

Department of Cultural Studies

Name of course:

Master Thesis Tourism and Culture

Title of document:

Marketing Dickens: Dickensian literary Tourism in Deventer

Date of submission:

24 June 2022

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Master Thesis Tourism and Culture, Radboud University
24 June 2022

Abstract

Thousands of literary tourists visit Deventer each year for the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet. The Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet must therefore be effectively promoted in order to reach all of these visitors. Despite being an outstanding case study that can teach other Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) how to effectively market their city, there is no academic research on literary tourism in Deventer. As a result, having at least one piece of research that demonstrates how Deventer attracts many literary visitors each year is useful.

The purpose of this study is to see how Deventer's DMOs, Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer, advertise Deventer as a Dickensian city. The following research question was created for this purpose: What image of Charles Dickens in Deventer do Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer create to attract visitors to the city?

To answer the research question, I examined how dEVENTer, Deventer Marketing, and VVV Deventer used traditional and social media. Moreover, a dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing employee were interviewed. I did online and in-person visitor research, analysed the Charles Dickens Kabinet and interviewed one of the museum's owners. The most relevant conclusion was that in Dutch society, Dickens is synonymous with Christmas, which the Deventer DMOs concentrate on by promoting a Dickensian Christmas during the Dickens Festijn. The Charles Dickens Kabinet, however, nuances this image by providing an environment in which visitors can learn about Dickens' works.

Consequently, it is recommended that other DMOs that wish to effectively advertise their city to attract more tourists should develop an image of their city that resonates with the target demographic. Future studies could concentrate on city branding using Dickens in other non-English countries or on the efficacy of using a single element as a synecdoche for the whole city.

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Introduction

The works of English author Charles Dickens attract more than 125.000 visitors to the city of Deventer in the Netherlands each December during the Dickens Festijn (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Some of the buildings in Deventer include paintings depicting scenes from Dickens' stories, and there is a Dickens museum called the Charles Dickens Kabinet (...inDeventer!, 2022). Furthermore, between 2020 and 2021, when the Dickens Festijn was unable to take place due to COVID-19, the DMOs (Destination Marketing Organisation) of Deventer placed a statue of Dickens in the city centre (de Stentor, 2020). They also published a book called *Deventer ademt Dickens* in 2020, which contained the stories of 50 people participating in the Dickens Festijn (de Stentor, 2020). The DMOs of Deventer have thus successfully linked Dickens' stories and persona to the image of Deventer, with the goal of using Dickens as a synecdoche not just in December, but all year. This results in Dickensian literary tourism in Deventer.

Figure 1

The murals in Deventer displaying scenes from Dickens' work



The problem and its background

The phenomenon of literary tourism has been extensively researched by a variety of literary and cultural scholars. For example, there has been research into why literature is connected to tourism. Charlie Mansfield's research (2015) sought to investigate the relationship between literary works and the motivation for visitors to appreciate sites associated with books, as well as to determine the additional value of literary trips. Mansfield studied the auto-ethnographic works of six literary tourists to answer the following research questions: "How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination more attractive to a potential visitor?" and "How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to add value to the visitors' experiences?" (Mansfield, 2015, p. 16). His results include the fact that the language employed in a novel affects a literary tourist's experiences, and that the case study participants did not identify with the characters associated with the literary location they visited (Mansfield, 2015). This conclusion contradicts John L. Caughey's (1984) study, which indicated that people form imaginary social relationships with fictional characters. This suggests that literary tourists travel to a place associated with literature in order to feel close to the characters in a novel, something the DMO may exploit. Moreover, Nicola J. Watson (2006) was the first to investigate the rise and growth of literary tourism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the United Kingdom. Watson (2006) gives an overview of places related with the authors themselves, such as birthplaces, home towns, and graveyards, as well as places connected to their works, in order to determine when and why readers began to visit areas connected to a novel. She discovered that literary tourists are frequently dissatisfied with their visit due to a lack of markers and local knowledge at the location (Watson, 2006). Malcolm Andrews (2016) focused his research on Dickensian literary tourism specifically by addressing the questions "What was the relationship between books and places for Dickens the reader?" and "What is the nature of Dickensian topographical practices for modern Dickensians?". Andrews' key point is that there is a synergy between reading Dickens' writings and visiting the actual locations associated with Dickens' stories. He claims that Dickens' fictitious literature "colonised" existing places, now known as Dickensland (Andrews, 2016). By doing so, Dickens colonised the reader's imagination too (Andrews, 2016). The reader is transformed into a Dickensian literary tourist who travels across Dickensland and brings Dickens' stories to life (Andrews, 2016).

Secondly, there has been research into Dickens being a global, rather than an English, author. Caroline Reitz (2014) investigated the concept of Global Dickens, which refers to the fact that Dickens' works have a global reach and significance. Reitz's article (2014) is based on a review of scholarship on Dickens released in 2012, which includes nearly 150 publications. Nancy Aycock Metz (2012), for example, researched the phenomenon of Global Dickens and proposed that one possible reason for the global popularity of Dickens' works is due to the many different versions of Dickens, including the “abandoned child, domineering husband, word wizard, popular artist, [and] professional author” amongst others (p. 352). The idea is that because there are so many versions, every country is able to recognise itself in at least one of the characters. According to literary historian John O. Jordan (2009), the concept of Global Dickens enables researchers from all over the world to contribute to a discussion regarding the reception and significance of Dickens' writings outside of Britain. Jordan's research (2009) relies on the work of Ada B. Nisbet, who attempted to compile an international bibliography of Dickens' works that would investigate his works both within and outside of the Anglo-American domain between the mid-1960s and 1984 . Jordan (2009) concludes by arguing that the worldwide bibliography can only be completed through “systematic documentation and analysis” (p. 1220), which can only be accomplished if researchers from all around the world participate.

Finally, there has been research into literary tourism in England relating to Dickens' books. Alison Booth (2009) looked into items, houses, locations, and performances associated with Dickens in the twenty-first century. She looked at the Dickens Museum in London, the Dickens Festival in Rochester, and the Dickens World in Chatham as case studies. When visiting places or performances associated with Dickens, literary tourists are looking for authenticity, and they want to be absorbed in his works and life throughout their stay, according to Booth (2009). Moreover, literary tourists enjoy spending a few hours in the Dickensian/Victorian era during their visit to a region associated with Dickens to, for instance, learn about how people lived at the time (Booth, 2009). Frederic G. Kitton's book *The Dickens Country* (2017), originally published in 1905, offers thorough information about areas in England that have a connection to Dickens in some way. Kitton illustrated and edited the works of Dickens and thus knew the author and his works intimately. His book demonstrates that there was popular interest in literary tourism associated with Dickens during the twentieth century. As a result, it can be stated that Dickens' works are not only relevant and important around the world, but also throughout history.

What I believe is missing from this corpus is research on Dickensian literary tourism in countries other than the United Kingdom. The concept of literary tourism, as well as the phenomenon of Dickensian literary tourism in the United Kingdom, have both been extensively investigated by a variety of scholars, but no attention is paid to Dickensian literary tourism outside of the UK. There are for instance a lot of Dickens-related activities organised around the world, such as the Dickens Universe in Santa Cruz, California, the Dickens Village Festival in Carlyle, Saskatchewan, Canada, and the Dickens Fellowship in Japan, to name a few. These non-English Dickens-related festivals however have yet to be researched.

The DMO of a location should integrate Dickens' writings and overall legacy into their marketing strategy in order to attract Dickensian literary tourists to their area. Both Mansfield (2015) and Caughey (1984) provide information for DMOs on how to draw literary tourists to a location, but neither provide substantial research on how a DMO employs an author to attract literary tourists in terms of marketing. Furthermore, Aycock Metz's research (2012) outlines what makes Dickens accessible to a wide range of people, but she made no connection between the accessibility of Dickens' works and how these may be used marketing-wise to draw Dickensian literary tourists to a location. As a result, there is a knowledge gap concerning the use of Dickens as a marketing tool for a DMO seeking to attract visitors to a destination.

Finally, scholars studying the concept of Global Dickens aim to understand what makes Dickens a global author. Nevertheless, scholarship on Global Dickens is more concerned with how Dickens' works are perceived around the world than with how his legacy attracts Dickensian literary tourists to a place. There is therefore a critical research gap in the study of Global Dickens, as it is essential to understand what elements attract Dickensian literary tourists to various locations across the world when trying to comprehend what makes Dickens a globally popular author.

For these reasons, I am investigating how Dickensian literary tourists are attracted to Deventer in the Netherlands. There has been no academic study of Dickensian literary tourism in Deventer, nor has there been any scholarly study of the marketing tactics used by Deventer's DMOs to attract visitors to the city. Nevertheless, understanding how a Dutch city succeeds in attracting people by using an English author is essential since it will reveal effective marketing tactics that other cities can use to increase visitor numbers. Moreover, my research will contribute to the global Dickens discussion. I am answering the following research question:

What image of Charles Dickens in Deventer do Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer create to attract visitors to the city?

Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer are the DMOs of Deventer. dEVENTer markets events in Deventer whereas Deventer Marketing promotes Deventer as a city. VVV Deventer informs visitors of interesting places in Deventer.

This main question has led to the following sub questions:

1. *What is the connection between Charles Dickens and Deventer?*
2. *How did the DMOs of Deventer market the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet in Dutch (social) media from 2018 to 2021?*
3. *How does the phenomenon of Global Dickens influence the marketing of the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet in Deventer?*
4. *How did the Charles Dickens marketing by the DMOs of Deventer influence tourists to Deventer during their visit in 2018 to 2021?*
5. *How did the Charles Dickens marketing by the DMOs of Deventer reach Deventer's visitors in 2018 to 2021?*
6. *When does the Charles Dickens Marketing by the DMOs of Deventer reach Deventer's visitors?*
7. *Who is reached by the Charles Dickens marketing of the DMOs of Deventer?*

These sub questions are relevant to the main question because they allow for an investigation of the reasons for the existence of the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet, which is necessary to understand before explaining how Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer use Dickens as a marketing tool. Furthermore, by responding to the sub questions about media marketing and tourist response to marketing, I am able to learn more about what the DMOs do to promote Deventer as a Dickensian city and what makes their marketing methods effective, which is relevant for understanding what image of Dickens in Deventer they create. Finally, I can determine whether or not the DMOs of Deventer are attempting to contribute to a global conversation and celebration of Dickens by analysing how the phenomenon of Global Dickens is influential in the marketing of Deventer as a Dickensian city.

This topic is delimited in space, because I am focusing on Dickensian literary tourism in only one city, namely Deventer, rather than comparing Deventer to other towns where Dickensian literary tourism plays a prominent role. Instead of having to analyse two or more

cities and divide my focus, this approach allows me to thoroughly analyse and comprehend the ways in which the DMOs of Deventer employ Dickens to attract visitors. Furthermore, this approach is beneficial academically, critically, and theoretically since it will lead to research focused entirely on Deventer, providing academics with fresh insights, as there has been no academic research into the relationship between Dickens and Deventer to date. The topic is delimited in time, because I only have five months to start and complete this research. Furthermore, I am only looking at data from 2018 to 2021 in order to be able to analyse all accessible data rather than just a portion of data from all years, which means I can present a comprehensive and broad overview of effective marketing analysis to answer my research question. Finally, I am focusing on all DMOs of Deventer: Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer. This is due to the fact that these DMOs collaborate with each other as well as complement one another. Moreover, it gives me more flexibility, because I will be able to interview the DMOs who are willing to engage in an interview and rely on online analysis if they are not.

The main question's hypothesis is that the DMOs of Deventer exploit Dickens to attract visitors by advertising the Dickens Festijn on their (social) media channels, organising the Dickens Festijn, and maintaining the Charles Dickens Kabinet, thereby attempting to use Dickens as a synecdoche for Deventer. I anticipate that the DMOs of Deventer will begin promoting the Dickens Festijn in September each year, with a focus on November and December. The Dickensian literary tourists will be reached through images, (personal) stories and engaging captions, and enthruse other people for the Dickens Festijn through Word of Mouth communication. The DMOs of Deventer were able to preserve their relationship with Dickens without a Dickens Festijn by publishing *Deventer ademt Dickens* in 2020 and by continuing to promote Deventer as a Dickensian city on social media throughout 2020 and 2021. However, I expect that the DMOs of Deventer did not need extensive marketing in 2020 and 2021 to remind the visitors of Deventer of the relationship between Dickens and Deventer. Given the Dickens Festijn's popularity in previous years, and the fact that the lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 cancelled not only the Dickens Festijn, but all other activities as well, I believe Dickensian literary tourists will return to Deventer when the lockdowns are lifted, without the DMOs of Deventer having to promote the Dickens Festijn in 2020 and 2021. Overall, I expect that the DMOs of Deventer create a Christmas-related image of Dickens in Deventer, given that Dickens and Christmas are synonymous in Dutch society.

The significance of my research

It is crucial to look into how Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer use an image of Dickens to attract visitors to Deventer, because this research adds to the previous work of the scholars mentioned while also introducing something new. The relationship between Dickens and Deventer has never been studied, but Andrews' research (2016) focused on the broad concept of Dickensian literary tourism. Caughey (1984) moreover studied what draws literary tourists to places whilst Watson (2006) offered a useful summary of the evolution of historical literary tourism in the United Kingdom. Their study allows me to compare Dickensian literary tourism in Deventer to Dickensian literary tourism as described by Andrews (2016) and literary tourism in the United Kingdom as defined by Watson (2006). This is significant, because by doing so my research contributes to the conversation around Global Dickens. This is because the comparison elucidates what makes Dickensian literary tourism successful in Deventer in the Netherlands, and how this relates to Dickensian literary tourism in general and in the United Kingdom. This means that my analysis will also expand on Booth's (2009) and Kitton's work (2017), as they investigated literary tourism associated with Dickens in England, and I studied the same phenomenon in Deventer. Furthermore, the phenomenon of Global Dickens is critical to answering my question, as it is relevant to my research that Dickens' works are seen as globally significant. The similarity between Deventer and other regions of the world using Dickens' as a marketing strategy to attract visitors is essential to highlight in order to understand how the DMOs of Deventer in particular are successful in drawing Dickensian literary tourists to the city. Finally, my study will show whether or not Caughey's research (1984) on what attracts literary tourists to a site holds true for Dickensian literary tourists in Deventer as well.

Secondly, this study is significant because it is unique. Despite the fact that there has been scholarly research on tourism in Deventer in the Netherlands, literary tourism in Deventer has not been explored from a scholarly perspective. However, having academic research on literary tourism at their disposal could be useful to the DMOs of Deventer, since it provides them with new critical insights which they can use to better their practices. This is the case, for example, because I will analyse both the marketing of dEVENTer, VVV Deventer and Deventer Marketing and the response of visitors to their promotional efforts in my research, and the DMOs of Deventer will therefore know which marketing techniques are successful and which need to be improved. Moreover, my research also provides other DMOs with information

on how to effectively promote an event that attracts a large-scale audience, since the Dickens Festijn in Deventer is a very popular event. The DMOs will be able to understand how to efficiently set up an event because I will first present an overview of the connection between Deventer and Dickens, thus providing the DMOs with background knowledge on the origins of the popular Dickens Festijn. My analysis of the marketing strategies employed by the DMOs of Deventer and the visitor responses to the promotion of Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer will then provide other DMOs with insights into effective marketing techniques.

Thirdly, my research is important because it contributes to the discourse among scholars regarding the phenomenon of Global Dickens, as well as to Nisbet's international Dickens bibliography. The Dutch perspective on Dickensian literary tourism is presented through a study into how the DMOs of Deventer attract visitors by producing a synecdoche of Dickens, which shows the reasons for Dickens' popularity in the Netherlands. This could also be linked to Aycock Metz's research (2012), as it is possible that the Dutch have a stronger affinity for particular Dickens characters than other nationalities. By answering my research questions, I contributed to a better understanding of Dickens' worldwide popularity.

Finally, my research is significant since it could be used by Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer as fascinating facts for Deventer visitors. The facts can enhance the tourist experience of attending the Dickens Festijn or the Charles Dickens Kabinet because they represent both the history of the event and the museum as well as contain information on the DMOs' marketing strategies, making them potentially fascinating to visitors. Furthermore, transparency is preserved between the tourists and the DMOs by disclosing these facts to visitors. My research questions allow for an exploration of the connection between Dickens and Deventer, which could be interesting to know for visitors to the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet. Moreover, it places the phenomenon of Dickensian literary tourism in Deventer in the broader context of Global Dickens, which could be fascinating for visitors to know about because it shows that Deventer is part of a global trend.

