Tourism governance in Amsterdam

A discourse analysis

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Zorg goed voor onze stad, en voor elkaar.

Eberhard van der Laan (1955 - 2017)

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First, I was invited to have 'a short impression' of how tourism management operates within the local administration of the most beautiful city in the world. This resulted in attending an internal tourism workshop, which gave me the first insights in tourism governance in Amsterdam. This was eventually followed up by interviewing the civil servants who also participated in the tourism workshop. For the sake of anonymity I am not mentioning any of their names, but I would first like to thank all of the civil servants that were involved in this research. Without the participation of these civil servants this research had not existed, and I would have not had this important experience in my tourism career.

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Abstract

The current unprecedented scales of tourism growth in the capital of NL, Amsterdam, have led to an increased interest in tourism in the media and in governance. This thesis explores the extent to which discourses affect tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam. A case study was conducted and analysed through a Foucauldian discourse analysis, to expose the emergence of shifting representations within the construction of discourse. This discourse analysis thereby draws evidence from desk research, interviews with civil servants, and a tourism workshop which was attended and organised by civil servants. The analysis resulted in an economic and a social discourse that emerged from the findings of this research. The economic discourse was co-constituted by a neoliberal ideology that plead for free market logics, and the importance of tourism for economic growth. The social discourse was co-constituted by a mainly progressive ideology, that advocated for more government intervention. Furthermore the analysis showed that the local administration operates democratic rather than bureaucratic, and thereby rejects its neutrality. Altogether, it can be concluded from these findings, that both discourses that emerged in this thesis research, have the ability to govern the conduct of civil servants. Hence, through this process of governmentality, discourse affects tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam.

Key words: discourse; tourism; tourism management; governance

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1 Introduction: 'Everyone in the world, should've seen Amsterdam in their life once'

'Everyone in the world should've seen Amsterdam in their life once', said Jan Paternotte a public figure/politician only four years ago (D66Amsterdam, 2014). His statement represents the very positive attitude, from within the local administration and politics in Amsterdam, towards the economic growth of tourism. A decade before, in 2004, the 'I Amsterdam' city marketing campaign was launched, led by the then alderman for economic affairs and came into being in collaboration with urban and regional companies. Reasoning behind this was:

> …the fact that the position of Amsterdam in the world is under pressure and that this could have serious economic consequences. Because competition between cities in Europe is becoming stronger. Cities across the continent are more effectively emphasising their strong features to attract visitors, companies and new residents than ever before. Amsterdam and its surroundings likewise want to show off their enterprise, innovation and creativity. (Berenschot, 2004, p. 14)

Despite some economic stagnation caused by the financial crisis between approximately 2007 and 2011, tourism was the only industry in Amsterdam that showed constant growth. Although entrepreneurs, political parties and the local administration in Amsterdam agreed that the city centre should be more than tourism only, right- as well as left-wing parties pleaded for less regulation (Van Kampen, 2014). This resulted in the amount of 18 million visitors a year in 2016, compared to 11 million in 2005. An increase of the amount of hotel rooms by 30%. Tourism brought more than 61.000 extra jobs, and 2.7 billion euros a year (Haanen, 2018).

After these years of successful stimulation of tourism as the economic catalyst in Amsterdam, the less attractive aspects of tourism became more and more evident. By 2016 the then current mayor Van der Laan came back to his earlier statements of tourism being a problem of (dis)balance, saying that tourism now became a fundamental problem. In contradiction to several years earlier, also most political parties now were looking for more regulation, limitation and enforcement (Milikowski & Naafs, 2017). An interview in (2016) for the Dutch newspaper NRC, with professor of urban economics at Catholic University Leuven, Jan van den Borg, illustrates the first signals of resistance against tourism. Van den Borg said that a city is a public good, and that the market model doesn't work for the public good. You have to implement policy that complements or overrules the market model (Remie, 2016). Whilst in chapter one of the report of McKinsey&Company and the World Travel & Tourism Council (2017) global economic growth (by tourism) as a positive advantage is appointed first, it also recognised five types of problems. These five types of problems – caused by tourism – were easily narrowed down as 'overcrowding'. With keywords as limitation, regulation, adjusting and spreading, furthermore the report says that Amsterdam belongs to the seven cities in the world where its residents suffer the most of the growth of tourism. 'Venicianisation', monocultural development and a decrease of the quality of life in the city centre are contemporary signals of a city under pressure.

Eventually these 'downsides of tourism' became ever more determining of the public and policy debate. Whilst still no fundamental changes were implemented, the local administration finally came to the point that it started with curbing the above mentioned 'symptoms of tourism growth'. The municipal program 'Stad in Balans' (City in Balance) is a bundle of all measures (to be) taken in 2017-2018, to contain a liveable city (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). The four sub targets that have been formulated by the local administration to contest the negative effects of tourism growth are (translated from Dutch); to choose for quality and diversity in the offer of stores and facilities, to reduce nuisance and to set limits, better usage of the city and profiling of the region and more space on streets

in busy areas (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). Still, the local administration spoke out to have the ambition to keep Amsterdam and the metropole region attractive for all users of whom in particular its residents. And next to that, the main target of the program is to ensure the orderly management of the growth of usage of the city, by its visitors, residents and businesses. As another example, a report commissioned by the local administration explicitly focussed on tourism by researching its costs and revenues. Thereby an 'argumentation map' was produced to show the advantages and disadvantages of tourism, the measures taken by local administration against those disadvantages of tourism and the measures taken to optimise the advantages of tourism. Hereby, the living environment, administration, culture, social safety and economy are the main clusters affected by tourism (Argumentenfabriek, 2017).

Hence, the point is that these – and many other – reports, drawn up by all kind of different taskforces related to tourism, demonstrate the shift towards the definition of tourism as a problem for the city of Amsterdam. As a result of this, all kind of solutions were designed. Despite the acknowledgement by the local administration of all these problematic developments, it can be noticed from these and other reports that there are no plans for a fundamental change towards tourism growth. Instead, all proposed measurements appear to be mainly reactive.

An article in the local Amsterdam newspaper condemned this so-called symptomatic approach and emphasised on the urgency of the matter by concluding that 'only a major crisis can inhibit tourism' (Couzy, 2018). In the same article it is also concluded that the most recent figures of inbound tourism are outdated and that new forecasts have to be made. The estimated principle of 23 million tourists on a yearly basis in 2025, will by far be exceeded. Only in 2018 there probably will already be 21.5 million tourists compared to a number of 17.3 million tourists in 2015. Nevertheless the reaction of the responsible alderman was (translated from Dutch): 'No hasty conclusions. We've already went far by tackling nuisance, but we can't build a fence around the city (Couzy, 2018).'

Floor Milikowski (2018) recently published a book named 'Who owns the city?' (Van wie is de stad?). Milikowski is a renowned investigative journalist specialised in geography who has for many years done research into change and power relations in Amsterdam. The book was published in February 2018, just before the municipal elections of March 2018. These municipal elections have showed that the public debate exerts tremendous pressure on tourism in Amsterdam. As a part of this debate Milikowski in her book deals with critics of all sides of the political spectrum and concludes that the city suffers under population growth, increasing amounts of tourism, (too much) involvement of domestic/foreign property owners and investors leading to unaffordable housing and processes of gentrification. Furthermore, the general message of her book was more or less that the city of Amsterdam slides to the status of a theme park.

The question that rises here, is who or what 'can be held 'responsible' and what is the motivation behind all these tourism developments? Here, the local administration has an important role. Created by civil servants, tourism policies evidently have a major influence on the development of tourism in Amsterdam. The civil servants working for the local administration, all have their operational tasks that come from decisions made in the city council. The reference to this operationality can be linked to a Weberian model of bureaucracy. This model characterises and encourages: top-down management, strong rules and regulation, hierarchy and impersonal relationships. Furthermore it emphasises the division between politics and administration which 'ensured objectivity' of the civil servants. However, Weber did also acknowledge that there was some leeway in the model (Weber, 2015). Hence, at moments when politics are less strict in their control, a bureaucracy in the form of a local administration can have a major influence on governance.

The thousands of civil servants working for the local administration in Amsterdam all have their own personal opinions and values. Whilst not all of their work done relates to tourism, it still means that within this local administration a lot of competing rationalities are at stake. This is also reflected by the political landscape, in which twelve different political parties are currently represented in the city council. Hence, the 'operational task' of translating all these different interests into tourism policy, is placing an enormous strain on the local administration. Next to the current debate on tourism, (at the time of conducting fieldwork) there was a municipal election period going on. An uncertain period in which different political discourses – more than ever, because of tourisms' unprecedented forms – emerged from, and affected tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam. For civil servants this (pre-)election period, was a period of awaiting the (major) changes that were about to come. Hence, the point here is that the heated discussion on tourism growth combined with the ongoing election period, 'subjectifies' – 'the normally objective' – work of the local administration, and thereby allows political discourses to emerge and to take advantage of this.

Having a look at academic publications that pay attention to discourse in tourism, shows that they emphasise on the importance of 'the way that governance and electoral politics impact on the development of tourism policy (Chaney, 2015).' In his study Chaney furthermore underlines 'the need for contemporary tourism scholarship to acknowledge and explore the formative roots of tourism policy in the party politicised context of elections… ' Subsequently, 'by showing how public policy is grounded in the representative process and revealing the party politicisation and contingent nature of tourism policy development', Chaney argues that tourism holds a political role in tourism development (p. 125). This is in line with Zuo, Liu & Hang (2016), who argue that 'little academic attention has been paid to assessing the actual influences and mechanisms that allow tourism to act as a political socialisation agent through the formation of individual political attitudes' (p. 177).

Furthermore, Thomas & Thomas (2005) highlight the importance of power relations in tourism; 'social relations that constitute the phenomenon are not innocent of power' (Thomas & Thomas, 2005). Hereby they explicitly move towards the importance of a micro-political context by their rejection of deterministic theories that generalise the social aspects of tourism;

> …There can be no suggestion that in some sense the analysis of tourism can be read off from general analyses of power relations in society at large, that tourism is somehow a minor set of social relations. On the contrary, in an era of mass leisure in relatively affluent countries, tourism can be an important arena for defining, challenging and reconstituting power relations (p. 121).

Subsequently, other academic publications pay attention to the discourse of tourism development and show 'how the destination is always imbricate in the formation of discourse', which is for example manifest in 'the necessity to accommodate the revenue-generating tourists (Jóhanneson & Huijbens, 2010).' In their research to the discourse of tourism development in times of crisis Jóhanneson and Huijbens argue that, in their country, 'what still lurks underneath the surface of governmental policy discourse is no analysis or coherence, apart from seeing tourism as part and parcel of revenue-generating industries (p. 431).

Finally, for this thesis it is of importance to look at the work of Hannam & Knox (2005). The reason for this is that they put emphasis on the academic disciplines behind tourism research as a discursive practice itself, by saying that 'tourism research as an interdisciplinary pursuit has much to potentially gain in avoiding the narrative entrapments of particular academic disciplines through a critical and reflexive application of techniques of discourse analysis (p. 19).'

Concludingly, within these publications in the academic field of tourism governance, the focus is on a contextual and political understanding of discourse in tourism governance. Hereby it takes into account the underlying power relations that accompany these processes. Whilst Thomas & Thomas (2005) acknowledge the importance of discourse in an era of mass tourism, their research is mainly focused on how small firms can engage in the urban 'policy-making process'. Relating to this policy-making process they look at 'big businesses', governmental organisations and other institutions in relation to small firms. However, next to discourse they for example also look at available resources, and the motivation of these small firms.

Hence, the point here is, that in academic literature it can be noticed that there is still room for a deeper focus on the discourse of tourism in a micro-political field of governance; the local administration. Thereby it's important to emphasise on its contemporary interplay with emerging forms of (mass)tourism growth and an electoral campaign. These factors combined have created a unique situation for this thesis research to contribute to this field of academic tourism research.

1.1   Research objective & research questions

The problematisations presented in the introduction eventually led to the following research objective: *'To find out how the construction of discourse in the local administration of Amsterdam affects tourism management.'* Subsequently this objective resulted in the following research questions:

1. *Which discourses are produced by the local administration of Amsterdam?*

2. *How are these discourses constructed, and how do they thereby relate to each other?*

3. *How do these discourses affect tourism management in the local administration of Amsterdam?*

1.2   Report outline

This thesis is structured accordingly to its seven chapters. First, the introduction chapter mainly focuses on a contextual understanding of the problem statement of this research. It concludingly states the research questions and objective. The theoretical framework chapter presents the theoretical positioning of this thesis research. Thereby it introduces the conceptual model that consists of: governmentality, discourse, narratives and ideology. In the methodology chapter, the research paradigm and design are described. Subsequently this chapter deals with: methods of research, methods of data collection and -analysis, validity and reliability, and the limitations of this research. After that the results are presented in the findings chapter. The data is thereby structured around the following four topics: 1. Problem definitions, 2. Solutions and strategies, 3. Tourism & politics, 4. The local administration. The subsequent analysis chapter discusses this exploratory case study based on the theoretical positioning of its conceptual model. Then the discussion chapter provides a link between this research and other – equivalent – published academic research. Furthermore this chapter elaborates on the academic contributions of this research. Finally, based on its findings, this thesis concludes with briefly answering the research questions that were stated in the problem statement.

2   Theoretical framework

To answer the question 'how – the construction of – discourse in the local administration of Amsterdam affects tourism management?', in this chapter a theoretical framework has been developed. This framework starts with a 'grand debate' on post-structuralism and Marxian critical theory. After setting the ontological position, it continues with the work of Michel Foucault, as the concepts of governmentality and discourse are being discussed. Eventually this chapter concludes by presenting its conceptual model that is based on the four concepts; governmentality, discourse, narratives, and ideologies. This body of literature has become the leitmotiv of this thesis research.

2.1   Post-structuralism 'vs' political economy

In contemporary scientific political economic debates, urban processes are often described and criticised by (neo-Marxist) critical theorists as shaped by the logic of capital accumulation. Hereby the perceived failure of capitalism is often the underlying motivation for turning towards a critical political economy approach. Whilst there are numerous approaches to political economy these all share the belief that the political and the economic are irrevocably linked (Mosedale, 2010). David Harvey e.g. from a historical materialism viewpoint, says: 'Under capitalism, it is the broad range of class practices connected to the circulation of capital, the reproduction of labour power and class relations, and the need to control labour power, that remains hegemonic' (Harvey, 1989, p. 5). More concerned with the structure of capitalism itself, regulation theorists seek to describe the heterogenous economic processes that emerge and are reproduced entangled in capitalism. The context specific social cohesion compatible to these economic processes is observable, and to analyse capitalism and the changes it brought, it is of importance to describe the socio-economic compatibility in its local manifestations (Aglietta, 1998). Moreover comparative political economy analyses path-dependent and spatiotemporal political economic systems of governance and regulation within different systems of capitalism. Further, an international political economy is more active with 'the global capitalist economy' and relationships between nation-states and/or regions (Mosedale, 2010).

Post-structuralism however, focuses more on discourse and representation of political and economic practice. It aims to 'identify' and demonstrate, representations and processes of social construction, of in this case tourism. Instead of applying traditional approaches which still focus on key political actors, discourse analysis helps to identify more complex power dynamics 'beneath the surface' (Foucault, 1972). It comes to a better understanding of how through discursive processes, as competing rationalities, policy outcomes are generated. The analysis of individual utterances, actions and text, attempts to 'chart' competing rationalities in their own socio-cultural context.

