



ONLY QUALITY TOURISTS

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION
OF THE TOURIST AS A
DIFFERENTIATED SUBJECT
THROUGH MEDIA AND POLICY,
THE CASE OF GIETHOORN

MSc thesis by Petra Buitenhuis

Only quality tourists

The discursive construction of the tourist as a differentiated subject through media and policy, the case of Giethoorn

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Abstract

In light of the growing negative effects of tourism, as experienced by local inhabitants, different tourist destinations have expressed the aim of focussing on a specific type of tourist, being the “quality tourist”. The categorization of tourists has frequently been addressed in academic research, but it has generally been ignored that such categories can be seen as discursive constructs. Instead, literature on the topic of tourist segmentation approaches this as an objective phenomenon, assuming that distinct categories of tourists simply exist out there. This study aims to investigate this gap in the literature by researching the way in which tourists come into being as differentiated subjects, through an analysis of the discourses in both media and policy, using the Dutch village Giethoorn as a case study.

In addition to the design as a qualitative case study, discourse analysis has been adopted as a research method. Therefore, a variance of textual documents has been analysed. More specifically, the study’s corpus of statements consisted of 108 documents in total, being 78 newspaper articles, 11 vision documents, 17 documents from the municipal council meetings and 2 interview transcripts.

This study’s findings identified different perspectives in media and policy and, as a result, discourses between 1990 and 2021. During the first years, inhabitants saw tourists as “strangers”, because tourism was a relatively new phenomenon for Giethoorn, who were very welcome as tourism was mainly seen as an essential source of economy for the local economy because the agricultural sector could not fulfil this role anymore. Hence, the identified discourse is “the ‘strangers’ as an alternative source of income” and the tourist was then constructed as an economic subject. From 2000, tourism was mostly associated with the generation of employment opportunities for the region. However, inhabitants were also, to a certain extent, aware of the potential negative effects of tourism, but this perspective did not dominate in formal policy. The dominant formal discourse in this period, “tourists as the drivers of employment opportunities”, also relates to the formation of the tourist as an economic subject. From 2016, inhabitant’s frustrations resulting from the negative experienced effects of tourism, especially due to the behaviour of international tourists, were emphasised in the media. In contradiction to this, entrepreneurs indicated that they are highly dependent on international tourists to generate income during the winter. The municipality started to interfere regarding these opposing interests and, in formal policy, the “quality tourist” arose as a target group for the village. Hence, the dominant discourse during the last period is “finding a balance by focussing on ‘quality tourists’ “. In these years, the tourist was not only constructed as an economic subject but also as a subject that is associated with nuisances, that is impactful for the region and a subject that has to be managed.

This study, furthermore, provided insights into the consequences of different subject formations of tourists. Firstly, the construction of the “quality tourist” as a desired subject is associated with the construction of other groups of tourists as undesired subjects. Also, through discourse and subject formation, the interests of certain (groups of) people are backgrounded. Finally, different subject formations can legitimize certain measures, which is associated with the risk of excluding groups of people that are not considered to be “quality tourists”. Thus, the adopted Foucauldian perspective with a focus on the systems of ideas that constitute identities has highlighted how different subjectivities of the tourists come into being and explored the associated risks and consequences.

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1. Introduction

“Soon, inner cities will only have quality owners of quality houses, quality children and quality visitors. In the streets, they tell each other their quality opinion.” (Weijts, 2021, column for *NRC*)

For years, the motto of the tourism industry has been to keep attracting more tourists as this is considered a profit model for tourist destinations (Raza et al., 2021). The tourism sector in the Netherlands grew significantly from an added value of 17.3 billion euros in 2010 to 24.8 billion euros in 2016, which is an increase of more than 30 percent over 6 years (CBS, 2017). On a national level, the importance of incoming tourism for the Dutch economy is underlined by its contribution to employment, income and facilities (NBTC, 2014). On a local level, tourist destinations have been looking to benefit of this growth, as expressed in different media. One can read in the national newspaper *AD* that “Delft aims for substantial growth of number of tourists” (van der Velden, 2016), and on the webpage of Rotterdam’s official destination marketing organisation that “the economic impact of tourism is of great value for Rotterdam, so the increasing popularity of the city is good news” (Rotterdam Partners, 2019). For the city Maastricht, a 10 percent growth of the number of overnight stays in hotels in the first quarter of 2018 was considered “extra good news” because this quarter normally has the lowest numbers (Philippens, 2018).