Overall, because Dickens' works are definitely still relevant for society today, as evidenced by his worldwide appeal, it is important to continue Dickens studies related to different countries.

Theoretical framework

Several theories/key concepts are important to define and explain for my study. To begin, literary tourism refers to the practise of visiting a location because of its connection to literature. Scholars studying literary tourism want to know what makes literary tourists/readers want to visit a place associated with a novel or an author. Mansfield (2015) states that the interaction between "narrative texts of fiction, authors, readers, places, and travel to those places" (p. 28) should be investigated from a historical perspective in order to completely comprehend the phenomenon of literary tourism. It is necessary to understand the history of literary tourism in order to comprehend modern literary tourism, particularly in relation to historical authors. Dickensian literary tourism already took place in the nineteenth century, when Dickens was still alive. Kitton (2017) provides an overview of Dickensian literary tourism. He, for example, exemplifies Dickensian literary tourism in the nineteenth century by asserting that Dickens resided at No. 48, Doughty Street in London, which was subsequently renamed Dickens House by the London County Council in order to preserve Dickens' home (Kitton, 2017). This is crucial to comprehending the Dickens image in Deventer. During the Dickens Festijn, VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing convert Deventer into nineteenth-century London. In their depiction of Dickens in Deventer, they use the ambience of nineteenth-century London, which was also preserved in Dickens House. Moreover, literary tourism, according to Booth (2009), serves as a sort of time travel because it transports literary tourists back to the author's time. Booth (2009) explains that Dickensian literary tourists want to be immersed in the nineteenth century in which Dickens lived. She adds, however, that Dickensian literary tourists appreciate artificiality and purposeful anachronism at the same time (Booth, 2009). It is important to realise this in order to answer the question of what image the DMOs of Deventer construct of Dickens in Deventer. Deventer is transformed into nineteenth century London during the Dickens Festijn through actors dressed in Victorian costumes, street lights hidden beneath burlap sacks, and the use of antique artefacts such as boneshaker bicycles (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). No use of technology is made. Visitors to the Dickens Festijn, however, are not expected to act as though they are in the nineteenth century. For example, they are permitted to use their phones to take photographs (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing thus use the ambience of nineteenth-century London in the creation of the image of Dickens in Deventer, but do not request the visitors to comply to this image.

Furthermore, the term "Global Dickens" refers to the works of Dickens' global reach and significance. Reitz (2014) explains that Global Dickens refers to the way Dickens depicted the globe in his books, as well as how the world reacted to and received Dickens' writings. Furthermore, she contends that the phenomenon of Global Dickens is growing as a result of technological advancements, and now includes, for example, radio spin-offs and television series based on Dickens' books (Reitz, 2014). Reitz (2014) acknowledges that Dickens' intimate connection to London is one of the challenges in understanding him as a global figure, but she goes on to say that Dickens "spoke and wrote French, travelled frequently to France, and also made trips to North America, Italy, and Switzerland" (p. 341). As a result, Dickens was a global citizen, which could explain why his works are so popular all over the world. The phenomenon of Global Dickens is crucial for my research as it helps me understand why literary tourists come to Deventer because of Dickens, and how Deventer's case of Dickensian literary tourism compares to the rest of the world. Odin Dekkers (2013) researched the response of Dutch citizens to Dickens. He says that romantic connotations with Christmas themes in Dickens' works are profitable and effective in attracting tourists to Dickensian festivals in the Netherlands, such as the Dickens Festijn in Deventer (Dekkers, 2013). Although Dickens is not a popular author in the Netherlands, Dutch people appreciate the Dickensian atmosphere they have learned about via televised adaptations of his works during Christmas (Dekkers, 2013). The research by Dekkers (2013) is relevant to testing my hypothesis, since I believe VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing leverage the image of a Dickensian Christmas to attract visitors to Deventer. Joop van Kessel (2012) however asserts that Dickens is still read and analysed by a minority group in the Netherlands. The Dutch Dickens Fellowship in Haarlem, which is a branch of the international Dickens Fellowship, consists of a group of like-minded people who are all passionate about Dickens' work (Van Kessel, 2012). This information is significant for answering my research question since it allows me to determine whether or not Deventer's DMOs target visitors who are knowledgeable about Dickens.

Michael Slater (2009) moreover authored a comprehensive biography of Dickens, which contains a wealth of background information on the author and the period in which he lived. Slater (2009) for instance discusses Dickens' experience at Warren's Blacking Factory, a shoe polishing factory where Dickens was forced to work as a child. Dickens' stint at the Warren's Blacking Factory, according to Slater (2009), shaped his views on industrialisation and child labour, which are visible in his writings. Having background knowledge of Dickens' life is critical to comprehending the image that Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer

create of Dickens in Deventer, as Dickens' experiences formed the basis of his novels. Knowledge about Dickens' life and environment is thus required in order to be able to draw similarities between Dickens' experiences in the nineteenth century and the image formed by the DMOs of Deventer of Dickens in Deventer.

It is also necessary to understand the concept of a DMO in order to respond to the question of what image Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer construct of Dickens in Deventer. The term DMO stands for Destination Marketing Organisation, which is an organisation that promotes a destination as a desirable place to visit. VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing are the destination marketing organisations for Deventer. VVV Deventer is an organisation that assists visitors to Deventer with their queries and provides them with relevant information. dEVENTer organises and promotes events in Deventer. Deventer Marketing is responsible for promoting Deventer as a desirable destination for visitors, residents, students, and workers. Despite the fact that these organisations have diverse goals, they collaborate under the name ...inDeventer! and share the ...inDeventer! logo (Deventer Marketing, 2022). All three organisation are involved in the construction of Deventer as a Dickensian city. They are also active in the planning of the annual Dickens Festijn. It is crucial to remember that Deventer's DMOs aspire to construct a synecdoche out of Dickens. This means that Deventer's DMO seeks to have visitors associate Deventer with Dickens, and vice versa.

Other key concepts include tourism destination image and place branding. Tourism destination image refers to the perception and personal feelings that tourists have regarding a destination, which is grounded in their knowledge and experiences of that destination (Jenkins, 1999). John D. Hunt (1971) defined tourism destination image as the impressions that tourists have about a destination where they are not from. The concept of tourism destination image is thus about tourists' perceptions of a location. It is about the way in which they perceive the destination. Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer aim to influence the tourism destination image of Deventer through place branding. Place branding refers to the practice of advertising/marketing a destination. It entails developing an image of an area that people begin to associate with it. The Eiffel Tower, for example, is the image that most people connect with Paris. The DMOs of Deventer aim to have Dickens as a synecdoche for the city.

Furthermore, I am conducting traditional and social media analysis, which necessitates an outline of academic theory regarding media analysis in order to be able to execute my research. Ying Cheng (2019) investigated the interaction between conventional and social

media, focusing on how traditional media might innovate in the face of social media's growing popularity and growth. Traditional media, according to Cheng (2019), can only exist if it incorporates social media in some form. This distinction will help me analyse how the DMOs of Deventer use media to develop an image of Dickens in Deventer. Chareen L. Snelson (2016) furthermore presents a framework for scholars to use when studying social media. According to Snelson (2016), academics' second most-used method in analysing social media is content analysis. This may include researching Facebook postings, YouTube videos, tweets, or any other type of social media data, and focusing on for instance the use of hashtags or words (Snelson, 2016). This is useful, as I am also conducting content analysis of social media. According to Matthew Andreotta (2019) et al., researchers frequently choose to analyse a piece of content rather than the entire set of content in a social medium in their social media analysis. As a result, Andreotta et al. (2019) suggest a four-phased framework to help academics decide which piece of content to use in their research. This entails assembling a corpus of social media content from which the most relevant data for analysis is chosen (Andreotta et al., 2019). Following the extraction of the most relevant content, social media analysts can remove a segment of it before qualitatively assessing it (Andreotta et al., 2019). Despite the fact that I did not have access to data science tools, the four-phased framework forms the basis for my investigation of VVV Deventer's social media. Finally, Bronwen Thomas (2020) studied the link between literature and social media. She claims that social media platforms enable the creation and dissemination of new types of literary works (Thomas, 2020). Furthermore, social media networks allow for a broader spectrum of literary connection (Thomas, 2020). Thomas' research (2020) is relevant to understanding what image dEVENTer, VVV Deventer, and Deventer Marketing create of Dickens in Deventer, as the image they construct is related to how people perceive the works of Dickens. In other words, if visitors to the Dickens Festijn or the Charles Dickens Kabinet have never read Dickens' writings, they will interpret his novels through the image created by the DMOs of Deventer.

Finally, I am conducting visitor research for which I have found theories useful for supporting my research. According to Salman Majeed et al. (2020), there is a link between visitor behavioural intentions and destination satisfaction, as well as tourist destination online content (TDOC). According to Majeed et al. (2020), tourists typically research a destination online before visiting to select the best area to visit. This is important information because it emphasises the importance of a positive image of Dickens in Deventer for the city's DMOs in attracting visitors. Sebastian Molinillo et al. (2019) furthermore examined how visitors interact

with cities on social media. Tourists are stakeholders of cities, according to Molinillo et al. (2019), hence their online involvement with the city's official social media accounts is critical to the success of any location marketing strategy. The research of Molinillo et al. (2019) is crucial for my own online visitor analysis since it gives me a better understanding of why DMOs should connect with visitors in order to promote and develop an effective image of their city. Melissa A. Johnson (2020) moreover investigated the topic of visitor engagement and how it might help a brand's online engagement with (possible) visitors. She emphasises the distinction between engagement and interaction, stating that engagement refers to the development of a genuine relationship between a visitor and a brand, whereas interaction refers to a series of online communication exchanges that do not necessitate the psychological investment required to develop a relationship (Johnson, 2020). This distinction is useful and will help me assess the strength of Dickens' image in Deventer, because engagement indicates that Deventer's DMOs have a devoted visitor base, whereas interaction indicates that visitors are shifting. Finally, Mikko Villi and Janne Matikainen (2016) researched the explicit and implicit forms of social media participation with a brand, focusing on the medium's communicative and communal aspects. Consumers' desire to be involved in the production and innovation of a brand's products stems from their dissatisfaction with their traditional end-user roles, and explicit participation refers to social media users actively producing user-generated content on social media as a result of their desire to be involved in the production and innovation of a brand's products (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). Implicit participation, on the other hand, occurs unintentionally (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). Through examining explicit and implicit participation in my online visitor analysis, I will be able to understand if the image of Dickens in Deventer is taken over by visitors to the city.

All in all, several key theories were important to define in answering my research question of what image is created by VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing to attract visitors to Deventer.

Methodology and indication of structure

In order to find out what image of Dickens in Deventer VVV Deventer, dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing use to attract visitors to the city, I gather both quantitative and qualitative data based on my own study of existing traditional and social media content, as well as

interviews and an analysis of the Charles Dickens Kabinet. I am selecting qualitative data because it helps me to investigate and comprehend how Deventer's DMOs operate in terms of marketing techniques, which I want to describe in an explanatory way rather than through statistics. Furthermore, qualitative data allows me to establish what draws visitors to Deventer, how and why they are attracted to Deventer, and how Deventer's DMOs play a role in this. I am conscious that my personal bias based on my participation in the study and my interpretation of the findings has an impact on the qualitative results. By basing my qualitative study on secondary literature as well as previously used academic methods, I am able to reduce this influence. I also collect quantitative data, because it enables me to look for patterns whilst analysing social media. I study the pre-COVID-19 years 2018 and 2019, and the years 2020 and 2021, when the Dickens Festijn was cancelled due to COVID-19. This allows me to compare and contrast the marketing methods used by VVV Deventer, Deventer Marketing, and dEVENTer, as it is more difficult to promote Deventer as a Dickensian city while the Dickens Festijn is not being held.

For my traditional media analysis I use existing data. The conventional media typically consist of five mediums: television, radio, newspapers, books and magazines. Rather than researching all five, I am focusing on television and newspaper. The reason for this is that the television and radio station that promotes the Dickens Festijn, Deventer Radio & Televisie, is owned by the same company, and magazines are very similar to newspapers. Moreover, because I only analyse two mediums, I can do a deep analysis rather than a surface examination. The televised video is from 2019 and the newspaper is from 2018. I am conducting thematic analysis of the televised video. This entails coding all of the information before finding and analysing three major themes. I study each element in order to acquire a better knowledge of how the Dickens Festijn is marketed to build a positive image of Dickens in Deventer that draws visitors to the city. I analyse the use of colour, images and advertisements in the newspaper. Moreover, I am relating this to the overall theme of the DMOs of Deventer in their promotion of Deventer as a Dickensian city.

For my social media analysis I also use existing data, on which I conduct content analysis. I am analysing the website of the Dickens Festijn to see how the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn promotes the event. I furthermore research the Instagram posts uploaded by VVV Deventer from 2018 to 2021. To find the most relevant posts, I searched through VVV Deventer's Instagram feed from 2018 to 2021 single-handedly and identified all posts concerning Dickens. The reason I am only analysing VVV Deventer is that VVV Deventer did

not want to participate in an interview, which means that I need to collect the information online. Moreover, neither Deventer Marketing nor dEVENTer have an Instagram account. I conduct content analysis of both the website of the Dickens Festijn and the Instagram account of VVV Deventer. For the website, this includes a discussion of how the website is formatted and why it is that way. For the Instagram page, this entailed determining which Dickens-related hashtags are frequently used, as well as whether visitors who have participated in a Dickens-related activity in Deventer use these hashtags as well.

Furthermore, I conduct semi-structured interviews with one dEVENTer employee and one Deventer Marketing employee in order to better understand how dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing use an image of Dickens in Deventer to attract Dickensian literary tourists to the city. The two employees' identities are kept anonymous because of the privacy laws in force. The interview with the dEVENTer employee will last 25 minutes and will take place over the phone. I take notes as well as record their responses because I was given permission to record the audio of the interview. Due to scheduling constraints, I conduct the interview with the Deventer Marketing employee by email. Deventer Marketing could only take part in an interview if I supplied them the questions ahead of time and they preferred to type their responses and return the file. Through comparing and contrasting the two interviews, I form a conclusion on how Deventer Marketing and dEVENTer create an image of Dickens in Deventer that attracts visitors to Deventer.

I am furthermore going to the Charles Dickens Kabinet to observe how Dickens is depicted in this museum and what this museum adds to Deventer's status as a Dickensian city. I am interviewing one of the owners of the Charles Dickens Kabinet in addition to thematically analysing the exhibits in this museum. This unstructured interview lasted roughly 40 minutes. I used my phone to take notes on the responses, as I did not have permission to record the audio of the interview. Through discourse analysis of the interview with the proprietor of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, I look for correlations to the image of Dickens in Deventer that Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer sell to the visitors.

Finally, I conduct visitor analysis, both online and at the Charles Dickens Kabinet. The aim of the visitor research is to find out if visitors were attracted by the Dickens marketing of VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing, or if other factors brought them to Deventer. I use existing data for the online visitor research. The online visitor research consists of an analysis of two blog posts, one written by a visitor to the Dickens Festijn in 2018 and one about a visit to the Charles Dickens Kabinet in 2019. I am also looking at visitor ratings on

Tripadvisor and Google reviews for the Charles Dickens Kabinet and the Dickens Festijn. I analyse one Tripadvisor review on the Charles Dickens Kabinet from 5 November 2019 and three Google reviews from 2020 to 2021. Moreover, I am analysing visitor posts about the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet on Instagram. I study the online content using the research by Majeed et al. (2020), Molinillo et al. (2019), Johnson (2020), and Villi and Matikainen (2016) to support my findings. I am analysing the use of words and photographs, the purpose and audience of the posts, the time when the post was uploaded, and the use of hashtags. I conduct participant observation as part of the visitor research at the Charles Dickens Kabinet. As part of the participant observation I study the visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet for three hours. Six people visited the Charles Dickens Kabinet over those three hours. They consisted of two Dutch people and two French people who were guests of the Dutch people, as well as a mother and her child of approximately twelve years old. I analyse what questions they ask the proprietor of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as well as their interactions with other guests and comments about the displays. I am recording this data through notetaking on my phone. I perform thematic analysis of the participant observation to understand the motivations of the people visiting the Charles Dickens Kabinet for their visit as well as find out how the atmosphere and exhibits of the museum affect the visitors.