Post-structuralism is often seen as antagonistic to macro-level analysis and grand theory claims within Marxism. A good example of this critique on the 'cultural turn' comes from Bianchi (2009) who says that:

> *Whilst this has perhaps resulted in a more nuanced appreciation of the social and cultural dimensions of power manifest in tourism (particularly into its dominant discourses and representative frameworks), the emphasis on the latter at the expense of production and material aspects of tourism and mobility, has meant that tourism often appears detached from the forces of structural power that characterize twenty-first century capitalism and globalisation (p. 484).*

For others the context of Bianchi's arguments appeared to leave room for the concatenation of methodological, epistemological and ontological differences between post-structuralism and Marxian political economy. The deconstructive characteristics of post-structuralism aim to destabilize

hierarchies, knowledge and power relations. According to Springer (2012) 'This in itself, however, is the recognition of the existence of certain structures through the distinctions we make, even if they are not given as natural material realities reflecting a 'real world' and only exist as abstractions…' (p. 140). Post-structuralism focuses on the local, indeterminate, and incomplete, and can also be understood 'as placing its theoretical attention on the social and political institutions that Marxists view as being determined by the economic, whereby the economic is not denied but instead its libidinal and liminal formations are suggested (Springer, 2012, p. 140)'. Hence, these formations can be understood as fragmented, incomplete, local and indeterminate instead of being on a macro phenomenon level. Furthermore, following De Goede (2006), a post-structural approach 'does not mean that the linguistic is to be prioritised over the material, but more precisely a moving beyond a simplistic consideration of objects, by reconceptualizing materialism so it is understood as interwoven with cultural, social, and political networks' (p. 5).

Thus, instead of approaching it as macro-deterministic, in line with academic literature (Springer, 2012; De Goede, 2006), this research adapts tourism as a phenomenon that in its locality and contextuality is contingently interwoven with power relations, and does thereby not exclude a critical political economy approach.

2.2   Tourism management & governmentality

After shaping the ontological context of this research, the first concept in order to understand tourism governance in this research context, is 'governmentality'. Introduced by Michel Foucault, governmentality in this context means: that through (tourism) governance as constantly evolving technologies and rationalities of power, forms of conduct are being produced. It is important to mention that rather than being a singular entity, governmentality demonstrates its relationship with locality and contextuality. Hence, through these local and contextual understandings, governmentality 'achieves its purchase on the immanently political territory of natural life (Werry, 2008).' Zuo et al. (2016) emphasise on 'the role of tourism in representing and delivering values, beliefs, norms and political ideologies, … (p. 177)'. Thus, the concept of governmentality exposes how these e.g. values, beliefs, norms and political ideologies, can be mobilised and shaped by technologies of power that are underlying everchanging forms of tourism, to govern conduct.

A straightforward example might be tourism in the Red Light District of Amsterdam. Tourism in this area is problematised that much, that specific intervention has been allowed for by the local administration. It's now forbidden for tour guides to provide tours to big groups, and if they still do so they get fined. The local administration – and any other institutions, group of residents, organisations, etc. which contributed to the problematising of tourism in this particular area – here expose and mobilise their power to govern the conduct of tourists and tour guides in this specific area. Hence, here through a specific form of tourism, values, beliefs, norms and political ideologies were mobilised, which eventually led to the regulation of human behaviour. In a macro-political context, Castaneda (2010) used a tourism boycott in the form of a negative travel advisory for Guatemala, imposed by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers in 1979, to demonstrate 'how tourism functions as politics per se, that is, as a political mechanism, tool, strategy, method, tactic of both governing civil society and of conducting politics between agents of differing scale…' A particular form of tourism (a tourism boycott) as a technique of governance, eventually realises the self-discipline of tourists as they will not travel to Guatemala. Hence, bot these examples demonstrate how through the mobilisation of the organised practices (values, beliefs, norms, and political ideologies) of tourism, subjects are governed and power relations are exposed.

Thus, tourism has the ability to realise self-discipline which it does by its technologies and rationalities of power. Many authors described the concept of power inspired by the work of Foucault. Fairclough (2003) describes power as 'the transformative capacity of human action, the capacity to intervene in a series of events so as to alter their course (p. 41)'. Furthermore Springer (2012) defines power 'as a complex, yet very specific form centering [sic] on knowledge production through the ensemble of rationalities, strategies, technologies, and techniques (p. 137)'. These 'powers' can be understood as operating 'through the active role of auto-regulated or auto-correcting selves who facilitate governance at a distance' (Foucault, 1991). In this sense, by coming back to the example of the Red Light District these auto-regulated selves could be tourist guides that won't give tours to bigger groups anymore because they know it's not allowed anymore.

Furthermore according to Hewitt (2009) 'power relations are reflected in language, but are not a consequence of language (p. 2)'. In social scientific research a compromise has to be made in finding the right contextual balance between the linguistic analysis of texts, which has to take into account social construction, and social construction which has to consult linguistics. This means that power does not only exist in political structures, institutions and social relations etc. but also in, for example, historical linguistics. Hewitt (2009) concludes her discourse analysis in public policy research by emphasising on the importance of power relations within policy-making;

> Inspired by Foucault in fields of public policy research is to open up ways of understanding policy activity which are based neither on rational or political frameworks, but which emphasise the contingent nature of rationality and seek to uncover the power relations of policy-making (p. 14).

Hence, rather than only focussing on 'how tourism functions as politics per se', this research also aims to create a better understanding of its discursive practices in order to expose the power relations that enable tourism to 'function as politics per se'. According to Foucault (1972, 2002), these productive power relations, embodied in particular techniques of governance, require a reflexive approach in order to expose how these power relations govern conduct.

2.3   Tourism management & discourse
The search for a reflexive approach capable of uncovering the power relations underlying practices of tourism, led to the introduction of the next concept; discourse. An analysis of discourse can reveal the 'relation' between power/knowledge and subjects.

Tourism governance as discourse, can be studied by using discourse theory. The concept of discourse is used in a variety of theories and disciplines. Michel Foucault 'defined' discourse as a group of statements belonging to a single system of formulation. Foucault thereby questions the relation between structure and agency and 'seeks to define specific forms of articulation' (Foucault, 1972, p. 180), that 'produce knowledge'. More specifically, and inspired by Foucault, Hajer & Versteeg (2005) see discourse 'as an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices (p. 175)'. Within the 'governance of tourism' one therefore needs to understand this complex negotiation of discourses. Springer (2012) says about this Foucauldian approach of discourse that it studies discourse shaped by practice, and at the other hand practice shaped by discourse. According to Castaneda (2010) the studying and (re)thinking of tourism focuses too much on the phenomenon as an immutable and irrevocable, 'singular, coherent, and discrete entity' (Castaneda, 2010). To summarise this, and in line with Castaneda (2010), a more 'plural perspective' on tourism brings this research project to a Foucauldian approach. Thereby it seeks to uncover operations of discourse – as intercultural parts of wider systems of knowledge – that are directed by local and contextual power

relations. To conclude with Daly (1999): '…Contextualisation, as an act of delimitation, is always a hegemonic/power process of excluding alternatives. Daly here argues that, – aware or unaware –, e.g. academic research by defining a certain context, frame, scope etc. concedes to a power that steers the research into that specific way, because it simultaneously leaves out other possible options of research. This thesis research might be an example of this; under influence of 'the power of academic education at Wageningen University and Research', this research is foremost positioned through a post-structural lens. Thereby it excludes many other ontologies that have a different way of giving meaning to the nature of being.

Looking at later work on discourse theory (Fairclough, 2003; Hewitt, 2009; Kress, 2012) makes it possible to draw a distinction between socially and linguistically oriented discourse. Within the latter discourse is mostly understood as represented by text and spoken communication, and shaped by social practices which are detectable in language. The first category – and often inspired by Foucault – emphasises on how discourse and power are used 'as a way of understanding the dynamics of political processes (Hewitt, 2009, p. 1).'

A straightforward example of these dynamical processes of discourse on tourism is the rise of the phenomenon of 'sustainability'. Rather than a singular entity, sustainable tourism could be seen as a discourse through which meaning is given to social reality. The same could be considered to happen now on 'mass tourism'. What can happen here, is that by approaching these phenomena on a macro-deterministic way, this leads to little sense of common interest in these same phenomena.

Hence, in line with a Foucauldian approach, this research emphasises the importance of having a deeper look at discourse by exploring its different structures in local and contextual underlying power relations, which eventually fill in 'the true meaning of discourse'.

2.4   Discursive structures

A discourse analysis is used to understand the discursive formations of contextual emerging discourse more in detail. By focusing on its discursive structures, a discourse analysis exposes the argumentative rationality of a particular discourse. Hence, this sub chapter introduces the next concepts which – as 'structures' of discourse – allow for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of discourse.

2.4.1   Narratives

One of these discursive structures is a narrative. Different from other discursive structures, a narrative may best be recognised for its – story-like – structures; a beginning, a middle, an end, different plots, etc (Dawson & Sykes, 2018). Müller (2008) hereby emphasises on the importance of making a clear distinction between discourse and narratives. Although it is acknowledgeable that these are two different phenomena, a narrative in parallel could also be a discourse as the discourse itself takes on a narrative form. Next to that Müller (2008) delineates narratives as assembled through text. Of course text is a linguistic form of a narrative and thereby also a discursive practice. However, Muller (2008) gives the impression here to say that a narrative is assembled trough text only, which offers a restrictive view because narratives could take on organisational/institutional forms and can be linked to political – and many other – formations that are not present in texts. Hence, in line with other academic literature (Dawson & Sykes, 2008; van Assche et al,. 2014), this research understands the temporal, spatial and emotional characteristics, as fluid – rather than conventional – narrative structures. In this sense a narrative as (part of) a discursive practice is never an autonomous phenomenon, but encompass the dynamic, constantly changing and contested characteristics of other narratives and discursive practices. In some cases a textual analysis might (have to) do the job, but again, permanently focussing on linguistics might preclude important

aspects of narrative articulation. Thus, in line with van Assche et al. (2014) this research project applies to the following definition of a narrative:

> A narrative is a conceptual structure that can render discursive materials more real and more compelling by introducing temporal, spatial and emotional order. It is an assemblage of concepts, subjects, objects and events. It articulates, criteria and values, events and episodes, flights and climaxes, heroes and villains, foreground and background (p. 45).

Whilst a narrative is a phenomenon on itself, it is also interlinked with various other narrative structures and other discursive practices. A narrative is a way of interpreting, presenting and representing the world and is linked to, and embedded in social interests, i.e. ideologies (van Assche et al., 2014). Of main importance is the exploration of connections between a narrative that presents and represents power and knowledge through an understanding of social practices that goes beyond textual analysis. Hence, a narrative analysis hereby helps to uncover the power relations within the tourism governance arena.

The implementation of narrative analysis in tourism focuses too much on content as brochures and travelblogs in search for narratives on customer experiences and destination images. The implication of narratives, sometimes inadvertent but more often as a strategic choice in the sense of branding and marketing tourist destinations. This research project however, in line with Van Assche et al. (2014), acknowledges narratives as a discursive structure that orders temporality, emotionality and spatiality. A narrative can be amplified and migrated through these conceptual structures.

2.4.2 Metaphors & open concepts

As a narrative structure, metaphors are important to further deepen the understanding of discourse. Metaphors play an important role in the discursive construction of 'policy realities'. For example Lakoff (2002) identified the 'family' metaphor used as a system of conceptualisations in US politics. The nation as a family, the government as parent(s) and the citizens who are the children. There were two competing family versions; a strict father model and a nurturant parent model. Conservative and liberal worldviews are hereby induced. These powerful metaphoric systems cannot be assumed as just a matter of words or rhetoric (Lakoff, 2002). Even one of world's most famous political leaders of the 20st century said to have misjudged the presence and importance of metaphors;

> …Anyone dealing with the European Community should pay careful attention to metaphors. We in Britain were inclined to minimize their significance — whether about 'roofs' or 'trains' — and to concentrate on the practicalities —… We had to learn the hard way that by agreement to what were apparently empty generalisations or vague aspirations we were later held to have committed ourselves to political structures which were contrary to our interests (Thatcher, 1995, p. 319).

The family metaphor in US politics for example, could be called a nested metaphor, but might possibly also function as a root metaphor (Van Assche et al., 2014; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The family metaphor is nested as it is adapted and 'stretched up', by the parents and the citizens, as a socio-political reality. According to Van Assche et al. (2014) 'metaphoric concepts of man, society, God, knowledge, truth and value are prone to becoming root metaphors' and even 'come close to what Foucault called an episteme, a matter of knowing… ' (p. 49). The main difference between these metaphors is that the latter has 'a remarkable longevity, a high level of abstraction and a high level of compatibility with other metaphors' (p. 49-50). The 'strength' of both these metaphoric systems clarifies that they can commit people to follow a certain course of action. As metaphors create social

realities, they can be course of actions, actions who fit the metaphor. This reinforces the power of the metaphor as 'self-fulfilling prophecies' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Another discursive structure that can be embedded in a narrative is the 'open concept'. The open concept is not to be confused by root metaphors. Open concepts are quasi vague concepts that are not that compatible with other discursive structures (yet) and often don't have a longevity as root metaphors do. However, their level of abstraction might be comparable to a root metaphor. Sustainable tourism e.g. shows the contextual and interpretive characteristics of an open concept. This 'openness' can function as a middle ground for competing discourses and ideologies 'that try to tell their side of the story' and give different meanings to the open concept.

Hence, both the metaphors and open concepts, as narrative structures that co-constitute discourse, will be used in this research to come to a better understanding of discursive formations in tourism management.

2.4.3 Ideologies

The 'level of discourse' in this research project is intimately related to the political environment. As a result the discourse is eminently ideological. In line with van Assche et al. (2014) an ideology can be understood as 'the narrative answers to the questions of good society, the values embedded, the modes of organisation and participation, the distribution of roles, and the forms of knowledge that bring societies closer (p. 52)'. Hence, ideologies can be seen as narrative forms of 'discursive infrastructure' that convey social actions (Zizek, 1989).

Zuo, Huang and Liu (2016) emphasised the importance of ideologies by saying that 'ideologies can be disseminated through the medium of tourism, asserting and reinforcing [existing] power relations (p. 177)'. Van Assche et al. (2014) furthermore underline the transformative effect – on everything – that ideologies can have in governance. These believe systems can cause conflicts with other believe systems that have a different look on society. Hence, this friction could eventually be expressed in the way narratives, metaphors and open concepts are created or negated. Competing ideologies, 'at play' at the same time, might be applying to the same narratives to eventually place these in a different context. Ideologies therefore can also be understood as (embedded with) politically structured narratives and have the power to change and/or restructure the narrative practices of discourse substantively. Van Dijk (2002) in addition, named ideologies 'systems of belief'. Thereby he subsequently doesn't delineate or exclude any – combination of – ideologies, yet he recognises the multiplicity of the ideological identities of social actors.

Building further on the concept of ideology in the context of tourism, Tribe (2006) mentioned its 'relation' with critical theory; 'Given the power of ideology, critical theory has the important job to expose its presence…(p. 12)'. Next to that Tribe (2001) says that: 'The job of critical theory is initially to identify which particular ideological influences are at work. Ideology critique then asks whose interests are being served by a particular ideology (p. 446)'. According to Tribe (2006), as a critical theorist 'Marx viewed ideology as important first because it frames thinking in a particular way and therefore distorts understanding and acts as a barrier to truth telling and second because the dominant ideology is that of the dominant class (p. 12)'. Daly (1999) elaborates on this towards a postmodern perspective by mentioning the downgrading of its determinism where:

> Ideology is no longer seen as a secondary effect, as something which expresses something which is already there (at the level of the economic base), but instead becomes the 'organic cement' for constituting an entire complex of political and cultural practices with economic and institutional arrangements in a 'historical bloc' (p. 96)'.

