

Airifying Amsterdam

An investigation into residents' perceptions of tourism and short-term rentals in Amsterdam.

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Summary

Amsterdam has seen substantial growth in tourism in recent years. This, combined with the emergence of the sharing economy, has resulted in the proliferation of platform-mediated short-term rentals in the city. As the daily lives of the city's residents become ever-more intertwined with visitors, the tolerance that the city is renowned for has become increasingly fraught. Overcrowded streets, sleepless nights and feelings of alienation have become increasingly pertinent issues for Amsterdammers.

Building on the literature discussing neighbourhood, gentrification, urban tourism and touristification, this thesis explores the perceptions held by Amsterdam's residents towards tourism and the short-term rental industry in the city. Original empirical work, including a survey of residents' perceptions, as well as interviews with a range of stakeholders in the city serve to elucidate these perceptions, the policies that have led to the current situation, and the hopes for the future.

Given the unique context within which this research took place, perceptions about tourism and short-term rentals for the period leading up to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the hopes for tourism in a post-COVID Amsterdam were sought.

It was found that the majority of those surveyed were disenfranchised by the approach taken towards tourism and short-term rentals in the city, with those who identified strong cohesion within their neighbourhood and those who were aware of short-term rentals in their area displaying heightened feelings of disenfranchisement.

The thesis culminates with suggestions for policy going forward, with a focus on the role of spatial planners, as well as potential avenues to be explored in future research.

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This thesis is the end product of a year-long Master in Spatial Planning at Utrecht University. The last six months of this year was spent conducting the research for this thesis. At the very beginning of the process, when I was looking at investigating current trends in tourism, I would never have expected that the whole tourism industry was about to come to a halt as a result of the coronavirus. What entailed was a unique opportunity to take stock of what had occurred up to that point in terms of tourism in Amsterdam, and to look to what the future of tourism could look like after the pandemic. Growing up in one of Ireland's busiest tourist towns, and having been a tourist in Amsterdam a number of times before eventually moving to the Netherlands made me wonder how planners could make the tourist experience better for everyone. And so the work on this thesis began. But I could not have completed this alone, so the people who helped the process deserve recognition.

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“The city of Amsterdam, famous as a tolerant city with an international reputation for freedom to be who you are and say what you think, welcomes all visitors with open arms.

But this freedom depends on a crucial precondition: mutual respect.

Since you are staying in a holiday rental home, you are part of the local community.

Be aware of the local regulations and do not cause a nuisance.

Enjoy our city, respect the rules.”

Introduction from an information booklet distributed to guests of short-term rentals by the Municipality of Amsterdam

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Amsterdam has seen a surge in tourism in recent years, with the number of overnight guests staying in the city more than doubling from 8.3 million in 2008, to 18.4 million in 2019 (OIS Amsterdam, 2020e). This comes as part of a wider global increase in tourism (Song et al., 2018), as travellers seek out experiences over material goods, fuelled by globalisation, cheap flights and a broadening of the options available for accommodation (Brondoni, 2016). The accommodation sector has also changed fundamentally during this time, with the disruption of the traditional hotel-hostel-B&B model in favour of new peer-to-peer (hereafter P2P) home-sharing platforms. These platforms have emerged within the broader landscape of the sharing economy, defined as “The peer-to-peer-based activity of obtaining, giving, or sharing the access to goods and services, coordinated through community-based online services” (Hamari et al., 2016, p. 2047). Platforms such as Airbnb, VRBO and HomeAway.com have opened up a new market for both homeowners and travellers. Airbnb has gained the most attention and notoriety due to its position as a market leader, having facilitated over 500 million bookings since its foundation in 2008 (Airbnb, 2020). The purported benefits of such an arrangement mean that homeowners can monetise space in their homes that would otherwise have been sitting empty, and travellers are afforded the opportunity to ‘live like a local’ (Paulauskaite et al., 2017), being closer to experiences that are seen as lacking in the more traditional generic hotel chains.

While the original intention of Airbnb was that of letting out spare rooms in hosts’ homes, a shift has occurred in the years since its inception which has seen the entrenchment of the professionalisation of the practice. As the option of letting whole homes has become more lucrative, cities are now seeing homes be converted to full-time short-term rentals (hereafter STRs) through P2P home-sharing, and their traditional place on the long-term rental market being left behind. In essence, landlords, in many cases, stand to make more money renting out their property as a short-term rental than if they were to rent to long-term tenants. The effects of this practice on the long-term rental market have not gone unnoticed by city administrations, nor residents. Such re-appropriation of space and its associated externalities, such as noise, parking and amenity-related problems have led cities around the world to begin to adopt new ways of managing this altered landscape. In recent years, cities such as Los Angeles, Toronto and Dublin have begun to regulate STRs in terms of the number of nights that they are allowed to be rented for, as well as conditions around habitual residence in the property (Grisdale, 2019; Law Society of Ireland, 2019; Lee, 2016). Other cities, such as The Hague, have opted to ban STRs completely (Gemeente Den Haag, 2020). The city of Amsterdam has attempted to control the growth of STRs in recent years through the adoption of a range of policies, while simultaneously coming to terms with unprecedented growth in tourism. At the time of writing, the current policy adopted by the municipality allows residents to rent out their primary residence for a maximum of 30 nights per year,

to a maximum of 4 guests at a time, provided they meet additional conditions, such as fire safety and tax obligations. This is contingent on those residents applying for a licence to engage in such rentals (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). Three neighbourhoods in the city centre, identified as experiencing unsustainable levels of overcrowding as a result of tourism, are exempt from this licensing system, effectively meaning STRs are banned completely in these areas.

1.2 Scientific Relevance

Though the academic debate surrounding STRs has increased in recent years, it still represents a relatively new field of study. As such, much of the literature about the phenomenon has built on existing literature relating to tourism and gentrification.

Tourism literature has focused largely on processes of touristification (Cócola-Gant, 2015, 2018; Gotham, 2005), over-tourism and anti-tourist sentiment (Füller & Michel, 2014; Papathanassis, 2017). Planning scholars have also addressed the intersection between planning and tourism (Shoval, 2018), and the interplay between tourism, the sharing economy and the conflicts that these generate (Del Romero Renau, 2018).

While the literature now discusses the fifth-wave of gentrification which is characterised by the financialisation of housing, the emergence of platform-mediated STRs has become particularly pertinent. The impact of these rentals on the pricing of housing has received justified attention (Brauckmann, 2017; Horn & Merante, 2017; Wachsmuth et al., 2017; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). The impacts of STRs on processes of displacement has also been discussed (Grisdale, 2019).

Planning scholars have presented avenues for investigation, with debate being furthered around the implications of STRs for planning research and policy (Gurran, 2018; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Picascia et al., 2017). A central facet of the debate around planners' roles in this arena is that of regulation of what has, until now, been the grey-area operation of STRs (Ferreri & Sanyal, 2018; Gottlieb, 2013; Nieuwland & van Melik, 2018).

Within these arenas, there is a noticeable absence of the study of residents' perceptions of tourism and STRs. While studies do exist investigating perceptions and attitudes (Andereck et al., 2005; Blanco-Romero et al., 2019; Martín Martín et al., 2018; Romero-Padilla et al., 2019), there remains a gap in the literature concerning the perceptions of residents towards tourism and STRs in Amsterdam. The present research aims to provide insight into how residents of Amsterdam feel about the hitherto implemented policies related to tourism and STRs. As well as this, it is expected that the research can make a valuable contribution to this nascent field, inspiring future research, and highlighting the importance of taking residents' perceptions into account when drafting policy relating to tourism and STRs.

1.3 Societal Relevance

As the popularity of tourism and P2P home-sharing has grown, so too have their negative externalities. Conflict between locals and tourists has increased in cities that are experiencing unprecedented growth in tourism (Sans & Domínguez, 2016). Locals, disenfranchised by rising costs and nuisance from noise and (over)crowding, have begun to resist the transformation of their living spaces into playgrounds for tourists (Papathanassis, 2017). While the academic debate about tourism and STRs has intensified, so too has the wider societal debate about the phenomena. While resistance towards tourism has grown (Colomb & Novy, 2016; Gil & Sequera, 2018), so too has the discourse within the media (Florida, 2018). This intensification in discourse has occurred concurrently with a broader discussion about the emergence of the sharing economy (Frenken et al., 2019; Martin, 2016; Zervas et al., 2017).

Specifically within Amsterdam, the discourse has primarily concerned tourist overcrowding (Gerritsma, 2019; McKinsey & Company and World Travel & Tourism Council, 2017), with calls being made for limits to the number of tourists welcomed to the city (van Bommel, 2020; Volksinitiatief, 2020). Debate has also focused on the growth of tourist monocultures (O'Sullivan, 2017), as well as the behaviour of tourists (O'Sullivan, 2019). These sentiments can be related to a growing sense that tourist gentrification is taking place in Amsterdam (Couzy, 2019). Nested within the discourse related to tourism is a simultaneous debate about STRs. While the growth of the short-term rental industry in the city has received attention (van Ammelrooy, 2017), the adherence of actors in the industry to the regulatory regime has also come under scrutiny (Bouma & Rengers, 2014). The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 provides a unique opportunity for the re-evaluation of tourism in Amsterdam, as the industry experiences an unprecedented retreat. As such, the present research aims to take stock of residents' experiences with tourism and STRs up to the beginning of the pandemic and illuminate their hopes for the future.

1.4 Research Questions

Building on the existing literature, this thesis aims to fill the void between planning, tourism studies and the lived experiences of residents. The nascent nature of the phenomenon of platform-mediated STRs means that the link between tourism and spatial planning is becoming more intertwined, with much left to be understood. This thesis takes the approach of focusing on residents' experiences with tourism and STRs, with the aim of highlighting the importance of considering the opinions of those who live in the world's tourist cities in developing planning and tourism policy. The primary research question of this thesis is:

What are the perceptions held by the residents of Amsterdam towards tourism and short-term rentals in their city?

In order to elucidate the link between planning and these perceptions, the following sub-questions are also addressed:

1. *To what extent does neighbourhood cohesion influence residents' perceptions?*
2. *To what extent does an awareness of short-term rentals in their neighbourhood influence residents' perceptions?*

1.5 Reading Guide

The thesis is structured as follows. Following this introductory section, the theoretical framework (Section 2) introduces and details the key concepts to be addressed in the research. This includes exploration of the concepts of neighbourhood and gentrification to provide a foundation for the research. The growth in urban tourism is then explored, following which, the concepts of touristification and overtourism are discussed. The section culminates in an amalgamation of the concepts introduced, contextualised within tourism and the growth in popularity of platform-mediated STRs. This leads to the construction of a conceptual framework to be used in the empirical portion of the research. Next, the methodological approach to the empirical portion is detailed in Section 3, with reference to the strategy and data collection methods used. Section 4 provides background to the case study, with a history of the growth of tourism in Amsterdam, and a synopsis of the discourse surrounding and policy responses to the growth of tourism and STRs in the city. Next, Section 5 presents the results of the survey that was conducted as part of the empirical research. This section explicates the sentiments of the residents of Amsterdam towards tourism and STRs and provides the basis for the discussion and the answering of the research questions. Finally, Section 6 involves a discussion of the results from the survey, combined with additional insights gained from interviews with various stakeholders. This section answers the research questions and details the implications for policy. The limitations of the research are also discussed here. The thesis ends with recommended avenues for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework takes into account a review of the existing literature on the topics of neighbourhood, gentrification, urban tourism and touristification. Beginning with neighbourhood, the spatial and social foundations of the concept are laid, ultimately leading to a working definition of neighbourhood, which is utilized throughout the research. Following this, a history of gentrification is elaborated upon, with a focus on the current, fifth-wave of gentrification and the financialisation of housing. The growth in urban tourism is then explored. This then leads to the primary focus of the research — touristification and overtourism. Building on the preceding three concepts, the touristification and overtourism section explores the impacts of tourism on neighbourhoods as regards gentrification pressures, as well as tourism nuisance. The literature review culminates with an assessment of the impact of the platform economy and short-term rentals on the tourist gentrification of the neighbourhood. The existing theory is then used to form the conceptual framework to be utilised throughout the empirical portion of the research.

2.1 Neighbourhood

The conception of neighbourhood comprises a socially constructed, spatially mediated form, made up of a particular area and the community within it. In early writings on this conception, Mumford (1954) notes that among Parisians, the sense of belonging to a particular *arrondissement* or *quartier* is as important as the identity of being from Paris itself. The fundamental building block of the neighbourhood proposed by Mumford is that of a primitive bond - social connection based on proximity, with this proximity bound to the walkable area surrounding one's home. As such, the neighbourhood tends to become an extension of the home and ingrained within personal identities (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Such a definition provides a simplistic, yet useful view. Adding depth beyond the residential definition, Galster (2001) refers to the neighbourhood as “the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses” (p. 2112). This allusion to the other functions of a neighbourhood begins to provide a more holistic view, insinuating that the dynamics of the neighbourhood are mediated not only by residential function but also by the amenities which residents of a certain area may use and how the presence of such functions may, in turn, mediate the residents' experience of the neighbourhood.

Contextualising the neighbourhood as a product of urbanisation, a process which Harvey (2008) highlights as one of dispossession and class struggle, it is useful to note the salience of the right to the city. Lefèbvre (1991) recognises that the production of space is social in nature, constructed to satisfy the desires of a hegemonic class, with the aim of reproducing dominant power structures - more specifically, the reproduction of capitalism. The right to the city counters this as a call to reclaim the city as a space built through cooperation and free from the effects of commodification and capitalism

on social interaction and spatial inequality. Building on this, Domaradzka (2018) notes the existence of urban space as a medium through which life is lived collectively. Viewing the neighbourhood as a fundamental spatial unit for urban residents and understanding the neighbourhood and the lived experiences of those within it provides a solid foundation for examining processes of displacement and dispossession taking place therein (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). Based on the right to the city, it is therefore important to examine the concept of neighbourhood and the right that those facing displacement pressures have to the social space of the city as a whole.

Definitions of neighbourhood vary across disciplines and contexts; however, they tend to centre around spatially concentrated social ties building a sense of community and cohesion. This section elucidates an understanding of the neighbourhood unit informed by literature discussing how conceptions of neighbourhood are formed. First, the spatiality of neighbourhood is addressed, with reference to the construction of identity based on this. With this foundational understanding, social capital, cohesion and their impacts on forming a sense of community are then elaborated upon. This forms the basis for the definition of neighbourhood used further in the research.

2.1.1 Spatiality, Identity and the Neighbourhood

Building on Perry's (1929) conception of the neighbourhood unit as a spatially bounded area within which people were to be largely shielded from vehicular traffic, Mumford (1954) suggests that the neighbourhood tends to have a central nucleus where all residents congregate, with the entire area enclosed by an explicitly, or implicitly agreed upon outer boundary. In effect, the central nucleus referred to by both authors was the local school. Though Perry's and Mumford's conception of neighbourhood relied on the dynamics of the traditional nuclear family, their definitions remain useful in a foundational understanding of the neighbourhood today. Casey (1997) enriches the understanding of the neighbourhood as a spatial unit, using the concept of *nearness* to emphasise the importance of proximity in forming the relationships which make up the neighbourhood. It is important to note, however, that nearness is not the same for all individuals and the varying degrees with which residents engage in social interaction with each other plays an important role in defining the area they consider to be their neighbourhood (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001). This level of interaction, in turn, contributes to the construction of a neighbourhood identity.

Neighbourhood identities are formed through processes of othering surrounding areas, with such differentiation often being given heightened importance over any other shared characteristic (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Within the implicitly or explicitly defined boundaries of the neighbourhood, physical artefacts help to create a cohesive shared sense of place, building the neighbourhood feeling, and helping to define a neighbourhood in opposition to surrounding areas. Lefèbvre (1991) emphasises the importance of non-verbal symbols and signs present and produced within an area in mediating a collective sense of place and consequent neighbourhood identity. In understanding the social effects of neighbourhood change, it is especially important to recognise that social space is governed by one's

ability to pay. From this, it can begin to be understood how gentrification not only leads to the disappearance of affordable amenities, but also the meeting places, cultural centres and safe spaces of the long-term population, and in turn, the loss of the neighbourhood identity (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). Further to this, displacement pressure comes not only in the form of increased property prices but also through the disintegration of community networks, reductions in services and feelings of insecurity and public shaming of the long-term residents (*ibid.*). The concept of shame here is particularly notable in residents no longer seeing their personal identities reflected in the symbols and signs of their neighbourhood over time. Consequently, it can be argued that the existence of space where residents are able to build a shared neighbourhood identity and where they feel a sense of belonging is fundamental to the building of social capital, cohesion and ultimately, community.

2.1.2 Social Capital, Cohesion and Community

Kasarda & Janowitz (1974) provide a systemic model for the community and feelings of neighbourhood, characterised as “a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes” (p. 329). Galster (2001) builds on this with a focus on the social-interactive characteristics that make up the feelings of neighbourhood, including the degree of inter-household familiarity; residents' perceived commonality, and; participation in local voluntary associations, among others. Further emphasizing the importance of the social-interactive element of neighbourhoods, it is useful to recognise it as a unit within which the routines of daily life are acted out, with these neighbourhoods becoming spaces for social cohesion, where tolerance is learned and where social order and a sense of belonging is acquired (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Social cohesion represents a bottom-up process, with its roots in strong local social capital. Robert Putnam's influential writings on the decline of community in the United States posit social capital as the “connections among individuals' social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Echoing physical and human capital, investment in social capital represents an investment by individuals in their social network with the aim of earning a level of connection with those in close proximity to them. Putnam's *bonding capital* helps to build an understanding of the processes through which social capital and neighbourhood identity formation are intertwined, suggesting that “social capital is often most easily created in opposition to something or someone else” (*ibid.*, p. 361). Social capital, specifically within a neighbourhood, is built upon the capacity of residents to act with features of social organisation, relying on networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination, generally for the mutual benefit of all participants (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). As such, the neighbourhood unit is deemed an important arena for people as it helps them to build networks of trust, meaning increased levels of comfort in their area and improved life satisfaction overall (Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018). Conversely, it may be expected that a period of neighbourhood decline will have significant effects leading to the erosion of social capital of its residents. This is

furthered by Putnam who, in his recommendations for the reversal of community decline in the United States, advocates for enhanced community networks at the neighbourhood level (Putnam, 2000).

While recognising that strong social capital and cohesion within the neighbourhood strengthen residents' capacity to act, Sampson (2004) highlights the potential for collective efficacy arising out of cohesive neighbourhoods. The combination of an active sense of engagement, common purpose and shared beliefs gives residents strong capacity to act in order to gain a shared intended effect. This is especially important in neighbourhoods experiencing deprivation, where strong neighbourhood bonds provide residents with enhanced resources that they may not otherwise have had. Social cohesion can arise out of a shared sense of morality and common purpose. This is fostered by: aspects of social order and control; the threats to social solidarity on account of income and wealth inequality between people, groups and places; the level of social interaction within communities or families, and; a sense of belonging to place (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). As such, neighbourhoods with high levels of social cohesion may be expected to have enhanced interactions between local groups, such as residents' meetings, associations, collective action, etc. (*ibid.*). Inversely, a neighbourhood lacking cohesion would be expected to display social disorder and conflict; disparate moral values; extreme social inequalities; low levels of interaction within and between communities, and; low levels of place attachment (*ibid.*).

It is important to note that, while cohesion is important for building a strong sense of neighbourhood and community, there remains the potential for cohesion to be co-opted into establishing middle-class habits in gentrifying areas (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001). In their study of two socio-economically segregated groups of residents in the Parkdale neighbourhood of Toronto, Mazer & Rankin (2011) found that both groups also physically segregated themselves from each other, with the groups intentionally avoiding and othering each other, producing a dynamic of social tectonics. The existence of social tectonics within the neighbourhood calls into question the usefulness of a normative view of neighbourhood cohesion. Insofar as the existence of two or more disparate groups within the neighbourhood highlights the inherent flaws with assuming that a spatial unit can be socially cohesive, it is useful to abstract the concept of cohesion, with residents themselves reporting their own perceptions of cohesion within their neighbourhood.

2.1.3 A working definition of Neighbourhood

It is expected that the neighbourhood comprises a unit within which the routines of daily life are acted out, with them potentially becoming spaces for social cohesion, where tolerance is learned and where a sense of social order and belonging are built (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). The strength of feelings of neighbourhood, consequential of the large amount of weak and strong ties that an individual may have with people in their area, provides feelings of home, security and practical and social support, and it can be expected that residents with strong neighbourhood ties should be able to navigate their local area with ease, and without having to resort to conflict (*ibid.*). As such, the definition of the neighbourhood derived from the existing literature, and to be used throughout the research is that of

‘an area that is **spatially concentrated**, made up of **multiple strong and weak ties** building **strong social capital and cohesion**, with an ingrained **identity based on a sense of place**’.

2.2 Gentrification

Studies of gentrification gained salience following Ruth Glass’ coining of the term, with regard to the replacement of working-class populations in areas of London with the middle classes. Describing the mechanics of such replacement, Glass claimed that “once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964, p. xviii). Smith (1979) argues that gentrification occurs as a natural process mediated by land and housing markets. Smith characterised gentrification as a visual representation of the wider restructuring of the global capitalist economy. Combined with Lefèbvre’s (1991) writings on the production of space, it can be deduced that gentrification espouses the production and reproduction of urban space as a consequence of capital investment. Among the fundamental phenomena driving the process of gentrification are the existence of rent gaps and the financialisation of housing. This section begins with a definition of rent gaps. Following this, a history of the previous waves of gentrification is provided. This leads to a broader discussion of the current, fifth wave of gentrification in which the characteristics of this wave, including the financialisation of housing and technologically-mediated rent gaps, are elucidated.

2.2.1 The Rent Gap

The process of gentrification is underpinned by the existence of rent gaps. Smith’s (1979) traditional definition of the rent gap sets out with a decline or stagnation in the economic returns from a property, while the potential returns increase on account of the land on which said property sits becoming more valuable. In effect, this means that the actual rent that a property yields becomes significantly lower than the potential rental income. The widening of this gap eventually leads to direct competition between lower- and higher-income groups, which market-led property mechanisms attempt to fix by seeking the highest possible value that can be extracted from the property. A current conception of the rent gap, specifically as it pertains to the present research is further elaborated upon in Section 2.2.3.

2.2.2 A History of Gentrification

From early studies on the process, a series of *waves* of gentrification has been noted. These waves have varied somewhat over space and time, however, the core principle of displacing lower-income residents in favour of an incoming higher-income population at the behest of increasingly mobile global capital

remains applicable throughout¹. Hackworth & Smith (2001) provide an overview of the first three waves of gentrification, with Aalbers (2019) adding to these with the fourth and fifth waves.