I use this methodology because it allows me to combine existing data from the internet with fresh data gathered through interviews and participant observation. The online data will be supplemented as a result of this combination. Moreover, VVV Deventer does not want to participate in an interview, which means that online data can be used to replace information that could have been supplied in an interview. The online visitor research is useful since it reveals what Dickensian literary tourists think of the image of Dickens and Deventer, as well as if their post promotes this image as well, meaning that it could demonstrate e-WOM. Overall, this approach is effective for understanding what image of Dickens VVV Deventer, Deventer Marketing, and dEVENTer create to attract visitors to Deventer because I am able to analyse their online postings, which is what visitors see and thus what attracts them to Deventer, but I am also able to hear their perspective on how they create an image of Dickens in Deventer through interviews.

Four analytical chapters and a concluding chapter make up the paper. In the first chapter, I analyse the relationship between Dickens and Deventer, as well as Global Dickens. In this chapter, I explain why Deventer hosts the annual Dickens Festijn and why it markets itself as a Dickensian city, as well as the connection between Deventer's Dickens Festijn and Global

Dickens. I furthermore focus on the way in which Dutch people perceive Dickens. The second chapter examines how the DMOs of Deventer use social and traditional media to attract visitors using Dickens. It also contains an overview of the research by Cheng (2019), Snelson (2016), Andreotta et al. (2019), and Thomas (2020), which complements my findings. The third chapter covers the two interviews with one employee from dEVENTer and one employee from Deventer Marketing. It moreover contains my analysis of the Charles Dickens Kabinet. The fourth chapter contains my visitor research. It also includes a summary of the studies by Majeed et al. (2020), Molinillo et al. (2019), Johnson (2020), and Villi and Matikainen (2016) to support my results.

Chapter 1

Why is Deventer a Dickensian city?

The annual Dickens Festijn will be held in Deventer for the 30th time in 2022, and Deventer Marketing, VVV Deventer, and dEVENTer continue to create an image of Dickens in Deventer in promoting their city through murals portraying scenes of Dickens' stories, selling Dickens-related souvenirs, hosting the annual Dickens Festijn, maintaining the Charles Dickens Kabinet, and displaying a statue of Scrooge in the city centre in December (Gemeente Deventer, 2022). However, as Peter Sadler describes in his poem about the Dickens Festijn, Deventer has no direct connection to Dickens' work or person: "Deventer to the whole world beckons / Come to us and honour Dickens / But though we glory in his name / To the man himself we have no claim" (Sadler, n.d.). Rather than that the Dickens Festijn in Deventer, and the subsequent marketing campaign of Deventer as a Dickensian city by the DMOs of Deventer, has its origin in a direct connection to Dickens, it was founded through the ingenuity of local Emmy Strik.

The origins and growth of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer

The idea of a yearly Dickens Festijn in Deventer came to the mind of Strik in the summer of 1991, when the municipality of Deventer decided that retailers in the city should be open on Sundays in December (indebuurt Deventer, 2017). Strik and her husband owned – and still own – an antique store in the Walstraat in Deventer, and they were against the concept of opening their business on Sundays around Christmas unless there was entertainment (De Stentor, 2019). Inspired by a novel about the Victorian time, Strik envisioned a Dickens Festijn as the ideal option for generating a joyful ambiance during the opening hours of the shops in Deventer on Sunday (Strik, 2020). During a business meeting, Strik pitched her proposal for a Dickens Festijn to the other Deventer businesspeople, and she managed to pique their interest by showing them films about Victorian living conditions, which contained luxury as well as misery and poverty (Strik, 2020). Having persuaded the fellow entrepreneurs in Deventer of her plans, Strik and her husband began organising the first edition of the Dickens Festijn.

Because the municipality of Deventer was opposed to the concept of organising a Dickens Festijn, Strik and her husband arranged the first editions of the Dickens Festijn

themselves, with the support of neighbours (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Strik focused on finding suitable characters for the Dickens Festijn and took care of the clothes of the characters, whilst her husband was in charge of organizational matters (Strik, 2020). Strik wanted the first edition of the Dickens Festijn to be a success, so she made sure that all of the characters at the Dickens Festijn were accurately depicted down to the smallest detail, including Victorian-era dress (Strik, 2020).

The celebration was held in the Walstraat during the early editions of the Dickens Festijn, and consisted of a few booths, a handful of actors, fire pits down the street, two carriages riding through the Walstraat, and roasted chestnuts as a treat (indebuurt Deventer, 2017). Moreover, the Dickens Festijn was a one-day event during the first years of its existence (Strik, 2020). However, when a former spokesperson of Deventer started to work for the NOS, the Netherlands' leading news organisation, they brought attention to the annual Dickens Festijn in Deventer (De Stentor, 2019). This resulted in a surge in attendance, and one-and-a-half-hour lines to enter the Dickens Festijn became commonplace (De Stentor, 2019). More and more people inquired about becoming actors or working behind the scenes, and Deventer's businesspeople were excited about the success of the Dickens Festijn (Strik, 2020). Even though Strik appreciates all of the volunteer support, she maintains tight standards for the characters that are presented at the Dickens Festijn to ensure that the Dickens Festijn remains of high quality (Strik, 2020). As the Dickens Festijn grew in popularity over the years, it was expanded and held in the Bergkwartier, a Deventer neighbourhood (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). It also became a two-day event (Strik, 2020). The Dickens Festijn in Deventer is now one of the major Dickens-related festivals in the Netherlands, and it is made possible because of the 900 actors, 700 costumes and 125,000 visitors who attend each year (Hello Twello, n.d.). Strik and her husband are still involved with the Dickens Festijn, but they do receive help now from the municipality of Deventer, the Overijssel province and VVV Deventer in organising and managing the whole event (indebuurt Deventer, 2017).

During the annual two-day Dickens Festijn in December, the Bergkwartier in Deventer transforms into 19th century London, the time and place in which Dickens lived (Gemeente Deventer, 2022). Actors from many ages dress up as characters from Dickens' stories, like Ebenezer Scrooge from *A Christmas Carol* (1843) and Oliver Twist from *Oliver Twist* (1838) (Gemeente Deventer, 2022). These characters are mostly seen walking around Bergkwartier streets, but can also be found behind windows or even on roofs (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The city itself is decorated with Christmas trees and other Christmas ornaments (Gemeente

Deventer, 2022). Furthermore, passages from the stories of Dickens are acted out and the Christmas Carol singers perform Christmas songs at the event (Gemeente Deventer, 2022). Sadler illustrated this in his poem about the Dickens Festijn in Deventer: “But in faces you will look / Whilst strolling through our town [Deventer] / His characters from every book / Are stalking up and down” (Sadler, n.d.). Moreover, all the shops are open, and most of them have booths where they display their items, like a Christmas market. Strik’s initial purpose of creating a pleasurable atmosphere during Sunday operating hours has therefore been accomplished.

Strik’s interest in Dickens was inspired by her father. Strik accompanied her father to England every year since he loved the country, which fueled her enthusiasm for England (indebuurt Deventer, 2017). Her father also had a bookcase with a vast collection of Dickens’ works, through which Strik learned about the author’s stories (indebuurt Deventer, 2017). Strik’s father recommended *The Pickwick Papers* (1836) to her as a child, but advised her to start with simpler Dickens stories first (Strik, 2020). Strik herself explains this: “the translated paperbacks were on the shelf and I started with *David Copperfield*. That is the reason I chose to recreate a Dickensian Christmas, and the decor was already there: I live in a street in Deventer with old houses. It really wasn’t difficult to recreate the time in which Charles Dickens lived” (Hawksley, 2014). Because Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol* (1843) is one of the most well-known Christmas stories in the world, Strik perceives Dickens to be one of the founders of the modern-day Christmas celebration, which is not only about celebrating the birth of Jesus, but rather also about sharing, love, family and friendship (indebuurt Deventer, 2017). Strik believed that the Dickens Festijn would be a success because people are often open for celebration and behave cordially around Christmas time (Strik, 2020). It is indeed successful, which has also been noted by the organisation of the wreath-laying ceremony commemorating the 200th birthday of Dickens, as Strik and other Dickens Festijn organisers were invited to the celebration in London (Strik, 2020). They received a prominent place during the ceremony next to family of Dickens, professors specialized in Dickens, and the director of the Charles Dickens Museum in London (Strik, 2020). Moreover, Strik was thanked for keeping Dickens alive in the Netherlands at the opening of the celebration of Dickens’ birthday (Strik, 2020). This is a perfect example showing that Deventer is indeed perceived as a Dickensian city.

Even though the Dickens Festijn in December is the most prominent marker of Deventer as a Dickensian city, VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing seek to tie Dickens’ image to Deventer throughout the year. The Charles Dickens Kabinet, for example, is open all

year (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). In this museum, the visitor learns about the life and work of Dickens through the permanent exhibition, which includes first edition Dickens' novels, Dickensian costumes and figurines of the characters of Dickens (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The Charles Dickens Kabinet also has many pieces from Strik's own Dickens collection on display (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Moreover, the Charles Dickens Kabinet has a library with special editions of Dickens' novels and a collection of Dickens clippings (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The costumes of the characters portrayed during the Dickens Festijn are furthermore stored on the upper floor of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, which is also where participants of the Dickens Festijn can collect their clothes before the start of the Dickens Festijn (Strik, 2020). Apart from the Charles Dickens Kabinet, the DMOs of Deventer also use Dickens as a synecdoche for Deventer by selling Dickens-related souvenirs as well as the book *Deventer ademt Dickens* (2020) in stores in Deventer throughout the year, and by depicting murals of scenes from Dickens' stories in the city centre of Deventer.

Global Dickens

The phenomenon of Global Dickens can serve as an explanation for the popularity of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer as well as the successful use of Dickens as a synecdoche for Deventer. As Reitz (2014) described in her essay, Dickens' work has a global reach, which means it may appeal to a wide range of people from various origins and cultures. It is therefore no wonder that, in addition to the Dickens Festijn in Deventer, other countries organise their own Dickensian celebrations, such as the Holly Dickens Festival in Holly, Michigan, or the Dickens Village Festival in Carlyle, Saskatchewan, Canada (American Express Services Europe Ltd., 2021). Moreover, Juliet John (2012) explains that the global reach of Dickens' work "depends in large part on the big and small screen as well as on the internet" (p. 503). Dickens' stories can now be read online, listened to on audiobooks, or seen in televised or digital adaptations, allowing him to reach a wider audience, including young people. Joanna Robinson (2014) uses the BBC, the British Broadcasting Corporation, as an example of an organisation that aims to make Dickens accessible to a broad audience with varying levels of familiarity with the author. To accomplish this, the BBC uses humour to illustrate Dickens' importance in modern-day Britain, demonstrating Dickens' influence on contemporary British culture to a culturally varied audience (Robinson, 2014). Moreover, film adaptations such as *The Muppet*

Christmas Carol (1992), which adapts Dickens' classic *A Christmas Carol* (1843) into a Muppets show, and *Oliver Twist* (2005), which tells the story of Oliver Twist through the medium of film rather than the book medium, appeal to both the older and younger generations. Furthermore, the NPO, the Dutch public broadcaster, has been presenting *Scrooge Live* around Christmas since 2020. *Scrooge Live* aims generate money for charity by using Dickens' theme of kindness and sharing in *A Christmas Carol* (1843). It is because of the digital media therefore that Dickens is made accessible to a much wider range of people across the world. The Dickens Festijn in Deventer, where people of all ages congregate to both participate and enjoy the performances of actors dressed up as characters from Dickens' work, exemplifies this tendency of Dickens' popularity throughout generations.

Despite Dickens' global appeal, his stories are interpreted differently depending on a country's culture. In order to understand how dEVENTer, VVV Deventer, and Deventer Marketing create an image of Deventer as a Dickensian city, it is important to know how Dutch people perceive Dickens. According to Odin Dekkers' (2013) study of Dickens' reception in the Netherlands, the Dutch public's primary interest in Dickens is Christmas-related. Dickens' works are rarely part of the school curriculum in Dutch schools, which means that Dutch pupils are unlikely to obtain any education about his life or novels (Dekkers, 2013). As a result, many Dutch people only know Dickens through televised adaptations or festivities such as the Dickens Festijn in Deventer (Dekkers, 2013). The stories of Dickens are rarely broadcast in the Netherlands, except when it is Christmas and Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (1843) is adapted to a modern-day Christmas celebration on Dutch television. Moreover, the Dickens Festijn is also only held in December and contains both actors portraying characters from Dickens' novels and Christmas shoppers (Dekkers, 2013). For this reason, Dekkers (2013) concludes that "in the Dutch popular imagination, Dickens and Christmas are inseparable" (p. 294). Dick Kooiman (2012) explains that Dickens is connected to Christmas because Christmas is often a theme in his stories. Dickens for instance first wrote a Christmas story, *A Christmas Dinner* (1835), before publishing five Christmas books: the famous *A Christmas Carol* (1843), *The Chimes* (1844), *The Cricket on the Hearth* (1845), *The Battle of Life* (1846), and *The Haunted Man* (1848) (Kooiman, 2012). Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers* (1837) also includes a Christmas-related scene, as Christmas is celebrated at Dingley Dell, the mansion of family Wardle, and Dickens also wrote Christmas stories as a contribution to the *Household Words* periodical, like *A Christmas Tree* (1850) and *What Christmas is as we grow older* (1851) (Kooiman, 2012). This explains the connection between Dickens and Christmas in the Netherlands, where

Dickens is considered synonymous with Christmas. Even if they have not read any of Dickens' works, many Dutch people enjoy Dickens-related Christmas celebrations, such as the Dickens Festijn in Deventer (Kooiman, 2012). Kooiman (2012) explains the phenomenon of Dutch people enjoying a Dickensian Christmas without having knowledge of Dickens by the fact that the majority of the Dutch public simply assume the festivities contain a Dickensian Christmas celebration, since they do know that Dickens is famous for his Christmas stories. Moreover, according to Joop Van Kessel (2012), many Dutch people have not read Dickens' works due to cultural differences and a linguistic barrier when compared to other Anglophone authors. According to Van Kessel (2012), the Dutch need to make an effort to understand Dickens through translation and cultural adaptation. The majority of the Dutch public refrain from this and assume the connection of Dickens to Christmas. This is also attributable to the fact that Dickens is not included in the high school curriculum, making it unnecessary for many Dutch people to read his works or even know about Dickens' existence as a writer (Dekkers, 2013). There are however also Dutch people who are interested in really understanding Dickens. Dekkers (2013) for instance explains that the Netherlands has had its very own branch of the Dickens Fellowship since 1957. The Dutch branch of the Dickens Fellowship is located in Haarlem and was the first branch in a non-English speaking country (Dekkers, 2013). The Dutch Dickens Fellowship, which has 80 members, publishes its own periodical called *The Dutch Dickensian* and holds quarterly meetings with readings on Dickens (Dekkers, 2013). Even though the majority of the Dutch public connects Dickens to Christmas, there is therefore also a group of Dutch Dickensians interested in understanding Dickens from a broader perspective. According to Van Kessel (2012), a member of the Dutch Dickens Fellowship, the fact that there are still 80 Dutch people interested in thoroughly understanding Dickens' works and life is remarkable. The reason for this is that Dickens is in competition with other authors, with new technology that requires less reading time, and with time, as Dickens is a nineteenth-century author (Van Kessel, 2012). Nevertheless, Van Kessel (2012) states that the existing Dutch Dickensians are very much involved in the Fellowship, for instance as a speaker or introducer. All in all, there are Dutch Dickensians, part of the Dutch Dickens Fellowship, who have specialised in the works and life of Dickens, and thus do not merely connect Dickens to Christmas. The majority of the Dutch public however celebrate Dickens because of his assumed relation to Christmas.