Hence, put simply, post-structuralism here, and in this research, goes further than criticising ideologies that deviate from 'class consciousness' by accepting all possible ideologies in their 'own' contextual understanding. However, this does not mean that this research will overlook the values a critical Marxist view on ideology still has. As the literature (Bianchi, 2009; Springer, 2012; Tribe, 2001) shows that a critical Marxist view can still help exposing and identifying ideologies at play.

2.5 Conceptual model

In this final section the conceptual discussions from above are synthesised as a concluding part of the theoretical framework. In this a Foucauldian approach of governmentality is applied as a framework to analyse and interrogate emerging discourses, its discursive practices and the power relations that underly it, in their attempts to shape and influence emerging agendas of tourism governance.

With the concept of **governmentality** Foucault aimed to expose how normalising self-disciplines were deeply embedded and transformed within discursive practices of governance. Surveillance and control, rationalities, programs and methods, or in other words, the contextual understanding of discursive practices, through which the 'imposed individuality' might be manifested and maintained. The concept of governmentality can help illuminating how discourses are transformed, to endeavour certain interests and to realise self-discipline.

Hence, the focus within governmentality will be on the concept of **discourse**. By analysing discourse and its practices, a Foucauldian discourse analysis provides an insight in the underlying power relations which are produced to govern conduct. Foucault views these discursive practice as a 'historically and culturally contextualized set of rules for organising and producing different forms of knowledge (Fazito, Scott, & Russell, 2016, p. 3)'. This will help to evaluate the effects these discourses have on tourism management in a contextual understanding.

One of these discursive practices is the **narrative**. In line with Van Assche et al. (2014), in the understanding of this research project, a narrative has a 'story-like' structure and consist of metaphors and open concepts. Different discourses bring about different narratives and thereby 'paint their own picture' of tourism governance. A narrative comes into being by discourse, can be embedded in ideology which advocates for a certain style or type of governance. Hence, narratives become manipulated, and are used as instruments for pursuing certain (ideological) interests.

In line with 'common practice', **ideology** can be understood as a 'coherent subsets of beliefs (generally "–isms", or faith systems) (Tribe, 2006, p. 12)'. Simultaneously and, in line with van Dijk (2012) this doesn't mean that anything else will be excluded as an ideology. It is also of importance to understand ideology in the right context, in this case within tourism governance in Amsterdam. Next to that, in this research project, ideology will be used to bridge the gap between a critical political economy and post-structuralist perspective. Critical theory has the ability to expose the ideologies and post-structuralism complements this by filling up its contextual gap.

In this study these four concepts are brought together to explore how the phenomenon of discourse shapes tourism governance. A discourse analysis within tourism management thereby provides an insight in the discursive practices relating tourism governance. Herein narratives as discursive practices and instruments, embedded in and influenced by ideologies, represent power and knowledge through their understanding of social practices, Finally, it should be emphasised that in this research these concepts aren't based on certain macro theoretical frameworks, rather they're contingent and 'based on' power relations, both in this dynamic micro-political context. The next chapter 'translates' these conceptualisations altogether into a methodological implementation plan.

3 Methodology

Based on the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter, this chapter describes the methods used during this research. This thesis has a qualitative research design which suits the pursuit of this study. The aim of this study is to gather data about the rationalities underlying tourism management in Amsterdam. At first the methodological considerations of the research design are highlighted. Furthermore methods of data collection and data analysis are further explained. Finally the reliability and validity of this study are discussed.

3.1 Research paradigm

Suggesting that it can never be interest-free, Habermas (1978) introduced three motivations of human enquiry: the technical interest of control and management, the practical interest of seeking understanding, purpose and deep insight and the emancipatory interest seeking for emancipatory of oppression. Positivism serving the technical, interpretivism serving the practical and critical theory serving the emancipatory interests. Following Habermas here, the assumption could be made that tourism research might serve a technical interest. Considering these different research paradigms consisting of their ontological, epistemological and methodological pillars, the design of this research might best be suggested to suit an interpretive paradigm. The world in this view can best be understand as given meaning to and being reflexively interpreted. Its subjectivity in nature when it comes to its social knowledge construction, and its methodological principles based on qualitive research. Just as 'truth' is never the ultimate goal and might be considered as utopian. Bianchi (2009) criticised the cultural turn in tourism research by 'accusing' it of the undervaluation of 'tourism's relationship to the economic and political relations of power in the contemporary global (dis)order (p. 484)'. Not so much the shift away from a positivistic paradigm but the overemphasis of the interpretive was his fundamental critique. By meeting Bianchi in his critique it will later in this research become clear that next to a practical and meaningful interest the development of an emancipatory interest perfectly represents the exploratory character of this study. Thus, despite the context might ontologically fit an interpretive and practical interest, this research will show that sometimes the 'boundaries' between these three motivations of human enquiries might be more fluid than Habermas and Bianchi seem to suggest.

3.2 Research design: exploratory case study

The qualitative and flexible character of this research is embodied by an exploratory case study. An exploratory research is often chosen for when it is useful for coming to a better understanding of, and to gather new insights into phenomena. Some of the most important aspects of doing qualitative exploratory research can be found in the meaningful and interpretative aspects of e.g. people, processes and relationships (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, Booij, & Verckens, 2011). The main advantages of an exploratory research are its flexibility and its effective dealing with change. Readiness to change its undetermined direction, always triggered by new data and insights, is a decisive 'criterium' of an exploratory research. Furthermore non-linear and iterative are two of the most typical characteristics that could be assigned to this type of research. This research has had the aim to achieve a better understanding of the research context by limiting theoretical – and possibly other influences – that could determine and influence the direction of this research right at its start. Not objectivity but the exploratory here was the guiding principle. Thus, instead of laying a theoretical foundation, multiple meetings with civil servants and the presence during a tourism workshop of the municipality of Amsterdam - that was attended by more than fifteen representatives - were the main ingredients to come to a first understanding of the phenomenon of urban tourism management in Amsterdam. It allowed the researcher to funnel the research from a broader understanding at the beginning to a stepwise approach of narrowing down the research context, made possibly by new gathered data and

insights. Saunders et al. (2011) mention the importance of a case study that enables to maintain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of a research. As examples of these characteristics they mention an individual lifecycle, organisation and administrative processes, and the development of industries.

3.3 Research methods

This research has made use of both primary and secondary data. Thereby the following methods have been selected as being the most applicable to the context of this exploratory case study: participant observation, interviews and archival research. Here it must be said that – typical to the exploratory case study – the 'selection' was more a spontaneous and contextual formation that developed itself throughout this research.

Before elaborating on the applicability of these research methods, a 'methodological guideline of discourse analysis' will be introduced. Table 1 shows (Hajer, 2006, p. 73-74), how this guideline is presented in a mostly chronological and structural order. However, in place of as a leitmotif or a standardised method, this guideline has been used as a 'method of orientation' for this research. Hence, within this research in a non-chronological order many of these methods, have been used and came to the fore as important contributors to this contextual discourse analysis. Despite that, some methods might've only partly corresponded with the guideline, or haven't been used at all in this research. This is in line with the exploratory character of this research that rather than a predetermined framework, applies a flexible anticipative approach of research methods.

1. Desk research	general survey of the documents and positions in a given field; newspaper analysis, analysis of news sections in relevant journals. This all to make a first chronology and come up with a first reading of events;
2. Helicopter interviews	interviews with three or four actors ('helicopters') that are chosen because they have the overview of the field be it from different positions. They might comprise a well-informed journalist, a key advisor to the government, an expert-policy maker;
3. Document analysis	analysing documents for structuring concepts, ideas and categorisations; employment of story lines, metaphors, etc. This should result in a first attempt at defining structuring discourses in the discussion. At this stage one would get a basic notion of the process of events as well as the sites of discursive production;
4. Interviews with key players	on the basis of the proceeding steps interviews can be conducted with central actors in the political process. The interviews can be used to generate more information on causal chains ('which led to what') that will always be the assumed core of the meeting on part of the interviewees, but the interviews might also be used to get a better understanding of the meaning of particular events for the interviewees
5. Sites of argumentation	searching for data not simply to reconstruct the arguments used but to account for the argumentative exchange. Examples might be parliamentary debates, minutes of inquiries (a very rich source), presentation and interpretation of evidence presented to a particular research commission, panel discussions at conferences
6. Analyse for positioning effects	actors can get 'caught up' in an interplay. They might force others to take up a particular role, but once others are aware of

	what is going on, they might also try to refuse it (indicators: 'No, that is not what I meant', 'That is not what it is about at all'). This positioning not only occurs on the level of persons but can of course also be found among institutions or even nation-states
7. Identification of key incidents	this would lead to the identification of key incidents that are essential to understand the discursive dynamics in the chosen case. As much as possible, these key incidents are then transcribed in more detail allowing for more insights in which determined their political effects;
8. Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation	rather than assuming coherence on part of particular actors, at this stage one goes back to the data to see if the meaning of what is being said can be related to the practices in which it was said
9. Interpretation	on this basis one may find a discursive order that governed a particular domain in a particular time. Ideally, one should come up with an account of the discursive structures within a given discussion, as well as an interpretation of the practices, the sites of production that were of importance in explaining a particular course of events
10. Second visit to key actors	discourses are inferred from reality by the analyst. Yet when respondents are confronted with the findings, they should at least recognize some of the hidden structures in language. Hence to revisit some key actors is a way of controlling if the analysis of the discursive space made sense

Table 1: 10 step methodological guideline of discourse analysis adapted from (Hajer, 2006, pp. 73-74)

Saunders et al. (2011) say about participant observation that it is all about observing 'in the field' and to gather data in that way. To participate in daily activities and not only to observe or watch but 'to perceive'. To these perceptions and observations belong all data collected within the field. This method has been chosen for to receive the first impressions of the research context and its phenomena and was 'obtained from' what later appeared to be 'the main characters of the study'; the civil servants.

After the participant observation had laid a basis, the choice was made to drawn up a guide for semi-structured interviews. Hence, after the broader context takes shape, these semi-structured interview, as guiding principles, enable a research 'to go on further exploration'. In line with the research design the semi-structured aspect of this research method would thereby still allow room for deviation, adaption of change and to go more in depth on newly gained data and insights during these interviews.

Furthermore in this research the choice has been made to make use of secondary data in the form of an archival research. By putting together a 'discourse document', it was the intention to contribute to an understanding of the public opinion towards tourism, and tourism management in their respective periods of time. Other important reasoning behind this archival research was that these secondary data would enable to come to a better understanding of the data gained by primary data, by comparing its discursive structures.

3.4   Data collection

This section elaborates more in depth on how the methods used in this research, eventually came into practice.

- Participant observation

The participant observation could be seen as an introductory starting point of this exploratory case study. The participant observation was 'a tourism workshop' with around fifteen civil servants discussing tourism in the present and the future of Amsterdam

All attendees received an invitation (see Appendix 3) for the 'heimiddag toerisme' what could be called a workshop on tourism in Amsterdam. The workshop found place on February the 7th from 13:00 – 17:00hrs at Floor – Six, a building next to Central Station in a private meeting room rented by the municipality for that afternoon. The roles of the attendants during the workshop were as follows: one moderator, two organisers and the rest participants. The attendants were a diverse representation of the departments within the civil service that directly or indirectly relate to tourism; art & culture, space & economics, entrepreneurial environment, urban planning, overnight stay policy and more. The main purpose of this workshop was to produce concrete outlines and actions to undertake which could be further developed into recommendations for the new – at that time still to be elected – city council.

For the first couple of hours the moderator constantly introduced a topic on which he was substantively 'assisted' by the organisation of this afternoon, being two tourism policy officers of the municipal economic department. Subsequently these topics were debated on with all attendants before moving forward to the next topic and so on. After long debating the moderator took some time to divide all attendants in random groups. The assignment was to further debate on the outcomes of the afternoon before eventually presenting these findings on how future tourism policy should look like to the rest.

The positionality of the researcher within this participant observation could be suggested as 'participant as observer'. This is to say that the researcher gives disclosure about his role so that everyone involved knows that it is a 'fieldwork relationship'. Clarification and transparency about the role of the researcher helps and aims to gain trust of the group, and eventually led to cooperation between both parties. Another advantage of this specific position could be that it enables and encourages the informants to analytically overthink the processes they are involved with (Saunders et al., 2011). Furthermore, as a starting point of this research project, the workshop generated leads which were used to explore in the next stage; one-on-one interviews.

- Interviews

At total of 12 interviews have been conducted. To come back to the role of 'participant as observer' an advantage was that contact with the attendants of the workshop already had been made. Hence, the sample constituted attendants of the workshop on the 7th of February. With the exception of a representative of a think tank and a marketing strategist, at that time all interviewees were civil servants within the municipality of Amsterdam. The first interview took place at the 11th of April 2018 and the final interview at the 16th of May 2018. Duration of the interviews were in between 29 and 66 minutes.

The interviews all took place in Amsterdam, in cafes, coffee company's, municipal offices and outside on the street. In chronological order the initial topics of discussion per interview roughly were:

1. Career path interviewee
2. Recent developments of tourism (growth) in Amsterdam
3. Tourism policy in Amsterdam
4. Tourism & politics in Amsterdam

With emphasis on initial, the semi-structural aspects of this interview are being underlined once more in order to show that also these interviews functioned as a tool to come to a contextual understanding of tourism governance, instead of finding any(ones) 'truth'. These topics and the additional interview guide (see Appendix 1) were the leitmotiv of all interviews but – as practice turned out – left much scope for spontaneous discussion and dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. From a broader view in the group workshop these interviews funnelled the research towards a new and deeper understanding.

The positionality of the researcher in applying this research method could be characterised as a combination between both an informant- and a respondent interview. An informant interview lets the interviewee mainly lead the direction of the interview. A respondent interview on the other hand is led by the interviewer (Saunders et al., 2011). This does not mean that some of the interviews were a respondent- and some were an informant interview. These dynamic alterations could be recognised within every single interview.

- Archival research

For the historical timeline the database LexisNexis has been utilised to become more familiar with the historical context of the study. In order to demarcate the scope of this part of the archival research the choice has been made to make a historical timeline (see Appendix 5) that is based on (Dutch) newspaper articles only. For the same reason it has been limited to articles publicised in the period between 1993 and 2018. A compact timeline which actually stands for 25 years of data. The articles all have been randomly selected on their substantial contribution to the context of tourism management in Amsterdam.

The 'political documentation' (see Appendix 5) includes data relevant to 'the future of tourism management', as the municipal elections were about to come. The data is gained from the electoral programs of a selection of the largest political parties in Amsterdam that have tourism included in their election program. The following six parties have been selected: Christen Democratic Appeal (CDA), Democrats '66 (D66), Green Left (GroenLinks), Labour Party (PVDA), People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), and the Socialist Party (SP).

3.5   Data analysis

The research combined at least two time-consuming research methods. Therefore the choice has been made to not literally transcribe all the interviews but to choose for an utterly extensive summarisation (see Appendix 2) for each interview. Lasting for a whole afternoon the same counts for the workshop of which an extensive methodological and substantive description has been given in Appendix 4.