The first wave of gentrification, occurring between the late 1960s and mid-1970s involved largely state-funded urban regeneration projects, aimed at clearing inner-city areas which had undergone a period of neglect and decline (Hamnett, 1973 & Smith, 1979, as cited in Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Such programmes mainly took place in the North-eastern United States as well as Western Europe. Due to the dominance of state funding in these projects, the process tended to be largely localised within cities and sporadic in nature.

Following the recession of the mid-1970s, regeneration and gentrification again became popular methods of addressing decay in urban cores. However, sparse state resources meant that the process opened up to private capital. With this more laissez-faire approach, processes of gentrification began to become more globalised in nature and scope, with the private market using the cultural cachet of neighbourhoods to attract creatives to targeted areas with the expectation that increased cultural cachet would yield larger returns on investment (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This second wave of gentrification lasted until the economic crisis of the late 1980s brought investment flows to a halt.

The increased neoliberalisation of the state following the economic crisis of the 1980s led to a novel, unbounded wave of gentrification, within which the state's role became one of priming areas for redevelopment by private capital (Smith & Defilippis, 1999, as cited in Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This third wave, beginning in the mid-1990s and, in some ways, still ongoing, is inherently globalised on account of its reliance on global capital flows.

The brief economic crisis of the early 2000s preceded the emergence of the fourth wave of gentrification. This wave was accelerated by the increased financialisation of housing and “the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarised urban politics” (Lees et al., 2008, p. 179). The financial crisis of 2007/08 marked a pivotal point between the fourth and fifth waves of gentrification, whereby the factors underpinning the fourth wave became increasingly intensified and global in scale.

The fifth wave of gentrification is seen as “the urban materialisation of financialised or finance-led capitalism” (Aalbers, 2019, p. 2), in which the role of the state is supplemented, not displaced, by finance. While earlier waves of gentrification were characterised by the amelioration of urban decline, capitalising on cultural cachet and the neoliberalisation of the state, the current phase of gentrification is driven by the financialization of the home (*ibid.*).

¹ Note: the history provided here relates specifically to Western Europe and North America, as it directly relates to the research at hand.

2.2.3 The Financialisation of Housing and Technologically-mediated Rent Gaps

Through financialisation and the expansion of the mortgage market, housing is now seen as an asset through which global capital can be hedged, with the home being capable of being used as a mechanism for the extraction of value (Aalbers, 2016). This not only affects pricing, as housing becomes more susceptible to global capital flows, but neighbourhood dynamics also become disrupted through the augmentation of living space. The financialisation of housing is further encouraged by an asset-based welfare system and austerity economics, which favour individual homeownership over dedicated rental housing (Grisdale, 2019). The erosion of state control and its supplementation with finance is manifested through the increase in corporate landlordism and platform capitalism (Aalbers, 2016). This leads to decisions around housing availability being made by individual homeowners and speculative investors rather than the physical housing supply.

Building on the traditional conception of the rent gap, Wachsmuth & Weisler (2018) argue that STRs such as those mediated through platforms, including Airbnb, bring with them a new type of gap. This new rent gap opens up before any decline in the value of the property and requires minimal investment on the part of the owner to harness the increased potential. STRs can induce a rent gap in otherwise stable settings due to the relatively low requirement for investment, with high potential returns (Grisdale, 2019). It is further argued that although STRs did exist before the presence of Airbnb, the platform had a transformative effect, bringing this rental style a popularity that had not hitherto been witnessed. Such rentals exist in a space between traditional long-term rentals and hotel accommodation. As part of the Airbnb-induced rent gap, STRs simultaneously open and close gaps by raising the potential rentier income without a need for expensive redevelopment. This is done in a geographically uneven fashion, concentrating on areas with tourist appeal, rather than those areas usually affected by state- or market-led gentrification. This is most notable in city centres, as well as recently gentrified and gentrifying areas with strong cultural cachet and good connections to public transport (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). While traditional studies on gentrification focus on the replacement of the working classes with the middle class, cities are now facing a process in which both classes may be displaced by tourists and tourism investors as a consequence of increasingly financialised housing markets (Cócola-Gant, 2016; Grisdale, 2019).

2.2.4 Conclusion

Not only does the lowered availability of housing push up rental prices, but so too does the value potential opened up by STRs, thus raising the market equilibrium overall (Grisdale, 2019). The global nature of short-term rental platforms and tourism more generally brings about a wave of transnational gentrification, under which rent gaps are exacerbated by flows of global capital, meaning housing prices are now set by globally mobile capital rather than by local demand (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). The ubiquity of short-term rental platforms and the increased importance of tourism in the global economy provide financiers with an opportunity for the unbounded commodification of housing

(Grisdale, 2019). This, in effect, means that tourism-driven financialisation of housing opens up the potential for a novel form of gentrification. The following section explores the growth in urban tourism in more detail, providing context for this tourism-driven financialisation of housing.

2.3 Urban Tourism

Urban tourism has experienced significant growth in recent decades. With more than half the world's population living in cities, and that proportion expected to continue to grow in coming years, the pressures experienced by cities and their residents stand to be exacerbated by an ever-increasing number of urban tourists. The growth in international tourist arrivals up to 2010, along with the forecasted growth can be seen in Figure 2.1. The growth in urban tourism and tourism more generally has been fuelled by a multitude of factors including, for example, higher disposable incomes by the growing middle classes, the availability of cheaper travel options, including flights and accommodation, and increased possibility of visa-free travel. The factors leading to the growth of urban tourism, as discussed by Dodds & Butler (2019), is explored in-depth in this section, before moving on to highlight the impacts of tourism growth and touristification.

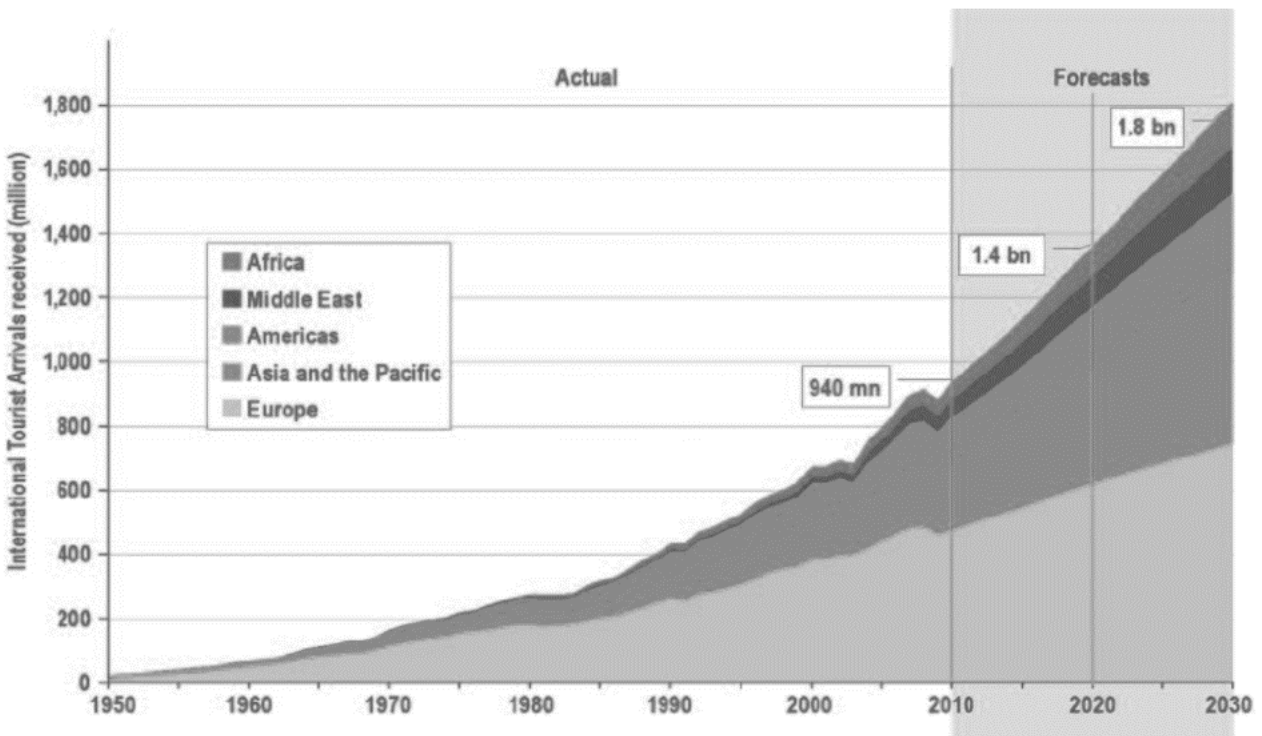


Figure 2.1: UNWTO Tourism Towards 2030: Actual trend and forecast 1950-2030. (World Tourism Organization, 2014).

2.3.1 The Growth of Urban Tourism

Leading the growth in urban tourism has been the increased affordability of travel. While the wealth and disposable income of the middle classes has grown, the costs associated with tourism have decreased significantly (Brondoni, 2016). The advent of low-cost airlines and the liberalisation of aviation has meant that air travel has become more accessible and more appealing to a wider range of people. The decreased cost of accommodation, as well as the democratisation of the sector through P2P home-sharing platforms, combines with the accessibility of cheap flights to provide an all-round cheaper package for urban holiday-makers (*ibid.*).

The growth in the middle classes combines with the relaxation of visa rules to provide an ever-increasing market of potential tourists. This is particularly true in the case of some Asian markets, whose economies have grown exponentially in recent years, with the number of outbound tourists from China, in particular, driving this growth (Voellm, 2011, as cited in Dodds & Butler, 2019).

Shifting desires for consumption following the 2007 economic crisis has also shaped the current face of tourism. With the desirability of material goods waning in the shadow of economic collapse, consumption patterns turned to experiences, with middle-class tastes, in particular, showing renewed interest in the consumption of entertainment and pleasure – commodities which are readily available in world cities (Song et al., 2018). This is further compounded by an economic context which drives cities to compete with each other for capital (Harvey, 1989). In a post-industrial society, the declining role of the state in providing funding to local governments has led to cities competing on a global scale for the attraction of capital. Tourism provides an appealing option for urban management as it requires little upfront investment with the potential for unlimited returns. Regeneration and branding strategies that appeal to middle-class tastes for leisure and recreation are tools often used by urban management to attract high-value tourists (Balampanidis et al., 2019; Parés et al., 2014).

The aforementioned shift in consumption towards experiences combines with increased access to media in fuelling the growth in tourism in places that have hitherto gone unnoticed by visitors. Easy access to local knowledge through social media has played a key part in spurring a desire by tourists to *live like a local* (Paulauskaite et al., 2017) and *belong anywhere* (Grisdale, 2019). This *new urban tourism* (Novy, 2010) sees the tourist go 'off the beaten track' in search of highlights that they may have seen through photos or reviews on social media sites such as Instagram or Foursquare (María-del-Mar et al., 2019). This pursuit of authenticity sees tourists turn their backs on the perceived homogeneity of the landmarks that demarcated traditional tourist areas of cities in favour of the residential neighbourhoods that exude the culture and lifestyle of the city which they seek to explore (Rickly, 2019).

Increasingly urbanised lifestyles have also played a role in the growth of urban tourism in particular. As the number of people living in cities grows, so too does the interest in seeing other cities. Among the primary drivers of this type of tourism is the desire to see how those in other cities live. This further

contributes to the dispersal of tourist flows to residential areas, as the new urban tourist often seeks out consumption activities similar to those they would enjoy in their home cities (Terhorst et al., 2003).

In sum, these factors have led to both an increase in the number of tourists visiting the world's cities, as well as a shift in the patterns of these tourists. While cities may have already struggled to cope with such a substantial increase in the volume of tourists, the shift in their activities also presents a challenge. Whereas the traditional tourist challenged the carrying capacity of historical city centres, which were somewhat more equipped to handle tourist flows, the new urban tourist brings a new set of challenges to areas of the city which were planned to serve more residential functions. The following section explores the impacts of increased tourist numbers, both in the traditional tourist areas of cities, as well as the urban neighbourhoods which themselves now represent a destination for visitors.

2.4 Touristification and Overtourism

Considering the growth in urban tourism over recent decades, increased attention has been given to its effects. This section explores touristification and overtourism, and their effects. Touristification and overtourism literature tend to follow that of gentrification, and parallels can be drawn between them. After an introduction to the concepts, their effects are further explored. The section concludes with an amalgamation of the literature relating to gentrification, tourism and STRs.

2.4.1 Understanding Touristification and Overtourism

Academic interest in touristification and overtourism has renewed and intensified in recent years. Such interest has arisen in part due to the general growth of tourism, along with a loss of the sense of belonging, diminishment of sense of place and increased congestion and privatisation of public space (Milano et al., 2019).

2.4.1.1 Touristification

Studies on the touristification of space follow earlier studies of gentrification, with the touristification process echoing many of the characteristics of what has come to be understood as gentrification. Gotham (2005), in describing the gentrification of New Orleans' Vieux Carre within the context of the broader touristification of the city, defined the process of tourism gentrification as "the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment venues" (p. 1102), a working definition that has since gained salience in the study of tourism gentrification (c.f. Del Romero Renau, 2018). Gotham's focus on the growth of entertainment venues in New Orleans is echoed by Cocola-Gant's (2015) view that the tourist city more broadly consists primarily of retail and entertainment venues, with a lesser presence of working-class neighbourhoods. Such conceptions of the tourist city are rooted in Lloyd & Clark's (2001) view of the city as an *entertainment machine*, within which urban space becomes an object of spectacle and consumption rather than for material production. This mode of consumption becomes particularly

relevant when the shifting patterns of middle-class consumption discussed in Section 2.3.1 are considered.

Among the driving forces behind the increasing touristification of space is the desire to further the growth of urban tourism within the dominant neoliberal paradigm. Concurrent processes of globalisation and localisation mean that while local governments are increasingly competing on an international stage, they must simultaneously develop a local brand which packages their destination for globally mobile capital (Gotham, 2005). In the context of tourism capital, these processes see urban administrations develop and market an increasingly sterilised and homogenous image of their cities (*ibid.*; Del Romero Renau, 2018). In accordance with the increased influence of the tastes of the middle classes in defining the shape of urban tourism, it is noted that the same symbols, motifs and themes that are advertised to the urban tourist tend to be of appeal to the gentrifying classes (Gotham, 2005). This is particularly worth noting when the influence of symbols on the formation of neighbourhood identity, discussed in Section 2.1.1, is considered. Such branding and homogenisation lead to the *disneyfication* of cities and the growth of monocultures within them (Postma et al., 2017). As noted by Milano et al. (2019), hitherto implemented solutions for tourism problems by planners have tended to be set within a neoliberal framework, which contrastingly favours tourism growth and capital acquisition through dispossession above all else. Similarly, it is noted that local tourism management responses tend to be overcome by global capital flows, meaning that for effective tourism management policy, a fundamental paradigm shift in the political economy is required in order to address the tensions that urban management and planners currently attempt to curb (*ibid.*).

2.4.1.2 Overtourism

The concept of overtourism follows that of touristification and assumes that a certain carrying capacity of a tourist destination has been reached, leading to a diminishment of the utility of public space. A basic understanding of overtourism comes from Goodwin (2017), noting the phenomenon of overtourism in “destinations where hosts or guests, locals or visitors feel that there are too many visitors and that quality of life and experience has deteriorated unacceptably” (p. 1). Milano et al. (2019) build on this definition, adding that overtourism is characterised by “the excessive growth of visitors leading to overcrowding in areas where residents suffer the consequences of temporary and seasonal tourism peaks, which have caused permanent changes to their lifestyles, denied access to amenities and damaged their general well-being” (p. 354).

The allusion to carrying capacities being breached becomes a particularly pertinent measure when contextualised within the growth of tourism accommodation being offered on P2P home-sharing platforms. The operation of such platforms “beyond established tourist quarters and bypassing existing planning and building control” (Gurran, 2018, p. 298) suggests that the spaces now being used by tourists bear carrying capacities that may be more limited than areas designed for tourist consumption (c.f. Cocola-Gant, 2018). This is most noticeable where an influx of tourists seeking authenticity by

exploring spaces typically used by locals (Del Romero Renau, 2018; Goodwin, 2017; Sommer & Helbrecht, 2017) impacts upon the carrying capacity of a residential neighbourhood. The impacts of such an influx of tourists, both at the city and the neighbourhood level, is detailed further in the next section.

2.4.2 Tourism Effects

The effects of touristification and overtourism in cities are most notable for those who reside in them. While studies have tended to focus on the effects of tourism in historical cores, increasing attention is being given to the growth and dispersal of tourism into more residential neighbourhoods (Postma et al., 2017). Problems caused by tourism are amplified when influxes of tourists enter residential neighbourhoods, which previously enjoyed separation from the major tourist destinations within cities. The infiltration of residential neighbourhoods has intensified due to the mediating effects of short-term rental platforms, which have the ability to expand into areas in which zoning laws have previously banned hotels and similar tourist accommodation (*ibid.*).

The daily lives of urban residents often become disrupted by increased tourist flows, be it through primary or secondary effects (Gottlieb, 2013). Primary effects include those which are most immediately tangible to urban residents - increased traffic and difficulty parking on their streets due to visitors using the space, noise disturbance from guests staying in nearby houses and overcrowding on public transport systems operating beyond their carrying capacities, etc., hereafter referred to as *nuisance effects*. The secondary effects of tourism are less immediately obvious, however, cause disruptions to urban residents that go beyond simple disturbance and nuisance. Such impacts include a loss of sense of community as neighbourhoods become overrun with transient visitors and processes of displacement that eventually drive residents and businesses out of their communities, hereafter referred to as *displacement effects*. This section explores these effects in more detail and serves as the basis for the inquiries made later in the research.

2.4.2.1 Nuisance Effects

Day-to-day quality of life disturbances are among the most tangible effects that touristification and overtourism have on the neighbourhood. These disturbances can come in the form of noise, pressure on infrastructure, and wear and tear on the built environment, among others. Environmental effects also play a role in affecting residents' experience of their local milieu. Incompatibilities of uses between visitors and residents often give rise to tensions that negatively impact both users' experience of public space - this is especially noticeable with litter being left behind by both tourists and residents, having a detrimental effect on the image and desirability of the area (Goodwin, 2017). Safety also has a deterministic effect on the quality of life of those using public space, with large populations of transient users undermining the feelings of safety in a neighbourhood (Lee, 2016), specifically including the potential for increases in drug-related crime in areas experiencing intensified use of space by *party tourists* (Sommer & Helbrecht, 2017). Public safety concerns, along with the other primary effects

explored in this section, can have a detrimental effect on feelings of community and neighbourhood, bringing with them the potential to develop into the secondary effects related to displacement elaborated further in Section 2.4.2.2.

Among the most pertinently obvious disturbances experienced by residents of areas with an increased tourist flow is noise. Increased footfall in residential neighbourhoods, the constant dragging of suitcases by new temporary dwellers, and a generally busier streetscape all combine to significantly increase the auditory disturbances experienced by locals. Particularly notable is the noise associated with party tourism, as groups of tourists congregate in residential areas to party in rented accommodation, or on the terraces of local bars and restaurants. The problems associated with the phenomenon of alcohol-fuelled *binge tourism* appear to be exacerbated in residential areas, with Gurran (2018) highlighting how the *Barceloneta Crisis* of 2014 brought attention to the tensions existing between local residents and those who stay in STRs. Also in Barcelona, Cocola-Gant's (2016, 2018) research found the nuisance caused by party tourism to be a factor in some homeowners' decisions to sell their homes and move out of inundated neighbourhoods. This, in effect, shows the potential displacement pressure of nuisance in a residential neighbourhood. Sommer & Helbrecht (2017) elaborate on the effects of alcohol and noise, with particular reference to the noise emitted from the terraces of bars and restaurants, which are becoming increasingly busy as tourists flock to beyond-the-city-centre venues in search of local authenticity. Goodwin (2017) further elucidates how conflicts between residents and visitors can arise from clashes of cultural differences, often fuelled by excessive alcohol intake. Such tourism has been attributed to growth strategies which prioritise the yield of international arrivals as a metric as opposed to the quality of tourism that such strategies encourage (*ibid.*).

Beyond noise disturbance, the effects of crowding become notably apparent when tourists begin to use infrastructure systems that are already approaching or running at carrying capacity (Brauckmann, 2017). In referring to the difficulties experienced by locals in attempting to complete daily tasks on account of crowding, Del Romero Renau (2018) notes that such frustrations can lead to conflict between residents and visitors. Increased demand on mobility infrastructure is particularly relevant, with tourists having a significant impact on road congestion and parking facilities (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017), as well as on overwhelmed public transport systems (Postma et al., 2017).

Wear and tear beyond that reasonably expected in residential neighbourhoods also has an impact on local residents. As the footfall within a neighbourhood and, in the case of STRs, in particular, residential buildings increases, so too does the damage caused to the environment in the area. Negative economic impacts are felt by residents of buildings with a high throughput of transient guests, as the intensified use of their buildings leads to higher maintenance costs over time (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Gottlieb, 2013). The temporary nature of the visitor's connection with a community, and the associated lack of a social connection with the area, can also lead to misbehaving guests causing damage of residents' property (Goodwin, 2017).

2.4.2.2 Displacement Effects

As cities prioritise policies aimed at attracting increased tourist arrivals, and as the lines between tourist and middle-class consumption patterns become increasingly blurred, gentrification often becomes a precursor for tourism promotion (Cócola-Gant, 2018). In line with the mechanisms through which gentrification sees the redirection of capital flows into real estate, Gotham (2005) notes that this redirection can be encouraged by a concurrent growth in tourism. Particular focus is given in this section to the effects that touristification and STRs have on the gentrification of residential areas. It is also noted that, while traditional gentrification studies have tended to focus on displacement in working-class neighbourhoods, this iteration of gentrification permeates further into both established middle-class and previously gentrified areas.

2.4.2.2.1 Displacement Pressures

In order to understand the effects of tourism on gentrification, it is useful to first explore the processes of displacement which underpin neighbourhood change. While many studies of gentrification tend to focus on the dynamics of the property market, it is important to understand this in the context of wider socio-cultural shifts that also put displacement pressures on already existing populations. Marcuse's (1985) displacement pressures detail how changes at the neighbourhood scale, such as a loss of social networks, stores and public facilities, make it more difficult for the long-term population to remain in place over time. Processes of displacement are also noted in a number of *gentrification moments*, in which residents begin to no longer feel comfortable living in the area they call home, in other words, experiencing a loss of place. Cócola-Gant (2015) breaks these moments down into three categories, with specific reference to the mediating effects of tourism:

Economic pressures

i.e. the transformation of neighbourhoods that had hitherto provided for lower-income groups.