Another explanation for Dickens' popularity across the globe is that Dickens based his characters on real people and their lives (Richardson, 2014). According to the research of Ruth

Richardson (2014) for instance, Dickens based his characters of Scrooge and Marley on two tradesmen with very similar names, namely Goodge and Marney, who were neighbours of Dickens. Moreover, Dickens based Wilkins Micawber from *David Copperfield* (1850) on his father, who like Wilkins Micawber served time in a debtors' prison, and Mrs. Nickleby from *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839) on his mother (Alberge, 2012). Sam Weller of *The Pickwick Papers* (1836) was inspired by Dan Weller, the owner of the shoe shop across the street from Dickens' house, and Mr. Sowerberry from *Oliver Twist* (1838) was inspired by a publican named Sowerberry (Richardson, 2014). Readers may easily comprehend Dickens' characters since he based them on real people. Moreover, the characters serve as a reflection of Britain during the nineteenth century (Richardson, 2014). Similarly, Dickens drew inspiration for his literary settings from real structures. Dickens, for example, lived nine doors away from the four-story workhouse in Cleveland Street that motivated him to create *Oliver Twist* (1838), according to Richardson (2014). Even though the work of Dickens is grounded in reality however, his novels also include imagination. Robert Higbie (1988) argues that for Dickens, imagination refers to the force that allows people to “transform or transcend reality and create a vision of an ideal” (p. 92) whilst at the same time imagination is also “a fanciful playing with reality as comic characters” (p. 92). Dickens created a heightened and exasperated form of realism through combining realism with imagination, as he felt that imagination in a novel is not convincing if it is not realistic (Higbie, 1988). This can be seen in Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854), where the circus functions as a symbol for a compromise between realism and imagination (Higbie, 1988). Mr. Sleary's circus in *Hard Times* (1854) is situated between Coketown and the country, which means that the circus is unable to both enter the town or escape the country (Higbie, 1988). Higbie (1988) argues that the location of the circus in *Hard Times* (1854) symbolises Dickens' belief that imagination is connected to realism. Like the circus is situated between reality, which is Coketown, and romanticised nature, which is the country, imagination is also enclosed by realism and escapism (Higbie, 1988). Dickens thus believes that reality cannot be escaped, but can be improved by using imagination (Higbie, 1988).

Furthermore, Dickens is a popular author because he addressed difficult topics in his novels, such as poverty and illness, which most other nineteenth-century authors avoided. Dickens' own life story provides an explanation for this. Michael Slater (2009) explains that Dickens was forced to quit his education at the age of ten due to his father's financial problems. This led Dickens to be isolated from his friends (Slater, 2009). Moreover, his sister Harriet died around this time too (Slater, 2009). According to Slater (2009), the unfairness of the lack of

company that Dickens felt inspired him in his writings. Dickens furthermore had to work at Warren's Blacking Factory, a shoe polish factory, when he was twelve years old, because his father was sent to the Marshalsea Prison, the debtors' prison, due to his financial situation (Slater, 2009). Slater (2009) explains that the "innocent child-victims" (p. 22) that Dickens observed while working at Warren's Blacking Factory were imprinted in his memory and served as characters for his subsequent stories. Furthermore, Dickens' firsthand encounters with child labour and the travails of the working class also impacted his future works. Dickens for instance knew how child labourers felt, of which he expressed to his friend John Forster: "No words can express the secret agony of my soul . . . the deep remembrance of the sense I had of being utterly neglected and hopeless" (Dickens, n.d.). The working conditions at Warren's Blacking Factory prompted Dickens' feelings of neglect. These were awful due to the long working hours, as the child laborers had to paste labels on bottles of shoe polish for ten hours each day, and bad environment, described by Dickens as "a crazy, tumbledown house with rotten floors and staircase, dirty and decaying, with rats swarming down in the cellar" (Dickens, n.d.). Nevertheless, these experiences allowed Dickens to write about social problems in nineteenth-century Britain, which made him a popular author.

Moreover, Dickens intended for his works to appeal to people of all classes, meaning that he aimed to be read by a wide variety of readers (John, 2010). Dickens for instance hoped to address "many thousands of people, of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions" (Dickens, 1850, as cited in John, 2010, p. 119) through his weekly magazine *Household Words*. Dickens' desire to develop a large readership for his books stemmed from his wish to improve and cleanse the popular press, which he believed was damaging to its readers rather than useful (John, 2010). The fresh voice provided by Dickens in his works is still appreciated today and forms an inspiration for festivities such as the Dickens Festijn in Deventer. Furthermore, the social issues addressed in Dickens' novels are useful for the Dickens Festijn, because they indicate progress made during the eighteenth century and because they still represent some aspects of the world today. This can be seen in the themes of child exploitation, repressive education, industrialization, and the mechanization of humans.

Dickens addressed the problem of child exploitation in *Oliver Twist* (1838), amongst other works, as Oliver and the other children in the novel are forced to work under poor conditions for little food. This story is attractive to the visitors of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer, because the fictional world of child exploitation allows the visitor to give back (Stegink, 2020). Fynn Stegink (2020), who participates as a child laborer and beggar at the

Dickens Festijn each year, explains that visitors give much money to children at the Dickens Festijn, especially when they sit alone and sing a song. The topic of child exploitation however is also still relevant today. Major brands, such as H&M, Zara, and Nike have all been accused of using south Asian children in the production of their wares for example (Muller, 2020). Another social issue that functions as a theme in the works of Dickens is the issue of repressive education. Dickens was a firm supporter of universal, non-sectarian education, meaning that he believed that education should be accessible to everyone (Litvack, 2000). Because Dickens was removed from school due to his father's financial problems, which consequently led to Dickens being forced to work at Warren's Blacking Factory, Dickens experienced first-hand the importance of education, as well as the ease with which one's education can be taken away (Slater, 2009). Dickens' viewpoint on education is captured in one of his speeches: "If you would reward honesty, if you would give encouragement to good, if you would stimulate the idle, eradicate evil, or correct what is bad, education -- comprehensive liberal education -- is the one thing needful, and the one effective end" (Dickens, 1844). The topic of education is for instance discussed in *A December Vision* (1850), which includes priests and teachers discussing what to teach without finding an agreement. Education is still not universal nowadays. Even though most western children have access to an excellent education, teachers in for instance Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda do not have the resources to give their children an all-round education (The World Bank Group, 2019).

Finally, Dickens also wrote about industrialization in his novels. The industrialization period roughly spanned from 1760 to 1840, which means that it took place during Dickens' lifetime. Dickens was not in favour of industrialization, perceiving it to be harmful to both nature and the human spirit (Slater, 2009). This attitude towards industrialization is reflected in his depiction of the city Coketown in his novel *Hard Times* (1854). This city is described as "the painted face of a savage" (chapter 5), as it is coloured by the smog and pollution from the factories. The smoke that fills the sky in Coketown is referred to as "interminable serpents" (chapter 5) and the machines are compared to an "elephant in a state of melancholy madness" (chapter 5). These negative descriptions of the atmosphere in Coketown show that Dickens believed industrialization brought destruction rather than benefits. Nevertheless, the industrialization period forms the basis of modern-day society in the twenty-first century, as today many western people depend on machines, such as cars or phones. It is thus interesting for visitors of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer to have the opportunity to get a sense of the industrialization period in the nineteenth century. A consequence of industrialization is the

machine-like behaviour of the workers in the factories. In *Hard Times* (1854), Dickens describes the factory workers as lacking personality, because they go “in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work” (chapter 5). Emily Folk (2021) explains that the effects of industrialization are still visible, and even have worsened, in the twenty-first century. These effects include water, soil and air pollution, climate change causing the permafrost to melt, and bad working conditions for factory workers (Folk, 2021). By addressing the issues of child exploitation, repressive education, industrialization, and the mechanization of humans in his novels, Dickens effectively mirrored the realities of nineteenth-century Britain in his novels. This is used by the organisers of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer to show the visitors the problems of nineteenth-century British society. Moreover, these issues are still problematic in the twenty-first century, which means that Dickens remains relevant in mirroring society.

All in all, there is no direct connection to Dickens and Deventer, but nevertheless Strik managed to create a yearly Dickens Festijn inspired by her own and her father’s love for Dickens and England. Even though Strik and her husband managed the Dickens Festijn alone for years, they now receive help from the municipality of Deventer, the Overijssel province and VVV Deventer. The phenomenon of Global Dickens is helpful in explaining why Deventer is successful in hosting the Dickens Festijn each year. However, Dickens is particularly connected to Christmas in the Netherlands, as many Dutch people have not read any works by Dickens, but do know Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol* (1843). Finally, Dickens experienced the social issues of nineteenth-century Britain first-hand, which provided him with the knowledge to write about these topics and mirror society.

Chapter 2

Media analysis

The media play a significant role in the creation of the image of Dickens in Deventer that will attract visitors to Deventer for VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing. To comprehend how the DMOs construct an image of Dickens in Deventer to increase the number of visitors coming to Deventer, it is necessary to examine both traditional and social media platforms via which Deventer is promoted as a Dickensian city. Moreover, studying the media used by the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn is relevant for understanding how the Dickens Festijn in particular is marketed, as the DMOs of Deventer work closely together with the organisation of the Dickens Festijn to promote the event. Before examining the media employed by the organisation of the Dickens Festijn and the DMOs of Deventer, I will present an outline of traditional and social media analysis studies.

Ying Cheng (2019) investigated the interaction between conventional and social media, focusing on how traditional media might innovate in the face of social media's growing popularity and development. Cheng (2019) emphasises the necessity of product marketing for traditional media because traditional media rely on advertising revenue, which is defined as revenue generated by advertisements displayed in traditional media. Product marketing is the business of bringing a product to market, and the product, according to Cheng (2019), is the content of traditional media. As a result, my traditional media analysis focuses on the product advertised in traditional media. Moreover, conventional media must provide unique content in order to attract an audience, such as a weekly series (Cheng, 2019). Traditional media users generally lose interest in it due to the advantages of social media, but their attention is maintained through innovative content. I therefore also examined the creativity of the DMOs of Deventer and the organisation of the Dickens Festijn in terms of content. Nevertheless, Cheng (2019) argues that conventional media must have a digital counterpart in order to survive. The ideal way to reach an audience therefore, according to Cheng (2019), is to use a combination of social and traditional media. My examination of the conventional media used by the DMOs of Deventer and the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn therefore also includes an analysis of their use of social media in order to demonstrate whether the use of both media is effective in reaching a wider audience.

Chareen L. Snelson (2016) researched the use of qualitative and mixed approaches to analyse social media. According to Snelson (2016), social media is characterised by “users who post text messages, pictures, and videos online” (p. 1). I also looked at the images, videos, and text messages that the DMOs of Deventer and the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn shared on social media in my analysis. Snelson’s (2016) findings include that social media analysis is most often performed through data collection, whereby researchers collect data through for instance interviews, surveys, or focus groups. Researchers aim to learn more about the reasons of users for utilising social media and their experiences with it by gathering data (Snelson, 2016). This type of social media analysis could be both qualitative or quantitative, with surveys always being quantitative (Snelson, 2016). The second most-used method of researchers in analysing social media is to focus on content analysis (Snelson, 2016). This includes researching Facebook posts, Youtube videos, tweets on Twitter, or any other type of social media information (Snelson, 2016). I also used content analysis in my analysis of the social media employed by the DMOs of Deventer and the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn, as I looked at the hashtags used and which words are used in promoting Deventer as a Dickensian city for the years 2018-2021. I went through the Instagram feed of VVV Deventer and selected all posts related to Dickens. I then examined recurring and new hashtags to see if a trend could be discovered in terms of hashtag usage. Moreover, I looked at the amount of likes a social media post received as well as the times it was uploaded. The number of likes gathered by a social media post indicate the level of engagement of the public with VVV Deventer. Moreover, Katie Powers (2022) highlights the significance of posting on social media on a timely basis, stating that posts are most visible early in the morning on weekdays. As many people scroll through their feed when they first wake up, posts uploaded early in the morning will appear towards the top of their page. (Powers, 2022). Content analysis could also be conducted both qualitatively or quantitatively, though Snelson (2016) claims qualitative analysis is more common. Qualitative analysis allows researchers to discover and understand the way in which users engage with social media, as it for instance shows them the amount of posts made by someone or terms used by a particular person (Snelson, 2016). For this reason, my approach to content analysis was qualitative.

The research of Matthew Andreotta (2019) et al. on social media analysis shows that oftentimes researchers decide to analyse a portion of content, rather than the complete set of content of a social medium. Andreotta et al. (2019) therefore propose a four-phased framework that allows academics to more easily decide which portion of content to use in their analysis.

According to Andreotta et al. (2019), social media researchers should begin by creating a corpus of social media content, from which the most relevant content will be retrieved using data science techniques. Relevance is defined as the ability to answer the research question while also allowing for thorough qualitative analysis. (Andreotta et al., 2019). Topic modeling, which refers to the automatic modeling of subjects based on semantics, is an example of a data science technique. Following the retrieval of the most relevant content, social media researchers can extract a section of that content before qualitatively analyzing that portion of relevant social media content (Andreotta et al., 2019). Though I did not have access to data science techniques, the four-phased framework served as the foundation for my examination of the social media of VVV Deventer. My corpus consisted out of the Instagram posts of VVV Deventer. To select the most relevant posts, I went through the Instagram feed of the DMO from 2018 to 2021 single-handedly and selected all posts about Dickens. After that, I analysed these posts.

Finally, Bronwen Thomas (2020) researched the connection between literature and social media. Social media is typically perceived to be superficial, and can be described as petty, ephemeral and even egotistical (Thomas, 2020). Literature, on the other hand, is praised for its ability to question conventions and preconceptions, and provide new perspectives on universal features of the human experience that extend beyond the present, thus transcending superficiality (Thomas, 2020). Thomas (2020) however argues that social media sites allow for the creation and distribution of new types of literary works. Moreover, social media platforms enable a wider range of interaction with literature (Thomas, 2020). The social media platforms employed by the DMOs of Deventer make Dickens available to anyone with an internet connection, and consequently attract visitors who are not necessarily interested in Dickens to the Dickens Festijn in Deventer. As a result, a larger number of people get exposed to Dickens' stories. Using Thomas' (2020) research on the interaction of literature and social media, I looked at how VVV Deventer attracts visitors to the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet using social media, focusing on creative participation and play.

Promotion of Deventer as a Dickensian city through traditional media

The traditional media consist out of television, radio, newspapers, books and magazines. Deventer has been promoted as a Dickensian city through all of these channels, but for my analysis, I focused on television and a newspaper. I chose to investigate these two channels

since the television and radio station that promotes the Dickens Festijn is owned by the same company, and magazines are very comparable to newspapers. Moreover, I already used the book *Deventer ademt Dickens* (2020) for my analysis in chapter 1. Deventer Radio & Televisie, which is part of Stichting Mediastad Deventer and works to keep Deventer citizens informed about local news, has advertised the Dickens Festijn on television and radio (Deventer Radio & Televisie, n.d.). The Dickens Festijn is thus promoted to the residents of Deventer. Deventer Marketing has a number of news distribution relationships, one of which is with Deventer Radio & Televisie (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). As a result, it is relevant to look at how Deventer Radio & Televisie portray the Dickens Festijn since it has an impact on the image of Dickens in Deventer. Moreover, the Dickens Festijn Krant is available for purchase each year among Dickens Festijn guests. VVV Deventer publishes the Dickens Festijn Krant, which also carries the ...inDeventer! logo (Dickens Festijn krant, 2018).

The 2019 video by Deventer Radio & Televisie promotes the Dickens Festijn as accessible and enjoyable for everyone. The research of Cheng (2019) has shown that product marketing is the content of traditional media, and the product that is marketed in the video of Deventer Radio & Televisie is the Dickens Festijn in Deventer. The Dickens Festijn is efficiently marketed through a mass marketing strategy involving the video's presenters and interviewees. According to Philip Kotler's research (2007), effective segmentation is required for successful mass marketing, which means that mass marketing only works when distinct groups of individuals are targeted. As a result, the Deventer Radio & Televisie video features a diverse range of people. Two presenters, one male around 50 to 60 years old and one female around 20 years old, lead the video (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). The message is conveyed that the Dickens Festijn appeals to everyone because the two presenters are of diverse genders and ages. This notion is also communicated through the video's six interviews. Four of the interviews are with Dutch citizens from various parts of the Netherlands, both male and female, of all ages, who are attending the Dickens Festijn with friends or a partner (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). Deventer Radio & Televisie hopes to demonstrate through the diverse collection of people interviewed that the Dickens Festijn offers something to everyone and can consequently be enjoyed by everybody. Furthermore, one interviewee stated that the Dickens Festijn is worth returning for each year, demonstrating the pleasure that the Dickens Festijn brings to visitors year after year (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). The other two interviews are with foreign literary tourists from China and the United Kingdom who are attending the Dickens Festijn. (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). The success of the Dickens

Festijn in Deventer is highlighted by the interview with the man from the United Kingdom, as it shows that the Dickens Festijn draws tourists from Dickens' native country. The conversation with the Chinese man demonstrates that the Dickens Festijn attracts guests from all around the world, not just from neighbouring nations. Because the video from Deventer Radio & Televisie includes people from many demographics, it successfully employs a mass marketing tactic. Moreover, the video creates the image that Dickens in Deventer is accessible to everyone and can be enjoyed by everyone.