The data gathered has been analysed in an inductive and qualitative way. This means that text surface and rhetorical means, exemplary linguistics as figurativeness, vocabulary and argumentation were focused on, rather than any theoretical foundation. Consideration was thereby given to:

1. Forms and/or strategies of argumentation
2. Implications and insinuations
3. References
4. Sources of knowledge
5. Idioms, sayings, clichés, vocabulary and style (Wodak & Meyer, 2009)

A technique of coding thereby hasn't been applied. Coding as a method of sampling and labelling data, in this case would split important discourses and its discursive structures, as narratives, metaphors and open concepts (Saunders et al., 2011). By coding, a certain 'consistence' of the discourse in the context of this research, could fall apart. Hence, arising from the applied research methods, the data eventually 'presented itself' around four main topics, which therefore were also used to structure the findings chapter;

- Problem definitions
- Solutions and strategies
- Tourism & politics
- The local administration

3.6   Validity & reliability

The validity of a research concerns the competence of its instruments to measure what they are planned to measure (Saunders et al., 2011). One of the most important actions undertaken to increase the validity of this research was the triangulation of research methods. Based on an archival research, the application of a participant observation and interviews, the triangulation of collected data from this variety of research methods was ensured. Furthermore, as a part of this triangulation, it could really be noticed that during the 'follow-up' interviews, the former workshop participants – now as interviewees – were released of the 'peer pressure'. This has contributed to the validity of this research as this more confidential setting resulted in a wider and deeper range of data and information. Next to that this 'longitudinal' research was spread out over a pre- and post-election period. Hereby the participant observation found place before the municipal elections and the interviews just after the elections. This 'combination of different political time periods' has also contributed to the validity. For example, during this shift from pre- to post-election it could be noticed that the political sensitivity decreased and the interviewees spoke 'more free'. The opposite side of the story is that the participant observation and the pre-election period enabled a better understanding of the (underlying power-) relation between politics and tourism discourse in the local administration.

The reliability of a research concerns the possibility of the repeatedly application of the same research instruments, resulting in comparable outcomes each and every time (Saunders et al., 2011). Here the important remark has to be made that, a standardisation of qualitative research methods is not in the ambition of this research. By applying the 10-steps of discourse analysis introduced by

Hajer (2006), it could be argued that this research did make use of 'a standardised method'. However, this can be rejected as it was used as a guideline rather than a method to standardise the research. Hence, by emphasising on and 'thickly' describing its contextuality, the point here is that this research has sought for transparency, rather than reliability of its research methods.

To conclude with, rather than a theoretical foundation, this research had an exploratory character which further underlined the importance of contextuality in this research.

3.7   Limitations

A main limitation of this research project was political sensitivity. The research took place during the municipal electoral period. The election of a new city council was coming up, which meant new and other plans and insights regarding tourism management and its official programs. Hence, this was a high uncertainty factor in the local administration. During some interviews it could be noticed that respondents suddenly – quite radically – changed their opinion and thereby 'exposed themselves' trying to disguise this towards 'more political correctness'. Other respondents mentioned that 'the discussion is being politicised too much', and literally said about some statements that 'you shouldn't put that in my mouth' because they doubted the 'political correctness' of their given information. Many others explicitly asked for anonymity to avoid conflicts. Thus, under pressure of the contemporary political landscape, the strive for political correctness amongst civil servants may have led to missed opportunities for this research. However, eventually this political strain on the respondents was somewhat enlightened by guaranteeing their anonymity before the interviews started. 'As every disadvantage has its advantage', at the other hand these restrictions were 'co-responsible' by helping to expose this politicisation of tourism discourse.

Furthermore some more practical matters might have been restricting factors for this research. First its cross-sectional characteristics e.g. a limited amount of resources as time and funding, played a decisive factor. For example extending the timeframe of this research could have led to witnessing the 'landing' of the newly elected mayor and city council. This could've brought major insights regarding the implementation of tourism management within (a reorganised) local administration, and the role that discourse plays in this process.

Next to that, there was insufficient funds available to professionally translate the data from Dutch to English. Dutch concepts and proverbs are sometimes hard to translate into English. Therefore a professional translation might've led to a level of accuracy ensuring a more comprehensive interpretation of the contextual meaning of tourism discourse. A further limitation of these data, is that it's being summarised. This applies for the interviews and the participant observation. This selective method of transcribing might've led to the exclusion of important data. However, reasoning behind this was that it might spare some valuable time, to conduct this research in time for target deadlines.

There was at least one other limitation due to the scope of this research; the fact that the 'discourse document' has only been used for preparatory purposes. Originally it was planned for all this documentation to undergo a discourse analysis too, and to eventually compare it with the data gathered from the participant observation and the interviews. However the short time frame of this research didn't allow to do so. The discourse document has still been added (see Appendix 5). Reasoning behind this was to give more context to this research, but most of all also not to withhold this rich source of information for further research in this context.

By having created a better understanding of the methodological 'framework', this research continues with the findings that were gained by the practical implementation of all these methods.

4   Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the exploratory case study as informed by the conceptual model of this thesis research. This conceptual model constitutes: governmentality, discourse, narratives and ideologies, and focuses on the contextual understanding of the local administration in Amsterdam. The fieldwork consisted of twelve interviews and a participant observation in the form of a tourism workshop. In order to coherently present these findings, this chapter is (logically) structured as follows:

- Insights in opinions on (problem) definitions of tourism
- Insights in opinions on proposed solutions and strategies regarding tourism
- Insights in opinions on tourism and politics
- Insights in opinions on tourism and the local administration

4.1   Actors & programs

To fully understand this chapter, it is of importance to have an insight in the local context of this exploratory case study. The majority of the actors that were involved in this case study, were civil servants working for the local administration in Amsterdam. Hence, this short description focuses on 'the accommodation of tourism' within the local administration of Amsterdam. It is not to be confused with an attempt to extensively reflect on the organisational structure of the local administration. The only thing that could be noticed about that, was the highly fragmented accommodation of tourism within this organisational structure. As it turned out that there were so many actors directly or indirectly involved with tourism management.

Looking at the local administration, first, the economics department was responsible for tourism, as they had two FTE's constantly working on it; a coordinator and an advisor. As this research showed, they were mostly looking for strategies to spread tourism. Next to that, the economics department had an official program – called Stad in Balans – running, that constituted at least two FTE's. This official program focussed on 'leading the growth of the city in the right direction (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017), and undertakes (small) measures and actions to ensure this 'process'.

Then there were urban planners, economic advisors and policy advisors that worked for RVE departments (Resultaatverantwoordelijke Eenheid – 'target responsible units') as art & culture, space & economics, entrepreneurial environment, urban planning and overnight stay policy. These departments operated on a citywide scale. Other civil servants were more involved with tourism on the smaller scale of their city department. For example, some of them worked as program managers space and economy (ruimte en economie) or as policy advisors, for their city departments (stadsdelen); Amsterdam Niew-West, Amsterdam Oost and Amsterdam Zuid.

Furthermore a marketing strategist of the public-private Amsterdam Marketing foundation (known for the Iamsterdam campaign) and a representative of the public think tank called Amsterdam in Progress, were involved in this exploratory case study.

The field study has been conducted in order to explore and expose the rationalities and motivations of all these actors involved with tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam. The findings will be presented in the following sub chapters.

4.2   Problem definitions

It turned out that the actors involved in this research, had their different opinions on, and (problem) definitions of, tourism. Hence, this sub chapter presents some of these opinions and definitions regarding contemporary tourism developments.

4.2.1   A symptomatic approach

An important debate that found its origins in the tourism workshop – the internal municipal meeting that found place last February to discuss 'the future of tourism' in Amsterdam ('Heimiddag toerisme', see Appendix 3) – and consequently came up during the interviews, was the debate on the official municipal program Stad in Balans.

Along the workshop – where except for the representative of the think tank, all other respondents were present – one of the participants mentioned that the current measures and actions undertaken to curb the incoming tourist flows were nothing more than just 'sticking plasters'. Hereby the participant meant that the symptoms of tourism growth were being fought against, and not the crisis itself. The participant directly referred to the official municipal program Stad in Balans. Although some participants mentioned the fierceness of this statement, it was noticeable that it wasn't negated by most of the participants. The civil servants responsible for the official program Stad in Balans – present in this workshop – were the only one who objected this saying. Hence, there seemed to be quite some scepticism in the room about this official program.

As the foundation had been laid during the workshop, in the interviews, Stad in balans as a program of 'sticking plasters', came to the fore again. At first an interviewee underlined the urgency of the matter by saying that something has to happen now, instead of making 'the world engineerable for in 20 years'. The interviewee hereby said that the official program could be used as 'instruments' to react on recent developments and could deliver 'quick wins'. The interviewee explicitly didn't agree with the metaphoric reference used during the workshop; 'Yes and they called this sticking plasters but I just don't agree with that. Then I think by myself, those are really exactly the things which are going to have an essential effect in the coming 10 years.'

Despite this more optimistic view on Stad in Balans, in general the interviewees were more sceptical about the official program; 'It's a club of people who engage in, like we said on that afternoon and they were not happy with that, by what I call sticking plasters. They are not repairing the problems.' A lack of fundamental choices by this symptomatic approach, according to another interviewee has resulted in 'a balance team that's going to sit on all negative effects, and doesn't go for fundamental choices.' Furthermore, one interviewee drew links with the geographical spread of tourists – one of the measures undertaken by Stad in Balans – in Amsterdam; 'The spread is of course a little bit of sticking plasters... Economic growth and the decrease of peak rush are good. But you just don't solve the problem. It's a sub measure for your final goal.'

Whilst most interviewees here emphasise on the urgency for more radical change, an interviewee said that in the meanwhile Stad in Balans is still 'trying to find where the pain is.'

Hence, these findings show that scepticism prevailed when discussing 'the symptomatic approach' of the official program Stad in Balans, against the contemporary burdens of tourism.

4.2.2 Tourism for economic progress

Another debate that came to the fore during the interviews as well as during the tourism workshop, was the debate on tourism growth. This debate provides an insights in the variety of discourses present in the local administration.

First, one group of interviewees saw the growth of tourism as insuperable. The suggestion of the possibility of an inhibition of this growth was mostly dismissed in a split second. Hereby the reference was made to inhibition as 'a fence' around the city, which obviously is not possible. But the fence appeared to be not the only radical expression for the inhibition of tourism growth, as one interviewee was 'armed more heavily';

> You can't say yes a big fence comes around Amsterdam and you can only enter if you live there. ….If you would do that, a fence around it, a door, if you can show that you live here you can go in, if you would do that I would think that's so wrong. To inhibit tourism in other ways. Shoot every tourist or something?

That these radical expressions were nestled amongst more interviewees was demonstrated by other interviewees who said: 'Should we lock them all on Pampus? Or put a fence around the Haarlemmermeer to simulate Amsterdam and let them run around there?'

Secondly, the insuperable characteristics of tourism growth were mentioned once again when Schiphol Airport was discussed. The debate about the growth of Schiphol Airport which is currently about to reach its fixed limit for the maximum of 500.000 flights a year. Hereby it appeared that inhibition and 'the fence around Amsterdam' would be a barrier for (neo)liberal rights.

> You can't built a fence around Amsterdam. You can't say to these chart flights that they're not allowed to come here anymore. We can't say to Lelystad, no you can't land there. I think you can better anticipate on it then to inhibit it.

As already demonstrated in this suggestion to open Lelystad Airport, 'the fence' was commonly used to legitimise alternative tourism policy; 'The ideal future policy would be the spread. A lot must happen to make it work. And you can't just put a fence around Amsterdam.'

To conclude with, 'the fence' has also been used to give a more nuanced perspective on the phenomenon of tourism growth and thereby also mentioned its subjectivity:

> You also have these sounds, yes it's good for the economy and yes of course the downsides which we should take care of, until put a fence around 'de Wallen' because I can't live like this and we can't go through like this. And everything in between. It's a very subjective topic.

Next to that, most of these interviewees were convinced about the insuperability of the phenomenon of tourism growth, and thereby saw it as some sort of a 'force majeure'. A wide variety of argumentation was used for that; 'Awareness, and that this is a growth sector. That has been measured, in the nearby future many jobs arise. And it's one of the sectors which keeps growing. So it's necessary to have a vision on it.' By the measurements this interviewee uses figures of the UNWTO to legitimise the point of tourism being a growth sector; 'If you look to the figures of the UNWTO, then it's a given that travelling will stay. The expenditure pattern, ageing, people go travelling so yes. You can better anticipate on it.'

When asking for the plans of the new leftist coalition in the city council, the interviewees were uncompromising. One interviewee considered their plans 'to reduce everything' as 'idealistic thinking'. Others saw this as a threat towards 'your tourists':

> I think that you can't stop it. I don't think it's good to stop it. Because if you as a city are unfriendly towards your tourists, that the people then also say well then we won't come at all anymore. That's a threat.

These interviewees mainly emphasised on the importance of economic progress. Their perspective on tourism was framed by an emphasis on this economic importance. Thereby it was also used to legitimise certain choices of tourism management. First of all it was highly remarkable that an interviewee, a main responsible for the implementation of the geographical spread, said:

> It's of course very nice that they go to the Keukenhof, it's very nice that they go to the Zaanse Schans, but our first interest as economics department is an economic growth in Amsterdam. So passing on to Almere, Zaanse Schans and Hoofddorp is all a great thing, but if they spend those Euros here, is us just as pleased, or to be very honest, it pleases us even more.

Other interviewees, were more subtle by disguising their view a little; 'too much regulation, in the form of 'reducing AirBnB, coffeeshops, groups in the Red Light District, prostitution', is by an interviewee seen as a risk. Hence, the interviewee said: 'If 'you're going to exclude and isolate that, then the economic story is that it isn't good'. Quite radically a trade war and a bank crisis were used as the main arguments to legitimate this viewpoint; 'You'll cut yourself in your finger with that in a new situation. Suppose that we'll get a crisis and would need tourism?'

4.2.1 Distrusting the public opinion: 'Whiners'

A remarkable insight that came to the fore during many interviews is how observations, complaints and comments of the residents were often dismissed as 'a joke'. Many of these interviewees, who preached for tourism as a catalyst of economic progress, simplified 'the voice of the people from Amsterdam'.

By questioning the focus of critics on the city centre, an interviewee said: 'Or are they bigger whiners? That's what I always find very funny, to see what are the big notorious whiners.' Thereby it was being said that: 'The complaining of the residents of the city centre, to stay friends with them, there this is a consequence of.' By this, the interviewee referred to the critical debate on tourism growth in – foremost – the city centre. Another interviewee made the even more radical suggestion/'joke' about people who live here for decades already;

> People who live here for 40 years already in a quiet manner, they just have to change and settle down with it. And if you really, really, really don't like it, you can sell your house, go enjoy living in Oost-Groningen.

Next to that, other world cities were used as a standard measurement, were growth can be orderly managed; '…Just like in New York, in New York you also don't stand out as a tourist, so much happens there. Berlin the same, even though Berliners whine and even tough Amsterdammers whine.' Intervention can be partial because eventually – just like in New York – people won't leave;

> If we know how we have to intervene, then I think that you should intervene for some parts of the city. But do we know that? What happens if we don't do it? Will people leave the city? I don't think so, they'll just whine more.

One of these interviewees did appoint the importance of listening to people if there are implications. However this turned out to be a nuance; 'But people from Amsterdam experience implications very quickly. …Based on an amount of people who experience these implications, you are going to prescribe a general policy whereby for the rest of the city it's impossible to further develop.'

Nobody likes us, we don't care could be considered as the general conclusion here as these interviewees knocked other opinions; 'That narrative is pre-given by the nuisance experienced in the centre. And we have the tendency to do so with tourists. Because we resonate from that nuisance. Well, I'd really look to the chances tourism offers for peripheral areas.' By 'that narrative' was meant tourism nuisance in Amsterdam. Another interviewee similarly said; 'No one likes Venice, way too crowded, but not less people visit it. Everybody thinks Barcelona is way too crowded, but still everybody goes to Barcelona.

