Understanding overtourism through Amsterdam's hospitality lens

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Abstract

Following the media and other discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam, a negative image is created, with a multitude of negative impacts on the residents of the city. In the meanwhile, the hospitality sector in Amsterdam is heavily providing from this overtourism. This research focuses on how the perspectives of hospitality workers challenge or confirm the current discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam. This is done through qualitative semi-structured interviews with a specific focus on personnel in eateries, establishments with a relaxed ambiance and relatively small prices, and document analysis of a selection of newspaper articles. The research uses the concepts of habitus, capital, and field by Bourdieu to explain the differences between tourists and residents of the city of Amsterdam. The research found that the perspectives of hospitality workers challenge the current discourse. The perspectives of hospitality workers are generally positive, while the current discourse is very negative. This difference in perspective can be explained through the differences in impact found. The hospitality workers experience positive impacts, while the current discourse is more focused on residents who experience nuisance.

Contents

1. Summary

1.1 Research design

The motivation for this research is found in current media reports on the policy on overtourism in Amsterdam. These policies do not seem to work, and tourists keep on visiting Amsterdam in masses. Therefore, the media and scientific discourse seem very negative about overtourism in Amsterdam. Overtourism causes problems in the city, like nuisance, crowding and the city turning into an amusement park. In the meanwhile, the hospitality sector thrives on the number of tourists in Amsterdam. The restaurants, hotels, and cafés are doing very well and seem to have no negative opinion on tourism at all. This difference is being investigated in this research with the following research question:

How do the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge or confirm the general discourse on overtourism?

To answer this research question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

- What are the influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector?

- What is the general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam?

- What are the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism?

Scientifically speaking, there has already been plenty of research done on tourism, overtourism, and overtourism in Amsterdam. Hospitality and tourism are also studied together a lot. Still, this study is relevant because the perspectives of hospitality personnel have not been accounted for in this previous research, and most of the time, the research highlights perspectives from residents who only experience negative impacts from tourism. Also, a comparison with the current discourse has not been made. Socially the research is very much relevant because it will be good to give a platform to people often overlooked while research on overtourism is being done. It would also be relevant to the way the city of Amsterdam makes policy, as currently, the policies do not seem to work.

This research builds on the concepts of habitus, capital, and field of Bourdieu, as described in the scientific articles of Woodward (2018) and Piroddi (2021). Habitus is a concept that determines how you look at the world and it is the internalized structure of a group of people, it is individual but also shared amongst people. Capital entails the sources you have, in the form of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Lastly, field is the

place where you meet with other people with other habitus. Based on this habitus, different power relations exist. These power relations can change between fields. Applying these concepts of Bourdieu to tourism, it is evident that tourists and residents both have different habitus and capital. The tourists are in a field they do not know and are not used to. This means that complicated power relations can occur, in which friction can form between the tourists and residents.

Another model is discussed in this research, which was created by Gößling et al. (2020) to investigate how people form opinions on overtourism. This model is used in this research to form questions for the interviews and eventually explain why some people have positive or negative opinions.

These interviews are semi-structured interviews with hospitality workers, in the context of qualitative research. Seven interviews are done with people in close contact with the customers, this means more managing positions and waiters. Interviews are done in real life, in the businesses where the people worked, and over the phone. The interviews focused on the opinion on overtourism from the perspective of the businesses and the personal perspectives of the personnel. I also did a document analysis to have a clear picture of the current discourse on tourism. For this, fifteen recent newspaper articles discussing overtourism in Amsterdam were analyzed.

1.2 Findings

One of the first things that was noticed, was the very evident use of English in the businesses. Their menus were all translated into English, the personnel spoke English a lot and were selected on this during their interview before even taking the job. Some of the personnel were international because it did not mind that they did not speak Dutch.

Tourism also causes peak seasons, which is already evident in regular business. But if take tourists into account, this effect of peak seasons is reinforced. This results in extreme rush days, extra revenue being created, and personnel shortages being fixed with, amongst others, international personnel.

What also came to light in the interviews were the differences between customers. Tourists generally behaved differently in the company than Dutch people, mostly residents. Often, the Dutch guests are more demanding, while the tourists are satisfied more easily. The time Dutch guests spent with the company was more, while the tourists were more in a rush. Still, the tourists were kind and enthusiastic. There were also differences in the way the different nationalities of tourists behaved, some were more kind than others, and it was also evident in

tipping culture. The interviewees talked a lot about the stereotypical drunk English tourists that visited Amsterdam, and how they did not attract them to their companies.

A few things came to light in discussing the impacts of tourism on the daily life of the interviewees. Firstly, the city is extremely busy. The concept of crowding by Gerritsma (2019) was very evident in the interviews. The interviewees even sometimes actively avoided tourists because they thought touristic places were not cool or just too crowded. It was also noted that the policy made for tourists had an impact on the lives of the interviewees.

Professionally speaking, the perspectives were very good. The interviewees did not mind welcoming tourists to their businesses. Essentially, the tourists only had positive consequences, they were nice and generated revenue. Most of the positive perspectives are formed because of the lack of negative consequences: the businesses did not receive bad behaved guests, did not experience too busy days, or had trouble finding enough personnel at the right time.

Personally, the opinions were more negative. The interviewees did not like the hustle in the city. But still, these opinions were less negative than what the image the media portrays.

From the analyzed newspapers, it was evident the media had a very bleak outlook on overtourism. The newspapers portray an image of the stereotypical Amsterdam visitor, drunk and on drugs, often male, Caucasian, and from the United Kingdom. This is the same stereotype the interviewees talk about. The media blames this stereotype for most of the trouble in Amsterdam on overtourism and criticizes the government for not generating working policies.

1.3 Conclusion

What are the influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector?

The influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector are big. Tourism ensures a certain amount of revenue, causes peak seasons and extremely busy days, and therefore personnel shortages. It also makes the companies use English a large amount, in the form of English menus, English personnel, and the necessity to speak English by Dutch personnel. There is also a clear distinction visible in the different guests the businesses welcome, differences between guests and tourists, and differences between the groups of tourists. These differences can be explained by the concepts of capital and habitus.

What is the general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam?

The general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam is very much negative. The scientific literature comments negative impacts of overtourism in Amsterdam, describing the disturbance of normal life for people working in the city center. The media is also very negative. They mostly comment on the negative stereotype of drunken English tourists, which causes most of the problems in and around the Wallen area in the city center of Amsterdam. The media also comments negatively on policies made by the municipality. But lastly, the interviewees had a more nuances perspective on overtourism. They did not like the business of the city but grew to accept it. And did not perceive that many negative impacts of overtourism. Overall, the general discourse on overtourism is negative, mostly caused by media and by scientific literature.

What are the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism?

We can conclude that the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam are not formed through the process that the model of Gößling et al. (2020) describes, but better using the concepts of habitus, capital, and field. Still, the outcome of using his concepts is not as expected, probably explained by the exchange of capital. The perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism are positive. Most of them do not experience enough bad impacts to turn their opinion of the tourists bad. Within the companies, most of the impacts are positive, i.e. more income, kind tourists, and enough work. This results in the people working in hospitality in Amsterdam having a positive outlook on overtourism, which is the same as the conclusion of the rapport of the KHN (2019).

How do the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge or confirm the general discourse on overtourism?

The perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge the general discourse on overtourism. This is because hospitality workers have a positive opinion of overtourism, while the general discourse is very negative. This positive perspective is because they do not experience the bad impacts of tourism but earn money because of it. This point of view is not highlighted by the media, they often look from the point of view of the resident. They experience more negative impacts that outweigh the positive impacts.

2. Introduction

2.1. Motivation

In early 2023, the municipality of Amsterdam spread videos to repel partying British tourists from the city (Hielkema, 2023). The videos showed the dangers of partying in Amsterdam, where a drunken boy was arrested and fined, and someone ended up in the hospital after taking too many drugs. The residents of Amsterdam laughed at this campaign, and British tourists did not stop coming to Amsterdam.

This video is an example of one of the many ways that the municipality is trying to stop overtourism. But curtailing tourism is difficult, as is exemplified by the records of the past year: 2023 was a record year for tourism in the Netherlands. About 49.7 million people stayed at least one night in a hotel, camping, or bungalow park (Intres, 2024). The most important location for these tourists? Amsterdam. About 9 million people stayed in our capital city, reports the municipality of Amsterdam (Intres 2024). The media is not shy in hiding their opinion about this: they report that tourists have a bad influence on the livability of the city (Micajkov, 2024), changing it into a theme park with an abundance of cheese, bubble tea, and Nutella stores.

The Parool, (Hielkema, 2023) a big newspaper in the Netherlands, also speaks of tourists in Amsterdam behaving badly and needing to be reminded that Amsterdam is not a lawless city. The municipality made smoking weed illegal in certain places and handed out high fines for the use of drugs, alcohol abuse, and urinating in public. This is an example of the negative outlook of the media and municipality on overtourism in Amsterdam.

The scientific discourse on this subject is not positive either. A popular theory on overtourism is the Irritation Index, for instance, used by Eichelberger, S., Bichler, B. F., & Pikkemaat, B. (2023). This model concludes that when the number of tourists rises over time, the attitudes of the residents will worsen, and Amsterdam has seen this rising number of tourists for quite some time (Intres, 2024). The Irritation Index is a general model, not specific to one city, but there are plenty negative examples for Amsterdam only. For instance, Gerritsma (2019) describes overtourism in Amsterdam as overcrowding public spaces and therefore increasing noise and littering. Pinkster and Boterman (2017) concluded in their research that residents see their neighborhoods changing into 'theme parks' and 'museums': increasing inappropriate behavior, intensive crowding, loss of functions of the neighborhood, and overall disruption of normal life in Amsterdam. This proves overtourism in Amsterdam is a perceived

problem by the media and municipality, and heavily supported by scientific discourse.

But there is one industry heavily benefitting from all these tourists: the hospitality sector; the hotels, restaurants, and cafés. (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019). They are there when the tourists are hungry, when they need a place to stay, or when they want to party. The hospitality sector is the biggest sector within the tourism industry, with about 12 billion added value to the tourism industry in 2018 (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019).

The report of the Royal Hospitality Industry Netherlands (2019) also sees that the hospitality industry has a very positive attitude towards the development of tourism. Most of the tourism entrepreneurs see there is a possibility for growth in their sector (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019). They find themselves thinking about the possible revenue they could get from this growth, but are they thinking about the possible other impacts caused by the growth of tourism?

3. Problem definition

Following the introduction, on the one hand, there is the media and scientific literature that puts tourism in Amsterdam in a very negative light. On the other hand, there is the hospitality sector and the rapport of the KHN (2019), which is positive on tourism in the context of the hospitality sector and loves to see this grow. From this, is seems that hospitality entrepreneurs in Amsterdam could have a very different attitude towards tourism in the city of Amsterdam than the one the media shows. To investigate this problem, I have formulated the following research question:

How do the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge or confirm the general discourse on overtourism?

To answer this research question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

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4. Relevance

4.1 Scientific relevance

4.1.1 Tourism

There has already been a lot of research done on tourism, especially on the relationships between hosts and guests, which this research focuses on. Richard Sharpley (2014) showed the abundance of research done in his article, making a summary of recent research on host-guest relationships. He concluded that the host-guest relationships are complex and multi-dimensional. There are different encounters between residents and tourists, based on context, roles, and expectations (Sharlpley, 2014), and this leads to different groups of hosts having different perspectives on tourism and tourists.

This thesis builds on the research and conclusion of Sharpley (2014). If the media perceives (over)tourism in Amsterdam as bad, is that just because they are talking to a specific audience? This research will zoom in on the first group of residents Sharpley talks about in his article, the group that has the most interaction with the tourists, specifically in the way of doing business with them (see Figure 1). They are in contact with the tourists the most and therefore are the biggest providers for the tourist business.