It is generally accepted that in gentrifying areas, residents experience exclusionary displacement in that they find it more difficult to find affordable accommodation (Cócola-Gant, 2018). Another factor in the economic pressures faced by residents (particularly those who live in buildings which are increasingly used by tourists) is that they may not be able to afford the growing maintenance costs caused by increased wear and tear over time (Cócola-Gant, 2016).

Lack of consumption facilities

i.e. residents begin to feel that the services on offer in their area no longer meet their needs.

This is pertinently tangible in neighbourhoods whose use is shifting towards the needs of tourists (Cócola-Gant, 2015). The increasing privatisation of space further serves to displace long-term residents as they begin to lose access to spaces that they would have previously used (*ibid.*). This feeds further into the feelings of a loss of place. The degradation of consumption facilities is intrinsically linked to commercial gentrification and is explored further in Section 2.4.2.2.2.

Cultural pressures

i.e. middle-class habitus setting in.

Place-based displacement under cultural pressures, such as the consumption of space by visitors effectively displacing residents, i.e. the re-appropriation of residential space for the reproduction of middle class and tourist lifestyles (Cócola-Gant, 2018).

2.4.2.2.2 Commercial Gentrification

As urban governments increasingly strive for the income generated by the collection of taxes from commercial operations, policies may be expected to shift in favour of the development of commercial property. This also represents an attractive proposition for developers, who stand to benefit from the higher prices commanded by commercial properties (Brauckmann, 2017). With this in mind, it is worth focusing on the potential returns from investment in tourism for cities and developers. New spaces of consumption tend to increase property values, making tourism growth an appealing prospect for property owners (Logan & Molotch, 2007).

With the increased appeal of commercial activity and the ease of generating footfall through the promotion of tourism, the process of commercial gentrification begins to emerge. Commercial gentrification refers more to the provision of services which aim to attract the middle classes rather than serving to directly displace the working-class (Cócola-Gant, 2015). As the consumption patterns of the tourist and the middle classes become more intertwined, it is expected that tourism-oriented redevelopment policies increasingly serve to attract higher-income residents, thus resulting in gentrification. This results in the emergence of a cycle of gentrification as it provides “consumption facilities and a middle-class sense of place” (Cócola-Gant, 2018, p. 282), which serves to further attract more consumers. As noted by Terhorst et al. (2003), the concentration of trendy bars, restaurants, art galleries, etc. in areas of Amsterdam has tended to draw day-trippers who tend to make up the gentrifying classes in their own places of residence. The risk of such a growth in commercial property, especially those catering to tourist consumption is that of the flourishing of tourist-focused monocultures within urban districts (Brauckmann, 2017; Postma et al., 2017). This has been noted by Gotham (2005), whose research pointed to the disappearance of local stores that served New Orleans' long-term residents, while t-shirt and souvenir stores proliferated. The loss of businesses that once served local, lower-income communities means that these communities no longer have spaces in which they may congregate, leading in turn to the diminishment of feelings of community (Cócola-Gant, 2018).

2.4.3 Conclusion: Tourism, Short-term Rentals and Gentrification

The growth of the platform economy has rescaled how conflicts play out in the urban realm, with such conflicts being especially tangible in the context of gentrification. This is noted by Del Romero Renau (2018) in highlighting that urban conflicts since 2014 have become more frequent in nature and tend to

happen closer to the city centre, with land use being the driving force more so than the construction of urban space. Such conflicts focus on the noise generated by tourists, the privatisation of public space and the difficulties experienced by residents in conducting their daily tasks due to overcrowding caused by tourism. Land revenue conflicts are also noted, such as the erosion of the right of long-term residents to stay in place due to the increased conversion of residential accommodation to temporary accommodation in the form of STRs.

In their critique of Airbnb, Ferreri & Sanyal (2018) note that the platform encourages professional use of the platform, that is, the listing of multiple properties on the site by an individual on a year-round basis. It is worth noting here that such encouragement also comes from the supposition that landlords stand to generate a higher income from STRs than if they were to rent out their properties on the traditional long-term market (*ibid.*; Grisdale, 2019). Further, in Los Angeles, Lee (2016) notes that it is more lucrative for landlords to use Airbnb rather than the long-term rental market as it allows the circumvention of tenant protection laws such as rent and eviction controls. The demonstrated reality underscoring this is that whole-home rentals absorb housing stock, leading to displacement (Gurran, 2018). Full-time STRs, i.e. units that are available for short-term rental on a year-round basis, have been found to represent a significant removal of housing stock from the long-term rental market in Toronto (Grisdale, 2019), as well as in Los Angeles, where Lee (2016) notes that 64% of Airbnb listings were for whole-home, year-round rental, emphasising how the presence of the platform brings tourists into direct competition for accommodation with local renters.

Lee (2016) highlights two processes through which STRs distort the housing market in Los Angeles. The first of these is *conversion*, i.e. the removal of housing stock from the long-term rental market for their effective conversion into a hotel. This has a mild, yet real effect on rental prices, particularly in more affluent or gentrifying areas. The second process is that of *hotelisation*, which refers more directly to the ability of short-term rental hosts to charge less money than traditional hotels yet make more income than they would have had the property been rented out on the traditional rental market. Both of these processes directly cause displacement through the removal of housing stock from the rental market. Due to the time and space requirements in constructing more housing stock, these processes can take place in a relatively short amount of time, but with long-lasting effects. The removal of long-term rentals from the market increases prices in the local area and leads to a cascade effect - those displaced in areas with high short-term rental conversion then move out into lower-income neighbouring areas, exacerbating affordability issues (*ibid.*).

As legislation comes forward for the regulation of STRs, it is being increasingly recognised by planners and legislators that such rentals exacerbate pre-existing anxieties around unaffordability, displacement and neighbourhood change (Grisdale, 2019). A pertinent concern for planners, in particular, is the blurring of the distinction between residential properties and temporary accommodation sites (Brauckmann, 2017). The desire from holidaymakers for alternative accommodation arrangements has

been observed in leading to the conversion of residential accommodation into vacation rentals (Gottlieb, 2013). Adding to the argument that STRs are a fundamental part of the fifth wave of gentrification, Cocola-Gant (2016) posits that the sharing economy is merely a facade for business investment and professional landlordism, with long-term residents of rental properties representing a barrier to capital accumulation. In order to capitalise on the rent gaps opened up by short-term rental platforms, among the few steps for the property owner to take is to remove the existing tenant (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In removing these tenants through evictions and conversions, lower-income groups tend to be displaced in favour of more affluent users of the space.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

Residents' perceptions of tourism and STRs are elicited throughout the empirical portion of the research. This is done through the mobilisation of the concepts explored through the theoretical section. A schematic representation of how the concepts explored constitute the conceptual framework of this thesis can be seen in Figure 2.2.

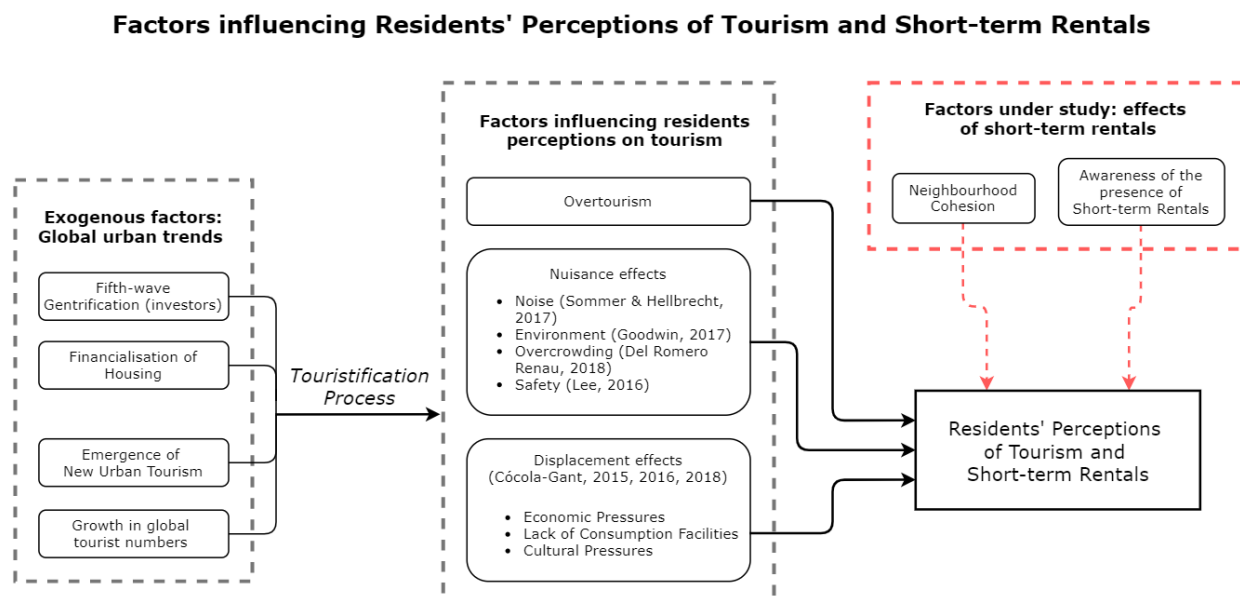


Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework.

3. Methods

This section details the general research strategy used in the empirical data collection for the present research. Following the general strategy, details are provided about the methods and materials used, with reference to their strengths and weaknesses, as well as their validity and reliability.

3.1 General Research Strategy

The overarching strategy of this research was the use of a case study in the city of Amsterdam. The research questions at hand allowed this exploratory research to combine a range of methods in order to inform the answers (Yin, 2009). Within the case study, a mixed-methods approach was used. Online surveys, interviews and scraping of data from short-term rental websites were used as data collection methods. While case studies are generally viewed as a qualitative method of research, the use of an online survey added a quantitative dimension. Concurrent surveys and interviews were used as a method of gathering data about residents' perceptions of tourism and STRs in the city and in their neighbourhood, as well as eliciting views from experts in the field, including municipal representatives and an academic expert. Data gathered from home-sharing websites was used in conjunction with data provided by the municipality of Amsterdam to plot the concentration of short-term rental units in different areas of the city, which in turn provided valuable context for the views of those interviewed.

3.1.1 Case Study Design

The use of a case study allows the research to maintain a focused approach to a specific time or place. For the purpose of this thesis, the city of Amsterdam was used. A thorough description of the case can be found in Section 4. The use of a case study allows the phenomena of tourism and STRs to be examined in real time and within their context in the city of Amsterdam (Yin, 2009). With this, the case study allows scope for answering the research questions, focusing on the perceptions held by Amsterdam residents towards tourism and STRs in their city.

Despite the traditional view that case studies fail to provide generalisable results, it is noted that the study of the dynamics of STRs is still nascent in nature, and thus, the research makes a valuable contribution. In any case, generalisation is not in itself an explicit aim of the present research. Due to the fluctuations in policies and tourist flows across different cities, making a generalisation based on the lived experience of those in Amsterdam may be deleterious to the experiences of those in other contexts. Conversely, it is worth noting that the size of the sample used for the survey within this case study may aid in the generalisability of the results to the population of Amsterdam, and further provide a framework for future research.

Among the advantages of using a case study approach is that it remains flexible. Thanks to this, the beginning of the research requires little pre-structuring and it allows the research to become more focused while the empirical data collection is ongoing (Verschuren et al., 2010, p. 181). This was particularly relevant for the present research, as it allowed for the tailoring of the interviews based on the simultaneously-running surveys.

While the potential for criticism remains that the use of a case study may lend itself to confirmation bias and structural verification (Flyvbjerg, 2006), it is noted that the use of random sampling for the surveys and their associated resident interviews helps to avoid such bias.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Surveys

Due to restrictions on movement and face-to-face contact during the COVID-19 pandemic, the research relied primarily on the use of online surveys. These surveys aimed to test a series of sentiments towards tourism and STRs in Amsterdam, inspired by the literature on overtourism and touristification. The influences of respondents' feelings of connection to their neighbourhood and of their awareness of STRs in their neighbourhood on their perceptions were also tested. As the pandemic led to a global retreat of the tourism industry while the research was being conducted, respondents were asked for their experiences in the two years leading up to COVID-19.

3.2.1.1 Online Surveys

The use of online surveys allowed for quick and large scale distribution (Bryman, 2012). This was particularly useful at the beginning of the research process, as it allowed the full case study area of Amsterdam to be reached in a short period of time.

The lack of face-to-face contact during the completion of the surveys allowed for the avoidance of interviewer effects, such as the potential for bias to be created by the researcher's presence and style of surveying (*ibid.*). As such, it can be expected that all respondents engaged with the survey as truthfully and comfortably as possible. It is also expected that the absence of an in-person researcher helped to avoid differences in understanding across the questions, considering that there was no opportunity for nuance in the way that the questions were asked. All respondents saw the same set of questions, with no deviations in semantics potentially leading to different interpretations and answers.

In order to ensure satisfactory completion rates, it was important to ensure that the survey remained engaging and easy to answer (*ibid.*). With this in mind, questions were kept closed, with short sub-sections and single choice answers making up the majority of the survey. Drafts of the survey were tested with a sample of residents and academic peers to ensure that the questions were easy to

understand, and to ensure that the answers provided adequate data for subsequent analysis in the context of the research questions.

3.2.1.2 Qualtrics

Qualtrics was selected as the platform for conducting the surveys. The use of this platform, and its integration with Utrecht University, allowed for the survey to be distributed using a URL embedded within the university, giving respondents a sense of familiarity, as well as security. All data were stored on Qualtrics' servers.

Two distinct advantages of using this suite are noted. First, it allowed for the translation of the survey into multiple languages, while maintaining one core survey and one set of responses. As such, the survey was initially written in English, with the final version then translated into Dutch by two native speakers. Respondents were then able to choose at the beginning of the survey whether they wanted to complete it in English or Dutch. This allowed for the distribution of the survey to a wider range of respondents and ensured that the results were not biased towards those with an understanding of English. This translation proved useful, with 68% of all participants subsequently answering the survey in Dutch. Second, the use of filtering questions and display logic ensured that certain questions were only shown to the relevant respondents. This was particularly useful in isolating questions meant only for those living in buildings with multiple residential units and those who had recently searched for new living accommodation.

3.2.1.3 Survey Contents

The survey began with a series of demographic questions, including the age, sex and household income of respondents. The first 4 digits of the respondents' postcodes were also requested in order to monitor the geographical distribution of the survey. Following demographic questions, respondents were then asked about their living circumstances, as well as their own travel habits and use of STRs, and basic questions about their perceptions of tourism in Amsterdam.

Following the basic demographic and qualifying questions, respondents were presented with a series of statements and 5-point Likert scales to assess the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the presented statements. This began with a set of statements about tourism in Amsterdam in a general sense. The statements used here were derived from the general literature about residents' experiences with tourism. A variety of positive and negative statements were provided in a random manner to ensure that respondents remained engaged (Falthzik & Jolson, 1974). Following these statements, respondents were then asked to indicate the impact they felt from nuisance effects of tourism, as detailed in the literature related to overtourism. This took place on a 4 point scale, made up of No-, Minor-, Moderate- and Major impact.

Next, respondents' connection to their neighbourhood was queried. Again, this used a 5-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The statements used here were inspired by Buckner's (1988) study on neighbourhood cohesion, with statements covering concepts of attraction-to-neighbourhood, neighbouring and psychological sense of community. Combined with the literature on the idea of the neighbourhood as a spatially bounded, socially cohesive unit, these statements were used to assess the perceived degree of social cohesiveness of residents' neighbourhood, as well as their feeling of connection to the area in which they live. As such, a higher mean score was taken to indicate that the respondent had a stronger feeling of connection to their neighbourhood. Following this, respondents were presented with statements specifically relating to tourism in their neighbourhood.

Next, respondents who indicated that they lived in buildings with multiple residential units were asked about their awareness of STRs in their building and whether they were directly impacted by the presence of these. Respondents who indicated that they sought new living accommodation in the previous two years were asked about their experience in finding accommodation and whether they felt that the presence of STRs affected their accommodation search. All respondents were then asked about displacement pressures and whether tourism and STRs had affected their sense of connection to their neighbourhood and whether such pressures would make them consider living elsewhere. Respondents were then presented with a statistic for the concentration of whole-home rentals available on Airbnb in Amsterdam, with respondents asked to what extent this number aligned with their expectations. The number of whole-home rentals available as of February 2020 was used for this question in order to present the situation preceding the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the stock of STRs.

Finally, respondents were questioned on their perception of the effectiveness of the current regulations for STRs in Amsterdam, followed by a series of potential regulations, inspired by measures taken in other cities and those detailed in the literature, with respondents asked which measures they believe would be most effective at controlling STRs in Amsterdam. This question also included a field for text entry, to allow respondents to share other ideas for regulation. At the end of the survey, respondents were offered the opportunity to participate in a follow-up interview, designed to allow them to share their experiences in more detail.

A full list of questions that made up the survey, including the statements presented, can be found in Appendix 1.

3.2.1.4 Sampling

The survey was distributed to a random sample consisting of people who live in Amsterdam. Distribution primarily relied on the social media sites Twitter and Facebook, with convenience sampling being used with the researcher's own network of contacts in Amsterdam (Bryman, 2012). Snowball sampling was then used with all respondents being asked to share the survey with their own network of contacts living in Amsterdam (*ibid.*).

Distribution on Twitter consisted of posting two Tweets, one in English and one in Dutch, containing a brief description of the research, as well as hashtags relevant to the area under investigation. These Tweets were then retweeted by 21 others. This method led to a total of 3,236 users seeing the Tweets. Although this method initially proved useful in distributing the survey, the researcher remained cognizant of the potential for the Tweets to be circulated within communities that hold a homogenous set of views. In order to counter any potential bias caused by this approach, it was then decided to broaden the scope of distribution. This, in turn, led to the distribution of the survey through Facebook.

Facebook distribution of the surveys initially consisted of posting a description of and link to the survey in a range of general residents' groups. This method proved useful for targeting a non-biased sample of those who lived in Amsterdam. This method was not without its limitations, however, with the primary obstacle to distribution being moderators of the Facebook groups not allowing the posting of surveys. Because of the range of groups used, and some of them being visible to the public, it was not possible to track the total reach of these posts.

Following the above approaches, the survey was subsequently advertised through Facebook. An advertisement was created, again giving a short description of, and a link to the survey. The target audience for this advertising campaign was all of those who identified themselves as living in Amsterdam and over the age of 18. The target was kept open to ensure that the campaign would be displayed to as much of the entire population as possible. The potential reach of the campaign on Facebook was up to 900,000 users. The advertisement was ultimately displayed to 14,728 users, with 727 of those clicking through to the survey. As the surveying tool used only began to track the actions of those who clicked past the introduction page, it is not known how many of those who clicked on the advertisement completed the survey.

3.2.1.5 Validity and Reliability

While the use of social media provided a large potential sample size, it must be noted that the use of social media is in itself a limitation. Not everyone in the population uses social media and it is likely that the views of those who choose not to use social media or are less technologically skilled are omitted from the research. Nonetheless, the circumstances associated with the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated the use of digitally mediated surveys, and the final number of valid responses, 477, satisfied the ideal sample size defined by Krejcie & Morgan (1970) for the generalisability of the results to the population with a 95% degree of probability. The formula for calculating this ideal sample size is found below.

$$s = \frac{X^2NP(1 - P)}{d^2(N - 1) + X^2P(1 - P)}$$

In this formula, s represents the required sample size. X^2 represents the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level of 95% (3.841). N represents the population size, which was 872,380 in 2020 (OIS Amsterdam, 2020a). P represents the population proportion (set to 0.5 to provide the maximum sample size). d represents the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (0.05). The final calculation for the determination of the ideal sample size is shown below.

$$s = \frac{((3.841)(872,380)(0.5))(1 - 0.5)}{((0.052)(872,380 - 1)) + ((3.841)(0.5)(1 - 0.5))} = 384$$

3.2.1.6 Analysis

Following the completion of the distribution of the survey, the data generated was then analysed. Quantitative analysis of the data relied on Qualtrics' built-in tools for descriptive statistics and cross-tabulation, as well as Microsoft Excel. Before analysing the data, the full dataset was cleaned to ensure that only valid responses were used. A full description of the cleaning of the data can be found in Section 5.1.

Following the cleaning of the data, the final dataset, comprising 477 responses was analysed using descriptive statistics. The data was also visualised using Microsoft Excel. Following this, the dataset was broken down into subgroups which fit the sub-questions of the research. This involved identifying respondents with high/low levels of neighbourhood cohesion, and those who were aware/unaware of the presence of STRs in their area. The responses of these groups to a selection of questions were then compared to each other using t-tests, with p-values used to indicate whether the differences in perceptions between these groups held statistical significance.

The results of these analyses can be found in full in Section 5.

3.2.2 Interviews

To complement the data generated by the online survey, respondents were asked to provide their email address if they were interested in taking part in a follow-up interview, in which they could provide more details about their experiences with tourism and STRs. Government stakeholders and an academic expert were also interviewed to elucidate a more holistic view of the state of tourism in Amsterdam pre-COVID, and the expectations and hopes for the future. In all interviews, bar the interview with the academic expert, a semi-structured approach was followed. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed residents to express their perceptions in a guided way while maintaining a conversational style to build rapport, thus allowing the elicitation of sentiment in a way that was comfortable for the respondent. This style also allowed the municipal representatives to express their perspectives in a pointed, sharp manner, while still allowing flexibility for opinions (Dunn, 2010, p. 102). As the interview with the academic expert took place towards the end of the

research process, a more conversational style was followed. The guides followed for the stakeholder interviews can be found in Appendix 2.

Each interview was immediately transcribed upon completion, with notes about the interview also added. Following transcription, the interviews were subsequently coded using NVivo software to identify patterns and to assess the extent to which the key concepts of the research had been addressed by the interviewees. A coding tree can be found in Appendix 3.

While the interviews provided valuable insights into the perceptions of residents and experts, it should be noted that the language barrier may have affected the willingness of respondents to participate. It should also be noted that participants taking part in the interviews in a language other than their native tongue may have led to the withholding of some information on account of their inability to express themselves fully (Marshall & While, 1994).

A full list of interviews can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: List of interviews

Code	Position	Date of Interview	Medium	Length
E1	Academic Expert Tourism & Short-term Rentals, Utrecht University (UU)	17/7/2020	Zoom	1:01:08
G1	Area Broker, De Pijp	12/6/2020	Zoom	46:23
G2	Part-time City Council Member, Gemeente Amsterdam	15/7/2020	Skype	54:43
R1	Resident, Vijzelgracht (Centre)	15/6/2020	Voice Call	43:29
R2	Resident, Red Light District (Centre)	18/6/2020	Zoom	39:15
R3	Resident, Indische Buurt (East)	19/6/2020	Zoom	28:25
R4	Resident, Vijzelgracht (Centre)	29/6/2020	Zoom	36:14
R5	Resident, Zuiderkerk (Centre)	30/6/2020	Zoom	29:54

3.2.3 Data Scraping

To provide context for the survey and interviews, publicly available data was acquired from the internet. This data included short-term rental listing information, as well as population and

demographic information. These data were combined by the researcher to provide depth and context for the research.