4.2.2 Against tourism growth

It appeared that there also were interviewees that approached tourism from a more social perspective. More regulation, a 'broader perspective' and less growth were some of the recurring topics and viewpoints amongst this group of interviewees. One of the interviewees hereby took into consideration the above mentioned trade wars and bank crisis, but rejected this argumentation by saying: 'I also don't believe in the argument: maybe soon a low conjuncture will come and then tourism is the only saving power of a city economy, I don't believe in that.'

Switched from spatial planning to the economics department within the municipality, an interviewee gave a look in the (competing) rationalities behind these departments. First, unlike in the economics department, in the spatial planning department the interviewee was used to look 'with a broader view'; 'I also notice that the economic perspective is different from spatial planning. The focus is especially on employment opportunities. And economic vitality.' Subsequently the interviewee said that within spatial planning it also goes about 'what is good for the city in a broader sense', and: 'I'm very much surrounded by colleagues who are foremost talking about employment opportunities.' Further the interviewee said that 'people here find it – they for example weren't very happy with the outcomes of the municipal elections – harder to, yes, to let go the focus on that growth. I think you should really consider… less growth scenarios…' Eventually the interviewee said not to know if there's enough consensus on tourism within the organisation, and next to that questioned if tourism was 'at the right place' in the economics department.;

> I mean it's with economics, shouldn't it also be with spatial planning? That's says a lot. That it's positioned here. That says a lot about the perspective on it. Is it a cost item, or do you want something with it? It's historically explainable that's it's with economics but, but it should also by somewhere else, or broader. I hope with the new city council it becomes one.

About the inhibition of tourism growth these interviewees had a shared vision on what one of them said; 'growth should be controlled and requires an integral approach, [and that] spreading doesn't work.' Furthermore an interviewee said that 'on the moment it grows too hard, too fast in the wrong way', and that the only party to do something about this, is the municipality. Referring to commercial companies and 'big capital', the interviewee said; 'They are not going to regulate themselves, so you shouldn't expect too much of that.' This tremendous strain on the city, by these parties, is underlined as an interviewee said: 'The financial pressure on a very small city as Amsterdam of course, yes your urban fabric gets destroyed by big capital.' About this other – capital – side of the spectrum, one of these interviewees sees that:

> Of course there are people who think like that… Who only think of earning money. That tension between indeed the economic advantage what you have of tourism and that liveability, yes that's slowly becoming quite big.

This form of capitalism is definitely not seen as a solution by these interviewees and points towards a move from 'quantity to quality', and 'not always only more, but better and different'. And 'if you only use the market to let it regulate itself, yes that's not what eventually offers a solution.' Negative consequences of social and economic gentrification are thereby mentioned to have their effects on the city, and even on the civil servant itself;

> I worked 10 years in urban renewal, with the idea we make the city more attractive. And on a given moment then I thought; how more attractive the city, how inaccessible it becomes. Yes I really came in sort of an identity, I was confronted with the question; do I do the thing I believe in the most, and that's working on a better functioning city.

Thereby, the interviewee considers that the greedy interest of local and national governments in 'big capital' and economic progress, outweigh other interests:

> …My view is that under the pretext of economic interest many choices won't be made ….You see that cities, but also countries work with a catch all strategy of we want to make all sectors as big as possible.

4.3   Solutions & strategies

As 'moving to Groningen' could obviously not be seen as a proper solution for some of the burdens that tourism brings to Amsterdam, this sub chapter presents the findings in which different opinions are being given about future solutions for tourism management.

4.3.1   A lack of tourism vision

The internal municipal debate on, and the step towards, a shared vision of tourism in Amsterdam only now during the tourism workshop appeared to have found its starting point. Some interviewees were very surprised and asked: 'why just now this meeting was organised' and 'what actually has been done in the recent years on developing a decent tourism vision'. Hence, during the workshop it came to the fore that before working on solutions and strategies there was a need for a widely shared tourism vision.

In the invitation for the tourism workshop (see Appendix 3) it was mentioned that all attendants should after this tourism workshop:

- Have an insight in recent developments in the policy area of tourism
- Have knowledge of tourism development in the city and the metropolitan area
- Have identified opportunities and possibilities to spread tourism in combination with support of residents and entrepreneurs/businesses
- Have insight in the possibilities of the areas on behalf of making the city bigger

Right at the beginning of the workshop, most participants mentioned that in Amsterdam, a city entangled in a debate about rush and tourism, no clear tourism vision or policy has ever existed. A vision that according to most participants above all should be acknowledged and recognised by the residents and entrepreneurs in Amsterdam still seemed missing. This resulted in a somewhat tumultuous discussion on what the future of Amsterdam should look like. Hereby it became apparent that most participants agreed that a clear distinction should be made between the measures and actions against incoming tourist flows, and a tourism vision for the future; the latter which, thus, still lacked.

During the workshop it was noticeable that the representatives of the economics department – who also organised the workshop – during the workshop attempted to steer the debate towards the geographical spread of tourists into the wider region of Amsterdam. Whilst giving no additional motivation during the workshop, the representatives in an earlier stage ('pre-interview') did casually mention, that this was 'imposed' by their management. This tendency towards the spreading of tourism is also demonstrated by the invitation for the workshop that includes sayings as: 'making the city bigger' and 'to spread tourism'. However, it emerged that during the workshop, other participants were not very enthusiastic about it. This could again be noticed by references to 'sticking plasters', meaning to say that the geographical spread of tourism is not a solution but a displacement of the problem. Most participants hereby agreed that there should be a tourism vision that will be integrated within tourism management in general, instead of being a stand-alone plan. Amongst the participants the impression of the latter was given by the organisation of the workshop.

During a group assignment, all participants were divided in small groups. The aim was to brainstorm and find the most important policy aspects. Here it seemed that all attendees could cool off a little by working further in these small groups. This eventually resulted in a widespread consensus amongst participants; instead of looking at the impossibilities, the focus should be at the positive aspects that Amsterdam has to offer. Some of the participants were emphasising on things that weren't going well and on 'What kind of city we don't want to be', according to most of the other participants the question should be asked: 'What kind of city do we want to be?' Some of the key words in the presentations of these group assignments were: the mixing of functions, liveability, identity, sustainability, diversity, tolerance, quality and safety (see image 2 & 3).

Despite a 'cooling down period', at the end of the workshop there was no consensus about a shared vision and important principles. The participants mentioned that it was all still too abstract and too broad. However at the end all participants said to be very enthusiastic about the workshop and suggested that there should come another meeting soon, that should produce more concrete outcomes on a future tourism vision. Thereby, as a general principle to work towards, the celebration of the 750th birthday of Amsterdam was mentioned multiple times.

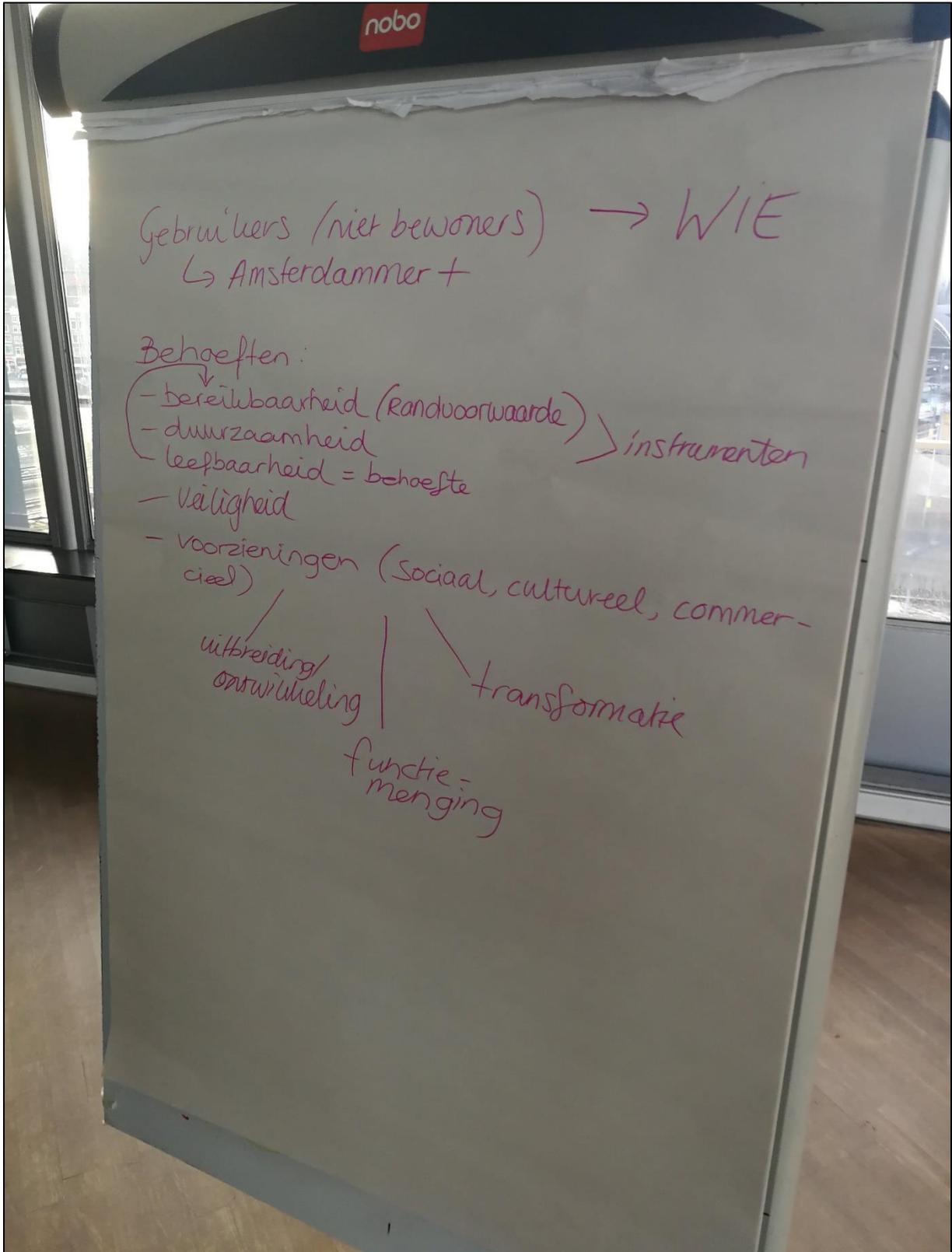*Image 2: Result group assignment*

Image 3: Result group assignment

4.3.2   Controlling the volume

In line with the debate on the future vision of tourism in Amsterdam, coming to the fore in both the tourism workshop and most interviews, a further discussion on the 'volume of tourism' found place amongst these civil servants.

When looking to the future of tourism in Amsterdam the 'volume button' was an expression about the inhibition of tourism growth, used by opposing groups of interviewees. Likewise the impossibility of putting a fence around the city, one group said that it was not realistic to say that you can regulate incoming amounts of tourists and further inhibit tourism growth. One of the interviewees said:

> I think actually that we are not capable to regulate the volume, that's very difficult. ….So it's not that we can just turn very simple buttons to decrease the volume. What are really your buttons to turn the volume, that's very difficult.

The same interviewee also referred to the growth of Schiphol Airport and talked about specific measures to undertake in order to inhibit this growth. However, thereby was also mentioned that these measures are out of reach for the municipality as a shareholder; 'Of course it's good as a shareholder to make your voice heard, but the amount of slots and suchlike… that's not for us I think. And that's where it's all about when you're talking about volume.'

Another group of interviewees were convinced that there do are things that can be done, or at least must be tried to do, in order to inhibit the growth of tourism in Amsterdam. One interviewee hereby said:

> What are the buttons you can turn on? For politics, we have to give insight in those. That's also what I hoped for what happened on that day [workshop]. We're going to decide on those buttons with all of us. You then present to the city council to turn left or turn right, but as a civil service you have to be able to present that.

As a leitmotif through these findings, the official program Stad in Balans was referred to once again, when an interviewee said that tourism should be regulated more on a macro-level;

> You see that, that a program for the rush in the city gets formed. And that it should also bring all solutions for the problems, like they're going to reduce all the rush. Whilst just as with tourism it goes about if you want to turn the volume button. The most effect you mostly find from the measures to regulate those things.

Next to that, according to the interviewee, the main part of the group during the workshop took the phenomenon of tourism growth too much for granted and as a principle to work towards. 'Like you can't really turn the volume button so we have to talk about in which ways we can order and regulate it.' Another interviewee referred to the debate on the displacement of the Passenger Cruise Terminal (PTA) out of the city centre. This interviewee thereby also added a broader political perspective;

> I think regulation is very important but the volume button is just also very important. You can say that it's not on you but the displacement of the terminal is really what the Amsterdam municipality should do. That's not going to be done by a EU-commissioner. ….To be in the administration of a city of Amsterdam is ['geen kattenpis'] no chickenfeed. That's not something what you do like how Ronald Reagan managed the country or a Donald Trump.

4.3.3   Spreading tourism

The field study furthermore showed that there were diverging views on the spreading of tourism as a (future) solution or strategy.

At first, in an interview it was clarified that the concept of geographical spread originated from a research (unknown) in 2002; 'There comes the first 'spreading-narrative' to the fore.' This geographical spreading of tourism over the city, is by a large part of the interviewees seen as a solution to handle the emerging amounts of incoming tourists; That's necessary I think. If you see how crowded it is in some areas in Amsterdam, then it's necessary to alleviate pain and to keep it liveable.' It is noticeable that here alleviation, which could be considered to be symptomatic and not fundamental, is mentioned by the interviewee.

Social and economic progress for the wider region around Amsterdam appears to play an important role in alleviating that pain; 'I think it's also a good thing to let the peripheral areas around the centre profit from the revenues. You could better be alert to that and ensure that your infrastructure is calculated accordingly…'

When other interviewees addressed this economic and social progress it was remarkably to notice how their opinion was radically refined during the interview; 'On a long term spreading will contribute to equality or distribution of tourism over the region. That contributes to more impact for that region, …so that's development of that region. That development contributes indirectly to liveability of its inhabitants.' The same interviewee tried to nuance this and said: 'Some people think, when we talk about spreading, that we think we can spread everybody. That's not how it works, you can't just turn on a tap and say tomorrow you go to A or B.' As if the interviewee 'said too much', during another interview, it could be noticed that a more politically correct posture was adopted during the interview; 'But the 'spreading thought' is something what's being believed in. There's creative thinking but it's not yet that far. I don't believe in it, I don't know if I can say that out loud.' However, the interviewee during the interview decided for a radical change of opinion towards supporting the phenomenon of geographical spreading; 'There's a lot of capacity going in. So there are many people involved. If you can see this …in the results? I don't' know, I don't dare to say that, yet. But I think it can work.' Approaching the end of the interview suddenly the interviewee says: 'it's a mindset, that you indeed think that Amsterdam is that big. Everyone benefits from that.' And finally at the end of the interview the spreading is by the interviewee seen as an 'ideal future policy'.

Although there was quite some support for the geographical spread of tourism, there was also scepticism about it; How can we go on? Look, I don't believe in 'the spreading-narrative' of Zandvoort, Amsterdam Beach and Muiderslot, Amsterdam Castle, and to see Amsterdam and visit Holland or I don't know what kind of nonsense. I hope I'm wrong…' This interviewee furthermore argues that tourism governance is too much based on negativity and thereby expressed concerns about the close link with politics;

> Politics are very sensitive for short term… in no time a special team is initiated [Stad in Balans]… who has to do something about the rush. That was the assignment, not more, do something with that rush. That's a negative attitude. So you see that negativity amongst civil servants also increases. Yes we have to do something, we have to spread. Without giving it time to think through. So it causes commotion. And also a lot of money is being spent on it. Several things are developed, that's my opinion, were I think of its regrettable to spend money on. To take time, and if you would take it out of the political hype then you can probably be much more efficient. And you should take an academic stance to the phenomenon.