Focusing on Amsterdam, Pinkster and Boterman (2017) did research looking at residents in Amsterdam and their perspective on overtourism. They concluded that the residents of Amsterdam still love their neighborhood, but as mentioned in the introduction, fear that the city center is turning into respectively a museum or theme park. The residents are especially annoyed by the behavior of the tourists. But still, the residents see the appeal of the canal belt and want to share this with the tourists. As this research is a little older, and the number of tourists has increased since 2017 (Inters, 2024), it is interesting to see if this attitude has changed. In the media, it seems unchanged or even worsened (Hielkema, 2023), but maybe this is not the full truth and there could be a nuance found.

Specifically, overtourism and attitudes of residents toward overtourism have been studied a lot in quantitative form, through surveys and statistics. For instance, the research by Tokarchuk et al. (2017) explores the well-being of residents in ten German cities through different variables. The research found a relationship between the number of tourists in urban areas and the well-being and life satisfaction of the residents. This means, that when more tourists go to the cities, the life satisfaction gets worse (Tokacrhuk et al., 2017). Quantitative research is very valuable to use as background in qualitative research. The

research of Tokacrhuk et al. (2017) proves, at least in those German cities, that the relationship between life satisfaction and the number of tourists exists. With this general claim, my thesis can dive further into the specific reasons why life satisfaction decreases when the number of tourists increases.

Quantitative research has its limits. Because numbers are collected for statistical analysis, quantitative research cannot dive deeper into the meaning of those numbers. Quantitative research is a good tool to make a claim that holds up in many cases, but with qualitative research, we can discover why this is the truth (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research enables us to dive deeper into the meaning of this claim and the reasons this claim exists. It helps us to look into the specific context of the claim.

4.1.2 Hospitality sector

To bridge tourism and the hospitality sector, the Royal Hospitality Industry Netherlands (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019) created a report on tourism and the hospitality industry in the Netherlands. In the report, the vision of Dutch hospitality entrepreneurs on growing tourism is researched through quantitative methods. In contrast to the media, the entrepreneurs are remarkably positive about tourism, and 56% of the entrepreneurs see room for growth in tourism in their region (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019)

Therefore, this report serves as a key reason for conducting this research. As highlighted in the introduction, both science and media typically present a negative view on the topic of overtourism, whereas this report offers a positive perspective. It is interesting to eventually compare the findings of this research with the report by the KHN (2019), because the report is from 2019, and tourism has been growing since then. Also, this report focusses on the whole of the Netherlands, not zoomed into Amsterdam, as I will do. This is interesting because Amsterdam is the only city in the Netherlands experiencing a serious form of overtourism (Gerritsma, 2019).

In addition to the report of the KHN, I choose to focus on the hospitality sector based on Sharpley's scientific model (2014), Figure 1, in which he argues that all people living in tourist destinations are hosts (Sharpley, 2014). Because residents of toured areas essentially participate in providing (working in the hospitality sector, cleaning, or even providing food as local farmers) for the tourists or experience the consequences of the tourists recreating in the place where they live.

This scientific model, Figure 1, categorizes the different residents in tourist places. The model categorizes residents concerning the amount of contact they

have with tourists. This gives us a hint on how much impact the tourists have on the resident's lives, and vice versa. In my research, I choose not to focus on the opinion of all the residents of Amsterdam at once. Instead, I choose to focus on the group of people that has the most contact with tourists, based on the model of Sharpley (2014). From this group, I choose the people working in hospitality. From the different categories of residents, they have the maximum number of interactions with tourists. This makes them valuable to talk to about tourists.
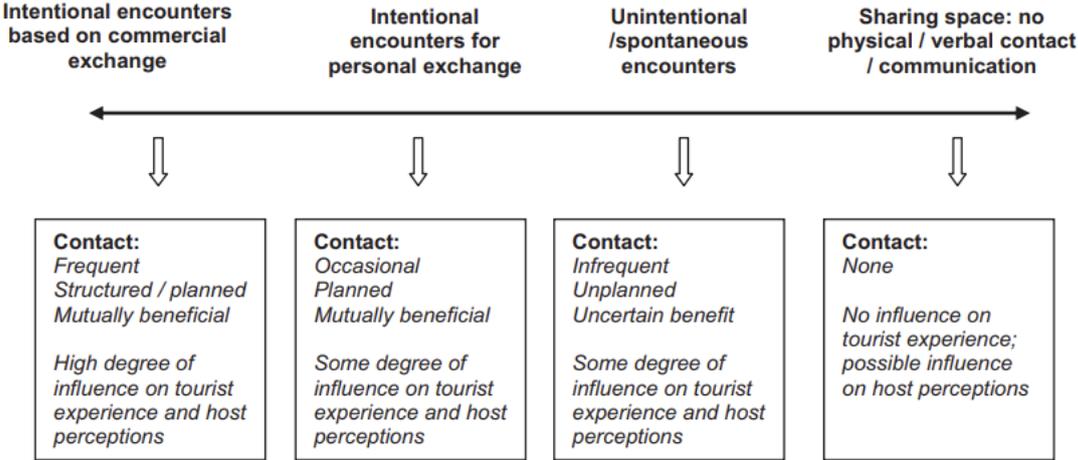
Intentional encounters based on commercial exchange	Intentional encounters for personal exchange	Unintentional /spontaneous encounters	Sharing space: no physical / verbal contact / communication
Contact: Frequent Structured / planned Mutually beneficial High degree of influence on tourist experience and host perceptions	Contact: Occasional Planned Mutually beneficial Some degree of influence on tourist experience and host perceptions	Contact: Infrequent Unplanned Uncertain benefit Some degree of influence on tourist experience and host perceptions	Contact: None No influence on tourist experience; possible influence on host perceptions

Figure 1 - Guests-host model (Sharpley, 2014)

4.2 Social relevance

As mentioned in the introduction, overtourism in Amsterdam is often seen as a problem. But at the moment, the hospitality industry is the industry benefiting most from these tourists.

Looking at the concept of overtourism from the perspective of the people working in the hospitality sector can create new insights into this presumed problem. This could lead to new policies by the municipality of Amsterdam that might work better than current policies, such as the videos intended to dissuade British tourists from visiting Amsterdam (Hielkema, 2023). The city's mayor, Femke Halsema, emphasizes that the new policies will focus on enhancing the image of Amsterdam, but primarily on benefiting its residents (Hielkema, 2023). This research could help with providing a basis for these new policies, as it is focused on a specific subset of the residents of Amsterdam.

Besides this, it is a platform for the people of Amsterdam working in the hospitality industry to voice their opinions on this much-discussed subject. The problem of overtourism has been in the media a lot, but mostly from the perspective of policymakers and residents, not from the perspective of people

interacting with tourists on a day-to-day basis, who are the ones experiencing implications of the behavior of tourists and overtourism. The people working in hospitality were happy to have a small platform to voice their opinions.

5.1 Theoretical framework

5.1. Bourdieu and tourism

5.1.1 Habitus, Field, and Capital

The theoretical lens used in this research is based on the works of Bourdieu on the concepts of habitus, field, and capital. Pierre Bourdieu was a sociologist from France, who was born in 1930 and passed away in 2002 (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). His life must be understood in the context of the twentieth century of French society, with strict class boundaries and limited intergenerational mobility. It is not strange Bourdieu's work focusses on class structures, unequal societies, and preferences that dictate your practices (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018).

To explain this framework, I lend different explanations for the three concepts of capital, habitus, and field. To explain the concepts of capital and habitus, I look at the article of Woodward (2018) in The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu, on the relevance of Bourdieu's concepts for studying the intersections of poverty, race, and culture. Kerry Woodward explains the terms of capital and habitus clearly, useful for this research, and the reason to choose for her explanation of Bourdieu's concepts.

Woodward explains that capital can occur in three different shapes: economic, cultural, and social capital, where the last two can be turned into economic capital by the input of labor (Woodward, 2018). Economic capital simply refers to your stat of wealth in the form of money and other physical possessions. Cultural capital is more complex than this, and Bourdieu broke this concept down into three subcategories, embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. The first is made up of a person's habits and preferences, which they pick up naturally and without even realizing it. The second refers to the cultural possessions you own, like art and books. Lastly, institutionalized cultural capital signifies the education you had. The less common the cultural capital you own, the more valuable it is. For instance, a very high education like a PhD is not that common, and therefore very valuable. Cultural capital exists in the connections or social networks you have as a member of a group and as an individual.

There is a fourth type of capital Bourdieu frequently speaks of, symbolic capital, as Woodward (2018) describes as the prestige or authority one may have as a result of other types of capital. This fourth type is simply economic or cultural capital when it is known or recognized. These different types of capital all form the structure of relationships between different people and therefore form the structure of social space. These terms helped Bourdieu understand the different class relationships (Woodward, 2018).

Habitus is a concept that is related to this. As Woodward (2018) states, it is the embodied form of capital, which shapes your physique, movement, and disposition. It is the mental structure in which people understand their surroundings of the world (Woodward, 2018). In this same way, Costa et al. (2018) describe habitus as an internal archive of personal experiences rooted in the distinct aspects of an individual's social journey. Following this explanation of habitus is Corrado Piroddi (2021), who states that habitus is a system of long-lasting and adaptable habits that come from past experiences. It helps people see, judge, and act in the world. It allows people to handle a wide variety of tasks by applying familiar patterns to new but similar situations. To conclude, habitus exists of past experiences, your embodied capital that dictates the way you act in certain situations.

To explain how this interaction between capital and habitus works, there is one more term that needs clarification. Bourdieu also uses the concept of field in his works. As explained by Piroddi (2021), this is a social environment with its norms, rules, and structures, a specific social context, that allows for the possibility of different social actions.

These concepts of capital, habitus, and field all work together to dictate the social actions taken by individuals. As Piroddi (2021) explains, Bourdieu believed that social actions come from the relationship between the field and capital. Social actions happen when people's tendencies, their habitus, meet possibilities for action in their social environment. If you explain this through an example of soccer, the soccer game is the social 'game' that is being played. You as the soccer player know the rules of the game, this is in your habitus, formed because of your capital. The field is simply the soccer field, where certain rules and norms apply, that do not apply outside this field (i.e. supporters can touch the ball with their hands, the players can not do this). Your knowledge of soccer determined by your habitus allows you to kick the ball the right way, thus making a social action.

This also explains that the field offers different opportunities, and people can reach the same goal using different strategies, with a different habitus, but still playing within the rules and norms of the field (Piroddi, 2021).

This interplay between the terms helped Bourdieu to explain why people acted in the same repetitive ways, and why people's preferences could be predicted (Woodward, 2018). It also helped him look differently at classes that were very evident in France at the time he was alive. Good to note is that Bourdieu has never written anything on tourism. In this research, I will use the concepts coined by Bourdieu, as explained by Woodward (2018) and Piroddi (2021), and

use these concepts to understand the social interactions between tourists and residents.

5.1.2 Application on tourism

Other researchers are using Bourdieu's concepts to explain certain phenomena in tourism. For example, Rafiq Ahmad (2012) explores Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital in the field of tourism consumption. Ahmad operationalizes the concept of habitus as sociological choices that tourists make in the realm of tourism consumption. Ahmad concludes that the choices tourists make are shaped and perpetuated by their respective class habitus and are structured by social capital. This proves the concepts of habitus, field, and capital are usable within the field of tourism.

Taking the concepts of habitus, field, and social capital as a lens and looking at tourism, the tourists and residents do not have the same capital and therefore do not have the same habitus. The field, which is for this research is Amsterdam, which is known by the residents. They have the 'right' habitus to act in this field. The tourists are new to this field, as they travel from their known field to Amsterdam, a field in which they are not familiar. Their habitus can be limiting in knowing what rules and norms this field has. Meaning, that they behave in a way that is seen as strange by the residents, who do know the rules and norms of the field. This can be confronting, and because of this friction, bad attitudes can form between the tourists and hosts.

