist too. For example, tourist-resident encounters may cause residents to feel less at ease in areas bustling with tourists, and may cause them to adopt different attitudes towards certain

neighborhoods as a result. On the other hand, some residents may enjoy the arrival of tourism, as it may create a lively and international atmosphere or provide them with a job, thereby opposing other resident groups (Mordue, 2005). These issues may cause friction and tensions between the parties involved, as seen in the case of Amsterdam (Kruyswijk, 2016; NRC, 2016; Kruyswijk, 2016; Smit, 2016). However, before these relationships are further examined, an advanced understanding of sense of place and its creation is required. The following sections elaborate what sense of place entails and how it may be affected by tourism.

Sense of place; an introduction

The conceptualization will now focus on the core concept of sense of place. In order to pick a workable definition which best fits this particular case-study, the concept's past will be addressed and analyzed, followed by contemporary discussions and theoretical debates around its meanings and implications. Sense of place is a notion which has seen an extensive debate by geographers and anthropologists alike, and multiple definitions have been applied to it.

The term sense of place has been accredited by some to be the extension of the two century old concept of *genius loci*, described as 'the spirit of a place' (Jivén and Larkham, 2003). Over the years, the concept has seen a change in focus from the landscape to architecture, and finally urban geography and related fields of study (Jivén and Larkham, 2003). In more contemporary debates, Yi-Fu Tuan is widely regarded as the one responsible for sparking the debate around the concept in his 1974 book on topophilia (Tuan, 1974). Topophilia was given a rather broad definition at the time, namely; "[...] all emotional connections between physical environment and human beings" (Tuan, 1974, p.2). This was subsequently elucidated further in his follow-up publication 'Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience' (Tuan, 1977).

At this time, sense of place was often tied to phenomenology, as illustrated in Norberg-Schulz's (1980; 1985) and Beidler's (2007) work. This approach emphasizes human consciousness and qualitative measures. Phenomenological approaches to sense of place were split between an emphasis on the environment and an emphasis on human interaction and activities. These epistemological camps both vied to explain the creation of sense of place through different dimensions, while perhaps both were just as influential (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Beidler, 2007). However, it is important to note that the epistemological camps were clearly split up; the first largely failed to recognize human attributes to places such as interaction while the second camp emphasizes social constructions as opposed to environmental ones.

This phenomenological approach to the concept led to the dissatisfaction of some geographers, such as Kaltenborn (1998), who noted that the concept lacked precise definitions and could hardly be measured scientifically. This can be attributed to a transactional approach which was used by many researchers of the phenomenon at the time, including Buttner (1980) and Tuan (1980). The transactional approach entails that the definition of the concept at hand was subject to change during the research, which made it hard to put a finger on a clear interpretation (Cighi, 2008). This intangibility of the concept led some researchers to develop more positivist (and hence quantifiable) approaches. The positivist epistemological approach of place perception focuses on causal relations and a quantifiable way of researching the dimension(s) which might create sense of place. The

physical environment as well as activities and meanings are seen as possible independent variables (the dependent-independent divide being a positivist/quantitative characteristic) in this relation (Beidler, 2007; Korac, 2009). This positivist and multidimensional approach to sense of place saw the support of many social scientists. Exemplary in this group, Shmuel Shamai offered ways in which to empirically measure the concept (Shamai, 1991). Shamai (1991) defined sense of place as the 'feelings, attitudes, and behavior towards a place which varies from person to person'. It further encompasses 'knowledge, belonging, attachment, and commitment to a place or part of it'. This, more workable definition, has been used throughout later decennia and has been regarded as one of the most clear-cut definitions of sense of place to this day. Furthermore, Shamai opened a pathway to empirical measurement of the concept, which has been changed and used by many (positivist) authors following his lead. On the other hand of the epistemological spectrum, phenomenological epistemology was still (and simultaneously) used in defining the concept. For example, Lippard defined the concept as; "a virtual immersion that depends on lived experience and a topographical intimacy [which] emerges from the senses" (Lippard, 1997, pp.33-34). This studying of sense of place through phenomenological approaches is often done with the use of qualitative measures. An author who adopted this approach is Billig. In order to study the concept with the use of a qualitative approach, Billig (2005) developed a set of variables which allow for the concept to be researched qualitatively. These variables are not used to measure the concept (as is often done in quantitative methods) but are instead used to describe it through the experience of the respondent (Billig, 2005; Sullivan, et al., 2009). The variables and the ways in which Billig researched sense of place are discussed in further detail in later sections.

To this day, a single, holistic and clear definition acceptable for all social scientists does not exist. Most contemporary authors agree that sense of place is subjective in nature and will thus most likely differ between individuals. However, there are those opposing these views who argue that the creation of a sense of place is linked to a shared history, authenticity and group identity (Conzen, 1966; Jones, 1990; Hanson, 1997; Amsden, et al., 2010). Similarly, some authors believe sense of place is a feeling which requires extended periods of time to construct and is created through repeated daily practices, while others believe that the creation of sense of place can largely be attributed to the perception of sight and can thus be experienced instantly (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Seamon, 1980; Jakle, 1987; Appadurai, 1988; Hanson, 1997; Chaney, 2002; Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Turton, 2005; Korac, 2009; Cresswell, 2014). Finally, an important discussion exists on which dimensions are crucial in the creation of sense of place. It is argued that "[sense of place] cannot be created by professional intervention" which means that the representations of space cannot force a sense of place upon an individual or group (Jivén and Larkham, 2003, p.77; Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 2006). However, this is not to say that built environments do not influence the sense of place; in contemporary discussions sense of place is often divided into physical/functional (in line with place dependency) and social/emotional (in line with place identity) dimensions (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). Both physical sources such as landscapes and social sources such as cultures and interactions have been attributed to create a sense of place (Stedman, 2003). Lastly, a third dimension – personal characteristics – has also been found to impact the sense of place of an individual (Cighi, 2008). Authors regularly differ in their approaches and ideas about (if any) which dimension is more important; this seems to be associated to a large degree to the specifics of a case at hand and thus differs greatly between cases. These discussions and dimensions are elucidated further in following sections.

Sense of place has clearly seen lively theoretical discussion. Particular differences can be seen between epistemological approaches within phenomenological and positivist considerations, which are intricately linked to the discussion on the ways in which sense of place is constructed (through physical and social dimensions and characteristics). These dimensions play a key role in the way in which sense of place is constructed and the way in which tourism influences the sense of place of residents. The reviewed accounts of sense of place provide the reader with a general understanding of its history and complexity. However, a clear approach to the concept for this thesis has not been presented yet. As two core concepts are at the center of this thesis (tourism and sense of place), the relation between these two is essential. In order to provide an understanding of this relation, sense of place thus requires a workable approach which allows for the understanding of the impact of tourism on it. While the concept of sense of place has been around for quite some time, tourism as a global phenomenon has only truly taken off in recent decades. For this reason, it is needed to return to the concept of sense of place in relation to tourism. The following section shows the change of approach to sense of place following globalizing forces, and subsequently offers a fitting approach to sense of place within this thesis.

A progressive sense of place

In 'A global sense of place', Massey (1994) argues that places and senses of place are fluid and often subject to constant change by the flows of society as opposed to being singular in nature (Massey, 1994; Korac, 2009; Cresswell, 2014). The question whether or not individuals are able to construct a sense of place in constantly moving and changing environments is addressed by Duyvendak (2011, p.27) and while perceptions naturally differ, it is said to be possible. Globalization has brought about a vast increase in the so called 'fluidity' of places and senses of place, as the flows of society are now linked to more places, people and cultures than ever before (Massey, 1994). Massey challenges the reactionary views of place following anxiety caused by this globalizing world. This reactionary conception of place encompasses the idea of a singular identity of a place and is often characterized by an introvert viewpoint, where locals look into their shared past and oppose 'the outside', causing an 'us and them' mentality (Seamon, 1980; Massey, 1994; Hanson, 1997). Massey vies for a sense of place which fits the contemporary society and the time-space compression it is experiencing. She begs the question whether sense of place cannot be progressive and "not self-enclosing and defensive but outward-looking" (Massey, 2014, p.1). The progressive sense of place takes into account that places have multiple identities and histories and that the uniqueness of this particular place is characterized by the interactions taking place between people and their surroundings, but also the links to places (far) outside the direct vicinity (Massey, 1994; Korac, 2009). These links to the outside world are largely created through globalization and tourism. Furthermore, Massey (1994) assumes that people (including tourists) are thrown together in certain settings and will have to make do with the situation and people at hand. While studying the English town of Kilburn, Massey confirms her own assumptions, stating that the town is nowhere near introverted or possessive of a singular identity (Massey, 1994). When applied to the case of tourism and a more touristic case, one can imagine that a singular identity is out of the picture as well. How does this idea of multiple identities and global links fit in with the case of Amsterdam?

As shown by Dahles (1996), inner-city Amsterdam has the image of being a crossroads of multiple cultures and thus not being possessive of a singular identity. She goes on to state that the sense of place in Amsterdam should be linked to a larger scale as it “is established by a sense of the interrelation of local, national, and global cultural products, mediated through a process of experiencing cultural practice by tourists” (Dahles, 1996, p.66). Thus, according to Dahles, sense of place is intricately related to larger scales in the case of Amsterdam and is furthermore impacted by tourism. This point strongly links to the notion of a progressive sense of place as being constructed through relations at multiple levels of scale (Massey, 1994). Studying tourism inherently involves studying the interrelation of local, national, and global links. In this particular case, it means that global products and people impact Amsterdam in a variety of ways. This point is echoed by Bharein Mac an Bhreithiún (2012), who states that globalization has inevitably influenced sense of place in Amsterdam. These accounts underline the relation between tourism and sense of place.

Following all considerations and theoretical approaches mentioned above, the perspective on sense of place as presented above by Massey (1994) is applied to the case-study at hand. This perspective captures the global links so inherently vital to tourism and accentuates the importance of human interaction. It furthermore takes into account the multiplicity of history tied to certain places and recognizes their continuous change. The progressive sense of place perspective is applied to the more distinct conceptualization of sense of place as defined by Shamai (1991), with the addition of aspects from Billig (2005) to be discussed below (Massey, 1994). Adopting this viewpoint implies that core values of progressive sense of place are taken into account and does not entail that respondents automatically agree with every aspect (for instance, the ‘us and them’ mentality may be present for some respondents). At the core of these sources (Massey, Shamai and Billig), several dimensions of sense of place can be discerned. These dimensions represent concrete facets of an individual’s sense of place and may subsequently help illustrate ways in which tourism may impact sense of place. Essentially, the dimensions of sense of place found in the works of these various authors represent building blocks of the core concept, allowing researchers to empirically research the subject in a more structured and graspable fashion. Dimensions of sense of place to be taken into account in this thesis are listed below. These essential dimensions are adopted in following sections of this thesis when referring to sense of place.

1. Feelings, attachment, attitudes and behavior towards a place
2. Knowledge of a place
3. Feelings of belonging to the social and physical environments
4. Satisfaction with or aversion to the social and physical environments

The working definition of sense of place to be used in this thesis is then; *feelings, attachment, attitudes, knowledge and behavior of/towards a place which includes feelings of belonging and satisfaction/aversion of/to the social and physical environments*. While Shamai’s (1991) and Billig’s (2005) definitions are mainly employed in the employed definition here, Massey’s (1994) approach to the concept is applied when tackling the concept. The following sections will review work done on resident perceptions of tourism, the creation of sense of place through social and physical environments and personal characteristics, and how tourism affects these dimensions. However, before these matters are addressed, one should consider how an individual’s perceptions of tourism are formed in the first place and how this may affect the effect of tourism on sense of place.

Variables influencing resident perceptions of tourism

Now that both tourism and sense of place have been introduced, resident perceptions of tourism may be addressed. Truly understanding to what extent and how the sense of place of students is impacted by tourism requires one to understand how the perceptions of tourism themselves are constructed (Sharpley, 2013). For example, an individual with a favorable view of tourism is expected to view the impacts on local environments and sense of place in a different way than someone with a negative perception of tourism. More specifically, an individual may favor tourism due to the fact it brings other cultures with it. This view subsequently affects the way in which tourism impacts this person's sense of place. But how then, are these perceptions formed or impacted? Certain variables have been ascribed to influence an individual's perceptions of tourism in a place (see Table 1). Sharpley (2013) distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic variables which influence resident perceptions on tourism. Within these parameters, an array of variables covers different influences on these perceptions. Some variables show consistent outcomes while others are inconsistent. These variables are important to keep in mind when researching sense of place, as they can provide context to the particular research at hand, for example when considering seasonality and the national stage of development. Furthermore, understanding how resident perceptions of tourism are formed allows the reader to acquire a better comprehension of the differences that exist between individuals in the effect of tourism on their sense of place.

Extrinsic variables are variables which influence resident's perceptions of tourism 'from the outside', meaning that the variables are not inherent to the resident and residents will often not be able to influence this variable, while being influenced by it themselves. These variables describe large processes affecting and involving large numbers of individuals. Intrinsic variables on the other hand are personal, and susceptible to change and interpersonal variation. These variables differ between each individual. While the consistent variables displayed below offer a stable base of assumptions when studying sense of place, the inconsistent variables should be met with caution. Nonetheless, these variables are taken into account during the research phase, as they could possibly influence the student population's perceptions of tourism and the way tourism influences their sense of place. For instance, the density of tourism development and types of tourists are treated in the empirical research section. It may be clear then, that there is no unanimous or holistic explanation for resident perceptions of tourism. Because of this, both the extrinsic and intrinsic variables will be taken into account.

Certain variables are especially valuable to the case study of Amsterdam. Firstly, several variables could imply a negative influence of tourism on sense of place. For example, the variable 'extent of tourism development' traditionally assumes resident perceptions to be influenced negatively by a more developed tourism sector (Sharpley, 2013). Secondly, the variable 'density of tourists' assumes that the denser tourism is in an area, the more negative perceptions arise. Finally, the variable 'distance from tourism zone' assumes that the closer the resident lives to the tourism zone, the more negative the perception will be. However, none of these variables have been proven to consistently confirm or reject these assumptions.

	Extrinsic Variables	Intrinsic Variables
Consistent outcomes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seasonality 2. National stage of development <p>(Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Sheldon and Var, 1984; Lepp, 2007).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic/employment dependency on tourism 2. Interaction with tourists <p>(Brougham and Butler, 1981; King, et al., 1993; Smith and Krannich, 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Andereck, et al., 2005; Lawson, et al., 1998; Teye, Sönmez and Sirakaya, 2002).</p>
Inconsistent outcomes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Extent/stage of tourism development 2. Nature/type of tourism/tourists 3. Density of tourists/tourism development <p>(Allen, Long, Perdue and Kieselbach, 1988; Doxey, 1975; Sheldon and Var, 1984; Lepp, 2008; Vargas-Sánchez, et al., 2011).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community attachment 2. Demographic: age, gender, education 3. Distance from tourism zone 4. Personal values 5. Social identity/status <p>(Andereck, et al., 2005; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; McCool and Martin, 1994; Woosnam, 2012; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Huh and Vogt, 2008; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Jurowski and GURSOY, 2004).</p>

Table 1: *(In)consistencies in contemporary research on the influence of variables on resident perceptions of tourism. Source: Sharpley, 2013.*

Two other variables especially hold significant value to this particular research project. The first, 'interaction with tourists', is strongly linked to the aforementioned creation of senses of place through human interaction and activities (Jacobs, 1961; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1980; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Appadurai, 1988; Lefebvre, 2004; Turton, 2005; Beidler, 2007; Korac, 2009; Sharpley, 2013; Cresswell, 2014). This variable has consistently demonstrated that local residents' interaction with tourists creates a more positive perspective on tourism. Secondly, as the bottom-right part of Table 1 refers to the research population – students – the variable 'demographic', and especially that of age, is important. It has been shown that older residents may view tourism more negatively than younger residents. This is in line with the mentioned assumption that the sense of place of older residents (having more of a history) is impacted to a greater degree than that of younger residents (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995; Binder, 2008). This is important, as students largely fall within the same – relatively young – age-group, which may be expected (on the basis of previous research) to view tourism relatively positively, while their sense of place is affected relatively little by tourism as well (Sharpley, 2013). This furthermore strongly reiterates the possible ability of this specific research population to potentially create a distinct image of tourism. Another point within the 'demographic' variable is made by other authors, stating that education levels correlate strongly with the support for the tourist sectors, where individuals with higher education levels generally view

tourism in a more favorable light (Fan and Li, 2016). This too is highly applicable, as university students all enjoy a similar level of education, which may possibly imply a relatively favorable attitude towards tourism for university students.

Thus, resident perceptions of tourism may be affected by certain variables, both intrinsic and extrinsic. When researching the effect of tourism on sense of place, it is important to keep in mind and empirically address these variables, as they may clarify resident perceptions of tourism and subsequently the effect of tourism on an individual's sense of place in particular. For instance, an individual's 'interaction with tourists' may affect his or her perception of tourists, in turn impacting the way in which tourism affects their sense of place. This interaction is inherently part of the social environment, as it requires a plurality of people to effectuate. When addressing the relationships between interaction, resident perceptions of tourism and sense of place, one thus automatically addressed the interrelation between the social environment and sense of place. Thus, it is important to consider the variables affecting resident perceptions when discussing the relationship between the social environment and sense of place. For instance, an individual may experience a strong negative sense of place as a result of tourism in an area due to the fact that he or she has certain perceptions of tourism following negative experiences of interaction with tourists.

Social environment and sense of place

Sense of place is created through three main dimensions; social environments, physical environments, and personal characteristics. While taking into account the ways in which resident perceptions of tourism are created, the sections below will seek to clarify how sense of place is created through these three main dimensions, how these dimensions are impacted by tourism and thus, how tourism affects sense of place. The first of these dimensions to be addressed is the social environment.

But what exactly is meant by the social environment? Related research refers to this dimension as fields of human interaction, daily practices and social settings (Seamon, 1980; Appadurai, 1988; Cresswell, 2014). As such, the human is central to this environment and simultaneously constructs these environments. For example, the amount of people on a shopping street, the social composition of its population and the interactions (both verbal and non-verbal) are part of the social environment. This concept is intricately linked to the concept of the physical environment, as all social environments exist in space and thus in physical environments. Certain dimensions of a social environment may be discerned on the basis of related research (Seamon, 1980; Brougham and Butler, 1981; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; King, et al., 1993; Dahles, 1996; Stedman, 2003; Deery, 2012). These aspects of the social environment encapsulate the essence of the dimension and allow the reader and researcher to better understand what makes up the concept of the social environment. For instance, when discussing the social environment, one addresses the people in a place, the interaction between these people, their interrelations and cultural backgrounds altogether and simultaneously. Dimensions of the social environment taken into account in this thesis are listed below;

1. Social composition and present population
2. Relationships with (other) population groups
3. Behavior and interaction
4. Cultures, norms and lifestyles

Creation of sense of place through social environments

Following the delineation of its parameters, the question is asked how the social environment can impact or create the sense of place of residents. Keeping in mind the dimensions of sense of place mentioned above aides in understanding this. Korac (2009) argues that sense of place is created through social interaction and daily practices in certain social settings, often referred to as 'locales' (Agnew, 1988; Appadurai, 1988; Turton, 2005; Korac, 2009; Cresswell, 2014). These locales are (in the eyes of some) created through mutual interaction and reciprocal influence between the individual and structure. By interacting and participating in daily practices, individuals become part of a structure or network and are able to ascribe personal meaning to the social environment. Being part of a social environment subsequently leads to the creation of a sense of belonging to the social and physical environment, and thus a stronger sense of place (Korac, 2009). This is due to the creation of a sense of familiarity, causing people to feel comfortable and connected to place (May

and Muir, 2015). For instance, one can imagine that an individual might feel more connected to a place when he or she knows other people there. This is described in Korac's accounts of refugees attempting to construct a new life in Rome and Amsterdam; they create sense of place in these cities "through various forms of social interaction" as they expand their social habitats (Korac, 2009, p.37). Korac's emphasis lies on the interaction between structure and agency, an approach often linked to structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

Continuing along the structuration argumentation, Cresswell states that locales are ever-changing, as people and objects move in and out of the settings, whether by their own choice or not (Cresswell, 2014, p.13). This means that the social environment is continually changing as well, both in the short and the long term. In a short timeframe, people follow daily paths and continually move through different social settings, for example at work, at the supermarket, at school and at home. In the long run, social environments change too, as people move residences, demographics alter and tourism develops. This changes the social structure (for instance the composition) of a place. While both of these changes are important in the creation of a sense of place, they are often not substantially impressionable by the individual himself. Cresswell reiterates this point of the possible absence of free will in the production of a sense of place (Cresswell, 2014, p.65). According to Cresswell "[...] it is necessary to take into account the restraints on action that are a result of social hierarchies and power relations within society" (Cresswell, 2014, p.65). However, these restrictions on free will might also lead to a more lively sense of place, as can be the case in a local grocery or sidewalk scene (Giddens, 1984; Lefebvre, 2004; Cresswell, 2014). For example, opening times of shops might force inhabitants to partake in a certain urban rhythm, sharing space, and creating a sense of place through interaction (Lefebvre, 2004; Cresswell, 2014). The creation of sense of place through social interaction and relations mentioned by Cresswell and Korac also ties well into the theoretical approaches of Seamon (1980).

According to Seamon, a strong sense of place is created when a so-called 'place-ballet' is produced; a continual congregation of multiple bodies in settings of interactions, which generates a certain feeling of insidedness and attachment (Seamon, 1980). Two giants of geography have also tackled this subject; Jane Jacobs, coining the 'sidewalk ballet' in New York, and Henri Lefebvre, studying rhythms in the urban jungle of Paris (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 2004). Both studies show how mobility of bodies that are inherent in certain places invokes a sense of place (Cresswell, 2014). While this approach seems identical to that of Korac and to a lesser degree to that of Cresswell, Seamon makes an important distinction. He clearly distinguishes between insiders and outsiders; those living everyday life, and those that deviate from these daily patterns. Becoming an insider and creating a strong sense of place (for instance by feeling of belonging to the social environment) is possible for outsiders too, by participating in daily patterns of everyday life in certain locations. Following this, people who do not follow in these routines can appear 'out-of-place' due to their distinguishable practices and mobility patterns. This way, institutionalized practices can either include or exclude people from a setting. Seamon thus describes the importance of groups of individuals and the reciprocity of their interaction; "In a supportive physical environment, time-space routines and body-ballets of the individual may fuse into a larger whole, creating a space-environment dynamic called place-ballet. [This is] a fusion of many time-space routines and body-ballets in terms of place" (Seamon, 1980, p.159).

Seamon clearly describes the processes of enrollment and translation in these contexts. The clear delineation of the insider and outsider, and the possibility of turning from one into the other through the process of translation when conforming to the patterns and demeanor of the “other” evidently fit within actor-network theory argumentation. Space-time is continually remade and performed by the actors participating in a network. By doing so, each actor contributes to the creation of a strong sense of place, provided that they conform to the network through shared interest. Seamon thus clearly emphasizes the importance of the group in creating a sense of place.

What can be taken away from these three distinctive approaches to the effect of social environments on sense of place is that it requires a plurality of people. This is essential, as Korac, Cresswell and Seamon all reiterate the importance of social interaction and the creation of networks in the establishment of sense of place (Seamon, 1980; Korac, 2009; Cresswell, 2014). When revisiting the dimensions of sense of place taken into account, one may conclude that the social environment aids in the creation of a strong sense of place through social dimensions such as individuals’ feelings of belonging to the social environment, their satisfaction with the social environment and their attachment, attitudes and behavior towards a place. For instance, individuals form strong attachment to place through feelings of belonging to the social environment. This way, the social environment (for instance surrounding friends and family) help create a sense of attachment and belonging to a place, which form important parts of a strong and positive sense of place.

The effect of tourism on sense of place through social environments

Tourism does not impact the sense of place of individuals directly but does so through impacting the social and physical environments. In order to determine this effect it is first needed to understand how tourism might affect the social environments of a place. Firstly, the very definition of tourism involves people and their movements, meaning that wherever tourism takes place, the social composition and the sheer amount of people in a place is bound to change. It may be evident then, that interaction would take place between local residents and tourists too. At the very least, tourists need to acquire food, drink and (if applicable) a place to spend the night. For these necessities, interaction is almost always required (Hanson, 1997). Following this line of reasoning, any place with substantial tourism development would experience extensive alterations of the social environment and to some degree tourist-resident encounters and interaction. In practice, urban tourism often revolves around specific tourist attractions (Van der Zee, 2016). In the case of Amsterdam, many of these are located in the city center.

Apart from the fact that tourism affects the amount of people, social composition and to some extent the forms of interaction between residents and tourists in a place, the question is raised how tourism impacts the social environment which residents encounter and experience. This experience needs to be analyzed from the eyes of the respondent. The clear distinctions made between insiders and outsiders in the argumentation of Seamon (1980) can provide a valuable insight for this. As tourists often fail to conform to the daily patterns of everyday life of locals and bring with them different customs, styles and appearances, they may sometimes be distinguished as outsiders with relative ease (Seamon, 1980; Massey, 1994; Korac, 2009). An example of this in Amsterdam is illustrated below (Pic. 1), as tourists have rented bikes (which are easily identifiable) while

participating in a guided tour. Other ways in which tourists might be distinguished from locals are appearance (for example through map or camera), language (anything other than the native language) and behavior (not participating in the daily practices of local residents). These distinctions are often made in the blink of an eye and subconsciously (Seamon, 1980). However, as discussed, these perceptions may not always be legitimate, as lines between local and tourist become increasingly blurred. This means that the distinction between these groups is sometimes wrongly assessed, as may be the case for expats wrongly regarded as tourists.



Picture 1: Tourists sightseeing in Amsterdam. Source: Middendorp, 2015.

The differences in norms and life styles may thus be expected to impact the experience of locals of the social environment to some degree (Sharpley, 2013). For instance, when residents distinguish tourists from local residents by discerning their behavior, looks and language, they may change their views of the social environment, and may adapt their behavior and attitudes accordingly. One example of this is how feelings of security have been shown to be impacted as a result of tourism (Billig, 2005; Van Dun, 2016). Furthermore, as local residents might not identify with the norms and lifestyles of these 'outsiders', their sense of belonging to the social environment is compensated (Billig, 2005). This shows how tourism may not only impact the social environment, but how this in turn may impact residents' sense of place too.

In addition to impacting the social environments in central public spaces and in areas abundant with tourist attractions, tourism has increasingly impacted environments in residential neighborhoods. In the 'search for the authentic', concepts such as Airbnb have proven to distribute tourists over larger areas as part of new urban tourism (Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Dirkmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). Amsterdam has experienced this trend firsthand. Airbnb is an online platform which allows residents

to rent out their residences to others (often tourists) for money. In Amsterdam, this leasing through Airbnb has increased with 475% in one year (2015) and the website now offers more than 18.000 residences in Amsterdam (Couzy, 2016; Disseldorp, 2016). An example of changing social environments is one where a resident living in Amsterdam found different people in his bathroom every few days due to the fact that his landlord leased one room through Airbnb (Disseldorp, 2016). Disseldorp (2016, p.1) points at the seriousness of these problems; “isn’t it alarming when even your neighbors are not your neighbors anymore, when all the houses are filled with tourists?” Increasingly, houses are rented out to tourists, forcing their previous inhabitants to move out. For example, residences previously rented out to students may offer larger sums of money when leased to tourists through Airbnb, thus displacing students. On the other hand, a positive effect of this for residents is the incoming revenue, which allowed one respondent of Disseldorp (2016) to afford her breast cancer treatment. These accounts clearly show how tourism may impact the social environment not only in known tourist-riddled areas, but closer to the homes of residents too. However, these effects are not always one-sidedly negative. The question then remains how these changes in the social environment impact the sense of place of local residents.

While research on the impacts of tourism on the sense of place of students is lacking, some research points at the effect of tourism on the sense of place of a broader resident population. The distinction between locals and outsiders is important in this respect once more. As shown above, tourists change the social environment by being present and by showing different norms, values and behavior. This causes those who do not translate their roles in conforming to the patterns and demeanor of the ‘other’ (residents) to stand out. While this may cause them to be seen as ‘out of place’, they are theoretically able to join the place-ballet and contribute (and experience) a stronger positive sense of place (Seamon, 1980). However, it is argued that the clear division between locals and outsiders can also create a dividing line and even hostility between these groups, which could harm the sense of place of residents and tourists alike (Seamon, 1980; Hanson, 1997). As Hanson puts it; “a heightened sense of local identity feeds hostility towards those who are perceived as outsiders [and] local place-based identities are [...] fueling the exclusion and rejection of those who do not “belong” in that place” (Hanson, 1997, pp.11-12). Thus, even though human interaction has been proven to create sense of place, it is paradoxically also able to divide people, for instance by affecting students’ feeling of belonging to the social environment, their attitudes towards a place and subsequently their behavior towards a place (Seamon, 1980; Hanson, 1997; Korac, 2009; Cresswell, 2014). More tangibly, the very presence of tourists may affect the sense of place of local residents, whose feelings of belonging in the social environment may be affected due to the fact that he or she experiences more foreign influences. Another example is that a local resident may change his/her behavior after experiencing the ways in which tourists use public space (as they may not be accustomed to the local mannerisms). For instance, tourists’ behavior in traffic may cause residents to act more aggressively, or more cautiously. Once more reflecting Seamon’s (1980) point on public conduct, the differences in behavior between locals and tourists have been found to ‘disrupt the daily rhythm’, and subsequently impact sense of place of local residents (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). However, as sense of place is a highly personal and subjective experience, it should be noted that the effects of tourism on the social environment might result in a more positive or stronger sense of place for certain individuals too (Mordue, 2005).

Binder (2008) states that sense of place of residents is put in danger when residents and tourists occupy the same area and when pressures of tourism compete with community interests. This point is illustrated by Amsden, et al. (2010) in researching the impact of tourism on the sense of place of locals in Seward, Alaska. There, a resident stated that “After the tourists leave we feel that the town is ours” (Amsden, et al., 2010, p.46). This implies the effect of tourism on sense of place through impacting the social environment in a place – as soon as the tourists arrive or leave the social environment, the sense of place changes through residents’ attachment to a place and their feelings of belonging to the social and physical environments. Similar findings arose in Finnish Lapland, New Zealand and Tasmania (Lawson, et al., 1998; Horn and Simmons, 2002; Lin and Lockwood, 2014; Kaján, 2014). As the extent of tourism is often linked to seasonality, the sense of place may then change with the seasons too (Sharpley, 2013). In touristic seasons, the sense of place of residents on the whole may thus be more negative due to tourism. However, as Kerstetter and Bricker (2009) point out, communities (especially smaller ones) which depend heavily on tourism due to its economic revenue, might have more positive perceptions of tourism. Sharpley (2013), as well as Fan and Li (2016), reiterate this point, stating that people who depend economically on tourism generally have a more positive attitude towards tourism. For youth and adolescents (as opposed to adults) these economic opportunities have been proven to sometimes be more important in their willingness to stay or move to an area than their sense of place (Pretty, et al., 2003; Anglin, 2014).

In a particularly relevant paper on the impact of tourism on the sense of place of residents in York, England, Mordue comes across the same findings as Binder, stating that conflicts arise when “tourists and locals occupy the same area” (Mordue, 2005, p.1; Binder, 2008). York has seen a dramatic influx of tourists over the years, which has changed the social composition and interaction on the street. Interestingly, overcrowding was found not to be the biggest problem of tourism in York; this was in fact the effect of tourism on local residents’ sense of place. Citizens of York stated the “city was no longer theirs [but] belongs to outsiders”, thus reflecting the earlier assumptions made by Seamon (1980) and Hanson (1997) and clearly showing the importance of the dimension ‘feeling of belonging to the social/physical environment’. However, in the case of York too, positive notes were made by residents, stating they “like to hear all the sounds [and] see people from different countries” (Mordue, 2005). Some locals also enjoy the new cosmopolitan vibe, showing that while their sense of place (for instance through their satisfaction with the social environment) is certainly influenced by the tourism developments, this influence is not always negative. Furthermore, the point is made that conflicts over an area’s past actually help create a stronger positive sense of place as opposed to impacting it negatively (May, 1996, p.203; Cresswell, 2014).

It may be clear from these accounts that tourism impacts the social environment in a variety of ways, including through changes in the amount and composition of people in a place and tourists’ public conduct. In turn, this may impact the dimensions of sense of place of residents in a variety of ways, including an impact on behavior, feelings of belonging and attitudes towards the ‘other’. Looking at Amsterdam, the municipality stated that “If the inner-city becomes more and more the domain of the tourists and tourist-industry, the Amsterdammer [...] will not feel at home anymore and will in fact have little left which attracts them to the center” (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017, p.15). This paints a grim future for the residents of Amsterdam, but whether this is the case for students will be addressed in later sections.

Physical environment and sense of place

The physical environment is defined succinctly as the material world excluding humans. It comprises the built environment as well as natural environments. Certain dimensions of the physical environment can be discerned. These aspects of the concept envelop parts of the physical environment which are essential to this thesis in particular. For instance, fundamental elements of the urban environment are described, while natural elements are not addressed in the similar levels of detail, as they are not deemed as imperative as their urban counterparts. Furthermore, the dimensions of the physical environment coined here are those with which tourists and local residents both interact. For example, public areas and transportation are used by both groups. Following the same line of reasoning, other aspects of the physical environment such as hotels (used mainly by tourists) or private residencies (used primarily by local residents) are not specifically addressed. The dimensions of the physical environment taken into account in this thesis are;

1. Public areas and nature
2. Buildings, shops and amenities
3. Infrastructure and (public) transport
4. Waste and disposal

While both the natural and cultural environments can be attributed with creating sense of place and being impacted by tourism, this research focuses on the built (cultural) environment due to the focus on urban tourism. The ways in which this physical environment assists in creating a sense of place for residents as well as the ways in which this environment is impacted by tourism are described below.

The creation of sense of place through physical environments

The physical environment is one of the three main dimensions attributed with the creation of sense of place. The physical environment, with its cultural heritage, landscapes and built environments has been shown to create some form of attachment between the individual and a place (Tuan, 1974). In the eyes of some however, it is not the physical world that influences this sense of place but the social construction and perception of this physical world. Following the reasoning of Tuan (1974), cultural landscapes are always created through the eyes of an individual, thus in fact creating *places* (opposing objective *spaces*). Places are constituted by the meanings that individuals associate with them (Tuan, 1974). This view is shared and presented in a clear fashion by Farnum, et al.: "Although [...] physical attributes present in a location may play a role in the construction of sense of place, sense of place itself refers more to the interpretations and representations of those attributes as well as the social dynamics of the landscape" (Gieryn, 2000; Farnum, et al., 2005, p.5). Place attachment is thus highly subjective and differs between individuals (Tuan, 1974; Williams and Vaske, 2001; Aronsson, 2004). This attachment to place forms an essential part of sense of place (see dimensions – attachment to place) and is, according to Jivén and Larkham (2003) most commonly experienced in places of heritage. But how does the physical environment inspire an attachment or sense of belonging exactly?

Feelings of belonging to the physical environment are an essential dimension in the creation of sense of place through physical environments (Billig, 2005). These feelings of belonging are often created through past experiences of a certain place (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995). Because of this, it is assumed that residents who have a longer shared history with a place experience stronger feelings of belonging to the physical environment, and thus have a stronger sense of place. For example, person X, who has grown up and lived in Amsterdam her whole life may be expected to have a greater attachment to physical environments (as well as to social environments) than person Y, who is merely visiting. Due to this assumption, this thesis will take into account the length of residence when assessing sense of place (see Methodology). The feelings of attachment to the physical environment are not only highly personal; they often are also highly localized. For example, person X may have strong feelings of attachment to the physical environment in the direct vicinity of her place of residence, but might not have a strong attachment to the next neighborhood. This may even go so far as to feel an attachment to a certain building (for example a historic canal-side house) and feel no connection (or even a sense of aversion towards the physical environment) to the next building (for example a coffeeshop). Due to this highly localized nature, distinctions will also be made between different areas of inner-city Amsterdam.