3.2.3.1 Inside Airbnb

Airbnb's near-monopolistic status in the short-term rental industry makes it a rich source of data for the study of the phenomenon. However, Airbnb does not share its data publicly (c.f. Cox & Slee, 2016; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). Inside Airbnb (<http://www.insideairbnb.com>) is a non-commercial project which scrapes data from publicly viewable Airbnb listings regularly and provides city and neighbourhood-level information about where listings are located, how many nights a year they are available and whether they are whole-home listings (Inside Airbnb, 2020a). For this research, data from February 2020 was used to ensure that the COVID-19 pandemic did not affect the number of listings, as respondents to the surveys and interviews were queried on their experiences before the full effects of the pandemic on the tourism industry were felt in Amsterdam. It was also decided for this research to focus only on whole-home rentals, as these represent a removal of housing from the total stock and are the most studied type of listing. Due to privacy concerns, Airbnb does not make the exact addresses of listings available. As such, the potential exists for the neighbourhood level data to contain listings that do not necessarily belong to that neighbourhood, however other researchers using Inside Airbnb and another, similar service – AirDNA, have found that such an effect is negligible and does not significantly affect their results (Bowers, 2017; Ioannides et al., 2019).

3.2.3.2 OIS Amsterdam

The municipality of Amsterdam makes a range of information pertaining to the city publicly available through its website (OIS Amsterdam, 2020c). For the purposes of this research, datasets concerning population, demographics and housing stock at the neighbourhood level were used.

3.2.3.3 Combining the Data

The datasets from Inside Airbnb and the municipality of Amsterdam were manipulated using Microsoft Excel to show the concentration of Airbnb listings per neighbourhood. This involved dividing the amount of active Airbnb listings by the number of living units in the city overall, and in each neighbourhood. The result of this manipulation was a determination of the proportion of the housing stock in each neighbourhood which was listed on Airbnb as of February 2020. The results of this manipulation can be seen in Appendix 4. The concentration was, in turn, presented to survey and interview participants in order to gauge the extent to which this concentration matched their perceptions. It is worth noting that not all of the listings used for this section were available year-round, and research participants were informed that on average, approximately one in five listings in the city are available for more than sixty nights per year.

4. Case Description

This section details the case chosen for the study. First, the growth of tourism in Amsterdam is explained, with a brief history of the popularity of the city as a destination. Following this, the discourse surrounding the challenges facing the city as a result of its popularity is explored up to the current day. The current situation regarding short-term rentals in the city is then described, followed finally by a description of the hitherto implemented policies regarding STRs and an account of the current regulatory regime.

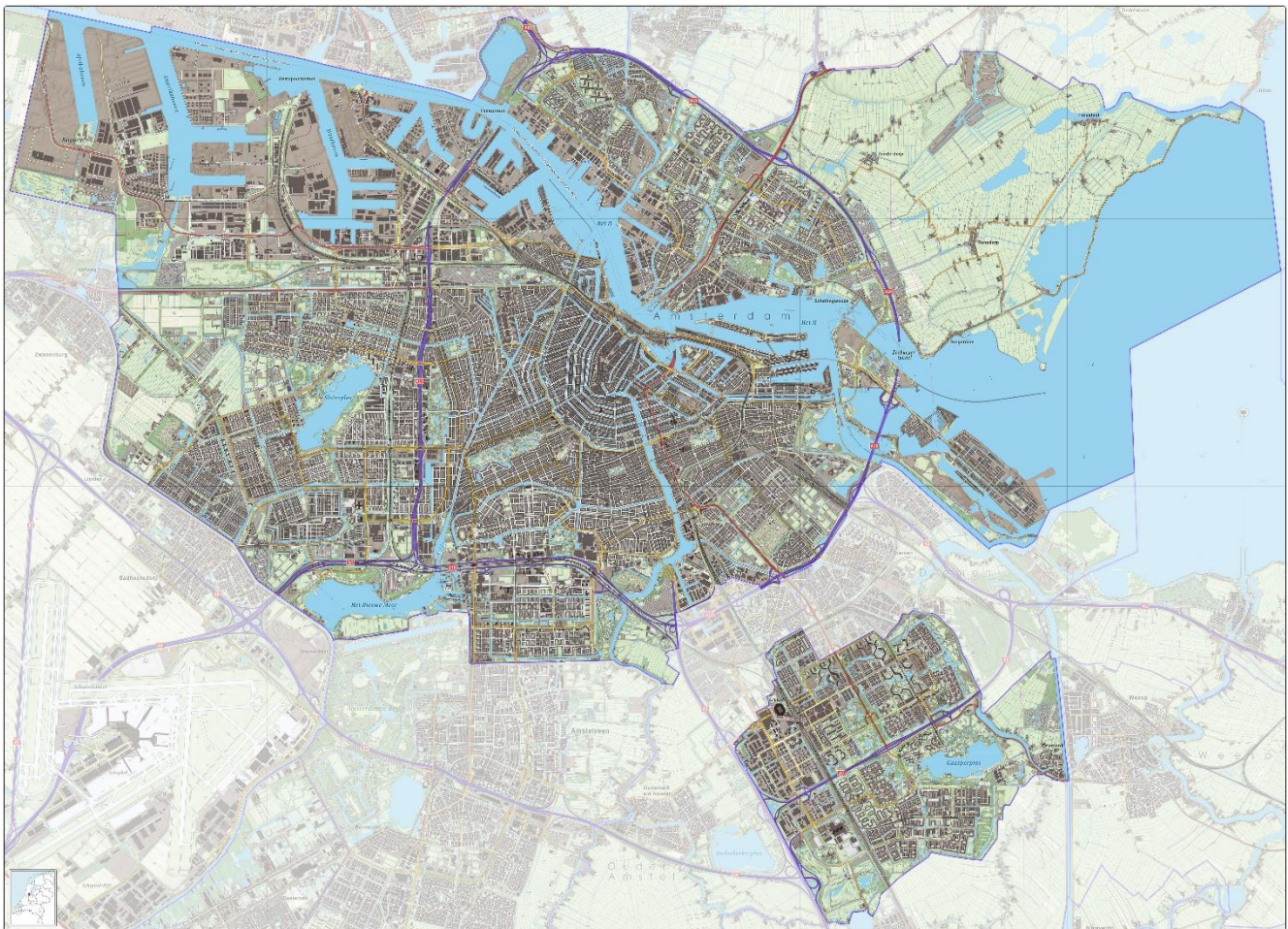


Figure 4.1: Map of Amsterdam. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

4.1 Tourism in Amsterdam

Amsterdam was home to 872,380 residents at the beginning of 2020 (OIS Amsterdam, 2020b). The city's residents have played host to increasing numbers of visitors in recent years. While in 2008, the city hosted 8.3 million overnight guests, this number has grown year-on-year ever since, rising to 18.4

million overnight stays in 2019 (OIS Amsterdam, 2020e). As a result of this rapid growth, a report by McKinsey & Company and World Travel & Tourism Council (2017) has placed Amsterdam in the highest quintile for risk of the alienation of locals as a result of tourism overcrowding.

This growth in tourism comes as a result of the desirability of Amsterdam as a tourist destination, as well as a range of policies through the years which have stimulated the sector. Among the key assets of Amsterdam as a destination are its relatively high concentration of historical monuments, a variety of land uses in the historical city centre and a libertarian atmosphere (Terhorst et al., 2003). The city's position as a major trading hub during the 17th-century peak of Dutch imperialism, often referred to as the 'Golden Age', left the city with a wealth of physical monuments and artistic artefacts (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020a). The city's reputation for having a libertarian atmosphere has grown out of a long-standing policy of tolerance and freedom of thought. In the latter half of the 20th century, progressive social attitudes, leading to the legalisation of soft drugs, and the squatter movement of the 1970s and 80s saw the city retain and cultivate its reputation as a place where young people were free to think and to experiment (Gerritsma, 2019). This mix of attractions has led to a dual image of Amsterdam as a destination for both cultural interest and for tourists to explore liberal attitudes towards sex, soft drugs and hedonism in a way that they would not be able to in their home cities (Chapuis, 2017; Terhorst et al., 2003).

While the city struggled with economic stagnation in the 1970s, a turn towards city marketing, including an unsuccessful bid to host the 1992 Summer Olympics, saw the city gain attention as a destination. While originally, these marketing campaigns were aimed at attracting the international business community, they also had the effect of attracting increased tourist flows (Terhorst et al., 2003). Politicians in the city were already debating the value of the types of tourists that the city was attracting in the early 2000s (*ibid.*). The discourse at that time focused on the economic disparity between the two main groups of tourists visiting the city - those who came for high culture, and those who came to take advantage of the city's liberal policy towards soft drugs. This debate has intensified in the intervening years, with many now debating the behaviour and nuisance of tourists in the city (O'Sullivan, 2019), the monocultural, tourist-oriented retail offering in the city centre (Couzy, 2017), as well as the impact of STRs on the city (Bouma & Rengers, 2014).

While much of 2020, up to the time of writing, saw the number of tourists in the city shrink on account of the COVID-19 pandemic, debate turned to what shape tourism in the city would take in the future. Discourse in the city began to shift towards a reduction in the amount and change in the type of tourists that the city would welcome post-COVID (van Bemmelen, 2020). A petition started by Amsterdam residents during the pandemic called for a limit of 12



Sticker seen in Amsterdam City Centre, July 2020. Source: Author's own.

million overnight visitors in coming years - a threshold the city passed in 2014 - as well as a range of commitments from the municipality to monitor tourism and provide balance and a liveable city (Volksinitiatief, 2020). At the time of writing, this petition had amassed over 30,000 signatures, qualifying it for debate among city councillors, and the initiation of a plebiscite among the city's residents should the council reject its demands. These developments appear to confirm a suspicion by Terhorst et al. in 2003 that the growth of tourism in the city would eventually lead to the erosion of the factors that attracted tourists in the first place - *"The increasing dominance of the tourist economy may even lead to less tolerance, since public space has first and foremost to be clean and safe. In short, key assets of Amsterdam's tourism - the variety of activities, the liberal outlook - may ultimately be undermined by the exponential growth of tourism."* (Terhorst et al., 2003, p. 88).

4.2 Short-term Rentals and Policy

STRs have enjoyed immense popularity in Amsterdam. As of February 2020, the city had a total of 15,363 whole homes available for rent on Airbnb alone (Inside Airbnb, 2020b). This represents approximately 3.3% of the city's total housing stock - 447,864 as of February 2020 (CBS Statline, 2020) - being available to rent through the platform.

Regulation of platform-mediated STRs has tended to lag behind the developments in technology which provide for the growth of the sector (Guttentag, 2015). As such, many reactive policy responses have focused on placing the responsibility for following local regulations on the host, who rents out their home, rather than the platform which facilitates these exchanges (Espinosa, 2016).

The development of legislation to regulate the sector has further been impacted by differences in approaches at national and supra-national levels. Notably, the European Union has been key in the determination of the level of responsibility held by platforms which provide for home-sharing (Haar, 2018). The stance of the EU was cemented in 2019 after a case brought to the European Court of Justice in which a French tourism and hotel association - *Association pour un hébergement et un tourisme*

professionnels - alleged that Airbnb was operating as a real estate agent and as such, would be obliged by French real estate laws. The Court determined that Airbnb did not fit the description of real estate agent, and were instead categorised as an e-commerce operator, providing an information service to hosts and to guests (Judgement of 19 December 2019). As a result of this case, EU member states' efforts at regulating the platform must now adhere to the definition of the platform as the provider of an information service, and not as an accommodation provider.

Following this, a judgement by the Dutch Council of State found that while the temporary rental of homes did constitute a withdrawal of housing stock, municipalities were obliged to provide a licensing system for citizens to participate in such rentals (Raad van State, 2020). As a result, it was determined that the regulatory regime adopted by the city of Amsterdam up to that time was unlawful. The pre-existing approach allowed residents of the city to rent out their primary residence for a maximum of thirty nights per year, to a maximum of four guests at a time, as long as the rental unit met fire safety standards, as well as adhering to relevant tax laws. The hosts of such rentals were also obliged to report any rentals to the municipality or face a fine.

Following the judgement of the Council of State, residents were, at the time of writing, obliged to obtain a license from the municipality before advertising their home for short-term rental, as well as following the pre-existing regulations controlling the number of nights, guests allowed and the reporting obligation (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020b). Along with the adoption of the licensing system, the municipality determined that three city centre neighbourhoods - Burgwallen-Oude Zijde, Burgwallen-Nieuwe Zijde and Grachtengordel-Zuid - would be ineligible for licensing due to unsustainable tourism pressure, effectively banning STRs outright in these areas from July 1st, 2020 (*ibid.*).

While it has previously been noted that a significant portion of the short-term rental industry operates contrary to local laws (Bouma & Rengers, 2014; Dredge et al., 2016; Guttentag, 2015; Nieuwland & van Melik, 2018), the recent nature of the adoption of the ban in certain areas of Amsterdam makes it impossible for the present research to evaluate the effectiveness of such an approach. Due to this, the empirical research was conducted within the context of the regulations around the number of nights and guests allowed, as well as the conditions related to primary residence.

5. Results

This section details the analysis of the data generated by the empirical surveys. The section begins with details about how the raw dataset was cleaned and how the final dataset was built. Metadata about the survey is also described. Following this, the profile of respondents² is detailed. Next, the results for each question in the survey is presented. Finally, the results of the survey as they pertain to the two subgroups identified for answering the sub-questions of the research are explicated.

5.1 Cleaning the Dataset & Survey Metadata

Before manipulating and interpreting the data generated from the survey responses, the dataset was cleaned to ensure that a valid sample was used. The first step in this was to remove those surveys in which participants had begun their response but failed to finish. After removing these incomplete surveys, the initial total of 572 responses was revised downwards to 497.

Following this, the answers of participants in the 'post code' field were used to remove any participants who did not live in Amsterdam, as their responses would not have been valid for research pertaining specifically to Amsterdam. Only postcodes in the range 1000-1100 were kept for analysis. This resulted in the removal of 12 additional surveys.

Finally, responses were filtered based on the amount of time spent to complete the survey. The aim of this was to remove those who answered the survey too quickly, as their responses may not have been answered accurately or thoughtfully (Greszki et al., 2015). To do this, the outliers at the top end of the scale, i.e. those who spent abnormally long answering the survey, were identified visually using a histogram depicting the distribution of times to completion and excluded from the subsequent calculations³. 8 surveys were temporarily excluded at this point. The mean time to completion for the remaining 477 surveys was calculated to be 593 seconds. The standard deviation from this mean was 323 seconds, meaning that the normal distribution of time taken to complete the survey was at least 270 seconds. As such, 8 responses taking 270 seconds or less were removed. The 8 surveys with the longest duration to completion were then added back to the dataset, giving a final sample of 477 responses.

² A distinction should be noted between participants and respondents. *Participants* here refers to all those who took part in the survey, whereas *respondents* refers to those who answered individual questions.

³ Note: As the survey platform allowed participants to leave the survey and complete it later, it is not expected that a longer time to completion had any impact on the validity of the response.

This sample satisfies the requirement defined by Krejcie & Morgan (1970) for producing results which can be generalised to the population⁴.

Of the 477 surveys used in the final dataset, 152 (32%) were completed in English, with the remaining 325 (68%) being completed in Dutch.

5.2 Profile of the Respondents

A range of demographic data, data about the respondents' residential status and their travel habits was collected at the beginning of the survey. The results of which are found below.

5.2.1 Demographics

5.2.1.1 Sex

238 respondents (50.8%) identified as female. 229 respondents (48.8%) identified as male. 2 respondents (0.4%) identified as other, with elaboration being given for one trans female and one non-binary person. 8 participants chose not to answer this question.

5.2.1.2 Age

The age profile of respondents was skewed heavily towards those over 45, with this group making up over two-thirds of all respondents. The breakdown of the age profile of respondents can be found in Figure 5.1. 3 participants chose not to answer this question.

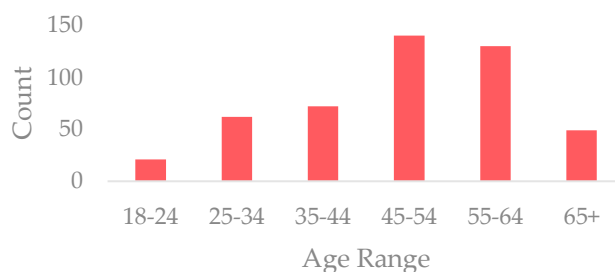


Figure 5.1: Age range of respondents.

⁴ Note: Not all questions were mandatory for participants. As a result, not all questions in the survey were answered by the full sample. Where this is the case, it is noted in the relevant sub-section. Non-responses are not included in the described percentages.

5.2.1.3 Household Income

The majority of respondents (62.5%) reported gross annual household incomes of under €60,000. Of the remainder, 83 respondents (20.1%) reported incomes between €60,000-99,999, 43 (10.4%) between €100,000-149,999 and 29 respondents (7%) over €150,000. 64 participants chose not to answer the question. The distribution of responses can be seen in Figure 5.2.

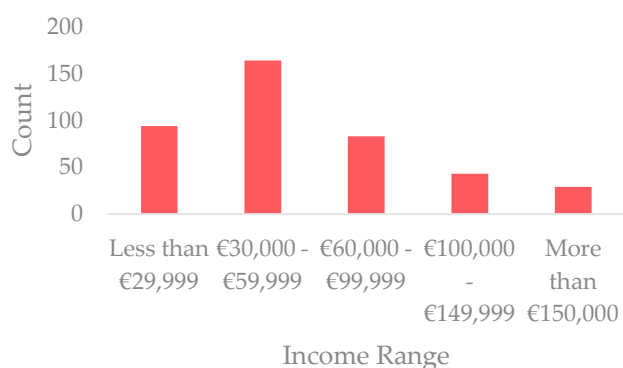


Figure 5.2: Household income of respondents.

5.2.2 Residential Information

5.2.2.1 Residential Status

204 respondents (42.8%) reported owning their own home. Of the 265 renters surveyed, 151 lived alone and 114 lived with others. 6 respondents (1.3%) reported living with parents/guardians, and 2 respondents (0.4%) reported experiencing homelessness at the time of participating in the survey.

5.2.2.2 Building Type

412 respondents (86.9%) reported living in buildings with multiple units, with shared access from street level. 62 respondents (13.1%) reported having their own front door at street level. 3 participants did not answer this question.

5.2.2.3 Time at Current Address

The majority (58.5%) of the survey respondents reported living at their current address for over 10 years. 67 respondents (14.1%) lived at their current residence for 5-10 years, 64 respondents (13.4%) for between 2-5 years and the remaining 67 (14%) for less than 2 years.

5.2.2.4 Previous Place of Residence

195 respondents (41.1%) reported living in a different part of Amsterdam before their current residence. 107 (22.6%) lived in a different part of the Netherlands previously. 104 respondents (22%) still live in the same part of the city as they previously did. 68 respondents (14.4%) had previously lived outside of the Netherlands. 3 participants did not answer this question.

5.2.2.5 Reason for leaving Previous Residence

Changes in personal circumstances, such as starting a new job, moving in with a partner, etc. accounted for why 252 of the respondents (53.5%) left their previous place of residence. 96 (20.4%) left due to wanting to live in a different area, while a further 42 (8.9%) had their previous rental contract end with

no option for renewal. 28 respondents (5.9%) left to move into a home that they had purchased. Increases in rental prices caused a further 11 (2.3%) to move. 25 respondents (5.3%) answered with 'other', with 2 of those responses explicitly naming tourists as a cause. 17 respondents (3.6%) answered with N/A, and 3 participants did not answer the question.

5.2.3 Travel Habits

5.2.3.1 *City Breaks*

When asked if they had gone on a holiday to another city in the two years leading up to taking the survey, 403 respondents (87.6%) said that they had. 57 (12.4%) did not. 17 participants did not answer the question.

5.2.3.2 *Short Term Rental Usage*

When asked if they had stayed in a short-term rental, such as Airbnb, HomeAway, VRBO, etc. in the two years leading up to the survey, 268 (56.7%) respondents answered yes. 5 of those had stayed in one in Amsterdam, while 256 others stayed in one elsewhere. 7 respondents had stayed in one in Amsterdam and elsewhere. 205 respondents (43.3%) had not stayed in a short-term rental in the previous two years.

5.3 Neighbourhood & Community

Participants were presented with a series of statements about their neighbourhood to assess the extent to which they felt a sense of cohesion and connection in their local area. The statements were presented with a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicate a higher degree of cohesion and connectedness. For all statements, the mean rating was higher than 3, indicating that respondents generally felt a positive sense of connection & cohesiveness with their neighbourhood. The distribution of answers can be seen in Figure 5.3.

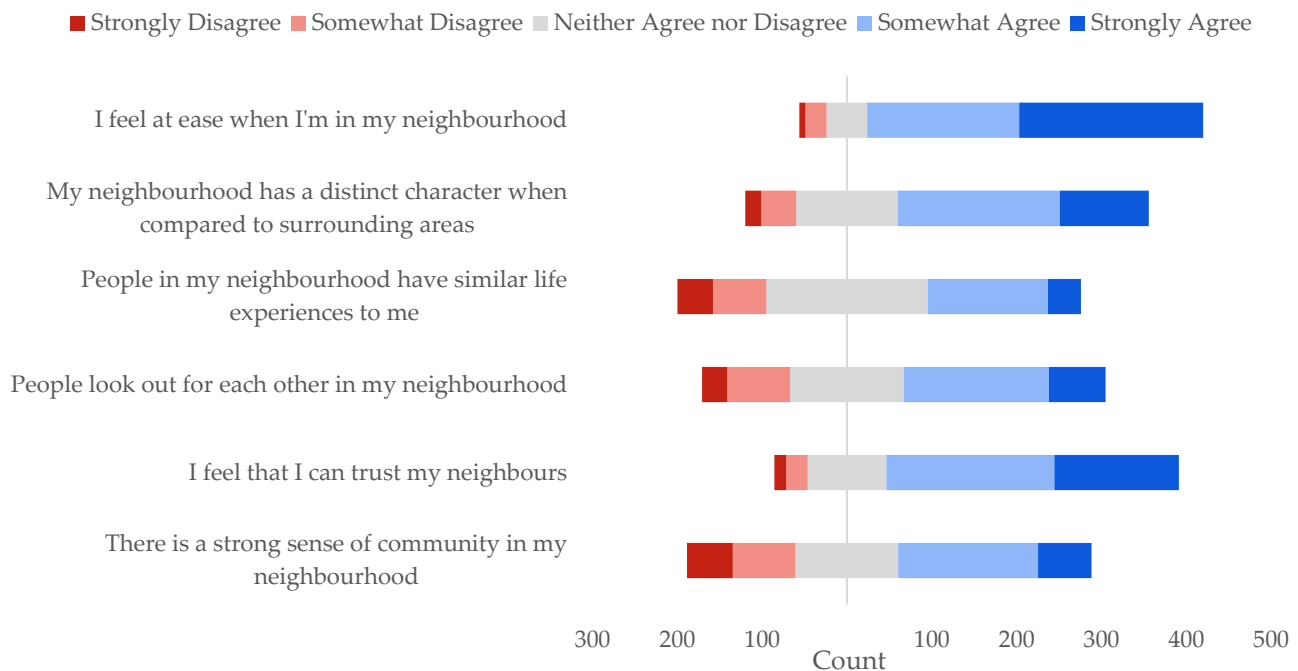


Figure 5.3: Distribution of answers to statements regarding neighbourhood cohesion.