The video broadcast by Deventer Radio & Televisie also promotes the Dickens Festijn in Deventer by offering an impression of the atmosphere there. The film features actors performing, visitors having fun, choirs singing Christmas carols, and animals like sheep, lamas, dogs, and a donkey (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). This presents a favorable image of the Dickens Festijn, making the viewer want to visit the Dickens Festijn. Moreover, the conversion of Deventer into a Dickens celebration is illustrated by footage of the surroundings, such as murals depicting scenes from Dickens' books, a graveyard with Dickens' grave, and a Christmas market (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). The entire video is furthermore set to a selection of modern Christmas songs, which emphasises the connection between Dickens and Christmas (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). As a result, sentiments related to Christmas, such as warmth and pleasure, are evoked in the viewer of the video and thus associated with the Dickens Festijn.

Moreover, as Cheng (2019) found, traditional media have a hard time surviving without a digital counterpart. This is visible in the way Deventer Radio & Televisie promotes its services to the public. Despite the fact that Deventer Radio & Televisie transmits their shows live on television, they also employ digital media to archive and promote their shows (Deventer Radio & Televisie). The video promoting the Dickens Festijn was broadcast live on television and is also available on YouTube as well as on the Deventer Radio & Televisie website (Deventer RTV, 2019; Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). This allows for a larger reach in terms of audience. The video on YouTube, for example, has been viewed 516 times and liked 14 times, which indicates its engagement with (potential) visitors of the Dickens Festijn (Deventer RTV, 2019). Moreover, the footage of the 2019 Dickens Festijn can be shared via six online media channels and one analogue platform: Facebook, Twitter, Google+, Pinterest, LinkedIn, Email and through printing the page (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). Deventer Radio & Televisie strives to have visitors of the website promote the Dickens Festijn by sharing the video as part of their Dickens Festijn promotion (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019).

Traditional media, as Cheng (2019) correctly found in his research, therefore require social media to reach a broader audience.

The Dickens Festijn is advertised not only on television but also in newspapers. A newspaper containing news on the Dickens Festijn is distributed among the Dickens Festijn visitors during each Dickens Festijn. Heleen Buurman, who sells the newspapers to visitors at the Dickens Festijn, explains that the Dickens Festijn newspaper is delivered to the residents of the municipality of Deventer a few days before the Dickens Festijn starts (Buurman, 2020). Visitors to the Dickens Festijn can purchase a newspaper for a modest fee while waiting to enter the festival (Buurman, 2020). The Dickens Festijn Krant is produced in partnership collaboration between VVV Deventer and the organisation of the Dickens Festijn. I analysed the 2018 Dickens Festijn newspaper, of which the content, and thus the product that is marketed, is the Dickens Festijn (Dickens Festijn krant, 2018). However, the publication also includes advertisements for the Charles Dickens Kabinet as well as other Deventer activities that are unrelated to Dickens (Dickens Festijn krant, 2018). Red and black colours dominate the 2018 Dickens Festijn Krant. These colours promote both VVV Deventer and the Christmas atmosphere surrounding the Dickens Festijn. On their website, VVV Deventer consistently uses the colours red-orange and black (...inDeventer!, 2022). Red is associated with Christmas, which explains why the red-orange colour used by VVV Deventer is changed into a dark red colour in the 2018 Dickens Festijn Krant. This reflects the Christmas theme of the Dickens Festijn. Every page of the 2018 Dickens Festijn Krant furthermore also includes images to match the material on the page. The images not only contribute to a pleasing layout, but they also depict what the Dickens Festijn looks like and make the Dickens Festijn accessible to readers who prefer to process information through photographs rather than words. Furthermore, the 2018 Dickens Festijn Krant advertises the Charles Dickens Kabinet by informing readers that there is a permanent Dickens exhibition on display in Deventer that has special works by Dickens, such as first editions, highlighting the connection between Deventer and Dickens (Dickens Festijn krant, 2018). The advertising in the 2018 Dickens Festijn newspaper for other events or stores in Deventer show that Strik's original goal in organising the Dickens Festijn, namely establishing an agreeable ambiance for shops that had to be open on Sundays, was achieved and is currently still in practise. Finally, the 2018 Dickens Festijn Krant includes thorough information about the Dickens Festijn's accessibility by rail, vehicle, and bicycle. This attracts visitors, as they themselves do not have to search for ways to enter Deventer or where to park. The newspaper does not rely on social media because it is distributed at the Dickens

Festijn, but it is successful in advertising the Dickens Festijn by providing visitors with relevant information on the Dickens Festijn. It not only emphasises the Christmas theme in the image of Dickens in Deventer, but it also serves as a source of information for visitors.

Promotion of Deventer as a Dickensian city through social media

In analysing the social media of VVV Deventer and the organisation of the Dickens Festijn, I looked at the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn as well as the Instagram page of VVV Deventer. I investigated the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn because they work closely with the Deventer DMOs, and by analysing their website, I am able to determine whether the image of Dickens in Deventer that they promote is consistent with the image that the Deventer DMOs promote. Moreover, I only analysed the Instagram page of VVV Deventer, rather than also their Facebook page, because both social media platforms contain the same posts regarding Dickens, which makes analysis of both superfluous. I looked at the frequency of popular hashtags used to promote the Dickens Festijn in December, and if visitors of the Dickens Festijn also use the hashtags that VVV Deventer employ in their posts. I moreover examined the efficiency of posts by establishing the uploading times of VVV Deventer. I looked at the years 2018-2021 for my analysis.

The website of the Dickens Festijn organisation

The Dickens Festijn organisation does not use social media sites to publicise the event, but rather relies on their own website for promotion. Through using the four-phased framework of Andreotta et al. (2019) to obtain the most relevant data for answering my research question, I concluded that the website of the Dickens Festijn organisation contains three major aspects that are effective for promoting Deventer as a Dickensian city. Firstly, the website is available in three languages: Dutch, English, and German (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). According to Ernest Cyril de Run, Teh Chin Yee, and Muhammad Khaliq (2012), language influences how potential users react to a brand's marketing campaign. Customers prefer their native language to be utilised in advertisements, though they do not object if English is used (De Run, Yee, & Khaliq, 2012). This can be explained by the fact that English is a global language, meaning

that it has developed “a special role that is recognized in every country” (Crystal, 2003, p. 3) because it is either the mother tongue of speakers or the language that is most commonly taught to students at school. All information on the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn is in Dutch (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). This includes information on the Dickens Festijn, *Deventer Ademt Dickens* (2020), the Charles Dickens Kabinet, background information on Dickens' most popular stories, and a page with links to articles, images, and videos from the Dickens Festijn (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). When English or German is selected however, only appropriate information about the next Dickens Festijn is supplied (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). This means that the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn presents a different image of Dickens in Deventer to Dutch residents, German tourists, and visitors from other countries. People who speak Dutch have better access to information on the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn than people who do not (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). They can, for example, read an overview of Dickens' most popular writings, allowing them to develop a vision of the author before visiting the Dickens Festijn (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Even though this information is also available on other websites, particularly in English but also in other languages, it is more convenient for a visitor to the Dickens Festijn to have access to it through the Dickens Festijn website because they are spared from having to actively look for it. Nevertheless, the Dickens Festijn in Deventer attracts a large number of German literary tourists each year (De Telegraaf, 2017). They are drawn to the Dickens Festijn because of its Christmas theme (De Telegraaf, 2017). According to a Dickens Festijn organiser, German visitors come to the festival because of its non-commercial, theatrical nature, which is cultivated not only through the Dickens Festijn's website, but also through the promotional efforts of the tour buses that transport German visitors to the festival (De Telegraaf, 2017). Finally, the Dickens Festijn organisation informs visitors from outside the Netherlands and Germany about the Dickens Festijn by providing information in English on the website (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). It is likely that their image of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer is largely influenced by the photographs shown on the website.

The website of the Dickens Festijn organisation contains pictures of the Dickens Festijn. The research of Huosong Xia et al. (2020) has shown that the visual attention that photographs demand from consumers influences their decision-making process. Photographs are often the first impression a consumer has of a product, which means that it is essential for a brand to pique the user's interest by presenting them with distinctive aspects that attract the target audience's attention in a photograph (Xia et al., 2020). This means that the photos on the

Dickens Festijn's website should be aesthetically appealing. This is accomplished by their depiction of the ambiance, which gives potential visitors an idea of what to expect during the Dickens Festijn. The majority of the photographs on the Dickens Festijn's website contain images of participating performers, who are all dressed in Victorian costumes and are portrayed as completely in character. This helps to market the Dickens Festijn since (possible) visitors can see how the performers on the photographs will transport them to nineteenth-century London. The Christmas atmosphere at the Dickens Festijn is highlighted alongside the image of nineteenth-century London that is presented to website visitors (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). One of the images, for example, depicts a chalkboard sign wishing the website's users a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, while another shows people wearing Santa hats (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Visitors to the website expect the Dickens Festijn to be joyful and cozy, because this atmosphere is created through the photographs on the website of the organisation behind the Dickens Festijn. The photographs on the website create the idea that the Dickens Festijn is not only a Christmas event, they also transport visitors to nineteenth-century London.

Finally, the website of the organisation of the Dickens Festijn is organised into four sections: home, Dickensboek, info, media (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Dutch visitors can therefore easily access the information they require by clicking on one of the subheadings. When visitors click on Dickensboek, they will be taken to a page where they may learn more about the book *Deventer Ademt Dickens* (2020) (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The fact that Deventer has a book about Dickens in Deventer might add to the legitimacy of Deventer as a true Dickensian city for the visitor of the website. Furthermore, when a website visitor clicks on info, they are taken to a page about the Charles Dickens Kabinet as well as a page with summaries of Dickens' most important works (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The website visitor learns that Dickens in Deventer is not just about Christmas through reading about the permanent display on Dickens in the Charles Dickens Kabinet. Instead, the image is created that Dickens is always present in Deventer. This impression is reinforced by the page containing summaries of Dickens' work, which include not just Dickens' Christmas stories, such as *A Christmas Carol* (1843), but also works with other themes, such as poverty or a difficult upbringing. Nevertheless, information on the upcoming Dickens Festijn emerges when clicking on the website, ensuring that the visitors of the website are immediately able to access this information (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Only visitors interested in other aspects of Dickens in Deventer outside the Dickens Festijn will be exposed to information on the Charles

Dickens Kabinet and summaries, because it requires them to click on the links. As a result, the main image provided on the Dickens Festijn website remains a vision of a Christmas market with Dickensian characters strolling around.

Overall, the Dickens Festijn's website portrays a different image to Dutch, German, and English-speaking visitors. Nonetheless, the images on the website reflect a friendly, cheerful environment of the Dickens Festijn. Furthermore, the website gives Dutch visitors a comprehensive overview of Dickens in Deventer, including information on the Charles Dickens Kabinet and summaries of Dickens' novels. This offers a more nuanced image than the one presented to non-native Dutch speakers, which is solely focused on Christmas.

The Instagram page of VVV Deventer

To understand how VVV Deventer promotes Deventer as a Dickensian city, I analysed their Instagram posts related to Dickens uploaded from 2018 to 2021. I conducted content analysis to analyse the Instagram posts by VVV Deventer, as advised by Snelson's research (2016). For this analysis I paid attention to the hashtags used and the times when the posts were uploaded. Firstly, I focused on the use of hashtags in Instagram posts of VVV Deventer. Influential posts often include many hashtags to indicate the post's main topic and to help reach a broader audience (Highfield & Leaver, 2015). Furthermore, hashtags allow social media platform users to interact with posts and identify content that is relevant to them. The use of hashtags accompanying posts related to Dickens remain very constant throughout the pre-covid years. VVV Deventer uploaded three Dickens-related posts in 2018 to promote the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet. The Dickens Festijn was the subject of two posts, and the Charles Dickens Kabinet was the subject of the third. The hashtag #indeventer is used in all three posts, #dickensfestijn and #deventer1250 are used in two of the posts, and #hanzesteden, #visithanzesteden, and #visitdeventer are only used once each. Similarly, VVV Deventer published two entries about the Dickens Festijn and one about the Charles Dickens Kabinet in 2019. #indeventer appears in every post, while #dickensfestijn and #CharlesDickens appear in posts regarding the Dickens Festijn. A shift is visible in 2020 and 2021 however, when the Dickens Festijn was canceled due to the coronavirus pandemic. VVV Deventer posted four posts related to Dickens in 2020, but the focus lies on promoting the Charles Dickens Kabinet and just-released book *Deventer Ademt Dickens* (2020). Even though #indeventer is again

persistent in all of the posts, hashtags related to museums, like #cultuurindeventer and #museumindeventer, are increasingly used in posts about Dickens to promote the Charles Dickens Kabinet. Moreover, the posts also contain #omarmdeventer, which has not been used in the previous years. This can be explained by the fact that cities received far fewer visitors during the pandemic. By using #omarmdeventer, VVV Deventer suggests that visitors of the city are still appreciated. In 2021, when there was a lockdown in December and the Charles Dickens Kabinet was thus closed, only one post related to Dickens was posted. This post contained the statue of Scrooge that stands in Deventer each year during Christmas. Rather than using hashtags related to Dickens, this post contained the hashtags #deventer #indeventer #VVVwinkel #debrink #shoppen #borrelen. All in all, VVV Deventer uses hashtags to promote the Dickens Festijn as well as the Charles Dickens Kabinet. They moreover effectively adjust the hashtags based on the Instagram post.

To see if visitors to the Dickens Festijn also use the hashtags used by VVV Deventer on Instagram, I entered the hashtags into the Instagram search box and looked at all the posts that came up from 2018 to 2021 that were about the Dickens Festijn or Charles Dickens Kabinet in Deventer. Even though I discovered that visitors use VVV Deventer's hashtags, it is more typical for them to generate their own versions of a Dickens-related hashtag. For example, during the period 2018-2021, visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet used the hashtag #charlesdickenskabinet 123 times, while #charlesdickenskabinetdeventer was used 104 times. VVV Deventer did not use these two hashtags at all. This trend of can be explained by the fact that these hashtags disclose the visitor's location to their Instagram audience without the publisher having to say so explicitly in the text. Furthermore, by generating one's own hashtags, the visitor may feel as if they have agency over their own post, rather than that they duplicate posts from VVV Deventer. Similarly, social media users want to be involved with a brand's product development and innovation, which could lead to them actively contributing user-generated content on social media (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). The visitors to the Dickens Festijn or Charles Dickens Kabinet that are active on Instagram thus want to help promote the event and/or museum by generating new hashtags.

Finally, VVV Deventer consistently uploads their posts at 9 a.m. (indeventer.vvv, 2022). This is an effective marketing technique since it ensures that their posts will appear near the top of Instagram users' feeds. Furthermore, VVV Deventer builds confidence with their clients by submitting posts at the same time, as they know what to expect. Active users know that VVV Deventer publishes at 9 a.m., and might even wait for their posts.

Overall, VVV Deventer's usage of hashtags does not always conjure up images of a Dickensian Christmas in Deventer. Rather, the DMO uses hashtags in an impartial manner, indicating merely the name of the Dickens Festijn and utilising common Deventer hashtags. Visitors, on the other hand, create their own hashtags, which they then edit to allude to their own version of Dickens in Deventer. Finally, because VVV Deventer usually posts at the same time, their post always appears near the top of the Instagram page, which means that many Instagram users are likely to see it and be inspired by Dickens' image in Deventer.