Following the changing nature of physical environments, the attachment to it is able to change in time too (Tuan, 1974). For example, changes in usage of a building might impact the attachment to it for an individual (dimension attachment to place). Similarly, places which hold a strong meaning for someone might be demolished and replaced. So, while the creation of sense of place through physical environments may seem a rather stable phenomenon, it too, is open to multiple forms of changes. It is apt to differ between individuals, in different times and in different locations. The impact of the physical environment on the creation of sense of place is tightly bound to personal experiences and histories with this specific place, and the more (positive) experiences are shared with it, the stronger the connection to this place will be (Tuan, 1974).

The effect of tourism on sense of place through physical environments

With the effect of physical environments on the sense of place explained, the effect of tourism hereon will be discussed below. The central question sought to be answered here is then; how does tourism affect the physical environment and how may this impact the various dimensions of sense of place?

In line with the rise of new urban tourism, tourists are increasingly on 'the search for the authentic' (Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). While authenticity is not a static concept, it often refers to 'local' and 'old' experiences. For example, experiencing 'authentic' Amsterdam might mean eating local foods, participating in traditions, and experiencing the traditional built environment and cultural amenities. However, in their desire to experience 'the authentic' tourists may "kill the object of their desire", as the sheer presence of tourism is able to affect the social and physical environments (Cighi, 2008, p.11). For example, a reporter described an odd form of precipitation following Airbnb development in Amsterdam; "it rained remote controls, towels, beer cans, trash bags and even vomit from Airbnb guests" (Witteman, 2016, p.1). In turn, this affects both the local residents' (and tourists') aversion to the social environment and their aversion

to the physical environment. Other ways in which tourism affects the physical environment may be discerned. For instance, tourist-oriented shops might replace 'authentic' shops, infrastructural development may take place in order to deal with the growing number of people, and signs may be translated in order to serve tourists as well. Van der Zee (2016) points at a vicious circle; increasing numbers of tourists concentrate around main tourist attractions in the center of town. Following this, the surrounding area changes; amenities aimed first at local residents now aim at supplying tourists, while the prices rise, quality drops. This subsequently drives local residents away from the city center and thus affects the attractiveness of the area for tourists, which links in to the 'search for the authentic' (Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Cighi, 2008; Van der Zee, 2016, p.1).



Picture 2: A giftshop in inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Anon, 2014.

Amsterdam has seen the development of many such shops selling souvenirs and snacks, cigarettes and excursion tickets (Picture 2). While some of these shops also serve to the needs of local residents, their aim is generally to provide for tourists (Mordue, 2005; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). An example of this in Amsterdam is De Bijenkorf, a centrally located luxury department store. While traditionally a retailer aimed at serving higher-income local residents, its supply has been largely aimed at high-income segments of tourists lately. For example, messages over the intercom are relayed in Russian and Chinese, the interior is changed to suit tourists, and the Chinese new year has been celebrated there (Tomesen, 2013). This retail gentrification (the changing of amenities from primary to luxury products and services) has been found to be effectuated partially by tourism development (Zukin, 2009; Klaver, 2015; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). Hip boutiques, lunch café's and coffee roasters have replaced more traditional stores such as the local bakery or pharmacy and simultaneously, existing stores (such as De Bijenkorf) change their supply. These local amenities have been proven to be essential to sense of place, as they have special value in the creation or loss (for

instance through residents' attachment to place) of sense of place (May, 1996; Cresswell, 2014). The departure of the original entrepreneurs may furthermore impact the relations between residents and the entrepreneurs, and take away traditional meeting places such as the local bar or grocery store (Klaver, 2015).

Furthermore, increased business and investments brought about by tourism bump up the house and rent prices, further putting strain on local residents as well as local amenities (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). In the case of Amsterdam, this phenomenon has become sizeable enough to be picked up by the municipality itself, which stated that "[...] neighborhood shops and amenities for residents and other specialty shops are put further under pressure and disappear from certain shopping areas. This is in part due to [...] entrepreneurs who change their assortment to match the new chances offered by large groups of tourists." (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017, p.11). This subsequently leads to more homogeneity in shop and restaurant supply and changes the focus of this supply to quick consumption. This may in turn impact the residents' feelings of belonging to the physical environment, their senses of aversion to the physical environment and their behavior towards the inner-city (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). For instance, a local resident may return to a familiar shopping area after several months, only to find that a part of his/her favorite stores have been replaced by generic tourist-oriented stores offering cold comfort with ice bakeries, drugs and souvenirs. This may also affect this residents' behavior towards this place in the future, as he/she may decide that this area has little to offer now, causing him/her to avoid this area.



Figure 2: Shops offering daily groceries with touristic functions (green) and residential functions (yellow). Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017.

Figure 2 shows how shops offering 'daily groceries' have a touristic function (green) or a function aimed at local residents (yellow). Most notably, shops in the innermost city center are increasingly aimed at serving the needs of tourists, thereby displacing local residents. These types of exclusion are not only visible in restaurants and shops; even certain museums aim at attracting almost

exclusively tourists. For example, the Hash, Marihuana and Hemp Museum, the Torture Museum and Ripley's Believe It or Not have been described as museums that "no Amsterdammer ever visits" (Zandstra, 2017). According to the municipality, this tourist-orientation of amenities and services is most strongly present in areas where large numbers of tourists are present, for example around Amsterdam Centraal Station, De Wallen and streets leading to these areas (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

While the mentioned developments may seem negative for residents, it should not be forgotten that these shops provide local residents with jobs, and the city council with tax revenue. For example, Amsterdam is expected to earn 46 million euro in tax revenue from tourism in 2017 alone, although sources are conflicted in this regard (Damen and Tienkamp, 2016; Milikowski and Naafs, 2017). Furthermore, tourist development may impact the physical environment in other 'positive' ways. For example, the added tax revenue allows the city council to invest in things such as infrastructure or garbage collection, and the income for cultural amenities such as museums allows them to renovate and pay for maintenance (Law, 2002; Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009; Shuwen and Cheung, 2016). An example of this is Rijksmuseum, a prominent museum which underwent a 370 million euro renovation, of which tourism paid an important part (Novum, 2014). This way, one can imagine that tourism may positively affect sense of place through residents' satisfaction with the physical environment. Another example of renovation paid for by tourism is that of Open Huis, an investment company looking to buy houses in Amsterdam in order to renovate them and subsequently rent them out to tourists via Airbnb (Vermeij, 2017). By doing so, the founder of the company is looking to create 'the worlds' first Airbnb neighborhood'.

Another positive impact of tourism on the physical environment is the elongated existence of local shops that would have gone bankrupt without the income from the tourist sector. For instance, shops to be seen as local (for instance the local cheese shop) are popular among tourists trying to experience new urban tourism and 'local life' (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). This could mean that these local shops survive due to the revenue brought in by tourists just as well as those aimed specifically at the needs of tourists. However, these positive changes might go by residents relatively unnoticed, while the developments of touristic amenities appear to stand out more (Mordue, 2005). For example, the fact that De Bijenkorf on Dam Square still exists may not be attributed to tourism by residents quickly, while the fact that the department store now focuses on the demands of tourism may stand out for some residents.

The question then remains how tourism impacts the sense of place of local residents specifically. An example may help visualize this relationship. Imagine a historic post-office in the cultural heart of a city, which, because of its location, budget cuts in the postal service, and a growing tourist sector, has been bought by investors and turned into an amenity aimed strictly at tourists. To a tourist or passer-by this building itself might be meaningless, while a local youngster might remember it as a place for gathering with friends, and local elderly might remember it for its value of sending postcards to loved ones overseas. The impact of the change in functions of this building may affect certain individuals more than others. For instance, the youngster may realize this change in function to that of servicing tourists fits in a trend which causes him to realize he has nothing attracting him to this area anymore, causing him to change his behavior by steering clear of the area. On the other hand, the elderly resident (having an emotional tie with the previous function) may evolve spiteful

feelings (aversion to the physical environment) towards the new function. Thus, different meanings are attributed to the building as the landscape is socially constructed through the actions, social processes and personal experiences of individuals. This point has been reflected by many researchers (Tuan, 1974; Muir, 1999; Low and Lawrence-Zúniga, 2003; Kianicka, et al., 2006). Depending on interests, experiences and values (dimension personal characteristics), different people give different meanings to the same places (Greider, 1993). It may be expected then, that tourism impacts sense of place through the physical environment in a variety of ways and in varying degrees. Two specific examples are given below.

As seen in the case of York, the sense of place of local residents was impacted by tourism. In part this was due to the loss of authentic and locally owned shops, which had come to be replaced by more universal tourist shops (Mordue, 2005). This change in the physical surroundings impacted the sense of place (most notably residents' feelings of belonging to the social and physical environment) of those who were attached to the amenities and their authenticity (Mordue, 2005). The eroding sense of place following these changes caused 'local life' to increasingly move away from the touristic heart of the city. Proximity of residence to places of shared history has in some cases been shown to positively influence student's sense of place (Semken, et al., 2009; Kudryavtsev, et al., 2012). Moving away because of an eroding sense of place can thus create a vicious circle of degrading sense of place (Van der Zee, 2016). On the other hand, tourism has been shown to help local residents identify and appreciate their own cultural heritage and strengthen their connection to the physical environment (Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009). For example, tourists staring at a building which seems so commonplace to the resident at first sight, may inspire this resident to take a second look and appreciate its value more, thus increasing their attachment to place and their sense of satisfaction with the physical environment. In a similarly fashion, tourism-related businesses selling 'the authentic' (such as local food, miniature monuments or flags) can actually hold a strong sense of place and add to the preservation of a community's culture (Shuwen and Cheung, 2016).

In Amsterdam too, physical surroundings have been found to influence resident's perception of tourism and their sense of place. For example, Mac an Bhreithiún (2012) states that sense of place in Amsterdam is partially constructed through inherently identity-producing materiality such as the inescapable coat of arms (three crosses) and tourist campaigns such as 'I Amsterdam'. This identity is furthermore shaped through cultural heritage and local shops, which are most abundant in inner-city Amsterdam and which have the potential to "positively affect the attitude of residents towards tourists" (Zukin 2012; Van Leeuwen, et al., 2013, pp.22-23). In line with the above accounts of Mordue (2005); Pinkster and Boterman (2017) noted that 'local' shops being replaced by tourist-oriented amenities has effect on the sense of place of residents in Amsterdam. Furthermore, the municipality of Amsterdam recently published a survey in which residents voiced their concerns about the increased focus of local amenities on the demands of tourists. According to the municipality, as the public domain becomes increasingly aimed at tourists, the Amsterdammer will feel less and less at home (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). Finally, the report concludes by stating that "the accumulation of factors such as busyness, degradation and nuisance leads residents and traditional entrepreneurs to feel like 'the city is no longer theirs' and is changing to a tourism area" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017, p.18). Whether this is the case for students specifically, is, once more, unknown.

Personal characteristics and sense of place

Personal characteristics have been shown to be one of the defining dimensions in the creation of sense of place of an individual. But what is meant by personal characteristics specifically? Characteristics include age, traits, qualities, perceptions, history, interests and other facets of an individual which in turn create their way of experiencing the surroundings and life itself (Homburg and Giering, 2001; Roccas, 2002; Olver and Mooradian, 2003; Cighi, 2008). Several dimensions of personal characteristics may be discerned. These dimensions encapsulate the essence of what makes up different personalities. Several authors discussing this concept highlight various aspects of it, although certain aspects seem to come to the fore – albeit in different wording – consistently (Homburg and Giering, 2001; Roccas, 2002; Olver and Mooradian, 2003; Cighi, 2008). These dimensions help explain interpersonal differences in character and behavior. For instance, a 7 year old individual is expected to behave quite differently than a 40 year old individual. The same can be said for all the dimensions of personal characteristics taken into account in this thesis. These are listed below;

- Age, gender and origin
- Personal history and past experiences
- Personal values, perceptions and identity
- Traits, qualities and attributes

Several of these dimensions of personal characteristics could possibly be split up even further, although this is regarded as being redundant. For example, a personal trait could be that of being introvert or extrovert, whereas age cannot be split up further (Olver and Mooradian, 2003). Apart from these dimensions, the intrinsic variables of Sharpley (2013) visited above may also be placed in personal characteristics, as they deviate between individuals. For instance, personal values and identities, as well as economic dependency and interaction with tourist, are often not the same for multiple people (as one person may work in the tourist industry and the next may not). These facets of a person mean that each individual will experience a place in a unique way (Cighi, 2008). As such, personal histories and past experiences can cause one person to view tourism (and thus its effect on sense of place) in a different way than the next person. Nonetheless, people may be grouped together due to their similarities in characteristics. For instance, students share the fact that they all attend university, fall (generally) within the same age groups and often (while clearly not always) have similar economic positions and political stances, reflected in the quote “if you’re not a liberal at twenty you have no heart” (Soffen, 2014). These similarities can be found in Sharpley’s (2013) intrinsic variables ‘demographic’, ‘personal values’ and ‘social identity/status’ (Table 1).

The correlations in personal characteristics may theoretically imply similarities in sense of place. For instance, younger residents are expected to view tourism relatively favorably, and their sense of place is expected to be impacted by tourism development relatively little (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995; Binder, 2008; Sharpley, 2013). As Williams, et al. (1995) put it; “Newcomers [relatively new inhabitants] showed an indifferent attitude towards theme/attractions based developments”. Furthermore, the high level of education shared by this research population is geared towards a relatively positive view of tourism as well (Fan and Li, 2016). While these

similarities may be expected in some cases, they cannot (and will not) truly be taken for granted. As characteristics are highly personal, there will be almost no attempt to generalize these amongst the student population any further. Instead, personal histories and backgrounds are taken into account when analyzing sense of place and the impact of tourism hereon, focusing on individual experiences.

The creation of sense of place through personal characteristics

Following the short discussion of characteristics above, this section will briefly address how personal characteristics can be attributed to create or shape an individual's sense of place. Characteristics shape the sense of place of an individual in a different way than the above mentioned social and physical dimensions. While the creation of sense of place through the social and physical environments were largely attributed to having a particular relationship with these environments (attachment to social or physical worlds), this is not quite the case with personal characteristics (Cighi, 2008). Characteristics and its effect on sense of place can be seen as a lens through which the social and physical worlds are experienced. This can be exemplified by stating that both the physical and the social worlds in a specific place may be the exact same for person X and person Z, while their sense of place in this same location might differ. For example, while both people occupy the same place, which they have no knowledge of or history with, and are both surrounded by complete strangers, person X may feel more connected to the environment due to his/her characteristics. These characteristics may be that of an extrovert (see above), adventurous or open nature, a stronger cultural or social affinity with the surrounding people, and a strong personal appreciation of the physical surroundings (Roccas, et al., 2002). On the other hand, person Z may be introvert, have no social or cultural affinity with the surrounding people and be callous towards the physical surroundings. This may result in a different sense of place to that of person X (Cighi, 2008). When revisiting the above dimensions of sense of place taken into account, one may imagine that the extrovert person X shows different attitudes and behavior towards a place due to his personal nature (for instance by starting conversation) as opposed to the introvert (for instance by acting self-enclosed). Similarly, person X may feel more satisfied with the social and physical environments than person Z.

Another example is that of someone's house. For instance, person A may have lived in a house for years, knowing every nook and cranny, while person B has never stepped foot in the place. Upon entering, person B is filled with feelings of experiencing something new and stepping into the unknown, while person A is filled with a sense of familiarity and sense of belonging. These feelings may show in the differences in posture, attitude and behavior of both people in the same place (Cighi, 2008). Furthermore, person A may experience strong feelings of belonging to the physical environment and have far-reaching knowledge of this place, while these dimensions of sense of place do not apply to person B. Similarly, certain individuals might simply not care about physical or social surroundings, and thus not attribute a lot of meaning or attachment to these environments, while others do. The attribution of meaning and attachment to a place is highly personal and is thus clearly affected by the characteristics and personality of an individual (Cighi, 2008). This point is put forward clearly by Cighi, stating that; "Although [people's] choices are always constrained by personal characteristics and circumstances, it also holds true that any person has the ability to think about and

choose to ascribe more value to some allegiances and less value to others. In that act of reasoning and choice, that person effectively chooses its identity” (Cighi, 2008, p.93).

The above examples show how important personal characteristics are in the creation of sense of place. Personal characteristics are always present and form a lens through which situations and places are experienced. In short, it may be said that personal characteristics cause interpersonal differences in sense of place. Therefore, it is essential to take this dimension into account when assessing sense of place and the impact of tourism hereon. However, while essential, personal characteristics are not impacted by tourism in the same way that social and physical environments are. For instance, while personal characteristics personalize sense of place, it is the experience (as dimension of characteristics) of tourism in the social and physical environment that impacts sense of place (Cighi, 2008). This is difficult to grasp but may be understood when revisiting the first example above. While the differences in personal characteristics created interpersonal differences in sense of place between person X and Z, it were the *experiences* of the social and physical environment that could be impacted by tourism. Although an individual’s experiences may be influenced by tourism, these are experiences *of the physical and social environment* because that is what an individual is able to come across (Cighi, 2008). For instance, the experiences of an individual located in a touristic location are formed through what he or she sees, hears and smells in this place, which is the social and physical environment (in turn impacted by tourism). Thus, it is the impact of tourism on the social and physical environments which an individual experiences. The way in which these impacts are experienced is constituted through personal characteristics, meaning that these characteristics construct the ways in which these impacts of tourism are perceived (Cighi, 2008). Finally, this means that tourism in itself does not impact personal characteristics, although some characteristics are shaped through experiences of both social and physical environments (which include tourism). However, other characteristics, such as age and origin, are not impacted by either tourism or social/physical environments at all. As such, the focus of this thesis lies on the impact of tourism on sense of place through the social and physical environments, while keeping in mind the effect of personal characteristics on both the sense of place and the ways of experiencing social and physical environments.

Conceptual model

The review of the literature above has shown the ways in which sense of place is constructed, and how two of the dimension constructing sense of place may be influenced by tourism. The conceptual model below (Fig. 3) clarifies these relationships and allows the reader to identify the areas and relationships on which this thesis is focused. The model applied to the study population ‘Dutch students’ and the case of ‘inner-city Amsterdam’. The starting point of the model is the phenomenon at hand, tourism. This variable is expected to have a relationship with the other variables shown in the conceptual model. It should be noted that the arrows do not imply causality but merely imply a relationship and possible influence. As shown, tourism does not influence sense of place directly but does so by influencing both social and physical environments. This influence is shown by relationships A1 and A2 (in blue). Sense of place itself is created and influenced by social and physical environments, as well as personal characteristics. These relationships are presented with the codes B1, B2 and B3 (in red). Despite their similar rendering, it is not implied that the ways in which these

dimensions impact sense of place are similar. They instead exist to simply show that they each impact the creation of sense of place. The true relationship is more complex, as the physical dimension is the same for all respondents (although the way in which it is experienced and impacts sense of place is not), the social dimension would differ to some degree between respondents (as they have different social networks) and the individual characteristic dimension differs between every respondent. All core concepts have been provided with the dimensions/aspects presented previously, including variables influencing resident perceptions of tourism. The first research question is focused around the block 'sense of place', as it seeks to determine the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam. The question of *what* the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is, is naturally linked to the question of *how* this is established. The second question is focused on the extent of influence of tourism on the sense of place of students and where this effect is felt most strongly, which can be found in the relationships B1 and B2. The third research question focuses specifically on the impact of tourism on sense of place as explained through social and physical environments. This question is thus fixated on relationships B1 and B2 as well, while it aims specifically at identifying *how* (as opposed to the *extent*) tourism impacts sense of place through social and physical environments.

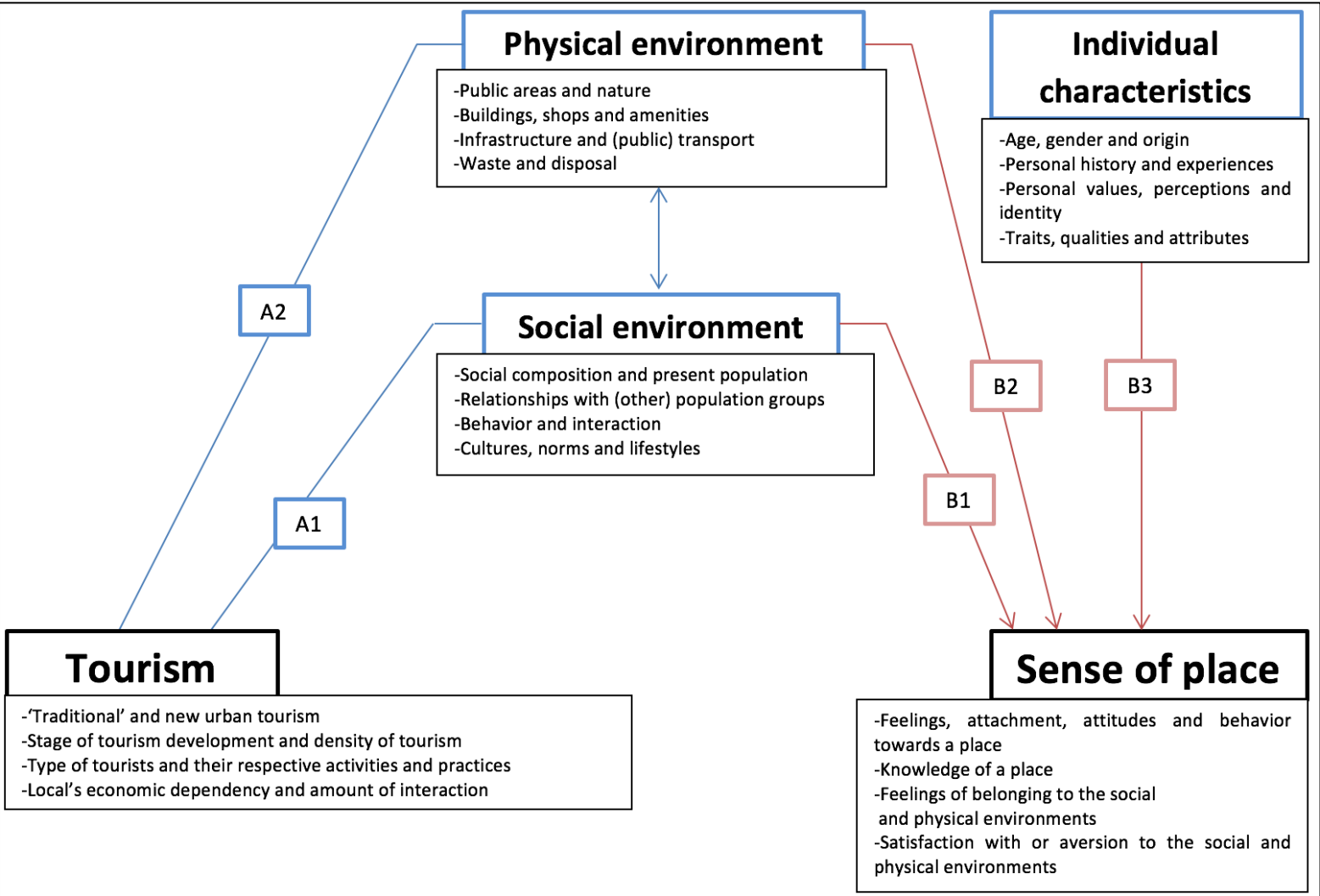


Figure 3: Conceptual model. The model is applied to the study population 'Dutch students' and the case of 'inner-city Amsterdam'.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, the research design and methods will be motivated. Secondly, the central concepts will be operationalized further. Following this, methods of data collection will be further elucidated and finally, data preparation and the strategy for the analysis of the data will be discussed.

Motivations for research design and methods

This section will provide motivation for the choices of a case-study design and qualitative research methodologies. First of all, the goal of this master's thesis is to provide detailed in-depth knowledge on specific relationships, namely those between tourism and the sense of place of Dutch university students in inner-city Amsterdam. The research design found best to match these specific goals is that of the case-study. This research design allows the researcher to intensively analyze a single case, which is essential to the research at hand (Bryman, 2008). The focus of the case study design is to study relatively small research populations and specific cases in great detail, and not in the first place to generalize the findings across a larger base (Yin, 2013). A few types of case studies may be discerned. Amsterdam in the case of tourism, while very extreme, is not the only city in Europe dealing with the pressures of tourism. This particular case may then be regarded as either an *extreme* or *representative* case study; on the one hand the case of Amsterdam is certainly extreme when compared to many Dutch or European cities, while on the other hand, it is not unique in the way that cities like Venice or Barcelona deal with similar issues (Bryman, 2008).

Secondly, the choice for qualitative research has multiple motivations. When studying an elusive concept like sense of place - which is based on feelings of an individual - being able to go into a high level of detail is crucial in order to truly comprehend the situation and feelings at hand. Studying a concept in great detail requires a research methodology capable of scrutinizing a respondent's opinion and (in this case) feelings. Getting this amount of detail is possible with the use of qualitative methods of research (Ruddin, 2006; Bryman, 2008). Qualitative methodologies often allow the researcher to take his/her time, in order to get to the bottom of a subject with the respondent, for example through in-depth interviews. Not only do in-depth interviews generate large amounts of data, they also allow the researcher to go into great depth by allowing for unrestricted answers (Bryman, 2008). For instance, while conducting interviews, the researcher has the ability to delve deeper into interesting findings with the use of follow-up questions added on the spot. This ability often lacks in structured surveys. Furthermore, qualitative research aims to 'see through the eyes of the people being studied' and focus on the context of the interviewees. This leads to an immersed and holistic description of the respondents' experience, a trait which perfectly suits the task at hand (Bryman, 2008). Finally, qualitative research methods are heavily underused in research on resident perceptions of tourism, implying greater scientific relevance for this research (Sharpley, 2013). These traits of qualitative methods prove to be precisely what is required to research sense of place and the impact of tourism hereon in great detail.

Despite all the arguments pointing in favor of qualitative research methods, some downsides of these methods as compared to quantitative methods do exist. For example, qualitative research is sometimes said to be overly subjective of nature, as it can be influenced by the researcher in both methodology and interview practices (Bryman, 2008). However, when keeping probing, prompting and the ethics of qualitative research in mind, these effects may be minimized. The reliability of qualitative methods may also be questionable. While the steps taken to determine (the impact of tourism on) sense of place are consistent, outcomes may change due to the fact that the physical and social environments, as well as an individual's sense of place, are open to constant change. This means that, when applying the same measures to the same sample of respondents, different results may emerge. While this in itself is not a negative thing, as it would provide new insights to the research, it may take away from the perception that the measures used to research the concept at hand are stable (Bryman, 2008). Moreover, qualitative research provides an apt vehicle to research the changes occurring in the sense of place of an individual over time (for instance by researching what caused its change and in-depth descriptions of particular feelings).

Another critique is that qualitative research can sometimes be difficult to replicate due to the relatively unstructured and personalized nature of the qualitative research processes. This is generally a fair point and can be best combated by very clearly stating all the steps taken in the research process. Doing this will also deal with a possible lack of transparency sometimes found in qualitative methodologies. Interviews conducted for this particular research project are semi-structured, which means that an interview guide is used as a guideline in the interviews. In order to counter the critiques of poor replication and transparency, the interview guide and the created code trees are added as appendices (see App. 1 and 2).

A final objection is that of problems with generalization. While a single case might not represent an entire panel, this is often not the goal of qualitative research. As stated, it rather focuses on providing very detailed information without meaning to generalize these findings. Even so, findings might be generalized to some degree to comparable study populations through *moderatum* generalizations (Bryman, 2008). This is to say that the researcher draws parallels and comparisons to findings of other researchers and research populations. While these generalizations tend to be "more tentative than statistical generalizations", they do allow the researcher to generalize up to a certain point and thus combat the general view that qualitative view may hardly be generalized at all (Bryman, 2008, p.406). Other authors (namely Flyvbjerg and Ruddin) also point at the possibility of qualitative and case study designs and methods to be generalized more than is often assumed (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Ruddin, 2006). This is certainly the case for representative case studies, as they may represent part of a larger picture (in this case high levels of tourism in an advanced Western capital city with extensive cultural heritage). However, this does not mean that findings can be exported to another case one-on-one. For instance, one cannot argue that the exact same effects of tourism on sense of place of students occurs in Prague or Barcelona. However, on a smaller scale, some findings may be exported to these cases. As such, particular causes of effects of tourism on sense of place may be found in other places (such as busyness or an internationalization of the social composition on the streets). Thus, while findings may not be directly applied to other cases, they can be highly informative and useful for them.

Operationalization

Operationalizing concepts means defining them clearly and thus allowing them to be researched empirically. This is required for all key concepts used. Due to the qualitative nature and the construction of the research questions in this thesis, concepts and possible relationships will be researched using interviews. As a result, concepts do not need to be measurable in quantitative terms (such as Likert-scales) but can instead be approached and described in the words of the respondents. Four key terms are operationalized below. These are *tourism*, *students*, *inner-city Amsterdam*, and *sense of place*.

Tourism

In this thesis, tourism is defined as the practice of traveling for recreational purposes outside of the usual environment. Dimensions of tourism which fall under this definition can be found in the tourism section of the theoretical framework. Using this definition as opposed to the much more holistic definition used by UNWTO allows the researcher to focus on a more specific group of people, as it does not include 'tourists' traveling for other purposes than recreational or leisurely ones (UNWTO, 1995). Following the chosen definition, tourists can be from any other place outside of Amsterdam (including other places within the Netherlands and other countries). The motivations of these tourists to visit Amsterdam should be of leisurely and recreational nature. If work related visitors choose to visit places in Amsterdam for recreational purposes this is thus also taken into account. If national or international people are simply using Amsterdam or places within Amsterdam as a functional hub (for example to get from A to B) this is not seen as recreation and thus not as tourism. However, the definition of a tourist as given by respondents is deemed essential while addressing the research questions. This is to say that, in the eyes of the respondents, the definition of tourists may very well differ from the abovementioned. As each respondent may view tourism differently, this shall be taken into account in the analysis of the acquired data in later sections. Apart from the definition of tourists as provided by respondents, the mentioned blurring effect may interfere with the respondent's ability to distinguish actual tourists from locals.

As shown, tourists come to Amsterdam for varying reasons, including the city's liberal stances on drugs and its widely available cultural amenities (Dahles, 1996; 1998). This distinction will be kept in mind during the research phase. As Sharpley (2013) has shown, the extrinsic variable 'nature/type of tourism/tourists' can potentially influence the resident perception of tourism. This point is demonstrated in related research conducted by Pinkster and Boterman (2017). The recognition of different tourist groups is furthermore important due to the fact that certain tourists might get into contact more with certain locals, which has been shown to consistently and positively influence the perception residents have of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). Lastly, it is important to keep the season in mind, as seasonality (and the related tides of tourists) has been shown to influence perceptions of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). Research will be conducted in April, which would not see as many tourists as summer for example. As the research is conducted within a single two-week timeslot and sentiments towards tourism most freshly acquired are expected to be most clearly formulated, comparison with other seasons is not possible (or sought-after) with the acquired data.

Students

Students have been categorized in this thesis as Dutch university students studying in Amsterdam at the University of Amsterdam and living in Amsterdam. First of all, Dutch in this case means born in The Netherlands and/or possessive of the Dutch nationality. A distinction is made amongst the research population in their length of residence and previous relocation patterns as to take into account possible differences in their perceptions of tourism. For instance, those who have been living in Amsterdam their entire lives may have witnessed the increase in tourism and developed negative sentiments towards it, while those who recently moved to the city (newcomers) may be callous towards or even enjoy it in the first period, as they are expected to have relatively weaker feelings of connection to Amsterdam (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995). For the same reason, international students are not included in this research population. While this would be interesting to include in follow-up research, the available time prohibits the effective inclusion of broader research populations. Secondly, university students are students following a part-time or full-time education as part of a bachelor's or master's degree program, and therefore do not include the Dutch 'hogeschool' or other educational platforms. The age group is roughly 18-30 (although extremes will not be excluded) and none of the faculties are purposefully understudied or overrepresented. This age group, reflecting students from all years of the education program, is sought to be reflected in the researched study population. Thirdly, it is chosen to research students living in Amsterdam, as they are expected to have more frequent and more sizeable interaction patterns within inner-city Amsterdam than students living outside of Amsterdam. For example, a student from another city may simply go to and from university without ever interacting in the city center, while students living in Amsterdam (note: not necessarily inner-city) are expected to visit the center for other purposes too (such as shopping and nightlife activities), providing more opportunity for tourist-respondent encounters. Fourthly, Amsterdam is host to two universities, one of which has multiple locations within the borders of inner-city Amsterdam (Fig. 4). This is the University of Amsterdam (UvA).

Due to its locations in inner-city Amsterdam, the UvA has been chosen as the researched university population. Two campuses serve as bases for sampling students in this research, in order to attract a more diverse study population with different daily movement patterns and interaction areas. It should be clarified that it is not meant in this thesis to compare the results of the two locations specifically; the main reason is to create a more complete image of students in inner-city Amsterdam. The chosen locations are Oudemanhuispoort and Roeterseiland (see circles in Figure 4 below). These two locations specifically have been chosen because they are situated across the city center and host student populations with different backgrounds (as different faculties are situated at both campuses) and daily interaction patterns. Fifthly, with 6.5% of Amsterdam's total population, and excluding the international students from the research population, there are some 47.500 Dutch students at the UvA (UvA, 2015). While precise numbers are lacking, a portion of these students study outside of inner-city Amsterdam, most notably at Amsterdam Science Park. Another unknown portion does not live in Amsterdam. The students studying solely at Science Park will thus not be studied in this thesis, as they do not have the same interaction patterns as students at the two chosen locations. Finally, a clear distinction has to be made between students working in the tourism industry and those who do not, as this has consistently been shown to influence perceptions of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). For similar reasons, length and location of residence are taken into account.

Inner-city Amsterdam

The area of Amsterdam defined as 'centrum' by the city council is used as the 'inner-city Amsterdam' area and is shown below (Fig. 4). This area consists largely of 17th century UNESCO World Heritage buildings and is host to most tourist attractions in Amsterdam, including the Anne Frank House, The Rembrandt Museum, Artis Royal Zoo, Begijnhof, Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein (UNESCO, 2010). Apart from these attractions, this part of Amsterdam is also known for its prostitution (De Wallen), drug scene and nightlife. Major tourist attractions that just fall out of the delineated area are Museumplein and its many museums, Westerpark, Vondelpark, NDSM-Werf, Eye museum and De Hallen. As inner-city Amsterdam remains quite a sizeable area to study and differences are expected to exist in the sense of place of students in different areas (and the impact of tourism hereon), distinctions are made between different areas with the use of mapping procedures, as shown below.