5.3.1 I feel at ease when I'm in my neighbourhood

This was the statement that respondents felt that they agreed most strongly with. The mean score for this statement was 4.21, with a standard deviation of 0.93. One participant did not answer this question.

5.3.2 My neighbourhood has a distinct character when compared to surrounding areas

Respondents generally felt that their neighbourhood had characteristics that differentiated it from surrounding areas, a sentiment that helps to build a cohesive identity within a neighbourhood. The mean score for this statement was 3.68, with a standard deviation of 1.04. One participant did not answer this question.

5.3.3 People in my neighbourhood have similar life experiences to me

The homogeneity of the respondents' neighbourhoods yielded the lowest mean score and the highest level of indifference, although it still skewed towards the positive end. The mean score for this statement was 3.15, with a standard deviation of 1.04.

5.3.4 People look out for each other in my neighbourhood

Respondents tended to agree that there was a sense that people in their area looked out for each other. This suggests high social capital and cohesion across the sample. The mean score was 3.36 and the standard deviation from this mean was 1.1. One participant did not answer this question.

5.3.5 I feel that I can trust my neighbours

Neighbourhood trust was rated highly by the sample, again indicating a strong sense of community and cohesion. The mean score for this statement was 3.92, with a standard deviation of 0.99.

5.3.6 There is a strong sense of community in my neighbourhood

This general statement about the sense of community yielded mostly positive responses, although the distribution of scoring varied the most of all the statements presented. The mean score for the sense of community was 3.23, with a standard deviation of 1.2.

5.4 Tourism Sentiment

Participants were asked questions about their feelings towards tourism in the city in general, as well as at the neighbourhood level. These were made up of general questions about their sentiment, as well as a series of Likert scales in which they were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed/disagreed with a prepared set of statements.

5.4.1 Perceived level of tourist activity in own area before COVID-19

Residents were asked to rate how busy with tourists they felt the area in which they lived was in the two years leading up to COVID-19. The rating scale ranged from 1 (Not busy at all) to 5 (Far too busy). The distribution of answers can be seen in Figure 5.4. The mean rating for how busy respondents felt their area was, was 3.64, with a standard deviation of 1.39. The sample size for this question was 474.

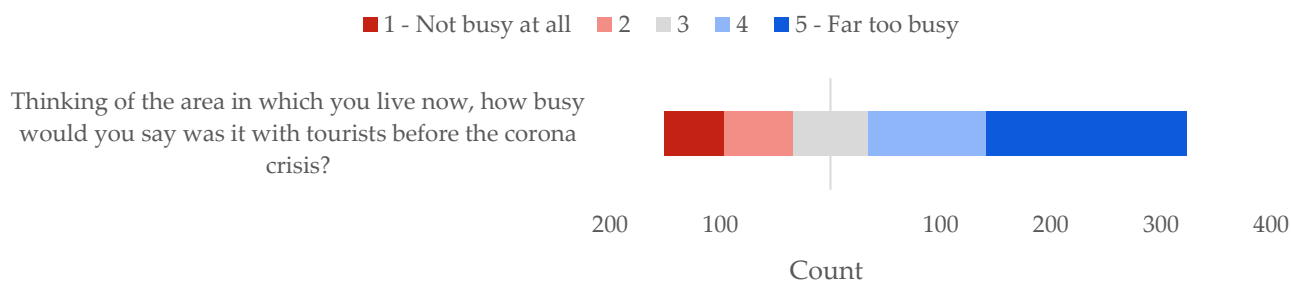


Figure 5.4: Distribution of answers for how busy respondents felt their area was with tourists before COVID-19.

5.4.2 Change in the perceived tourist activity in previous two years

When asked how the flow of tourism in their neighbourhood had changed in the two years leading up to COVID-19, 338 respondents (76%) felt that their neighbourhood had gotten busier. 84 respondents (19%) reported no change, while the remaining 22 respondents (5%) felt that their area was less busy. The sample size for this question was 444.

5.4.3 Desired tourism levels post-COVID

Participants were asked about their desired levels of tourism following COVID-19. The options presented included encouraging more to come, maintaining pre-COVID levels, discouraging some from coming, and discouraging all from coming. Most respondents wanted less tourists. While 274 (57.4%) wanted some tourists to be discouraged from coming, 115 (24.1%) felt that all tourism should be discouraged. 49 respondents (10.3%) felt that pre-COVID levels of tourism should be maintained, and 39 (8.2%) felt that more tourism should be encouraged.

5.4.4 Tourism sentiment at the city level

Participants were presented with a series of statements about tourism at the city level. They were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed/disagreed with these statements on a Likert scale. Similarly to the Likert scales measuring neighbourhood cohesion, the scale ranged from one to five, with one representing *strongly disagree* and five representing *strongly agree*. As with the section about neighbourhood cohesiveness, a higher mean score indicates that respondents agreed more strongly with the statements and vice versa. An overview of the responses can be seen in Figure 5.5.

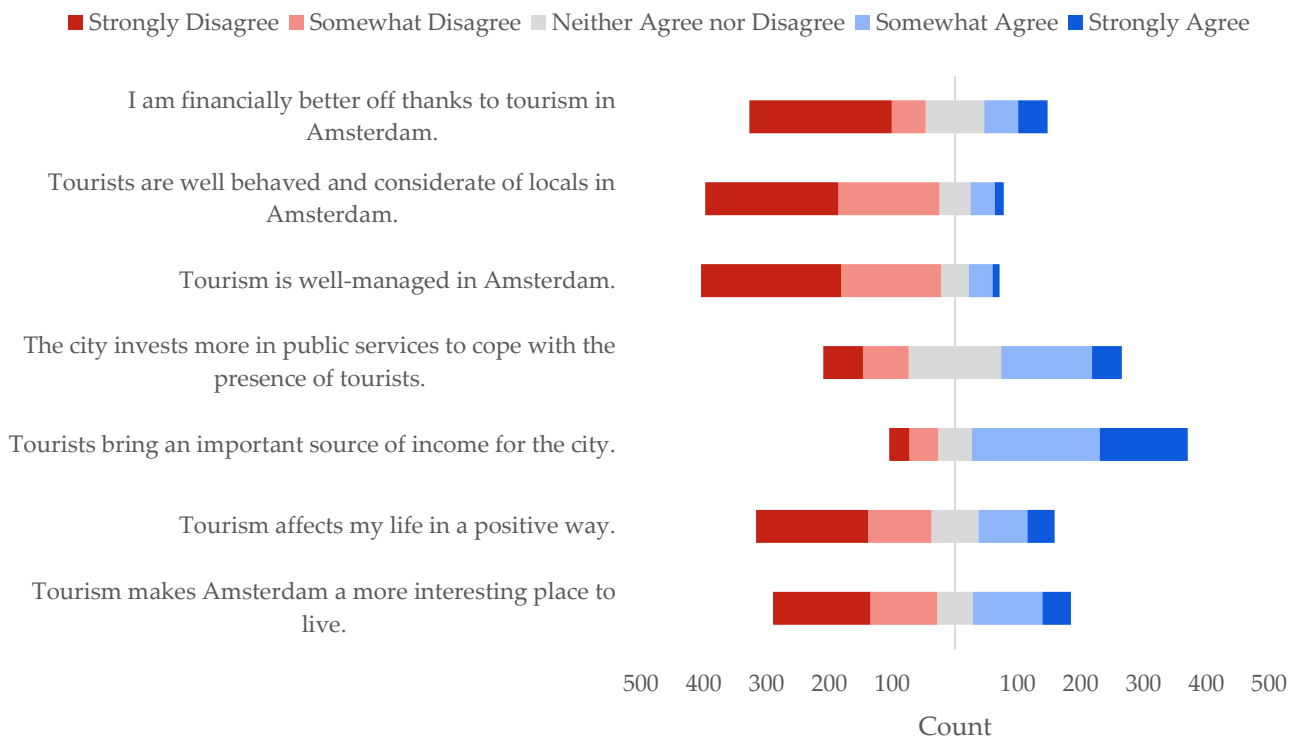


Figure 5.5: Distribution of answers to statements regarding tourism at the city level.

5.4.4.1 I am financially better off thanks to tourism in Amsterdam

When asked whether the respondents felt that they directly financially benefited from tourism in the city, most felt that they did not, with a combined 59.2% of respondents disagreeing with the statement. The mean score for this statement was 2.24, with a standard deviation of 1.4. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.2 Tourists are well-behaved and considerate of locals in Amsterdam

Most respondents disagreed with the statement that tourists were well-behaved in their city. A combined 78.5% of respondents disagreed with this statement. The mean score was 1.91, with a standard deviation of 1.07. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.3 *Tourism is well-managed in Amsterdam*

The sentiment that tourism was well-managed in the city was the least popular of the set. 80.4% of the respondents disagreed with this statement. The mean score for this statement was 1.85, with a standard deviation of 1.03. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.4 *The city invests more in public services to cope with the presence of tourists*

The respondents were most ambivalent about the sentiment that the city was investing more in public services to cope with tourism, however this skewed slightly towards agreeing with the statement. 31% of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. 40.4% agreed with the statement, while 28.6% disagreed. The mean score for this statement was 3.08, with a standard deviation of 1.17. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.5 *Tourists bring an important source of income for the city*

Respondents agreed most strongly with this statement. 72.4% of the respondents agreed, suggesting that respondents largely understood the economic importance of tourism for the city as a whole, despite not necessarily agreeing that they were personally benefiting from tourism. The mean score for this statement was 3.79, with a standard deviation of 1.16. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.6 *Tourism affects my life in a positive way*

When asked whether tourism affected their lives positively, respondents mostly disagreed. 58.7% of respondents disagreed with this statement, suggesting that tourism affected respondents mostly in a negative way. The mean score for this statement was 2.38, with a standard deviation of 1.36. Two participants did not answer the question.

5.4.4.7 *Tourism makes Amsterdam a more interesting place to live*

When asked about the contribution of tourism towards Amsterdam in terms of being an interesting place to live, respondents tended to feel that it did not add to the city. 55% of respondents disagreed with the sentiment that tourism made the city a more interesting place to live. The mean score for this statement was 2.55, with a standard deviation of 1.39. Three participants did not answer the question.

5.4.5 Tourism sentiment at the neighbourhood level

Following the set of statements about tourism at the city level, participants were then asked to indicate their sentiments about tourism at the neighbourhood level. This section of the survey followed the same format as the previous section regarding the city level. An overview of the results of this section can be seen in Figure 5.6.

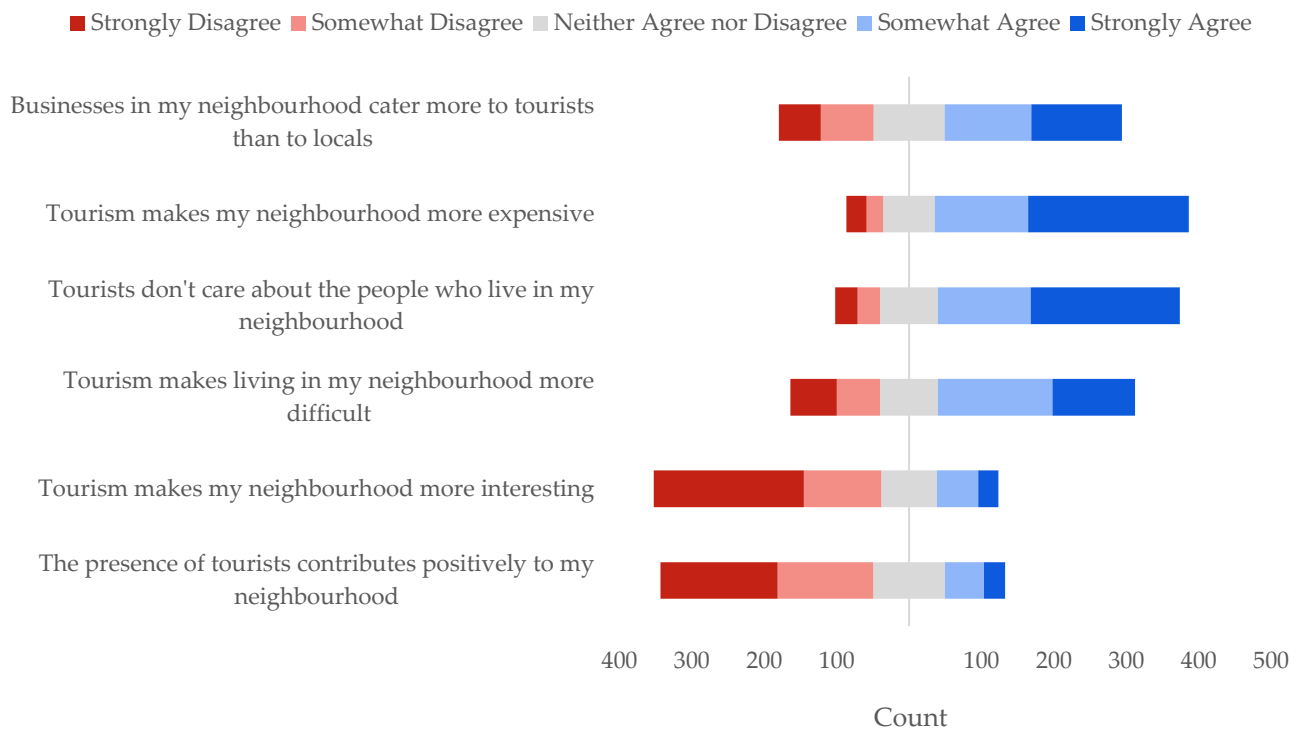


Figure 5.6: Distribution of answers to statements regarding tourism at the neighbourhood level.

5.4.5.1 *Businesses in my neighbourhood cater more to tourists than to locals*

When asked whether the businesses in their neighbourhood were oriented towards tourists, respondents mostly agreed. 51.7% of respondents felt that the offering in their neighbourhood was geared more towards tourists than locals, while 27.6% disagreed. The mean score for this statement was 3.38, with a standard deviation of 1.34. Three participants did not answer this question.

5.4.5.2 *Tourism makes my neighbourhood more expensive*

This statement attracted the strongest sentiment of the set, with 74.2% of the respondents indicating that they felt that tourism was making their neighbourhood more expensive. The mean score for this statement was 4.04, with a standard deviation of 1.16. Four participants did not answer this question.

5.4.5.3 *Tourists don't care about the people who live in my neighbourhood*

When asked about tourists' attitudes towards them, respondents largely felt that the tourists didn't care about them. 70.2% agreed with this statement, with a mean score of 3.94. The standard deviation from the mean was 1.2. One participant did not answer this question.

5.4.5.4 *Tourism makes living in my neighbourhood more difficult*

Respondents mostly agreed that tourism made living in their neighbourhood more difficult. 57.1% of respondents agreed with this statement. The mean score was 3.42, with a standard deviation of 1.33. One participant did not answer this question.

5.4.5.5 *Tourism makes my neighbourhood more interesting*

As the least popular statement in the set, most respondents felt that tourism did not make their neighbourhood more interesting. 66% of the respondents disagreed with this statement, with a mean score of 2.14. The standard deviation from this score was 1.26. One participant did not answer this question.

5.4.5.6 *The presence of tourists contributes positively to my neighbourhood*

When asked whether the presence of tourists contributed positively to respondents' neighbourhoods, most felt that it did not. 61.8% of the respondents disagreed with this statement. The mean score was 2.28, with a standard deviation of 1.21. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5 Tourism nuisance in the neighbourhood

Participants were asked to indicate their experiences with elements of tourism nuisance in their neighbourhood. The rating scale used here ranged from one to four, with one representing no impact, two representing minor impact, three representing moderate impact and four representing major impact. As such, an element of nuisance with a higher mean score indicates that respondents were more impacted. An overview of the results of this section can be seen in Figure 5.7.

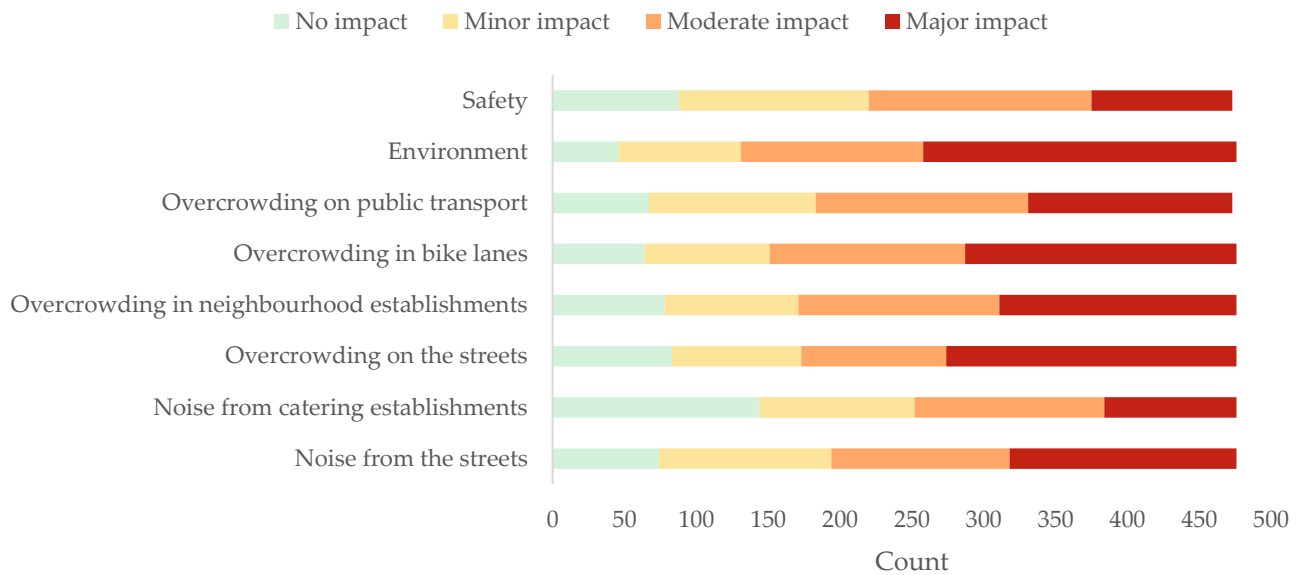


Figure 5.7: Distribution of answers to impacts of tourism nuisance at the neighbourhood level.

5.5.1 Safety

Respondents mostly indicated experiencing moderate impacts in terms of safety in their neighbourhood as a result of tourism. Respondents were presented crime, alcohol and drug use as examples of phenomena that could impact on their feelings of safety. 32.8% of respondents indicated moderate impacts, with 27.9% indicating minor impacts. The mean score for impacts on safety was 2.56, with a standard deviation of 1.02. Four participants did not answer this question.

5.5.2 Environment

Environmental nuisance represented the biggest impact for respondents, with 45.8% of respondents reporting major impacts as a result of tourism. Such nuisance comprised, for example, litter and the degradation of public facilities such as parks. The mean score for environmental nuisance was 3.09, with a standard deviation of 1.01. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5.3 Overcrowding on public transport

Respondents mostly reported experiencing moderate impacts in terms of overcrowding on public transport. 31.3% of respondents reported moderate impacts, with a further 30% indicating major impacts. The mean score for this nuisance was 2.77, with a standard deviation of 1.03. Four participants did not answer this question.

5.5.4 Overcrowding in bike lanes

Respondents reported major to moderate impacts of overcrowding in bike lanes as a result of tourism. 39.7% of respondents indicated that they were majorly impacted by this, with a further 28.6% reporting a moderate impact. The mean score for the impact of overcrowding in bike lanes was 2.95, with a standard deviation of 1.06. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5.5 Overcrowding in neighbourhood establishments

Respondents again reported mostly major to moderate impacts of overcrowding in their neighbourhood establishments. Local shops, cafes and restaurants were provided to respondents as examples of such establishments. 34.7% reported major impacts of this kind of nuisance, with a further 29.4% reporting moderate impact. The mean score for this nuisance was 2.82, with a standard deviation of 1.08. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5.6 Overcrowding on the streets

Street overcrowding represented the second most major impact for respondents, with 42.4% reporting being majorly impacted by this. A further 21.2% reported moderate impacts. The mean score for the impact of street overcrowding was 2.89, with a standard deviation of 1.14. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5.7 Noise from catering establishments

Noise nuisance from local catering establishments as a result of tourism was the least impactful of all the presented examples of nuisance. 30.3% of respondents reported not being impacted at all as a result of this, with 19.3% indicating that they were majorly impacted. The mean score for this was 2.36, with a standard deviation of 1.11. One participant did not answer this question.

5.5.8 Noise from the streets

Respondents reported mostly major to moderate impacts from noise on the streets. Loud conversations and dragging of suitcases were provided to respondents as examples of noise from the streets. 33.2% of respondents reported major impacts, with 26.1% reporting moderate impacts. The mean score for this nuisance was 2.77, with a standard deviation of 1.07. One participant did not answer this question.

5.6 Displacement Effects of Tourism

5.6.1 Direct displacement

Participants were asked whether the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood had made them consider moving elsewhere. The majority of respondents (55%) said that they had not. 26% said they would move to another city altogether, and 19% had considered moving to a different part of Amsterdam.

5.6.2 The effects of tourism on the sense of community in respondents' neighbourhoods

Participants were asked if tourism is damaging the sense of community in their neighbourhood. Potential answers comprised definitely not, probably not, not sure, probably yes and definitely yes, with each answer being assigned a value of one to five, respectively. The majority of respondents (58.1%) indicated that they felt that tourism was damaging their neighbourhood. The mean score for this question was 3.43, with a standard deviation of 1.37. Five participants did not answer this question.