However, this growth is not only seen as positive for tourist destinations. Negative side-effects for residents became more evident in recent years and the neologism *tourismophobia* was coined in relation to observed anti-tourism attitudes. This phenomenon was first mentioned in an investigation of the effects of mismanaged tourism on Barcelona and symbolises the inhabitants’ refusal of the “Other”. In this specific case, the reason for this refusal is that “the Barcelonans are exhausted and refuse to become the Mickeys of a thematic city” (Romagnoli, 2021, p. 234). In Barcelona, the excessive tourism pressure even led to anti-tourism attitudes in the form of a protest movement of local inhabitants with the hashtag #touristgohome (Goldstein, 2017). Complaints about excessive pressure resulting from the number of tourists arose not only in Barcelona, but also in different cities across Europe, including those located in the Netherlands (Hospers, 2019). In response, destinations have been searching for a way to balance the costs and benefits of tourism. Namely, in the Netherlands it has not yet come so far that citizens organized protest movements, but media indicate that in some destinations, citizens are tired of the tourists. For example, in the Dutch capital city of Amsterdam, overtourism has been an issue that is commonly addressed by inhabitants for years (Hootsmans & Berndsen, 2017; NPO3, 2021). During the COVID-19 crisis, some inhabitants expressed that they were happy to have the city to themselves whereas local entrepreneurs could not wait for the tourists to come back because of the associated loss of income (WNL, 2021). With the search to balance these costs and benefits of tourism, different destination marketing organisations in the Netherlands made a shift towards the so called “quality tourist” and away from the “mass tourist”. To give a few examples, newspapers write “Tourism grows fast in The Hague, municipality aims for quality tourism” (NRIT, 2019), “West Betuwe wants quality tourism” (Wijnacker, 2020) and “Amsterdam is [...] a city for quality tourists” (van Tellingén & Broer, 2018). This “quality tourist” is said to be a better tourist as they have a higher interest in culture, are willing to spend more money, have a refined taste, and stay at a destination for more than 1 day (Pliester, 2020; van Tellingén, 2019; van Tellingén & Broer, 2018).

Opposing the “quality tourist” to the “mass tourist” implies that there is a certain type of tourist which is beneficial for tourist destinations in finding a balance between the costs and benefits of tourism. This is due to certain characteristics that are ascribed to this specific tourist, i.e. an interest in culture, high willingness to spend money, having a refined taste and staying at a destination for more than one day. According to Mordue (2005), this is problematic as it can lead to the social exclusion of certain groups. Namely, through a tourist destination’s focus on a specific type of tourist, all tourists that do not fit this image become less desired visitors. For example, in the historic core of York, the definition of what is the most valued social group to use the space comes into being through a power play that involves tourists, locals and brokers. As a result, groups of tourists that do not fit this definition were subject to tactics of social exclusion and struggled with social access and ownership of the historic core (Mordue, 2005). Considering the relevance of the potential effects associated with the categorization of tourists, this thesis will explore how different categories of tourists, such as the “quality tourist”, are called into being and what the consequences of such categorisations are.