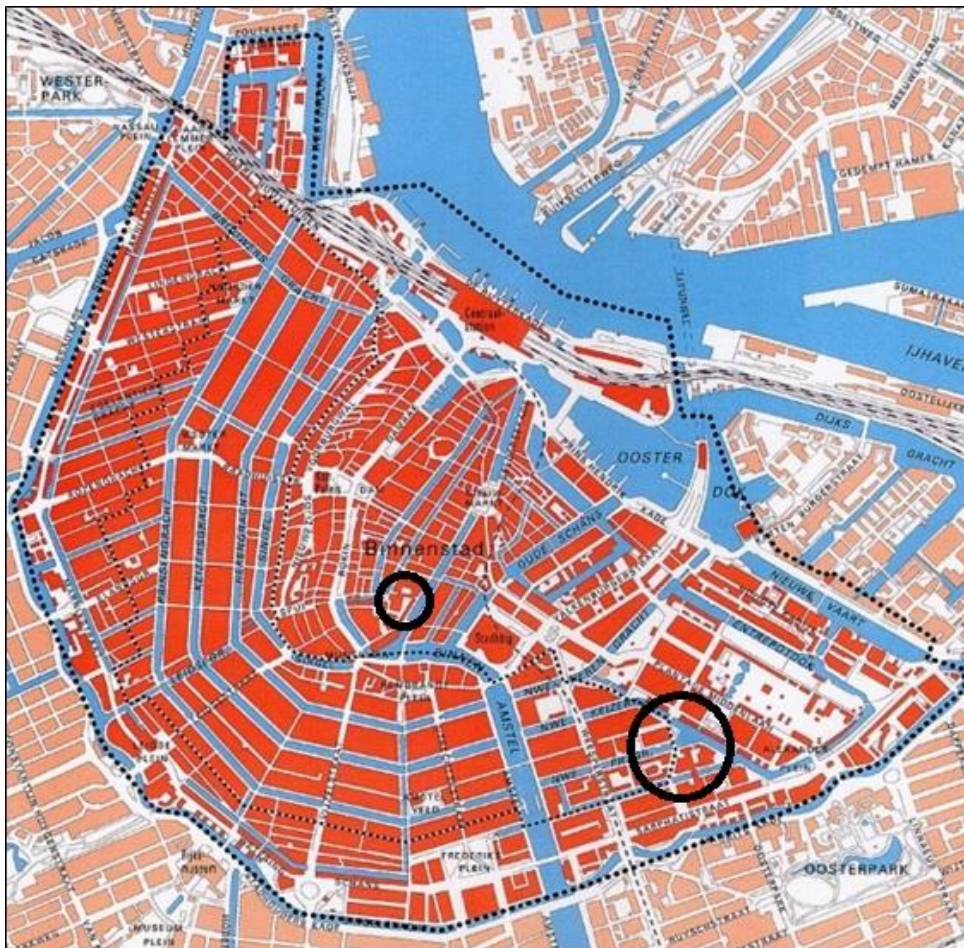


Figure 4: The specific area of interest and university locations. Source: UNESCO World Heritage, 2010.

The choice for inner-city Amsterdam does not simply stem from the fact that the largest part of the student and tourist populations in Amsterdam can be found there (due to the concentration of university buildings and mass-tourist attractions); it is expected that the impact of tourism on both the physical and social environment, and thus on the sense of place of respondents is most notably present in inner-city Amsterdam (Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Ashworth and Page, 2011).

Sense of place

The review of literature in the theoretical framework has shown that while Shamai's (1991) definition of the concept forms the basis of the definition used here, Massey's (1994) take on the concept fits this research best. Massey's progressive sense of place underscores the importance of global links, human interaction, the multiplicity of a locale's history and the continuous change of sense of place, but does not, however, provide a highly tangible and empirically researchable definition. On the other hand, even the more clear-cut definition presented by Shamai (feelings of belonging/attachment to place and the attitudes and behavior in/towards a place) requires operationalization in order to empirically study sense of place and the influence of tourism on it. Shamai himself offered a way to empirically measure the concept, albeit in a positivist and hence quantitative way not suitable for this research (Shamai, 1991). Kaltenborn (1998) further developed Shamai's model in order to measure sense of place. While these models identify the strength of an individual's sense of place, they often do not consider the physical realm, sources of attachment and different forms of attachment (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). They are furthermore of a quantitative nature and seek to measure the concept, while qualitative researchers aim more at describing it in the words and experiences of respondents. The definition used for sense of place in this thesis is; *feelings, attachment, attitudes, knowledge and behavior of/towards a place which includes feelings of belonging and satisfaction/aversion of/to the social and physical environments*. These dimensions may be split into four groups, as demonstrated in the theoretical framework.

Positive and negative sense of place

Before getting into the specifics of how sense of place is researched in this thesis, a distinction needs to be made between positive and negative senses of place. A positive sense of place implies favorable and positive attitudes, feelings and behavior in/towards a place, and may thus be seen separately from the strength of an individual's sense of place. This may be visualized with the help of a simple table; a respondent may have a weak and positive sense of place in a certain location while having a strong and negative sense of place in another (Table 2). While academic literature often simply discerns between strong and weak senses of place, the distinction here is deemed necessary in order to determine the sense of place of students in an area aptly (Seamon, 1980; Shamai, 1991; Kaltenborn, 1998; Mordue, 2005; Korac, 2009). An individual may have a positive sense of place in a location when he or she feels at ease and enjoys being in a place for the social and/or physical environment. A negative sense of place on the other hand, may imply that a respondent feels uneasy or prefers not to be a part of the social and/or physical environment.

Certainly a respondent may experience both positive and negative senses of place in multiple areas within inner-city Amsterdam, or may even experience a mix of both positive and negative aspect of sense of place in a single area. For example, a respondent may feel satisfied towards the social environment of an area while also feeling senses of aversion towards the physical environment of this same area. However, these experiences together form the sense of place of an individual and are thus not seen as separate senses of place. This person is thus not simply seen as having a positive or negative sense of place, but rather to possess mixed sentiments. Furthermore, there is a possibility that a respondent is either unsure, or is simply callous towards his/her feelings in a place. For

instance, a respondent may feel neither strong nor weak and neither positive nor negative towards a place. This could be the case when a person is unsure about his/her feelings in a place.

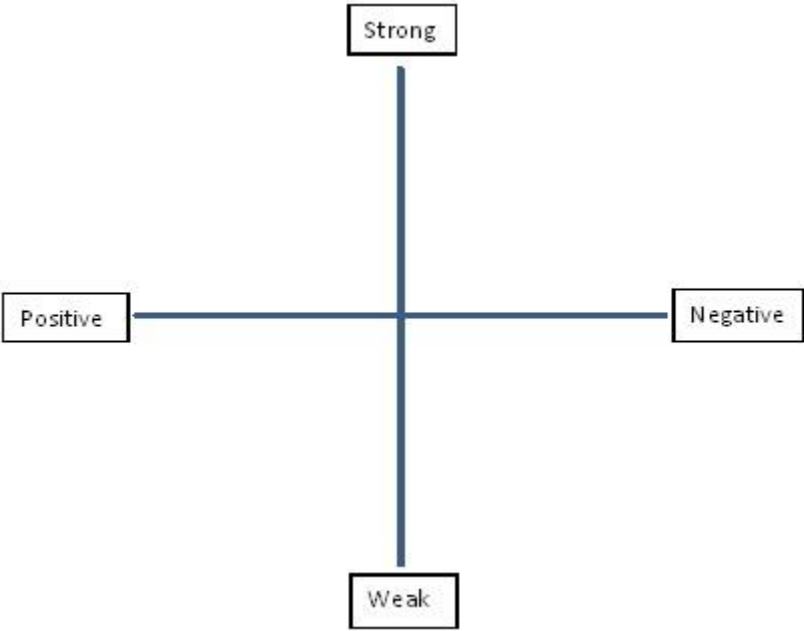


Table 2: The axis within which the sense of place of an individual in a certain location falls. Source: Author.

Assessing sense of place

Lin and Lockwood (2014) distinguish between nine different types of assessment of sense of place. These range from purely quantitative, to purely qualitative, to mixed methods, and provide a clear overview of the suitability of each type to address the dimensions of sense of place (Lin and Lockwood, 2014, p.1444). Methodologies used to assess sense of place are divided between different ‘types’, ranging from 1 to 9. Two types of methodologies fit best within this project due to their abilities to uncover an individual’s lived experience of a place in great detail (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). The first of these is a qualitative methodology aimed at uncovering relationships between the individual and place. According to Lin and Lockwood (2014), qualitative research ticks all the boxes for the ability to assess sense of place, including the ability to analyze sources and forms of sense of place. It focuses heavily on the subjective and finds its strength in “the depth and richness of the information collected” (Mitchell, et al., 1993). This qualitative methodology has the potential to determine both functional and emotional attachment, as well as cultural and biophysical appreciations (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). The second methodology which best fits this research follows a more tangible approach to researching the concept of sense of place. It focuses on ‘the spatial identification of place-based meanings’ by employing mapping practices (Lin and Lockwood, 2014, p.1447). This methodology allows the researcher to link personal values and perceptions to specific places and can define differences in relative strengths of identification between areas of study. Combining these types allows for the creation of a comprehensive image of the creation of sense of place through the employment of qualitative methods (first methodology) and mapping

practices (second methodology). However, it still does not tell us exactly how to conduct this research specifically. How is sense of place researched qualitatively? How can the influence of tourism on the dimensions of sense of place be determined? What is meant with mapping practices and how will this be used? The following section will address these and other questions.

The first methodological approach, employing qualitative methods, is applied to this thesis extensively. As was made clear previously, sense of place is a concept consisting of many facets and may be deemed an ‘umbrella term’ at times. One approach to studying multifaceted terms like these qualitatively is through the conceptualization of variables. A leading author who has taken this approach is Billig (2005). Billig studied sense of place in residential neighborhoods using ethnographic analysis of in-depth interviews with women. Due to the difference in study populations and cases, the variables employed by Billig are slightly altered here in order to reflect the specific case study. These can be seen in Table 3 below. For instance, two variables of behavior have been merged to form the variable ‘relationships with the other population groups’. Similarly, the affective variable ‘feeling of belonging to a community’ has been replaced with ‘feeling of belonging to the social environment’ in order to better fit the research at hand. Furthermore, the variable ‘satisfaction with or aversion to the social environment’ has been added (as counterpart to ‘satisfaction with or aversion to the physical environment’) in order to balance the researched effects of both social and physical environments on sense of place. As in the case of Sullivan, et al., the variables presented below dissect and describe the concept at hand. In doing so, Billig finds (in her experience) what make up the building blocks of sense of place. This subsequently makes the concept researchable in a qualitative way (Sullivan, et al., 2009).

Variables of Behavior	Affective Variables
Differences in norms and life style between population groups	Satisfaction with or aversion to the physical environment.
Relations with the other population group(s)	Satisfaction with or aversion to the social environment
Use of public space and of public services	Feeling of belonging to the social environment
	Feeling of belonging to the physical environment
	Feeling of security in public space.

Table 3: Variables used to define the sense of place of respondents. Source: Billig (2005).

The variables shown above as used by Billig (2005) have been used to determine the sense of place of residents and the differences in sense of place between different areas, thus providing this thesis with measurement validity (showing the used measurements truly reflect the researched term) when research is executed in a similar fashion. Furthermore, distinctions are made between different population groups, which make these variables highly applicable to this thesis. For example, the behavioral variable ‘differences in norms and life style between population groups’ may point out important differences between tourists and students and may clarify the impact of tourism on the

sense of place of students (for instance by explaining the impact of the differences in behavior on students' behavior towards a place). Within this thesis, the approach to studying sense of place as done by Billig (2005) serves as a guideline. The variables above are reflected in qualitative in-depth interview questions. This is not to say that the variables are copied and blindly applied, nor that they stand alone in the applied assessment of the respondents' sense of place. Other sub-dimensions and aspects of sense of place which have come forward from the chosen definition of sense of place are applied to the interview guide as well (Shamai, 1991; Sharpley, 2013). The exact ways in which this is done is described in the following section. While the abovementioned variables seem aimed at the physical and social environments and their influences on sense of place, the personal characteristics are not forgotten. Different personal characteristics and backgrounds are what create varying perceptions of social and physical realities (Billig, 2005; Cighi, 2008). This way, individual characteristics are highly important in determining the respondent's sense of place.

The second methodological approach adopted is one as presented by Lin and Lockwood (2014) which focuses on the mapping of sense of place and place attachment. As some feelings are hard to express in words, visualizing sense of place can provide an easier task for a respondent. Putting these experiences and feelings onto paper results in inherently subjective and personal maps which point out the places that mean most (or least) to them (Lippard, 1997; Lin and Lockwood, 2014). One way in which to map these experiences is the evaluative map, which allows participants to mark places with specific "psychologically meaningful criteria" (Lewicka, 2011, p.221). Evaluative maps simultaneously offer a way in which to provide clear delineation of sense of place along tangible geographical lines. This allows for the possibility to study differences in sense of place between certain areas. Finally, these maps can offer a gateway option from which to further elucidate interesting findings using qualitative methodology. In this sense, evaluative mapping and in-depth interviews can strengthen each other. It should be underscored that the individual maps will be used as a tool to add details and geographical/spatial aspects to the assessment of sense of place and as enrichment and gate opener for the qualitative in-depth interviews. An assemblage of all individual maps allows for a broader, more comprehensive image of the impact of tourism on sense of place. This is done using an existing base map which clearly structures the respondent's 'answer' and allows for both comparison and merging of the answers (Brown, 2005; Brennan-Horley, 2010). The ways in which these evaluative mapping processes are conducted precisely are addressed in the methods of data collection section below.

Methods of data collection

This section will focus on substantiating and clarifying *how* the empirical research of this thesis is conducted specifically. How will the required data be gathered exactly? How will students be approached? How will interviews and mapping practices be structured? These and other questions are addressed below, structured to follow the line of sub-questions and ultimately the main research question.

The study population and chosen locations for data collection have been clearly delineated in the operationalization section above. But how will the actual data collection take place? It has been chosen to approach respondents as individuals in the mentioned locations. Interviews are subsequently conducted individually and face-to-face. In order to prevent inter-researcher error only one researcher conducts the interviews and evaluative mapping procedures. The type of interview employed is that of a *semi-structured interview*. This type of interview method allows the researcher to utilize an interview guide (see App. 1), which provides the researcher with a set of questions that bring structure to an interview and between all interviews conducted (Bryman, 2008). Simultaneously, the semi-structured interview allows the researcher to deviate slightly from the interview guide whenever significant replies from a respondent require further questioning (Bryman, 2008). The interviews are conducted entirely in Dutch, as both the researcher and respondent are native Dutch speakers. This is done in order to prevent information getting lost in translation by the respondent, as expressing oneself in a native language is expected to be easier for both parties involved.

Sampling follows along the lines of the *simple random sample*. This type of sampling gives each unit within the sample population the same chance of being included in the research. Both locations hold students from the UvA and thus potential respondents. In order to truly create a random sample, multiple days of the week and times of day will be used for sampling the population. Students are approached by the researcher and asked to participate in the research. One advantage of this as opposed to approaching respondents through flyers is that there will be less bias involved (as only especially interested students would participate, which might not be a diverse research population). A first step in assuring the encountered individuals actually fall within the research population is to ask whether or not they are students studying at UvA, possessive of the Dutch nationality and are living in Amsterdam. Another advantage of this type of sampling is that the researcher can subsequently determine whether the researched population has been diverse enough/representative of the total study population and can rectify this if this is required. For example, when only senior students have been interviewed at a certain point, the researcher may choose to incorporate junior students purposefully.

Researching the sense of place of students

The interviews and mapping practices are structured to clearly discuss all topics required to answer the research questions in full. Following this structure, the way in which the first sub-question, 'What is the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how is it constituted?', is researched is dealt with first. As shown, sense of place is largely created through three main

dimensions; social environment, physical environment and group/individual characteristics. This sub-question thus plays around the block 'sense of place' and relationships B1, B2 and B3 in the conceptual model. It may be self-evident that defining dimensions of sense of place such as feelings, attachment, attitudes and behavior are addressed in order to answer this sub-question. As shown, this can be studied using the variables of behavior and affective variables of Billig (2005) and the distinctive aspects of sense of place as described by Shamai (1991). The variables created by Billig, as well as the discerned defining dimensions of sense of place (see Theoretical Framework) are researched using in-depth interviews. The same base approach applies to the first sub-question of this thesis with the use of semi-structured interview questions (which are subsequently strengthened with the use of evaluative maps). The variables and aspects of sense of place are translated into questions, which are asked to respondents. These are then divided along the lines of positive or negative sense of place. For example, when exploring the respondent's sense of place in certain areas, the affective variable 'feeling of belonging to the physical environment' is translated into the question 'Do you feel like you belong to this physical environment?' and serves as a small part in researching the sense of place of respondents. In a similar fashion other variables (both affective and behavioral) and aspects of sense of place are researched in order to determine the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam (see Appendix 1).

Assessing the respondent's sense of place in inner-city Amsterdam starts by determining where (in the delineated study-area) a respondent travels regularly and why. As this may be easier to pinpoint with a map, the map shown above (Fig. 4) is altered (to black and white) and presented to the respondent. This is done in order to help respondents identify areas as part of evaluative mapping practices. The evaluative map provides the respondent with a base map which shows a delineated inner-city Amsterdam. This has the advantage of providing all respondents with the same base map and thus allowing the researcher to compare and combine the evaluative maps when research is concluded. Within this delineated area, no clear distinctions are made between neighborhoods. This strategy is preferred over the use of pins or clearly delineated neighborhoods, as feelings and mobility patterns may not follow the strict delineations of these approaches (Brown, 2005; Brennan-Horley, 2010; Lewicka, 2011). The findings resulting from the maps may furthermore serve to open up new strands of questions ('Why did you highlight this area?', 'What makes you feel this way?'). The nature of the strategy of analysis of the evaluative maps entails that the darker an area is portrayed, the more respondents highlighted this area on their base map. At the other end of the spectrum this means that areas not highlighted by respondents at all remain in the original coloring of the base map – black and white. Upon conclusion of the delineation of areas, the evaluative maps are studied by both the respondent and researcher. This allows the researcher to delve deeper into some of the choices made by the student.

After determining where the respondent may be found regularly with the use of the first evaluative map (in blue), the question is posed whether or not he or she feels at home in these places. This is done due to the fact that respondents cannot be expected to draw sense of place (which is also why operationalization is required). While feeling at home does not translate literally to sense of place, it does provide a good indicator which may be studied in greater detail with follow-up questions (Duyvendak, 2011). Feeling at home encompasses an individual's feelings of belonging to the social and physical environments, their sense of satisfaction with the social and physical environments and often implies a certain kind of relaxed attitudes and behavior towards a place (Duyvendak, 2011). It

should still be underscored that sense of feeling at home does not fully cover the load that sense of place does. A prime difference between the two is that sense of place is a more comprehensive and broader term. For instance, while feeling at home already implies certain feelings (such as feeling at ease), sense of place does not (any and all feelings and attitudes are included). Therefore, the provided maps (which represent where respondents feel at home or not, and thus fail to fully show sense of place) are substantiated with large amounts of qualitative data (much of which delves deeper into the choices made by respondents in highlighting areas of the evaluative maps). Following this, the second part of this sub-question looks to determine the areas in which respondents feel stronger/weaker feelings of belonging (thus combining feelings of connection to both physical and social environments). Respondents are provided with multiple colored pens and asked to highlight areas where they feel a stronger/weaker sense of feeling at home (green for strong sense of feeling at home and red for strong sense of *not* feeling at home) in order to determine sense of place and its geographic fluctuations. As such, the question is asked; 'Where in inner-city Amsterdam do you feel most at home?' This question is subsequently explored further with the use of the aspects of sense of place previously provided. For example, part of an individual's sense of place is his/her feelings of belonging to the social and physical environment. These feelings, in addition to an individual's knowledge of a place, their attachment to a place, behavior towards a place and satisfaction with its social and physical environments, are studied in order to fully display the sense of place of a respondent. The same approach is used here to determine areas in which the respondent feels less at home, so that these areas may be compared after all data-collection has completed. This may then be structured along the positive/negative divide. Using these approaches, the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam, as well as the ways in which this is constituted may be researched aptly.

Researching the extent of influence of tourism on sense of place

The second sub-question is phrased as 'To what extent does tourism affect the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam? Where is this effect felt most strongly?' Instead of focusing on the block 'sense of place' in the conceptual model, this question focuses on relationships A1, A2, B1 and B2. The first part of the second sub-question – the extent of the influence of tourism on sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam – is researched using qualitative questions in a similar fashion used to determine the sense of place of students in the first research question. However, firstly a smooth transition from researching sense of place to researching the impact of tourism hereon needs to be established in order to prevent the respondent from feeling 'tricked'. This is done by asking the respondent to state aspects influencing an individual's sense of belonging and subsequently asking whether tourism fits within this list (if not yet identified by the respondent). Explorative questions on tourism then slowly reveal the true aim of the interview. The definition of a tourist through the eyes of the respondent is an essential question in this part, as may be explained through the looming 'blurring' effect described above. Furthermore, Sharpley's (2013) intrinsic variable 'economic/employment dependency on tourism' is addressed as it is expected to be of major influence on the respondent's perceptions of tourism and thus its impact upon his/her sense of place.

Following these explorative questions on tourism, the respondent is again provided with a fresh base map. This time the question posed is to identify areas in which the respondent notices tourism most strongly in inner-city Amsterdam. Following this, the impact of tourism on the social environment in the eyes of the respondent is studied. However, asking simply how tourism impacts the social environment may pose too big of a challenge for respondents unaccustomed to social sciences. Therefore, the social environment has been provided with examples and aspects of the core concepts at hand. Respondents are thus asked to identify the impact of tourism on social composition, behavior, interaction, daily practices and security. Afterwards, the impact of tourism on the physical environment is studied by asking the respondent about the impact on the built environment (public spaces, buildings, infrastructure), on shops/amenities and their supply, (public) transport and trash (and its processing). While these questions certainly provide valuable information on *how* sense of place is impacted by tourism, this sub-question is focused on the extent of that influence. The data required to answer this sub-question may also be gained from these questions, while the information on *how* sense of place is impacted by tourism specifically is reserved for the third sub-question. Thus, alongside determining the impact of tourism on the social and physical environments in the respondent's experiences, the impact of these effects of tourism on the individual's sense of place is studied. The identified impacts on both environments are recounted and the respondent is asked how these impacts influence his/her experiences of these places. Matching the aspects and dimensions of sense of place, other questions determining the extent of the impact of tourism on sense of place focus on the respondent's attitudes, behavior, feelings of belonging and senses of home in these places. Another mapping practice in which the respondent is asked where the impact of tourism on the mentioned feelings is greatest is aimed at uncovering spatial discrepancies in the impacts of tourism on sense of place. Finally, in order to determine the severity of the impacts of tourism on students' sense of place, respondents are asked whether they would change anything about tourism and if yes, what they would change and how. The findings of this sub-question are cross-examined with those from the first sub-question in the results section.

While an expected outcome of this sub-question might be that the sense of place is influenced most strongly by tourism in areas where tourism is simply the most prevalent, this might not be the case. Due to the unique position of the study population (students often lack a long history with a place, and may have interest in similar amenities as tourists) the sense of place might be influenced most strongly in other places. For example, areas in which students have witnessed the impact of tourism on physical and social environments over a given period might be of more influence on their sense of place than that of an area which they have always known as being heavily touristic. For instance, students might be familiar with De Wallen as a touristic area for as long as they can remember, but might notice the new impacts of tourism in other areas such as Amsterdam Noord or Amsterdam West. Concepts such as Airbnb have shifted tourists to different areas, potentially impacting the sense of place of students in these areas to a larger degree than in reasonably stable tourism hotspots such as De Wallen. For instance, students may develop strong feelings of aversion to the social environment in areas where tourism recently arrived.

Researching *how* tourism affects sense of place

The third research question sought to be answered in this thesis is the following; ‘How can the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam be clarified through social and physical dimensions?’

As shown in the theoretical framework and the conceptual model, both physical and social dimension are sources in the creation of sense of place. Both of these dimensions are also open to change due to tourism development. For example, the social environment can change as a result of people from other regions flocking in and the physical environment can change as local shops now aim their merchandise at serving tourists. Other authors have shown these relationships – but how does it hold up in the case of students and Amsterdam? This sub-question also focuses around relationships A1, A2, B1 and B2.

While it is probable that students witness the impact of tourism on both these dimensions (in varying degrees as will have been pointed out in the second sub-question) it may be expected that one of these dimensions is of greater influence on the sense of place of students than the other. For example, it is possible that a respondent clearly acknowledges the impact of tourism on their feelings of belonging to the social environment while denying an influence of tourism on their feelings of belonging to the physical environment, or the other way around. For this reason, respondents are asked which environment weighs more in the impact of tourism on his/her sense of place.

The previous sub-questions hold most of the information required to answer this sub-question as well. However, certain questions address the impact of tourism on the social and physical environment directly, and subsequently determine how these effects impact and construct the respondent’s sense of place. Questions posed to respondents in order to address the third sub-question aim specifically at *how* tourism impacts the sense of place of respondents. For example, respondents are asked (after discussing impacts of tourism on both social and physical environments) how these impacts affect the ways in which they feel and behave in/towards these areas. Similar questions provide detailed qualitative insights into the ways in which tourism impacts the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. With this information, the third sub-question may be answered fully. It may be apparent then that the information required for answering this sub-question is mostly gained through thorough analysis of the previously acquired data. As the third sub-question does not involve the spatial nature of the previous two sub-questions, this spatial attribute is reintroduced in the cross-examination section of the results section of the third sub-question.

Main research question

After addressing the three sub-questions, the main research question ‘What is the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how can it be explained?’, is answered. No new research is conducted for answering this question, as it will be answered using the information gathered for the three sub-questions. In this sense, the main research question fulfills a more concluding role; the building blocks have been provided in answering the sub-questions, and will subsequently be assembled in answering this main research question.

Data preparation and strategies of analysis

This section deals with the questions of how the gathered data is prepared for analysis and how the data is subsequently analyzed. With the consent of the respondents in question, the interviews conducted are recorded for later analysis. To ensure anonymity and research ethics, data analysis is done completely anonymously and recorded interactions are erased after use. The first step in this process of analysis is transcription. Transcription entails the process of copying the interview from mere sounds to written words, while the methods of doing so may differ (Bryman, 2008). As the interviews are conducted in Dutch, transcription is done in Dutch as well. Recording and transcribing has multiple advantages. First of all, data becomes more accessible, as the interview can be scanned quickly and scrolled through, which is hardly possible with audio recordings. Secondly, it takes away the need to make large amounts of notes while interviewing, allowing the researcher to focus more on the interview itself. Thirdly, while transcribing, the researcher gains a deeper understanding of the respondent's answers through listening to the interview again and typing out the spoken words. Finally, interviewing isn't simply about *what* respondents say, but also *how*. Recording interviews allows the researcher to analyze the emotions and tones behind the spoken words (Bryman, 2008). Subsequently, this helps the researcher to determine what subjects are deemed important by the interviewee (for instance a callous versus an involved stance).

A downside of recording might be that the interviewee becomes more self-aware due to the microphone and thus does not open up as fully as he or she would without it. Assuring the respondent of the purely academic needs of recording the conversation might soothe this self-consciousness (Bryman, 2008). A downside to transcribing on the other hand, is the fact that it is generally considered to be a very time-consuming activity, as one hour of interview can take as much as six hours of transcribing. In order to combat this, it is chosen to transcribe and analyze as quickly as possible following the interview, so as not to pile up transcription work and meddle gathered information. Transcribing soon after the interview is conducted furthermore helps to convey the tonal and emotional aspects in a more clear fashion. In order to capture the tones of respondents, it is chosen here to transcribe with the inclusion of hesitations, pauses and interludes. These nuances are used here as context information, and thus not as part of discourse analyses. The evaluative maps require some preparation as well, as shown below.

At first, the collected and transcribed data will be unstructured and in need of organization. This process helps to later analyze the acquired data in a systematic fashion. Analyzing large amounts of qualitative data is time-consuming and comes down largely to the researcher's personal preference. While some opt for the use of specialized software such as NVivo or Atlas.ti, it is chosen here to structure the data with the use of Microsoft Word. While the applied software program itself differs in some ways from NVivo and Atlas.ti (software-wise), the general processes remain the same; structuring the qualitative data with the use of codes and memos. Thus, while the software does not function the exact same way, the steps taken with the use of Word are the same as those that would have been taken with the use of any other software specifically intended for analysis of qualitative data. Several steps have been undertaken in order to prepare the data for analysis. First and foremost, the interview guide has been structured to address each sub-question in the order they were devised. This means that answering the first sub-question may be done primarily with the use of data gathered from the first section of the interview. Following this, data structured by question is

deemed suitable for tackling the research questions, and Word offers an easy way to structure the data appropriately (through simply arranging parts of the text to match the question sought to be answered). Secondly, important data encountered while scrutinizing the qualitative data is coded in order to prevent overlooking crucial information. For example, while examining data required to answer the first sub-question, information which can help answer the second or third sub-question (or vice versa) may present itself. This information is subsequently given a code and reflected upon at later times. These codes are often vital parts of the research at hand and sum up important information required to answer research questions. For example, when coding the qualitative information in this thesis, the code 'sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam' is vital. However, this code on its own is still very broad and may be subdivided into more specific codes (for example along the positive and negative, social and physical lines). This is reflected in what is called the 'coding tree'; a 'tree' with multiple branches of codes which subdivide as they become more specific. With the addition of more and more interviews, the code tree will continuously grow and adapt until the data is structured in a fashion which allows the researcher to search for particular effects. Intricate subjects and large amounts of qualitative data may become complex to a degree that multiple code trees may be established in order to keep the information coherent. This is done here as well. The final versions of the code trees used are added to this thesis as an appendix (see Appendix 2). Transcription and coding are initially conducted in Dutch, while quotes are translated into English in order to integrate them into the results chapter.

As the completed evaluative maps will be a point of discussion, they can largely be analyzed by using the arguments provided by the respondents. However, it is expected that respondents draw highly personal and thus different areas of effect. For example, when drawing the areas in which the respondent experiences the strongest connection to the environment, the answer from this respondent may differ greatly from the answer of the next. Generalizing these findings, or even comparing them, let alone creating a comprehensive and complete image of this impact in a single map, would be difficult. However, the maps share the same base map and have been subjected to the same questions between respondents. This means that the outcomes of the maps may be compared when using the right techniques. In order to effectuate this, the areas as highlighted by respondents are scanned and digitalized piece by piece. The completed evaluative maps then serve as a base-map, while the see-through evaluative map is laid over the base map. Subsequently, in order to keep as much detail of the respondent's drawings as possible, the drawings of respondents are drawn over with the use of Adobe Photoshop. This is much preferred over using pre-determined dividing lines as presented by municipal instances, as respondents are not expected to think along those geographical divisional lines (OIS, 2005). Using a low coverage ratio, each color provided by the respondents is layered on top of each other. This results in a map type comparable to that of a 'heat map', in which areas often highlighted by respondents turn a darker variant of the color used in the map at hand. For example, a map may be using the color red. When no respondent highlighted a particular area this area remains black and white, when a single respondent highlights this area it turns slightly redder and when 10 respondents highlight the same area it will grow redder still. The maximum amount of layers parallels that of the total number of respondents – 20. Legends show which shades of the color at hand reflects which number of respondents. A thematic map in which the answers are linked to different colors may subsequently provide a clear and comprehensive image of the answers given by respondents. This allows for a quick introduction to an otherwise immense amount of information displayed by use of text.

RESULTS

This section of the thesis addresses the results of the conducted empirical research. This will follow the line of the sub-questions, dividing this section into three main sub-chapters. The ways in which the sub-questions are addressed may differ and will be elucidated at the start of each sub-chapter. Information on the characteristics of respondents participating in the research are listed in Appendix 3, Table 1 and 2.

Sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam

The first sub-question to be addressed with the aid of the empirical data collected is the following; 'What is the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how is it constituted?' A good starting point in determining sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam is ascertaining areas which respondents often visit and for which reasons. Respondents were found to have a better understanding of their feelings and attitudes in these areas compared to ones rarely visited by them. The first combined evaluative map (Fig. 5 below) shows these areas. At first sight, a few areas stand out. Areas visited most by respondents include Centraal Station, Roeterseiland, Oudemanhuispoort, Leidseplein and Spui. Streets often traversed by respondents include Vijzelstraat, Leidsestraat, Haarlemmerstraat, Sint Antoniesbreestaat and Weteringschans. On the other hand, areas least visited by respondents most notably include the Jordaan area, Westermarkt, the triangle between the Nieuwmarkt, Oudeschans and Waalseilandgracht and the Westelijke Eilanden.

The first three locations frequently visited by respondents may be explained in a relatively straightforward fashion. Centraal Station (on the northern border) was highlighted by most respondents participating in the research with the sole reason of its use as a transportation hub. Many respondents acknowledged using the train station (which also provides trams, buses, bike rental services, canal tours and ferries) in order to get from A to B only. Often this was to visit their parents or friends living in another city or other parts of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the university campuses Oudemanhuispoort and Roeterseiland were frequently visited by every respondent for the simple reason of studying and following lectures (see Fig. 4 for locations). Spui (left of Oudemanhuispoort) is another location which houses university buildings and was often visited for study reasons, or for its bookstores. The open square with its market and entrance to one of Amsterdam's most popular tourist destinations – Begijnhof – also houses several cafés and restaurants. Leidseplein (bottom left) is a square abundant with bars, cafés, cinemas, casinos, live music venues, restaurants and other nightlife amenities. The main reason students regularly visit this area is to participate in nightlife activities with peers. Throughout the year, a lively atmosphere can be experienced here almost every night. The streets often traversed were simply mentioned as being major arteries in the transportation network of the students and share the fact that they provide public transport services or relatively large streets used by cyclists. The Jordaan neighborhood (western part of the inner-city) was coined by some students, but (with the most northern part excluded) was rarely, if ever, highlighted as an area frequently visited by respondents. This is mostly due to the fact that these areas are traditionally residential areas and thus often fail to offer students

a reason to visit (except for those who have acquaintances or live in this area). This simultaneously explains why the most northern part of the Jordaan area is visited more frequently; it houses two popular shopping streets – Haarlemmerstraat and Haarlemmerdijk. A similar argument was brought forward for the Westelijke Eilanden (as being strictly a residential area), while the mentioned triangle east of the Nieuwmarkt was not highlighted or specifically mentioned in its entirety.