Discussion

Both traditional and social media have a significant impact on the image of Dickens in Deventer. The best approach to reach the broadest audience and thereby affect how prospective visitors see a city is to use both conventional and social media for marketing purposes (Cheng, 2019). The DMOs of Deventer effectively combine traditional media with social media by using several social media platforms, such as the Dickens Festijn website and Instagram page of VVV Deventer, as well as employing the medium of television and newspapers. The televised video on the Dickens Festijn conveys an image of a Dickensian Christmas in Deventer at the Dickens Festijn that is appropriate for everyone through the background Christmas music, interviews and presenters, and impression of the atmosphere (Deventer Radio & Televisie, 2019). The Dickens Festijn Krant maintains this impression by highlighting the Christmas theme of the Dickens Festijn, but it also offers visitors useful information and promotes the Charles Dickens Kabinet, indicating that Deventer has ties to Dickens beyond the Christmas season (Dickens Festijn krant, 2018). The Dickens Festijn website gives people who speak Dutch an informative portrait of Dickens in Deventer through, for example, summaries of Dickens' works while only presenting information on the impending Dickens Festijn to non-Dutch speakers, thus strengthens the idea of a Dickensian Christmas in Deventer (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). Finally, the hashtags on the Instagram page of VVV Deventer merely indicate what the post is about, rather than actively promoting Deventer as Dickensian or the Dickens Festijn as Christmas-related (@indeventer.vvv, n.d.).

These findings suggest that in order to generate a certain image of Dickens in Deventer, the DMOs of Deventer coordinate their media production. The image of a Dickensian Christmas is repeatedly used in the media, which suggests that this is the image that the DMOs of Deventer

want to sell to the visitors. This is also consistent with Strik's perception on the Dickens Festijn when it was initially created (Hawksley, 2014). Strik aimed to establish a Dickensian Christmas, which she termed the Dickens Festijn, to make it more pleasant for stores to open on Sundays in December (Hawksley, 2014). Furthermore, as the Dickens Festijn has established itself as a well-organised Dickensian Christmas market in Germany and already draws approximately 125,000 visitors annually, it is not essential to fully translate the Dickens Festijn website into other languages (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The notion that the DMOs of Deventer collaborate in their media marketing efforts is in line with the information provided by one of the interviewees, who stated that the Deventer DMOs have a partnership with the press (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). This means that they provide all the content published by the press, thus influencing the image of Dickens in Deventer (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

The fact that the Deventer DMOs market the Dickens Festijn in Deventer as a place where visitors can experience a Dickensian Christmas can be connected to Dekkers' research (2013). Many Dutch people associate Dickens with Christmas, even if they have not read any of his works (Dekkers, 2013). This means that it is very effective to promote the Dickens Festijn as a Dickensian Christmas market, because this image appeals to many people and thus attracts visitors. Nevertheless, the DMOs of Deventer also aim to nuance this image by educating visitors about Dickens, particularly in light of their marketing of the Charles Dickens Kabinet. It is possible that Strik's desire to impart her extensive knowledge of Dickens on others is the cause of this. Additionally, given Strik's passion for Dickens and her extensive collection of artefacts inspired by the author, it is likely that she intends to use the Charles Dickens Kabinet to encourage others to share her enthusiasm for the author, or at least have them appreciate Dickens whilst visiting the museum.

Chapter 3

Analysis of interviews and the Charles Dickens Kabinet

In order to determine what image the DMOs of Deventer create of Dickens in Deventer to attract visitors to the city, I interviewed employees from dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing. Deventer's event agency, dEVENTer, is in charge of organising large-scale cultural events in the city's historic core (Evenementenbureau dEVENTer, 2022). Deventer Marketing is responsible for promoting Deventer as an attractive city to visit, or to live, work or study in (Deventer Marketing, 2022). Moreover, I analysed the Charles Dickens Kabinet to discover how Dickens is portrayed to the public in Deventer.

Interview with an employee from dEVENTer

I interviewed a dEVENTer employee in the marketing and communication department of the organisation to learn how the company uses Dickens in their promotion of Deventer through the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet and how Dickens influences visitors' image of Deventer. According to the interviewee, dEVENTer does not intend to promote Deventer as a Dickensian city, but rather aims to specifically promote the events that take place there (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). It is rewarding if visitors enjoyed Deventer as a city, but the goal of dEVENTer is to draw visitors to the event (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interviewee briefly explained to me that Strik and her husband created the Dickens Festijn, which is now in the hands of their daughter Liesbeth (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). They are therefore responsible for the relationship between Dickens and Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The Charles Dickens Kabinet is likewise run by the Strik family (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The Strik family became unable to host the Dickens Festijn alone as it grew in size over time, which is why they began collaborating with VVV Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). VVV Deventer supplied additional financing for the Dickens Festijn and assisted the Strik family in organising the event (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022).

dEVENTer was a part of VVV Deventer during the early years of the Dickens Festijn, as both organisations had the same head (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). VVV Deventer was responsible for promoting Deventer as a city and providing visitors with information resources, whereas dEVENTer was in charge of large-scale event planning in Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Despite the fact that dEVENTer and VVV Deventer are no longer merged, VVV Deventer continued to promote dEVENTer's events in order to attract tourists to Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interviewee explained that VVV Deventer and dEVENTer advertised the Dickens Festijn on television during the initial years of the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). These television commercials however did not only feature the Dickens Festijn, but also other events held in Deventer like Deventer op Stelten and the annual book fair (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). It is unlikely that the television commercials had a significant impact on how the image of Dickens in Deventer is built, because they also included other Deventer events. Nonetheless, because the television advertisements were the first forms of promotion for the Deventer DMOs regarding Dickens in Deventer, it is possible that they helped to shape the image of Dickens in Deventer that we now have.

The Dickens Festijn in Deventer was the first Dickens-related event in the Netherlands targeted at a mass public (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Even though other Dutch cities also host a Dickens Festijn today, such as the Dickens Festijn in Drunen, the Lemster Dickens Festijn and the Dickens Festijn in Coevorden, Deventer made a name for itself as the first city to adopt Dickens as a subject for a Christmas market (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Visitors prefer the Dickens Festijn in Deventer over another Dickens Festijn in the Netherlands because of this (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Furthermore, the Dickens Festijn in Deventer has a good reputation and the programme is of high quality, which attracts tourists and encourages them to return (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interviewee described this as followed: “En eigenlijk kunnen we dat alleen maar doen als de evenementen steeds groter en bekender worden, en als je dan een kwalitatief goed programma neerzet, en het altijd eh, het Dickens Festijn was één van de enige in Nederland” [And actually the only way we can do that is if the events get bigger and become better known, and if you then put on a quality program, and it always eh, the Dickens Festijn was one of the only ones in the Netherlands] (anonymous interviewee #1, personal

communication, May 3, 2022). Visitors appreciate the excellent performance of actors and high quality decor that has been maintained at the Dickens Festijn over the years, which means that the image of Dickens in Deventer is not only associated with Christmas. Visitors to the Dickens Festijn are likely to have high expectations for the event, as the image of Dickens in Deventer includes the reputation of a well-organized Dickens Festijn.

The interviewee furthermore explained that dEVENTer did not promote the Dickens Festijn in Deventer very much anymore during the years 2018-2019, because the Dickens Festijn already attracted 125.000 visitors yearly (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). They stated this as follows: “Wij doen eigenlijk niet heel gek veel promotie eigenlijk voor het Dickens Festijn, omdat het dus al zo bekend is” [We do not do a whole lot of promotion actually for the Dickens Festijn, because it is already so well-known] (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interviewee explained that extensive promotion of the Dickens Festijn is useless, because the Dickens Festijn has already existed for 30 years, which means that visitors know where to find the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Visitors for instance learned about the Dickens Festijn from visitor-written blog posts from prior years, meaning that new visitors searched for the Dickens Festijn in Deventer online (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). Moreover, the Dickens Festijn was cancelled in 2020-2021 due to the pandemic, which made promotion of the Dickens Festijn unnecessary (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). dEVENTer did, however, advertise the Dickens Festijn in some ways. They always sent a press release to newspapers and magazines containing information about the Dickens Festijn, such as a time schedule, the programme, and photographs (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). They also printed the Charles Dickens Krant, which was distributed for free amongst the residents of the municipality of Deventer and could be purchased for a nominal donation at the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interviewee explained this by saying: “Persberichten eigenlijk. Dat werd al wel opgepakt. We hebben ook een krant, een Charles Dickens Krant, dat is gewoon lokaal” [Press releases actually. That was already picked up. We also have a newspaper, a Charles Dickens Krant, that is just locally-based] (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). dEVENTer also promoted the Dickens Festijn through posters that are displayed throughout Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal

communication, May 3, 2022). Finally, they used their Facebook page to promote the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022).

Overall, dEVENTer's promotion of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer was minimal over the years 2018-2021. This was the case because the event promoted itself and thus attracted enough visitors. Moreover, it was not the goal of dEVENTer to use Dickens as a promotional tool for the image of Deventer as a city, which made extensive promotion of the Dickens Festijn unnecessary.

Interview with an employee from Deventer Marketing

In addition to the interview with a dEVENTer employee, I also interviewed someone working for Deventer Marketing. This interview was completed via email because the employee from Deventer Marketing did not have time to talk on the phone or in person. Deventer Marketing is in charge of advertising Deventer as an appealing city for visitors, residents, and entrepreneurs, whereas dEVENTer markets specific events taking place in Deventer (anonymous interviewee #1, personal communication, May 3, 2022). The interview focused on how Deventer Marketing promotes Deventer as a Dickensian city, which has an impact on visitors' perceptions of the city. The years 2018-2021 were emphasized.

Deventer Marketing promoted the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet through a partnership with the press, affecting visitors' perceptions of Dickens in Deventer as a result of the press releases (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). They provided the press with interesting ideas for a visit to Deventer, such as visiting the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet, and the press responded by writing a piece about it if they find the tips useful (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). If requested, Deventer Marketing provided additional text and visual content to the press in cooperation with the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). The interviewee stated this as follows:

Wij nemen het festijn en het museum mee in tips die wij aanleveren voor een bezoek aan de stad via de pers. Vervolgens maakt de pers de keuze om hierover te schrijven of niet. Wij leveren dan op aanvraag extra tekst en beeldmateriaal aan. [We include the

fest and the museum in tips we provide for visiting the city through the press. The press then makes the choice to write about it or not. We then provide additional text and visual material on request.] (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022)

Deventer Marketing additionally promoted the Dickens Festijn through social media posts about the Charles Dickens Kabinet and the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Interestingly, the interviewee from Deventer Marketing told me that Deventer Marketing advertised the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet throughout the years 2018-2019 via articles published in the press, but with a special emphasis in the autumn (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). They typically sent a year-long calendar of activities to the press, which includes the Dickens Festijn, so that the press is informed of upcoming events and can write about them in order to attract visitors (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Next to this, Deventer Marketing actively promoted the Dickens Festijn on their website and social media in November and early December (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Every social media post contained #indeventer, as ...inDeventer! is the umbrella organisation of all DMOs of Deventer (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Dickens-related posts included #dickensfestijn too (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). The interviewee explained that Deventer Marketing always discussed the total number of Dickens-related posts they aim to upload with the organisation of the Dickens Festijn to ensure they did not publish irrelevant or incorrect information and were on the same page communication-wise (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). In most cases however, an announcement was made a month in advance, followed by another post 1.5 to 1 week before the event (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). This information corresponds to my own study of the VVV Deventer Instagram profile, though the account also contains posts uploaded over the Dickens Festijn weekend. The interviewee shared that they uploaded Stories on Instagram during the weekend as well (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Instagram Stories is a function of the Instagram app that allows users to create and share photos and videos in a slideshow style. The Stories disappear after 24 hours. The interviewee moreover highlighted that they only uploaded photographs in consultation with the

organisation of the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Deventer Marketing aims to promote Deventer to four target groups: residents, visitors, talents, and businesspeople (Deventer Marketing, 2022). The interviewee however explained that the Dickens Festijn is primarily advertised to the target demographics of visitors and residents (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Nevertheless, the interviewee added that local residents were less likely to attend the Dickens Festijn, which can be explained by the fact that they found the event too crowded in their own city or because they already were familiar with the event (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Instead of visiting the bustling Dickens Festijn during the day, they headed to the decorated Bergkwartier, where the Dickens Festijn was held, in the evening to still get a feel for the atmosphere after the festivities were over (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). This is explained by the interviewee as follows:

Over het algemeen wordt het festijn minder bezocht door eigen inwoners omdat zij het evenement al kennen en/of het evenement te druk vinden om te bezoeken in eigen stad. Zij bezoeken het versierde Bergkwartier (waar het evenement plaatsvindt) wel buiten de tijden van het Dickens Festijn om toch de sfeer te proeven. [In general, the festival is visited less by local residents because they already know the event and/or find the event too busy to visit in their own city. They do visit the decorated Bergkwartier quarter (where the event takes place) outside the times of the Dickens Festijn to still get a taste of the atmosphere.] (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022)

The fact that locals are less likely to attend the Dickens Festijn is interesting. The Dickens Festijn was founded in collaboration with the citizens of Deventer's Walstraat, and it relies on the support of Deventer residents to continue to exist. It can be explained by the fact that the Dickens Festijn began modest and grew into a major and bustling event. In an interview published on the Dickens Festijn website, Strik (2021) too expressed her desire for the Dickens Festijn to decrease in size and return to the small-scale event that it once was. Furthermore, when asked about her favourite Dickens Festijn, she mentions the Dickens Festijn in 2009, when heavy snowfall caused trains to break down and roads to become inaccessible, making

the Dickens Festijn a Deventer-only gathering (Strik, 2021). The image of Dickens in Deventer for many Deventer locals is therefore one of crowds in the city, rather than a pleasant Christmas market that must be visited within the Dickens Festijn's opening hours. The promotion of Deventer Marketing was thus mainly directed towards regional, national, and worldwide visitors (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). This segment was likewise primarily reached through Deventer Marketing's promotional activities, according to the interviewee (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). More specifically, the target demographic of Deventer Marketing's online promotion of the Dickens Festijn was women aged 45 and up (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Finally, the interviewee shared that Deventer Marketing occasionally received questions from social media users (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). VVV Deventer, which is part of Deventer Marketing, is the point of contact for all public inquiries about the city's major events (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). They therefore frequently received questions before the start of the Dickens Festijn concerning parking, event times, and the time it takes to enter the event, among other things (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Deventer Marketing also tracked the impact of its marketing on visitor attraction to the city (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). However, the interviewee explained that this is difficult to measure because visitors can also be contacted through adverts from other businesses or word-of-mouth marketing (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Nevertheless, they looked at the number of likes and reactions to online posts, the number of questions received by VVV Deventer, and the overall number of visitors to the event to determine the efficiency of their marketing efforts (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). The interviewee also provided data on Dickens-related social media posts by VVV Deventer from 2018, which was unfortunately impossible for 2019-2021. Deventer ran a funded winter campaign to promote a winter visit to the city in general in 2018, which also included promotion of the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). A Facebook post with the phrase "December beleef je ...inDeventer!" [You will experience December ...inDeventer!] garnered 961 likes and 263 comments, with 30,000 organic reach and 303,000 paid reach. Organic reach refers to the amount of social media users who see a message because they follow a page whereas paid reach indicates the total number of users who are exposed to a social media post due to advertisements. Moreover, the customised landing page about all winter activities

in Deventer received 7112 clicks (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). The funded winter campaign was thus very effective in terms of reaching new visitors to Deventer. Unfortunately, the interviewee could not share data on Dickens-related social media posts uploaded in 2018. VVV Deventer ceased to exist in December 2019, and the organisation was separated into two organisations in January 2020: dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing. Due to this, the interviewee was unable to share data from 2019 (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022). Furthermore, due to COVID-19, the Dickens Festijn did not take place during Deventer Marketing's formal existence in 2020 and 2021, which is why there are no records of it (anonymous interviewee #2, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Analysis of the Charles Dickens Kabinet

The Charles Dickens Kabinet is a museum dedicated to the life and works of Dickens, with a collection of first edition books, prints, costumes and figurines of Dickens characters, and a table set with Dickens china (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). There are also editions and scrapbooks by and about Dickens in the library (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The exhibition and library have been put together with a considerable number of showpieces from Strik's Dickens collection (Dickensfestijn, 2022) The Charles Dickens Kabinet is open on Saturdays from 12.00 - 4.00 p.m. and is located in the old women's prison in Deventer's Walstraat (Dickensfestijn Deventer, 2022). The entrance fee is 2 euros (Dickensfestijn, 2022). After paying the entrance charge, visitors receive a Dickensian postcard as proof of entry (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022).

Strik built the Dickens collection on display at the Charles Dickens Kabinet over a period of 35 years (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik's father owned a large bookcase full of novels by Dickens, which inspired Strik to also collect Dickens' work (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). However, she only started thinking about acquiring a massive Dickens collection when she came up with the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). The showpieces exhibited in the Charles Dickens Kabinet are all from England (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). The reason for this is that marketing Dickens is an English tradition; Dickens is an English author, which is why

England has many Dickens-related items (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). The objects were obtained using three methods. First of all, Strik visited London several times a year and always returned to Deventer with Dickens-related items (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). She also purchased Dickens-related objects on the internet at English shops (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Finally, Strik has many contacts in England who helped her save Dickens-related goods (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). They would contact Strik whenever they had an object suitable for her collection (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik could then indicate whether she wanted the item for her Dickens collection or if she already owned it (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022).