1.1 Problem description

It has become clear that it is not only the number of tourists that is being addressed by destination marketing organisations, but that it is also being implied that certain tourists are better for (the future of) tourist destinations than others. Thus, a distinction between different types of tourists is being made. In the marketplace, applying such classifications for strategic purposes is termed tourist market segmentation or, in short, tourist segmentation (Dolnicar, 2007). Previous research on this topic has evaluated different segmentation techniques (Bloom, 2004; Bogunovic, 2005; D’Urso et al., 2021) and established characterisations of tourist segments at varying destinations, such as Popayán (Colombia) (González Santa Cruz et al., 2020), Córdoba (Spain) (Jiménez-Beltrán et al., 2019), Istanbul (Turkey) (Egresi, 2017) and Bornholm (Denmark) (Johns & Gyimothy, 2002). What these studies have in common is that the differentiation between segments of tourists is seen as something objective. In other words, it is taken for granted that different groups of tourists exist out there and that this categorisation can be done objectively. Herewith, it is being ignored that these segments of tourists are created through different discourses, or that such categories are discursive constructs. Thus, the element of subjectivity is overlooked. Namely, tourists come into being as differentiated subjects through certain values and perceptions, which makes it not neutral per definition. These perceptions and values are influenced by related discourses, but this is under researched in previous academic work. Hence, Vainikka (2015) called for more academic research paying attention to the categorization of tourists as a discursive practice. Mordue (2005), however, did focus on discourses to investigate the categorization of tourists. Using ethnographic methods, this study concluded that through action and discourse, certain social groups are being encouraged to consume York centre, whereas others are subject to tactics of social exclusion. This thesis connects to this underrepresented field of study in tourism.

As locals are also involved in the interplay that leads to the categorization of tourists, the aim of this thesis also relates to the under researched topic of anti-tourism attitudes among residents by exploring the way in which tourists come into being as differentiated subjects. Given that local inhabitants are implicitly a part of the tourism product, there are many tourism destinations across the globe that experience issues with regards to the relationship between visitors and residents (Kim & Kang, 2020; Kuščer & Mihalič, 2019; Nunkoo et al., 2020; Schofield, 2011). The presence of anti-tourism attitudes

indicates the importance of understanding the social impacts of tourism on communities. Taking into consideration that such attitudes are expected to grow with the growth of the tourism industry, Kim and Kang (2020) suggested that the topic should be addressed more in both theoretical and empirical studies.

In short, this research will address the identified gap in the academic knowledge by means of an investigation of the different discourses, produced in media and policy, that construct tourists as differentiated subjects. Also, the (potential) consequences of these subject formations will be investigated.

1.2 A case study of Giethoorn

The case of Giethoorn has deliberately been chosen to analyse how tourists come into being as differentiated subjects. It is a small, Dutch village in the province of Overijssel, which is also described as a.o. the Dutch Venice, (small) Venice of the north and the idyllic water pearl. At this point, the term overtourism has often been used in relation to Giethoorn. Complaints from local inhabitants have become more common and some indicate that they would rather see the tourists go than come. Newspapers state that the high number of tourists leads to nuisances for the local inhabitants, “the cycle paths cannot be used anymore because of the number of tourists walking on them. And the canals can barely process all of the boats” (Hermanides, 2019) and “ [...], the canal as an attraction, full of bumper boats” (Willems, 2018). However, it is not only the number of tourists but also their specific behaviour that leads to frustration among the inhabitants of Giethoorn, as expressed in the following: “Tourists literally in your backyard, lenses in front of your window and diapers filled with poop in your mailbox” (BNN Vara, 2019), “They think they are walking around in a theme park. They ask when it closes and think that you are part of it as an inhabitant” and “They just sat in my garden for a picnic” (Peppels, 2019). Either implicitly or in the following two cases explicitly, some of the inhabitants specifically address Asian or Chinese tourists in their complaints. For Nick Altena it feels like an open-air museum: “As an inhabitant, I certainly experience it that way, especially with Asian tourists. They take pictures through your house. They just put their lens on your window” (NOS, 2018) and “The Chinese think that they are in a museum, with the inhabitants as staff” (Boonstra, 2018). Such claims reveal the attitude of Giethoorn’s residents towards tourism and indicate a sense of tourismophobia.