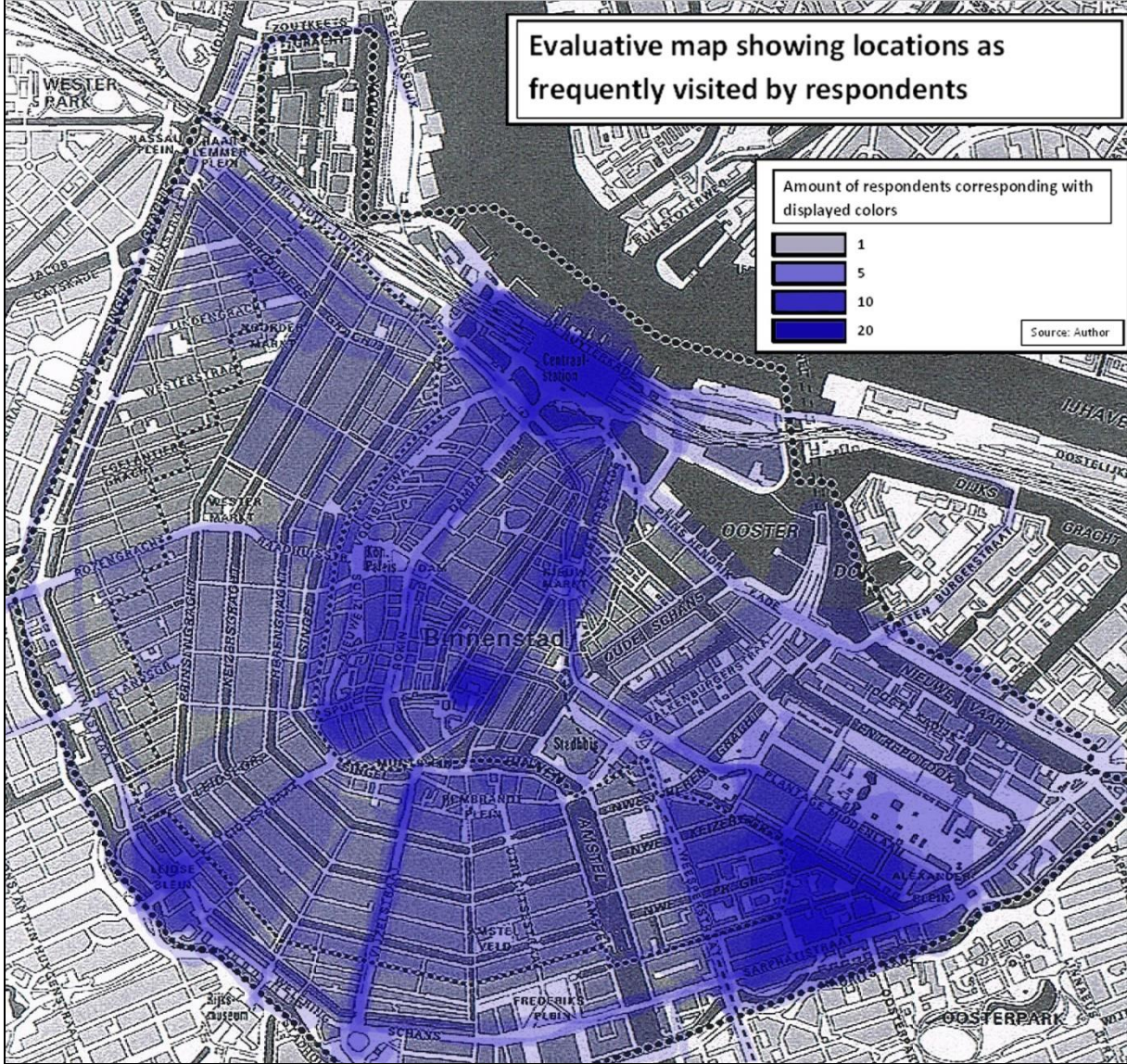


Figure 5: Evaluative map showing areas frequently visited by respondents. Source: Author.

Positive sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam

In a similar fashion to the mapping of areas often frequented by respondents, Figure 6 shows areas in which respondents feel most at home within inner-city Amsterdam. At first sight, a few areas seem to stand out concerning sense of feeling at home. Two larger areas stand out concerning the sheer density of respondents’ highlighted areas. These are the Jordaan area in the northwest and Roeterseiland/Artis in the opposing corner. Starting off with the Jordaan area, it may be noted that despite the fact that respondents do not seem to frequently visit the area (Fig. 5), they do experience

a sense of feeling at home to some degree. Interestingly, the northern area of the Jordaan area is both visited more frequently and experienced more positively.

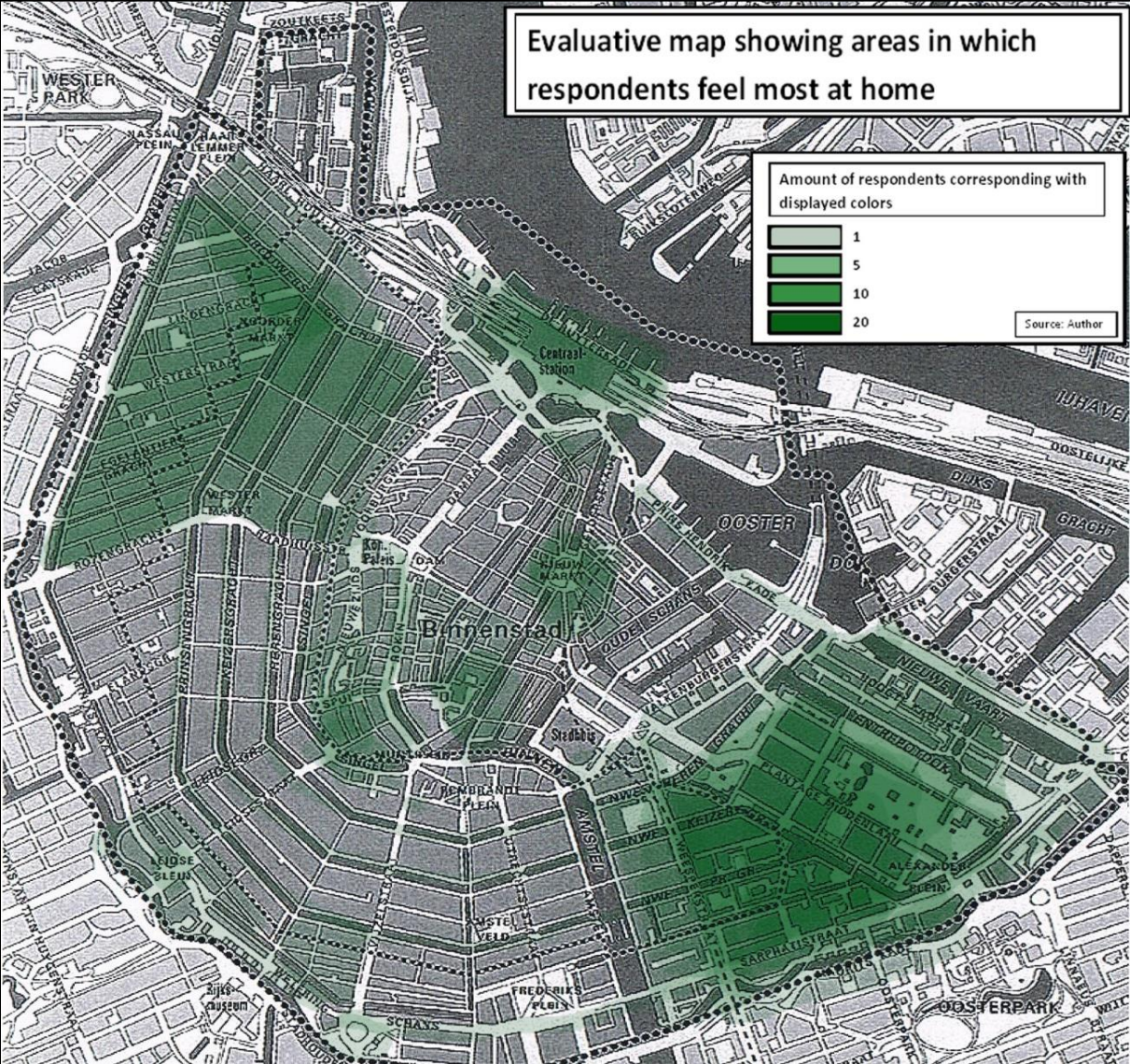


Figure 6: Evaluative map showing areas in which respondents feel most at home. Source: Author.

So what causes these positive attitudes in this area? Several respondents noted different reasons for this. For instance, one respondent explained the positive attitude towards the Jordaan area through the fact that he has been there “100.000 times” due to the fact that his brothers had lived in this area for multiple years. For him, this created a strong sense of familiarity and sense of belonging in the social environment, resulting in feeling at home. More specifically, existing family ties to this area and knowledge of the social environment caused this respondent to feel more connected to the specific area as well. For instance, if this respondent’s close relative would have resided in the next area, the connections to both places would have been different. While this narrative underscores the importance of the social environment in the creation of this individual’s positive sense of place, another respondent accentuated the importance of the physical environment here, stating that he felt at home due to different reasons; “All those little bars there. I’ve always found little bars to be.. even though it’s the other side of the city.. I always enjoy cycling there and having some beers”.

Although the question may be raised whether or not these bars are in fact enjoyable or not due to the social environment present, it is clear that this respondent prefers these bars over the ones nearer to his residence to such an extent that he traverses a large part of the city to be part of this environment. The little bars present in this particular area are distinct enough in the eyes of this respondent to sacrifice time and energy to be present in this physical environment, as opposed to another. Another example of how a positive sense of place is created in this area is presented by a 22 year old student when asked what made her feel at home in this area: “Mh.. I think primarily the.. eh atmosphere present there.. in De Jordaan it’s very.. yeah I feel very.. it’s really Amsterdam at its top I think. And you just feel that. Little cafés and young people everywhere. [...] Eh.. yeah and it’s just very pretty and.. often quiet”. Not only does this respondent show how the social *and* physical environment may both impact sense of place in an area in a positive fashion simultaneously (cafés and people, pretty and quiet), it furthermore shows the importance of atmosphere and a sense of what true Amsterdam *is* in the eyes of respondents. Thus, the Jordaan area hosts a positive sense of place for a considerable portion of the research population (see Fig. 6), constituted through a mixture of social and physical factors, differing between respondents due to their personal characteristics and experiences. Features of the physical environment, such as the quiet canal scene and little bars littering the area, and features of the social environment, such as present family and the presence of peers, both caused a large number of students to feel connected to the Jordaan area.

The second large area highlighted by respondents is the university campus of Roeterseiland and the neighboring Artis Royal Zoo. Due to the fact that respondents often pointed at similar causes of feeling at home in the other campus studies – Oudemanhuispoort – these areas are addressed here simultaneously. The Roeterseiland campus and its surrounding areas are generally spacious, with broad streets connecting large blocks of buildings. The construction of a large new university building is underway, following the recent completion of an even larger building. Oudemanhuispoort on the other hand, is carpeted with little streets and canals, with a tunnel opening up to the ‘hidden’ main university building. In these areas, two main reasons for a positive sense of place stand out; students’ knowledge of a place and their feelings of belonging to the social environment. Firstly, many respondents pointed out the fact that they know their way around these areas and that they know many people frequenting the area. As students spend a great deal of time in these areas, the physical environment was known like the back of their hand for many respondents. Simultaneously, spending much time at the campuses entails spending much time with people, causing students to create a social network at these locations (for instance with other students, tutors and university personnel). Respondents in both areas remarked upon the fact that every time they visited these areas, they would run into peers and people they know. The presence of a social circle caused many respondents to feel connected to the area, and create positive feelings towards its social environment. Another factor of great importance in this issue, is the fact that some respondents, such as a student who has been studying at Roeterseiland for 5 years, reiterated the fact that the people attending these areas “are people like me, let’s say. So I have their rituals, norms and values I think”. This fact causes familiarity and a sense of belonging to the social environment in both areas. Being amongst peers who have similar interests, life-courses and situations makes students feel at home and helps create a strong positive sense of place. This finding resembles the points made by Korac (2009) and May and Muir (2015), stating that being part of a familiar social environment leads to the creation of a sense of belonging and a sense of place.

As shown, the physical environment differs between both university campuses, and the experiences of respondents vary accordingly. For example, when speaking of the physical environment of Roeterseiland, many respondents stated that the physical environment was “greyish”, “cheerless” and “colossal”. A 24 year old student summarized this point clearly; “[...] at Roeterseiland I experience [the physical environment] less consciously, because it’s mostly colossal buildings which I don’t identify with. I think it’s more the.. social environment in which I [...] feel at home”. These negative accounts of the physical environment at Roeterseiland were mostly aimed at the newly constructed buildings. On the other hand, the physical environment of the Oudemanhuispoort was received quite positively, and was described by some as a “beautiful place”, being “charming” and consisting of “cute little streets”, which was attributed to the fact that this campus is historical, as opposed to newly built. This was found to be the case due to the fact that Oudemanhuispoort is host to old and picturesque buildings, hallways and gates, which show the areas rich history and tradition of being a place of learning and knowledge. This caused respondents to feel more attached to the physical environment of Oudemanhuispoort, pointing towards a possible confirmation of the theory of Jivén and Larkham (2003), which states attachment to place is most commonly found in places of heritage. For instance, some students felt more connected to this area as they felt like they fall within a long tradition of studying at this particular location, as opposed to Roeterseiland, where the physical environment hosting the university buildings is not as decidedly and visibly steeped in the same kind of historical tendencies. Nonetheless, both the larger Roeterseiland campus and Oudemanhuispoort areas accommodate a positive sense of place for a large fragment of the research population. Despite the differences in the experiences of the physical environments of both university campuses, it is clear that the social environment dictated the positive sense of place of students in these areas. Sense of place’s dimension of feeling of belonging to the social environment (which in this case largely encompassed students, and university employees) was found to be very strongly present and of large influence on the sense of place of students as a whole. In short, students in both university campuses felt positively towards these places, mainly due to the social environment, and somewhat due to the physical environment (at Oudemanhuispoort).

Finally, respondents were asked whether or not they noticed a difference in their behavior when comparing areas marked as green to those not marked as green by the respondent. Very often respondents replied that they feel more relaxed, less on guard, more at ease, less stressed, less irritated, less rushed and more keen on staying in the areas marked with green. These sentiments experienced in green-marked areas were often compared to more busy areas, which was in turn sometimes linked to tourism. For instance, one student stated; “perhaps I’m more relaxed on the bicycle here [Roeterseiland]. But that’s mostly in comparison to the Damstraat. There are a lot of unaware tourists there for example. So then you’re eh.. more alert on the bicycle”. Another respondent instead reiterated the importance of an individual’s knowledge of place and their feelings of belonging to the social environment in the creation of sense of place: “I think you’re more.. you’re there more, so you know your way around. You know people and there’s a big chance you’ll run into people at those place so that’s fun, and it also gives a kind of.. confidence when you walk around there. Yeah a sort of familiarity with the place and the people so.. I’d say I’m a bit different [there], a bit more at ease perhaps”. These accounts once more underscore the importance of familiarity of both social and physical environments in the creation of positive sentiments towards a place. Not knowing the people in an area, or not knowing the layout of a place is found to be a cause of a sense of uneasiness towards places. On the other hand, green areas were often found to be areas with

which students are familiar, and were subsequently linked to positive attitudes, feelings and behavior, thus reflecting a positive sense of place.

While the reader may notice more areas marked as green by relatively large numbers of respondents (Fig. 6), these areas (such as Centraal Station and the Nieuwmarkt) will be addressed in the section covering bilateral sense of place. In essence, it may be concluded that a positive sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is created through a variety of aspects including the social and physical environments, personal history, values and previous experiences. Furthermore, the knowledge of and experience in these places leads students to feel connected to these areas in varying degrees through the creation of a sense of familiarity. More specifically; the dimension which stood out the most in the creation of a positive sense of place was that of feelings of belonging to the social environment. This dimension was shown to be closely related to knowledge of the social environment, as respondents noted they felt part of the social environment due to the fact they knew many people there. Knowledge of the physical environment was found to be important as well. For instance, respondents have shown to feel more connected to areas they visit often and areas where they know the physical environment well. Being familiar in these areas caused respondents to feel more at ease and to behave more confident and relaxed. Personal taste also dictated personal sentiments towards the physical environment, as some respondents indicated being fond of 'little bars' in the Jordaan area, while others noted their dismissive attitude towards the new constructions at Roeterseiland. In general, the social environment is deemed more important in the creation of a positive sense of place, as those who remarked upon their strong social ties indicated this made them feel more at home in this location. While the physical environment certainly contributes to a strong positive sense of place for some, this effect was not found to be as great as that of the social environment. Whether or not the same goes for negative senses of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is discussed below.

Negative sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam

On the other side of the spectrum there are areas in which respondents feel uneasy, not part of the social or physical environment and show different, more negative behavior, attitudes and sentiments towards a place. Like done in previous sections, these areas are highlighted with the use of an evaluative map showing areas in which students feel *least* at home in inner-city Amsterdam (Fig. 7). Unlike previous maps, this map shows a concentric pattern in which the most inner parts of inner-city Amsterdam are colored the darkest shades of red (indicating a large amount of respondents highlighting this area as an area in which they feel least at home) and outlying areas showing lighter shades of red or even the map's base layer colors. Two areas partially defying this pattern are Rembrandtplein (just south of 'binnenstad') and Leidseplein. Other interesting areas are the areas south of Rembrandtplein (which shows that no respondent marked this as an area he/she does not feel at home in) and the areas west of innermost city parts, which shows a gradual decline in density when moving westward. As may be seen in the map, the most central areas consist of little streets, while the canal belt surrounding it houses slightly wider streets and views.

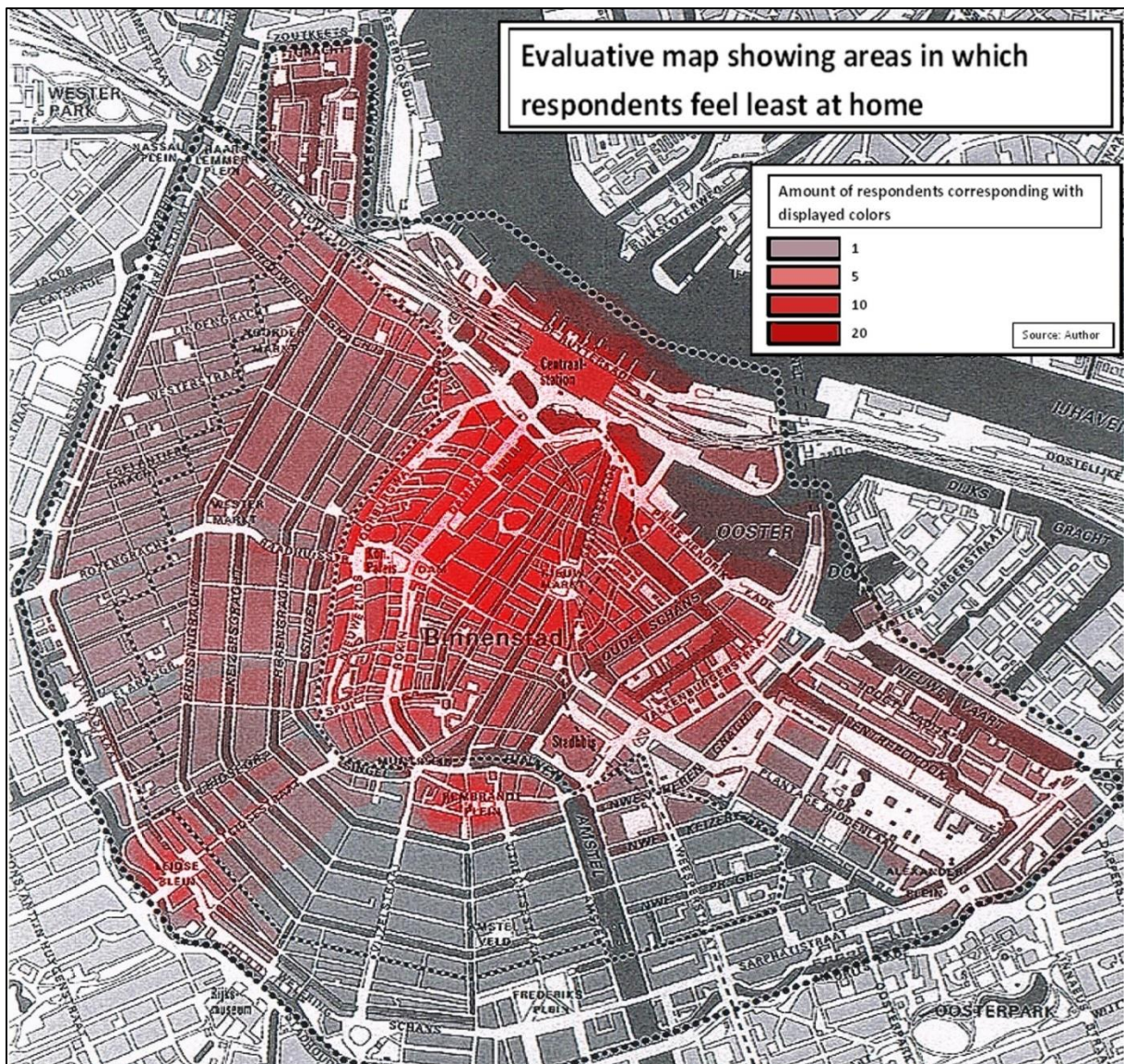


Figure 7: Evaluative map showing areas in which respondents feel least at home. Source: Author.

The area between Damstraat (going southeast from Dam Square) and Centraal Station is highlighted by the largest amount of respondents. This area includes Damrak (a busy shopping street connecting the central station to the city's main square, the Dam), de Wallen (red light district) and myriads of little streets littered with restaurants, cafés, shops and other amenities. Many respondents described different negative experiences, attitudes and behavior in this area. For example, one student did not hesitate to state; "Eh well Damrak I think is horrible of course, haha, and Kalverstraat too". This sentiment was carried across a large base of respondents, albeit other respondents phrased their feelings differently. For instance, another student noted; "There are areas in the inner-city.. for example, I'm not going to walk across the Damrak, I don't feel at home there. It's clearly not a place for me, as someone who lives in Amsterdam". This area in particular is often not experienced as an enjoyable part of Amsterdam for students, and traversing it is done more out of necessity than choice. The tones hidden in these narratives show the seriousness of these feelings as experienced by students. For example, "of course" and "clearly" indicate that this area is so blatantly unappealing to some, that it is assumed to be something self-evident to the extent that it is almost not worth mentioning in the first place. Furthermore, some key recurring sentiments used by students to

describe this area are “annoying”, “characterless”, “I have nothing to do there”, “doesn’t feel like Amsterdam” and “feels like I’m abroad”. These sentiments encapsulate dimensions of sense of place aimed at feelings of respondents, but also very strongly mirror feelings of *not* belonging to the social and physical environments and an aversion to these areas. In turn, these sentiments caused respondents to show different attitudes and behavior in this area. For instance, many respondents noted that they felt rushed and uneasy, causing them to want to get out of this area as soon as possible. This has gotten to the point that some respondents actively avoid these areas; “Yeah I think I walk faster, like I said, I want to get out, I don’t want to stay here too long. I also avoid it if I can”. This respondent clearly felt very strongly towards the areas marked in red. Others stated they felt more frustrated, rushed, asocial and even “a lot more aggressive” in this area. These accounts stress the interpersonal differences in sense of place caused by the different personalities, histories and characteristics of students; negative accounts range from almost indifferent to extremely agitated. Students were found to feel out of place, agitated and rushed, as a part of their negative sense of place in these areas. But what causes these negative sentiments and behavior specifically?

First of all, the social environment caused many students to create negative sentiments towards these areas in ways that are comparable (but reversed) to the ways in which positive sense of place was found to be created. Firstly, the knowledge of the social environment in this area was generally considerably less than those in green areas. Respondents pointed out they knew very little people frequenting this area (noticeably apart from Centraal Station) compared to the green areas. As shown above, knowledge of the social environment in a place may have far-reaching impact on the feelings of an individual in this place. For instance, the way in which the presence of a social circle was found to evoke positive sentiments towards a place, the lacking of such a circle may entail the opposite effect. Like in the positive sense of place, the social environment in particular was found to impact the sense of place of respondents in this area. For example, when asked what causes her to not feel at home here one respondent noted that; “Well at the Dam primarily because I notice [...] that there’s very little people like me. [...] I think primarily for that reason, that I don’t feel connected to the people wandering around there at all”. This links strongly to the earlier made point that students felt at home in the university campuses largely because the social environment there generally resembles their own (Korac, 2009). Others reiterated this point, stating they don’t feel at home because there are “little people I know” or “they’re not my kind of people”. This is a 180-degree turn from the previous findings, where a student noted how he felt at home at the university because of the ‘kind of people’ there. One respondent who had been living in Amsterdam for 10 years provided an explanation for the lack of peers or likeminded people in these areas; “I think everyone I know avoids the inner-city as much as possible”. This points at the severity of the situation for some respondents; with no social circle present, and the people that *are* present being so different from students, their sense of place is bound to be affected in a negative sense. As stated by Cresswell (2014), the social environment is continually changing, and impacts like these (essentially excluding a number of locals) may imply further effects on the social environment in the long run. Furthermore, while this will be addressed in greater detail in following sub-questions, tourism formed a large portion of the arguments explaining the negative sense of place experienced by respondents in this area and should thus be addressed. A recurring impact of tourism on sense of place is the difference in behavior and values between tourists and locals, as one respondent points out when describing his experience of the social environment in this area; “[It’s] very unpleasant. Because all those tourists don’t.. they just behave very differently from how you do. Because I go

there to get through it, and they are there because they want to be in the center. So the way in which we handle the environment is so different that it just becomes.. a very unpleasant combination". For instance, students often have to traverse this dense and busy area in order to get to the main station, university or home, and are confronted by tourists who are simply discovering the area for leisurely purposes. These different uses of the public space cause students to recognize the effect of tourism on the social environment, for example when tourists admiring the local architecture unwittingly block bike paths used by hasty students in order to catch their train or attend their lecture. These sentiments are clearly reflected in the evaluative map and substantiating text of one student (see App. 4, Fig. 4). He noted that the route (marked in a blue line) from his house (at the top left corner of the right green 'box') to Centraal Station was so crowded with tourists that he would prefer to cycle a different route in the hopes of being able to cycle "normally". Thus, the presence of tourists in the most direct route from his house to Centraal Station barred this student from cycling in the fashion he preferred (in a high tempo), thus causing him to be displaced into taking another route. This example of how the social environment affects the sense of place of students is exemplary of a larger sentiment living in the student population researched in this thesis. In short, the social environment has been found to impact various dimensions of sense of place in a negative sense in the innermost areas of Amsterdam due to multiple factors. Most importantly, the fact that students did not know many people in the area, and that they differ from students in attitudes and behavior caused them to feel out of place in the social environment. This in turn caused some of the respondents to change their behavior towards these place (for instance by steering clear of the area altogether).

On the other hand, the physical environment impacts the sense of place of respondents here too, although considerably less negatively so. Similar to that of the social environment, the knowledge of the physical environment was found to be considerably less when compared to that of the green areas shown above. This was mostly due to the fact that students did not visit these areas as often, as one respondent explained "I have nothing to do there [...] no reason to visit". As the students have little to attract them to these areas, they inherently gain little knowledge of its physical environment. For instance, if students were found to have a present social circle in this area, it is expected that they would frequent this area more often, thereby increasing knowledge of its physical environment too. However, this was often not the case. As a result, some students noted that they would get lost in the innermost city center, which despite being the very heart of the capital, they knew very little. The layout of this area further impedes easy navigation, as myriads of narrow (and busy) streets weave throughout the landscape. The lack of familiarity with the physical environment caused students to feel out of place on several occasions. However, feelings and experiences of the physical environment were found to be more mixed than those considering the social environment. For instance, some students described the physical environment of this innermost area as being "impersonal", "less pretty" and "not very pleasant", while others were more positive and described it as being "quite pretty" and "positive". This shows the importance of personal characteristics (tastes in this case) in the creation of interpersonal differences in sense of place. In particular, the aesthetics and use of the physical environment were found to be important for the ways in which students perceived them. For example, the fact that many streets within the innermost city area are littered with all-night souvenir shops, fast-food restaurants and coffeeshops, caused students to describe the area as unpleasant. On top of this, the exterior of these amenities (often bright lights, eye catchers and advertisements) also caused discontent as they were perceived as being 'ugly' and ill-fitting in

the authentic environment. Other students focused on different aspects of the environment, such as the traditional architecture, which they viewed favorably. As with the physical environment at the two university sites researched, the difference between newly built and 'authentic' structures in the inner-city formed a divisive border between positive and negative opinions towards the physical environment. For instance, buildings perceived as being authentic (and not overtaken by new amenities) were often experienced more positively than those perceived as not authentic (even when the underlying structure is, in fact, original). Thus, various focuses and (perhaps purposeful) disregard of other aspects of the physical environment caused students to develop diverse sentiments towards it.



Picture 3: The physical and social environments of the Kalverstraat, inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Mooij, 2013.

The negative sentiments towards the physical environment in the inner-city area were mainly caused by images that the physical environment was “chaotic”, “dirty”, “greyish” and “like a theme park” (see Pic. 3). A number of respondents showed such strong aversion to the physical environment that they stated that they would rather not be there at all: “Yeah I do know it. But I really try to avoid it”; “I avoid it when I can avoid it” and “the center.. I avoid that because of the interaction I need to have with tourists there”. These accounts may be linked to the vicious circle presented by Van der Zee (2016) and Mordue (2005), as the very fact that these students avoid the inner-city may cause other students to follow their lead. However, the most striking finding here is that although some respondents enjoyed the physical environment, they stated that their experience of this environment was being disrupted by the social environment. Multiple respondents mentioned this effect when asked whether they feel at home in the physical environment; “I could feel at home there but.. no. That’s because of the social [environment] I think, that I feel less at home in the physical environment”; “No. Well yeah I think so actually, if I just get rid of the social aspects”; “De Wallen has a very pretty physical environment, but the social [environment] just ruins it completely there” and lastly “Yes the.. physical environment is very.. cool. [...] but the people just make it less.. but the

physical [environment] is very pretty because of those buildings". These accounts help clarify the intricate relationship between both environments and show that the impact on one environment may trickle down to the experience of the other environment. Even though the physical environment in itself may be enjoyable for some students, the experience of this place, and the feelings and attitudes towards it, were impacted to a large degree by the social environment. Interestingly, these findings thus oppose earlier findings presented by Seamon (1980), who stated that a strong (positive) sense of place is created through the production of a 'place-ballet' (a continual congregation of multiple bodies in setting of interactions, said to generate feelings of insidedness and attachment). As these accounts prove, the very fact that students encounter (and interact with) the social environment in this innermost city area causes them to lose their attachment to the physical environment. Instead of strengthening a positive sense of place, it weakens it, creating a negative sense of place. These findings thus show that the presence of a place-ballet does not always imply a strong *positive* sense of place, but can cause a strong *negative* sense of place too.

In conclusion, the physical environment has been ascribed to impact sense of place in a negative sense in these inner-city areas through multiple factors. While knowledge of this physical environment was found to be relatively modest, this was not a main cause for the negative sense of place. Mainly, students viewed the physical environment in a negative light (dimension 'aversion to physical environment'), which caused them to change their behavior and attitudes accordingly. The main causes for this negative view of the physical environment in the innermost city areas were that of aesthetic values, appearances and actual offered amenities.

Apart from the innermost city center, two other areas are worth mentioning. This will be done simultaneously, due to the striking similarities between these locations; Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. Both squares are primarily aimed at nightlife activities and recreational purposes, and provide visitors with ample amenities such as bars, restaurants and clubs. Reasons for respondents to feel less at home and less connected to these areas are furthermore quite similar to those brought up when addressing the innermost area, as shown by one respondent: "Oh right, Rembrandtplein! [...] that's the same kind of place. I don't feel anything for it. You're not going for a drink there either; a beer is six euro's or something. [...] It's just one of those places I skip". Leidseplein is met with similar sentiments; "Leidseplein.. yes that is an alright street on its own, but it just doesn't have anything to offer me, nothing which would make me go there". Despite the fact that bars, cafés and clubs are often aimed at serving young people, students participating in this research rarely acknowledged either squares as a suitable area for their nightlife activities due to the type of amenities offered. Some respondents connected their negative sentiments towards the squares to their own social circle, showing the importance of the personal characteristics and histories of respondents; "Oh and, Rembrandtplein, isn't my place, it's such a screamingly touristic area. Just very *wrong* you know, you actually just don't want to be seen there". The same goes for Leidseplein where one respondent notes; "[...] it's not the type of people with which I would go and do something, the ones that go there.. It's social emptiness". Once more, the importance of the *kind* of people that frequent an area is underscored and while the 'right kind' of people can attract students to an area, the 'wrong kind' of people can similarly certainly deter them from other areas. Other sentiments linked to Rembrandtplein are that it is very busy, dirty and built for tourists. Again, similar sentiments are tied to Leidseplein, where it is noted to be "dirty and such, messy, loud". Similarly to the other red areas, this causes most students to feel like they don't belong to the social and physical

environments and causes them to change their attitudes and behavior accordingly. For example, some respondents claimed that they would rather go out in other areas due to the social environment at Rembrandtplein, while others stated the physical environment has “nothing to offer” them. However, this is where the two squares differ; despite all the negative sentiments, some students noted that they would still visit Leidseplein, mainly because of the fact that many peers go there. So while the social environment at Rembrandtplein is found to mainly house tourists and people showing different behavior and needs, Leidseplein is visited by a fair share of students, leaving them to develop stronger feelings of belonging to the social environment and less aversion to the social environment than in Rembrandtplein. This is mainly due to the fact that while the Rembrandtplein area offers plenty of bars and nightlife activities, these are often not seen as the ‘right kind’ of bar, leaving the students to steer clear of them. On the other hand, Leidseplein is found to still offer some students appealing amenities, for instance for students who are part of a fraternity. However, most respondents remarked on the fact that amenities here too were found to be expensive and aimed at other groups, mainly tourists.

Thus, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein host a negative sense of place for a number of respondents for similar reasons to that of the innermost city areas. A missing feeling of belonging is an important dimension of sense of place that causes respondents to perceive the area in a negative light. The social environment causes students to feel like they do not belong in the area, which causes many to change their behavior towards the place, for instance by going around the area or avoiding it altogether. In a comparable fashion to positive sense of place, it may be concluded that a more negative sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is created similarly through a variety of aspects, including the social and physical environments.

Bilateral sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam

While the previous sections have shown that sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam may often fall within one of two categories – positive and negative – it is unjustified to assume that the whole research population fits within either one of these categories in a single area. For example, while the sense of place of many students was positive at the university campuses and negative at Damrak, this does not entail that respondents felt this way in these locations unanimously. There are a few areas in which the positive and negative senses of place of students are more balanced (App. 4, Fig. 5). Two of the most notable areas seen in this figure are addressed here. The first of which, the Nieuwmarkt, clearly fits within the dark red area within the innermost center area of Figure 7 while it also clearly stands out in Figure 6 (south of Centraal Station).

The Nieuwmarkt is a square in the inner-city with multiple bars, restaurants, shops and a historic weighing building in the middle. The area is popular among both local and tourist populations, creating a social mix of sorts. The Nieuwmarkt is different from Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein by its lack of certain nightlife amenities (namely clubs and the like). Instead, amenities at the Nieuwmarkt are focused on restaurants and cafés. Both social and physical environments in this area have caused students to create positive and negative senses of place. Firstly, the social environment impacted sense of place in multiple ways, ranging from most positive to negative; “Nieuwmarkt [...], yes a lot of people I know go there [...] and the people who go there are [...] yeah the same as me”.

This respondent reiterates the point made by Korac (2009) mentioned above, where a familiar social environment helps create a sense of belonging, as he underscores; “it just feels like your own little place so you’re more at ease and relaxed too”. Again, multiple dimensions of sense of place are intertwined, as a sense of belonging causes this particular student to feel more at ease. Another respondent finds a middle ground with a balance between locals and tourists; “[...] for example, the Nieuwmarkt is still very touristic, but I think it’s also a place where I.. can come as *Amsterdammer*”. Other respondents contest these views yet again, as one respondent pointed out that “Dam.. Nieuwmarkt, those kinds of things.. are really only tourists” and “[...] here there’s plenty of children or families [...] but as it grows more touristic, when you get to the Nieuwmarkt or Dam [...] I start to ring my bell out of frustration, like *hello move aside, I live here!* Ha, a bit arrogant sometimes”. These three bilateral views of the social environment in this area help create different senses of place, as one respondent may become more arrogant, and the next may feel more at ease. These accounts reiterate the importance of the third defining dimension once more; personal characteristics, past experiences and interpretations shape the impacts of both environments. As shown, where one respondent (character wise) feels comfortable easily (even in areas with both *Amsterdammers* and tourists) other respondents do not own this characteristic, but are instead more opposed to ‘outsiders’, which causes them to create a different sense of place. For instance, the differences in opinion towards the Nieuwmarkt may be explained through the personalities and histories of various students. The personal histories of one respondent, for instance, caused him to feel at home at the Nieuwmarkt; “Nieuwmarkt... I really feel at home there [because] there are a lot of people I know there, somehow from all these different groups... everyone goes there, it’s kind of my go-to place”. This shows that the fact that this student knows people in this area and has a social circle (because of previous choices and events), he likes the area and feels at home there. This can be seen as path-dependency, where the next individual may not know any people frequenting this area (for instance because he or she grew up in a different area of the Netherlands), therefore visiting it less often and thus attributing less value to this particular place. On the other hand, personality traits may cause differences in perceptions of tourism in a place too. For instance, one respondent noted; “I don’t know, when it’s less [tourists] it can be nice, like at the Nieuwmarkt, that’s fun”. On the other hand, the account above, where a student noted to be agitated and more arrogant towards tourists at the Nieuwmarkt, shows how different perceptions of the same environments may be found. Openness towards others and a welcoming attitude as opposed to a more defensive stance cause these two students to view (tourism at) the Nieuwmarkt in various ways. This proven individual character of sense of place simultaneously opposes the arguments of some scholars who state that sense of place is linked to shared history and group identity (Conzen, 1966; Jones, 1990; Hanson, 1997; Amsden, et al., 2010).