Strik's Dickens collection was previously displayed at the Bergkerk during the Dickens Festijn each year until she purchased the old women's prison (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik had decided to buy the former women's prison, because she stored her complete Dickens collection at home apart from the Dickens Festijn, which meant that not many people could enjoy it (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). There are several sections to the Charles Dickens Kabinet (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Various display cases downstairs feature diverse objects based on Dickens' stories (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). One display case for instance contains items related to *A Christmas Carol* (1843), while another one exhibits objects connected to *David Copperfield* (1849) (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). The display cases are in the Charles Dickens Kabinet's main hall, where visitors enter the museum and purchase tickets (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). A room based on *Great Expectations* (1861) is located to the right of the hall, and it contains not only multiple editions of the novel, but also dolls dressed in Victorian costumes and paintings, amongst other Dickens-related objects (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). There is also a library and a period room on the lower level of the Charles Dickens Kabinet (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). The library has a lifelike Dickens doll sitting on a chair, an old-fashioned clock, and a bust of Dickens, in addition to his books (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). The period room is set up as a dining room, complete with Dickens china on the table (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Additionally, Victorian paintings adorn the walls and several dolls in varying position occupy the room (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Finally, the hall leading to the staircase is fully furnished in Dickens style, with a large bookcase with many Dickens novels, photographs of Dickens, a sign reading "Het

Charles Dickens Kabinet," and dolls dressed in Victorian era fashion (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). While items related to Dickens are located downstairs, objects specifically connected to the Dickens Festijn in Deventer are on display upstairs (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Strik's studio, where she stores the clothes worn at the Dickens Festijn in Deventer, is located upstairs (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Even though the studio is cordoned off, visitors of the Charles Dickens Kabinet can look at the costumes through the open door (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Apart from the costumes, there are many photographs and posters of the Dickens Festijn on display upstairs (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022).

I observed six visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet for three hours in order to determine the impact of the museum on the visitor. The visitors consisted of a group of four people, comprising two Dutch people and two French people who were guests of the Dutch people, as well as a mother and her child of about twelve years old. All six visitors were impressed with the large collection of the Charles Dickens Kabinet (observation, June 4, 2022). I concluded this based on their comments and queries. The party of four asked Van Strijland various questions regarding the Charles Dickens Kabinet's collection, including how it was acquired, and they were impressed by Strik's ability to collect so many Dickens-related artefacts on her own over the years (observation, June 4, 2022). They thought it was remarkable that one individual set her mind to something and, as a result, established not only the Dickens Festijn, but also the Charles Dickens Kabinet, which included a collection she assembled entirely on her own. (observation, June 4, 2022). They also complemented Van Strijland on the museum's layout, saying it was well-organized considering the number of exhibits in each area (observation, June 4, 2022). Furthermore, the Dutch people translated Van Strijland's responses into French in order to educate the French visitors on the Charles Dickens Kabinet too, demonstrating that they were really interested in Van Strijland's information (observation, June 4, 2022). Finally, one of the Dutch visitors used interjections such as "wow" and "oh!" when looking at the displays, indicating that they were intrigued by the collection and mesmerised by the sheer number of exhibits (observation, June 4, 2022). On the other hand, the mother and her child were more quiet, with the mother explaining the exhibits to her daughter (observation, June 4, 2022). Based on what she said to the child about the exhibits, it appeared that the mother was well informed about Dickens, as she knew the content of his stories (observation, June 4, 2022). The Victorian clothes on exhibit upstairs, as well as images of the actors at the Dickens Festijn, particularly piqued the child's interest (observation, June 4, 2022). They had the effect of transforming the child to an imaginary world (observation, June 4, 2022). All in all, the six

visitors enjoyed their visit to the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as the exhibition made a positive impression on them all (observation, June 4, 2022).

Strik runs the Charles Dickens Kabinet together with Ojon van Strijland (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Van Strijland is a Deventer-based former bookstore proprietor with a passion for Dickens (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). He used to sell a lot of Dickens-related books/DVDs in his bookstore (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Despite the fact that Van Strijland has retired from his bookstore, he still has a sizable Dickens book collection from which he occasionally sells books throughout the year, and he continues to sell Dickens' novels at the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022).

Strik and Van Strijland have a different background in Dickens, which is most evident in the allocation of responsibility for group visits around the museum. Van Strijland is in charge of conducting guests on a group tour downstairs and providing them with information about Dickens' life and works (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik, on the other hand, is in charge of the tour upstairs and shares information with the visitors about the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik and Van Strijland introduced the possibility of group tours at the Charles Dickens Kabinet just before the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). This means that they had just begun promoting group visits and attracting interested groups to the Charles Dickens Kabinet when they were compelled to close the museum (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Since the museum sector has been allowed to reopen, they have resumed marketing their group tours (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Their promotional strategies are paying off, as the museum receives an average of four groups each week (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Even though tours are only available to groups, individual visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet receive an introductory talk after purchasing tickets (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022). Moreover, visitors can always ask Strik or Van Strijland any questions they have (Charles Dickens Kabinet, 2022).

Despite the fact that the Charles Dickens Kabinet and the Dickens Festijn have the same origin and theme, the Charles Dickens Kabinet does not attract the same types of tourists as the Dickens Festijn (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). The majority of visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet do so on the advice of VVV Deventer,

Deventer's tourist organisation (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). They are Deventer day tourists who arrange their entire trip based on the recommendations of the VVV (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). This was also the case for the two Dutch and two French people, as the Dutch people wanted to show the French people around Deventer and asked VVV Deventer for recommendations on what to do in the city (observation, June 4, 2022). Residents of Deventer and visitors to the Dickens Festijn rarely visit the Charles Dickens Kabinet (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Most locals are indifferent to both the Charles Dickens Kabinet and the Dickens Festijn, and visitors to the Dickens Festijn mainly visit because of the atmosphere rather than out of interest for Dickens (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). This means that the Dickens Festijn in Deventer is authentically comparable to Dickens festivals held in other Dutch villages, such as the Dickens Festijn in Drunen or the Lemster Dickens Festijn in Lemmer, because all festivals feature a Dickensian atmosphere, including actors dressed in Victorian costumes and a city transformed into nineteenth century London. The majority of tourists to the Charles Dickens Kabinet are Dutch (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). When English people visit Deventer however, they nearly always pay a visit to the museum to learn more about the relationship between Deventer and Dickens (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik's story is then told to them (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022).

The Charles Dickens Kabinet allows visitors to touch most of the items on display (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). For example, visitors are free to read the museum's various books (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Special editions of books or other objects that cannot be touched are kept in a display case (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Furthermore, there are no informational signs around the objects (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Strik and Van Strijland tried this once, but the display cases were full, so the signs were only a distraction (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). Moreover, they noted that visitors who are interested in a specific object ask questions about it, negating the need for signs (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022). I noticed this too during the participant observation, as the two Dutch people part of the group of four asked several questions to Van Strijland (observation, June 4, 2022). Finally, there are barely any signs outside either (Charles

Dickens Kabinet, 2022). The reason for this is that VVV Deventer directs the majority of visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet, making signs outside redundant too (anonymous interviewee #3, personal communication, May 21, 2022).

Overall, due of its association with VVV Deventer, the Charles Dickens Kabinet is a successful museum. Strik and Van Strijland's enthusiasm for Dickens moreover is evident in the museum's exhibits as well as the information they offer to visitors. All in all, the Charles Dickens Kabinet is a valuable asset for Deventer's DMOs in attracting tourists to the city. Through the many exhibits on display at the Charles Dickens Kabinet, the image is created that there is a rich history of Dickens in Deventer, rather than that the relationship is solely Christmas-related. The Charles Dickens Kabinet thus adds more meaning to the image of Dickens in Deventer compared to the Dickens Festijn. The museum provides visitors with a more in-depth understanding of Dickens' works.

Discussion

Several patterns emerge from my interviews with dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing workers, as well as my visits to the Charles Dickens Kabinet and conversation with one of the proprietors, as well as participant observation. First of all, it becomes evident from the interviews with the employees of Deventer Marketing and dEVENTer that the image they aim to create of Dickens in Deventer largely revolves around Christmas or the winter atmosphere in general. Deventer Marketing ran a campaign in 2018 to promote a winter visit to Deventer, in which the Dickens Festijn played a prominent role as one of the most popular Christmas markets in the Netherlands. Moreover, the dEVENTer employee noted that the Dickens Festijn's success can be attributed to it being the first Dickens-related Christmas market in the Netherlands. This finding is consistent with Dekkers' (2013) research, which found that Dutch people associate Dickens with Christmas and appreciate a Dickensian Christmas even if they are unfamiliar with his stories. However, my conversation with the proprietor of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as well as my participation observations, resulted in a more nuanced image of Dickens in Deventer. Not only did the museum's owner clarify that the visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet are day tourists who are not attending the Dickens Festijn, meaning that the target audience differs, the tourists visiting whilst I was conducting participant observation were all keen to learn about the museum's origins and exhibits. This demonstrates that the image of

Dickens in Deventer is also about Strik's role in the creation of the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as well as Dickens' works, all of which are on display at the museum.

I expected that the DMOs of Deventer intend to establish an image of Dickens in Deventer in order to draw tourists by advertising the Dickens Festijn on their (social) media channels. In addition, I anticipated Deventer's DMOs to start promoting the Dickens Festijn in September each year, with an emphasis on November and December. Furthermore, due to the popularity of the Dickens Festijn in past years, I hypothesised that the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet would not require considerable promotion in 2020 and 2021 to remind tourists of the tie between Dickens and Deventer. Considering that Dickens and Christmas are intertwined in Dutch society, I expect the DMOs of Deventer to construct a Christmas-related image of Dickens in Deventer. The employee from Deventer Marketing shared that the Dickens Festijn is indeed marketed in November and December, though they do not start promoting the Dickens Festijn in September each year. Instead, Deventer Marketing provides the press with a year-long calendar of events. Both Deventer Marketing and dEVENTer employ media to promote the Dickens Festijn, and there were no marketing initiatives in place during the lockdown in 2020 and 2021, when the Dickens Festijn was cancelled, as seen by the lack of statistics from Deventer Marketing for these years. Finally, while the DMOs do employ a Christmas-related image of Dickens in Deventer to draw tourists to the Dickens Festijn, the image is nuanced by the Charles Dickens Kabinet, where visitors can learn more about Dickens and the story of Strik. However, because the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet appeal to different audiences, it can be argued that there are two images of Dickens in Deventer: one that revolves around Christmas and one that revolves around Dickens' works.

Chapter 4

Visitor research

The final component of my study of how VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing create an image of Dickens in Deventer to attract literary tourists to Deventer consists of online visitor research to assess if the social media promotion by the Deventer DMOs is effective. This chapter provides an outline of the research on online visitor analysis on which my study is based. It also includes an analysis of the response of Deventer visitors to the city's marketing of Deventer as a Dickensian city. This was accomplished by examining what visitors posted, when it was uploaded, whether the caption was positive or negative, which hashtags were used, and who the post was intended for. Furthermore, I analysed what is highlighted on the uploaded pictures, what is expressed in their reviews/captions, and if there is a suggestion that they were attracted to Deventer because of the marketing of the DMOs of Deventer in order to see what reasons led them to Deventer. I examined personal blog postings, Tripadvisor reviews, and Instagram posts from 2018 to 2021.

An overview of current online visitor analysis studies

The research of Salman Majeed et al. (2020) indicates the relationship between visitor behavioural intentions and consequent satisfaction of a destination and tourist destination online content (TDOC). Majeed et al. (2020) explain that tourists generally search for a destination online before visiting it in order to determine the ideal place to visit. This information is essential to my examination of tourists' online reactions to the marketing of Deventer as a Dickensian city by the DMOs of Deventer in order to determine whether the marketing is effective in drawing visitors. Moreover, the satisfaction of potential visitors with TDOC, like the quality and availability of online information, could influence positive feelings and intentions to visit a destination (Majeed et al., 2020). It may also encourage them to spread favourable electronic word-of-mouth (eWOM) (Majeed et al., 2020). eWOM is defined as "customers' positive or negative statements on the internet about the product, service, people, and institutions" (Jalilvand et al., 2012, as cited in Majeed et al., 2020). The theory provided by Majeed et al. is relevant for my analysis, because all of the posts on Deventer as a Dickensian

city by visitors are essentially eWOM, and thus reveal whether or not tourists are satisfied with the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet.

Sebastian Molinillo et al. (2019) moreover researched the way in which visitors engage with cities on social media. Molinillo et al. (2019) argue that tourists are stakeholders of cities, which means their online interaction with the city's official social media accounts is key to the successfulness of any place marketing campaign. According to Molinillo et al. (2019), the amount of times social media users interact with a city brand through liking, commenting on, and sharing content indicates an active relationship with the brand. Interaction or engagement is defined as "the degree to which residents and visitors participate in a city's official social media sites through interaction with other users and local governments" (Molinillo et al., 2019). This is measured through forms of user participation, like replies, shares and re-tweets, as well as other types of user-generated content, such as videos or images (Molinillo et al., 2019). This type of content analysis allows for an examination of certain words, ideas, or concepts within the data provided by social media. The research of Molinillo et al. (2019) is useful for my social media analysis as it underscores the importance of both social media marketing by a brand, in this case by the DMOs of Deventer, as well as effective visitor engagement by a brand.

Melissa A. Johnson (2020) furthermore studied the concept of visitor engagement and how online engagement with (potential) visitors benefits the brand. She emphasises the difference between engagement and interaction, stating that engagement refers to the development of an authentic relationship between a visitor and a brand, whereas interaction refers to several online communication exchanges that do not require the psychological investment necessary to develop a relationship (Johnson, 2020). Johnson (2020) argues that (possible) visitors' online interaction with the brand boosts other visitors' perceptions of the company's repute. Moreover, online interaction can improve brand commitment and contentment, as well as positive word-of-mouth (Johnson, 2020). Nevertheless, Johnson (2020) points out that many brands have yet to fully exploit the engaging components of social media, and consequently have low visitor engagement. This can be improved through employing social media's participatory features (Johnson, 2020). Johnson's research (2020) is pertinent to my social media analysis of tourist interaction/engagement regarding Deventer as a Dickensian city, since it shed light on the difference between engagement and interaction, as well as the benefits of successful brand interaction.

Finally, Mikko Villi and Janne Matikainen (2016) studied the explicit and implicit participatory forms of social media involvement with a brand, concentrating on the medium's

communicative and communal elements. Explicit participation refers to social media users actively producing user-generated content on social media, as a result of consumers' desire to be involved in the production and innovation of a brand's products, which stems from their discontent with their conventional end-user roles (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). Implicit participation on the other hand is performed unwittingly (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). Implicit participation refers to the possibility of transforming personal interests, behaviour, and spending habits into data for a brand through connecting one account to another (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). By syncing a user's Spotify account with their Instagram account, for example, information about the user's music consumptions is shared with their Instagram followers without their knowledge (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). Instagram's acquisition of user-generated behaviour can be helpful to the brand (Villi & Matikainen, 2016). This data is useful for my analysis of visitor involvement with...inDeventer! since it helps me to distinguish between different types of data. For my research, I used explicit participation social media content.