Addressing a.o. this issue, the *Future vision Giethoorn* was developed. In July 2020, amidst the COVID-19 crisis, the document was signed by different stakeholders. In light of the current COVID-19 crisis, which has shown how vulnerable the sector is, the formulated vision for Giethoorn suggests a focus on a different type of tourists, namely the “culture tourists” from Germany and Belgium (Gemeente Steenwijkerland, 2020). Also, it was indicated in the Dutch newspaper *NRC* that “during the pandemic, Giethoorn is thinking about more quality tourism” (Tuenter, 2020).

The case of Giethoorn illustrates that a distinction is being made between different tourists. Namely, the recently published vision expressed the aim to target a different type of tourists, being “culture tourists” from Germany and Belgium, which would be better for the future of the so-called Venice of the Netherlands. What makes the village Giethoorn an even more interesting case for this study is that there are not only anti-tourism attitudes in general, but also towards specific groups which is reflected in different media outlets. There is thus an indication that there is an exclusionary element as certain

tourists are presented as better for the destination than others. This is the case in the policy document that guides the vision for Giethoorn as well as in the media. It is exactly this aspect that this study aims to shed light on, which legitimizes Giethoorn as a suitable case for this study.

1.3 Research questions

The problem as described in the previous sections, leads to the following central research question: *How are, through discourses in media and policy, tourists constructed as differentiated subjects in Giethoorn and what are the consequences?*

To be able to answer this question, the following sub-research questions have been identified:

1. Which relevant discourses can be identified in media and policy and how have they changed over time?
2. How does the tourist come into being as a differentiated subject through these discourses?
3. What are the (potential) consequences of these subject formations?

1.4 Structure

In this first chapter of this thesis, the context and problem statement have been described, which lead to the formulation of the research questions. Hereafter, chapter 2 will position this study in relevant literature through an investigation of the concepts overtourism, tourismophobia, tourist segmentation and tourist stereotypes. The theoretical framework is presented in chapter 3. Starting from a post-structuralist paradigm, the theoretical framework relates to discourse, performativity and subject formation. These concepts are then combined in the conceptual model. Chapter 4 presents the methodological underpinning of this study. It addresses the research design, research method, data collection, data analysis as well as the validity and reliability. The findings of this study are presented in chapter 5. Three different periods have been identified, which are associated with different discourses and the tourist is then also produced as a subject in distinct ways in these periods. This chapter, finally, discusses the consequences of different subject formations. In the discussion, which is presented in chapter 6, the theoretical contribution of this study is evaluated by situating the findings in relevant literature and previous studies. The study's limitations are also addressed in this chapter. Lastly, the conclusions, which provide an answer to the formulated research questions, and recommendations are presented in chapter 7.

2. Literature review

This study has the objective of investigating how the tourist comes into being as a differentiated subject and what the consequences are, in the context of a tourist destination where, as reported in the media, inhabitants are frustrated with tourism. Hence, the concepts that will be reviewed in this chapter relate to the experienced effects of overtourism and the categorization of tourists. First, it will provide an overview of the literature on overtourism and the effects on residents. Anti-tourism attitudes are introduced as a negative effect of overtourism and as a neoliberal reactionary discourse to tourism gentrification, along with the term tourismophobia. Hereafter, the construction of tourist typologies through tourist segmentation will be investigated, which is followed by a review of the topic of tourist stereotypes. The final section of this chapter provides a conclusion of the reviewed literature

and situates the study in this literature. In the discussion chapter, there will be related to this body of literature to justify the theoretical contribution of this study.

2.1 Overtourism

Overtourism is a frequently covered concept in the scientific world. Even though the term as such is relatively new, the concept is older and has been under discussion for more than 60 years (Perkumienė & Pranskūnienė, 2019). In the 1960s, the negative consequences of tourism were already discussed, but without mention of the term overtourism (Forster, 1964). Moving forward, the carrying capacity concept entered the discussion, to limit crowding (Wagar, 1964). However, this concept was later criticized because of its sole focus on visitor numbers as it herewith omits other factors that determine the recreational possibilities of tourism destinations (McCool & Lime, 2001). As early as 1997, (Lindberg et al., 1997) already argued that the carrying capacity concept is not adequate considering the complexity of problems in tourism. There are mainly three limitations to this concept, which are (1) the lack of specificity, (2) it is perceived as an objective, transferable concept even though it is inherently subjective and (3) the focus on numbers leads to a confusion between inputs and outputs as management objectives typically relate to conditions and not to visitor numbers. Indeed, timing, location, type of use and visitor behaviour are found to be at least as important as the number of visitors that is received by a tourist destination (Butler, 1996; Pásková et al., 2021). Herewith, the importance of going beyond tourist numbers is being underlined.