The physical environment is perceived in different ways too. Advocates call it “pretty”, “relaxed, very relaxed [...] and quiet” and “a fun place”. Adversely, opponents labeled the physical environment of the Nieuwmarkt as “vile”, “more chaotic” and “riddled with Argentinian steakhouses and Nutella shops [...] which is not for me”. Similarly, this impacts the sense of place of respondents in multiple and differing ways (as it helps certain students create feelings of satisfaction with the physical environment, and others an aversion towards it). Thus, the Nieuwmarkt houses different experiences and feelings, fueled through individual accounts of both positive and negative social and physical environments. Personal characteristics and various path-dependent histories caused some respondents to feel like they belong in the Nieuwmarkt, while others feel out of place, causing the

former to feel relaxed, and the latter to feel arrogant. All in all, the social environment was found to be more influential in the creation of both positive and negative senses of place at the Nieuwmarkt, while perceptions of the physical environment played a smaller (but not diminishable) part.

The second area clearly showing both positive and negative senses of place of students is Centraal Station. This area is decidedly different from the Nieuwmarkt, as it functions mainly as transportation hub, complemented by corresponding amenities. Although the station is large in size, the sheer amount of people making use of it can clog up the station's vast halls and platforms. Several students – having come here so often (Fig. 5) – felt acquainted with this area, which caused them to feel at home and belonging in its physical *and* social environments. A remarkable example of these feelings is presented by a 22 year old respondent; “And at Centraal Station it's just.. yeah.. there are so many different kinds of people walking around and.. yeah you won't be judged or anything if you.. do something strange. So you can really just be yourself”. Being yourself is what lies at the very heart of feeling at home and (when they are not able to) what caused certain other students to feel out of place. Another account of a way in which the social environment strengthened the positive sense of place of a respondent is through the presence of different social groups participating in the same area; “[...] when I'm at Centraal Station, I do always feel like a *real Amsterdammer*, because you have all these awkward tourists who have just arrived and don't know where they're going. And you're walking amongst them, so you feel very much.. like *I do know where I'm going!*”. In this case, the very fact that the respondent and tourist population differed – which had previously been shown to impact sense of place of students in a negative fashion – caused this respondent to create a stronger sense of belonging to Amsterdam and the identity of being an *Amsterdammer*. Interestingly, occupying the same space can adversely thus also lead to strengthening the sense of place, as opposed to the point made by Binder (2008) and illustrated by Amsden, et al. (2010) stating sense of place of residents is put in danger when residents and tourists occupy the same area. On the other hand, the arguments of those experiencing negative impacts of the social environment on aspects of their sense of place mainly boiled down to one thing: busyness. Nearly all respondents who mentioned bad experiences with the social environment in this area coined the sheer amount of people as the most frustrating, leading them to feel “irritated”, “rushed”, “stressed”, “uncomfortable”, “more anonymous” and “uneasy”. Yet others reiterated that “there are many people, but not ones who you have contact with”. Once again, this shows that the same social environment may be experienced in many different fashions, causing different senses of place.

While positive accounts of the physical environment are scarcer, so are the negative accounts of this environment. Positive accounts focused on the sizes of the rooms and halls in the station building, and how these may offer a solution the ‘busyness problem’; “[...] Centraal Station is so enormously roomy that you may see there are tourists [...] but you can easily walk around them”. While this does not immediately create a strong positive sense of place, it may help to tackle the issues presented by the social environment present. On the other hand, negative accounts mention Centraal Station as a failed space, where respondents state; “[Centraal Station] is constructed very badly” and “it simply does not work”. These narratives showing the many different experiences and opinions people have of places clearly reiterate Massey's (1994) concept of progressive sense of place, as Amsterdam is home to many histories and identities in the eyes of multiple residents. As in the case of the Nieuwmarkt, the social environment at Centraal Station was found to be more important in the creation of both positive and negative sense of place than the physical environment in the eyes of students.

Conclusions

The first sub-question, 'What is the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how is it constituted?', has been answered in the sections above. From these accounts it becomes clear that, while almost never one-sidedly, certain areas of inner-city Amsterdam are dominated by positive senses of place while others are dominated by negative senses of place of Dutch students.

Areas which stood out concerning positive senses of place were the Jordaan area, Roeterseiland and Oudemanhuispoort, where the social environment (mainly through social ties) caused students to create feelings of belonging to the social environment, in turn affecting their behavior and attitudes towards these places (for instance by feeling more relaxed, at ease and at home compared to other areas in the inner-city). On the other hand, the innermost city center area, largely falling within the canal belt, Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein were found to house some of the most negative senses of place among the student population. This was caused by busyness, differences in behavior of the people present and differing aesthetics, in turn causing respondents to feel rushed, uneasy, having an aversion to the environments and feeling like they did not belong. Subsequently, behavior and attitudes changed in a negative sense too, where students acted more aggressively and more annoyed with other people participating in the place-ballet. Thus, feelings, behavior, attitudes and knowledge in/of areas have been shown to differ dramatically both between students and locations. With the use of the evaluative maps these senses of place have been made more tangible, and with the use of qualitative data and quotes from respondents these senses of place came to life.

As shown, while both the positive and negative senses of place seemingly dominated certain areas of the inner-city, others were fervently bilateral, showing both positive and negative senses of place. These senses of place were constituted through the social and physical environments, while many respondents placed more value in the effects of the social environment on their sense of place. However, the very fact that interpersonal differences in sense of place exist in the same areas are a result of personal characteristics. For instance, one's origin and upbringing may dictate whether or not an individual feels connected to an area or not (as shown in the Jordaan area), and one's personality may cause one student to enjoy the busyness created by tourism in an area, and the next to loathe this same area (as shown in the Nieuwmarkt). With this information and a firm grip on the existing senses of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam, this research will now focus on the effect of tourism hereon.

The influence of tourism on sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam

The second sub-question to be addressed with the aid of the empirical data collected is the following; 'To what extent does tourism affect the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam? Where is this effect felt most strongly?' It should be underscored that this sub-question looks mainly into the *extent* of the impact of tourism on sense of place, while the third sub-question focuses on *how* tourism impacts sense of place. A first step in addressing the question to what extent tourism impacts sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is determining where students notice tourism. This has been documented with the use of an evaluative map (App. 4, Fig. 6). What may be taken away from this map is the almost unanimous decision to highlight the innermost city areas, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. This correlates highly with Figure 1 (showing actual locations of tourists), which means that the research population possesses an accurate idea of tourist concentrations. It furthermore coincides to a large degree with Figure 7 (showing areas in which respondents feel least at home). Whether or not that latter comparison is coincidental or factitious (does the extent and density of tourism affect the way in which students feel at home?) is shown below.

Negative impacts of tourism on sense of place

The extent to which tourism affects sense of place of students may once again be split into positive and negative impacts. Figure 8 shows the negative effect of tourism on the sense of feeling at home of students in inner-city Amsterdam. At first sight it may be noted that this map largely follows the outline of Figure 7, showing the largest amounts of respondents highlighting the innermost areas of the city center (including Centraal Station, Damrak, Dam, De Wallen, and to a lesser degree the Nieuwmarkt), Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein. Another recurring area, while not marked as often as the former areas, is the Jordaan area. Although this map gives a good impression of the impact of tourism on sense of place and where this occurs, it should be noted that feeling at home does not cover its entire load. Therefore, qualitative data is used to back up these findings.

A large amount of respondents voiced the way in which they perceive the impact of tourism on their sense of place in a negative sense. As a result, different dimensions of sense of place were found to be impacted by tourism. For example, one respondent stated; "Yes, you sometimes hear those old *Amsterdammers* say '*Amsterdam isn't Amsterdam anymore, it doesn't belong to the Amsterdammer anymore, it belongs to the tourist!*' Yeah, I feel like that too sometimes". This sentiment of authenticity which is being disrupted by tourism is recurring; "I think the palace at Dam Square is one of the prettiest buildings in Amsterdam, but all those tourists just make it very unpleasant to be there". This respondent thus implies an aversion to the social environment large enough to inhibit the potential sense of attachment to the Dam Square. These accounts show how tourism affects the feelings that students possess towards the inner-city areas and give some ideas of the extent to which tourism impacts the sense of place of students.

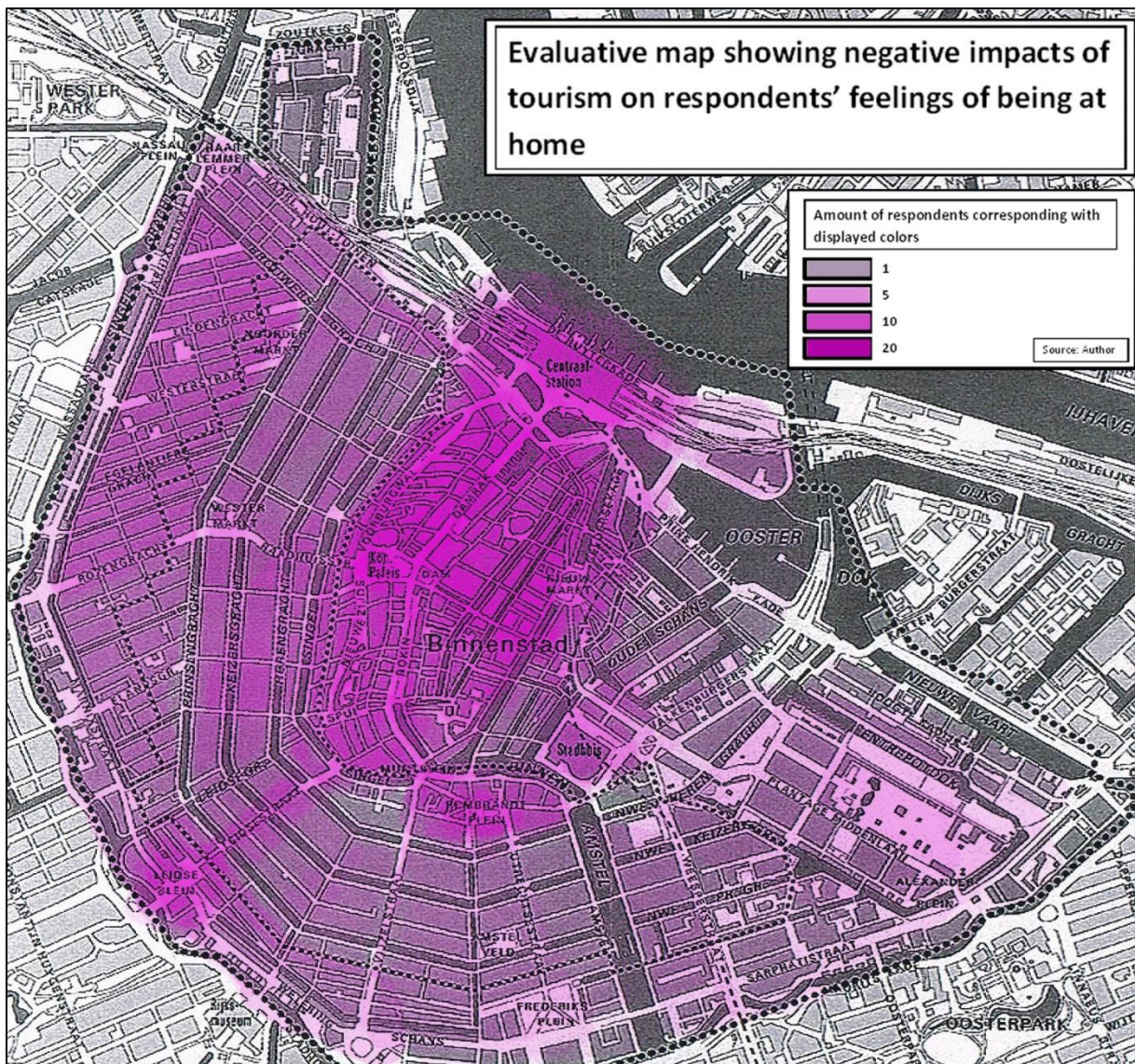


Figure 8: Evaluative map showing negative impacts of tourism on respondents' feelings of being at home. Source: Author.

However, within these negative impacts too, large interpersonal differences exist in the extent of impact of tourism on sense of place. For some respondents this negative impact is very large, as one student states: "Yes it's just very annoying. [...] certainly the red part has become very stupid because of tourism. If you were to erase every tourist there it might not be more fun, but it would be more pleasant. So I think tourism has a big impact on how I experience Amsterdam and especially the inner-city". This narrative reflects the impact of tourism on sense of place through impacts on the social environment. These sentiments were found to be shared by a large part of the research population. As a result, students noted to "feel less at home, because I'm not a tourist"; "feel like a tourist in my own town"; "take a detour to avoid tourists" and "feel less at ease because I can't do what I want to". These reports aim clearly at an impact of tourism on students' feelings of belonging, as students note how tourism makes them feel like they do not belong in this area. For instance, one student noted how he used to cycle through the inner-city, where he would encounter very densely populated streets, filled with tourists, which caused him to feel like he was in a "foreign" place. Feeling out of place in the inner-city was experienced as something highly negative, as many

students said to feel displaced by a foreign force. Other recurring sentiments towards tourism in the words of respondents covered irritating, annoying, disturbing, repressing, frustrating, safety reducing, intimacy reducing, attention demanding, taking away the feeling that ‘this is your city’ and the need to avoid touristic areas. These feelings, encountered when a student participates in an area also frequented by tourists, are diverse and highly personal, but are all clearly negative towards ‘the other’. This somewhat opposes the progressive sense of place proposed by Massey (1994), as respondents clearly act ‘self-enclosing’ and introverted, while opposing the outside. Sharing a space with tourists thus often led to negative feelings, not only towards the tourists, but towards the experience of this place in general.

The above narratives exemplify how extensive the negative impact of tourism on the sense of place of students truly is; substantial. The amount and intensity of the accounts above show the gravity of the relationship between tourism and sense of place of students in the inner city. While the density of highlighted areas differs, negative *effects* of tourism on sense of place have been found to be comparable among the entire inner-city research area. This is elucidated further in later sections, as the focus switches from the *extent* of influence, to *where* and *how* tourism affects sense of place. Aspects of sense of place such as students’ feelings of belonging and attachment to place, attitudes and behavior in/towards a place and satisfaction with social and physical environments are impacted in a negative sense to a large degree by tourism in the inner-city in the case of students. For instance, feelings of belonging and attachment were impacted in the sense that students “feel like a tourist in [their] own town”, attitudes and behavior in the sense that some respondents felt like they “can’t do what [they] want” and satisfaction with the environments due to the fact that the areas had become “[...] annoying [and] very stupid because of tourism”. While the negative impact of tourism on the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is found to be extensive on the basis of the accounts above, each student experienced the impacts of tourism on their sense of place in a different way. This is due to their interpersonal differences in characteristics, histories and views through which they perceive the impacts of tourism. This argument is explored in greater detail in the following chapter. Certain areas are found to be subjected to greater negative impacts of tourism concerning sense of place than others. These areas are mostly restricted to the innermost area of the city center, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein, which were found to house strong negative senses of place in the first sub-question. Why this is the case is explored in the next chapter. However, this is not to say that all impacts of tourism on sense of place may be considered to be negative; the following section addressed positive impacts of tourism on the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam.

Positive impacts of tourism on sense of place

While only a relatively small amount of respondents acknowledged experiencing positive impacts of tourism on their sense of place, these accounts may offer a valuable counterweight to the previous section addressing negative impacts of tourism on sense of place. Figure 9 displays the positive impacts of tourism on the sense of place of students as marked on the evaluative base map. Areas which stand out in this respect include the Nieuwmarkt, Centraal Station, Oudemanhuispoort, Spui, Stopera and Westermarkt. Furthermore, the innermost city has been noticeably marked by fewer respondents than surrounding areas have.

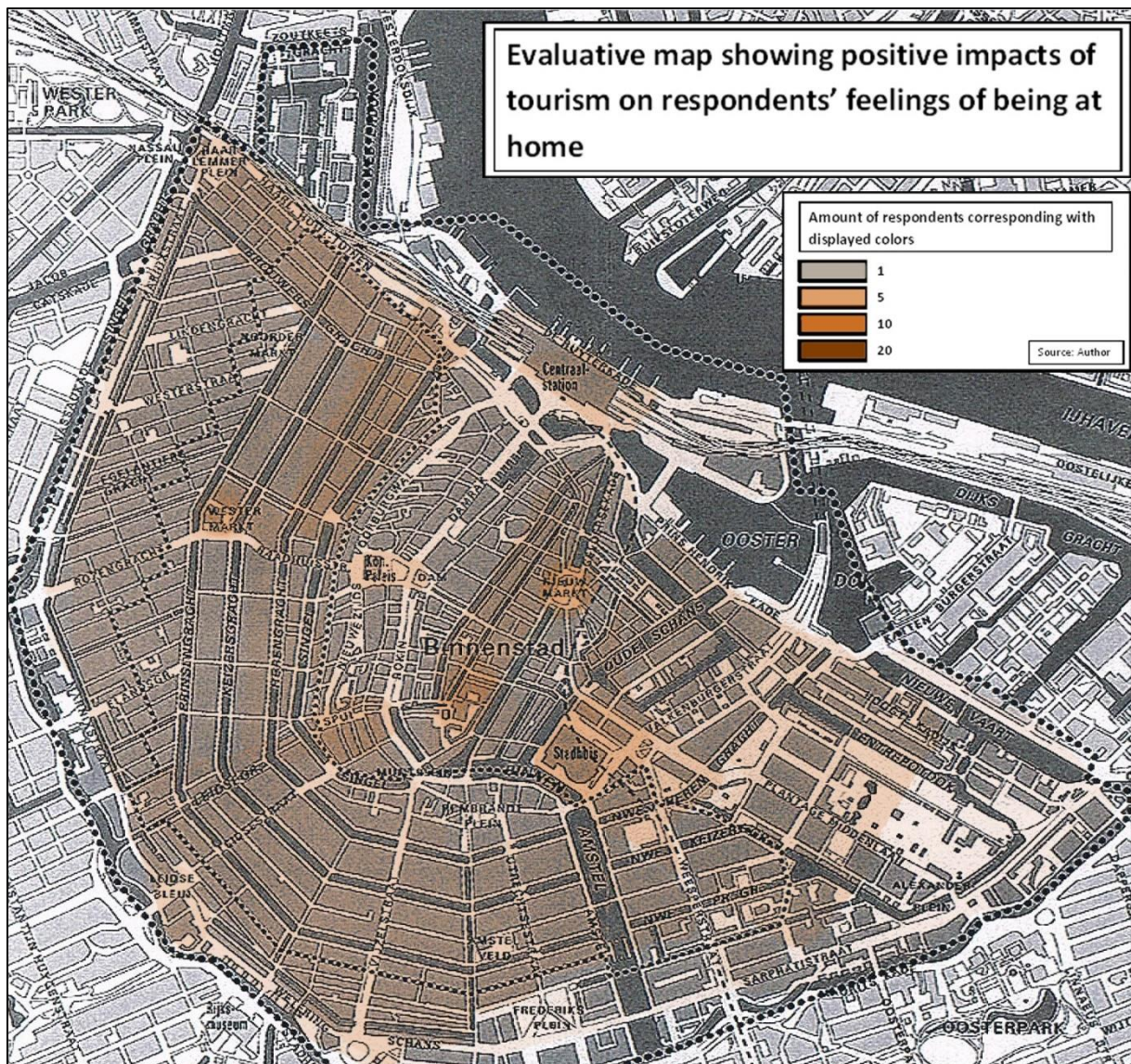


Figure 9: Evaluative map showing positive impacts of tourism on respondents' feelings of being at home. Source: Author.

While the sheer amount of respondents acknowledging positive effects of tourism on their sense of place in the inner-city may be dwarfed next to the negative effects, a question arises; to what extent does tourism impact sense of place of the students who have actually highlighted these areas? Accounts from students indicating a positive effect of tourism on their sense of place were highly divergent. For example, multiple respondents indicated an evoked "sense of pride" of their city for being special enough to attract large amounts of visitors from across the world. Seeing tourists from many different cultural backgrounds, ages and countries visit the inner-city areas was seen by some as something special and worthy of recognition. This caused some respondents to feel "appreciative" and "special" while visiting the inner-city areas, a point made earlier by Kerstetter and Bricker (2009) when stating that tourism has been shown to help local residents identify and appreciate their own cultural heritage and strengthen their connection to the physical environment. This point also fits more in line with the progressive and outward looking sense of place proposed by Massey (1994). Interestingly, the very reasons that caused others to create a more negative sense of place evoked

more positive sentiments for these respondents. For example, the busyness which previously turned out to be a decisive negative influence, turned out to be possessive of a positive flip-side, as advocate students praised its ability to create coziness, liveliness and sociability. The presence of larger amounts of people and various cultures were found to create a certain atmosphere, which in turn caused some students to enjoy areas more. Furthermore, the busyness caused another disputed effect; while respondents indicated that safety in traffic was affected negatively to a very large degree by tourism within inner-city Amsterdam, proponents pointed out a positive effect of tourism on senses of safety. For instance, students noted that the increased busyness made them feel safer because “there are always people around”, “tourists would sooner be victim of crime than locals” and “tourists themselves rarely are criminals”. Notably this does not cause students to feel safer in traffic, but simply in busy areas of the inner-city.

Another important source of positive sense of place is diversity, a point which rules out singular identities named by Massey (1994); “Yeah [...] I love places where it’s diverse and you see a lot of different people. And with tourism a lot of different people come in [...] so I feel more at home and fine because of that”. This particular respondent came from a migration background, which helps explain once more how personal characteristics (origin/heritage in this case) may impact the way in which tourism impacts sense of place. However, this is not to say that this particular sentiment only lived among respondents with a migration background. The sentiment itself was shared by multiple respondents, primarily in areas such as Centraal Station; “I think it’s nice [...] I feel more like an Amsterdammer there due to it” and the Nieuwmarkt; “Oddly enough that’s an area in which I enjoy tourism [...] maybe because I thought *oh an international city is fun*”. Interestingly, instead of making students feel like they don’t belong, tourism thus has the potential to strengthen the bond between an individual and a place. Even more so, although the clear distinction between locals and tourists is made here, the dividing line and hostility predicted by Seamon (1980) and Hanson (1997) did not follow, but was in fact turned around. Instead of harming the sense of place of residents, some narratives show it may actually enhance a positive sense of place. If tourists were either not present, or indistinguishable from local residents (whether correctly ascribed or not), these students would not feel as positive towards the inner-city areas. A final point is that tourism is deemed inherent to the city for some, as students indicated that they have only ever known the city with tourists. For some, this got to the point that Amsterdam was deemed incomplete without tourism; “It’s just a part of Amsterdam. And Amsterdam would not be complete if there wasn’t a lost tourist walking by you every once in a while”. So, without the presence of tourists in the city, this particular student would feel like something is missing, which was traced back to the international, lively atmosphere created by the presence of tourists in the streets of inner-city Amsterdam.

The accounts above show how extensive the positive impact of tourism on the sense of place of students is; modest but present. Multiple dimensions of sense of place including feelings of belonging, attitudes towards a place and satisfaction with the social environment were impacted in a positive way to a substantial degree for a relatively small portion of respondents participating in the research. For instance, students may feel more at home due to tourism by ‘feeling more like an *Amsterdammer*’ due to it, feel more satisfied with the social environment due to its effects on feelings of safety, and lastly, tourism may impact the attitude of students in a positive sense by ‘internationalizing’ the street life. The origins of positive effects of tourism are explored in greater detail below.

Personal characteristics such as heritage have shown to create interpersonal differences in sense of place and the effect of tourism hereon. As such, certain areas were found to house greater positive impacts of tourism on the experiences of respondents than others. These areas largely excluded the innermost areas with the exception of the Nieuwmarkt, Centraal Station, Oudemanhuispoort and Spui. While positive sense of place was found most strongly in the Jordaan area and Roeterseiland/Artis, these four areas were also found to house considerable positive sense of place (in the previous sub-question). A final important question lies in the origins of differences between negative and positive impacts of tourism on sense of place of students in the inner-city area and whether or not they (like the bilateral senses of place addressed previously) coexist. This will be addressed in the following sub-question.

Blurring effect

Before making concluding remarks on the extent of impact of tourism on sense of place of students, it is important to return to the blurring effect. To what extent is this effect present and how does this affect the outcomes? This is discussed here specifically in order to relativize the extent of influence of tourism on sense of place addressed above. Generally, when asked what a tourist is in the eyes of the respondent, the answer included that they are people who come to Amsterdam for a short time and for recreational purposes. While this fits within the definition used in this research, some respondents failed to recognize tourists from within the country as such; “Yeah a tourist for me is really a foreigner, so not ‘day-trippers’”. Seeing as though these national tourists form an important part of daily tourism in Amsterdam, and this viewpoint was carried by multiple respondents, this in itself may already be cause for accepting the presence of the blurring effect to some degree. For instance, another student noted; “It’s someone from another country, they could be from the Netherlands too but I wouldn’t think of that so quickly”. On top of this, other respondents relied on possibly invalid indicators of tourism such as suitcases and languages. This may lead to false distinctions between tourists and locals, as local residents may speak various languages too, and may carry suitcases when going to work or on vacation.

The distinction between tourists and locals was most often made on the basis of a certain ‘uneasiness’ of tourists when traversing the city, reiterating the point made by Seamon, where failing to comply with local behavior may brand someone as outsider (Seamon, 1980). While behavior proved to be the most decisive give-away for respondents when distinguishing between tourists and locals, physical items such as clothing, maps and camera’s proved crucial for others. Once more, these indicators may in fact be misread, causing an incorrect appointment of tourists. For instance, certain local residents may get lost in the maze of little streets, and are required to look up a map on their phone, while others may simply enjoy taking photographs as a hobby.

Another essential point here is that when tourists thus fully conform to local behavior by participating in daily patterns of everyday life they may also be regarded wrongly as a local (Seamon, 1980). For example, when a tourist looking to experience local life (see new urban tourism) manages to fit in, they may unjustly be considered a local resident. While the effects of these tourists on the sense of place could be positive, or simply nonexistent, students may not recognize these people as tourists, thus denying the existence of ‘positive or discrete tourists’. A final important indicator

coined by respondents was language. When asked how the respondents differentiated tourists from locals, language was often proposed; “Well when I hear which language they speak, and it’s not Dutch, then you might think it’s tourists”. While language in itself may be a promising indicator, it may also be a misleading one. Amsterdam is host to 180 different nationalities, and basing the distinction on language on its own may prove to be false (Iamsterdam, n.d.).

These accounts show that while tourism has been shown to impact sense of place of students to a large degree, it should be noted that a small portion of this may be based on false assumptions. However, this effect is not large enough to discredit a large part of the research results. Furthermore, whether or not a resident bases his or her feelings on truth or fiction is not essential, as the feelings exist in the first place. For instance, a student may feel out of place in an area due to the amount of tourists there, the overwhelming presence of various different languages, and ‘foreign’ appearances and behavior. While this may be (partially) based on the wrong assumptions (for instance when the people there are simply a large group of expats), the perceptions and feelings of the student are affected by the *idea* that tourism is to blame. Therefore, while the blurring effect is present to some degree, and the effects of tourism may be somewhat wrongly assessed by students, this does not affect the effect tourism has on the sense of place of students. It merely has effect on the accurate assessment of its causes (as it is made harder to accurately assess whether or not it is actually tourism causing the effects on sense of place or to some degree the false denomination of tourists).

Conclusions

The second sub-question, ‘To what extent does tourism affect the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam? Where is this effect felt most strongly?’, has been addressed in the sections above. This question was aimed first and foremost at determining the *extent* of influence of tourism on sense of place of students, and not primarily its causes. The accounts above show that the impact of tourism on the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam is generally large and undeniable. To answer the sub-question accurately, this means that tourism, understood as ‘traveling for recreational or leisurely purposes outside of the usual environment’ impacts the feelings, attachment, attitudes and behavior towards a place, as well as feelings of belonging and satisfaction/aversion to both social and physical environments to a large degree. Every participating student experienced some form of impact of tourism on their sense of place, and while the extent of this impact differed between respondents due to personal characteristics, the mean impact was found to be large.

Subsequently, impacts may be differentiated along the lines of positive and negative impacts, which show the dominance of the negative impacts over the positive impacts of tourism on sense of place. This means that feelings, behavior and attitudes of students in inner-city Amsterdam are impacted to a large extent by tourism, mostly in a negative sense, and to a smaller degree in a positive sense. As may be seen in the evaluative maps above, these effects are felt in the entire inner-city area. However, negative effects may generally be found most strongly in the innermost city center, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. Positive effects are concentrated at the Nieuwmarkt, Oudemanhuispoort, Centraal Station, Spui and Westermarkt. How these effects are constituted is discussed below. It should be noted that interpersonal differences in the extent of impact of tourism

on sense of place may be explained through differences in personal characters, histories and values. For instance, one student's migratory history caused him to develop relatively positive perceptions of tourism, in turn impacting the extent of impact of tourism on his sense of place.

Lastly, it has been shown that the blurring effect is applicable to some degree in this research, which may meddle somewhat with determining the origins of the impact of tourism on sense of place of students. However, most students defined tourism in a similar fashion to that presented in this thesis and, whether rightfully acknowledged or not, the experienced impact of tourism on sense of place is not altered by the blurring effect. This means that the true blurring effect does not invalidate the findings of this research. With the degree of impact of tourism on sense of place determined, the ways in which these impacts are constituted may now be addressed below.

Cross-examination

An important question is how these findings relate to earlier findings of the sense of place of students. Therefore, it is important to put the findings of this sub-question in perspective by cross-examining them with the findings of the first sub-question.

Firstly, two main areas were found to house large concentrations of positive senses of place, as indicated by students – the Jordaan area and Roeterseiland/Artis. These areas did not come up specifically in the evaluative map showing positive impacts of tourism on sense of place (Fig. 9). This means that positive sense of place in the Jordaan area and Roeterseiland/Artis was caused by other factors than tourism (and was not strengthened by tourism to a large degree either). This entails that the effects responsible for the strong sense of place in these areas (most importantly having a social circle with acquaintances) were responsible on their own. However, other areas in which students were found to have a strong positive sense of place – the Nieuwmarkt, Oudemanhuispoort and Spui – also showed up in Figure 9, implying that tourism aided in the strength of the positive sense of place in these areas. When scrutinizing the accounts of students, this is found to be true in the second sub-question, as students noted that tourism in these areas caused them to enjoy the area *more* due to the international atmosphere created by tourism and the fact that they may “feel more like an *Amsterdammer* there due to it”. Thus, the positive sense of place found in the first sub-question can partially be explained by the presence of tourism in Oudemanhuispoort and Spui, but not in the Jordaan area and Roeterseiland/Artis. Underscoring the word *partially* is important however, as the presence of tourism does not entail a positive effect for every respondent in these areas, and other factors were found to be more important in the creation of a positive sense of place here. These factors included having a history there, knowing the area well, and having friends, family or acquaintances live there or visit the area frequently. In short, while some green areas indicating a strong sense of place of students were caused by a number of factors but *not* tourism, other areas showing a strong sense of place did so (in part and for a portion of the research population) *because* of tourism.

Negative sense of place, on the other hand, is mainly found in the innermost parts of Amsterdam (within the canal belt), Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. These areas were also found to house the strongest negative impacts of tourism on sense of place of students. As may be seen when

comparing figures 7 and 8, the areas marked by students as housing their negative senses of place, and areas in which tourism affects their sense of place in a negative sense most strongly, are almost identical. The negative sense of place in these areas was mostly caused by the social environment, due to the fact that students knew little people there, the people they encountered were different (mostly in behavior) and due to the fact that the area was found to be extremely busy at times. These effects are affected and actually *caused* by tourism to various degrees. As the highlighted areas in both maps are so similar, the connection between tourism and the negative sense of place of students in these areas may be clear; the fact that students experience a negative sense of place in parts of inner-city Amsterdam (namely the innermost city, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein) is caused to a considerable degree by tourism. In short, tourism affects sense of place in these areas to a large extent, and forms a large portion of the reasons why students experience negative senses of place in these areas (for instance, tourism causes busyness and makes differences in behavior apparent).

The impact of tourism on sense of place explained through social and physical environments

The third sub-question to be addressed with the aid of the empirical data collected is the following; 'How can the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam be clarified through social and physical dimensions?' No new evaluative maps are presented in order to answer this sub-question. This means that the impact of tourism on sense of place through both social and physical environments is answered primarily through first-hand qualitative accounts of students. While previous sub-questions were firstly divided along the positive/negative divide and subsequently the physical/social divide, this sub-question primarily emphasizes the distinction between the social and physical environments in the impact of tourism on sense of place. The answers to the third sub-question are structured accordingly. Previous sub-questions have pointed out the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam, its spatial discrepancies and the extent to which this sense of place is impacted by tourism. This leaves a final question unanswered; how is this impact constituted?

Negative impacts through social environment

Before going into great detail as to how sense of place of Dutch students is affected in a negative sense through impacts of tourism on the social environment, it may prove valuable to revisit Figure 8. This helps to keep track of areas in which negative impacts of tourism are felt most strongly in inner-city Amsterdam – which mainly covers the innermost city center, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. There are three primary ways in which tourism affects sense of place of students through the social environment in a negative way; quantity of tourists/people, social composition and behavior. Each of these main strands is addressed with the use of respondents' experiences below.

First of all, the quantity of tourists/people caused certain respondents to develop negative experiences, feelings and behavior in/towards places. Inequitable distribution of humans over inner-city areas causes certain parts of the city center to see larger concentrations of people than other parts. For instance, the area between Damstraat and Centraal Station was perceived as being very busy, which was attributed by respondents to a large degree to tourism (Damrak was even dubbed "the main artery of tourism"). The large boulevard of the Damrak was often seen as exhibiting a walking mass of people, while the little streets to its direct east were found to be regularly clogged up by the sheer amount of people present. In turn, this busyness affected multiple aspects of students' sense of place, including students' feelings of belonging to the social and physical environments. One respondent put this relationship into words fittingly; "[...] because there's so many tourists and it's so busy, I get less and less the feeling I'm actually in the city, because for me that's all about people living their daily life in the city. So I feel less at home there due to tourism". Being surrounded by people not conforming to the patterns of 'local life' caused this particular respondent to create negative sentiments towards this area. This account reiterates Seamon's (1980) point of the failure of 'outsiders' to participate in patterns of everyday life, thus causing them to appear out of place. Another respondent simply noted that "If I were to study here without all these

tourists I would feel a lot more at home I think. That's important", which shows a strong aversion to the social environment as a result of tourism. More specifically, the presence of tourists caused this student to generate a feeling of being out of place in this particular place, while areas of Amsterdam lacking the presence of tourists may not be experienced in the same way. Once more, this account underscores that the proposed 'outward-looking' sense of place, which is accepting of foreign influences, may not truly be present among the research population (Massey, 1994). This is partially caused by busyness brought about by tourism, as a third of the participating students noted that busyness was the most negative effect of tourism in Amsterdam. More tangibly, students noted how they would feel less at ease when traversing the city, due to the extreme busyness they encountered. For instance, when going out to buy items in the Kalverstraat, students reported that they sometimes had to walk shoulder to shoulder with other residents and tourists, and that being in a rush was made impossible by the sheer number of bodies in the way of the destination. This was found to be a cause for strong senses of uneasiness for many students.