This theory of Bourdieu connects to the way Sharpley (2014) looks at host-guest relationships in tourism. The relationship between hosts and guests is fundamental for tourism, and Sharpley (2014), emphasizes that those relations are unequal. One of the reasons Sharpley (2014) gives for this is the cultural distinctions between hosts and guests. This can be seen in the different capitals of the residents and tourists, resulting in different habitus.

Different capital in one field can lead to the exchange of capital. In the case of economic capital within the boundaries of tourism, this is quite evident. Most of the time, the tourists have a bigger economic capital and are willing to exchange this with residents in exchange for services or resources. Cultural capital is another concept that can be properly applied in the field of tourism. Tourists came to receive more cultural capital, in the form of architecture, different cultures, or museums. The residents already have this capital because they live in the place the tourists visit.

In this research, the concepts of Bourdieu will not be used as intended by Bourdieu, but the meaning of the concepts helps me explain the differences

between tourists and residents, and why conflicts could exist between them. Besides this, the concepts could help me explain different outcomes of this study, as done in the Chapter on findings and the conclusion.

5.2 Shaping of perspectives on tourism

5.2.1 The Gößling et al. model explained

For this research, it is important to know how residents shape their perspectives on tourism, as this will be looked at in the context of hospitality workers. In 2020, Gößling et al. established a model on how residents of a touristic place form perspectives on overtourism. This is a quite complicated socio-psychological model, but very relevant to this research (see Figure 2). The model discusses the way residents form a perspective on tourism - specifically on overtourism - and therefore concepts of this theoretical model will be used in the operationalization later in this research and could help explain the results of this research. The model explains that responses the residents have on overtourism happen through four stages (Gößling et al., 2020).

Influences on reactions to the presence of tourists in the community

This stage describes the different influences that are caused by tourism on the residents. The influences are divided into three categories, endogenous factors, exogenous factors, and the social density of the tourists in the destination. Firstly, the endogenous factors describe the relationship of the resident with the place, and how attached they are to 'their' town. Exogenous factors explain the influences of outside the residents that influence their perception of tourism. Think about the governance of tourists, the exposure to tourists, like Sharpley's model (2014), and how the tourists are perceived in the media. The social density of the tourists is defined by the 'crowding' effect: how many tourists are in a place at once? Do residents find this 'too busy'? This is about the actual physical presence of tourists. This is also the influence of most quantitative research measures.

Social psychological processes

For this research, it is not necessary to explain the actual psychological processes going on inside the brains of the residents, but it is important to highlight the four ways this model finds in which the influences have an effect on the place perception by the residents. This is done by the theories of stimulus overload, and arousal which leads to the feeling of losing control over the place, and a changing attribution to the place.

Place perceptions

The influences of tourism lead to the social psychological process which leads in their place to the changing place perceptions of the residents. This can either be a negative or positive change from a negative or positive perception. A positive

perception can turn negative, a negative perception can become more negative, etc.

Behavioral & emotional responses

Of course, a positive place perception leads to other behavioral responses than negative attitudes. In the positive case, residents will often participate, engage, and become real citizens in the community. In the negative case, residents will avert from the tourists, and may even show aggression.

The model above gives the theoretical approach to the formation of perspectives on overtourism by residents. It will be used in this research to have a theoretical background to refer to when making questions for the interviews, and finally understand where the perspectives of the interviewees come from.

5.2.2 Connection to Bourdieu's theory

To make this model helpful in explaining the outcomes of this research, it is essential to connect the model of Gößling et al. (2020) to Bourdieu's theory. The different concepts estimated by Bourdieu, that of habitus, field, and capital can be found in this model. Firstly, the habitus of people is created and customized by this process. Their different opinions are established in their habitus but can be changed through the process explained in the model (Figure 2). And vice versa, this habitus is a part of the Endogenous factors, embedded in the people themselves.

The field in the model is found through the physical location where the person is. Different fields have different playing rules, and this is seen that different locations taken into the model can have different outcomes. Also, in different locations, the residents can have more power than tourists and vice versa, depending on their habitus and capital. This can lead to different behavioral and emotional responses.

Capital is considered in the influences part of the model. The endogenous factors lean on cultural capital and social capital. Social capital is also found in the Exogenous factors. Still, some factors in the model remain, where the thought of Bourdieu cannot be applied.
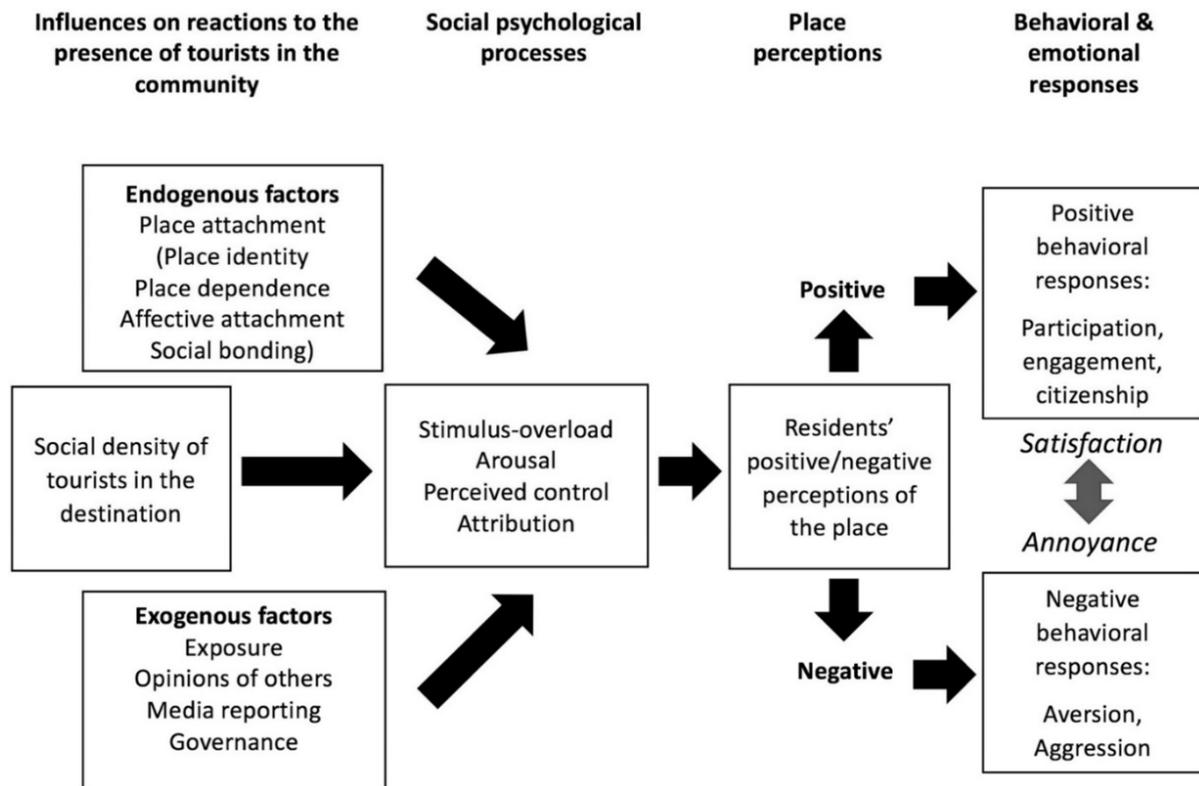
Figure 2 - Model on forming perspectives on tourism (Gößling et al., 2020)

6. Methods

This research has a qualitative approach. The research investigates the opinions of people in a bigger social context, this is easier to capture in qualitative research than in quantitative research (Creswell, 2013). The reason for this is that quantitative tends to make general claims based on statistics. Using qualitative research makes me able to dive deeper into the context and focus on the opinions of people.

This research is a case study, which means a phenomenon is investigated in the context of a certain geographical context. In this case study, the geographical context is the city of Amsterdam. The case study approach is chosen to see if certain theories explained in the theoretical framework are also shown in a specific context like the city center of Amsterdam. In the field of tourism, many case studies are being done, because every tourist area is different. The areas have different cultural contexts, different tourists, different challenges, and different solutions to these challenges. This makes it interesting to take a closer look at Amsterdam, instead of looking at tourism more broadly.

6.1 Interviews

For this research, I collect data by doing in-depth interviews with people working in the hospitality sector. To get a representative image of these people working in the hospitality sector, seven interviews were conducted, with seven people working in different companies and with different jobs within these companies. The aim was to do ten interviews in total, but after having done about five interviews, the same answers were repeated, which hinted at the saturation of the data. The inability to find new information meant it was proficient to conduct seven interviews instead of the planned ten.

The interviews conducted were semi-structured. I brought some questions to the interview, but there was still plenty of space for the respondent to tell other interesting stories on the subject of tourism and hospitality. The interview guide for these interviews can be found in attachment 1. Conducting semi-structured interviews enabled me to not only look for facts, but gain a better understanding of the phenomena in the context of the particular respondent, and the other opinions of the respondents (Creswell, 2013). The consequence of having the interviews semi-structured is that they were harder to compare them with each other (Creswell, 2013).

As all of the respondents were Dutch, the interviews were held in Dutch. Doing the interviews in the language the respondent is most comfortable with, creates an atmosphere in which they can talk easily and creates open and honest interviews (Creswell, 2013). The interviews were held in informal settings, to stimulate the conversation and keep an open environment for honest answers. This meant most of the interviews were held in the restaurants the people worked, or over the phone. The interviews done over the phone can be thought of as lower quality than the real-life interviews. It was harder to understand the specific context of the restaurant the interviewee was talking about. This was straightaway the biggest benefit of the interviews held at location. Understanding the context and seeing the specific restaurant was an added value. Nevertheless, the data gathered by the interviews over the phone is still very good.

The interviews were also taped, this helped with transcribing and analyzing the interviews, but this was only done if the respondents gave formal permission for this. Besides this, in reporting the data, pseudonyms are used. This is to ensure the anonymity of the respondents. This was communicated with the respondents to enable them to speak freely on this subject. Especially when opinions are more negative, for instance on tourism, people tend to keep them to themselves (Heaton, 2021). In ensuring their anonymity, the respondents are more likely to convey their actual opinions. I also made sure to keep the restaurant names out of this report and communicate this before the interviews to the respondents. This is also done to make sure the respondents can speak freely about their restaurant, and not transform their interview into a promotion of their restaurant.

6.2 Respondents

The research population consists of all the hospitality workers of Amsterdam, as formulated in the theoretical framework. In the hospitality sector about half of the people work in tourism which counts about 232,000 fulltime jobs in the Netherlands (Koninklijke Horeca Nederland, 2019). In this research, the focus will be on the people working in hospitality in Amsterdam, specifically in the city center of Amsterdam. This choice is made because tourists often do not go beyond this area (Walbeek, 2023), which makes it for this research unnecessary

to look beyond this area. A clear overview of the city center district, as depicted by the municipality, is found in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Amsterdam city center (Gemeente Amsterdam Klaas-Bindert de Haan, n.d.)

Besides focusing on only one area in Amsterdam, the focus of this research will not be on the complete hospitality industry. The industry is narrowed down to only 'eetcafés'. Named eateries in English, these are often smaller establishments with a more informal ambiance, serving affordable lunch and dinner items. In the summer, the companies often include terraces. The choice of eateries is made for a few reasons. Firstly, the researcher has affiliations with the specific ambiance of eateries, as she has been working in one for quite some time and loves to study there too. This makes it easier to understand the context of the interviewees. Besides this, as they often serve more affordable food, the eateries are very attractive to most tourists. Together with the informal ambiance and space for personnel to talk to the tourists, it is a good category to find out if the overtourism is perceived as negative as the media says.

Further narrowing down of the research population is done based on the interaction with tourists. For this research, it is unnecessary to talk for instance to the chef of a restaurant, as they don't directly interact with the tourists while working. The focus will be on people interacting with tourists, such as waiters, hosts, bartenders, or managers. The choice to focus on people interacting directly with tourists is made based on research by Sharpley (2014), he states

that the people working with tourists daily, and being in direct contact with them have the most impact on the tourists, and tourists have the most impact on them.