5.7 Short-Term Rental specific questions

5.7.1 Effect of short-term rentals on tourist flows in the neighbourhood

When asked if they felt whether STRs were bringing more tourists to their neighbourhood, most respondents felt that they were. Given a scale consisting of definitely not, probably not, not sure, probably yes and definitely yes, 89.1% of respondents answered probably/definitely yes. Only 4% of respondents felt that STRs were not responsible for attracting more tourists to their neighbourhood.

5.7.2 Impact of short-term rentals on tourism nuisance

Participants were asked to rate their perceived impact of STRs on levels of tourism nuisance in their neighbourhood. The scale for rating was comprised of much less noticeable, somewhat less noticeable, about the same, somewhat more noticeable and much more noticeable. 74.1% of respondents indicated that they felt that STRs made tourism nuisance in their neighbourhood either somewhat or much more noticeable. 21.1% reported not noticing an impact as a result of STRs, while the remaining 4.8% reported that they felt that STRs made the impacts of tourism nuisance either somewhat or much less noticeable. The distribution of answers to this question can be seen in Figure 5.8. 37 participants either did not know or did not answer the question.

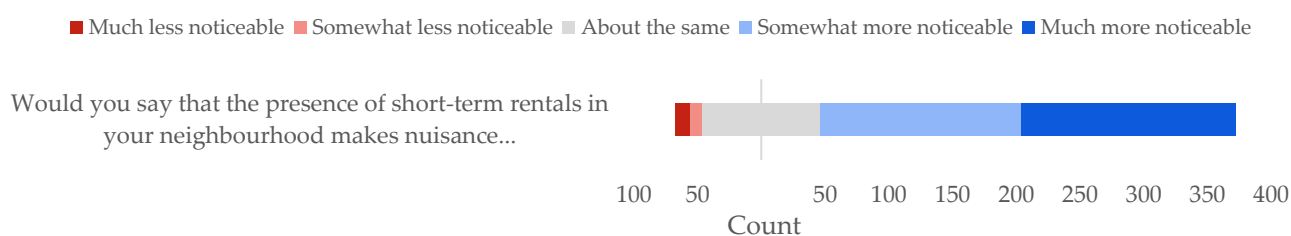


Figure 5.8: Distribution of answers regarding the contribution of short-term rentals to tourism nuisance.

5.7.3 Awareness of short-term rentals in the neighbourhood

When asked if they were explicitly aware of the presence of STRs in their neighbourhood, 411 respondents said that they were. Of those, 87.7% stated that there were more STRs in their area at the time of answering the survey than there were 2 years previously. 9.5% felt that there was about the same amount as previously, and 2.7% said there were less.

5.7.4 Awareness of short-term rentals in multi-unit buildings

Of the 412 respondents that indicated that they lived in a building made up of multiple living units sharing a front door at street level, 124 indicated that they were aware of short-term rental units in their building.

When asked if their enjoyment of their home has been affected by the presence of STRs in their building, 57.5% reported that their enjoyment had been negatively affected. 4.7% reported increased enjoyment of their home as a result of STRs, while the remaining 37.8% reported no impact on the enjoyment of their home.

When asked if the costs associated with wear and tear in their building had increased as a result of STRs operating in their building, the majority (75.4%) reported that they did not. 13.5% reported a slight increase in costs, while the remaining 11.1% reported a considerable increase.

5.7.5 Impact of short-term rentals on finding new living accommodation

The 67 respondents who reported living at their current address for less than 2 years were asked whether they felt that their accommodation search was impacted by the presence of STRs in Amsterdam. Respondents were given a scale of difficulty to rate their experience. This scale comprised, much less difficult, somewhat less difficult, about the same, somewhat more difficult, and much more difficult. 84.4% of respondents felt that their accommodation search was more difficult due to STRs. 12.5% of respondents felt that STRs did not impact their search for accommodation while 3.1% felt that STRs made their accommodation search less difficult. Three respondents did not answer the question.

5.7.6 Perceived concentration of short-term rentals in Amsterdam

Participants were presented with a statistic for the concentration of whole-home STRs in the city, calculated by the researcher as approximately 3.3%. This was calculated by dividing the number of whole-home short-term rental units active on Airbnb in February 2020, as indicated by Inside Airbnb data, by the total stock of residential units in the city in the same period, as reported by the municipality. Participants were asked whether this concentration matched up with their expectations, with a scale provided to indicate their perceptions. This scale comprised much more, somewhat more, about the same, somewhat less and much less. About the same was the most popular answer, with 35.1% of respondents indicating that the presented concentration largely aligned with what they expected. The remaining answers were relatively equally distributed, with 33.3% indicating that the concentration was either somewhat or much less than they expected, and 31.6% reporting that the concentration was either somewhat or much more than expected. Three respondents did not answer the question. The distribution of answers can be seen in Figure 5.9.

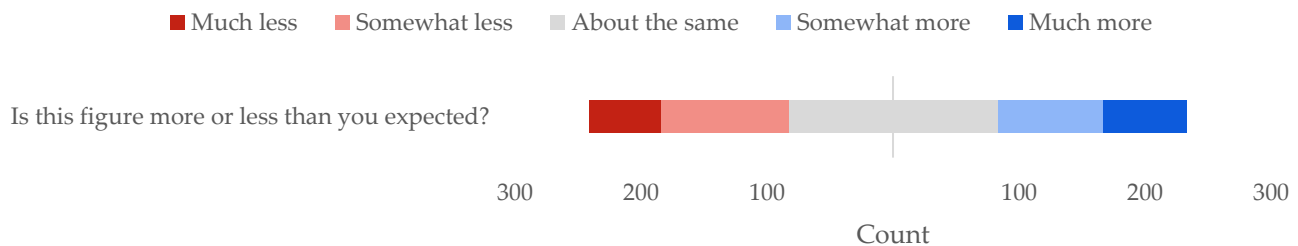


Figure 5.9: Distribution of answers regarding respondents' perception of the concentration of Airbnb units in Amsterdam.

5.7.7 Effectiveness of current regulatory regime

Participants were presented with an overview of the current regulatory regime that was in effect at the time of the survey's distribution. They were then asked if they felt that the regulations were effective in controlling STRs in Amsterdam. Respondents could answer with definitely not, probably not, not sure, probably yes and definitely yes. Most of the respondents (64.3%) felt that the current regulatory approach was not effective. 20.2% felt that the regulations were effective while the remaining 15.5%

were not sure. One participant did not answer the question. The distribution of answers can be seen below in Figure 5.10.

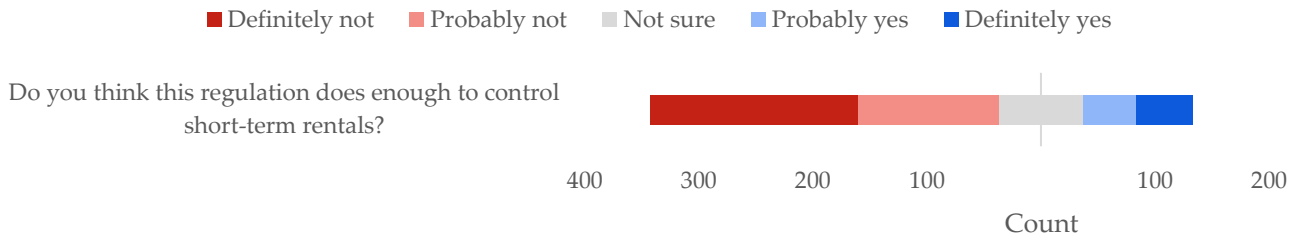


Figure 5.10: Distribution of answers regarding respondents' perceived effectiveness of the current regulatory regime surrounding short-term rentals in Amsterdam.

5.7.8 Suggestions for future regulation

Finally, participants were asked to indicate what regulatory approach they felt would be most effective at controlling STRs in Amsterdam. The presented potential regulatory approaches were based on those that had been mentioned in the literature, as well as those that have been implemented in other locations. The approaches range from banning STRs outright to removing all regulations. Respondents were allowed to choose multiple approaches. The responses to this question can be seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Count of responses for favoured regulatory approaches.

Regulatory Approach	Count
Ban short-term rentals completely	208
Ban people from renting out their home short-term for a specific amount of time after buying the property	144
Reduce the amount of nights that a unit can be rented out for	142
Reduce the amount of guests that can stay in a unit at a time	144
Increase the amount of nights that a unit can be rented out for	26
Increase the amount of guests that can stay in a unit at a time	7
Implement different rules on a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood basis	123
Remove all regulations	21
Other	110

A complete ban on STRs was the most favoured approach. Following this, reducing the amount of guests who can stay in a unit at a time and the amount of nights that a unit can be rented out for, as well as preventing homeowners from renting their property out as a short-term rental for a specific amount of time after buying the property had comparable levels of popularity. Implementing different rules on a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood basis was moderately popular. Increasing the number of guests and nights allowed were relatively unpopular, with the removal of all regulations also receiving little support. Respondents were able to write their own proposals when the Other option was selected. The most commonly suggested approach added by respondents was better enforcement of the existing regulations, with 32 respondents suggesting this. Banning commercial operators of STRs was suggested by 18 respondents. 6 respondents suggested increasing the tourist tax applicable to short-term rental bookings. Other suggestions included improved transparency and data sharing from short-term rental platforms and reducing the number of flights at Amsterdam’s Schiphol airport.

5.8 Influence of neighbourhood cohesion on perceptions

In order to test the influence of neighbourhood cohesion on the perceptions of residents towards tourism and STRs, a number of questions were identified to be tested between disparate groups within the sample. In practice, this involved separating out those respondents who felt that they lived in a neighbourhood with strong levels of cohesion and a strong sense of community, and those who felt a weak sense of cohesion and community. To do this, those who rated each of the statements relating to neighbourhood cohesion highly, and those who gave low ratings were compared. 65 respondents rated all of the statements about cohesion and community as either somewhat or strongly agree. 16 respondents rated all of the statements as somewhat or strongly disagree. The responses of these two groups were then tested with t-tests to investigate whether statistically significant differences existed between them. The results of this test can be seen in

Table 5.2⁵.

Table 5.2: Means, Standard Deviations and sample size for questions and statements which display statistically significant differences between groups with less and more neighbourhood cohesion.

	Less cohesive			More cohesive			
	Mean	SD ⁶	n ⁷	Mean	SD	n	p ⁸
Tourism sentiment at the neighbourhood level⁹							
Tourism makes my neighbourhood more expensive	3.31	1.49	16	4.12	1.03	65	.0122* ¹⁰
Tourists don't care about the people who live in my neighbourhood	2.88	1.76	16	4.12	1.09	65	.0006***
Tourism makes living in my neighbourhood more difficult	2.75	1.64	16	3.58	1.24	65	.0276*

⁵ Note: only questions where a statistically significant difference exists are shown.

⁶ SD = Standard Deviation

⁷ n = Sample

⁸ p = p-value from the t-test. A value of <0.05 indicates statistical significance of the difference between the means of the two subgroups.

⁹ A lower mean score indicates that respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. Conversely, a higher score indicates stronger agreement. Range: 1-5.

¹⁰ * = Statistically significant. ** = Very statistically significant. *** = Extremely statistically significant.

Tourism nuisance in the neighbourhood¹¹

Environment	2.5	1.32	16	3.34	0.93	65	.004***
Overcrowding in bike lanes	2.38	1.32	16	3.23	0.96	65	.0044**
Overcrowding in neighbourhood establishments	2.25	1.39	16	3.08	1.01	65	.008**
Overcrowding on the streets	2.25	1.44	16	3.03	1.12	65	.0211*
Noise from the streets	2.19	1.38	16	2.98	1.02	65	.0118*
Would you say that the presence of short-term rentals in your neighbourhood makes nuisance... ¹²	2.47	1.26	15	1.82	0.86	61	.02*

¹¹ A lower mean score means less impact. A higher score means more impact. Range: 1-4.

¹² A lower score indicates much more noticeable. Higher scores mean much less noticeable. Range: 1-5.

5.9 Influence of awareness of short-term rentals on perceptions

To test the influence of awareness of STRs on residents' perceptions, the sample was divided between those who said they were aware of STRs in their neighbourhood and those who were not. The procedure for this test was similar to the procedure for testing the extent to which neighbourhood cohesion influenced on respondent's perceptions. 411 respondents said that they were aware of STRs in their area, while the remaining 66 were not. The results of the test can be seen in

Table 5.3¹³.

Table 5.3: Means, Standard Deviations and sample size for questions and statements which display statistically significant differences between those who are unaware and are aware of short-term rentals in their neighbourhood.

	Not Aware			Aware			p ¹⁶
	Mean	SD ¹⁴	n ¹⁵	Mean	SD	n	
Thinking of the area in which you live now, how busy would you say was it with tourists before the corona crisis? ¹⁷	3.02	1.49	65	3.73	1.35	409	.0001*** ¹⁸
Tourism sentiment at the city level¹⁹							
Tourism makes Amsterdam a more interesting place to live.	3.08	1.41	66	2.46	1.37	408	.0007***
Tourism affects my life in a positive way.	2.88	1.37	66	2.3	1.35	409	.0013**
Tourists bring an important source of income for the city.	4.29	0.95	66	3.71	1.18	409	.0002***

¹³ Note: only questions where a significant difference exists are shown.

¹⁴ SD = Standard Deviation

¹⁵ n = Sample

¹⁶ p = p-value from the t-test. A value of <0.05 indicates statistical significance of the difference between the means of the two subgroups.

¹⁷ A lower mean score means less busy. A higher score means more busy. Range: 1-5.

¹⁸ * = Statistically significant. ** = Very statistically significant. *** = Extremely statistically significant.

¹⁹ A lower mean score indicates that respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement. Range: 1-5.

Tourism is well-managed in Amsterdam.	2.29	1.19	65	1.78	0.99	410	.0002***
Tourists are well behaved and considerate of locals in Amsterdam.	2.17	1.03	65	1.87	1.06	410	.0339*
Tourism nuisance in the neighbourhood²⁰							
Safety	2.22	1.05	65	2.61	1	408	.0039**
Environment	2.67	1.08	66	3.15	0.98	410	.0003***
Overcrowding on public transport	2.5	1.12	66	2.82	1.01	407	.0192*
Overcrowding in bike lanes	2.52	1.12	66	3.01	1.03	410	.0004***
Overcrowding in neighbourhood establishments	2.35	1.09	66	2.9	1.06	410	.0001***
Overcrowding on the streets	2.21	1.12	66	3	1.1	410	.0001***
Noise from catering establishments	1.94	1.1	66	2.43	1.09	410	.0008***
Noise from the streets	2.15	1.05	66	2.87	1.04	410	.0001***
Tourism sentiment at the neighbourhood level²¹							
Businesses in my neighbourhood cater more to tourists than to locals	2.76	1.22	66	3.48	1.34	408	.0001***
Tourism makes my neighbourhood more expensive	3.59	1.18	66	4.12	1.14	407	.0005***
Tourists don't care about the people who live in my neighbourhood	3.48	1.22	66	4.01	1.18	410	.0008***
Tourism makes living in my neighbourhood more difficult	2.88	1.41	66	3.5	1.3	410	.0004***
Tourism makes my neighbourhood more interesting	2.53	1.35	66	2.08	1.23	410	.0068**

²⁰ A lower mean score means less impact. A higher score means more impact. Range: 1-4.

²¹ A lower mean score indicates that respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement. Range: 1-5.

The presence of tourists contributes positively to my neighbourhood	2.73	1.23	66	2.2	1.2	410	.001***
Thinking of the effects of tourism on the sense of community, would you say that tourism is damaging your neighbourhood? ²²	2.73	1.34	66	3.55	1.34	406	.0001***
In February 2020, there were 15,323 whole homes in Amsterdam listed on Airbnb. This represents ~3.3% of all households in Amsterdam. Is this figure more or less than you expected? ²³	2.7	1.23	66	3.05	1.18	408	.0267*

²² Lower mean scores indicate a stronger negative response. Higher scores indicate a stronger positive response. Range: 1-5.

²³ Lower mean scores indicate that the presented number is higher than the respondent expected. Higher scores indicate that the presented number is lower than expected. Range: 1-5.

6. Discussion

This section comprises an interpretation of the results of the empirical data collection as it pertains to the research questions at hand. The results of the survey are combined with opinions elicited in the interviews with residents, local government representatives and an academic expert to provide insight into the perceptions of Amsterdam residents towards tourism and short-term rentals. Links between these insights and the theoretical section of the research is also highlighted. The section begins with a discussion of the primary research question, addressing the perceptions of Amsterdammers towards tourism and STRs. Following this, the sub-questions investigating the influence of neighbourhood cohesion and awareness of STRs on perceptions are answered. The implications for policy are then discussed. Finally, the limitations of the research are addressed and recommendations for future research are provided.

6.1 Residents' Perceptions

6.1.1 General Tourism Sentiments & Displacement Effects

While the general sentiment elicited through the empirical data collection suggests that residents felt that their neighbourhoods had become too busy with tourists in recent years, most also felt that it had gotten busier in the two years leading up to the COVID-19 pandemic. The data available from the Municipality of Amsterdam regarding the growth in overnight stays by tourists serves to corroborate this sentiment, with numbers growing year-on-year since 2008 (OIS Amsterdam, 2020e). As hypothesised by Terhorst et al. (2003), this growth in numbers may have brought about the feelings of alienation alluded to by McKinsey & Company and World Travel & Tourism Council (2017), leading to the erosion of the tolerant culture that had originally been one of the major tourist draws in Amsterdam. The desire from the majority of the survey respondents to see Amsterdam welcome fewer tourists following COVID-19 highlights a widespread dissatisfaction with tourism in the city. Also alluded to by Terhorst et al. (2003) was the distinction between the types of tourist that came to Amsterdam. This became apparent through the interviews with residents, who expressed their apathy towards the type of tourist who views Amsterdam as a place in which they can indulge in hedonism:

"I think there's certain groups of tourists that some people, including me, would rather see replaced by other tourists - I mean you have the typical British stag parties and stuff like that. [...] if you're going to travel somewhere you should make it something meaningful. You're there for the city and what it has to offer, it's not like Las Vegas where it doesn't matter where you are, you're just there to

party. [...] I found it quite shocking that more than half of the tourists come to Amsterdam for the coffeeshops²⁴. To me those are probably the ones you can do without a little bit.”

Interview R1. Resident, Vijzelgracht.

“[...] they’re tourists and they’re drunk all the time because they’re in Amsterdam, ‘cause that’s what you do when you’re in Amsterdam... I think that’s part of the problem as well. The people who are tourists here and especially in this neighbourhood, they’re not sophisticated or ‘bougie²⁵’ tourists. They’re tourists who are coming to get fucked up and do all the stuff that’s not allowed in their own country. [...] One of the main reasons that people don’t like tourism in Amsterdam is the type of tourist that comes here.”

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

“It’s usually British guys, 10-20 British guys coming to Amsterdam for the weekend. All they do is get crazy drunk, go to the coffeeshop, they puke in the street, they go to the Red Light District²⁶ and then they go home.”

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

It is evident that residents place a strong degree of importance in the behaviour of tourists when visiting their city. This is further highlighted in the survey by the strong level of disagreement with the statement ‘Tourists are well-behaved and considerate of locals in Amsterdam’, as well as the strong agreement with the statement ‘Tourists don’t care about the people who live in my neighbourhood’. The effects of party, or binge tourism, as alluded to by Goodwin (2017), Gurrán (2018) and Sommer & Helbrecht (2017) clearly affect residents’ experiences with tourists and their willingness to welcome such tourism again. The behaviour alluded to by the residents interviewed is not necessarily a new phenomenon in the city. The academic expert interviewed added that:

“Amsterdam always was the place you could go to to get all sorts of thrills, so to say. The coffeeshops have been there for the last 40-50 years. The Red Light District was there forever. It’s been a playground for people looking for all these kinds of things. [...] You could go there if you live in some kind of provincial place and you want to be anonymous for a bit, you go to Amsterdam for your thrill.. The city has been like this for the last 40-60 years. [...] You should really not think that 20 years ago it was some kind of peaceful paradise though - there was drugs, crime, organised crime, prostitution.. It was also there, it just had a different face.”

Interview E1. Academic Expert, UU.

²⁴ Coffeeshops are outlets across the Netherlands where cannabis can be purchased.

²⁵ ‘Bougie’ is a slang term referring to *bourgeois*, or middle-to-upper class.

²⁶ The Red Light District is an area of central Amsterdam known for prostitution.

Considering Amsterdam's long-standing liberal reputation, it is therefore expected that the growth in the numbers of tourists has placed increased pressure on the tolerant attitude of the city's residents.

"One of the things that did change is that the numbers went up. It's a lot busier than it used to be, I mean it's busy every day of the week. [...] It's not only on weekends, it's also now on a Tuesday night that the streets are chaos. That doesn't really help. That's part of a whole bigger problem, it's part of globalisation. It's a bigger group of people that have the time and money to spend their time elsewhere. That's also something that did change but globalisation kind of moved into our backyard and I think that's something that has put more pressure on."

Interview E1. Academic Expert, UU.

Furthermore, residents felt strongly that tourism was making Amsterdam a less interesting place to live. This appears to confirm the effects of tourist monocultures as elucidated by Brauckmann (2017), Gotham (2005) and Postma et al. (2017). This sentiment was also alluded to in the residents' interviews, with residents viewing the city centre of Amsterdam as an area that was not for them:

"This is going to be a cliché answer but it's only like tours and tickets and Nutella and waffles. For example, when I walk out on my street, I'm almost on Dam street. That leads to Dam square and that's only tourist shops. There have been a couple of local shops but now they've all closed down and it's all just Nutella, waffles, pizza, tickets, you know? Souvenir shops where no one buys shit.."

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

"Amsterdam, some parts of the centre.. I would compare it to a coral reef. It is very beautiful, but it has been bleached. And a coral reef should be a very biodiverse ecosystem. But there's only a few species left. It used to be a beautiful ecosystem but it's not anymore. But that's based on choices that were made many years ago. And I don't think they can reverse that. When the coral reef is dead, it's dead."

Interview R3. Resident, Indische Buurt.

These feelings of a lack of interest in the offer being made available in Amsterdam may also feed into wider feelings of alienation and displacement pressure caused by commercial gentrification being spurred by the intensifying touristification of the city. The majority of survey respondents felt that the business offering in their area catered more to tourists than to locals. This appears to confirm the displacement pressure effects alluded to by Cocola-Gant (2015), Gotham (2005) and Marcuse (1985). This sentiment was further illustrated in the interviews with residents and with an area broker in the De Pijp neighbourhood:

"But tourism has gotten busier, and you can see that reflected in the service - the shops and restaurants.. I saw restaurants that are really serving the locals - you can see a real distinction

between the restaurants that are serving the locals and the ones that are serving tourists. You can see that the touristic [sic] bars and restaurants are increasing and the places that serve the locals are decreasing."