Not only may busyness following tourism cause negative sentiments and sense of place, it may furthermore cancel out positive sources of sense of place. For instance, a 22 year old male respondent noted; "Yeah I feel connected with [the physical environment] because they're really those authentic Dutch houses, [but] I'm leaning more towards feeling less at home because of tourists than feeling more at home due to the architecture". The authenticity and cultural heritage responsible for creating a more positive sense of place and attachment to place, as shown among others by Tuan (1974) and Jivén and Larkham (2003) may thus be overshadowed in some cases by the impact of the social environment hereon. This argument may be linked to the accounts of students presented in the first sub-question, where a number of respondents noted that, while they felt connected to the physical environment, the social environment there repressed these feelings. However, these accounts were aimed at the social environment in general, and not solely the tourist population, which begs the question whether or not busyness resulting solely from *Amsterdammers* would inflict the same amount of effect on the sense of place of students. This will be addressed when discussing social composition.

Summarizing, tourism affects sense of place through the social environment by increasing busyness, which mainly affects students' attachment to place, their sense of aversion with the social environment and their feelings of belonging in the social environment. For instance, the amount of people in certain areas of the inner-city caused students to feel less at home in the social environment there. More specifically, students noted that this is caused by feelings of "anxiety" and "uneasiness" when being part of a large crowd, as well as the fact that most people they encounter in these crowds are unfamiliar to them. Other respondents noted how they feel strong aversion to a place as a result of the busyness generated by tourism. Particularly, this aversion is a result of the inability of the students to act the way they wanted to (for instance when in a rush to get something). These effects also affected the behavior and attitudes of students, as they noted that the busyness caused them to feel "rushed", acting "more irritated [...] and aggressive" and caused some to "bike around it". Finally, this means that the extrinsic variable 'density of tourists/tourism' is found to be present (as the density of tourism clearly affected resident perceptions of tourism and subsequently their sense of place), which verifies Sharpley's (2013) accounts.

Apart from impacting the quantity of people in inner-city areas drastically, the social composition shifts too as a result of tourism. This means that the population in the southeastern inner-city may for instance at one time consist of 10% tourists and 90% locals, while Damrak may consist of 60% tourists and 40% locals. While it may seem like an exaggeration, many respondents believed that tourists far outnumber locals in certain places; “For example Rembrandtplein or Damrak, the whole shopping area there. I feel like there are only tourists walking there. They’re very dominant in the street life” and “I think it has a very large impact, often you only see tourists”. This increased density of what some respondents identify as ‘outsiders’ causes some of them to feel “out of place”, “a tourist in their own city” or simply ‘not belonging to the social environment’ in these areas. For instance, when students go from the university campus of Oudemanshuispoort to a lunchcafé in the Dam area (about 5 minutes on foot), they step from a world of peers and a familiar social circle into a (literally) foreign social environment, understandably causing them to feel out of place.

Not only does the influx of tourists impact the social composition by simply being present; by dominating the composition in some areas respondents note that locals avoid these places too, thus creating an even more one-sided social composition. This point too, is mentioned by multiple respondents; “I think *Amsterdammers* avoid those areas” and “I don’t think there are many *Amsterdammers* walking there [...] I think they would rather steer clear of Damrak”. As shown in previous sections, this effect of displacement due to tourism is experienced by students as being a very serious problem, and one that was often personally relatable. One respondent even noted this displacement as his primary negative point of tourism in Amsterdam; “The displacement of people living in the city out of the city center. It’s really made for tourists, so the inner-city isn’t for *Amsterdammers* anymore, it’s for tourists”. This displacement gradually affects the social environment, which causes sense of place to be subjected to these constant flows of society (Massey, 1994; Cresswell, 2014). As shown in the first sub-question, similar and familiar social groups attending a location may provide students with a strong sense of familiarity and belonging to the social environment, for example in the university areas (Korac, 2009). This effect works the other way too; the two-sided impact of tourism on the social composition in the inner-city area causes students to be part of a social environment partially unfamiliar to them, subsequently causing them to create a more negative sense of place. As seen, students knew relatively little people in inner-city areas, causing them to feel like they did not belong in the social environment. As shown here, this is caused by tourism to an extensive degree, as some students “only see tourists”. However, it should be underscored that these effects are mainly confined to the areas in which students notice most tourism, which is shown in Appendix 4, Figure 6. Furthermore, the blurring effect should be kept in mind, as a small number of students may mistakenly define a part of the social environment as tourist (or local). Thus, by impacting the social composition, tourism mainly affects students’ feelings of belonging in the social environment, which in turn causes some respondents to change their feelings, behavior and attitudes, for instance by cycling around areas with the largest concentrations of tourists.

Lastly, differences in behavior between locals and tourists impacted the sense of place of students in a negative sense, therefore reflecting the similar findings of Pinkster and Boterman (2017). This effect affected sense of place in two ways; firstly, the behavior of tourists caused respondents to develop more negative sentiments towards a place, and secondly, it caused respondents to change their own behavior in a place. First and foremost, the impact of tourism on behavior shown in traffic

and mobility situations was found to be extensive. This issue was reported by every respondent and often boiled down to the inability of tourists to conform to local traffic rules and their obliviousness in these settings; “[...] they walk on the bike lanes quite often, and they don’t even realize it’s a bike lane in the first place. [...] And when they bike, they usually fail at it. It’s quite dangerous. Or it’s annoying because they go from side to side, and you can’t pass them. Because you go faster as a seasoned Dutchman”. This account highlights all these issues; the obliviousness, the inability to conform to local traffic mannerisms, the apparent differences in behavior between locals and tourists, and how this impacts students’ feelings towards the social environment in this area. Once more, the fact that students could not behave the way they wanted to (biking faster, or at least passing the tourists) turned out to be a nuisance, and affected the sense of place of students. These dispositions were widely supported by the research population and once more underscore the importance of behavior in identifying the ‘outsider’, a point opposing Massey’s progressive sense of place (Seamon, 1980; Massey, 1994). The fact that each respondent within this research population remarked upon this particular issue highlights the importance of the matter.

Apart from affecting the sentiments described above, the behavior of tourists has been found to affect the behavior of students too. Many respondents noted to be “more vigilant”, “aware of their surroundings” and “tenser”. For instance, behavior of tourists on bicycles caused many respondents to be on guard more, looking around more actively and crossing roads more hesitantly in order to stay safe. Highlighting this point, one student stated; “I think it changes the behavior of both groups, certainly as a local [...] because you go crazy over all these tourists. [...] So that influences your behavior in a negative way too”. In particular, respondents noted how the tourist population present in certain areas causes them to ride their bicycles differently. Some students reported that they ride as close as possible to stray tourists as a means of warning them, while others stated that they ride more slowly around busy tourist areas, in order to avoid them effectively. Thus, different students showed different ways of coping with the behavior of tourists in the inner-city.

Apart from behavior in traffic, behavior in areas with nightlife activities and similar amenities was found to differ between local and tourist populations, causing locals to feel out of place; “they’re nice people and all, but just very different. They only go looking for parties and booze.. [...] Just a completely different focus from what you have when you’re there”. While this narrative is important, it should be noted that this account refers only to a certain type of tourist – which is looking to enjoy nightlife activities and may, for instance, not be compared to elderly visitors interested solely in Amsterdam’s cultural heritage. When mentioning differences in focuses such as this, another important point, namely Sharpley’s (2013) variable ‘nature/type of tourist/tourism’ needs to be addressed. This variable indicates that different types of tourists may induce different perspectives for residents. This is found to be confirmed here, as students often tied the disruption of public order to a group of young tourists aimed at nightlife activities and the consumption of alcohol and drugs. For instance, the areas known for nightlife activities, such as Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein, often house relatively young tourists looking to enjoy their nights, while their behavior (notably being drunk and loud) caused students to feel uneasy here. On the other hand, tourists aimed at cultural amenities such as museums were found to be less cause for annoyance. This caused students to view certain types of tourists more favorably, on the basis of the behavior they exhibit in the city. One student even proposed to change the image of Amsterdam “from [a] sex and drugs city to more of a.. look at what a beautiful historic city we have [kind of city]” in order to attract what he dubbed

“higher forms of tourism”. It should be noted that this strategy is already one of the priorities of the municipality of Amsterdam. While this will be touched upon in the concluding section, it may also be noted from this account that the expected overlap in required and preferred amenities between tourists and students may not be present to a large degree. Finally, when asked what other respondents would change about tourism in inner-city Amsterdam, the results often entailed making tourists conform to local traffic regulations, keeping them on sidewalks, addressing those distorting public order and even implementing a bicycle exam before allowing tourists to rent a bike. In short, by affecting behavior in two ways, tourism impacts the sense of place of students by mainly affecting the students’ attitudes and behavior towards a place. Particularly by affecting traffic, tourists cause students to create different sentiments towards places and change their behavior accordingly – for instance when students feel deterred from inner city traffic due to the behavior of tourists on bicycles.

As shown, the negative impact of tourism on multiple aspects of sense of place through the social environment is extensive and may be explained through three main factors - quantity of tourists/people, social composition and behavior. All respondents noted at least one of these negative impacts, showing the importance of these facets of the social environment. But how then, may sense of place be impacted in a positive sense through the social environment?

Positive impacts through social environment

Before examining the positive impacts of tourism on sense of place through the social environment, it is valuable to revisit Figure 9 now, in order to visualize which areas are found to house the strongest positive impacts of tourism on sense of place. These areas most strongly cover the Nieuwmarkt, Oudemanhuispoort and Centraal Station. Similar to the section above, three ways in which tourism affects sense of place of students through the social environment positively may be identified; an increased sense of liveliness, the ‘internationalization’ of the public and the differentiation between local and tourist groups.

Firstly, the changes in quantity and behavior of tourists, which caused some students to develop a more negative sense of place, created opportunities for others to create a more positive sense of place. Not only did the quantity of people in a place create a sense of liveliness, the behavior of tourists in certain areas (for example those with nightlife activities) produced an animated atmosphere as well. This is reflected in an account from a 23 year old student; “Yes maybe that’s odd, but when there’s more tourism, it’s busier and it feels livelier. While, if it were only *Amsterdammers* living here they wouldn’t go onto the streets, so it’s quieter, less lively”. In recognizing that these sentiments are “odd”, the student essentially states that these feelings are not expected to be normal. While these feelings are indeed outnumbered by the negative sentiments created by busyness, a shifting social composition and behavior of tourists, another respondent agreed, stating he feels “more at home [...] because there are more tourists, which makes it livelier”. Interestingly, the very fact that it is tourists occupying areas makes the atmosphere livelier in an area. For instance, as the former narrative pointed out, *Amsterdammers* and tourist differ in a way that causes tourists to make the environment livelier, instead of locals. This was found to be due to the behavior shown by tourists, for instance in areas abound with restaurants and bars, where

tourists may be found on a Monday night, and locals would not be present in the same numbers. The fact that tourists are out for something special which they actively want to experience, as opposed to locals who have grown used to the area, was found to bring a different 'vibe' with it. The accounts above furthermore show how Sharpley's (2013) variables 'extent/stage of tourism development' and 'density of tourists/tourism development' may (as opposed to the negative effects of busyness addressed above) also impact resident perceptions of tourism in a positive sense. These perceptions subsequently cause students to develop more positive feelings towards these areas through the social environment (for instance affecting students' sense of satisfaction towards the social environment).

Moreover, some students feel more positively towards the social environment in parts of Amsterdam due to the fact that tourists make up a part of its social composition. For instance, one respondent stated how boring he found areas in Amsterdam where only *Amsterdammers* come, as it missed diversity and a lively atmosphere. Calm areas with exclusively local residents going and coming from work, as opposed to areas with tourists who are enjoying the surroundings and their leisure time, were mentioned as being mundane and dull. Thus, in this case, areas with larger amounts of tourists provide more satisfaction for this respondent due to the increased sense of liveliness. While these accounts may not weigh up to the negative impacts of tourism on sense of place through busyness, composition and behavior, it is important to reiterate the fact that there are in fact positive sides to the impact of tourism on the social environment too. These accounts not only oppose the idea of a singular identity, they reiterate an outward looking sense of place of some respondents, looking at international links and their aid in the creation of a strong positive sense of place (Massey, 1994).

Thus, through affecting the busyness and social composition of an area (mostly in select locations found in Figure 9), students' sense of place is affected in a positive sense. Satisfaction with the social environment and students' feelings towards a place were found to be affected by these effects most strongly. For instance, students reported to have more positive feelings towards areas with tourists as a result of an increased liveliness. Specifically, one respondent noted how the atmosphere in the evening at inner-city streets such as the Damstraat was bustling as a result of tourists. The fact that tourists traversed the streets at this time, often having fun and being in a good mood, caused this respondent to feel more positively towards the street and surrounding areas. Finally, it is important to reiterate personal characteristics, as the same effects of tourism (on busyness and social composition) may thus have varying effects on sense of place, due to differences in perceptions and personal values.

Secondly, the increased amount of nationalities visible in the streets caused some respondents to develop more positive sentiments towards the inner-city areas. While this is clearly a matter of personal taste and preference, some students felt strongly about this issue. For instance, one respondent noted; "I really like an international street life. [...] And when you compare that to a neighborhood with only Dutch people I'd rather have some tourists in that too, just to give a more varied image. I think that's healthy for people [...] to come into contact with other cultures". As stated in the section covering bilateral sense of place, an interesting point arises; despite (and perhaps even because of) the clear distinction between locals and tourists, the predicted hostility made way for positive sentiments towards the 'other' (Seamon, 1980; Hanson, 1997). However, this effect works in a different way; where the previous account mentioned how the clear differences

between locals and tourists made respondents “feel like a real *Amsterdammer*” as opposed to the ‘others’, this account highlights how the distinction may create a stronger positive sense of place through perceived increased diversity of the population. Having a positive attitude towards other nationalities caused these respondents to create a more positive sense of place. In this case, the creation of a stronger positive sense of place is not due to the behavior shown by tourists (and how that creates a livelier atmosphere) but due to the sheer appearance (including language, physical attributes and items) of tourists and how this helps create a more diverse street scene. While this may be hard to imagine, an interesting narrative mentioned previously may shed light on the issue. Namely, one respondent previously noted that he felt more at home in an environment with “a lot of different people” due to his migratory background. This caused him to feel like he fit in more with the crowd, causing him to feel more at ease and at home. For others, the international street scene was more simply a way of creating more interesting public areas; “It’s fun to see what kind of nationalities come over”. Various students thus attach different meanings to the internationalization of the street scene, as for one student it may be an important prerequisite to feel fully at home, and for the next it may simply make the street scene more interesting. In turn, these positive effects of tourism on the social environment affect students’ feelings of belonging to the social environment and their sense of satisfaction with the social environment (as seen in the above narratives, respectively). Finally, since the recognition of tourists is tied to the blurring effect, it should be taken into account that respondents may mistakenly brand an individual as a tourist. For example, some respondents attributed the sounds of different languages to tourism automatically. While this may be applicable in some cases, local residents may speak many different languages too. Nonetheless, the international public and vibe (whether or not truly caused by tourism!) caused certain respondents to create a positive sense of place.

Lastly, the very fact that differences exist between local and tourist groups caused some students to identify more with Amsterdam and its local population, as opposed to tourists. While this point has been approached in two different ways above, another angle is presented here; the creation of an ‘us and them’ mentality which causes locals to feel more connected to each other and the surrounding identities. Although the distinction does not cause students to create a more positive image of tourism in this case, it does help create a stronger positive sense of place in Amsterdam. For instance, when revisiting the account of the respondent at Centraal Station who reported that the distinction between the outsider and herself made her feel like a “real *Amsterdammer*”, it is the very fact that tourists are unfamiliar with the area which causes this respondent to feel more connected to the city and its identity. Thus, one may argue that the presence of tourism effectuates this positive effect on the sense of place and sense of identity of students. Without tourists there would be no ‘them’ (arguably, as other population groups may also be regarded as such), thus leaving the students in question with one less reason to identify with the local resident population and its identity. Along these lines, another respondent reiterated how this sense of ‘us and them’ may help create a positive sense of place; “Yeah maybe it has a more positive effect on how I feel at home here, perhaps more so than negatively. Because you have a kind of common denominator with everyone living in Amsterdam, and they all essentially experience the same kinds of annoyances. [...] So yeah that really helps for feeling at home”. Essentially, the negative effects of tourism thus present a flip-side; a rapprochement between local residents. Having a common denominator helps students feel more like a local, influencing their sense of community attachment (intrinsic variable) and subsequently strengthening their positive sense of place (Sharpley, 2013). While Hanson (1997)

stated that this increased sense of local identity may increase hostile sentiments towards 'outsiders', this effect has not been proven in these cases. The dimension of sense of place mostly impacted by these effects covers the feelings of belonging to the social environment, as the rapprochement to the social environment identified as 'us' is a central point.

As addressed in the accounts above, the positive impact of tourism on sense of place through the social environment is present, while not as extensively as its negative counterpart (see second sub-question). Three ways in which tourism impacts sense of place of students through the social environment were presented - an increased sense of liveliness, the 'internationalization' of the public and the differentiation between local and tourist groups. Although these positive effects were only brought to the fore by a handful of respondents, proving its existence is an important step in creating a distinct and perhaps more nuanced image of the impacts of tourism in inner-city Amsterdam.

Negative impacts through physical environment

Two main ways in which tourism impacts sense of place of students negatively through the physical environment may be distinguished; the environment as being 'built for tourists' and the loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism development. Other impacting factors are traffic (public transport) and garbage, although the impacts of these factors are negligible when compared to the other factors.

The first factor impacting sense of place of students in a negative sense is what was coined by respondents as 'the physical environment being built for tourists'. Essentially this implies that an area provides little amenities and services required or wanted by a respondent. This point was underscored by many of the participating students and was found to significantly affect their sense of place. For instance, the fact that students did not associate with the provided amenities caused them to avoid particular areas (most notably the innermost city center and Rembrandtplein). This finding directly opposes previous findings which showed how certain cafés or areas (such as the little bars dotting the Jordaan area) caused respondents to take detours because of their desire to be there, as opposed to actively wanting to avoid it. One respondent noted this succinctly: "Yes, I think that a kind of restaurant, café or shop can make you really feel at home, but what is offered here [inner city] gives the opposite effect because you get the sense it's only for tourists. So yeah it has a negative effect". This account proves the point made by May (1996) and Cresswell (2014) stating that local amenities are essential to sense of place, as they have a special value in its loss or creation, a point also found in York (Mordue, 2005). The evoked aversion to the physical environment for this respondent is clear. This was caused by the fact that she felt that the amenities were aimed at the needs of tourists to such a degree that they no longer offered her anything (for instance souvenir shops). When walking down streets such as Damstraat or Warmoesstraat, the physical environment was experienced as being 'overtaken' by tourist shops, with bright neon signs drawing in tourists unaware of perhaps better alternatives. Some students simply pointed out that the innermost city center felt like it was allocated to tourism or "built for tourists", causing them to have "nothing to do there" or "no reason to visit whatsoever". This effect caused many students to feel displaced, especially within the innermost city center and Rembrandtplein.

So what causes this effect specifically? Most notably, certain types of restaurants and shops caused respondents to feel out of place. One student pointed out “those *shady* stores, which have their pizza in the window for three hours” while others pointed at souvenir shops, Nutella shops, ice bakeries, coffeeshops and Argentinian steakhouses. The looks, smells and atmospheres of these amenities caused respondents to feel “deterred”, “displaced”, “not at home” and even evoked the image of a theme park for some. While these effects are widely acknowledged and may differ somewhat between students, one quote summarizes its main load; “It’s just really only aimed at tourism. That’s why I don’t feel at home in the physical environment there”. Interestingly, these accounts seem to verify that amenities thought to serve both students and tourists are mostly attractive for only one of these two groups. This underscores the point made in the previous section, where it was found that the assumption that students and tourists have similar preferences concerning amenities may not be true for this particular research population. At least a large part of the research population not only did not feel attracted to certain ‘tourist stores’ but were in fact deterred from the area altogether.

In short, tourism affects sense of place of Dutch students through the physical environment by developing amenities aimed mostly at the needs of tourists. This mainly affects students’ feeling of belonging to the physical environment, their sense of aversion to the physical environment and subsequently their behavior towards these places. For instance, the arrival of ‘tourist-oriented’ shops caused students to feel out of place and displaced in certain areas (revisit Fig. 8). Another example is how the arrival of tourist-oriented shops causes students to feel like they have nothing attracting them to these places, subsequently causing them to steer clear of these areas.

The second factor impacting sense of place of students in a negative sense through the physical environment is the loss of ‘local’ amenities at the cost of tourism development. While this is closely related to the factor addressed above, the actual loss of amenities serving local residents is deemed influential enough in its own right. For some respondents, this effect weighed heavily on their sense of place; “A lot, extremely so even, you just see all those little fun shops disappearing. [...] Nutella shops replacing cute little cheese shops or the Turkish shoemaker”. Similarly, another respondent noted; “If a HEMA disappears at the cost of one of those.. tourist shops, then I feel less at home”, while a final student stated; “I think a lot disappears. [...] places where you could feel at home make room for soulless tourist shops”. The sheer aversion to these amenities becomes clear when comparing the differences in descriptions between ‘tourist-oriented’ shops (“soulless”) and ‘local-oriented’ shops (“fun” and “cute”). Yet other respondents noted the loss of local supermarkets to the arrival of hotels aimed at facilitating tourists, and the influx of waffle shops causing them to feel ‘bullied off’. Finally, even if certain shops and amenities aimed primarily at tourism offered something to students too, the prices often caused them to steer clear of them. These accounts stress the seriousness of this displacement of local amenities for the sense of place of students; the new amenities do not serve students and leave some of them (feeling or practically being) displaced. The fact that the amenities meant for what students view as ‘us’ are being replaced by those meant for ‘them’ has been found to have a huge effect on the way students view tourism and its effects. This further demonstrates the fact that students and tourists in Amsterdam largely do not look for the same amenities. Furthermore, local and ‘authentic’ amenities and buildings have been shown to create sense of place in a positive way above, causing the disappearance of these local shops at the cost of ‘tourist-amenities’ to have a double-sided effect; not only does the positive sense of place

created by some stores and buildings disappear, they are replaced by amenities diminishing positive sense of place as well.

While the sheer number of respondents noting these effects is slightly smaller than those pointing at the physical environment being built for tourists, its effect is not to be taken lightly. The sense of place of those noting these displacement effects was affected to a large degree in a negative sense. Thus, while the arrival of tourist-oriented amenities was found to be of large impact on the sense of place of students in its own right, the possible displacement of 'local-oriented' shops in this process was found to be of similar impact. Primarily, the effects of tourism on the displacement of local shops caused effect on the sense of place of students through effects on students' satisfaction with the physical environment, their feelings of belonging to the physical environment and their behavior towards a place. For instance, students felt 'bullied off', causing them to steer clear of areas they identified as 'tourist-oriented'. Another example of how the loss of local shops at the cost of 'tourist-shops' caused students to feel dissatisfied with the physical environment is that meaningful shops were replaced by meaningless shops (in the eyes of some students). For instance, one student reported how, if one of her 'well-known' shops HEMA was to be replaced by a tourist shops, she would feel less at home in the physical environment.

As shown in the narratives above, the negative impact of tourism on sense of place through the physical environment is extensive. Two main factors impacted the sense of place most and were acknowledged by a large portion of the research population; 'the environment as being 'built for tourists'' and 'the loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism development'. A final side of the story now remains; ways in which sense of place may be positively impacted by tourism through the physical environment.

Positive impacts through physical environment

Positive impacts of tourism on sense of place of students through the physical environment are rare. Although a few respondents noted positive effects of tourism on the physical environment itself, these rarely led to the creation of a more positive sense of place. Two main factors of tourism influencing the physical environment in a positive way may be discerned; maintenance and renovation and an increase in amenities.

Firstly, a few students noted that revenue brought in by tourism may be used for maintenance and renovation work on monuments, public areas and infrastructure. Although this positive effect was noticed, it rarely impacted sense of place in a positive way. Some students clearly recognized that the renovation works were aimed at serving tourists, but simultaneously meant a positive change for themselves; "It does help to maintain the Palace on the Dam and those monuments. [...] They're well-kept because it's so pretty for the tourists. So that's a very positive thing for me because I really think it's pretty too". This narrative shows that some students walking past well-kept monuments considered the effect that tourism has on the incoming revenue for the municipality, which is in turn invested in the maintenance and renovation of these monuments. Other respondents noted the effect of tourism on the renovation of museums, and its impact on making streets broader, more open and more easily traversable. As seen in the accounts of Kerstetter and Bricker (2009), this effect

subsequently created more appreciation for both tourists and the physical environment in some cases, thereby impacting the sense of place positively to some extent. One may ask what dimensions of sense of place would be affected by these positive effects of tourism. The students noting these positive effects were mainly found to have greater satisfaction towards the physical environment and also a greater satisfaction towards the social environment. For instance, the former is affected by an increased appreciation of the state of certain buildings and infrastructure in the city, while the latter is caused by an increased appreciation for tourists, as they bring the revenue required for extensive maintenance and renovation works. This way, both the physical environment (such as the monuments) and the social environment (specifically tourists) are viewed more favorably due to tourism, in turn affecting the sense of place of students (for instance a more positive attitude towards tourists and the physical environment).

Another positive impact of tourism on the physical environment is through an increase in amenities serving students. While almost completely opposing the negative effect of tourism on amenities addressed above, one respondent noted that “[tourism] brings more shops and amenities that may not have been here if it was quieter, or with less tourists. For example.. yeah something like Dunkin’ Donuts, I think it’s really pretty funny we have that in Amsterdam, and that’s also because of those tourists of course, who like it”. This account thus points at an increased sense of satisfaction towards the physical environment as a direct result of tourism. Similarly, another respondent pointed at internationalization of shops in the shopping streets, providing more choices in clothing. For instance, students walking through a shopping center in an area virtually untouched by tourism may encounter different stores, aimed at serving local residents. As shown, some students may enjoy those amenities aimed at serving tourists too. While these positive impacts of tourism on the physical environment may be acknowledged by some, its positive impact on sense of place of students remains minimal. These respondents were found to enjoy the physical environment slightly more while simultaneously developing slight positive sentiments towards tourism in the city. To a small extent, this verifies the assumption that an overlap exists in the amenities preferred by both students and tourists. However, as previous negative narratives showed, many students are not interested in the same amenities preferred by many (while clearly not all) tourists. As a result of the arrival of new amenities, a modest number of students were found to become more appreciative of both the tourist population (due to its effects on the physical environment) and the physical environment (as it now offered more choice). By affecting the physical environment, the increase in amenities affected students’ sense of place by influencing their sense of satisfaction with the physical environment and their satisfaction with the social environment. Finally, the third defining dimension of sense of place – personal characteristics – needs to be reiterated. As shown in previous sections, the arrival of ‘tourist-oriented’ amenities caused some students to develop negative sentiments towards certain areas (Figure 8). However, as shown here, the very fact that these shops are developed caused other students to develop more positive sentiments towards social and physical environments. This may be attributed to interpersonal differences. For instance, the latter students developed positive sentiments due to their personal tastes in amenities, whereas the former group of students developed negative sentiments towards the same shops due to their own personalities and tastes.

As the accounts above demonstrated, the positive impact of tourism on sense of place through the physical environment is limited, especially when compared to the negative impact of tourism on

sense of place through the physical environment. However, this is not to say that the positive accounts are to be ignored; its existence is important in creating a distinct and more nuanced image of the impacts of tourism in inner-city Amsterdam. Positive impacts of tourism on sense of place of students through the physical environment are constituted in two ways; maintenance and renovation and an increase in amenities.

Sharpley's variables

Finally, it is important to determine what the effect of Sharpley's (2013) variables of resident perceptions of tourism is on the impact of tourism on sense of place. This is discussed here in particular because it helps explain why some respondents mentioned above felt positive or negative towards tourism (as the aim of this sub-question is to explain *how* tourism affects sense of place). Firstly, certain intrinsic variables have shown to be relevant here. Linking back to Sharpley's (2013) intrinsic variable 'economic/employment dependency on tourism' and its consistent positive outcomes on resident perceptions of tourism, these impacts are considered in this case below. Out of 20 respondents, 9 indicated that they work or had worked in the tourist-sector or in a sector dealing to a large degree with tourist customers (see App. 3). When asked whether this dependency and additional interaction affected their experiences of and feelings towards tourists in a positive or negative way, respondents indicated that this effect was often present and almost exclusively positive. One respondent noted; "I thought it was just part of it, and maybe that's because I'm a tourist myself in different cities. So you feel a bit more connected [to them]. Yes it does influence you, you get taught that tourism is not only bad, like it sometimes might seem". Getting to know tourists better and learning their drives for coming to Amsterdam and interacting with them in a different setting clearly positively impacted the way respondents viewed tourists. This is subsequently seen to impact sense of place in a positive sense. For instance, through its effect on resident perceptions of tourism, students' attitudes towards a place and their satisfaction with the social environment are affected in a positive sense by the development of a more positive opinion of tourists. However, certain negative impressions also arose out of the tourist-resident interactions. For instance, one respondent noted ascertaining prejudice towards certain nationalities, while another noticed how tourists refuse to try to order in Dutch "like how I do when I'm abroad". Nonetheless, these negative impacts of employment dependency on perceptions of tourism are simply outnumbered by the positive impacts hereof.

An important note is that it may not simply be the very fact that respondents are employed in the sector that impacts their perceptions of tourism; it is rather their increased interaction which results from this employment, which is another consistent intrinsic variable of Sharpley (2013). This is especially relevant due to the fact that other students admittedly almost never had any interaction beyond providing directions. Nevertheless, employment dependency caused most respondents working in the tourist sector to positively affect their perceptions of tourism to a significant degree, a point reiterated by Fan and Li (2016). These accounts show that personal characteristics have great impact upon resident perceptions of tourism (Sharpley, 2013). Once more, it is proven that personal choices and histories (in this case working in the tourist sector and interacting more with tourists) caused some respondents to be more positive towards tourism than others, in turn affecting the impact of tourism on their sense of place.

Another intrinsic variable, 'demographics', has not been found to have significant impact, as the age differences between respondents were insignificant. Whether or not the age of this particular research population implies a relatively positive view towards tourism, as suggested by Sharpley (2013), McCool and Martin (1994) and Williams, et al., (1995) is unclear at this time, as comparative material is lacking. The same is true for the level of education said to impact the perception of tourism positively (Fan and Li, 2016). This means that it is unclear at this time whether or not the relatively high level of education of the research population was the cause of some more positive accounts of students. Furthermore, no significant or clear differences in opinions between male and female respondents were found. This means that despite the gap in female and male respondents of this research population, this does not entail serious consequences for the representativeness of the results (App. 3).

Finally, certain extrinsic variables have shown to impact resident perceptions of tourism. When comparing Appendix 4, Figure 6 with Figures 8 and 9, one may conclude that the variables 'extent of tourism development' and 'density of tourism' can be accepted here. Both variables have shown Sharpley's (2013) assumptions that the further the extent of tourism development and density of tourism, the more negative resident perceptions generally are. For instance, it may be concluded that negative perceptions of tourism primarily arose in areas busy with tourists (see sections on busyness). Furthermore, as shown above, the variable 'nature/type of tourism/tourist' impacts resident perceptions of tourism as well, and different types of tourists evoke different sentiments. For instance, student perceptions of tourists who are "only out for drinking" were found to be negative to the extent that some students would rather attract more cultured tourists to the city. Whether or not the variables 'distance to tourism zone', 'seasonality' and 'national stage of development' impacted resident perceptions of tourism in this case is unclear, as these variables require additional data (for example longitudinal data is required to research seasonality). However, previous comparable research done by Pinkster and Boterman (2017) stated that while the seasons impacted resident perceptions in Amsterdam to some degree, some respondents noted that large crowds of tourists have become a 'permanent feature'. Having addressed these variables in relation to the extent of positive and negative impacts of tourism on sense of place has helped explain the motivations between some of the resident perceptions of tourism.

Conclusions

The third sub-question, 'How can the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam be clarified through social and physical dimensions?', has been answered in the sections above. Extensive accounts of students demonstrated how tourism impacts sense of place in both negative and positive ways through both social and physical environments. When asked which environment weighed heavier on their sense of place considering the impact of tourism hereon, respondents were precisely split between the social and physical environment. This (being reinforced by other narratives) means that the impact of tourism favors neither environment to have the absolute dominant impact on sense of place. In general, both environments are almost equally important. While negative impacts of tourism on sense of place were divided between impacts through social and physical environments, positive impacts were found to be mediated mostly

through the social environment. This means that the positive impact of tourism on sense of place is most present in impacts on the social environment (for instance, the 'internationalization' effect was found to have a stronger positive effect on sense of place than the arrival of new amenities). To summarize; both environments are virtually of equal importance considering the impact of tourism on the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. Furthermore, negative impacts of tourism on sense of place are found to be more abundant than positive ones. Where these effects take place specifically is discussed below. Once more, interpersonal differences were created through differences in personal characteristics, including certain variables proposed by Sharpley (2013). For instance, the intrinsic variable 'economic/employment dependency on tourism' pointed towards a positive relationship between working with tourists and a more positive perception of tourism (in turn positively affecting sense of place). External variables such as 'extent of tourism development' and 'density of tourism' impact students' were found to impact perceptions of tourism negatively.

Cross-examination

As previously presented, it is important to once more put the findings of this sub-question in perspective by cross-examining them with the findings of the first and the second sub-questions. As the first and second sub-questions focused on specific locations of strong senses of place and the extent of influence of tourism hereon, this spatial attribute needs to be reconnected to the findings of the third sub-question.

Firstly, positive sense of place of students was found most strongly in two main areas – the Jordaan area and Roeterseiland/Artis. However, these areas were not found to be impacted by tourism in a positive way very strongly. The Nieuwmarkt and Oudemanhuispoort, on the other hand, showed strong positive senses of place, and relatively large positive impacts of tourism on sense of place as well. Now, with the addition of the information of *how* tourism impacts sense of place in positive ways, the sense of place of students in these areas may be addressed once more. Firstly, some students noted that the Nieuwmarkt housed a lively atmosphere, which was being reinforced by the addition of an international aspect brought about by tourism. However, the fact that this area still served the needs of students themselves was essential, as other locations with a potentially lively and international atmosphere were often deemed 'just for tourists'. Thus, tourism positively impacts aspects of sense of place for a number of students at the Nieuwmarkt due to an increased sense of liveliness and an internationalization of the public. It distinguishes itself from other areas because it houses amenities serving local residents too, which in turn attracts (among others) students, creating a social environment in which students feel at home. These effects of tourism mainly affected students' satisfaction with the social environment and their attitudes towards the Nieuwmarkt. However, it should be noted that the Nieuwmarkt was found to house bilateral senses of place and extensive negative effects of tourism on the sense of place of students too (discussed below).