For this research, it is hard to choose random respondents. The respondents need to work in the hospitality sector, specifically in an eatery, and need to be willing to do an interview. Besides this, it is not relevant for the research to consider further demographical characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, or income. The lack of caused by the specific focus of this interview. The interviewees are already selected on their amount of interaction with tourists, workplace, and geographical location of the workplace. There are already so many variables that the respondents are selected on, demographical characteristics are not that relevant anymore. This means that the research will not look at these aspects when selecting respondents, to make the process slightly more random and the respondents more representative of the research population.

I approached different hospitality businesses via email asking for respondents. Before approaching the specific business, I established whether the business fits into the framework of an 'eetcafe'. Besides this way of finding respondents, the researcher asked around with friends and found some respondents through others, this is called snowball sampling. Of course, I have checked whether they worked in a business that could qualify as an eatery.

6.3 Quality of the sample

In the end, 37 businesses were approached, which resulted in seven interviews. All of the businesses were in the Amsterdam centrum region, some on the very border, but others close to the main tourist area, the train station. A map of the different businesses is found in Figure 4. The few names that popped up are blurred, to keep the anonymity of the businesses. This was promised in the interviews, to let the interviewees speak freely and not make it a promotion of their business. As shown in the map, the different interviewees are spread out in the Amsterdam centrum area, which makes the sample quite good location-wise.

Of the seven interviewees, I spoke to four people in a managerial position within the business and three waiters. All of the people in the managing positions had experience with hospitality and waitressing, so all of the interviewees could tell me a significant amount about all of the aspects of data needed for the research. Altogether, the quality of the sample was good. Different people, in different

business that all could qualify as eatery, and all in different places in the Amsterdam city center.
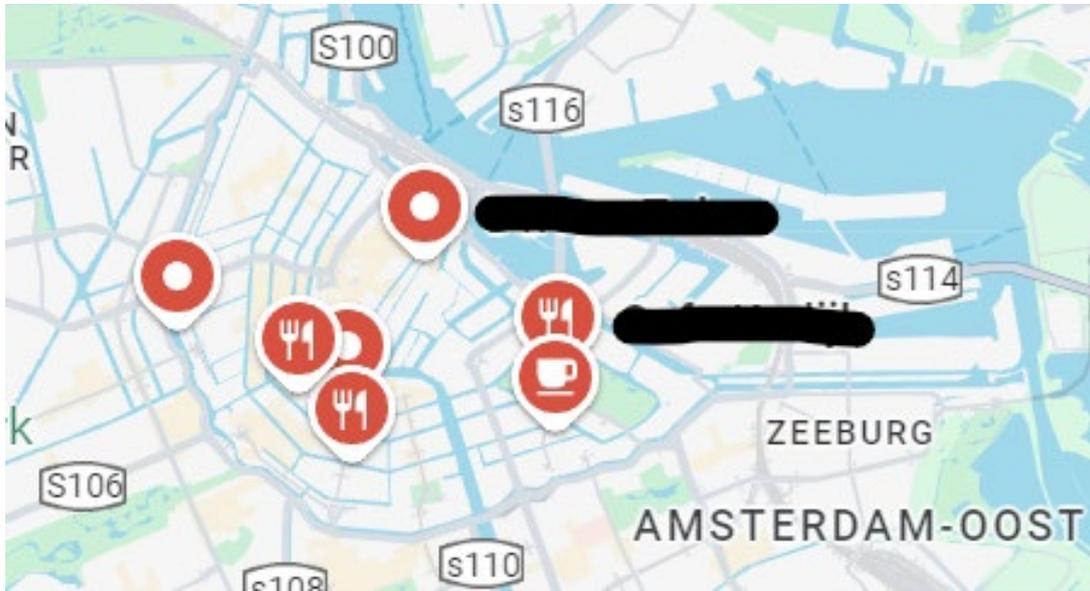
Figure 4 - Map of interviewed businesses

6.4 Document review

Besides collecting data through interviews, it was necessary to investigate certain media documents to assess all the parts of the research questions. These documents were selected by assessing if they could be used to answer the research questions. 16 newspaper articles were used, found online. They were from different newspapers in the Netherlands (see table 1). In the table is stated what the political tendency of the newspapers is, because news on the subject of tourism can have a political tendency too. The newspaper articles are dated between the 11th of September, 2020 and the 1st of May, 2024. Together with the interviews, these data sources did effectively provide enough information to answer the research question. Note that this document review will not be the main focus of the research, the main focus of the research is collecting primary

Newspaper	Political tendency (Dex, 2023)	Number of articles
Algemeen dagblad (AD)	Neutral	1
AT5 (Echt Amsterdams news)	Local paper, leftish	3
Finacieel dagblad	Right	2
Het Parool	Left	4
NH Nieuws	Neutral	1
NOS Nieuws	Neutral	1
Telegraaf	Right	3
Trouw	Left	1

data through interviews.

Table 1 - Distribution of newspapers

6.5 Analysis

After collecting the data, the interviews were transcribed in Dutch, to make sure no words got twisted. After analysis, some quotes can be translated into English, and of course, findings will be presented in English to fit the rest of the research. The analysis was done with the help of the computer program Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti (version 24) was used because of the convenience of this program. It automatically gives overviews of the most used words, can make word webs, and overall, practically helps with doing a good analysis. Besides this, I have some experience using this program, which makes it the best choice. This program was used to analyze the interviews and documents.

The analysis of interviews and newspaper articles was done through open coding. With this way of coding, the codes and categories are not established beforehand but made through the analysis. This fits the exploratory approach of the research and makes sure the researcher is not fixed on specific codes or results during the coding process but keeps an open mind.

7. Findings

7.1 Impact of tourism on the hospitality sector

The impact of tourism on the hospitality sector can be summarized into three categories: first the role of English in the different businesses, the influence of peak seasons on the businesses, differences in the behavior of tourists and Dutch customers, and between different tourists. The names used with the quotes of interviewees are fake names, the real names are known by the researcher.

7.1.1 The use of English

One of the most obvious signs that you are in a restaurant in the city center of Amsterdam, is the English menus everywhere. It is normalized in the hospitality culture of Amsterdam, and I even got weird looks asking if the businesses had English menus.

Some of the restaurants chose complete English menus, some had English and Dutch versions, and one of the businesses even provided German menus online. This was contractionary with one of the other businesses, they deliberately choice to not make menus beside Dutch and English ones.

"English [menus] dot. No, I'm not translating them all in French, German, etc., no"

Linda, the forty-year-old female manager of a big restaurant in the city center of Amsterdam, explained to me that the company had a changing menu, and it would cost too much money and time to also translate this is other languages besides English. But she also told me, as did other interviewees, that most tourists are okay with only the availability of English menus. Even tourists from countries less comfortable with English had ways of figuring out what they wanted to order. This would be with the help of international waiters, Google Translate, etc.

One of the other companies had an opposite opinion about this. They had taken the time and effort to also translate their menu into more languages than only English. This difference can be explained by the location and audience of the companies. Compared between the two businesses, was the first one more out of the heart of the city and received fewer tourists than the second business.

Two of the companies I spoke with had themed dishes, an American bakery, and Thai food. They both had completely English menus, but no problems occurred with this, and this can be dictated to the specific dishes. The American bakery had sandwiches and pies. It isn't necessary to translate this into Dutch, and Dutch customers didn't complain about this because it fits the concept of the place they are visiting. Same with the Thai place. They had the original Thai names of the dishes on the menu, together with the English translation. Because this also fits the concept, no complains about this were heard. This is illustrated by the following quote from Marcel, the manager of the bar where they served mostly Thai food when asked about how their menu looked like:

"There is then another English translation behind it. I think that makes it less obvious that we only have English menus. The Dutchman who, yes he reads the Thai name and then the English name and then it is all clear what it is."

What I noticed was that a few of the companies hadn't bothered to translate their drinking menus into English. On the tables, there was an English and/or Dutch eating menu and only a Dutch drinking menu. When I asked about this, the interviewees told me that the Dutch drinking menus had never been a problem. People always kind of know what they want to drink or could be easily helped by the waiters.

Another obvious impact of tourism is the speaking of English by the waiters of the restaurants. As David, the manager of a small restaurant very close to the central station of Amsterdam told me:

"I don't even think about this [speaking English within the company]. Some time ago I hired someone…And then I heard someone say, like, her English is very bad…Shit."

This proves that in Amsterdam, it almost goes without thinking that everybody speaks English to some level. Even so, it is not considered in job interviews. Because of tourism, the waiters must speak English. This has the consequence that most of the businesses also do not mind hiring people who are not proficient in the Dutch language.

This development is seen more and more in the hospitality businesses I spoke to. The biggest reason to hire international personnel for business was out of necessity. After COVID-19, there was a big staff shortage, and many of the businesses chose to hire internationals living in Amsterdam, for instance, Marel, who has only been the acting manager for this Thai restaurant bar for a couple of months now, decided that change was needed:

Interviewee: "That [hiring of non-Dutch personnel] has only been recently. Actually the rule has always been that only Dutch speaking personnel was hired. But from the moment I came here it changed. And that was actually born out of necessity."
Interviewer: "Because of shortage of staff or for another reason?"
Interviewee: "No, because of shortage of staff"

The companies that work with international staff told me they don't find any problems with this within the business itself. This probably has to do with the fact that all of the Dutch personnel can also speak English quite well. But in interaction with guests, there exists some friction sometimes.

There are some Dutch guests, mostly people from Amsterdam who have problems with going to restaurants and having to order in English because of the English staff of the business, as I learned from my interviews. They feel like the Dutch culture is being lost with this development, as is also being invoked by an article in the Algemeen Dagblad, a popular Dutch newspaper (Boere, 2023). But because the businesses I talked to don't work with exclusively English staff, there was always a workaround for this, for instance, Dutch personnel ready to take the order. This is one of the only negative influences of the non-Dutch stuff found in the interviews.

Some companies decided on this basis to not hire international personnel. One of the companies had tried out working with non-Dutch staff, but found out the regular guest did not like that, as Esther, the manager of an American lunchroom told me when I asked her if she had international personnel working for her:

"But we have also had English-speaking people behind the bar, or in the service, but we have, in addition to those tourists from other countries, we also have just a lot of people who do come here as regulars, and they just indicated, they find that just annoying, if they can-not speak Dutch"

This quote illustrates the consideration made within the business. They told me they do still have non-Dutch people working in places where they do not have interactions with customers (i.e. their bakery and kitchen), and this works just fine. Other companies told me they have considered hiring international staff,

but ended up not doing this, mostly because of the regular customers that are very happy to be able to speak Dutch.

Another interviewee, Yasmine, a twenty-year-old student who worked as a waitress in the lunchroom owned by her dad, told me that they house so many tourists, that the Dutch personnel sometimes start speaking in English to every customer, without even having international personnel. They had received feedback back from customers that they did not like that, but still, they catch themselves doing it frequently. This illustrates two points: the company houses so many tourists, that it is more efficient starting in English and switching to Dutch if needed than the other way around. And English is completely embedded in Amsterdam hospitality. This is what she told me about this:

> "Yes, we've also had some of those comments from locals, who didn't like that very much, that we start in English, so we have to pay attention to that ourselves. Starting in Dutch and then moving on to English. So that, that's a little thing."

Because of tourism, English plays a very big role in the different companies, this shows in issues around menus and the spoken language by employees. This use of English can be connected to the discussion on habitus, capital, and field as in Woodward (2018). The tourists and personnel come from other places, and have other mother tongues, but still can communicate with each other through shared cultural capital. Learning a language falls into the category of institutionalized cultural capital because often English is learned in school. So even though people have completely different habitus, they still can figure out a way to behave in the way the field allows. This corresponds with what Piroddi (2021) explains in his article, that even though people can have a different habitus, the outcome of the social action can still lead to the same goal, playing within the rules and norms of the social field.