Visitor analysis

Blog posts

There are various blogs dedicated to both the Dickens Festijn and the Charles Dickens Kabinet on the internet, of which I examined one for the Dickens Festijn and another for the Charles Dickens Kabinet. Gleb Gertsman (2018) reviewed the Dickens Festijn in a personal blog entry on the website of the Tilburg International Club. Gertsman is a member of the Tilburg International Club, and he and other members attended the Dickens Festijn in Deventer in 2018. The blog post is a description of his experience at the Dickens Festijn, written to inform potential new members of the Tilburg International Club about the trips offered by the club (Gertsman, 2018). Nevertheless, as explained by the research of Majeed et al. (2020), Gertsman's blog article also serves as e-WOM, as it is a statement about the Dickens Festijn that has been posted on the internet. Gertsman (2018) is enthusiastic about the Dickens Festijn, as can be concluded from the words he chose to use in his blog post: he and the fellow members of the Tilburg International Club “happily chatted” while “on our way to a fairytale.” By comparing the Dickens Festijn in Deventer to a fairytale, blog readers get the positive impression that they are able to transcend reality at the Dickens Festijn, as the Dickens Festijn is a magical place. This feeling is furthermore emphasised by the phrase “It seems that time just

stopped here.” Moreover, Gertsman (2018) searched for information on the Dickens Festijn in Deventer prior to his visit, as seen by his comment, “We knew, that there might be a waiting line of up to 60 minutes.” This is in line with the expectation of Majeed et al. (2020) that visitors to a destination will look for online information before their trip, implying that ...inDeventer!'s marketing strategies are both effective and satisfying to tourists. Furthermore, Gertsman's blog post (2018) is explicit participation, as defined by Villi and Matikainen (2016), because Gertsman actively wrote and uploaded the piece to the Tilburg International Club's website. This is also evident in the images that accompany the blog entry. Five photos are evenly spaced across the page, each depicting what is written in the paragraphs (Gertsman, 2018). The pictures serve as supplements to the blog piece, allowing readers to visualise the Dickens Festijn in Deventer. Similarly, a thirteen-picture slide show at the end of the blog post allows visitors to continue speculating about the Dickens Festijn's charm even after the article is over (Gertsman, 2018). The fact that Gertsman (2018) submitted eighteen images of the Dickens Festijn implies that he wanted to create user-generated content on the internet, indicating that he explicitly participates. However, it is important to understand that Gertsman (2018) wants to promote the Tilburg International Club, and the Dickens Festijn review is only a tool to demonstrate potential members how much enjoyment the Tilburg International Club brings to its members. Gertsman (2018)'s positive e-WOM is thus an unintended, but nevertheless useful, advertisement for the Dickens Festijn in Deventer.

Furthermore, Josephine of the website My Inner Victorian published a blog post regarding the Charles Dickens Kabinet in Deventer (2019). This article was posted on the 3rd of June 2019 and informs the reader about the origins of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, the museum's collection, and Josephine's personal experience with the Charles Dickens Kabinet (2019). Josephine's website is dedicated to the Victorian era, which means that her target audience likely consists of Victorian enthusiasts. Despite the prediction of Majeed et al. (2020) that visitors will look for information online before visiting a site, Josephine's blog post (2019) contains no hints of prior study. However, it is likely that Josephine (2019) interviewed Strik and Van Strijland on the Charles Dickens Kabinet, based on the specificity of the information supplied in the blog entry. Josephine (2019) for instance provides background information on the Charles Dickens Kabinet as well as additional details about Dickens' role in both England and the Netherlands throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century, which she presumably learned from Strik and Van Strijland. This can be seen when Josephine (2019) explains that “De naam van onze Nederlandse Pickwick-thee hebben wij aan ... Dickens te

danken. ... Douwe Egberts [koos] de merknaam Pickwick in een poging om een Brits tintje aan hun thee te geven” [We owe the name of our Dutch Pickwick tea to ... Dickens. ... Douwe Egberts [chose] the brand name Pickwick in an attempt to give a British touch to their tea]. Moreover, Josephine's blog post (2019) is an explicit example of positive e-WOM, as she not only highlights how much pleasure the Charles Dickens Kabinet brings to visitors, but she also includes information on opening hours, admission charge, and group tours at the end of her article. Furthermore, the blog entry includes links to the Charles Dickens Kabinet's Facebook page as well as the website of VVV Deventer. Josephine's target audience consists of people interested in the Victorian, which means that it is possible that they can be easily persuaded to visit the Charles Dickens Kabinet in Deventer as well. Josephine's blog entry (2019) clearly qualifies as explicit participation, as described by Villi and Matikainen (2016). It contains twelve photographs on which Strik and Van Strijland, the Charles Dickens Kabinet's collection, the exterior of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, the Dickens Festijn's costumes, and several of the museum's rooms are depicted. The reader of the blog post is enticed to visit the Charles Dickens Kabinet by these images, especially if they are already intrigued by the Victorian era. One of the photographs, for example, contains a first-edition *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), which would probably interest someone fascinated with the Victorian period because the piece is from that era and they want to see it in person. All in all, the blog post by Josephine (2019) is a clear example of positive e-WOM.

Visitor analysis

Tripadvisor and Google reviews

The Charles Dickens Kabinet in Deventer has a number of reviews on Google Reviews and Tripadvisor dating from 2018 to 2021. However, there are no reviews for the Dickens Festijn in Deventer on these platforms. This is interesting because the Dickens Festijn attracts 125.000 literary tourists each year, and none of them have left a review. Nevertheless, the Dickens Festijn is not reliant on reviews because it already has a solid reputation as a Dickensian Christmas market. I examined one Tripadvisor review on the Charles Dickens Kabinet from 5 November 2019 and three Google reviews from 2020 to 2021 for my Tripadvisor and Google review study.

According to Majeed et al. (2020), tourists typically search for information online before visiting a destination, which means that having positive reviews on the internet is highly beneficial for the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as it is a small-scale museum that relies on day tourist visits to continue to exist. Furthermore, because the reviews represent tourists' attitudes toward the Charles Dickens Kabinet, they are useful for understanding the image of Dickens in Deventer, because they show what visitors perceive this image to be. Two of the Google reviews mention that Strik, who owns the Charles Dickens Kabinet, is kind: “Vriendelijke eigenares” [friendly owner] (Van Gils, 2020) and “een aardige dame waar het museum van is” [a nice lady who owns the museum] (Ludwig, 2021). Johnson (2020) found that online engagement with visitors is beneficial to a company's reputation, but the fact that Strik is described as a friendly museum owner in two out of four reviews suggests that in-person engagement is just as important in creating a positive image in the minds of visitors. Furthermore, the communication between Strik and the reviewers took place in person, meaning that it is more likely to have been on an engagement level rather than an interaction level, because in-person communication feels more personal. This means that reviews stating that Strik is a kind owner improve the visitor image of Dickens in Deventer, because it gives other potential visitors to the Charles Dickens Kabinet the impression of arriving in a pleasant environment. Moreover, users want to be involved in promoting a brand they appreciate, according to Villi and Matikainen (2016). This is especially visible in the Tripadvisor review on the Charles Dickens Kabinet, which states: “Vergeet het Charles Dickens Kabinet niet als je hier bent” [Don't forget the Charles Dickens Kabinet when you're here] (Aldivo, 2019). The review by Frank Diekamp (2021) on Google reviews similarly expresses that the Charles Dickens Kabinet is worth a visit: “Der Besuch lohnt sich. Eine unglaubliche Charles Dickens Sammlung, die über einen Zeitraum von 31 Jahren zusammen getragen wurde” [Well worth the visit. An incredible Charles Dickens collection gathered over a period of 31 years]. These two reviews imply that the reviewers wish to promote the Charles Dickens Kabinet because they utilise a tactic called pathos to appeal to the emotions of the reader. By stating that the reader should not forget to visit the Charles Dickens Kabinet while in the Walstraat, the reader is subconsciously influenced and may actually visit the museum, whereas by stating that the visit is worthwhile because of a 31-year collection, the reader is made curious about the scope of such a long-established exhibition. Finally, Diekamp's review is in German, indicating that the Charles Dickens Kabinet has foreign visitors on occasion. This demonstrates that Deventer has successfully branded itself as a Dickensian city, as they have a Dickensian image even outside of the Netherlands.

Overall, the Tripadvisor and Google reviews are a clear indicator of positive e-WOM, which is beneficial for the image of Dickens in Deventer.

Visitor analysis

Instagram posts

I analysed two Instagram posts for my visitor analysis of Instagram posts. There were not many Instagram posts about the Charles Dickens Kabinet from visitors, but there were several about the Dickens Festijn. I chose the two posts since they were from separate years, and I because they included the hashtags #dickensfestijndeventer and #charlesdickenskabinet.

The post about the Charles Dickens Kabinet was uploaded on 20 October 2020 by @sandra_drogt_fotografie and was intended to promote the photography of the user of the Instagram profile, rather than the Charles Dickens Kabinet (Drogt, 2020). The post contains a photograph of the exterior of the Charles Dickens Kabinet as well as 28 hashtags and 18 tagged Instagram accounts (Drogt, 2020). The intended audience is acquaintances of the user of the Instagram profile, as seen by the responses to the post, which are mostly praises and personal remarks (Drogt, 2020). Because the aim of the photographer of this post is not to promote the Charles Dickens Kabinet, it is unlikely that the Instagram user uploaded the post because of the marketing of the DMOs of Deventer or a personal connection to the Charles Dickens Kabinet, as Johnson suggests (2020).). Furthermore, it does not appear that the photographer was interested in promoting the Charles Dickens Kabinet because they were dissatisfied with traditional end-user roles, but rather to promote their own photography (Drogt, 2020). Nevertheless, the post does function as e-WOM for the Charles Dickens Kabinet. First of all, the photograph has been retouched by an experienced photographer, ensuring that it is aesthetically pleasing in terms of colour and lighting (Drogt, 2020). This created an enchanting effect, which adds to the image of transformation to another century of Dickens in Deventer. Moreover, the photographer used the hashtag #thecharlesdickenskabinet, which means that the post appears when a potential visitor searches for information regarding the museum, which they generally do according to Majeed et al. (2020). Without intending to do so, the photographer thus successfully promoted the Charles Dickens Kabinet with their post.

The Instagram post about the Dickens Festijn was published on 24 December 24 2019 by @rosa.rem.cosplay, and it is most likely intended for their followers, as it wishes them a Merry Christmas and inquires if it snows in their area (Rosalie, 2019). The picture features a selfie of three

Dickens Festijn actors with the Instagram account's owner, as well as a caption about Christmas that includes hashtags about cosplay and the Dickens Festijn in Deventer (Rosalie, 2019). According to Johnson (2020), engagement is important for a brand because it indicates that the brand has a true relationship with its visitors, and this post demonstrates that the actors at the Dickens Festijn actively engage with visitors, as evidenced by the image (Rosalie, 2019). Furthermore, the fact that the Instagram user decided to upload this particular image over presumably other photographs they took shows that the visitor appreciated the fact that the actors wanted to take a photo with them, indicating a pleasant relationship between visitor and actor. Moreover, the photograph is accompanied by a caption about Christmas, wishing everyone a Merry Christmas and stating that it did not snow in the Netherlands (Rosalie, 2019). The photo was also uploaded on Christmas Eve, despite the fact that the Dickens Festijn in 2019 was held on the 14th and 15th of December, indicating that it was taken at least 10 days prior to Christmas (Rosalie, 2019). This shows that the visitor to the Dickens Festijn associated the Dickens Festijn with Christmas, demonstrating that image of Dickens in Deventer is strongly Christmas-related. Overall, @rosa.rem.cosplay's Instagram post displayed the genuine relationship between the Dickens Festijn actors and guests, as well as reiterated the Christmas-related image in of Dickens in Deventer.

Conclusion and discussion

The following research topic was addressed in this paper: What image of Charles Dickens in Deventer do Deventer Marketing, dEVENTer, and VVV Deventer create to attract visitors to the city? To answer this question, a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Deventer DMOs' use of traditional and social media was executed, interviews with one dEVENTer employee, one Deventer Marketing employee, and one owner of the Charles Dickens Kabinet were conducted, the Charles Dickens Kabinet was examined, and both online and in-person visitor analysis were performed. I researched the pre-COVID-19 years 2018 and 2019, as well as the years 2020 and 2021, when the Dickens Festijn was cancelled because of COVID-19. This enabled me to analyse the marketing strategies employed by VVV Deventer, Deventer Marketing, and dEVENTer, as it is more difficult to advertise Deventer as a Dickensian city when the Dickens Festijn is not being held.

The Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet were both created by Deventer local Emmy Strik. Only after Strik had organised several editions of the Dickens Festijn did VVV Deventer recognize the event and began sponsoring it and collaborating with Strik. Global Dickens influenced the marketing of the dEVENTer, VVV Deventer, and Deventer Marketing to the extent that Dickens is synonymous with Christmas in the Netherlands, and the DMOs have fully exploited this image in their promotion of the Dickens Festijn. The visitors of the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet were reached through traditional and social media. In addition, VVV Deventer recommended that tourists visit the Charles Dickens Kabinet on a day trip to Deventer. Promotional efforts for the Dickens Festival typically began in November and peaked in December. Women aged 45 and up were the target audience for social media posts.

The research revealed that the image of Dickens created by VVV Deventer, Deventer Marketing, and dEVENTer in Deventer revolves around Christmas. The Dickens Festijn is promoted as a Christmas market. Despite the fact that Dickens is globally popular for a variety of reasons, he is best recognised in the Netherlands for his Christmas stories. This result is consistent with Dekkers' (2013) research, which indicated that Dickens is strongly linked with Christmas in the Netherlands. As a result, it is no surprise that the Deventer DMOs make full use of the notion of a Dickensian Christmas in Deventer during the Dickens Festijn. Furthermore, the promotion of the Dickens Festijn in Deventer includes the concept of

transporting tourists to nineteenth-century London. Dickensian literary tourists, according to Booth (2009), wish to be immersed in the nineteenth century in which Dickens lived. This is exemplified in the image of Dickens in Deventer created by Deventer's DMOs. The Charles Dickens Kabinet however offers a more nuanced image of Dickens in Deventer to the visitor. It includes numerous Dickens pieces and attracts a different audience than the Dickens Festijn. Furthermore, all of the artefacts are from England, where Dickens is regarded as a far more diverse author than in the Netherlands. As a result, VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing promote the Charles Dickens Kabinet as a place where one can learn more about Dickens. This means that the image of Dickens in Deventer is nuanced through the promotion of the Charles Dickens Kabinet.

The results are valid, as the interviews contain information provided by the employees of dEVENTer and Deventer Marketing and the owner of the Charles Dickens Kabinet, which means that the information comes from a reliable source as they are the organisers of the Dickens Festijn and promoters of the image of Dickens in Deventer. These results are also widely applicable, because the employees and owner of the museum spoke for their entire organisation. The media analysis is generalizable to a certain extent. All posts from 2018 to 2021 were analysed, but it only focused on hashtag analysis, which means that other types of analysis could broaden the results. The traditional media analysis can also be applied to other years, because the same product is created annually in a slightly different form. The visitor analysis was conducted on one day, which means that it does not represent the entire visitor population of the Charles Dickens Kabinet. Moreover, not all visitors post their experiences online, meaning that the online visitor analysis does also not reflect the experiences of the entire visitor population of the Dickens Festijn and Charles Dickens Kabinet.

The qualitative results were influenced by my personal bias based on my involvement in the study and my interpretation of the findings. By basing my qualitative study on secondary literature as well as previously used academic approaches, I was able to lessen this impact. Nevertheless, this does need to be acknowledged. Furthermore, VVV Deventer declined to participate in an interview, which, despite the fact that it was supplemented by online research, reveals a gap in my analysis of VVV Deventer's image of Dickens in Deventer. Moreover, the Dickens Festijn was cancelled in 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, meaning that I was unable to conduct on-site visitor analysis at the Dickens Festijn. Even though the results of such interviews would probably have corroborated my conclusion that visitors to the Dickens Festijn come to enjoy a Dickensian Christmas market, it would have given my research a more personal

touch. Furthermore, it would have provided me with a better understanding of the image of Dickens in Deventer that Dickens Festijn visitors have, which was difficult to examine due to the paucity of online reviews on the Dickens Festijn.

Other DMOs that seek to effectively promote their city in order to draw more visitors are supplied with the means to do so using Deventer as a case study by bringing the impact of strong image branding to light through this research. Future research may focus on destination marketing in non-English countries using Dickens, as this is relevant to the discussion among scholars about Global Dickens and demonstrates to DMOs how to connect something to their city that is not necessarily related to the area. Moreover, future studies can research the effectiveness of employing one element as a synecdoche for the entire city, since DMOs can use this information to better understand and build their own synecdoche for their region. Finally, future research could expand on my findings by undertaking a social media analysis of Deventer's DMOs from years prior to 2018. This means that an overall trend of how promotion influences the decision-making process of tourists in visiting Deventer could emerge.

All in all, my research on the image of Dickens in Deventer employed by VVV Deventer, dEVENTer, and Deventer Marketing to attract visitors to the city has added to the global Dickens discourse by presenting a case study of Deventer in the Netherlands.

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