Similar findings apply to Oudemanhuispoort, as an increased liveliness and international crowd caused respondents to enjoy the social environment more, while the area still offered students services aimed particularly at their needs. For instance, one respondent noted; "Yeah [tourism there is positive], because I sometimes follow courses there and then it's a lot of fun when you exit the lecture and you're [...] in the middle of the tourists.. When you're stressed with exams and you see a

tourist just drinking some coffee with all the time in the world, and he's just discovering the city.. I just think that's very fun". Thus, tourism affects sense of place of students in a positive sense here mainly through the social environment. The main dimensions of sense of place affected hereby are the same as those affected at the Nieuwmarkt - satisfaction with the social environment and attitudes towards Oudemanhuispoort.

Another area showing bilateral sense of place was found to be impacted by tourism in a positive way – Centraal Station. As shown, the fact that students differentiated between local residents and tourists (through 'internationalization') caused a positive effect on their sense of place in two ways – making students feel like 'real *Amsterdammers*' and creating a common denominator. Students noted this effect at Centraal Station, which caused some to feel more connected with their own resident groups, while others rather felt more accepted among a diverse crowd. In turn, these effects caused students to affect their feelings of belonging in the social environment at Centraal Station, as well as their sense of satisfaction with the social environment, their attitudes towards Centraal Station and finally their behavior at Centraal Station. For instance, by creating a common denominator on the basis of the differentiation between local residents and tourists, students felt more strongly like they belonged to the identity and social environment of the *Amsterdammer*.

Thus, two effects of tourism impacting the sense of place of students in a positive way - increased sense of liveliness and the 'internationalization' of the public - can mostly be found just outside the innermost city areas, and most strongly at the Nieuwmarkt, Oudemanhuispoort and Centraal Station (see Figure 9). The creation of a more positive sense of place due to differentiation between locals and tourists is exemplified at Centraal Station, but is expected to span all areas in which students encounter tourism (further research is required in order to accurately state this). While the example of Dam Square in particular was named, the same goes for maintenance and renovation, as these works span large areas of the city. The positive effect of an increase in amenities was also found to be located mostly in the busy shopping streets within the canal belt, as it housed most 'tourist-oriented' shops. However, these three effects are largely not attributed to the three mentioned locations in particular and are thus not represented in Appendix 5, Table 3. Instead, these effects influence the environment sporadically, and may not be pinned down without the help of additional research. As shown, tourism mainly affects sense of place in a positive sense through the social environment. Dimensions of sense of place most strongly affected by the mentioned effects of tourism are students' satisfaction with the social environment, their attitudes towards a place, their behavior in a place and feelings of belonging to the social environment. For instance, the internationalization of the public caused students to feel more positively towards the social environment due to the increased diversity experienced. More specifically, one respondent noted how boring streets with only native Dutch people are, and how tourism and its effect of internationalizing local street life countered this issue.

Secondly, negative sense of place was found most strongly in three main areas – the innermost city center (inside the canal belt), Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. Unlike the positive counterpart, the sense of place of students in all these areas was found to be affected to a high degree by tourism. Other areas affected specifically are the Nieuwmarkt and Centraal Station. Where some respondents found tourism to impact their sense of place in positive ways in the Nieuwmarkt, others noted negative effects. For instance, students noted how touristic the area is and how this makes them

behave more negatively (for example more arrogant) while others pointed towards the physical environment as for instance being overtaken by amenities aimed at serving tourists. In essence, many students recognized the Nieuwmarkt as an area which houses many tourists, but many locals too. The main factors affecting sense of place of students in a negative sense here are the quantity of tourist/people, behavior experienced here and the idea that the environment is 'built for tourists'. In turn, these factors mainly affect students' feelings of belonging in the physical environment, their behavior towards a place and their sense of aversion to the physical and social environments here. For instance, the sheer amount of tourists in these areas caused students to shift their behavior, for example by cycling either faster or slower, depending on their own preference. Another example is how the environment as being built for tourists affected the students' aversion to the physical environment. For instance, students sometimes felt out of place and condemned the use of their physical environment for cheap amenities aimed at serving tourists. More specifically, certain stores, such as coffeeshops, Argentinian steakhouses, ice-bakeries and souvenir shops, with their bright sign displays, caused students to create negative sentiments towards the physical environment.

At Centraal Station the main motivators for a negative impact of tourism on sense of place of students are the quantity of tourists/people, the present social composition and the behavior encountered there. Whereas some students noted positive effects through the social environment here, others saw mainly negative ones. For instance, the busyness and anonymity caused many respondents to develop negative sentiments, attitudes and behavior, such as irritation, uneasiness and rushed mobility. Notably, the physical environment was not noted to be affected in a negative sense by tourism here. Thus, at Centraal Station tourism mainly affects students' aversion towards the social environment, their feelings of belonging to the social environment, their attitudes towards Centraal Station and their behavior here.

While the innermost city area is large in comparison to the areas discussed above, many students regarded it as a single area, and hosting similar amounts of tourists and tourist-oriented amenities (Appendix 4, Fig. 5). Furthermore, respondents often did not specify streets or particular areas within the innermost city area and regarded this area as a single entity. Nonetheless, a slight distinction may be made between the area southwest of Damstraat and that northeast of Damstraat (and including Damstraat), as the northeastern part was generally found slightly busier and more touristic (revisit Fig. 8). As respondents failed to distinguish streets or smaller areas housing different amounts of tourists, different behavior, physical environments and social compositions, it may be stated that, in the eyes of this research population, tourism has a similar effect on their sense of place across the entire area. However, students noted Damrak, Dam Square and Damstraat most often as examples of the negative effects of tourism. These areas were found to be perceived as extraordinarily busy and touristic. Thus, with the exceptions (to some extent) of Centraal Station and the Nieuwmarkt, the entire innermost city area showed negative effects of tourism on sense of place through the quantity of tourists/people present, the social composition, the behavior encountered here, the environment perceived as being 'built for tourists' and the loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism development, as tourism was simply noticed here the most. The fact that all negative effects make an appearance here is not only due to the fact that the area is extensive compared to previously addressed areas – it is also the area most referred to by students when discussing tourism. For similar reasons, all dimensions of sense of place were found to be affected; students' feelings, attachment, attitudes and behavior towards the innermost city, their feelings of belonging to the

social and physical environments and their senses of aversion to the social and physical environment. For instance, the behavior of tourists in the innermost city area caused the attitudes and behavior of students to change too. More specifically, students traversing the busy Damstraat per bicycle for example, stated that they were extra perceptive and on guard for any danger, often cycling more slowly than they usually would.

At Rembrandtplein, behavior of tourists stood out as a prime influencer of tourism on sense of place, as tourists were often described as drunk and having 'different motives'. Not only were tourists seen here in large numbers, they were often found to outweigh the local population by a large margin. Finally, the physical environment and amenities were almost exclusively found to be aimed at serving tourists (being the 'wrong' type of nightlife activity and being relatively expensive). However, due to the fact that these amenities were found to be aimed solely at tourists previously already, local amenities were not 'bullied off'. Thus, the main motivations for negative impacts of tourism on sense of place of students here are encountered behavior, the sense that the environment is 'built for tourists', the sheer quantity of tourists/people and the present social composition. This in turn impacted students' feelings of belonging to the social environment, their feelings of belonging to the physical environment, their attitudes towards Rembrandtplein, their aversion towards the social environment, their aversion towards the physical environment and finally their behavior towards Rembrandtplein. For instance, students noted that the physical environment in this area is aimed at serving tourists to such a degree, that they had 'nothing to do there' and subsequently steered clear of the area altogether.

Finally, while comparable to Rembrandtplein, Leidseplein was found to be more closely related to the Nieuwmarkt in the sense that many students went here themselves. Therefore, the social composition was not found to be as negative as in Rembrandtplein (where students noted that rarely any of their peers dare show their faces). Similarly, the environment was not perceived as being aimed *solely* for tourists and students did not note tourist-oriented amenities taking over local amenities. However, the present quantity of tourists/people and their behavior was noticed and found to impact the students' aversion to the social environment, their attitudes towards Leidseplein and their behavior towards Leidseplein, while some students reported this was "way less than at Rembrandtplein". One instance in which a student noted that the quantity of tourists/people affected her attitude towards and behavior at Leidseplein is the following; "[...] there [at Leidseplein] it affects the way in which you can go to the shops because it's so busy because of tourists that you go at different times. No more on Friday or Saturday. [...] and the vibe there is different. It's so full of tourists who come to drink at Leidseplein.. yes if that wasn't the case it would be very different, but it's always like that".

Thus, two effects of tourism impacting the sense of place of students in a negative way can be found in all locations mentioned above; quantity of tourists/people, and behavior. While the quantity of tourists/people affected students in a similar way in all mentioned locations, behavior of tourists affected the sense of place of students most strongly at Rembrandtplein. The negative effects of tourism on sense of place through its effects on the social composition were found at Centraal Station, the innermost city center and Rembrandtplein, while no area jumped out in particular. The physical environment as being 'built for tourists' was found most strongly at the Nieuwmarkt, innermost city center and Rembrandtplein, while the strongest effects hereof were found in the

innermost city center area and Rembrandtplein (some respondents enjoyed the physical environment and its amenities at the Nieuwmarkt). Lastly, the loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism development was found only in the innermost city center area, and although specifics are lacking here, busy shopping streets such as Damrak, Damstraat and Kalverstraat were named. All these effects may be found in Appendix 5, Table 4. It may be noted that the dimension 'feelings towards a place' is not incorporated, as this is deemed to be 'too general' to be included, as every other dimension of sense of place encapsulates a feeling towards a place. Finally, the dimension 'knowledge of a place' was found to be a *cause* of effects on sense of place more often than being a *result* of effects on sense of place. For instance, students with a large 'knowledge' of the social environment in certain areas were found to create more positive senses of place. However, in the innermost city center area, certain students noted that tourism had effect on the amount of people they knew in the area as some reported that "everyone I know avoids the inner-city as much as possible", thus affecting the knowledge of the social environment here.

CONCLUSIONS

This master's thesis focused on the impact of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch university students in inner-city Amsterdam. This subject was chosen following accounts from both journalistic and academic sources pointing at the consequences of practically unbridled tourism in inner-city Amsterdam. Based on previous research on the subject, one such consequence is a primarily negative impact on residents' sense of place. This means that feelings, attachment, attitudes and behavior of an individual in a place are affected in a negative sense by tourism. For instance, the effect tourism has on the social composition in a place may affect a local residents' sense of belonging in the social environment. Sense of place has seen extensive academic debate and research, albeit certainly not in every discipline, geographical area and research population. Exploiting a gap in the existing academic literature, this research was aimed at uncovering new insights into where the impact of tourism on sense of place of students is largest in inner-city Amsterdam, what the extent of this impact is and how this impact is constituted. This particular research population was chosen on the basis of various authors who indicated that young and highly educated residents may potentially view tourism and its effects differently from resident populations not possessing these backgrounds. In order to accurately address the aims of this research, three sub-questions were devised. Subsequently, a suitable qualitative research method was developed in order to categorically address each sub-question. Afterwards, empirical research was executed among 20 students of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) with the use of semi-structured interviews and evaluative mapping practices. The results demonstrated a detailed description of the extent, concentration and establishment of the impacts of tourism on the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. With this information, the main research question may now be addressed.

Main research question

The main research question, **'What is the effect of tourism on the sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam and how can it be explained?'**, may now be answered with reference to collected data and existing theory. The sense of place of Dutch students in inner-city Amsterdam is discussed first, after which the effect of tourism hereon is addressed. Finally, the factors affecting dimensions of sense of place in positive and negative senses are addressed at the hand of various locations within inner-city Amsterdam. This layered design, adding complexity at every step, allows for a thorough and complete answer to the main research question of this thesis.

Firstly, sense of place of students is both highly personal and highly localized, meaning that certain areas of inner-city Amsterdam are dominated by positive senses of place of students, while others are dominated by negative senses of place. Areas associated by students most strongly with positive sense of place are the Jordaan area, Roeterseiland/Artis and Oudemanhuispoort. Respondents noted that their positive sense of place was constituted to a large degree through the social environment. For instance, students were found to experience feelings of belonging to the social environment, and to a lesser degree feelings of satisfaction with the physical environment. More specifically, students stated that familiar social environments, which housed people 'like them', made them feel at home, causing them to feel more relaxed and at ease in these areas.

On the other hand, negative senses of place were largely confined to the innermost city area (inside the canal belt), Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. Here, students experienced strong feelings of aversion to the social and physical environment, and a sense of not belonging to the social environment. This in turn caused significant impacts on their attitudes and behavior towards these places. For instance, the social composition in these areas caused students to feel like they did not belong to the social environment, causing them to feel frustrated and act more aggressively. On the other hand, the physical environment felt like it had 'nothing to offer' the students, mostly due to the nature of offered amenities, which was found not to represent the demand or price-class of the students. For instance, students noted not to be interested in souvenir shops, 'low-quality' restaurants and overpriced cafés. This in turn caused some students to steer clear of these areas.

Finally, certain areas within the inner-city show bilateral senses of place in which the research population is divided over positive and negative senses of place. These areas most notably include the Nieuwmarkt and Centraal Station. Here, positive and negative views of both social and physical environments mixed. For instance, some students felt satisfied towards the social or physical environments, while other students felt senses of aversion towards them. These interpersonal differences are caused by personal characteristics, values and past experiences. This may be illustrated with the example that one student grew up in the Nieuwmarkt area, causing him to develop positive sentiments and senses of attachment to it, while the next student may feel aversion towards the area due to past experiences. For instance, one student reported how past experiences of cycling amidst large crowds in the Nieuwmarkt area caused her to view the area in a more negative light. Thus, both social and physical dimensions aid in the creation of sense of place, while personal characteristics produce interpersonal differences. Finally, a small section of the research population noted to be uncertain or indifferent about their feelings towards certain areas, which were regarded as 'neutral' (Table 2).

With the sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam addressed, the impact of tourism hereon may be discussed. This impact is extensive and undeniable. The sense of place of every respondent in inner-city Amsterdam is affected to some degree by tourism, ranging from a relatively small impact to tremendous impacts. The largest effects of tourism on sense of place of students were found in the innermost city area (Oudemanhuispoort, the Nieuwmarkt and Centraal Station in particular), Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein.

When considering the full extent of impact of tourism on sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam, a clear majority of students emphasize negative impacts over positive impacts. These *negative* impacts are found to be present most strongly in the innermost area of the city center, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein. The negative effects of tourism on sense of place of students are constituted evenly through both social and physical dimensions. This means that negative effects of tourism on sense of place of students do not favor either dimension, as even numbers of respondents attributed either dimension to affect their sense of place most strongly (resulting in a tie). Tourism affects sense of place negatively through these environments in different ways. Five main dimensions may be discerned, three of which operate through the social environment – the quantity of tourists/people, social composition and behavior – and two through the physical environment; the environment as being 'built for tourists' and the loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism development. In turn, these negative effects of tourism affect various dimensions of sense

of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. The dimensions of sense of place most affected are; students' behavior towards a place, their attitudes towards a place, their feelings of aversion to the social *and* physical environment and their feelings of belonging to the social *and* physical environment (App. 5, Table 4).

In particular, students at Rembrandtplein experienced negative effects of tourism most strongly through tourists' behavior, the sense that the environment is 'built for tourists, the sheer quantity of tourists/people and the present social composition. These effects in turn impacted students' feelings of belonging to the social *and* physical environment, their attitudes towards Rembrandtplein, their sense of aversion towards the social *and* physical environment of Rembrandtplein and finally, their behavior towards Rembrandtplein. For instance, students noted how the physical environment had 'nothing to offer' them (environment as being built for tourists) which caused them to steer clear of the area (behavior towards a place). More specifically, the types of nightlife activities offered and their price-range was not found to be appealing to most respondents at Rembrandtplein. At Leidseplein, the social composition and offered amenities were not found to be as one-sidedly negative, leaving the quantity of tourists/people and their behavior to affect the sense of place of students mainly through their senses of aversion to the social environment, their attitudes towards Leidseplein and their behavior towards Leidseplein. For example, students reported how the behavior of tourists at Leidseplein caused them to create negative feelings towards the people there (aversion to the social environment). More specifically, behavior shown by drunken tourists (for instance shouting and disregarding the surrounding traffic and people) caused students to feel more agitated towards the tourists occupying Leidseplein. Finally, the innermost city center area (Fig. 8) saw extensive negative effects of tourism on the sense of place of students. As the area is large and diverse, students noted all five dimensions through which tourism affects the social and physical environments, and subsequently noted all dimensions of sense of place to be affected negatively in this area. For instance, students noted how the loss of local amenities to those aimed at the needs of tourists caused them to lose feelings of attachment to place. More specifically, one student for instance noted how the prospect of losing a HEMA store to another 'tourist shop' made her feel less at home in the innermost city area.

Thus, tourism affects sense of place of students in a *negative* sense most strongly in the innermost city area, Rembrandtplein and Leidseplein, through its effects on both the social and physical environments. The quantity of tourists/people (busyness) and their behavior were found to be the strongest instruments of negative effects of tourism, while the dimensions of sense of place most affected are students' behavior towards a place and their sense of aversion to the social environment.

On the other hand, a minority of students also indicate positive impacts of tourism on their sense of place. The strongest of these effects are found at the Nieuwmarkt, Centraal Station and Oudemanhuispoort. However, unlike negative effects, the positive effects are mainly constituted through the social environment and to a much lesser degree through the physical environment. This entails that the positive effects of tourism on sense of place of students were mostly found to be constituted through the social environment, and more specifically through three main dimensions; an increased sense of liveliness, the 'internationalization' of the public and differentiation between local and tourist groups. On the other hand, tourism affected sense of place of students in a positive

sense through the *physical* environment by affecting maintenance and renovation and an increase in amenities. In general, the strongest positive effects of tourism on sense of place are the increased sense of liveliness and the internationalization of the public (App. 5, Table 3). In turn, the dimensions of sense of place most affected in a positive way by these five effects, are students' sense of satisfaction with the social environment, their attitudes towards a place, their behavior in a place and their feelings of belonging to the social environment.

Particularly, students at the Nieuwmarkt experienced positive effects on their sense of satisfaction with the social environment and their attitudes towards the Nieuwmarkt, as a result of an increased liveliness and internationalization of the public. For instance, students noted how the international atmosphere brought about by tourism made them enjoy the area more. At Centraal Station, the increased liveliness, internationalization *and* differentiation between local residents and tourists caused students to develop more positive senses of place. Dimensions of sense of place most affected at this location are students' feelings of belonging in the social environment, their sense of satisfaction with the social environment, their attitudes towards Centraal Station and behavior at Centraal Station. For instance, the differentiation between 'us and them' caused some respondents to feel more strongly connected to their sense of being an *Amsterdammer*. Finally, students at Oudemanhuispoort noted the same effects of tourism (increased sense of liveliness and internationalization) and subsequent effects on their sense of place (satisfaction with the social environment and attitudes towards a place) as at the Nieuwmarkt. For instance, students noted how seeing tourists at Oudemanhuispoort made them feel joyful and more positive towards the social environment. Finally, it should be noted that the positive effects of tourism on maintenance and renovation in the city and the experienced increase in amenities rarely had effect on sense of place. Furthermore, these effects were found to be scattered across inner-city Amsterdam, making it impossible to pin them down precisely with the data gathered in this thesis.

Thus, tourism affects sense of place of students in a *positive* way most strongly at the Nieuwmarkt, Centraal Station and Oudemanhuispoort, mainly through its effects on the social environment, and to a minimal extent through the physical environment. The two strongest positive effects of tourism on sense of place were found to be the increased sense of liveliness and the internationalization of the public, while the dimensions of sense of place most affected by tourism in a positive sense are students' attitudes towards certain places and their satisfaction with the social environment.

Finally, the effect of the third defining dimension of sense of place – personal characteristics – should be underscored. It has been shown that this dimension is responsible for the creation of interpersonal differences in both sense of place, and the effect of tourism hereon. Students were found to create different senses of place in the same area, as a result of personal characteristics and past experiences (as for instance one student grew up in this area, while the next had never been here before). Similarly, the effect of tourism on sense of place was found to differ between students as a result of personal characteristics. This is most clearly illustrated in areas of bilateral sense of place, as some students experienced tourism in these areas (for instance the Nieuwmarkt) as something positive, while others experienced it as something negative. One clear example of how personal characteristics effectuated this is that of one student with a migratory history, which caused him to feel more at ease and happier in areas with more diverse populations. Within the research population, gender and age (the latter only differing several years) were not found to significantly affect the results (interpersonal differences). Personal histories and past experiences on the other

hand, were found to be of relatively large effect on resident perceptions of tourism, interpersonal differences in sense of place and the effect of tourism hereon. These accounts show that although students may be regarded as a single group, they are not possessive of a single view of tourism or sense of place, but in fact show (sometimes large) interpersonal differences.

Implications for society and science

Implications of the above findings may prove valuable to both societal and academic worlds. Firstly, and essential to both worlds, it should be noted that the projected distinct image (based on related academic literature) to be created by researching this particular research population was not delivered decisively. While this research population has helped to create new insights – such as the indication that the impacts of tourism on sense of place of residents in inner-city Amsterdam are not one-sidedly negative – it did not provide viewpoints underscoring the unique position of students. For instance, multiple theories imply that young and highly educated individuals tend to be more positive towards tourism than those not as young or highly educated (McCool and Martin, 1994; Williams, et al., 1995; Sharpley, 2013; Fan and Li, 2016). While this may be the case to some degree, the fact remains that the majority of students viewed tourism in a negative light and experienced far more negative effects than positive effects of tourism on their sense of place (Boterman and Pinkster, 2017). Thus, while the data gathered and presented within this thesis is specific to students, it is largely in line with sentiments of sources which reflect larger and more diverse groups of residents in Amsterdam (Smit, 2016; Van Dun, 2016; Boterman and Pinkster, 2017). The question may thus be asked whether or not the fact that the research population was formed by university students affected the findings, or that, for instance, the same findings could have been achieved when researching young and *lowly* educated residents. This is in fact uncertain and further research is required in order to accurately determine whether or not this is the case. It may be assumed that university students are generally quite critical thinkers (or are at least aspiring to be so), and would likely highlight different issues than those with a different level of education. Similarly, the age of the student population is likely to cause students to focus on different issues than elderly residents. However, this is speculation, as the information required to accurately depict these scenarios is not available at this moment. While it may be certain that the research population researched here aided in determining how Dutch university students studying in Amsterdam perceive tourism and its effects on their sense of place, it is impossible (as of yet) to determine whether or not this is a unique viewpoint due to the lack of comparable research. Nonetheless, important results from this research may have significant implications for both societal and scientific worlds.

Societally, these findings may prove to be of value to a number of parties, including the municipality of Amsterdam and the city's tourism industry. As seen, the municipality painted a dim future for the *Amsterdammer*, by stating that they will no longer feel at home or have much attracting them to the inner-city areas (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017, p.15). While this may be partially true, students are not unanimous in this regard; some actually feel more at home and have more reasons to visit the center due to tourism development. With this information, the municipality's future prognoses may be changed to a slightly more positive note. On the other hand, the fact that *even* students (sharing the same age-group with the largest group of tourists in Amsterdam) largely fall within the general negative consensus reiterates the seriousness and scale of the subject for the municipality of

Amsterdam. The seriousness of these findings is underscored by the assumptions made on the basis of the findings of McCool and Martin (1994) and Williams, et al., (1995) stating that the sense of place of older residents is impacted by a larger degree than that of younger residents, and the findings of Fan and Li (2016) stating that relatively highly educated residents generally view tourism more positively than their less educated counterparts. The fact that even this young and highly educated group of residents is generally negative towards tourism may imply (but by no means confirm!) that older and less educated groups perceive tourism in an even more negative light. Once more, further research is required in order to establish whether or not this is true.

Furthermore, the impact of tourism on students' sense of belonging in the inner-city area is extensive, which (among other negative effects of tourism on sense of place) causes students to avoid this area. As part of new urban tourism, tourists often look for local experiences. When students (and perhaps other resident groups) avoid the touristic areas in favor of other areas, tourists may thus follow suit (Gustavson, 2001; Manzo, 2003; Jivén and Larkham, 2003; Mordue, 2005; Binder, 2008; Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015). This too is an effect which the municipality would be wise to track, as it may bring impacts to sense of place far outside the usual areas presented in this thesis. In fact, the active strategy adopted by the municipality of Amsterdam of dispersing tourist populations to areas outside of the 'usual' tourist hotspots amplifies the effects of new urban tourism. The combined effects of these occurrences entail a projected increase in tourism activity in previously 'tourist scarce' areas, with all consequences (including for sense of place) thereof. The wailing support for tourism and its effects on perceived authenticity also have far-reaching consequences for the tourist-sector, as support for tourism created by 'happy hosts' is deemed essential for the success and sustainability of tourism in a place (Lawson, et al., 1998; Snaith and Haley, 1999). As tourism may not, even from one of the most promising groups, enjoy this support, the tourism industry and indeed the municipality face a great dilemma; who is served first? While speculative, reports like this may cause both the municipality and the tourist sector to intervene by, for instance, attracting more amenities aimed at serving local residents to the city center, thereby attracting locals, strengthening the sense of authenticity and bolstering the positive sense of place of residents. This would, in turn, reassure the success of the tourist-sector as well as providing local residents with a sense of belonging.

The results of this thesis may furthermore add considerable and valuable information to the academic world. Firstly, as urban tourism has "received a disproportionately small amount of attention from scholars of either tourism or of the city", this research may help bolster this body of literature (Ashworth and Page, 2011). Secondly, research on resident perceptions of tourism often focuses on residents as a single population, whereas this research singles out a distinct group of residents. Moreover, the research population researched here is highly underrepresented in research regarding sense of place and resident perceptions of (urban) tourism (Sharpley, 2013). Thirdly, academic literature of sense of place of students in Amsterdam was nonexistent prior to this thesis. Finally, qualitative methods are heavily underrepresented in this field, allowing this research to fill this gap to some degree (Deery, et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2013; Lin and Lockwood, 2014). Thus, the findings from this research fill gaps in academic literature on urban tourism, sense of place (of students) and Amsterdam.

The results of this thesis furthermore refute certain theories brought to the fore by academics in the theoretical framework. Firstly, while not completely contradicted, Massey's progressive sense of place was not found to be present unanimously among the research population of this case-study. While multiple respondents did underscore strong links to the 'outside world' and abolished the idea of a singular identity, others accentuated strong 'us and them' mentalities which directly oppose the core message of a progressive sense of place (Massey, 1994). Nonetheless, this particular perspective of sense of place has provided a set of highly relevant guidelines to direct the empirical research along. Secondly, the found creation of sense of place through social environments resembles the results of Seamon (1980) and Korac (2009), while the creation of sense of place through the physical environment resembles findings of Tuan (1974), May (1996) and Cresswell (2014). However, the results of this thesis highlight the importance of both environments in the creation of sense of place, as opposed to a single dominating environment proposed by the aforementioned authors.

Another result of this research conflicting with findings of other authors (Seamon, 1980; Hanson, 1997) is the fact that a clear division between an 'insider' and 'outsider' may not only create hostility between these groups but can also aid in the creation of a stronger positive sense of place through the provision of a common denominator. For instance, students noted how the 'uncertain' behavior of tourists at Centraal Station allowed them to distinguish the 'insider' from the 'outsider' (tourist and resident), which in turn caused some students to develop stronger feelings of belonging to the social and physical environment of Amsterdam, and of being an *Amsterdammer*. Another contrasting result is that sense of place was found to be highly individualistic and differing between respondents within the same group, as opposed to the point made by Conzen (1966), Jones (1990), Hanson (1997) and Amsden, et al. (2010) stating that sense of place is linked to shared history and group identity.

Finally, two central theories which have been applied to the case at hand are to be addressed. Firstly, McCool and Martin (1994) and Williams, et al., (1995) found that age correlates with resident perceptions of tourism, where 'old-timers' are relatively negative towards tourism when compared to 'newcomers'. These negative perceptions of tourism subsequently affect sense of place of residents (for instance residents' sense of aversion towards the social environment). However, the age gaps between respondents of this particular research population were found to be too small to determine whether or not older students viewed tourism more negatively, and a clear correlation was not found. Furthermore, comparison with older resident populations is not possible as of yet, as data required to do so is unavailable at this time. Thus, while the findings of McCool and Martin (1994) and Williams et al., (1995) are not refuted entirely, evidence to back up the findings was not acquired. Lastly, Fan and Li (2016) pointed out that a correlation exists between the level of education and perceptions of tourism. Individuals with a higher level of education were found to be more positive towards tourism than individuals with a relatively low level of education. Therefore, the assumption could be made that university students would be relatively positive towards tourism (when compared to those with lower levels of education). While some students were found to be positive towards tourism, most were not. However, information on perceptions of tourism of residents with a lower level of education is not available at the time. Therefore, the findings of Fan and Li (2016) cannot be refuted or accepted on the basis of the data acquired within this research.

Reflection and recommendations for future research

In retrospect, certain aspects and/or processes of this thesis could have been approached in different ways that could have proven to be more suitable for this particular case. For instance, various limitations of the applied methodology have been addressed in the methodology chapter. The main limitations of the chosen methodologies are that of a restricted research population (resulting in limited external validity) and the volatility of the core concept and its defining dimensions - resulting in limited reliability (Ruddin, 2006; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Bryman, 2008). These limitations of the selected methods, as well as several problems that had arisen during the research, call for certain recommendations for future research. Addressing these limitations through the eyes of the researcher allows for the creation of a proactive and constructive research agenda.

Firstly, the seriousness of the findings of this research for the tourist sector, municipality and inhabitants of Amsterdam may prove reason enough to expand this existing research. Due to the individuality of the core concept, the magnitude of the researched area and the limited research population permitted by qualitative research and the time available, it is suggested that future research into this subject focuses primarily on expanding the research population. This not only entails an increase in the existing research population, but also the addition of different and contrasting population groups, such as elderly residents. This could aid in identifying larger patterns of effects of tourism on sense of place, and could help determine whether or not findings in this research are student-specific or part of a larger trend in Amsterdam. Furthermore, expanding the research population to resident populations with relatively low education levels and groups of residents living in Amsterdam for a relatively long time could help shed light on the theories of Fan and Li (2016) and McCool and Martin (1994) and Williams, et al. (1995) respectively. Due to its nature of reaching a large base of respondents, it is suggested to enhance the qualitative information with quantitative data, effectively turning the research methodology into that of mixed methods. This could mean that respondents are still asked to fill in evaluative maps, while additional information is gathered with the use of surveys instead of semi-structured interviews. With the acquired information, a more precise and broadly supported vision of the impact of tourism on sense of place could be formed. This increases societal relevance by allowing the municipality and tourist sector to better understand and tackle certain problems arising from tourism among a larger and more diverse population in Amsterdam. The enlarged research population would furthermore add considerable scientific relevance by increasing the external validity of the research, as larger and more diverse research populations are considered to better reflect the opinions of the total population of an area. Furthermore, while the selected method of sampling was found to be fitting and students were generally not hesitant to participate, a truly reflective sample was not acquired. For instance, a better reflection of the range of ages present at the university campuses could have been achieved through highly selective sampling. While the encountered differences between a 22 year old and a 23 year old respondent were minimal and no differences were found in the opinions of either gender, future research on the subject is advised to approximate a better reflection of varieties within the research population.

Secondly, despite the fact that a larger research population was desired, the selected methods of research did provide abundant and appropriate data required for addressing the main research question. The semi-structured nature of the employed interviews allowed for effortless comparison amongst concluded interviews and for similar treatment of respondents. The employed evaluative

maps furthermore provided a tangible result which is easily accessible and instantly provides an interpretable result, as opposed to the large amounts of qualitative data resulting from the interview questions. These sources of information were found to complement each other in this research. However, while the evaluative maps provide indicators of sense of place, they do not fully present it. This brings us to a sizeable issue presented within this thesis; semantics. The core concept researched here is decidedly multifaceted, intangible and sometimes downright vague. This caused problems for the methodology and operationalization; while methods employed to research the concept were proven, deconstructing the concepts in order to make them more comprehensible for respondents proved difficult in its own right, let alone when translated into another language and back. One concrete example of this is the fact that the evaluative maps do not show sense of place directly, but instead display the sense of feeling at home – a concept much more familiar to students. In turn, this led to an extra step in the research process, namely assessing the combined answers of respondents in order to evaluate their sense of place correctly. While this extra step cannot be skipped, it may be made easier through extensive operationalization. This entails that facets of sense of place to be researched are dismantled to a degree that allows the research population to effortlessly comprehend them during empirical research. For example, while the interviews generally fared well, some students had issues with employed concepts such as ‘social composition’. The answer to these problems adopted during the fieldwork was to simply explain the concepts at hand (the social and physical dimensions were elucidated to the respondent prior to the interview), however, this approach was found to be time-consuming and preventable. Deconstructing key concepts into more accessible notions may provide an answer to this. For instance, the misunderstandings around the term ‘social composition’ could be prevented by adopting another term, or dissecting the concept further. As such, ‘ratios between various groups of people’ or ‘proportion of various population segments’ describe roughly the same concept, in a way that may be more understandable to respondents. For future research it is thus recommended that operationalization is taken one step further towards semantics, thereby deconstructing concepts in order to make them more easily understandable for respondents.

Thirdly, certain relations within this research itself are not entirely clear yet. For instance, the creation of a more positive sense of place as a result of students’ differentiation between local residents and tourists (creating a common denominator and subsequently identifying more with the identity of the *Amsterdammer*) was found at Centraal Station. While this effect it is expected to be present in any area of Amsterdam experiencing extensive tourism development, it is unsure to what extent and where exactly this effect exists in Amsterdam. The same can be said about two of the positive effects of tourism through the physical environment; maintenance and renovation, and an increase in amenities. As of yet, only a few locations exhibiting these effects have been found, and an accurate and thorough description of where these effects take place in Amsterdam cannot be provided with the acquired data. Thus, when extending this existing research, it is recommended to pay extra attention to these particular relations. For instance, using an evaluative map in order to chart areas in which respondents note increases in amenities as a result of tourism may provide a tangible base for understanding this particular relationship more thoroughly. Following this, the relationship between this effect of tourism on the physical environment and its subsequent effect on the sense of place of residents could be explored in more detail. The same goes for the effect of ‘differentiation between local and tourist’ and where this effect may be present, and for the effect of ‘maintenance and renovation’.

Fourthly, valuable addition to the research would be that of longitudinal research, as sense of place is subject to constant flows of society, causing it to shift over time (Massey, 1994). For instance, it may be expected that certain areas experiencing little tourism now may become attractive for tourism over time (see new urban tourism), thereby impacting sense of place in this area in a different way. This line of reasoning allows for a panel study (Bryman, 2008). This means that the same respondents participate in the research over an extended amount of time. Employing this method would allow the researcher to witness changes in sense of place of the same people over time, and thereby also mapping the effects causing these changes in relation to tourism development. For instance, how does the sense of place of a panel change in areas with growing tourism sectors? And in areas with decreasing tourism activity? Is the effect of tourism to blame for changing sense of place or are other influences (such as increasing age, changing personalities or external variables) more important? Similarly, these effects of a specific trait on sense of place of residents could be researched with the use of a cohort study. This entails following a group of people sharing a characteristic. For instance, when future research focuses on the specific effect of age in the relationship between tourism and sense of place, a group of residents sharing the same age could be involved and monitored over an extended amount of time. The additional information gained from these approaches would not only aid in understanding sense of place to a larger degree, it would furthermore help predict its future changes and vastly increase the reliability of the research. At this time, it is specifically advised to include longitudinal research in a panel study, in order to research the effect of tourism on sense of place in areas with shifting densities of tourism. This would allow the researcher to accurately map the effects that tourism truly has on sense of place of inhabitants.