7.1.2 Peak seasons

All hospitality businesses must eventually deal with peak seasons, especially restaurants (Bergamin, 2019). In wintertime, fewer people are going to restaurants then there are in summertime. This means fluctuations in revenue, hiring of personnel, and lots of unpredictability. The interviews show that this effect of peak seasons is reinforced by the coming and going of tourists. This is shown in a few different items: extreme rush days, the creation of extra revenue compared to slower seasons, and personnel shortages.

Most of the business told me that the peak season starts around Easter, and goes on until around September/October, depending on the weather. Also, around Christmas break, the companies see more tourists than normal. This has an impact in a way that the city is way more crowded, but also more people come to eat at their places. This is seen especially in places that have terraces in the summertime. The places can house more people than they can in wintertime, which means that it can get busier than normal. Eventually, this can lead to extremely busy days in already busy months. Yasmine tells me this about these busy days:

"And we do have, in front, we put a line, then sometimes, we have to. But most tourists and locals have no problem waiting. So they just wait in line then. And if we have a spot they take a seat."

So, the tourists and locals have no problem waiting for a seat, and this is also what the other interviewees told me. Notable is that none of the businesses complained about the extremely busy days, they were all okay with it. It is hard work, but of course, it is hospitality work. It is part of it.

Besides the extra busy months, some days were extremely busy for the hospitality I spoke to. These days were extremely sunny days, for the companies with terraces. Many tourists and regular Amsterdam people want to sit outside in the sun, on the terrace enjoying a beer or wine. These were extremely busy days for mostly companies with terraces. One company I spoke to did not have a terrace and complained that these were their quite days. Logically, of course. The other extremely busy days are national holidays when Amsterdam itself is already incredibly busy. Think of days like Pride, Kings Day, or Liberation Day. But still, none of the companies complained about these extremely busy days.

One of the main reasons for not complaining about the extremely busy days is probably because of the extra revenue created by tourists. This is especially true for companies with terraces. David, the owner of a small restaurant close to the central station told me this about creating extra revenue:

> "Fortunately, we have a small patio. So that's about another 1/3rd or so of sales, I think, in the summer months. Imagine that the terrace is three times your business, what happens on Leidseplein..."

*Leidseplein is one of the big squares in Amsterdam, that has many terraces in the summer

This means in summer months, with a terrace 1/3rd of the business, they generate 1/3rd more revenue. This extra revenue fits into the frame of the peak seasons. It is obvious that it is caused by the arrival of that many tourists. Most of the hospitality in Amsterdam depends on the tourists and peak seasons:

> "It does happen that in the, that in summer we earn the money from winter so to speak. In the winter no money is made, uhm, and in the summer all that is compensated."

This quote by Marcel, the owner of a restaurant on the border of Amsterdam city center shows these extreme fluctuations between summer, winter, and transition seasons.

One of the biggest impacts because of the fluctuations is personnel shortages. When in slow months very little personnel is needed, the busy months need many hours extra. Not only as waiters but also in the kitchen. Many businesses within the hospitality sector are struggling with this, the interviewees told me they always need new personnel. As hospitality is for most people a side job besides their studies, they can work more in the busy months when less time is consumed by their studies.

This is the reason Esther, the owner of an American lunchroom concept, works mostly with students:

> "Well, it's always, there's always a challenge though, because what I said, we work with a lot of students, so that's an advantage they are so free also on vacations and so on, but they do depend on school as well."

Other companies also tell me it is always a challenge to find enough personnel to work with in the busy months, because there are more shifts, so more hours need to be filled. In an everchanging team, it can be a big challenge. Since Covid-19, when a lot of hospitality personnel sought work in other branches, it has been hard to find enough personnel for businesses. Looking back on the previous chapter, this has also been the reason for a lot of businesses to hire international personnel.

In Figure 5, an overview is made of the different impacts tourists have on the hospitality sector, according to previous paragraphs. So, to summarize, because

of the presence of tourists, peak seasons are reinforced. This results in extra revenue being generated but is also the cause of personnel shortages. These personnel shortages are sometimes fixed by hiring international personnel. Besides this, the presence of tourists reinforces the use of English in the companies, which also results in the hiring of English personnel.
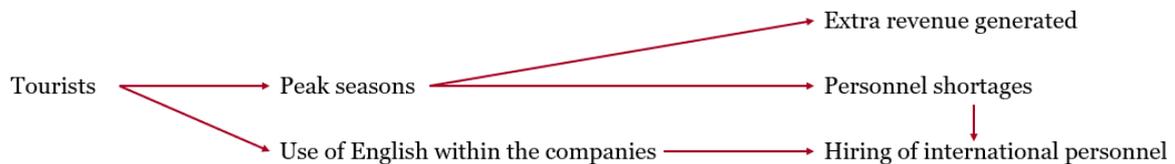

Figure 5 - Overview impacts of tourists

This overview is part of the answer to the first sub-question: what are the influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector?

Connecting this to the concepts of Bourdieu, as explained in the theoretical framework, there is a clear focus on the extra revenue generated. This can be seen as economic capital, which the personnel profit from. The use of English implies the gaining of cultural capital, where the personnel and tourists both gain a better understanding of a language and therefore gain cultural capital, to use for the exchange of economic capital.

7.1.3 Differences between guests

In the interviews I have done, the interviewees also noticed something else, the difference between tourists and Dutch guests. The distinction between Amsterdam habitants and Dutch tourists is hard to make here because the difference is not that obvious. Therefore, in this chapter, the distinction is made between Dutch people and tourists. Differences were spotted between Dutch guests and tourists, and between different groups of tourists.

One of the very first responses I got from almost every interviewee was the difference in expectations with which the customers came to the businesses. Most of the interviewees found the Dutch guests more demanding, and the tourists satisfied more easily. This quote by Marcel, a manager of one of the interviewed restaurants illustrates that:

"But generally, uhm, local people are a little more demanding than tourists. People from the neighborhood generally know very specifically what they want. Uhm, and yes, also like to want it the way they see it. Which in itself they are entitled to, of course, they are guests of ours. In general, which I can also imagine, tourists are often like oh it's fine."

Another difference between the two groups is the difference in time spent with the company, as David, explained to me while we were sitting in his small restaurant right after lunch time:

"Well for example here on the big table, with that gray-beige-like coat on, those people are Dutch, and they've been sitting here for, like, 2 1/2 hours, those ladies have been sitting here for 3 hours, and the rest are all gone within an hour."

This is of course a big difference and a logical difference. Most Dutch people go to the business to talk to friends, have a good meal and spend quite some time there. But when you are on vacation, you want to eat quickly, because you have so much to do and see in a limited timeframe of the holiday. The advantage of this is that a faster circulation rate means more people can be hosted during rush hours, and more revenue can be generated. This is positive for the businesses but doesn't mean they do not want to receive the Dutch people who want to sit there and chat for a couple of hours. They hospitality business I spoke to enjoyed both of the different groups.

Most of the places I visited also had some regular guests they knew and spoke to often, who were very different from the way the tourists behaved. For instance, older people just want to enjoy a good cappuccino in the sunshine, alone for some time. Or regular guests coming in to talk to personnel and have a beer at the bar. This is different from tourists. But even though the personnel liked talking to regular guests, they also enjoyed the little chit-chats with tourists. They liked their attitude and amazement about Amsterdam. The difference between tourists and Dutch people was also often seen in how loud they were: the more enthusiastic and happy tourists were way more present in the restaurants, but the Dutch people were often quieter. But, as Anne, one of the waitresses I interviewed noted, it "could also be because we are Dutch too, and we are more used to this culture."

Most of the people I spoke to lived or had lived in Amsterdam too and were proud of the beauty of the city. They were happy to see the tourists appreciate it as much as they do. And they pretty much enjoyed talking to them about this. This difference in attitude was one of the things the interviewees also noticed, like Anne, a twenty-year-old student who works as a waitress in a café:

"I might even have fun conversations with tourists more often because, because they're surprised by things, they're more likely to ask things about something. So, yes, how to get somewhere with certain public transport..."

The last big difference between the groups is the tipping culture. Although this depends on the nationality of tourists, most interviewees noted that tourists often don't tip, illustrated by the following quote from Romeé, another waitress that I interviewed when I asked her about the differences between residents and tourists:

"The first thing that comes to mind is still, I think the tip is often less, hahaha. So that strikes me then, of ah yes, tourists, they don't tip, or something like that."

These differences between tourists and residents can be declared by the concepts of habitus, capital, and field, used in the theoretical framework. Because everybody has a different habitus, people are different and will behave differently. With this as a theory, it was interesting to see most of the tourists behaving somewhat the same. This can indicate their shared habitus as 'tourist', and not knowing in what place you are in the field, relative to the residents.

This difference in tipping culture is closely related to culture differences between different groups of tourists, as shown in the following quote from Romeé:

"Sometimes, Americans or so, they do have, they don't quite know how much to tip and then suddenly they really give 20 euros, you think oh, okay, but generally tourists are more like hmmm, then me and my colleagues always kind of look at them like oh and did they tip, you know."

But besides differences in tipping culture, the differences between tourist groups are notable, and most of the interviewees told me something about this. For every country, some specific stereotype existed, like the English were almost always very sweet and loved to chat. The Germans were often straighter to the point and gruff, while the Spanish and Italian tourists were loud and expressive. Some personnel liked to guess where people came from, but other than this, these differences did not have a big impact on the interviewees.

The differences between groups of tourists can be explained by differences in habitus and cultural capital, following the concepts coined by Bourdieu, as explained in Woodward (2018). All different cultures have different cultural capital, and therefore different habitus. This is shown in the clear distinction between tourists from different countries of origin. In the end, these different groups can influence each other, and even the residents, by exchanging capital in the form of economic capital and social capital, and therefore changing each other's habitus.

All of the interviewees did speak about a certain negative stereotype as also shown in media a lot: the drunk, English, bad-behaving tourist, as Marcel, one of the managers I have interviewed explained:

"And if you want to make money from, yes, drunk English tourists, uhm, be my guest, you should do that, but yes then I also think you shouldn't whine that there are so many drunk English tourists. "

This stereotype of the drunk English tourist shows up in the interviews a lot. It can be connected to the concept of symbolic capital by Bourdieu. This is the recognized capital you own, which gives you respect and status. Prejudices against certain types of groups, based on stereotypes can influence the symbolic capital of the people in question. These prejudices will negatively influence the status of the tourists, while they still have cultural and economic capital. This is not recognized anymore, which is in theory a bad development.

Still, all the interviewees tell me that they have not experienced such a type of tourist in their establishment. They all explain this the same: certain places attract a certain type of guests. And this is very imageable, a bar in the red-light district has a different appearance than a cute small eatery further away from the super busy city center. And all the people I spoke to, worked in the cute and smaller businesses, as was the setup for this research. All the eateries had a certain appearance that did not attract the stereotypical bad behaved tourist. Marcel, the manager of a restaurant near the border of the city center of Amsterdam explains this very clearly:

"Just has anything to do with what clientele you get in. Uhm, if you're going to start a pub among the hookers in the Red Light District, yeah I think you have to expect to get very indecent tourists in. I mean, that's, that's kind of the choice you make. Uhm, and uhm, if you dress a business like us in a certain way…. Then, with that, you get a kind of clientele of that, a kind of guests of that. It both responds to what atmosphere you bring yourself. "

This quote reflects what all of the respondents told me: with their company, they tried to attract a certain of guests, which means they do not experience any disturbances from the 'drunk English tourist' as often called out in the media. And besides this, they were very happy with the type of tourist they welcomed to their companies. Overall, they were nice to conversate with, behaved well, and were very much welcome in the eateries I spoke to.