Whereas the carrying capacity perspective assigns a significant role to stakeholders in governance and policy, there has been a shift towards the responsibility of actors in the tourism industry as well as the agency of individual tourists in later years. This also indicates the moment when the debate regarding overtourism started to develop outside of the academic field (Koens et al., 2018). In the early 2000s, it was coined to describe tourism impacts on natural resources (An et al., 2021) but the social and cultural aspect is often omitted in such studies as these resources are invisible. However, if the goal is to improve the quality of life of local residents, this should be incorporated (Kim & Kang, 2020). From 2017 onwards, the significance of overtourism as a concept grew as reference to the phenomenon rapidly increased (Capocchi et al., 2019). Many definitions of the term overtourism have been provided since. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2018) defined overtourism as “the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way” (p. 4). Among others, Hall (2019) criticized the neoliberal discourse that is promoted by the UNWTO because complex issues such as overtourism are simplified into policy problems that should be addressed by management solutions and individual agency (Phi, 2020). What the UNWTO definition has in common with others (e.g. Perkumienė & Pranskūnienė, 2019; Séraphin et al., 2020) is the differentiation between citizens and visitors, which can both be negatively affected by overtourism. Considering the aim of this research, the negative impacts of overtourism as perceived by citizens are of relevance, rather than the impacts of overtourism on the tourists themselves. These social impacts on residents include increasing prices of services and housing, gentrification of certain districts, constant noise leading to stress, and a change in attitude towards tourists as a result of overcrowding (Antoci et al., 2021; Szromek et al., 2020).

2.2 Tourismophobia: a reactionary discourse

Tourismophobia and anti-tourism attitudes are considered effects of overtourism, making it relevant topics to be reviewed for this study. In this debate, the terms tourism gentrification and tourismophobia are prevalent. These two opposing discourses will be investigated in the following sections.

2.2.1 Tourism gentrification

Gentrification was coined in 1964 when a sociologist identified an influx of the upper-class at the cost of the lower- and middle-class, which later resulted in the physical transformation of the area. Often, this goes together with an influx of more tourists (Ana Cruz et al., 2019). The neologism touristification describes the effects of the overcrowding of tourists in specific areas (Barrado-Timón & Hidalgo-Giralt, 2019). As the phenomena of gentrification and touristification often go together, this has been termed tourism gentrification. Indeed, Liang and Bao (2015) stated that tourism gentrification is the result of gentrification in combination with the immense growth of the tourism industry. Likewise, Simas et al. (2021) evidenced that Poblenou, a district in Barcelona, went through processes of gentrification as well as touristification, i.e. tourism gentrification. In the case of New Orleans' French Quarter, Gotham (2005) found that the growth of the tourism sector combined with the increasing flows of capital into the upper segment of real-estate market, further increased the commercialisation of residential spaces, herewith encouraging gentrification. Thus, these processes reinforce each other. However, there can be clearly distinguished between the effects of these two different processes. In gentrification, traditional inhabitants are replaced with wealthier ones whereas in the process of touristification, the traditional residents are swapped for tourists (Barrado-Timón & Hidalgo-Giralt, 2019). Consequences of tourism gentrification are diverse and include the loss of local population in favour of tourists or upper-class population, increased value of properties, loss of the neighbourhood's identity or character, attraction of national retail chains, boosted restoration and construction works and increased property ownership with transnational corporate influence at the cost of small groups and individuals (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Ana Cruz et al., 2019; Gotham, 2005; Katarzyna, 2018).