Fifthly, a valuable addition for future research may be reached through merging this research with another social science. For example, the expertise of sociocultural anthropologists or psychologists may help in understanding the individualistic character of sense of place. As such, academics from these related social sciences could provide new insights into internal influences on sense of place, such as personal characteristics. More specifically, the ways in which a background (for instance cultural heritage) and past experiences impact an individual's perceptions of a phenomenon (tourism in this case) is important in order to understand the effect of personal characteristics on sense of place better. Following this, the precise relationship between perceptions and feelings would be a valuable addition to the research, as this could help understand in greater detail how experiences translate to sense of place and vice versa. For instance, how do an individual's experiences of a certain place affect his or her feelings towards this place and the elements within it? Answering this with the help of anthropology and/or psychology may furthermore help to better grasp the relationships between Sharpley's variables and the various dimensions of sense of place discerned in this research.

Finally, data preparation and applied methods of analysis are briefly discussed. Transcribing was found to be a highly time-consuming practice. While complete transcriptions of all interviews were found to be greatly beneficial for the extensive analysis of the collected qualitative data, investment in, and use of, auto-transcription software is advised. Similarly, while time-consuming, the approach used in order to create the combined evaluative maps proved worthwhile, as the resulting maps show the combined answers of all respondents in a clear and organized fashion. Finally, if permitted by the available time, the use of NVivo is encouraged over the use of color coding in Microsoft Word. While this approach does work sufficiently in a shorter time-frame, NVivo has a clear advantage over

the use of Microsoft Word, as it is specifically designed for processing large amounts of qualitative data. Practically, this means that NViVo has all the tools (and only those) aimed at analyzing qualitative data, while Microsoft Word is slightly more limited in this sense (for instance when making easy memos).

As shown, several aspects of this research could have been approached in a different way. By learning from the paths taken in this research, follow-up research may be able to prevent encountering similar problems. Furthermore, the concrete advice offered for future research in this field of study allows further research to add significant knowledge to both societal and academic worlds by exploring academically unknown territory. Research on this particular niche is far from complete, and based on the potential importance of the findings of this research for society and science, further research is highly recommended.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide



Universiteit Utrecht

Semi-structured interview intended for Dutch students of the University of Amsterdam in inner-city Amsterdam. The following questions are part of master-level research into the impact of tourism on sense of place of Dutch university students in inner-city Amsterdam. This master's thesis is a part of the master program *Urban Geography* at Utrecht University. Due to the fact that both the researcher and the respondent are Dutch, all interviews are conducted in Dutch. This is done in order to prevent information getting lost in translation, as expressing oneself in a native language is expected to be easier for both parties involved. All acquired data is processed confidentially and anonymously and is not used to any other ends than the research at hand. With consent of the respondent, interviews are recorded for later transcription, after which audio files are deleted. The following questions are asked to all respondents and serve as a steady basis for the structure of gathered data. The nature of the semi-structured interview simultaneously allows the researcher to deviate from the interview guide whenever specifically interesting findings arise. The questions roughly follow the structure of the sub-questions and are divided into two main parts which both require the use of an evaluative map. An extra part is added in order to determine the background of the respondent and how the individual fares when considering the variables influencing resident perceptions of tourism as demonstrated by Sharpley (2013). Due to their potentially large impact on the rest of the answers, these variables and personal statistics are assessed in the opening questions.

Openingsvragen:

- Welkom, dit interview is deel van mijn master-scriptie Urban Geography en bestaat uit open vragen en het gebruik van onderzoek met behulp van kaarten. De vragen zijn bedoeld voor studenten van de UvA en gaan over Amsterdam. Het doel van het onderzoek wordt toegelicht aan het eind van dit interview. Is het goed als dit interview wordt opgenomen voor latere analyse? Verwerking van de data gebeurt compleet anoniem en de informatie wordt enkel voor deze scriptie gebruikt. We beginnen met enkele algemene vragen.
- Hoe oud ben je?
- Waar kom je oorspronkelijk vandaan?
- In welk deel van Amsterdam woon je? Hoe lang woon je daar nu? Heb je nog elders in Amsterdam gewoond? Waar en hoe lang?
- Hoe lang heb je aan de UvA gestudeerd?
- *Uitleg over sociale en fysieke omgeving en verschillen.*

Vaste vragen:

- **Map 1, blauw:** Waar kom je regelmatig in de binnenstad van Amsterdam? Hoe vaak ben je hier en waarom/wat doe je daar? Voel je je hier over het algemeen thuis (op je gemak/op je plaats)? Waarom/waarom niet?
- **Map 1, groen:** Waar voel je je het meest thuis in de binnenstad van Amsterdam (meerdere locaties mogelijk)? Waar komt dat door? Ken je hier veel mensen? Hoe ervaar je de sociale omgeving hier (*denk aan hoeveelheid mensen, compositie, interactie, gebruiken, normen en waarden, banden*)? Voel je je thuis in deze sociale omgeving? Ken je de fysieke omgeving hier goed? Hoe ervaar je de fysieke omgeving hier (*denk aan bebouwde omgeving, openbare ruimte, afval, infrastructuur*)? Voel je je thuis in deze fysieke omgeving? Zou je zeggen dat je je verbonden voelt met deze plek(ken)? Is je houding/gedrag hier anders dan elders?
- **Map 1, rood:** Zijn er plekken in de Amsterdamse binnenstad waar je je minder thuis voelt? Waar komt dat door? Ken je hier veel mensen? Hoe ervaar je de sociale omgeving hier? Voel je je thuis in deze sociale omgeving? Ken je de fysieke omgeving hier goed? Hoe ervaar je de fysieke omgeving hier? Voel je je thuis in deze fysieke omgeving? Zou je zeggen dat je je verbonden voelt met deze plek(ken)? Is je houding/gedrag hier anders dan elders?
- Wat zou volgens jou van invloed kunnen zijn op de mate van thuis voelen op een plek? Is toerisme daar één van?
- Als je aan toerisme in de binnenstad van Amsterdam denkt; wat is dan het eerste wat er in je opkomt?
- Hoe zou je een toerist definiëren? Hoe maak je onderscheid tussen een toerist en een bewoner?
- Hoe zou je jouw relatie met toeristen in de binnenstad van Amsterdam omschrijven? Hoeveel interactie vindt er plaats? Wat voor soort interactie? Waar en waarom?
- Werk je momenteel, of heb je gewerkt in de toeristensector? Zo ja, heeft dit in jouw ogen je oordeel van toeristen beïnvloedt?
- **Map 2, paars:** Waar merk je het meeste van toerisme in de binnenstad van Amsterdam? In hoeverre heeft toerisme daar in jouw ogen invloed op de sociale compositie? Op gedrag (normen en waarden, interactie)? Op het dagelijks leven daar? Op jouw gevoel van veiligheid? Op de openbare orde? Kun je hier een voorbeeld van geven? In hoeverre hebben deze invloeden van toerisme op de sociale omgeving effect op de mate waarin je je thuis voelt in deze omgeving(en) (*let op; sense of place*)?
- En in hoeverre heeft toerisme op deze plekken in jouw ogen invloed op de bebouwde omgeving (denk aan openbare ruimten, gebouwen, infrastructuur, parken)? Op winkels en hun aanbod? Op transport en verkeer? Op vuilnis en het verwerken hiervan (onderhoud)? Kun je hier een voorbeeld van geven? Hoe hebben deze invloeden van toerisme op de fysieke omgeving effect op de mate waarin je je thuis voelt in deze omgeving(en) (*let op; sense of place*)? Weegt de invloed van toerisme op de sociale omgeving of op de fysieke omgeving zwaarder voor jouw mate van thuis voelen op deze plekken?

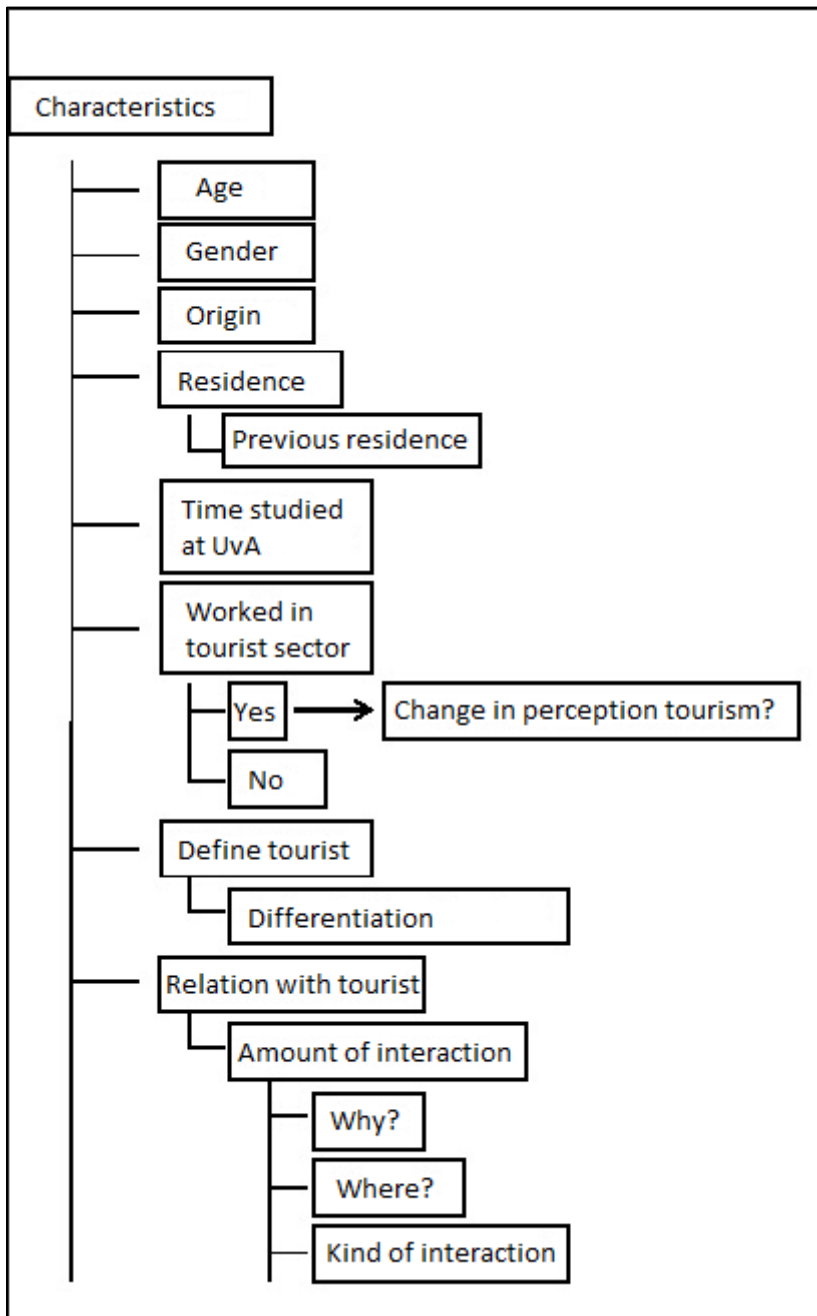
- Is toerisme in de binnenstad in jouw ogen voornamelijk positief of negatief? Kan je een grootste negatief effect voor jou persoonlijk noemen? En een grootste positief effect? **Map 2, roze:** Waar heeft toerisme de grootste invloed op je mate van thuis voelen? Belangrijk; dit kan ook positief zijn. **Map 2, oranje:** Waar heeft toerisme de kleinste invloed op je mate van thuis voelen? Waarom? Hoe komt het dat er een verschil tussen roze en oranje zit? Kun je hier een voorbeeld van geven?
- Als het mogelijk zou zijn, zou je het toerisme in Amsterdam dan veranderen? Zo ja, wat zou je veranderen en waarom? Zo nee, waarom niet?

Afsluiting:

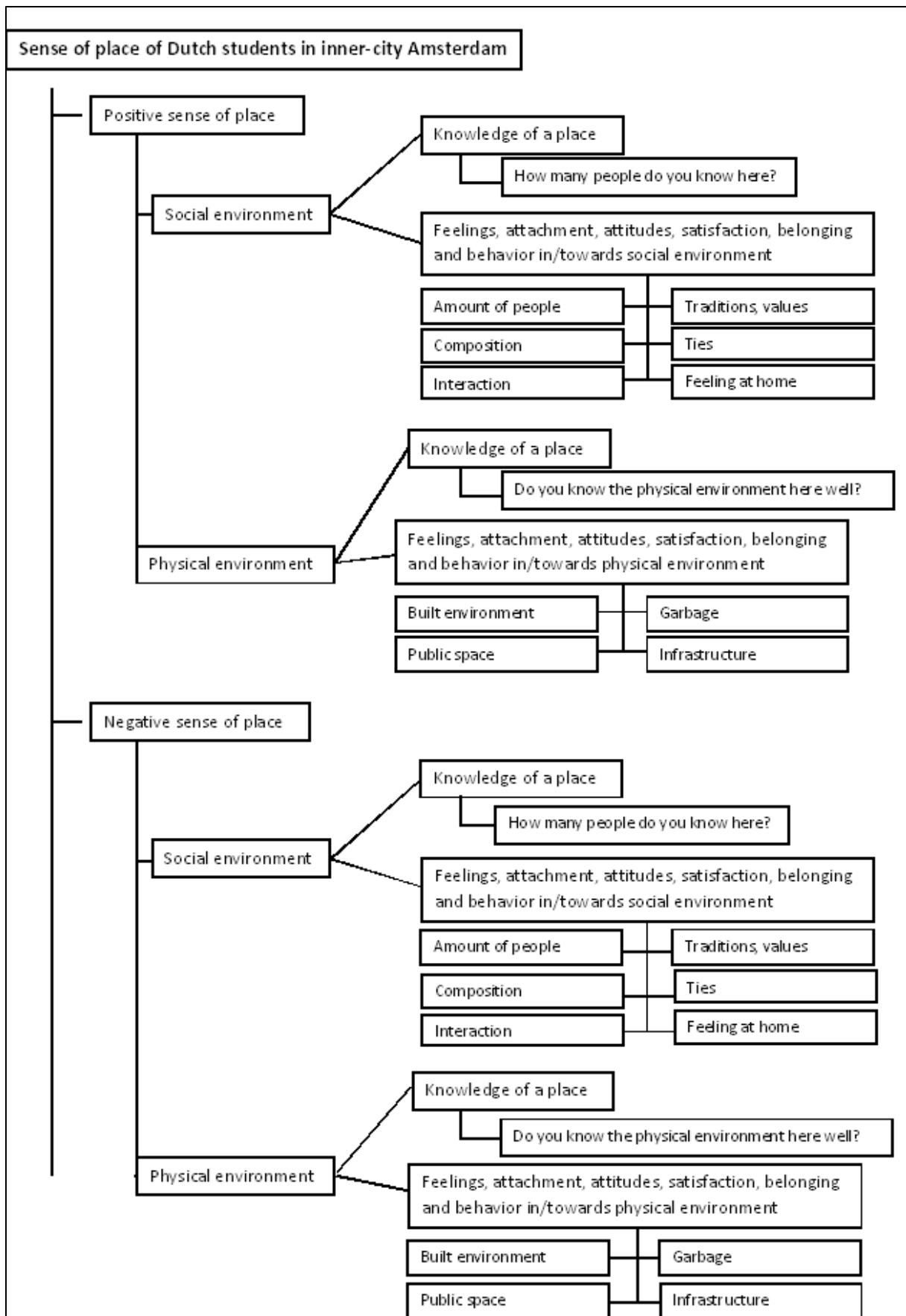
Bedankt voor je medewerking aan dit onderzoek. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om de invloed van toerisme op de *sense of place* van studenten in de binnenstad van Amsterdam vast te stellen. In het geval er belangrijke data blijkt te missen, hoop ik per email te kunnen informeren naar de missende data. Daartoe dient de onderstaande balk. In het geval je interesse hebt in het ontvangen van de eindversie van deze master-thesis kruis je het bijbehorende vakje aan. Voor eventuele verdere opmerkingen kun je de onderstaande ruimte gebruiken.

-
- Ik wil graag het eindresultaat van deze masterscriptie per email ontvangen.

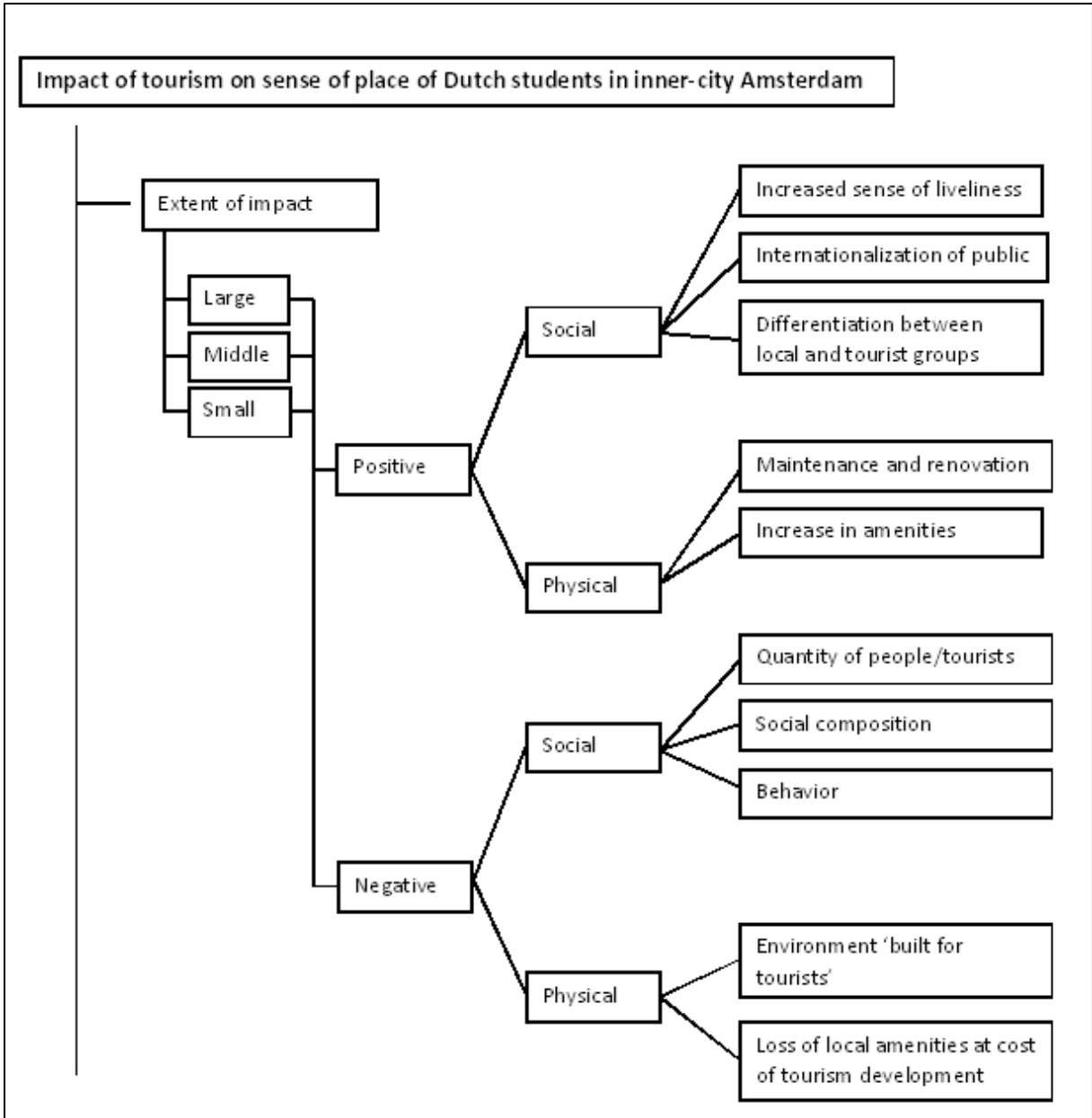
Appendix 2: Code trees



Appendix Figure 1: code tree 1; personal information. Source: Author.



Appendix Figure 2: code tree 2; sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Author.



Appendix Figure 3: code tree 3; the impact of tourism on sense of place. Source: Author.

Appendix 3: Characteristics respondents

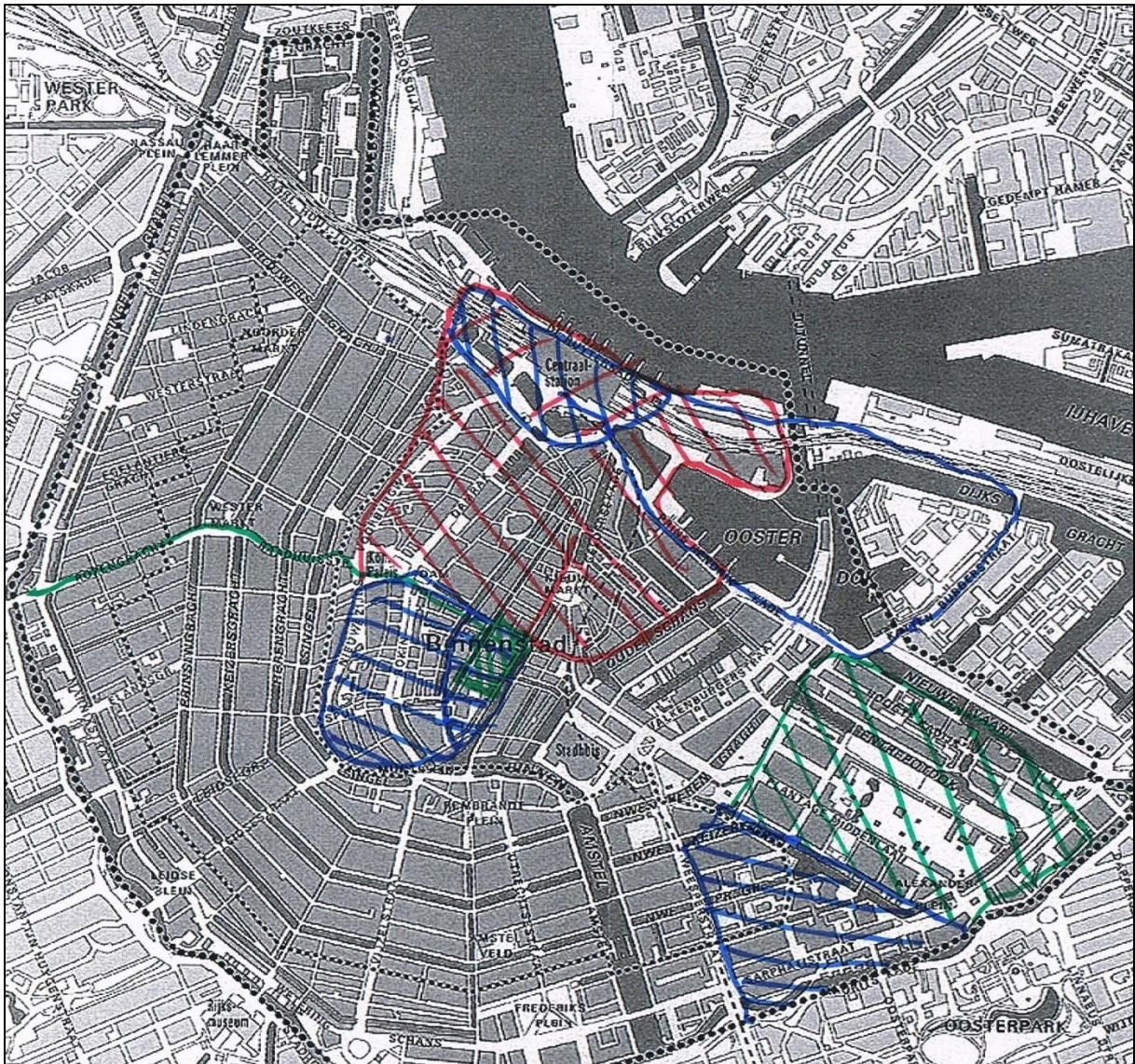
Respo ndent #	Gender	Age	Location and length of residence (year and months)	Previous residence	Time studying at UvA	Working in tourist-sector
1	M	22	West – 4y	West – 8y	5y	Yes
2	M	22	North – 1y 4m	West – 6m	4.5y	No
3	M	23	Old-West – 2y	North – 2.5y	5y	Yes
4	M	24	North – 8m	West – 3y	4.5y	No
5	M	23	East – 1m	East – 2y	5y	No
6	M	23	Center/East – 1.5y	West – 10m	5y	No
7	F	22	East – 1y	-	4y	No
8	F	23	Center – 3y	East – 6m, South – 6m	4y	Yes
9	M	22	East – 1y	West – 2y, East – 6m	5y	No
10	M	24	South – 3.5y	East – 1m	3.5y	Yes
11	M	22	South-East – 2.5y	-	3.5y	No
12	M	23	South-East – 1y2m	West – 2y	3.5y	Yes
13	F	20	East – 1.5y	-	1.5y	Yes
14	F	20	South – 3m	South – 4m	3y	No
15	M	19	Center – 3.5m	South – 19y	1y	Yes
16	F	20	Center/East – 2.5y	South-East – 3m	3y	No
17	M	22	West – 2y	-	3y	Yes
18	F	21	East – 21y	-	3y	Yes
19	F	22	West – 7y	West – 6m	4y	No
20	M	23	West – 3y	-	4y	No

Appendix Table 1: Table showing characteristics of respondents. Source: Author.

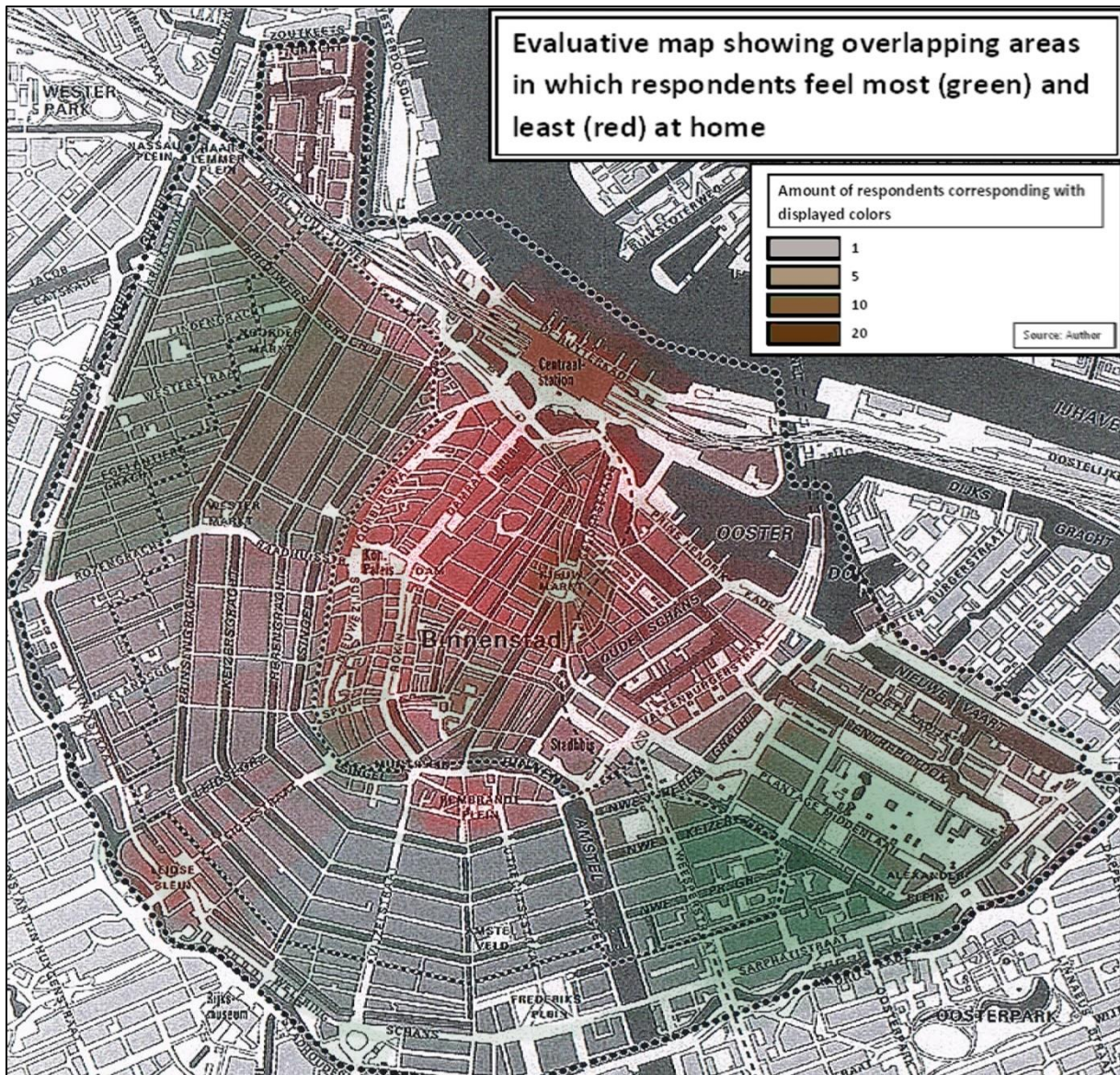
Total male/female	Average age	Average time studying	Total working in tourist sector
13 male – 7 female	22	3.75 year	9

Appendix Table 2: Table showing combined characteristics of respondents. Source: Author.

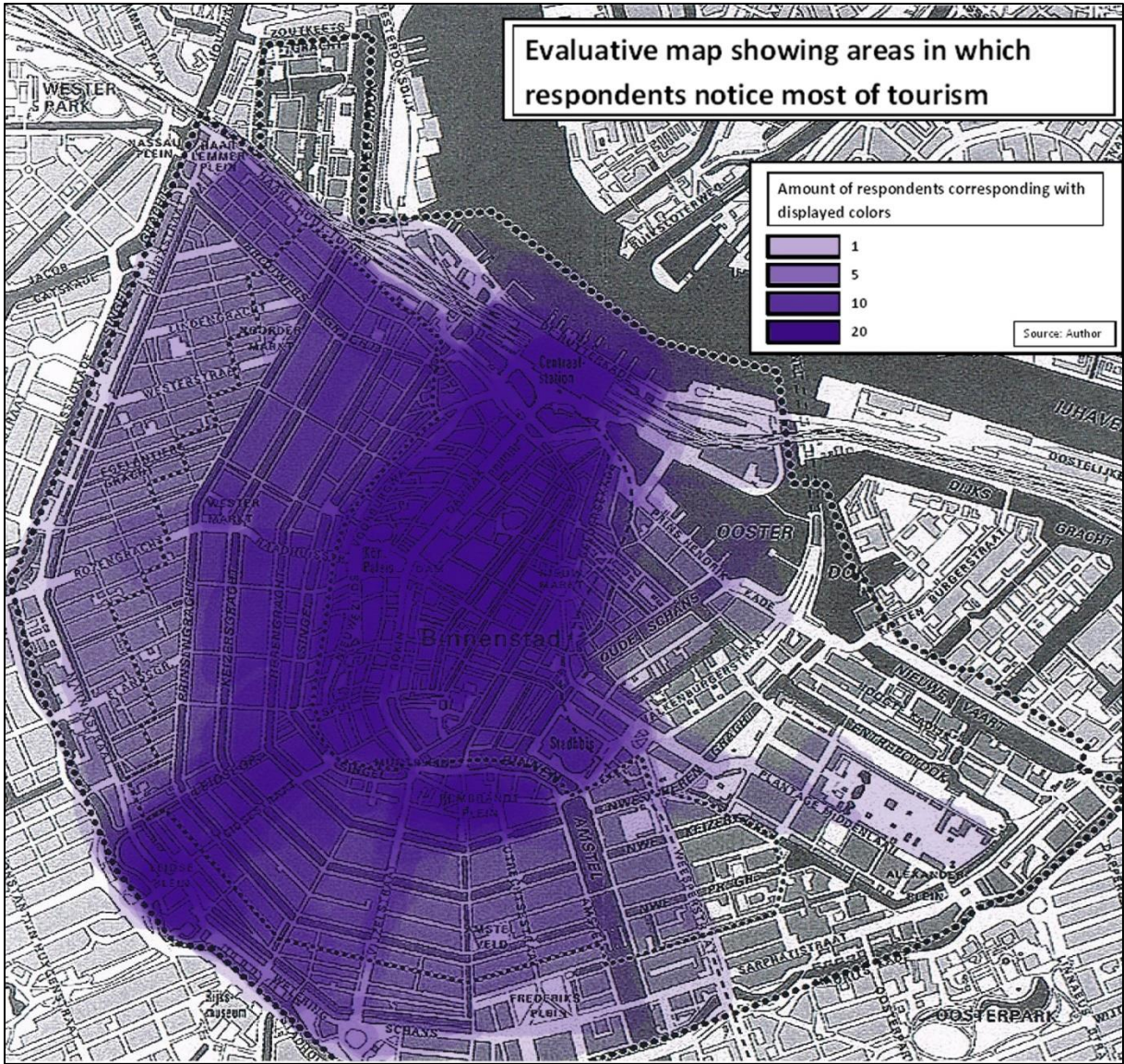
Appendix 4: Additional evaluative maps



Appendix Figure 4: Evaluative map as filled in by a respondent. Blue represents areas frequently visited, green represents areas in which the respondents feels most at home and red represents areas in which the respondent feels least at home. Source: Author and respondent.



Appendix Figure 5: Evaluative map showing overlapping areas in which respondents feel most and least at home. Source: Author.



Appendix Figure 6: evaluative map showing areas in which respondents notice most of tourism.
Source: Author.

Appendix 5: Sources and impacts of tourism on sense of place

		Nieuwmarkt	Oudemanhuispoort	Centraal Station
Source of impact	Increased sense of liveliness	X	X	X
	Internationalization of the public	X	X	X
	Differentiation between local and tourist			X
	Maintenance and renovation			
	Increase in amenities			
Impact on sense of place	Attachment towards a place			
	Attitudes towards a place	X	X	X
	Behavior towards a place			X
	Knowledge of a place			
	Feelings of belonging to the social environment			X
	Feelings of belonging to the physical environment			
	Satisfaction with social environment	X	X	X
	Aversion to social environment			
	Satisfaction with physical environment			
	Aversion to physical environment			

Appendix Table 3: Table showing sources of positive impacts of tourism on sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Author.

		Nieuwmarkt	Centraal Station	Innermost city area	Rembrandtplein	Leidseplein
Source of impact	Quantity of tourists/people	X	X	X	X	X
	Social composition		X	X	X	
	Behavior	X	X	X	X	X
	The environment being 'built for tourists'	X		X	X	
	Loss of local amenities at the cost of tourism			X		
Impact on sense of place	Attachment towards a place			X		
	Attitudes towards a place		X	X	X	X
	Behavior towards a place	X	X	X	X	X
	Knowledge of a place			X		
	Feelings of belonging to the social environment		X	X	X	
	Feelings of belonging to the physical environment	X		X	X	
	Satisfaction with social environment					
	Aversion to social environment	X	X	X	X	X
	Satisfaction with physical environment					
	Aversion to physical environment	X		X	X	

Appendix Table 4: Table showing sources of negative impacts of tourism on sense of place of students in inner-city Amsterdam. Source: Author.