More sceptical interviewees mostly came back to the point that all tourists want to see the city centre and will always come back there. An interviewee thereby said: 'I hear a lot of colleagues say: we'll spread that. I don't believe in that, I totally don't. Because yes you can lure the tourist to somewhere else, but the core of the visit is to see Amsterdam. In the same vein another interviewee said that: 'Choices just have to be made. This tossing doesn't really generate something. It causes confusion.'

To conclude with an interviewee – a main responsible for the implementation of the geographical spread of tourism in the city – commented on the suggestion that was made that if spreading is just a problem displacement; 'Yes. He's right but what is then the solution?'

4.4 Tourism & politics

This sub chapter handles the opinions shared relating to tourism management and politics. By interviewees sharing their insights on political processes, it reveals some of the political ideological influences at play within the local administration.

4.4.1 Decreasing city values

Most of the interviewees mentioned the core values that Amsterdam stands for, during their interview. Some of the interviewees especially showed their concerns about, that according to them, these core values are being reduced by too much regulation. Different measures and actions undertaken, as increasing tourist tax, are thereby used as an example to show how Amsterdam's core values decrease. Multiple interviewees hereby mentioned conflicting interests between these values and 'reality'. One interviewee said:

> The core values of Amsterdam are always liberal and everything is allowed here. We are now, by coming up with these regulations in every possible fields, decreasing those core values. We think we are still the city of freedom, but it is freedom within regulation. Everything is allowed but actually not in this part of the city anymore. Well… I'm more for that freedom. And that could possibly conflict with reality.

In line with that, another interviewee said that: 'You shouldn't be that narrow-minded, that the rest of the world can't come here to have a look. I mean as Amsterdam you should be a hospitable city and let people enjoy of what we have here.' When questioning the possibility of increasing the tourist tax as an alternative for the geographical spread of tourists, one interviewee also referred to the basic economic principles; 'That's not very pleasant. That's when you become an exclusive city, whilst you want to be an inclusive city. Economics lesson number one; demand and supply.'

The importance of the question of 'Which city do we want to be?', was appointed by the interviewee. Followed up by the answer: 'That Amsterdam will stay an open and accessible city… for everybody.' This accessibility was taken to a practical level as an interviewee said: 'I think where do we get the right to refuse other people access to public space. Furthermore an interviewee said that 'Amsterdam is just traditionally a city that's open and where many people feel welcome.' And 'One of the most important core values is Amsterdam as an open and tolerant city. That's how it always has been. If you lose those core values you lose the essence of Amsterdam. So you cannot make a close and intolerant city of Amsterdam.'

Another group of interviewees had a different perspective on these core values. Firstly the difficulty of dealing with these 'core values' was acknowledged; 'These are not low hanging fruit topics, this also touches the values of Amsterdam, of that tolerance. This is heavy shit. This is really complicated.' Furthermore the interviewee also questioned these values as being static; 'If we resonate from the fact, no you can't touch them because those are the values of, I think that the values also can… evolve.

I think that it can change and that our view on things can change.' Another interviewee said about the plans by the newly elected municipal council:

> You of course can expect that they're going to shift the tourist tax. That's a very easy taxs to shift with because you don't affect the civilians with it. But there are contradictions with it, that's where the GreenLeft party (GroenLinks) stands for, that Amsterdam should stay an open and accessible city. So also for backpack tourists there should be a place. It shouldn't be just a place with very expensive hotelrooms for a select group. Those things are conflicting with each other.

Another interviewee contributes to this by saying that more regulation doesn't necessarily have to mean that these core values should decrease; 'To be open minded you know, that's also possible with a policy.' Next to that the interviewee said that 'also the red light district and the coffeeshop get involved in the discussion about these liberal ideals of Amsterdam.' internally also the interviewee hears that all those regulations make it too 'prissy' (vertrutting); 'But that's not what it is about, …you do want to safeguard a certain quality with each other. Does that mean that now we're not open minded anymore?'

4.4.2   Tourism as political strain

Most interviewees shared their insights on how tourism management within the civil service is intermingled with politics. Some of them mentioned how this political influence makes the debate on recent tourism developments, and thereby the development of tourism policy, a very sensitive item within the civil service. About this sensitivity in tourism development an interviewee said: 'It's in the first place a political item.' Instead one should look at the phenomenon 'from a more economic and sociological perspective, and less with a political lens. Politics are always short term, people are afraid to lose votes. It's that simple.' The interviewee elaborated on this by saying that 'Everybody is afraid. Civil servants are also afraid. You shouldn't put that in my mouth, because I'll get trouble with that. But the fact that the political sensitivity in Amsterdam is so sensitive, that you can write down.' Thereby it was underlined once more that 'Politics predominate too often and let itself poorly feed by knowledge… of its own civil servants. The political sensitivity, the political urge is way too big.' Other interviewees recognised the same problem; 'the discussion is being politicised too much, that's what I actually think, the discussion is too political…' Tourism developments are also considered to be 'the political theme of the moment.' Thereby an interviewee mentioned the importance of 'being aware of your own position in the political landscape.' Eventually, one of the interviewees specifically mentioned the 'position' of the economics department of the municipality when discussing the outcome of the recent municipal elections – GreenLeft with most seats –; 'If you're within the economic department, then I think that it indeed as a sort of a bolt, like a bolt from the blue can come in.'

Furthermore, one interviewee particularly saw the contemporary political system as a neoliberal mechanism, having its reducing effects on the tourism debate. Moreover the interviewee suggested that the problem might've already been 'on the map' but thereby was obstructed by a neoliberal system; 'The problem is on the map already. But also because there's a sort, there's of course a sort very neoliberal economy emerged from in the city.' Thereby the interviewee mentioned that: 'The people at the left side of the spectrum, the players, the politicians and the city council, they are very much aware of the mechanism and want to decelerate the mechanism.' Despite that about tourism 'within the civil service there still will be a considerable percentage of people who say… we can handle it and it's still good for the city.'

4.5   The local administration

This sub chapter deals with a variety of opinions and insights that provide a deeper look into the 'operational characteristics' of civil servants and the local administration. Hence, it reveals whether or not the civil servants are as neutral as they said to be, during the interviews.

4.5.1   The claim for neutrality

Most of all interviewees claimed neutrality of the local administration. One interviewee for example referred to Weber's bureaucratic model to explain that civil servants are an operational service and that 'it's organised as a line down' (Weber, 2015). The interviewee talked about 'civil ants' [ambtelijke mieren] to express the practicability of civil servants and said that 'the civil service is often not able to set the agenda. They fill in the agenda.' Similarly the interviewee said that 'many civil servants don't have the position to make policy regulation, or to create a broadly supported idea. Because it's organised so hierarchical.' Another interviewee shares this view and uses 'techniques' as signalling to express the function of a civil servant;

> The only thing you can do as a civil servant is signalling and to present good decisions to your alderman. And to pick up signals from the society, and to correctly articulate these to your MT [management team] and to your alderman. …That's were your strength lies.

Similarly, there was (remarkable high) eagerness to show how the official program Stad in Balans was subordinate to the city, and neutral for politics. Thereby it was downgraded as a toolkit;

> We're actually just a tool, we are a tool to create a stronger city with all of us. Just like this there are much more tools. And if for whatever reason is decided that this tool is not necessary anymore… then it is like that. Eventually the city is the most important. Yes, for me it doesn't matter what kind of actions result from that.

By extension, but more specifically referring to the neutrality of political 'colours' within the local administration, an interviewee said:

> Of course, but that's right versus left, progressive versus conservative. Liberal versus social. ….But I'm a civil servant of the Amsterdam municipality and if a right city council comes, then we'll execute right things, it's that simple. But I think it's for politics to decide. They have to determine to go left or right. We as civil servants decide what are the steering elements.

A specific way of 'serving the city council' was mentioned by an interviewee that said: 'How do we put things in a good way on the table?' And 'as a civil servant it is, I think, a sport to be subservient to the city council, to just put it integral on the table.' Hereby the division between the local administration and politics was clarified once more.

> Look, if I can't agree with the city council, then it's up to me if I should become a civil servant or political active. Yes I have affinity with those subjects, but if you're not flexible as a civil servant, [or] can be in the political domain, yes then you're not on the right place.

The interviewee also shared thoughts about some policy decisions of the previous city council; 'With those hotels we want to turn left, and with the terminal then we actually also want to turn left but then it proves to be still a right turn with the scale-up.' Hence, the interviewee sees the displacement of the PTA as a left turn, but the scale-up of that terminal on a different place could still be seen as a right turn. According to the interviewee: 'that doesn't seem coherent and I think that we as civil service must take care of that we… put the choices integral on the table to prevent this decision are made based on too little information. To conclude with, the solely operational function of the local administration and its civil servants is once more mentioned by an interviewee, that thereby referred

to the 'stage' of the debate on Schiphol Airport. The debate goes about whether or not the local administration as a shareholder can intervene in the growth of the amount of flight.

> Yes guys, you can want that but that's not yours to say, that's national policy. …. So those are things you can shout about, but that's not yours to say. You can get on your high horse [je kunt een hele grote broek aantrekken] on stage, but the reality is that about a lot of things you don't have to say anything.

Opposing 'the claim for neutrality', some interviewees showed that the local administration is better seen as some sort of small scale 'democracy'.

One interviewee thereby referred to the technique of 'battling'; 'Amsterdam could win serious battles on the moment that they occur, and then you should be brave enough to win those.' AirBnb and sea and river cruise were hereby seen as 'battling opponents; '…Battles with AirBnb and the platforms you can win them, to keep a liveable city. Your battles, on the moment they occur, of which I think that the sea and river cruise is one you can really steer on. The reference to the possible replacement of the cruise terminal – the Passengenger Terminal Amsterdam (PTA) – away from the city, is thereby specifically used to demonstrate how 'these battles should be fought, hand in hand with politics';

> Grab it with both hands. Then you also need politics who dares to. That's a battle you can really perform within Amsterdam. But you know, this isn't a broadly supported official idea yet. ….If we think it's a good idea, it should be broadly supported. ….But I suspect this battle will become broadly supported. But you need politics for that. And until now politics didn't dare to, because they had other interests.

By using these battles, the interviewee emphasised even more on the importance of the interplay of the local administration with politics regarding tourism management;

> You know what's hard on this? You know, from politics you get a vague plan, fair, because nobody exactly knows what to do. And this requires a very long breathe. Where can you achieve possible effects? And then, the first thing is, then you have to win some battles. Then you must have the hope that the local administration and politics will keep on the same wavelength and to win that battle there. You also have to win some battles every year and make a difference in the city, otherwise you'll never make it of course.

Although it was not literally mentioned as being such, 'the lobby' as well could be considered as a different battling technique in tourism governance. Different interviewees mentioned that lobbying was used to 'market' ideas about tourism policy. These lobbying processes found place internal within the local administration but according to some of the interviewees also external factors had its effect on these lobbies. Thereby it was said that 'You always have to deal with different ideas within a local administration. That's a little bit of a democracy within your own service. You'll get sort of a lobby about the good ideas.' Within this lobby the interviewee also talks about the technique of 'sending'; 'with a small team getting tourism policy broadly supported. To make a framework [kapstok] from certain principles and qualities from where policy can get broadly filled.' Emphasising on the importance of lobbying and this process of 'sending', the interviewee furthermore said: 'Endless sending. Talking with the society. Discussing and putting it on the agenda. Yes. Lifting tourism and balance to a higher level.' The interviewee referred to this process as a 'change of discourse', and said that it should be carried out as follows: 'if you want to change such an apparatus, then you shouldn't say I have a good idea. No you must place the problem on the agenda, you have to show it, visualise it. And make them part of the solution.' To put this in another phrasing the interview said: 'The whole time planting seeds, only sending. And on a certain moment other pick it up and energy arises.'

Subsequently the interviewee said not to be able 'to say certain things as a civil servant', but to have another way to fix that. For this the interviewee uses external experts or local newspapers to 'make a lobby of it'. 'Sometimes you need the outside world to put things on the agenda… so that you, or that the good ideas, of which you think it are good ideas, get through.' Another interviewee acknowledged the internal lobbying structure, but nullified this 'natural line' when relating it to the 'big guys' in the tourism industry;

> Well, I think that those big guys, who work in tourism in the city, that they have their lobby to the town hall well organised. And that that lobby is much stronger than the natural line of policy to the town hall. I think that's more backdoor politics [ouwe jongens krentenbrood] or via the café.

Concludingly, these findings show how problem definitions, solutions and strategies, politics and the local administration, all are shaped by discourses which are co-constituted by different ideologies, and consist of discursive practices, which altogether create different social realities. This will be further analysed in the next chapter.

5 Conceptual analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of the results presented in the previous chapter. Hereby the results from the field study have been examined to come to a better understanding of the construction and workings of discourse, regarding tourism within the local administration of Amsterdam. The analysis has been conducted using the conceptual model that consists of the concepts: governmentality, discourse, narratives and ideologies. Hence, this is a theoretical reflection on these dynamic and highly contextual concepts, which when 'coming together', contribute to the construction and workings of tourism discourse.

5.1 Discourse in the local administration

The findings in the previous chapter demonstrate the presence of two dominant tourism discourses within the local administration; *economic discourse* (ED) and *social discourse* (SD). These findings, based on the fieldwork and desk research that has been conducted in the timeframe of this research, exposed how these two discourses were constructed by groups of statements, ideas, concepts, categories and forms of articulation.

5.1.1 Economic & social discourse

The ED especially advocates for the economic interests of tourism. The public opinion – heavily leaning towards curtailment and regulation of tourism – was easily set aside, and dismissed as 'whining'. This also emphasises on the lesser extent that social welfare was accounted for by this discourse. Furthermore an ever-present plead for economic growth was present within this discourse, that sometimes disguised economic growth as a force majeure which should be acted upon in accordance. To emphasise on the economic importance of tourism, employment opportunities, and even disastrous impacts as terrorist attacks and an economic crisis, were presented as arguments to legitimise these believes. Hence, the volume of tourism according to this discourse, could impossibly be controlled. Thus, this economic rationale plead for less, not too much or even against curtailment and regulation of tourism. This all might correspond with the way one of the interviewees tried to describe this assemblage as a mechanism that found its way 'through Amsterdam, the city as a money machine.'

The SD leans on a critical and conservative attitude towards tourism. This was demonstrated by the plead against – the mere focus on – the (economic) growth of tourism. Growth that this discourse saw as induced by human, and which could also be controlled by human intervention. And growth that can be seen as an attack on the values that Amsterdam stands for. Based on this 'law of nature', more regulation is justified and legitimised by this discourse. Hence, as, according to this discourse, the market is not going to regulate itself, it suggested that strong regulation should come from the local administration. It furthermore prefers a broader view on 'what is good for the city' over the constant search for economic vitality. And, next to that, the advocacy for a broader accommodation of tourism within the organisational structure of the local administration, showcased how this discourse transformed the phenomenon of tourism into social, rather than managerial or economic problems.