Another explanation for not attracting the typical drunk English tourist is already embedded in the quote above. Most interviewees said their establishment was outside the busyness of the central area of the city center, and

therefore also did not receive unwanted guests, because seem to stay more in the busy Wallengebied, the red-light district in Amsterdam.

7.2 Impact on the daily life of the interviewees

In the interviews, I did not only discuss the impact of tourism on the hospitality sector, but I also spoke about the impact of tourism on the daily lives of the interviewees, to form a complete opinion about the perceived problems of overtourism. The impacts tourism has on the daily lives of the interviewees can be categorized into three subjects, the bustle in the city center, the active avoidance of tourists, and the impact of policy. Of the seven interviewees, everybody has lived in Amsterdam for at least a year. Some lived in the city center, some more on the outskirts of the city, but all of them experienced some impacts of tourism in their daily lives, not only within the company.

7.2.1 Bustle in the city

One of the first things that the interviewees brought up as soon as I started about overtourism's impacts on their daily lives, was the bustle in the city. Especially the city center was pointed out as an area where there were so many people together all the time. Notable was that not all of them linked that directly and only to overtourism. They found that the city center is also very busy because of the regular Amsterdam inhabitants visiting the city center. This is also what Gerritsma (2019) described in her study with the concept of crowding. She writes about overtourism more as a concept of crowding, the physical presence of too many people in a small place. This means, the presence of not only tourists but also residents in the city center. This concept is becoming a very clear impact of tourism in the interviews. Romeé, a twenty-year-old woman who just finished her studies:

“It's [their home] also very close to downtown, and if I go shopping for an hour I always come home completely overstimulated. From the amount of people stimuli.”

Yasmine, a twenty-year-old student, told me that some days, the city overflows completely with people, and these are the days when she does not like to be in the city center. These are mostly national holidays, when there are parties in the street and the crowding is not the only problem anymore. People are abusing alcohol, and suddenly the tourists are the problem again. The interviewee told me that the tourists often do not know how to behave at that type of party, and that is not the problem for most local people. Some of the interviewees tell me that tourists have a bad impact on their lives on days like this.

Another example of when the bustle in the city is to be allocated to tourists is problems regarding biking behavior. Again, locals know how to bike, they know the biking rules and how to safely get from A to B by bike. This is in the Dutch

culture. And because it is in the Dutch culture, many tourists also like to try this. However, as the interviewees told me, the tourists are not that good at biking, which causes chaos from time to time. But not all the opinions on this are negative. Linda, a 40-year-old woman, told me, that if no accidents happen, she finds it kind of adorable to see them struggling with biking, as she explains in the following quote:

> "No, I don't have any... Yes, you're bothered by it in the sense that they're always, that they can't ride a bike at all. Yes, completely blocking your route through the park and so on, but that is hardly worth mentioning. No, for the rest, uhm, it doesn't bother me."

Besides tourists on their bikes, the interviewees also found some impact on their biking through the city because of tourists and the crowds. Anne, a twenty-year-old student who just moved to Amsterdam, told me this:

> "De Pijp is also touristic, but you can bike through there just fine. But yes, I bike quite often along Amsterdam Central Station, that is a fool's errand. But hé, it is okay actually."

*De Pijp is a popular district in Amsterdam

The interviewees notice that is very hard to bike in Amsterdam sometimes, but most of them have accepted this. They live in Amsterdam for a reason and do not mind this anymore. The impact on their lives is not that big.

In conclusion, when I asked the interviewees about the impact of tourists on their daily lives, most of them commented something like this, the bustle in the city and how overwhelming this can be. But notable is that this effect is not only caused by tourists, but by people in general. Examples of the extreme bustle in the city are national holidays and biking behavior. But problems regarding both are most of them are caused by tourists solely.

7.2.2 Active avoidance of tourists

A consequence that I heard repeatedly during the interviews, was that because of the number of tourists in the city center, or tourist places, people started to actively avoid tourist places, as Romeé, an ex-student who has lived in Amsterdam for some years tells me:

> "I still think a little, on the one hand, a little benefit of being drunk... annoying maybe loud people who think I'm not home, so I can... I can get away with everything, a little bit of that prejudice, and maybe also a little bit of the idea that what tourists are kind of mainstream is not really cool."

She told me that she gets overwhelmed by all the tourists in the heart of the city center, and she avoids them because of that reason. On top of that, she does not go where the tourists go, regarding going out for instance. Some clubs can be cool places, but this can change quickly when the tourists 'discover' this club. As the quote illustrates, it probably has to do with certain stereotypes and prejudices people have about tourists.

Another twenty-year-old female student, Anne, told me that tourists come up in this way when discussing with friends what they are going to do, as shown in the following quote:

"Sometimes it's like oh, shall we chill somewhere? Yes, Vondel, and then someone says, but Vondel is so touristy... That does come through then. But in the end, we always have super much fun in Vondel, and is always super cozy. I don't know, I like that it's busier than when you're sitting in a completely deserted park say. "

*With Vondel, the Vodelpark is meant, a big park in the city center of Amsterdam

This shows that not everyone actively avoids the tourists, but this friend group does reflect upon the fact that there will be many tourists present. Considerable the active avoidance of tourists depends on the kind of person you are. Some of the people I spoke to were more outgoing and seemed to mind the presence of so many people much less. The more introverted people seemed to mind the presence not that much either but were less on the lookout for the bustle, even actively avoiding them at times.

7.2.3 Impact of policy on residents
This last subject did not emerge much in the interviews, but it was too interesting not to discuss. At the moment, the city of Amsterdam has strict rules regarding tourism, alcohol consumption, drug consumption etc.

One of the consequences of these policies that I hadn't reflected on, was the impact they have on the residents of Amsterdam, as Romeé:

"Because in certain places you're not allowed to drink in, yes, not in the open, not allowed to drink in public, and smoking weed and things like that. And then it's well, like... On Leidseplein, you can't walk down the street with a beer, because they're very just very strict about that. And I think that's a pity, actually."

*Leidseplein is one of the big squares in Amsterdam's city center

The interviewee reflects on how the policies, originally pointed at tourists, also have an impact on their lives. This means, that even when they can handle drinking in public without expressing unwanted behavior, they are not able to do this, because of the rules for tourists. They are disappointed about this, not being able to be completely free in what they do and cannot do. This realization, that policies targeting tourists can also influence the lives of residents is a good one to notice.

Figure 6 summarizes the impacts the tourists have on the daily life of the interviewees. It is shown that the tourists lead to crowding in the city, but this also has an impact on the residents themselves. This crowding in the city is seen in the difficulty of biking in the city center and the extremely busy days that sometimes occur. This crowding leads to residents actively avoiding touristic areas, which is reinforced by the regulations pointed at tourists.
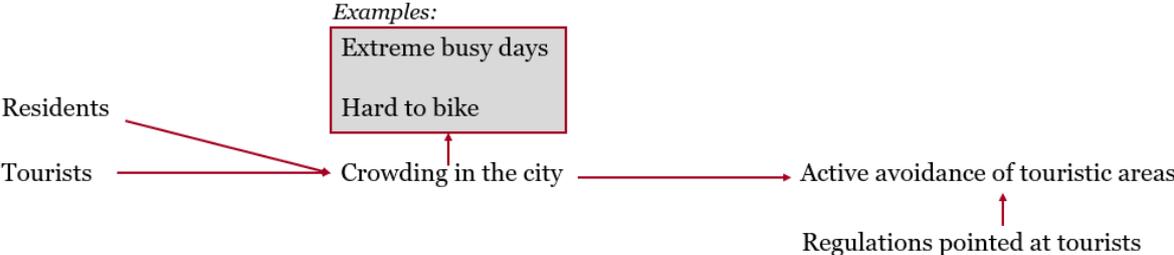

Figure 6 - Impact of tourists on personal life

7.3 Opinions on overtourism in Amsterdam

Following these interviews, different opinions on tourism were expressed. This chapter is to gather all these opinions and make a summary, before answering the main questions of this research. The opinions are divided between two subjects: the opinions of the interviewees from the perspective of the companies, and their personal perspectives. Also much discussed in the interviews was the room to grow for more tourists in Amsterdam.

7.3.1 Professional perspectives

Overall, the people working in hospitality are positive about tourism, as imagined. This positive attitude consists of several reasons explained to me in the interviews. One of the biggest reasons the businesses gave to me, was the absence of the stereotypical drunk tourists in their establishments. Therefore, they did not experience many bad impacts from tourism. This neutral attitude turns into a very positive attitude when you take the generated revenue and security of tourist visitors into the calculation. Besides this, the tourists they do

welcome are kind, nice to conversate with, enthusiastic about the city, and easy to satisfy as they are less critical and more relaxed.

Most of the owners of the establishments I talked to, told me it is of course very hypocritical and naïf to have a negative opinion of tourists when I asked them if they had a negative opinion of tourists. Linda, a forty-year-old woman in a more managing position is very clear on this:

> "No, no, look, I, no, not at all. That would be as hypocritical as it gets, it's a hugely important revenue source. Not just for us, but for the entire downtown."

And they were not the only ones to tell me something like this. All the people I spoke to made money from tourists, it would be almost weird if they had a negative opinion on tourists.

This forming of attitudes cannot be explained by the model by Gößling et al. (2020) model, as introduced in the theoretical framework. This model tries to explain the shaping of either negative or positive attitudes toward overtourism by residents, but I am not able to use this for the shaping of professional attitudes. This is because the model looks at certain factors that do not seem important to the entrepreneurs and waitresses, to form their professional opinion at least.

It seems that the shaping of these attitudes is more of a consideration between the negative impacts and positive impacts, where the positive impacts win. This turns the attitude of the hospitality workers positive. This way of thinking reminds me of an ethical theory called utilitarianism, as explained in LaFolette (2020). This ethical theory explains that the moral value of an act is depicted by the outcome of it. The best act is the one that results in the biggest happiness or utility for the greatest amount of people. This could be applied to this research. From the results, it seems that people's opinions result from a consideration made between positive and negative consequences, as is done in utilitarianism (LaFolette, 2020).

These attitudes also correspond with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field, as explained by Piroddi (2021). He explains that social actions in a particular field can be within the norms and rules, even if the people performing

the social acts have a different habitus. As explained, tourists and residents both have different habitus, the actions of the tourists are still appropriate in the field dominated by the residents. This results in little friction between the residents, or here the personnel working in the restaurants, and the tourists, which in turn results in positive opinions on the tourists and tourism by the personnel.

7.3.2 Personal perspectives

In the daily lives of the people I spoke to, there were numerous negative impacts which resulted in a more negative outlook on tourism. Most of the respondents had in some way experienced disturbances by the many people in the city center. This disturbance could be the overwhelming amount of people, the bad behavior of tourists, not being able to bike to places because of the crowds, or noise pollution. The following quote by David, one of the managers who has lived in Amsterdam for a long time, explains this:

"Yes, and so in private spheres, you do hear other people saying it's become way too crowded in Amsterdam, I can't get through anywhere anymore, it's not like it was twenty years ago, that kind of thing."

Most people are upset about the number of people in the city center and find this the thing which makes them more negative about tourists. This refers to the research of Gerritsma (2019), who describes the concept of crowding as a negative impact of tourism in a city like Amsterdam. It also corresponds to the Butler model, as used in Eichelberger et al. (2023), where more tourists in a tourist place worsens the attitude of residents towards these tourists.

Another impact of tourism one of my respondents, Linda, a forty-year-old manager, noticed, was the appearance of the city and the businesses in it:

"What bothers us as residents, uhm, business owners are, is other policies of the municipality, where they, apparently can't get it together to build yet another waffle store, candy store... Yes, just all that garbage out there but, yes where apparently a permit comes in."

She tells me about their holiday in Rome, where the municipality apparently made sure there were no ugly signs put up, which increased the authenticity and

beauty of the city. She misses this in Amsterdam and sees that so many businesses are founded only for the sake of tourists. That is what she means with waffle and candy stores. Other respondents noticed this as well: the businesses were only established for the sake of tourists. Think of establishments as restaurants with very easy menus, rubber Duck stores, souvenir shops, etc. This development also influences the opinion of the respondents on tourism.