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

"The shops that were there were small little boutique stores that really gave the city its charm but now it's everything the same, all just aimed for tourists. That's why, when I go shopping now I don't go there anymore, I go to another district."

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

"[...] but this area has the kind of vibe that the [super]market is optimised for tourists or people who only spend a short time here. That's a problem - our previous house was just outside the touristy place and it was much easier to go to the market."

Interview R4. Resident, Vijzelgracht.

"They [residents] say they don't feel at home the way they did because there's a lot of shops and horeca²⁷ that used to focus on neighbourhood clients, there's far more shops and horeca that focus on tourists now - that's why they don't feel at home as much as they did."

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

Alongside commercial gentrification, residents also reported feeling pressures closely aligned with traditional gentrification pressures, that is, finding their area more expensive and more difficult to live in. This was highlighted in the survey by the general disagreement with the statement 'I am financially better off thanks to tourism in Amsterdam', and agreement with the statements 'Tourism makes my neighbourhood more expensive' and 'Tourism makes living in my neighbourhood more difficult'. The reality, in the opinion of the residents surveyed, is that they are experiencing increased gentrification pressures as a result of increased tourism. However, although gentrification pressures appear to be exacerbated by the increase in tourism in the city, when asked whether the effects of tourism would make residents consider moving, the majority stated that they would not. As such, it may be expected that, while pressures are growing, residents are reluctant to let these pressures overcome their desire to stay in place. Although the survey respondents largely felt that they would stay in place despite the pressures caused by tourism, it is worth acknowledging the experience of the 26% of respondents who said that tourism would make them consider leaving Amsterdam completely. The sentiment of one of the residents interviewed highlights the importance of studying the impacts of touristification pressures over a prolonged period:

²⁷ Horeca is a Dutch term for the catering/hospitality industry.

“I still feel like I wouldn’t want to live anywhere else right now, but still if it continues like this for maybe 5-10 years, then maybe I would consider living somewhere else. But yeah, when you move to the city centre, you say ‘OK, there’s gonna be tourists, there’s gonna be noise, and that’s fine.’ But until a certain limit. I mean, tourists shouldn’t take over the city, that’s the only limit for me.”

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

6.1.2 Nuisance Effects

While displacement pressures as a result of touristification provide interesting insights into the perceptions of residents, it is also worth investigating the nuisance effects of tourism. The most pressing nuisance issues for the survey respondents was that of environmental effects, such as litter and the degradation of public space. Perhaps adding to the sentiment that the behaviour of tourists was causing issues for the respondents, the residents’ interviews suggested that tourist behaviour was contributing to the environmental nuisance being experienced:

“They’re [party tourists] the ones screaming in the street, leaving their trash behind..”

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

“There’s a hostel around here that’s kind of cheap but they don’t allow smoking inside so every Friday or Saturday night, I would see 10 people standing outside smoking. On this street, if there’s 10 people out smoking weed²⁸ on the street, I can smell it on the whole street.”

Interview R4. Resident, Vijzelgracht.

While the general sentiment appears to be that tourists are responsible for the degradation of the milieu in Amsterdam, a point raised by the area broker for De Pijp when referring to environmental nuisance during the COVID-19 pandemic, when little to no tourists were present, appears to suggest that an element of tourist scapegoating exists behind this sentiment:

“It’s funny actually, before [the pandemic] a lot of people in de Pijp said ‘It’s really so dirty on the streets because of tourists’, ‘They don’t know the rules’, etc. But now it’s really really much dirtier in the streets so the people who live there are responsible.”

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

Apart from environmental nuisance, residents also reported significant impacts on account of overcrowding — in the street, on public transport and in neighbourhood establishments. This appears to confirm McKinsey & Company and World Travel & Tourism Council’s (2017) view that overcrowding as a result of tourism has become a serious problem in Amsterdam. The effects of

²⁸ ‘Weed’ is a colloquialism for cannabis.

overcrowding in impeding residents in undertaking their day-to-day activities were further highlighted in the interviews.

“Obviously it’s busy, so when I walk out the door I have to stick my head out and make sure there’s nobody walking past outside. And of course when you do step out onto the street, then you have to worry about tourists walking really slowly and stopping to look at buildings. So if you’re busy and trying to make a journey quick, you have to maneuver through all those people.”

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

“Here, we have the Heineken place and the place where buses leave tourists. They used to walk up around here. When I’d step into that street, it was all Chinese tourists because they all flocked in directly on that road. I actually didn’t want to use that road during the day, I was using the canal behind because tourists don’t know that canal.”

Interview R4. Resident, Vijzelgracht.

“[...] but if you look at the opinion about tourism and overcrowding, the overcrowding aspect of that, that people are really worrying about that, in my opinion, in Amsterdam.”

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

A contributing factor to the feeling of overcrowding in the city may relate to the built environment in Amsterdam. As expressed by the area broker for De Pijp:

“It’s quite narrow as well with the structure of the buildings, so it adds to how crowded it is.”

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

Noise also represents a source of nuisance for residents, with the streets representing the most pertinent source of noise for survey respondents. Although catering establishments were the least pertinent source of noise nuisance for survey respondents, it is worth bearing in mind that those who live on streets with no catering establishments would be unlikely to experience such nuisance. The experience of one interviewed resident suggests that the impact of noise would be most noticeable for those who live close to catering establishments.

“I sleep with earplugs as well, there’s a few bars on the street and my window faces onto the street. I haven’t really tried sleeping without them but I don’t think I would be able to sleep.”

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

Finally, residents reported moderate to major impacts on their feelings of safety as a result of tourism. As noted by Lee (2016), the transience of tourists can lead to decreased feelings of safety among residents. While drug and alcohol consumption and crime were presented to survey respondents as

examples of phenomena that could impact on their feelings of safety, one interviewee presented burglary as another area of concern:

“Sometimes on the street I see really drunk tourists. I can see them from my window pushing the front doors of houses. They’re probably checking to see if someone left a door open. My roommate was once walking into the house — there’s the front door, then the stairs and then the doors to the individual apartments.. So he walked in and there was a guy standing there in the stairs.. He didn’t know him - he wasn’t any of our neighbours and he wasn’t from the restaurant [downstairs] either, so he asked him ‘Who are you, what are you doing here?’ And he was really drunk and started to get aggressive.. He was trying to open one of the doors to the apartments. Probably just a drunk tourist who wanted to do a burglary.. My roommate managed to get him out. Sometimes I’m scared that if we forget to lock the door, everyone is walking by.. If one person sees that the door is open they can come in pretty easily.. Then the doors to the apartments aren’t really well sealed either, so that does kind of affect my feeling of safety.”

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

6.1.3 Short-Term Rentals

When asked about the impact of STRs on their experiences with tourism, most survey respondents felt that the presence of STRs was responsible for bringing more tourists to their neighbourhood, and had an exacerbating effect on the impacts of nuisance they experienced. It was also found that most of those who lived in a building with short-term rental units reported that their enjoyment of their home was negatively impacted by the STR’s presence. Experiences elicited during the interviews illustrated the experiences that residents had with STRs in their area and in their building.

“My lower neighbour rented out his apartment on Airbnb a while ago. That was like in the first 2 years that I lived here. The stuff we went through, it was so fucking annoying. There were of course younger tourists who were smoking all the time. My house is made of wood, so if there’s somebody smoking inside on the lower floor, you can smell it throughout the whole house. [...] Sometimes tourists would forget to lock the door too. That’s why there was the drunk guy inside my house a few years ago too. The tourists forgot to close the door properly.. Stuff like that, annoying neighbourly stuff. But that doesn’t really happen when there’s somebody living there.”

Interview R2. Resident, Red Light District.

“It’s often a complaint about tourists who smoke weed and it comes in through the windows and goes into the baby’s bedroom - that kind of stuff.”

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

“On our street, there’s a lot of Airbnbs. I know like 6 directly. There’s one building that’s totally Airbnb. All the floors are Airbnb, I think it’s owned by one person. Actually, it’s weird - it’s one

Airbnb, a frat house, and then another Airbnb. I see other frat houses, and this one.. I'd say they're really not looking after it - they have parties and after the parties it smells really bad. It's like a farm. Because there are Airbnbs next to it, nobody is complaining. If there was somebody next to it, living there, I think they would have complained or cleaned the area. They leave a lot of bins, and beer glasses outside the building and the city comes once a week, so it's just left there. Airbnb has the effect then that they don't look after the building. The Airbnbs are like a hole in the area. [...] They would be better behaved if they had actual neighbours. There's also a park here beside the Airbnbs where people come to smoke weed. That area has a problem where nobody is looking at them. Nobody is complaining because the people are changing all the time. I think it would be much better and cleaner if there were people living there. They would look after the neighbourhood."

Interview R4. Resident, Vijzelgracht.

Aside from nuisance effects, the impacts of STRs on the displacement pressures felt by residents deserve recognition. In line with the literature positing STRs as a component of the fifth-wave of gentrification, it is worth considering that the majority of those surveyed who had sought new residential accommodation in the previous two years felt that the presence of STRs had made their search more difficult. The perceived effects of STRs on pricing are also relevant when examining gentrification pressures. This was prominent in the interviews, with both a municipal representative and a resident alluding to these effects.

"[...] the essence is that people are worrying about the fact that some real estate owners are.. You are trying to push out the maximum amount of money per square metre in the city. So and that is done through Airbnb but is also done by dividing big houses into smaller ones for students or something like that."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

"I really think Airbnb is overgrowing itself. At the start, it was people who live there and do it a few times a year but now you have people who buy houses only to rent it out on Airbnb and other channels. Which also makes the city more for tourists. This is one of the reasons that people can not afford a house anymore because people are just buying and renting it out all of the time."

Interview R5. Resident, Zuiderkerk.

6.2 Influence of Neighbourhood Cohesion on Perceptions

Those who reported higher levels of neighbourhood cohesion were significantly more likely to experience the effects of gentrification such as finding their area more expensive and more difficult to live in as a result of tourism. This suggests that having a stronger bond within the neighbourhood leads to residents feeling more threatened by processes of touristification.

Importantly, those reporting stronger neighbourhood cohesion were significantly more likely to agree with the statement that tourists don't care about people in the neighbourhood. This is of particular concern due to the potential for this sentiment to give rise to conflict between tourists and locals.

The above may be influenced by the fact that those residents who felt a stronger connection to their neighbourhood were significantly more likely to report higher impact scores on nuisance such as overcrowding, street noise and environmental impacts. The impact of STRs is also of interest here, with residents reporting strong cohesion also significantly more likely to feel that the presence of STRs was making tourist nuisance more noticeable in their area.

6.3 Influence of the awareness of Short-term Rentals on Perceptions

Of the survey respondents who said that they were aware of STRs in their area, 87% reported that they felt that the number of STRs had increased in the previous two years. The same cohort reported a significantly higher level of tourist activity in their area than those who were not aware of STRs.

In terms of their sentiment towards tourism at the city level, those who were aware of STRs in their area were significantly less likely to feel that tourism was well managed in the city, that tourism makes the city more interesting, that tourism positively affected them and that tourists were well-behaved than those who were unaware of STRs. The group who were aware of STRs were also significantly less likely to feel that tourism represented an important source of income for the city compared to those who were not aware of STRs.

The group who were aware of STRs in their area were also significantly more likely to report higher levels of all forms of tourist nuisance than those who were unaware. For all of the statements presented to survey respondents about tourism at the neighbourhood level, those who were aware of STRs were significantly more likely to express negative sentiments than those who were not. The aware group were also significantly more likely to think that tourism was damaging the sense of community in their neighbourhood.

Furthermore, the group who were aware of STRs in their area were significantly more likely to have overestimated the concentration of Airbnb units at the city level, suggesting that their own experiences with STRs at the neighbourhood level had influenced their perceptions of the phenomenon in the city as a whole.

While the opinions elicited through the empirical research suggest a widespread dissatisfaction among residents with STRs, care should be taken to acknowledge the potential bias effects of the discourse.

The academic expert interviewed highlighted how the potential exists for STRs and tourism more generally to be scapegoated for broader societal issues

"[...] that's also part of the whole anti-tourist discourse, people start to associate anything that's unfamiliar with tourism and everything that's tourism with Airbnb, for example.. That's part of how people's brains work. But it's being fed by the discourse in the media, etc. [...] But it was missing a lot of factual information and it's really feeding on the emotions, this discussion"

Interview E1. Academic Expert, UU.

Despite this, the actions of the actors in the short-term rental industry, specifically Airbnb, suggest that attempts are being made to obfuscate facts and to manipulate the public discourse in their favour, albeit unsuccessfully.

"Airbnb is not making its information public. Actually they are actively obscuring it. They are sending misinformation into the world to obscure the debate. I mean they're an active part in this whole story as well. They're in the fire but they're not passively sitting there taking the hits, they're in there fighting as well. [...] They come with some manipulated figures, using means instead of medians, medians instead of means, etc. which can skew the visual and give the wrong impression. They do all this to change the debate and public opinion but they're not that successful."

Interview E1. Academic Expert, UU.

6.4 Policy Implications

While efforts have been made to regulate the short-term rental industry in Amsterdam (refer to Section 4.2), it is of concern that the majority of those surveyed felt that the current attempts at regulation have not been effective. The general dissatisfaction with the existing regulatory approach to STRs echoes a wider disenfranchisement expressed with tourism in the city more broadly. The findings of the research have implications for two main policy areas: tourism policy and short-term rental regulation.

6.4.1 Tourism Policy

Residents were generally unhappy with how tourism was managed in Amsterdam, with a large proportion expressing dissatisfaction with the type of tourism that the city attracts. This presents a difficult issue for policymakers to address. As expressed by the part-time city councillor interviewed, attempts to change the type of tourist that visits the city may be viewed as discriminatory:

"It's quite difficult to come to a solution when the focus is on the quality of tourism, because everybody has a different view on what quality is. And my opinion is that in a way, it can be a quite

discriminating view of how you see tourism, because backpackers.. Is that quality tourism or is it not? You know, and I don't want to be put in a position to have to make a statement on the quality aspect of backpackers."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

Referring to solutions previously proposed by another municipal staff member to the growth of tourist numbers, the same city councillor expressed some pessimism over the feasibility of such measures:

"[...] and he said, 'Well, the only thing to do something about the tourism downsides is to limit the flights in Schiphol and to limit hotel beds. That's the only thing you can do.' But he said he was very sceptical that that was possible. And I agree. I agree with him on that."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

Perhaps compounding this dilemma is the fact that the responsibility for tourism in the city falls under the Alderman for Economic Affairs.

"We also have, and I think that started in the coalition before this one, and there was like a programme which is called 'City in Balance', you know, about balance between tourism and development of the city. And then this programme city balance is also the responsibility of the Alderman for Economic Affairs. So on the one hand he has tourism as a responsibility, but also the balance question or the balance challenge. And until now, it's quite silent on that subject."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

Among the potentially unintended consequences of the approach taken towards balance has been the spread of dissatisfaction among residents through attempts to disperse tourists beyond the city centre:

"[...] that's also what the City of Amsterdam really wants - to get the tourists out of the city centre, but therefore you really see.. It was already there but it's definitely getting worse in areas such as the Oude Pijp but also Oud West — areas just close to the city centre.. They will feel now that some measures that are taken to get it less crowded in the city centre are having impacts on surrounding areas, we call it 'Het Waterbedeffect' — you take care of a problem somewhere but then it spreads out to other areas because you don't solve the root of the problem."

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

The management of tourism in Amsterdam by the Alderman for Economic Affairs presents a major shortcoming in terms of policy in the city. As discussed in the interview with the academic expert, policy would benefit from a wider engagement with all stakeholders:

“You cannot do this alone, you need to have all different stakeholders involved.. In tourism, you need policy - tourism plans aren’t made by municipalities but they are made by these kind of public-private entities which are halfway between the sector and public parties - they’re Destination Management Organisations. They are often responsible for tourism policy which is basically about marketing the city or the region. That’s somewhat different to normal planning realms. So you’ve got all these global entities like hotel chains, but also local small and medium businesses. Then you have the visitors, of course, and also the people who live in the city. [...] get all these people together to come up with a more sustainable approach to tourism management.”

Interview E1. Academic Expert, UU.

The views elicited highlight the oxymoronic nature of tourism management in the city. While the impetus exists to grow tourism as an economic sector, the impacts of such growth on residents of the city appears to have been somewhat neglected. The reality that the tourism strategy for the city is influenced by a Destination Management Organisation, namely Amsterdam + Partners, shows that the city views tourism more as a marketing exercise than an issue of spatial development. This is highlighted by the survey finding that most respondents did appreciate the economic importance of the tourism industry for the city, yet overall satisfaction with experiences with tourism was poor, and residents felt disenfranchised by hitherto pursued policies.

While it is stated that the municipality has considered the importance of striking a balance between growing tourism as an economic sector, and maintaining liveability for residents, the dissatisfaction of residents with the effectiveness of this approach up to now suggests an impetus for more focus to be placed on the liveability aspect of the ‘City in Balance’ plan. The opinions elicited through the empirical research suggest that this takes place through taking action aimed at reducing the pressures associated with tourism overall, as opposed to spreading the pressures throughout the city. For tourism policy to be effective, a cross-domain approach appears to be imperative. The nesting of tourism within the responsibilities of the Alderman for Economic Affairs shows a disregard for the importance of the mitigation of the negative externalities of tourism. This is where the role of spatial planners within the city becomes imperative, as proper integration of planning and tourism policy would see an attempt to ensure that the city maintains a focus on more sustainable tourism, as opposed to merely increasing tourist numbers in order to satisfy economic targets.

6.4.2 Short-term Rental Regulation

While a large number of the survey respondents advocated an all-encompassing ban of short-term rental units in the city, alternatives such as reducing the number of permissible nights and guests, as well as banning house-buyers from renting out their properties as STRs for a specified period of time after purchase also enjoyed moderate levels of popularity. For any of the policy approaches to be effective, enforcement is required. However, it became clear throughout the research that current

municipal attempts at enforcement were not deemed to be effective. This sentiment was expressed throughout all interviews with residents and was suggested by 32 survey respondents. Municipal representatives also acknowledged shortcomings with the existing approach to enforcement.

“The people who decide where the money goes are not really thinking about enforcement. In Amsterdam we have a huge shortage of Handhaving²⁹. We have plenty of people thinking and talking but not enough people on the streets doing the work. That is quite often the problem, that there is not enough money to enforce the policy. It’s the shortage of Handhavers.”

Interview G1. Area Broker, De Pijp.

“The enforcement part [...] seems always a difficult one in this case. Well, I think in a way, it is smarter than it was. But I also think that Amsterdam had a long way to go in professionalising their enforcement on housing [...] A couple of years ago, [...] we talked with the four biggest cities in the Netherlands. It’s called the G4. It’s Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam and The Hague. And we talked with these four cities on enforcement and housing. And Amsterdam said, ‘Well, we don’t have your problems, we don’t do enforcement on certain subjects because we don’t have these problems.’, but a couple of years later, they also seem to have these problems with illegal housing. [...] We know that there are a lot of illegal Airbnb rentals. But if we look to the numbers on enforcement, it’s quite a different thing. So I think we need to work on a different approach on enforcement. [...] The interesting thing is that the enforceability of new laws or new local laws is a part of the check on the successfulness of these new or current laws. But it’s hardly ever the case that it is put into practice.”

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

While the limitations of the existing approach to enforcement are acknowledged, it should, however, be noted that attempts are being made to enhance enforcement.

“They [handhaving] have a special team and the team has also grown a lot since the attention for illegal hotel business or illegal renting out your home on Airbnb. There is [...] a part of the municipality website, which is called ‘Zoeklicht’ which means searching light. And [...] as a civilian, you can go to this website and you can make your point there. You can say, ‘Well, I think my neighbour is illegally renting out this place’ or ‘I have some proof of illegal housing’ and so on. So people can share this information on this website with the municipality. And that information is used, I think by the enforcement part of this. But I assume that they also use different sources for that. For instance, their own gathered information on illegal housing or something like that. Or maybe they share. I know there are some agreements with social housing companies on sharing

²⁹ Handhaving refers to municipal enforcement officers.

information for illegal housing or illegally renting out social housing. So there is some information sharing on that, too."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

Aside from enforcement, the levels of governance at play impact upon the scope and agency of the municipality to enact regulation. While the judgement of the European Court of Justice (see Section 4.2) viewed Airbnb as an information platform as opposed to a real estate company, the European Union more broadly does provide for spatial planners to regulate the growth of STRs.

"But the difficult thing right now is that I, and in my opinion, when you look to the European law there is room or there is a possibility to come with some specific solutions on the downsides of, for instance, Airbnb as a platform service, because European law, if I remember correctly, European law saying that if it is affecting, like, spatial planning or city planning it is possible to make some alterations, for instance."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

However, the use of this mechanism depends on co-operation through the national level - something the city councillor viewed as a barrier to effective policy:

"But you need commitment on a national level to put it on the agenda or to arrange something there. And that isn't the case in the Netherlands. So I think the Ministry of Economic Affairs or the Ministry of the Interior, which is responsible for housing, is quite neoliberal on this. So they are not willing to even look at this. [...] Amsterdam civil servants are not very willing to push a more progressive, or a more restrictive, agenda in Europe because they know they need their counterparts on the national level. And it can be quite difficult if Amsterdam is going its own way. Even if they would do that with some colleague cities like Berlin or Dublin or Barcelona, you will always meet, at some level, your national colleagues on public policy. So [...] I think that that's the reason why it's not worked out until this moment. And the interesting thing is that on the European level itself, the civil servants, which are working for the European Commission, are very willing to discuss and to talk about it. And to be honest, I put more faith on the European level at this moment than other levels."

Interview G2. Part-time City Councillor, Gemeente Amsterdam.

Though the attitudes of the various levels of government are elucidated here, it appears that the perspectives of residents are somewhat incongruous to the approach taken at the policy level. While policy approaches have leaned in favour of economic growth, as would be expected within a neoliberal paradigm, it is abundantly clear that this is serving to further disenfranchise the residents of Amsterdam. This confirms the theory of Milano et al. (2019) that local policy approaches are overcome by global capital flows. With tourism becoming an increasingly salient issue for the city of Amsterdam,

it would be expected that more cooperation would take place between the city's tourism proponents and spatial planners, potentially with a larger shift in the realm of authority towards planners. As tourists move ever closer to the city's residents' homes as a result of the proliferation of STRs, the negative externalities of tourism become ever-more pronounced and the potential for tourist-local conflict arises. It is therefore expected that future policy relating to tourism and STRs in the city would benefit from the increased participation of the city's residents, with appropriate attention being paid to their sentiments in order to achieve a satisfactory balance between economic development and the maintenance of a liveable city.