In line with Daly (1999) who said that 'everything depends, finally, upon wars of interpretation; everything depends upon discourse and the political possibilities of subversion by other discourses (p. 71)', also in Amsterdam the discursivity of the tourism phenomenon is being demonstrated by practices of discourse which take power over social actions. For example, similarly to the metaphoric reference Daly made to 'wars', within local administration the reference is being made to 'battles' which can realise a change of discourse. With arguments for and against further (economic) tourism development, the local administration is 'fighting its internal political battles' of public administration. These battles eventually have to result in a broadly supported idea or, in the best case scenario, a

policy or a vision including a transparent decision-making process for the future of tourism in Amsterdam.

5.1.2 Discourse & governmentality

The application of the Foucauldian concept of governmentality has helped to better understand the two discourses and their underlying power relations .

First, the rationale behind the ED, by preaching its economic interests, showcased the belief in a certain dependency on economic progress and economic growth. Not meeting these economic needs – to be filled in by tourism – could eventually, when crises or terrorist attacks happen, lead to serious economic consequences for the city of Amsterdam. By this way of normalising an economic self-discipline, it is demonstrated how discourse legitimised certain technologies of economic security. Although the strive – by the ED – for a free market might better be addressed as neoliberal, this process could very well be compared with what Wichum (2013) said about governmentality:

> …The logic of liberal governmentality as analyzed [sic] by Foucault, the security of the population is the constitutive counterpart to its freedom—although liberalism defines freedom not as much as an imperative than as "the management and organisation of the conditions in which one can be free'' (Wichum, 2013).

Hence, the ED aims to contribute to the economic security of the population as a part of its economic freedom. This specific form of governmentality could be analysed as a 'security dispositif'. This means that there is something that acts as the correlation of freedom within this economic rationality, and thereby 'encompass security as strategical effect of specific relations of power, knowledge, and subjectivity' (Wichum, 2013, p. 165). That 'something' as the correlation of freedom is in this case economic growth, which through economic security – e.g. economic growth of tourism – exercises its power over the social body.

Furthermore it could be argued that through tourism management and its civil servants – as subjects of –, this ED is in charge of the management and organisation of the conditions in which one can be free. Thus, through tourism in Amsterdam, this form of governmentality, instead of law and force, uses an economic rationality as a governmental instrument to transform tourism into economic and managerial problems. Hence, justification and legitimisation of tourism policy is presented in terms of new economic times. A transformation which ensures that the phenomenon is being transmitted from a political context, to a predominantly economic context.

Most of the processes described above, also count for the SD, as it made use of similar governmental technologies as the ED. To start with, for example, the advocacy for a focus on the social aspects of tourism, showcased a dependency on mere social progress. When for example exploiting tourism as capital accumulator, thus not admitting to this social rationale, the city of Amsterdam could face serious social consequences. Hence, measures and actions undertaken – as curtailment and regulation of tourism growth – can be seen here as the counterpart that securitises social freedom. The SD was functioning as a technology of social security. Hereby, in charge of the management and organisation of the conditions in which one can be free, the SD merely focused on the social rather than the economic consequences of tourism. Here tourism as a form of governmentality through SD, enhanced and maintained the exercise of socio-economic power over the social body.

Hence, all these processes demonstrate the correlation between freedom and security, as a process of governmentality in which tourism discourse takes part as an important mediator.

5.1.3 Narratives

Having examined the broader processes that involve discourse, now leads to having a deeper look at its discursive structures. Multiple narratives emerged, and enabled these discourses to endorse within local administration.

One of the narratives that co-constituted the ED, was 'the fence around Amsterdam'. This narrative as a discursive practice had an economic rationale. One of the debates that included this narrative, was the growth of Schiphol Airport, which is about to result in exceeding the maximum amount of flights of 500.000 a year. This was seen as taken for granted by this ED because: 'You can't built a fence around Amsterdam. You can't say to these chart flights that they're not allowed to come here anymore. We can't say to Lelystad, no you can't land there.' Within this narrative, the word anticipation was mentioned prominently. The narrative, next to the fence, went as far as to 'shoot every tourist', or to 'lock them all on Pampus' (a fortress island located near Amsterdam). However, the narrative transcended even this, when the plot went about to 'put a fence around the Haarlemmermeer to simulate Amsterdam and let them run around there' (Haarlemmermeer a nearby municipality in which Schiphol Airport is located). The narrative was also used to legitimise policy; 'The ideal future policy would be the spread. A lot must happen to make it work. And you can't just put a fence around Amsterdam.'

Another narrative that involved both discourse, was 'the volume button'. As a discursive practice this narrative was frequently used to articulate on the valuation of economic growth. For the same debate on Schiphol for example, the 'volume button' was used as an expression about the inhibition of tourism growth. The ED suggested that there wasn't a sufficient mandate possible within local administration to imply any changes on the increasing amount of flight; 'And that's where it's all about when you're talking about volume.' And further implied the local administration to be 'not capable to regulate the volume. ….So it's not that we can just turn very simple buttons to decrease the volume. What are really your buttons to turn the volume, that's very difficult.'

This analysis shows how these narratives are interlinked with other narratives, and are embedded in both ED and SD, which – through narratives – both present their own interpretation of social realities.

5.1.4 Metaphors

Embedded in discourse, these narratives were constructed by metaphors. Thereby they played an important role in the construction of policy realities.

Firstly, the fence as a metaphoric structure was expanded to the fortress island of Pampus, and the violent action of shooting tourists. Thus, the fence of Amsterdam engendered new metaphors. Following this nested metaphor the city of Amsterdam can be seen as a heavily protected fort with a big fence around it, and where outsiders – 'in Guantanamo bay style' – are being considered to get locked up on a fortress island and might even get shot when necessary, if it was to decide by the competing SD. This discourse thereby implies that tourists or tourism are being seen too much as hostile forces threatening the city. Hereby especially is referred to tourism management as being too regulative and legislative.

Furthermore there's the volume button which is also a nested metaphor. The volume button was used as a metaphor that hadn't been engendered yet like the fence with the fortress island and the shooting of tourists. Despite that, it can be considered to be an 'audio metaphor' as a means of control in the form of 'simple buttons', that enable policy makers to manage incoming tourist flows. In this nested metaphor it is hereby imagined that tourism can or cannot be regulated by these simple buttons on for example a radio. However, these weren't mentioned by the interviewees, but to shape the

metaphoric context, whilst turning up or down the volume, it might've also been possible that there's a pause button or a forwarding and rewinding button. The ED thereby implies that it's just hard to regulate incoming tourism, and the SD – by some 'simple buttons' –. The SD used the volume button to show that there are possibilities for governmental intervention, as in 'turning down the volume'.

Subsequently 'sticking plasters' was a nested metaphor that was used to show dissatisfaction with contemporary action and regulation towards tourism growth. The official program Stad in Balans thereby could not count on much support within the local administration. The nested metaphor 'sticking plasters' referred to its symptomatic approach, that avoided fundamental changes. Hence, here it can be suggested that 'the wound' is too big, to just stick plasters, and that the emphasis should be on 'cures' that have the ability to 'heal' the problems of tourism growth.

These recurring metaphors, that co-constituted narratives, show their power relation with tourism management within the local administration and how they have influence on social reality and future action.

5.1.5   Open concepts

Narratives, co-constituted by open concepts, served – knowingly or unknowingly – as a middle ground between the two different competing discourses within the local administration.

Firstly, 'the core values of Amsterdam' were very often referred to as if they were a singular set of values, well-known to at least every interviewee, and considerably – following the interviewees – to everybody familiar with Amsterdam. Whereas these 'core values of Amsterdam' constantly functioned as an open concept, this open concept itself was also constituted of many other open concepts. For example the core values of Amsterdam were seen as: liberal, freedom, open, accessible, inclusive, attractive, tolerant and open-minded. Hence, whilst it was noticeable that interviewees were talking about the same core values of Amsterdam, they were giving a 'fundamentally' different meaning to these core values. One interviewee said: 'We think we are still the city of freedom, but it is freedom within regulation. Everything is allowed but actually not in this part of the city anymore. ….I'm more for that freedom.' Furthermore an interviewee said: 'I mean as Amsterdam you should be a hospitable city and let people enjoy of what we have here.' About an increase of tourist tax these interviewees said: 'That's when you become an exclusive city, whilst you want to be an inclusive city.' Furthermore they wanted: 'That Amsterdam will stay an open and accessible city… for everybody'. And subsequently it was said that 'an open and tolerant city' is historically one of the most important core values of Amsterdam, which shouldn't be turned into a closed and intolerant city. Next to that other interviewees were also talking about all these core values of Amsterdam. One interviewee talked about the same traditional/historical openness of the city, which to be conserved requires regulation. Subsequently an interviewee said that 'To be open minded you know, that's also possible with a policy', and further asked: 'you do want to safeguard a certain quality with each other. Does that mean that now we're not open minded anymore?'

Analysing these both articulations within this open concept of core values in Amsterdam provides an insight in how different discourses 'apply' their worldview on this open concept. Firstly, this resulted in open concepts embedded in their own discursive narratives and creating new open concepts. Hereby it can be noticed that the one discourse here advocated for less regulation, and the other conversely for more regulation. Furthermore, most of all, all these interviewees were very critical and even negative. They were talking about a constant and substantial decrease of these core values, and one of the interviewees mentioned these times to be 'a crossroad'. Despite this tenseness:

One can keep the discussion going by hiding behind the open concept, by glossing over differences, avoiding hard confrontations and maybe the grinding halt of governance. This buys time and preserves social and political capital (van Assche et al., 2014, p. 50).

Despite the contradictions here, both the interpretations of the core values of Amsterdam coexist within the local administration of Amsterdam. In the workshop, no concrete principles were agreed on, but on a broader level there were some key concepts (open concepts) which brought these world views closer together. Hence, through this open concept – the core values of Amsterdam – and the open concepts it engendered, here it can be noticed, that whilst both in a different context these discourses still found their 'common ground'. For example, when the group was mixed up during the workshop for the group assignments, it could still be seen (see image 2 & 3) that these open concepts held up as a mediator between these different discourses. To conclude with it can be observed that these open concepts:

- could be linked with multiple discourses within different contexts;
- cracked open the local discursive structures;
- facilitated the reproduction of governance.

Hence, although competing discourses have 'their different worldview' on these open concepts, in their openness, they make it possible to allow the practical processes of tourism management to continue.

5.1.6   Ideologies

The findings of this research furthermore demonstrated how discourse related to – and functioned as – political ideology.

First, the ED co-constituted by a (neo)liberal ideology approached the phenomenon of tourism as a force majeure or even a supremacy. These arguments are used to preach for the deployment of less government intervention and individual political freedom. Subsequently liberal rights – as the access to public space – were adduced to legitimise capital accumulation in the form of tourism growth. Hence, through its subjects – in this case – civil servants, the neoliberal ideology further serves the neoliberal agenda dedicated to free market strategies. Eventually this can result in a commodified city as a 'theme park', and to the depoliticisation of governance. Within this ideology, governed by 'big capital', tourism shifts from a political towards a neoliberal agenda.

The SD showcased a complex interplay between a progressive and a conservative ideology. For example, the generally negative attitude towards tourism, and all the (suggested) actions and measures resulting from this, seem to imply a more moral conservative ideology. The subjects that co-constituted this ideology, felt that the contemporary 'tourism revolution' had gone too far and were concerned with the breakdown of traditional values and in law and order. However, by advocating for the importance of the social aspects of tourism and by considering 'less growth scenarios', at the other hand a progressive ideology was also present in this SD. These characteristics of a progressive ideology were also showcased by the SD, as it 'fought' for the city as a common good (not predestined to big capital), and for socio-economic equality through tourism.

Furthermore the findings demonstrate that different ideologies as 'an (unconscious) fantasy [are] structuring our social reality itself' (Zizek, 1989). Next to that, in this local context, the characteristics of a neoliberal, conservative and progressive could be 'recognised'. However, these 'ought not to be used as final categorisations, as essences or anchor points of analysis, but as contingent recombinations of discursive elements that acquired longevity… (van Assche et al., 2014, p. 88).

Other ideologies could also be considered as – less dominant – discursive infrastructures embedded in tourism discourse, which embed narratives, metaphors and open concepts themselves: individualism, collectivism, materialism, libertarianism, progressivism, liberalism, socialism, conservatism. Therefore they functioned here as 'a landmarks', and were not directly used to group individuals together as advocates of a certain ideology.

Having analysed these ideologies as discursive infrastructures here, shows their effects on, and coordination of power/knowledge relations. These findings support the way how Desmond (1999) described tourism as reshaping 'culture and nature to its own needs', and 'an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition (Desmond, 1999, p. 12)'.

6 Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to put the analysis, as presented in the previous chapter, in comparison with other related academic publications. The results of this study have shown that tourism is not 'just a political subject' in the urban governance arena. It indicates that tourism is being made a powerful force, and that tourism management is subjective to tourism governmentality and discourse. Two discourses emerged and pointed towards specific forms of tourism governmentality, in the way they preached for certain technologies of governance. Hence, this chapter concludes by stating the contributions made to academic literature, and making suggestions for further research in urban tourism governance.

6.1 Governmentality & discourse

This research examined discourse in a Foucauldian sense, as 'truth' being discursive rather than hegemonic. This exposed how these discourses acknowledge a certain governmentality of tourism.

First of all, the discursive practices question the neutrality claim of civil servants. As these battles, which are taking place in local administration in Amsterdam, make this governance arena – according to its civil servants – 'a democracy within your own service'. Many of the civil servants, by these sort of (metaphorical) statements, rejected their own claim of being neutral and 'just an executive party'. Also, several indications of the 'presence' of a top down approach and a strongly hierarchical organisation of the local administration – whereby also was referred to the Weberian model of bureaucracy – seem very hard to 'legitimise' when having a closer look at tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam (Weber, 2015).

By contrast it could be suggested that the local administration is being (mis)lead by subjective discursive practices. These discursive practices hereby develop 'a blueprint' of political reality. One of these practices that has a major contribution to this, is the metaphor. Similar to other publications, this research shows that certain metaphors for example 'have practical political consequences' and may include commitments where its users may or may not be aware of (Musolff, 2004). Before dealing with some examples, it is of importance to appoint Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who described metaphors as 'confirmed in the target domain by actions that 'suit the words' and thus give them a practical political coherence (Musolff, 2004, p. 32).' This acceptance however, is not very commonly achieved. Herein the findings of this thesis support Musolff who goes deeper and says that there is also room for non-acceptance of the entailment of the metaphoric mapping. For example, in this case of tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam, there was acceptance about the 'sticking plasters' program during the workshop. The entailment of the metaphoric mapping thereby referred to a program that could be seen as insufficient to tackle serious macro social economic issues. It was just 'sticking plasters', instead of perhaps what could be a cure to heal the wound. The main point here is that there was consensus about the entailment of the metaphoric mapping, the program being insufficient. As already pointed out, this acceptance is not a necessary precondition for metaphorical mapping. For example, 'the volume button' as a metaphorical mapping did reach consensus amongst civil servants. The entailment of the metaphor however, did not. For a group of civil servants the entailment of the metaphoric 'volume button', was by referring to its non-existence, impossibility and incapability. 'We are not capable to regulate the volume', for instance shows how a suggested entailment of the metaphor is being questioned and rejected. At the other hand another group of civil servants actually suggested the possibility of (volume) regulation; 'with tourism it goes about if you want to turn the volume button.'