On the other hand, there is a nuance to be found in this negative opinion. Most people I spoke to, are also incredibly proud of Amsterdam, illustrated by the following quote from the interview with Linda too, who has lived in Amsterdam for a long time:

> "No, well, it's also just really a fantastic city. And uhm, I can imagine that tourists love coming here. Especially because it's so conveniently arranged, because it's, it's tiny, if you compare it to, um, any other big European city."

The residents of Amsterdam love their city and totally understand that tourists love the city too. They don't mind sharing their beloved city with them, as long as they behave nicely. Also, the interviewees that grew up in Amsterdam, or lived there for a long time are completely used to sharing their city with tourists. In that way, they do not mind the hustle.

What most interviewees also note, is that the residents who find themselves annoyed by the hustle, the tourists, and the noise, should not live in downtown Amsterdam. Eventually, they choose to live there, and following the interviewees, should not complain, that is what can be taken away from this quote by Linda:

> "And I understand that in a way, but on the other hand, you moved into the center of the city. I actually always find that everyone who goes to live in Amsterdam then starts complaining that the neighbors are noisy. But that's, then you should live in the countryside and not in an apartment building with lots of other people."

Concluding, the personal opinions of people are very variable. Most of them are slightly more negative, but also see the good in the tourists, and do not experience any nuisance in their daily lives, so they do not mind all of these tourists. Also, in this case, the model of Gößling et al. (2020) does not really apply. Because the opinions are more variable, it is impossible to place them all

in one box, either negative or positive. It shows there is no clear distinction between the negative and positive opinions.

The same as the professional opinions, the personal opinions seem to have concluded from a personal consideration on the benefits and disadvantages. This looks like the ethical theory of utilitarianism as discussed in the chapter on professional opinions, where people consider the pros and cons before choosing the 'right' option. Because personally speaking, the benefits are less than then professionally speaking, it makes sense the personal opinion is more negative.

7.3.3 Room to growth
Lastly, one of the questions asked in the interviews was if the interviewee saw room for growth regarding the number of tourists in Amsterdam. Almost all of them answered that there was a certain limit to the amount of visitors Amsterdam could handle, and this was almost reached. They were impressed by the predictions made by media and researchers and worried how this would affect the city and themselves. This was mostly perceived from a personal perspective.

Some of the owners looked at this growth in number of tourists in a more professional way and concluded that there was for sure room for growth, which totally correspondent with the rapport made by the KHN (2019), which stated that in the whole of Netherlands, the entrepreneurs would not mind growing number of tourists. The businesses of the Amsterdam entrepreneurs were busy, but not always packed. They told me the tourists should be spread out more evenly, over the city center of Amsterdam, and over time. The winter months were still far quieter, so they would not mind more tourists during that period. The businesses on the outskirts of the city center were also sure they were able to handle more tourists if they exceeded the boundaries of the Red-Light district more, as Esther, one of the owners of the businesses explains to me:

"Only, we really still have moments, you know, in the morning, for example, it's still very quiet for us, so I, yes, if those currents of those tourists also run a little differently maybe, and of course that's where the city is also very busy, with accessibility and everything, then there really is still room in there."

7.4 Discourse on tourism

Through document analysis of recent newspaper articles, the discourse on tourism is established. As expected, most of the articles speak negatively about overtourism in Amsterdam. I will discuss in which way the articles spoke negatively about overtourism and other findings of the analysis.

7.4.1 Negative discourse on overtourism

The newspaper articles spoke very negatively about overtourism. The only positive note that I found was this:

> "He recognizes that tourism also generates employment" (Kraniotis, 2022)

This quote was by the Minister of Economic Affairs of Amsterdam, Sofyan Mbarki when he introduced a new package of measures to manage the number of tourists in Amsterdam. Besides this quote, all articles speak negatively on either tourism in Amsterdam or the policies made for tourism in Amsterdam.

What stands out is that as well as the interviewees, the newspapers all refer to the negative stereotype of the drunk English tourist, who supposedly behaves badly and hurts the residents of Amsterdam. In the newspapers, the problem with the incredibly busy city is caused solely by this negative stereotype, the party tourist. They are unwanted and should be limited. Some of the newspapers make a little nuance in the different tourists. They also speak about the more cultured, high-income travelers. They are not blamed for problems and are very welcome, in contrast to the party tourists. But this is only some of the newspapers, most of them lump them all together, as one of these newspapers quotes:

> "And Richard from Heemskerk says: 'Nobody is waiting for the type of tourist that visits Amsterdam. There is no nightlife and coffee shops here, so tourists that come to Amsterdam for that, don't have business here'". (Walbeek, 2023)

*Heemskerk is a small city about 30 kilometers from the city center of Amsterdam

The newspapers also seem to have spoken to a sufficient number of residents, as they often quote about the angry Amsterdam inhabitants, that don't want tourists anymore. Multiple articles talk about the residents as one mass of people, that are done with the tourists. This is quite a contrast to the people I spoke to in my interviews, as they did live in Amsterdam, but was far more positive than the image received from the newspapers. It even goes so far as interviews with people in surrounding cities of Amsterdam, showing they are also already done with the tourists. While they do not even live in Amsterdam.

Concluding, the image the media produces of tourists and the opinion of residents on tourists is far from positive. It makes the problematic tourists look like one uniform mass, and it tars all the residents with one brush as well. This is similar to what the scientific literature discusses. As already described in the introduction, the scientific literature has a negative opinion of overtourism in Amsterdam. Gerritsma (2019) describes the negative impact of this subject in her chapter on the overcrowding of public spaces in Amsterdam, mostly caused by tourists, which has an impact on increasing noise and littering. Pinkster and Boterman (2017) did research amongst residents, and concluded they did not like to see their neighborhoods change into 'theme parks' and 'museums'. They saw increasing inappropriate behavior, intensive crowding, like Gerritsma (2019), loss of functions of the neighborhoods in the city center, and overall disruption of normal life in Amsterdam. This is very unnuanced and negative discourse, just like the media reports on this subject.

7.4.2 Policy regarding tourists

As the newspapers often react to things that are happening in Amsterdam, quite a few are about new policies. Some of these are the stop with river cruises in Amsterdam, a hotel stop, and the Stay Away campaign, as already discussed in the introduction. And because they are newspapers, the authors often have an opinion on these policies. And often, they are negative.

Limiting tourists

The concept of city marketing is often discussed in the newspapers. Because the party tourists cause so much trouble, Amsterdam tries to redefine its image from a party city where everything is allowed, to a city for cultured tourism, focused on the museums and a higher level of restaurants and other cultural experiences. This is called city marketing and is discussed in newspapers too.

One of the examples of city marketing is done by the Stay Away campaign as explained in the introduction. It consisted of videos, shown to people abroad, to show the dangers of partying in Amsterdam. It did not help, and the media laughed about this.

Another way of keeping the party tourists out is increasing the tourist tax, which is already exceptionally high. The media and experts have critiqued this, but they do not think it will work to keep the party tourists out. The hotel stop also helps

to keep the tourists out. Besides some already licensed hotels, no more hotels can be built in the city of Amsterdam. The most heard critique is that the tourists will swerve to cities outside of Amsterdam, and travel to Amsterdam for the day.

Limiting nuisance

Policies try to limit the number of tourists coming to Amsterdam, but so far, nothing seems to work, if we listen to the reports made by the media on this theme. So when the tourists are already in Amsterdam, they must comply with other policies in the city center of Amsterdam. Most of these policies are focused on the party tourists because they would create the most nuisance.

Policies like these are a public weed smoking ban, a public drinking ban, a public urination ban, and much more surveillance on the streets by police, to check on these bans. Besides this, the hospitality sector has sharpened opening hours, meaning they close earlier, and this is checked more often. These policies are less critiqued by the media, but they are critiqued by for instance students, as already explained in Chapter 7.2.3.

Still, sometimes these do not work. David, a 50-year-old manager who has lived in Amsterdam for over fifteen years, told me he went to a meeting for habitats in Amsterdam recently, where the municipality explained a new way of dealing with the drunk party tourists.

"Almost all nuisance is caused by English, Caucasian males in groups. And they trained a couple of teams, they are here during peak hours, they go stand here and in different places at the Wallen, and they are trained to recognize the Alpha male in the group. And they gave them a bracelet, with, you are this, these are the rules, and you are responsible for your team. And that worked fantastic."

*The Wallen is the Red-Light District of Amsterdam, the busiest area of the city center

This policy shows the willingness of the city of Amsterdam, to make partying fun for everybody, and reduce the nuisance and creativity in solutions. And although it costs lots of money, it helps.

Spreading out tourists

The media is also very critical of the policies to spread out tourists over Amsterdam and to stop the clustering of tourists in the city center. One of the interviewees told me about a policy that was called the Red Carpet (Rode Loper in Dutch). Essentially, the city of Amsterdam made boulevards throughout the city, connecting the big tourist attractions, improving the roads the Red Carpet passes, and hoping it would spread out the tourists more evenly through the city. This policy is being applied in different areas of the city, for instance with the Blue carpet. It follows a different route than the Red carpet. The figure underneath shows the route of the Red Carpet.
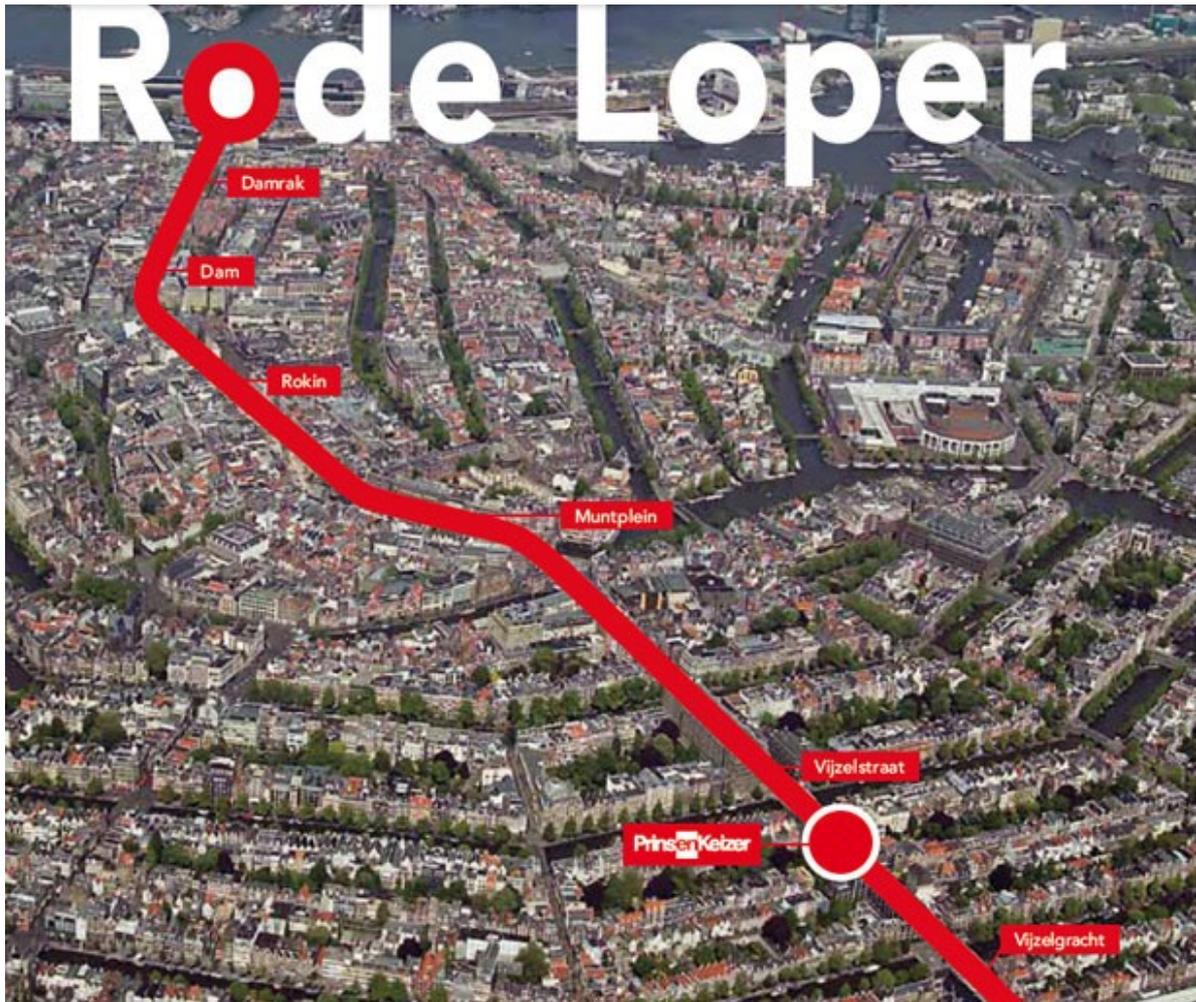
Figure 7 - Red Carpet in Amsterdam (Centrum Maakt De Balans Op Van Rode Loper, Loop Mee! - PvdA Amsterdam Centrum, 2015)

8. Conclusion

In the chapter above I have given a structured overview of the results of the interviews and document analysis and connected this to theory. In this chapter, I will answer the research questions. The research questions were as follows:

How do the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge or confirm the general discourse on overtourism?