6.5 Limitations

At this point, a number of limitations with the research can be acknowledged. It is hoped that these limitations can inspire avenues for future research. It should be noted that the context in which the research took place - the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 - had an influence not only on the content of the research but also on the methods adopted.

As travel and face-to-face contact was restricted during the research period, the methods needed to be adapted to fit the situation. All contact with participants, namely surveys and interviews, was mediated through the internet. This has the potential to impact the research in a number of ways.

First, the research could have benefitted from the use of embedded case studies (Yin, 2009). This would have entailed focusing on specific neighbourhoods within the broader case of Amsterdam. This approach has the potential to gain an understanding of the dynamics of tourism and STRs at a more granular level. Neighbourhoods that are experiencing significant pressures could be identified, and in-person research methods would have provided more ethnographic context, with a richer appreciation of the characteristics of the neighbourhoods under investigation, the people who live in them and their commercial offerings.

The use of online surveys and their distribution also presents a limitation to the research. It is possible that those who don't use the social media platforms used for distribution missed the opportunity to share their perceptions. In effect, this means that opinions of those without access to social media platforms were somewhat excluded from the research. Facebook groups were also used in an attempt to reach as wide an audience as possible for the survey, however, moderator policies in such groups disallowing the posting of surveys may also have had the effect of limiting the scope for participation in the survey.

Specifically within the survey, the style of the question used to gauge respondents' perceptions of the concentration of whole-home Airbnb units in the city presented the concentration to respondents and

asked them whether this number matched their expectations. It is expected that this question would have produced a different result if respondents were given the opportunity to input a number themselves.

Furthermore, while the survey attracted a relatively large sample, the demographics of those surveyed do not necessarily align with the demographics of Amsterdam itself. While the age profile of the survey respondents was skewed heavily towards those over 45, the age profile of the city's residents does not align with this (OIS Amsterdam, 2020a), potentially giving rise to bias in the research, as this age group is somewhat over-represented. This could be rectified through more strategic sampling, with quotas defined based on a range of demographic factors, including age (Bryman, 2012). It should also be recognised that online surveys tend to gather responses from those with more strongly held beliefs on the topic under investigation, and as such, the perceptions of those with more moderate views may be excluded, potentially leading to bias in the sample (Clifford et al., 2010, p. 86).

Finally, in an attempt to reach as broad a range of stakeholders as possible for interview, contact was established with representatives from Airbnb in order to provide the platform with the opportunity to elucidate its views about its role in the tourism and short-term rental industry in Amsterdam. No interviews were forthcoming, with the researcher informed that *"we [Airbnb] don't do interviews."* (Personal communication with an Airbnb Public Relations staff member). The lack of insight from the platform's perspective potentially creates a lack of balance in the views presented in the research.

6.6 Avenues for Future Research

The present research has served to elucidate the opinions of residents towards tourism and STRs in Amsterdam. It is hoped that this research can be used in conjunction with the existing literature about neighbourhood, gentrification, tourism and STRs to contribute further to this nascent field of research. More specifically, it is expected that the framework used in this thesis can be applied to other cases. The following represent areas which would benefit from further study.

The arenas of tourism and STRs would benefit from more focused study at the neighbourhood level. As indicated in Section 6.5, neighbourhoods could be identified which are experiencing significant tourism pressures for more in-depth research. This could include a broader range of stakeholders, including residents, local businesses and active players in the tourism industry, such as short-term rental hosts. A more in-depth ethnographic approach could also be taken, with observation taking place over a longer period to elicit more detail about the processes taking place at the neighbourhood level as a result of tourism and STRs. Further research may also benefit from taking into account historical and current housing prices in order to assess the economic displacement pressures caused by touristification.

It is also expected that the framework used in this research could be applied to different cities and regions. While the case of Amsterdam is, in itself, a unique one due to the type of tourism that takes place there, a study of residents' perceptions of tourism in other areas that are experiencing high levels of tourism would be beneficial in identifying global trends in tourism and spatial planners' responses.

The regulations around STRs in Amsterdam changed somewhat during the research period. While the regulations at the time of writing remain largely the same as they were in the previous regulatory regime (pre-July 1st, 2020), the impacts of banning STRs completely in some areas of the city centre, if any, warrant ongoing study. Interestingly, within the first month of these new regulations coming into effect, three short-term rental operators had already received conditional fines for advertising rentals in the areas in which STRs were banned (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020c).

Finally, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on global tourism and the planning responses to this deserves further study. As the fall-out of the pandemic, and the associated shift in behaviour becomes apparent, the approaches that the world's cities take to tourism deserves ongoing assessment, as well as any potential shifts in the attitudes of residents towards tourists. The role of spatial planners is expected to become particularly pertinent here as the world's cities adapt their tourism offering in response. Whether, and to what extent, the tourism and short-term rental industries return to pre-pandemic norms presents an interesting avenue for scholars of many fields, but especially those of tourism studies and spatial planning.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 | Survey

Start of Block: Intro

Q1.1

Thank you for taking the time to open this survey - it should take no more than **5-10 minutes** to complete.

In this survey you will be asked questions about **how tourism and short-term rentals, such as Airbnb, have affected your neighbourhood**, up until the ongoing corona crisis.

The survey forms part of a thesis being undertaken by Eoin O'Sullivan at Utrecht University as part of a Master degree in Spatial Planning.

The aim of the thesis is to investigate **the impacts of tourism and short-term rentals on residents of Amsterdam**.

Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary and you may end your participation at any time.

All responses are confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this thesis.

Thanks again - if you have any questions or comments, please email e.osullivan2@students.uu.nl.

End of Block: Intro

Start of Block: Demographics



Q2.1 Please indicate the sex you identify with.

- Male
 - Female
 - Other _____
 - Prefer not to say
-



Q2.2 Please indicate your age range.

- Under 18
- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65+

Q2.3 Please enter the **first 4 digits** of your postal code (i.e. 1012).

Note: the first 4 digits relate to a large number of streets in your area and can-not be used to identify you. You do not need to enter the 2 letters at the end.

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Residential Info

Q3.1 Please indicate your residential status.

- I own my home
 - I am a tenant living alone
 - I am a tenant living with others
 - I live with parents/guardians
 - I am currently homeless
 - Other (please specify): _____
-

Q3.2 Please indicate the **gross annual income** range of your household?

- Less than €29,999
 - €30,000 - €59,999
 - €60,000 - €99,999
 - €100,000 - €149,999
 - More than €150,000
 - Don't know/Prefer not to say
-

Display This Question:

If Q3.1 != I am currently homeless

Q3.3 What type of residential building do you live in?

- Single family home, with own front door at street level
- Building with multiple living units (i.e. apartment, townhouse, etc.)
- Other (please specify) _____

Q3.4 How long have you lived in your current place of residence?

- Less than 1 year
 - 1-2 years
 - 2-5 years
 - 5-10 years
 - 10+ years
-

Q3.5 Where did you live before your current place of residence?

- Same area
 - Different area of Amsterdam
 - Different part of the Netherlands
 - Outside the Netherlands
-

Q3.6 Why did you leave your previous place of residence?

- End of rental contract with no option for renewal
- Rental price increase
- Change in personal circumstances (i.e. new job, moving in with a partner, etc.)
- Wanted to live in a different area
- Bought my own home
- N/A
- Other (please specify): _____

End of Block: Residential Info

Start of Block: Tourism & STR Qualifying

Q4.1 Thinking of the area in which you **live now**, how busy would you say was it with **tourists** before the corona crisis?

- 1 (Not busy at all)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (Far too busy)
- Don't know

Skip To: Q4.3 If Q4.1 = Don't know

Q4.2 How would you say this has changed in the 2 years leading up to the current crisis?

- More busy
 - Less busy
 - No change
 - Don't know
-

Q4.3 Have you been on holiday to **any another city** in the past 2 years?

- Yes
 - No
-

Q4.4 Are you aware of **short-term rental units** (i.e. Airbnb, HomeAway, etc.) **in your neighbourhood?**

- Yes
- No

Skip To: Q4.6 If Q4.4 = No

Q4.5 Would you say there are more or less **short-term rentals** in your area in the past 2 years?

- More
 - Less
 - No change
 - Don't know
-

Q4.6 Have you stayed in a **short-term rental** in the past 2 years?

- Yes, in Amsterdam
 - Yes, somewhere else
 - Yes, in Amsterdam **and** somewhere else
 - No
-

Q4.7 As we emerge from the corona crisis, would you say that Amsterdam should **encourage or discourage more tourists** to come to the city in the coming years?

- Encourage more to come
- Maintain pre-corona levels
- Discourage some from coming
- Discourage all tourism

End of Block: Tourism & STR Qualifying

Start of Block: Tourism Sentiment



Q5.1 Please choose the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements about **tourism in Amsterdam**.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Tourism makes Amsterdam a more interesting place to live.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourism affects my life in a positive way.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourists bring an important source of income for the city.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The city invests more in public services to cope with the presence of tourists.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourism is well-managed in Amsterdam.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourists are well behaved and considerate of locals in Amsterdam.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am financially better off thanks to tourism in Amsterdam.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q5.2 Thinking about **tourism in your neighbourhood**, how much have the following impacted your day-to-day life?

	No impact	Minor impact	Moderate impact	Major impact
Noise from the streets (loud conversations, suitcases, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Noise from catering establishments (bars, terraces, nightclubs, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overcrowding on the streets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overcrowding in neighbourhood establishments (supermarkets, cafes, restaurants, bars, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overcrowding in bike lanes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overcrowding on public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Environment (litter, degradation of parks, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safety (crime, alcohol, drug-use, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Tourism Sentiment

Start of Block: Neighbourhood



Q6.1 Please choose the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements about the area where you live.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
There is a strong sense of community in my neighbourhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I can trust my neighbours	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People look out for each other in my neighbourhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People in my neighbourhood have similar life experiences to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My neighbourhood has a distinct character when compared to surrounding areas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel at ease when I'm in my neighbourhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q6.2 Please choose the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements about **tourism in your neighbourhood**.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
The presence of tourists contributes positively to my neighbourhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourism makes my neighbourhood more interesting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourism makes living in my neighbourhood more difficult	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourists don't care about the people who live in my neighbourhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tourism makes my neighbourhood more expensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Businesses in my neighbourhood cater more to tourists than to locals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Neighbourhood

Start of Block: Multi-Tenant Dwellings

Display This Question:

If Q3.3 = Building with multiple living units (i.e. apartment, townhouse, etc.)

Q7.1 You indicated that you live in a building with other residential units.

Are you aware of **short-term rental** units (Airbnb, HomeAway, etc.) in your building?

- Yes
- No

Skip To: End of Block If Q7.1 = No

Display This Question:

*If Q3.3 != Single family home, with own front door at street level
And Q7.1 = Yes*

Q7.2 Has your enjoyment of your home been affected by the presence of short-term rental units?

- Yes, in a negative way
- Yes, in a positive way
- No

Display This Question:

*If Q3.3 != Single family home, with own front door at street level
And Q7.1 = Yes*

Q7.3 Has wear and tear in your building increased since the beginning of the operation of the short-term rental unit?

- Yes, considerably
- Yes, slightly
- No

End of Block: Multi-Tenant Dwellings

Start of Block: Displacement



Q8.1 Would the presence of the **nuisance** you were asked about earlier (noise, litter, etc.) make you **consider moving to a different area**?

- Definitely not
 - Probably not
 - Not sure/Don't know
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
-



Q8.2 Thinking of the effects of tourism on the **sense of community**, would you say that **tourism is damaging your neighbourhood**?

- Definitely not
 - Probably not
 - Not sure/Don't know
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
-



Q8.3 Do you think the presence of **short-term rentals** is bringing **more tourists to your neighbourhood**?

- Definitely not
 - Probably not
 - Not sure/Don't know
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
-

Q8.4 Would you say that the presence of **short-term rentals in your neighbourhood makes nuisance** (noise, overcrowding, etc.) ...

- Much more noticeable
 - Somewhat more noticeable
 - About the same
 - Somewhat less noticeable
 - Much less noticeable
 - Don't know
-

Q8.5 Have you found yourself **wanting to move to somewhere else** because of the presence of tourists?

- Yes, to a different part of Amsterdam
 - Yes, to a different city
 - No
-

Display This Question:

If Q3.4 = 1-2 years

Or Q3.4 = Less than 1 year

Q8.6

You indicated earlier that you've lived at your current place of residence for less than 2 years.

Did you **experience any difficulty** when looking for the place where you live now?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

Display This Question:

If Q8.6 , Yes Is Displayed

Q8.7 To what extent do you think the presence of **short-term rentals has made it more difficult** to find a new place to live?

- Much more
- Somewhat more
- About the same
- Somewhat less
- Much less

Q8.8 In February 2020, there were 15,323 **whole homes** in Amsterdam listed on Airbnb. This represents **~3.3% of all households** in Amsterdam (447,864 in February 2020).

Is this figure more or less than you expected?

- Much more
- Somewhat more
- About the same
- Somewhat less
- Much less

End of Block: Displacement

Start of Block: Policy

Q9.1 The current rules in Amsterdam state that short-term rentals should be rented out to no more than 4 guests at a time, and that unit may not be rented out for more than 30 nights per year. The unit being rented out must also be the host's primary residence.

Do you think this regulation does enough to control short-term rentals?

- Definitely yes
 - Probably yes
 - Not sure
 - Probably not
 - Definitely not
-

Q9.2 What type of rules do you think would be more effective in controlling short-term rentals?
(Choose all that apply)

- Ban short-term rentals completely
- Ban people from renting out their home short-term for a specific amount of time after buying the property
- Reduce the amount of nights that a unit can be rented out for
- Reduce the amount of guests that can stay in a unit at a time
- Increase the amount of nights that a unit can be rented out for
- Increase the amount of guests that can stay in a unit at a time
- Implement different rules on a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood basis
- Remove all regulations
- Other (please specify): _____

End of Block: Policy

Start of Block: Block 8

Q10.1 You have almost reached the end of the survey. Thank you for your response.

To complete the survey, **please click the arrow at the bottom of this page.**

If you would like to participate in a short follow-up interview to share more about your experience with tourism and short-term rentals, please enter your email below and you will be contacted shortly.

Your survey response will remain confidential.

End of Block: Block 8

Appendix 2 | Interview Guides

Residents

Warm up questions

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Rapport</u>	Tell me a bit about yourself...	Where you live? How long you've lived there.. Why there.. Where you lived before? Why you left there?
<u>Rapport</u>	How would you describe your neighbourhood to someone who has never been there before?	What makes it unique compared to other neighbourhoods in Amsterdam?

Neighbourhood

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Neighbourhood</u>	What do you understand a neighbourhood to be?	Just a spatial thing? Sense of community? Sense of place?
<u>Community & Social Capital</u>	How often do you interact with your neighbours, if at all?	Do you know your neighbours? Do you tend to stay in the neighbourhood or do most of your business in other parts of the city?
<u>Cohesion</u>	Are you part of any neighbourhood groups?	If not, why not? If yes, how active?
<u>Gentrification</u>	Have you noticed any changes to your neighbourhood during your time living there?	Have the businesses changed? How about residents?

Tourism

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Growth</u>	How busy would you say your neighbourhood was with tourists before corona?	How has this changed in recent years? Or since corona? How has this become apparent? Why would tourists come to your neighbourhood?
<u>Commercial Gentrification</u>	Are there many businesses in your area catering to tourists?	How has this changed over time? Do you feel like tourist-oriented businesses serve you at all?
<u>Perceptions</u>	How would you say the presence of tourists in your area affects your day-to-day life, if at all?	Economic benefit or pricing out? Nuisance? Noise, Environment, Crowding, Safety.

Short-term Rentals

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Awareness</u>	Have you stayed in a short-term rental anywhere in the past?	What was your motivation for doing so?
<u>Presence</u>	Are you aware of short-term rentals in your area?	Give statistic for their area - gauge perception.
<u>Draw</u>	Do you think the presence of these in your area has any effect on the amount of tourists?	
<u>Perceptions</u>	What do you think of the presence of these? Have they affected you in any way?	Nuisance?

Wrap-up

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Neighbourhood</u>	How do you think tourism affects the sense of connection and community in your neighbourhood?	STRs more specifically?
<u>Future Tourism</u>	What would you like the future of tourism in Amsterdam to look like? And the neighbourhood?	More? Less? Balance?
<u>Future STRs</u>	What about short-term rentals?	What would you like the gemeente's policy to look like?

Area Broker

Warm up questions

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Rapport</u>	Tell me about your position as an area broker...	Background - how did you get to this position? How long have you held it? What does the day-to-day job entail? Level of interactions with residents?
<u>Area Focus</u>	How would you describe de Pijp to somebody who has never been there before?	What makes it unique compared to other neighbourhoods in Amsterdam? What do you see as the biggest opportunities for de Pijp in the coming years? And challenges?

Neighbourhood

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Neighbourhood</u>	What do you understand a neighbourhood to be?	Sense of community? Sense of place? Neighbours knowing each other?
<u>Community</u>	What would you say the level of interaction between neighbours in de Pijp is?	Do people tend to stay in the neighbourhood or do they go to other parts of the city?
<u>Cohesion</u>	Do people in de Pijp tend to work together to achieve collective goals?	What is turnout at neighbourhood events like? To what extent do people in the neighbourhood engage with you as an area broker?
<u>Gentrification</u>	What changes has de Pijp gone through over the years? From Neighbourhood YY to now...	Have the businesses changed? How about residents? Vogue (2016) describing de Pijp as Amsterdam's coolest neighbourhood - why?

<u>Area Plan</u>	One of the points in the area plan for 2020 is strengthening the sense of security and connection at neighbourhood level - what does that look like in practice?	
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Tourism

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Growth</u>	The area immediately to the north of de Pijp is quite busy with tourism - how does this affect de Pijp, if at all?	How has this changed in recent years? Why would tourists come to de Pijp?
<u>Commercial Gentrification</u>	Are there many businesses in de Pijp catering to tourists? Or do the businesses in de Pijp draw tourists in?	Are there more businesses in de Pijp catering to tourists now?
<u>Perceptions</u>	What do residents in your area say to you about tourism?	
<u>Policy</u>	What does the gemeente currently do about tourism in de Pijp?	Promotion? Management?

Short-term Rentals

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Presence</u>	What is your experience with short-term rentals in your area?	De Pijp-Rivierenbuurt - 2059 whole homes in Feb ~5.5% of all residential properties. Does your role require you to work with hosts/residents on this?
<u>Perceptions</u>	What do residents in your area think of the presence of STRs?	Nuisance?

<u>Policy</u>	What view does the gemeente take on short-term rentals?	Illegal hotels, ban in 3 neighbourhoods. Policy enforcement?
---------------	---------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------

Wrap-up

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Neighbourhood</u>	How do you think tourism affects the sense of community in de Pijp?	STRs more specifically?
<u>Future Tourism</u>	What are the gemeente's plans for the future of tourism in de Pijp?	More? Less? Balance?
<u>Future STRs</u>	What does the gemeente want to do in the future about STRs in de Pijp?	Policy? Enforcement?

Part-time City Council Member

Warm up questions

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Rapport</u>	Tell me about your position...	Background - how did you get to this position? How long have you held it? What does the day-to-day job entail? Level of interactions with residents?
<u>Area Focus</u>	What would you say are the biggest opportunities and challenges facing Amsterdam in the coming years?	

Tourism

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Growth</u>	How would you say tourism has changed in Amsterdam in previous years?	Who is coming? What has the city done to influence this?
<u>Perceptions</u>	What do your constituents say to you about tourism?	Has this changed over time?
<u>Commercial Gentrification</u>	Have the businesses in the city changed over time with tourism?	
<u>Policy</u>	How do planners at the gemeente approach tourism?	Promotion? Management?

STRs

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Presence</u>	What has your professional experience with short-term rentals been?	Does your role require you to work with hosts/residents on this?
<u>Perceptions</u>	What do residents in your area think of the presence of STRs?	Nuisance?
<u>Policy</u>	What view does the gemeente take on short-term rentals?	Illegal hotels, ban in 3 neighbourhoods. Policy enforcement?

Wrap-up

Concept to be assessed	Question	Probes
<u>Future Tourism</u>	What are the gemeente's plans for the future of tourism?	More? Less? Balance?
<u>Future STRs</u>	What does the gemeente want to do in the future about STRs?	Policy? Enforcement?

Appendix 3 | NVivo Coding Tree

Name	Files	References
Gemeente	0	0
Approach	2	16
Policy	1	6
Alternative Approach	1	4
Gentrification	0	0
Commercial	5	10
General	6	10
Neighbourhood	1	1
Conception	4	4
Social Capital	4	7
Social Cohesion	6	13
Short-term Rentals	4	7
Discourse	1	7
Future	2	3
Negative perception	1	2
Nuisance	2	4
Positive	3	3
Regulation	5	15
Tourism	5	7
Future	7	18
Nuisance	5	9
Positive	4	5
Quality of Tourism	6	20
Stakeholders	1	1

Appendix 4 | Concentration of whole-home Airbnb listings per neighbourhood

neighbourhood	#whole_homes_airbnb ³⁰	#residential_properties ³¹	% concentration	1 in every X homes
De Baarsjes-Oud West	2772	39997	6.9	14
Westerpark	1237	21834	5.7	18
Oud-Oost	1093	19455	5.6	18
De Pijp-Rivierenbuurt	2059	37751	5.5	18
Bos en Lommer	958	18528	5.2	19
Centrum-West	1477	29087	5.1	20
Centrum-Oost	1265	25889	4.9	20
Zuid	1140	28842	4.0	25
Oostelijke Havengebied-Indische Buurt	772	20841	3.7	27
Ijburg-Zeeburgereiland	345	12080	2.9	35
Oud-Noord	436	16081	2.7	37
Watergraafsmeer	434	20020	2.2	46
Noord-West	273	16478	1.7	60
Noord-Oost	179	13422	1.3	75
Slotervaart	278	20998	1.3	76
Buitenveldert-Zuidas	181	15267	1.2	84
Geuzenveld-Slotermeer	146	20002	0.7	137
De Aker-Nieuw Sloten	80	11117	0.7	139
Osdorp	81	17490	0.5	216
Bijlmer-Centrum	58	13172	0.4	227
Bijlmer-Oost	47	13002	0.4	277
Gaasperdam-Driemond	52	15872	0.3	305

³⁰ (Inside Airbnb, 2020b)

³¹ (OIS Amsterdam, 2020d)