Next to that, open concepts show that the entailments and conceptualisations of 'the core values which Amsterdam stands for', highly differ amongst civil servants. Whereas a widespread consensus, no concrete meaning could be given to these core values. Hence, these cores values in the 'absence of precise discursive articulation enable the coexistence of many different meanings' (van Assche et al., 2014), and thus 'operated' as an open concept. The contextual understanding of these core values as an open are subject to ever changing meaning given by different dominant discourses changing from time to time. However, the open concept itself – the core values of Amsterdam – apparently is immune for the test of time, recognisable by its usage for decades. Whilst they shortly name the vagueness of an open concept, Van Assche et al. (2014) foremost elaborate on these positive functions, as the importance of 'openness' which leaves room for paradoxical coexistence of fundamentally different meanings and 'buys time and preserves social and political capital (p. 50)'. The findings of this thesis support this view, as in the case of civil servants in Amsterdam the highly subjective entailment of the open concept – the core values of Amsterdam – enables it to serves as a middle ground which lets civil servants believe that they 'come close to each other'. The application of this open concept thereby can be seen as a positive aspect for tourism management. Despite this, based on the findings in the micro-political context of this research, it has to be considered if the more negative aspects – as vagueness – outweigh this positive functioning of the open concept. It could be questioned if in the contemporary forms of tourism growth there's any time left at all. It could be argued that the 'normally' positive function of serving as a middle ground to achieve or pretend consensus, within the local administration of Amsterdam also appears to be a barrier that in all its broadness overlooks the urgent matter that tourism in Amsterdam has become recently.

Approaching the middle ground of an open concept as a mediator or at the other hand more as a restricting factor, is here also a way to reveal that there are different ideologies at play, as the discursive practices that co-constitute tourism management. The point here is that for some of the civil servants there is no urgent matter at all and for others there's no more time to waste dealing with the constantly emerging forms of tourism growth in Amsterdam. Hence, within the local administration it could be noticed that there were fundamental ideological differences.

These metaphors, and open concepts once more expose the 'proneness' of civil servants, and thereby reject their 'neutrality claim'.

Subsequently, these thesis findings have shown that there is some sort of obviousness about the economic growth which tourism realises, firmly anchored in the local administration. This is reflected in the organisational structure of the local administration which places tourism and its two or three FTE's within the economic department, separated from the many other (social) departments – land and development, space and sustainability – that are also directly affected by tourism management. Hence, these other departments are not directly represented in tourism management on a daily basis. It might be an understatement to say that these departments focus much more on the social aspects related to tourism than the economic department. The phenomenon of 'urban drift', in Amsterdam is illustrating for a 'representative amount' of its civil servants, which under influence of these economic rationalities legitimise further tourism expansions. This 'normalised' rationality of (neo)liberal governing through time has led to a new economic governing paradigm. This neoliberal rationality thereby places itself in the position where it becomes a sort of a supremacy or a force majeure, which thereby legitimises certain choices of (not) governing the city, aiming for capital accumulation. This legitimisation rests on the systemic appeal of tourism as an external economic phenomenon. The findings of this thesis conversely show that this too can be considered as discourse and would therefore reject this 'insurmountable free market logic'. Next to that, if it were up to this economic rationality the 'outsourcing of government to capital' would further take shape in the micro-political

context of tourism management in the local administration in Amsterdam. Hence, through tourism management – as a governmentality – this ideology relies on the rationale of capital, and where government stays behind, capital takes over.

Another ideology that could be recognised as being 'represented' within the local administration is wat at first glance seems to be a more 'conservative' approach. Maintaining or even retrieving social and economic equality by 'shutting the door' for even more uncontrolled tourism growth. It can be seen here that the use of arguments could considered to be conservative at first, whilst next to that the advocacy for a strong government in the form of law and regulation could considered to be more progressive. Tribe (2006) said that ideologies are 'generally -isms or faith systems', as 'coherent subsets of beliefs'. More in line with van Dijk (2012) these thesis findings support the multiplicity of ideologies which here shows that they can even be combined together. Hence, here Theodore Roosevelt appears to be 'right', as he once said that he had 'always believed that wise progressivism and wise conservatism go hand in hand (Lurie, 2012, p. 196). Hence, within this ideology the plead for a more social economic system outweighs the aim for a capitalist economic system.

These thesis findings support the view of Desmond (1999) who argued that, as an ideological framing, tourism reshapes nature and culture. With these characteristics tourism might even be considered as an ideology itself.

Concludingly, these thesis findings suggest that 'the political sensitivity and political urge' rise the question for more autonomism as an expansion of democracy, and 'to escape' political structures. It can be seen that tourism discourse found its stage mostly in politics in and around the local administration. A move away from this political stage could thereby be suggested. As such, these thesis findings have provided a deeper understanding of the micro-political context of discourse, and thereby helped gaining new insides in the rational as well as the empirical grounded governance strategies in tourism management in Amsterdam.

6.2   Academic contribution

To start with, these thesis findings, as a liaison, can be seen as an example of the interplay between both a critical Marxist and a post-structural view on tourism ideologies, in going beyond the dichotomous and unilateral application of political economy or post-structuralism.

First, a key question that Tribe (2006) asks is 'whether tourism… falls under the hegemonic influences of the ideology of Western capitalism and consumerism (p. 12).' The findings of this thesis have demonstrated that there is no such something as a singular ideology of Western capitalism and consumerism. Hence, rather than hegemonic, there are contextual ideologies that co-constitute tourism in their own micro-political context. Thereby these findings are in line with academic literature (Laclau, 1990; Daly, 1999) that focuses on the logics and contextual construction of ideologies. Hence, it can be said from these findings that there is no such thing as an economy separated from ideology, but it exists within a local contextual co-construction of discourse and ideology.

In line with the post-structural in the first place the focus lays on discourse. It is likely to suggest that for some people any historic materialism might appeal too much against a focus on discourse. However, analysing power/knowledge as hegemonic concomitantly could be recognised as a process of slow discursive circulation. In this sense this research thus enables materiality and discourse to become integral. Thus, this interpretive policy analysis in the form of a Foucauldian discourse analysis, has helped creating a better understanding of the processes, regimes of practice and discursive constructions, that generate policy outcomes in the micro-political, socially constructed field of urban tourism governance. By exposing competing discursive constructions within tourism management in

Amsterdam, this discourse analysis shows how technologies of governance are being problematised and/or legitimised by dominant discourses. This thesis has thereby charted the emergence of tourism as a policy priority through identifying discursive languages, texts and ideas which compete in 'the governance of tourism'. Thereby the effects on tourism management in a local urban tourism governance arena become 'visible'. Whilst discourse analysis will never be able to tell the 'whole story', it does allow to investigate the power/knowledge relations at the very heart of (tourism) tourism management in Amsterdam. The reconceptualisation of materialism to a local and micro-political context – which cannot be found on a deterministic macro-political level – here helps to come to a better understanding of local, fragmented social realities. Hence, this still exposes (hegemonic) economic and materialistic rationalities but in a deeper contextual understanding of discursive practices.

Subsequently these thesis findings contributed to the social construction of urban tourism governance and its (underlying) power relations. These thesis findings could pave the way to more effective tourism management in the nearby future. Or, in other words:

> The best way to prepare for future challenges for tourism… is through opening up the links and knots of tourism discourses, …that may spur debates and mediations among diverse actors on planning and future development… (Jóhanneson & Huijbens, 2010, p. 432).

To conclude with, considering the contemporary political sensitivity of the phenomenon of tourism growth, providing an insight in the micro-political context of the local administration in Amsterdam, on itself could be seen as an almost unparalleled achievement.

7 Conclusion

This thesis started with a short history of tourism development in Amsterdam. This showed that the local administration, for at least the last fifteen years, saw tourism as a catalyst for economic growth in Amsterdam. However, since only recently, there's also attention for the downsides of tourism. The public debate thereby problematised topics as liveability, accessibility, quality and economic equality, which are seen as   being heavily affected by tourism growth. Critics went that far saying that Amsterdam will become a theme park if government intervention is held back. Hence, there were different perspectives on the phenomenon of tourism development/growth in Amsterdam. These recent developments, and the fact that this research was conducted during the municipal elections, suggested an increase of (political) pressure on civil servants in the local administration. This focus carefully led to the question how different discourses affect tourism management within the local administration of Amsterdam. From academic literature it could be seen that a deeper contextual, micro-political focus on the construction of tourism discourse by the local administration and its civil servants, still lacked. To delineate the scope of this research, this eventually led to three research questions. These questions were analysed by applying a Foucauldian discourse analysis – 'under the supervision of' a critical theoretical approach. This chapter concludes by answering the three research questions.

1.   *Which discourses are produced by the local administration of Amsterdam?*

By approaching tourism governance in all its contextuality and plurality, an attempt has been made to expose some of the discourses that emerged from tourism management in the local administration of Amsterdam. There were two dominant discourses to be found; the economic discourse (ED) and a social discourse (SD).

To start with, the ED appeared to be a dominant discourse that emerged in tourism management in the local administration. The discourse emerged as an ordering attempt that favours the principles of economic progress over other interests. Through civil servants, as subjects of discourse, it disseminates and simultaneously glorifies strategic forms of 'pro-capitalistic' tourism governance. Hence, co-constituted by a neoliberal ideology, the phenomenon of tourism is being drawn into this ED. Thereby this ED set aside the public opinion – that addresses the problematic forms of tourism – to eventually still give tourism the central role in a free market economy. This is manifest in how this ED held tourism 'responsible for' e.g. the (economic) development of the city of Amsterdam, its peripheral regions, job security, and the prevention of economic threats as terrorism and trade wars. Hence, the ED steered towards a neoliberal governmentality of tourism that constitutes less government intervention, more individual political freedom and a free market economy, that sees no alternative for the city of Amsterdam, then pursuing revenue-generating tourism.

Through a different group of civil servants, as subjects of discourse, 'the other' discourse that emerged, dispersed tourism towards a social rather than an economic context. The SD emphasised on a breakdown of 'the traditional values' that belong to the city of Amsterdam. These core values which should be preserved, exposed a preventive lens towards tourism development and thus a co-constitution of SD and conservative ideology. However, simultaneously the SD mainly prioritised the government's role in tourism management. Thereby it framed tourism towards more and strict socio-economic regulation, at the expense of tourism growth. This was evident as the discourse emphasised on the contemporary problematic forms of tourism growth, addressed its associated forms of social exclusion and stressed on the absence of fundamental change. This exposed a co-constitution of SD and progressive ideology. Hence, the SD could be seen as an interplay between – mainly – progressive

and conservative ideology, that steer towards a social governmentality of tourism. Thereby it applies for preservation and fundamental change, in favour of collective socio-economic welfare, and traditional values of the city.

This shows how from this research, two discourses emerged within tourism governance in the local administration of Amsterdam.

2. How are these discourses constructed, and how do they thereby relate to each other?

To gain a deeper inside of the way the discourses were produced, this research focused on the narratives, metaphors and open concepts that constituted them.

The ED, thoroughly – at times radically – used metaphors to narratively construct social reality. Thereby government intervention was metaphorically referred to as 'a fence around the city', that obstructs further economic growth of tourism. Furthermore, to show its impossibility, government intervention was referred to by metaphors as the 'shooting' and 'imprisoning' of tourists. Hence, these metaphors, that framed the economic growth of tourism as a force majeure, together co-constructed 'the' ED. Thereby it could be seen that the ED – co-constituted by a neoliberal ideology – used these metaphors to reinforce legitimisation and argumentation which favours a free market economy.

The SD at the other hand, used metaphors as 'the volume button' to argue for the availability of governmental interventions. 'Turning down the volume', here implies that macro-economic governmental intervention can regulate the (economic) growth of tourism. Hence, co-constituted by conservative, and foremost a progressive ideology, the SD – through these metaphors – substantiated a social agenda that favours government intervention and curtailment of the economic growth of tourism.

What furthermore could be noticed is that both the ED and the SD, were constructed with a critical look towards each other. This was manifest by both having in common 'the process' of dismantling or subverting one another. For example, the ED 'took over' the 'volume button' – as a metaphoric reference to governmental intervention –, to criticise it, to show its impossibility and to argue for less governmental intervention in favour of the free market and economic growth by tourism. Hence, rather than engagement and dialogue, these processes involved the dichotomous opposition of the ED and the SD, which were present in the local administration of Amsterdam.

In this dichotomous opposition, a little bit of 'compensation' was given by the 'core values of Amsterdam'. This open concept, reached some sort of consensus between the ED and the SD, because both discourses aimed for the preservation of these 'core values'. However, taking a closer look at these core values, shows that 'the meaning' given to them was fundamentally different in each discourse. The ED argued that governmental intervention stands for a decrease of these core values. The SD argued that economic growth of tourism stands for a decrease of these core values. Hence, whilst serving as a middle ground, this open concept stimulates consensus. At the other hand this consensus stays superficial and could possibly obstruct further 'ground-breaking' governmental developments supported by both the ED and SD

These narratives, metaphors and open concepts, show how the ED and SD are constructed, and how they relate to each other within this tourism governance arena.

3. *How do these discourses affect tourism management in the local administration of Amsterdam?*

Emerging from the local administration of Amsterdam, both the ED and the SD affect tourism management, in the sense that they plead for a certain governmentality of tourism which could eventually lead to particular reality performances.

The previous questions, as answered above, have demonstrated how certain discourses – through civil servants – 'preached' for particular ways of understanding; e.g. the city of Amsterdam, tourism and the world. The ED for example, plead for as little as possible governmental intervention and more individual and economic freedom. Thereby this research has also shown that the local administration functioned more as a 'democracy' rather than as a bureaucracy, and thereby rejected the 'neutrality claim' of civil servants. Hence, the point here is that it can be suggested that these civil servants – as subjects of the ED – eventually in their work translate their ways of understanding into tourism policy. Hence, this then demonstrates how discourse can govern the conduct of civil servants. In the same way the SD can govern the conduct of civil servants, who will eventually implement their more social understandings into tourism policies. An example of this process, that might apply for both discourses, are the current measures undertaken by the local administration, that have to limit tourist flows on the Red Light District. These measures show how the SD can possibly be translated into tourism policy by civil servants (conduct of civil servants). That same tourism policy can eventually restrict tourists in their visit to the Red Light District (conduct of tourists). This describes two possible forms of tourism as a governmentality; the ED and SD that govern the conduct of civil servants; the ED and SD that – through civil servants – govern the conduct of tourists. Hence, this shows how discourse can contribute to the realisation of self-discipline of – in this case – civil servants and tourists.

Looking for another straightforward and practical example, led to a further evaluation of the open concept: 'the core values of Amsterdam'. Whilst fundamentally opposed, this open concept as a structure of discourse initiated both discourses to reach some sort of agreement. This means that most civil servants agreed on what would be the core values of Amsterdam. However 'meaningful' and simultaneously 'meaningless' it might be, and if they were aware or unaware, this open concept brought uniformity and consensus amongst civil servants. This could be noticed from analysing the interview data, but the debate on these core values of Amsterdam – as 'a ceasefire agreement' – also made a tumultuous tourism workshop turn into a more streamlined meeting. Hence, through this open concept as discursive structure, tourism management was steered towards consensus and agreement. However, the remark to be made here, is that such a superficial agreement on these core values, blocks the path to further engagement and dialogue. Thus, the point here is that through ED and SD who used the open concept – 'the core values of Amsterdam' – as a middle ground to literally reach agreement e.g. during a meeting, this again shows how discourse co-constituted by its discursive structures, has the ability to govern the conduct of civil servants.

7.1 Further research

Tourism requires an analysis that extends beyond singular notions of government and institutions, and needs to incorporate new forms of governance. This research has shown that discourse does not simply describe the world, but it also governs conduct (governmentality) which can lead to social action. The latter is better known as performativity; the power of discursive structures as performances that effect change in the – local and contextual – world. A deeper analysis of the performativity of both the ED and SD, would lead to a better understanding of how these discourses as 'a style of operating… can be analysed as a practice of knowledge production (Hajer, 2006, p. 50).

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