To answer this research question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

- What are the influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector?
- What is the general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam?
- What are the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism?

8.1 Influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector

What are the influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector?

The influences of overtourism on Amsterdam's hospitality sector are big. Firstly, the influence of tourism is recognizable in the use of English in the eateries in Amsterdam. Most of the menus were in English, which was completely normalized, the personnel also needed to speak English well enough to communicate with the tourists and some companies hired international personnel who did not even speak Dutch. Tourism also has an impact on the number of visitors to the businesses. Tourism reinforces the effect of peak seasons and causes extremely busy days in some cases. Tourism generates because of this a surplus of revenue, which is very welcome for the companies. On the other side, the peak seasons cause personnel shortages, which also results in businesses hiring international staff. An overview of these impacts of tourism on the hospitality sector is found in Figure 5.
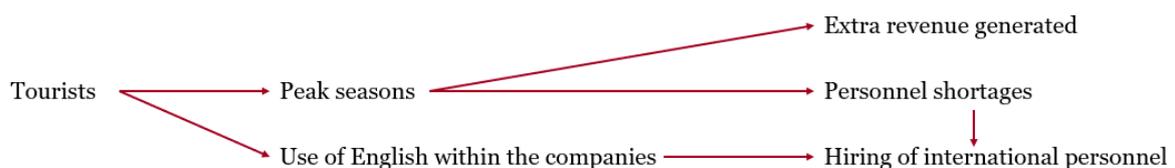

Figure 8 - Overview impacts of tourists

Another way of impact on businesses caused by tourism is the difference between their regular guests and tourists. Most of the time, the tourists would stay shorter with the company, while the regular residents would spend more time. The residents are often more demanding, and tourists are more easily satisfied. Sometimes, the tourists would tip less than the residents, but this is probably to be explained by cultural differences. There were also differences within the group of tourists. Most of the businesses explained they often had a nice clientele, with behaved people, who were kind and patient. All the interviewees talked about the negative stereotypes tourists in Amsterdam have but told me they did not receive them in their businesses. This can be explained by the appearance of the businesses. Within the group of tourists, another distinction can be made between different cultures. Often, tourists from the same countries of origin, behaved somewhat the same way. These differences between tourists and residents and within the group of tourists can be explained using the concepts of habitus, field, and capital.

8.2 General discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam

What is the general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam?

The general discourse on overtourism in Amsterdam is very much negative. The scientific literature comments negative impacts of overtourism in Amsterdam, describing the disturbance of normal life for people working in the city center. The media is also very negative. They mostly comment on the negative stereotype of drunken English tourists, which causes most of the problems in and around the Wallen area in the city center of Amsterdam. The media also comments negatively on policies made by the municipality.

But lastly, the interviewees had a more nuanced perspective on overtourism. Tourism impacts the residents mostly in the way of forming extreme crowding in the city center. This results in struggles to bike in the city and extremely busy days, mostly national holidays. Because of the crowding in the city, some of the residents I spoke to began to actively avoid tourist areas. This is also caused by the regulations pointed at tourists, because the policies also impact the regular residents. Still, most of the interviewees had a very nuanced view of overtourism. They also did not mind sharing the beauty of the city and were understandable to the tourists. Overall, the general discourse on overtourism is negative, mostly caused by media and by scientific literature.

8.3 Perspectives of hospitality workers

What are the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism?

I can conclude that the perspectives of hospitality workers on overtourism are very positive. For this, it is necessary to distinguish their personal opinions from their professional opinions. I will look only at opinions from the point of view of the very optimistic businesses. Most of the interviewees conclude that it would be naïf if they were negative about overtourism. Overall, overtourism generates a big amount of their revenue, and in the end, has more positive impacts than negative impacts. The model of Gößling et al. (2020) did not help explain the way the attitudes were formed, but it seemed like the opinions are formed by balancing the negatives and positives. This can be connected to the ethical theory of utilitarianism. It can also be explained by the concept of field as explained in Woodward (2018), where the actions within a field can be within the rules of the field, even with people with different habitus.

8.4 Conclusion

How do the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge or confirm the general discourse on overtourism?

Summarizing the discussions above in this specific chapter, the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam on overtourism are positive. They seem to be considering on positive and negative impacts of tourism and at the moment, they conclude that the positive impacts have the overhand, so therefore, their opinion is positive. On the other hand, the media and scientific discourse is very negative on the matter. They highlight a negative stereotype of misbehaving tourists, causing major issues in the city center and beyond.

These opinions contradict each other. Thus, I can conclude, that the perspectives of hospitality workers in Amsterdam challenge the general discourse on overtourism, in a way that the opinions contradict each other. This can be explained in several ways.

The general discourse is negative for a reason. The media is supported by scientific discourse and discusses relevant negative impacts caused by overtourism. Still, the hospitality workers seem to not experience these impacts in the same way. This is probably because they experience such a great deal of positive impacts, making the negative impacts irrelevant to this specific group of people.

This has implications for the way of thinking on how these perspectives are formed. The residents whom the media speaks about experience a large number of negative impacts (i.e. crowding, nuisance, decreasing livability of the city center). On the other side, the hospitality workers experienced a lot of positive impacts because of the tourists. The tourists create a great deal of their revenue, and the hospitality workers have a lot of positive experiences with the tourists. This makes it clear that in this case, attitudes are probably formed by balancing the negatives and positives against each other. This consideration made between negative and positive impacts can be explained by the ethical theory of utilitarianism, which points is that people behave like this often when trying to make the 'right' decision (LaFollette, 2020).

It can also be explained using the take Piroddi (2021) has on the concept of field of Bourdieu. Piroddi explains that people with different habitus in the same field can still all behave in the desired way, within the rules and norms of that field. This is because the same actions can come from a different habitus. Applying this to the case of this research, the tourists and residents have different habitus, but within the social field of the restaurants, behave within the rules and norms. Therefore, the opinions of the hospitality workers can be so positive compared to the image expressed in the media.

9. Discussion

9.1 Limits of the research

9.1.1 Interviews

The interviews in this research were done in real life and over the phone. Doing interviews over the phone had some implications, namely having less context of the actual restaurant and also less interaction with the interviewee. On the phone, facial expressions are lost. This has an impact on the quality of the research because these interviews were of lower quality than the ones done in real life. Still, these interviews were very usable.

Striking was also the number of hospitality businesses that did not react to the emails sent to them, asking for an interview. It could be that they were too busy to do an interview. If this was caused by overtourism, it could mean the personnel of that specific business had a different opinion than the interviewees I had now. This is one of the risks of interviewing businesses that belong to this kind of research.

9.1.2 Research population

Also, the specific research group was not representative of the complete hospitality industry. The choice of only interviewing eateries likely had implications for this research. In Amsterdam, there are so many different types of restaurants and hotels, that the implications of overtourism is likely different everywhere. This means, that if the same interviews were held with personnel of for instance the typical traditional 'Bruin cafés', Dutch pubs, the conclusion could be different, regarding the opinions of hospitality personnel on overtourism.

9.2 Recommendations

9.2.1 Further research

Based on the limits of this research, I would recommend doing the same research but on other categories within the hospitality sector. This way, a more complete image of the hospitality sector can be generated and compared with the general discourse. It would be interesting to see what other categories within the hospitality sector think of the perceived problems of overtourism.

Besides this, more sociological-psychological research into the differences in culture between tourists and hospitality and why this does not have problems and friction as a consequence would be very interesting.

9.2.2 Policy

For policy purposes, as talked about in the social relevance, some policy suggestions were made by the interviewees. Most of them regarded the lack of collaboration between residents and the policymakers. Some of the interviewees told me they were also influenced by the policies, which hurt them. This means the city of Amsterdam should have the residents in mind when making the policy, and have a better understanding of how they also influence the residents of Amsterdam.

Besides this, some of the interviewees found that the policies in place at the moment did not work that well. It would be good for the city to evaluate its current policies before establishing new policies to manage the tourists. All of the interviewees thought there was a certain limit to the amount of tourists the city could welcome, and this limit is very close. They all would like to see the city of Amsterdam try harder to limit the number of tourists that visit the city. But in what way, they did not know yet.

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11. Attachments

11.1 Interview guide

Introductory piece:

First of all, thank you so much for the opportunity to conduct this interview, it helps tremendously within my research. As briefly introduced, this research is about hospitality workers' perspectives on overtourism in Amsterdam. I am also looking at the impact of tourism on the hospitality industry and personal opinions on tourism in Amsterdam. Is it okay if this research is included? This will help in processing the survey. Answers will be included in the thesis anonymously, and the original data from the interviews is only available to me and my supervisor. In addition, I should always add that this research is voluntary and some questions may be stopped or refused to be answered at any time. But I assume this is not necessary. If there are questions in between or questions are unclear, feel free to interrupt me.

Opening questions:

- Can you please introduce yourself?
    o Name, age, position within the company
- Can you describe the company?
    o Has the company existed for a long time?
    o Have they themselves been working at the company for a long time?
    o What kind of guests does the company receive?
- Have you been working in the hospitality industry for a long time?
    o In Amsterdam as well?
    o What do you like about it?
    o What kind of companies have you worked for before?
- Do you also live in Amsterdam?
    o For a long time already?

o Do you live in a place where many tourists come?

Questions on tourism within the company:

- Do many tourists visit the company?
  o What kind of tourists are these?
- Does the behavior of tourists differ from that of other guests?
- Do the tourists directly impact the business?
- For example, in terms of turnover, hiring staff, peak seasons, the spoken and written language within the business, what is on the menu
- What is your opinion of the tourists coming to the business?
  o Negative or positive?
- Are the tourists good or bad for the business, or is this more nuanced?
- Is there room for growth in the number of tourists coming to Amsterdam?
  o More of fewer tourists, or a different kind of tourist

Questions on personal experiences with tourism

- What is your experience with tourists in everyday life?
  o Do you encounter them often in daily life?
  o Do tourists have an impact on your life?
    ▪ Negative or positive?
    ▪ Or in a different way?
- What would be a good way for you to address tourism?
- Is tourism a hot topic within your circles?
  o Negative or positive?

End of interview

Thank you so much for participating in this interview, this helps tremendously for my research. Is there anything additional that we did not discuss, but fits this topic? If you have any questions afterwards about the research or the processing of this interview you are always welcome to contact me at ayla.brouwers@ru.nl, the email address I originally contacted you with.