In line with Marxian political economy, Luís (2017) puts the phenomena tourism gentrification in a context of neoliberalism and urban marketing by concluding that the financialization of built environment and the real estate sector are at the root of tourism gentrification. Namely, there is competition between destinations for foreign investments. In this frame of globalization and neoliberalism, the local government of Lisbon aims to make the city more competitive as a destination through the attraction of foreign investments, visitors and tourists. Gotham (2005) also indicated that it is necessary for cities and places to market themselves as tourist destinations in order to attract investments. He concluded that the interest of powerful capitalists is mainly to maximise profits from the built environment. They offer certain alternatives and, herewith, determine consumers' taste for gentrified spaces. Gralak (2018) discussed tourism gentrification as a symptom of unsustainable tourism development in the context of the city of Barcelona with similar outcomes. Namely, it was found that legal regulations enabling the generation of benefits for residents were lacking, which disabled the functioning of sharing economy entities and increased property prices and rental costs. Thus, in gentrified spaces, a powerful role is assigned to corporate capital. In this sense, tourism gentrification is considered to be " [...] largely driven by mega-sized financial firms and entertainment corporations who have formed new institutional connections with traditional city boosters to market cities and their neighbourhoods" (Gotham, 2005, p. 115).

2.2.2 Anti-tourism attitudes and tourismophobia

In a study on tourismophobia and touristification, Simas et al. (2021) concluded that tourismophobia, as covered by the Spanish media, can be seen as a neoliberal reaction of those interested in tourism. In cases where tourismophobia was discussed in the media, touristification and its impacts were not being discussed. Herewith, it is seen as a strategy to distort facts and create a smoke screen because of economic losses in the sector. In this sense, the term is not neutral but rather a political instrument for media sensationalism. Likely due to the amount of media attention, tourismophobia is seen as an urgent challenge faced by tourism in this century and has, hence, gained momentum for the interest of tourism academics. The terms overtourism and tourismophobia are sometimes used interchangeably, but the relationship is rather causal (Egresi, 2018). Tourismophobia, or tourism phobia, is "the fear, aversion, or social rejection that the local citizens feel in a destination towards tourists" (Can et al., 2020, p. 695). This is reflected in anti-tourism movements among local people, triggered by the experienced negative effects on quality of life in overtourism destinations. In other words, the pressure from overtourism can lead to tourism phobia, causing anti-tourism movements.

The concept of tourismophobia originates from Barcelona, a city which has become an icon for mass tourism or even a touristic thematic park (Romagnoli, 2021). Kim and Kang (2020) investigated anti-tourist attitudes in Gamcheon Culture Village in South Korea, without mention of the term tourismophobia or any variations of it. They concluded that the development of anti-tourist attitudes in this overtourism destination is the result of insufficient consideration of the needs of residents. From the beginning of the tourism development process, local inhabitants had been forced to address uncomfortable situations. This has been the case to the final stage of saturation, in which residents' lives are negatively impacted through disturbance of privacy, threatened basic living conditions as well as increased housing and rent prices. Ultimately, this accumulation resulted in the development of anti-tourist attitudes among the village's residents. Herewith, Kim and Kang (2020) bring a nuance to the causal relationship between overtourism and anti-tourist attitudes. Namely, according to their logic, the relation between overtourism and anti-tourist attitudes is only causal in the case of mismanagement of tourism, and more specifically in the case of mismanagement of residents' needs in tourism development. Simas et al. (2021) arrived at a similar conclusion in their work on tourismophobia and touristification in the context of the district Poblenou in Barcelona. Among local citizens, there was no evidence of tourismophobia as a phenomenon resulting from fear, social rejection or aversion towards tourists. In fact, even the Barcelonians who complained about touristification, recognised the importance of the tourism sector and showed respect toward tourists and foreigners. Thus, tourismophobia as a discriminatory reaction to tourists is not present in this case. Instead, the phenomenon of tourismophobia could only be observed in the sense of complaints "about the negative impacts as something that needs to be regulated" (Simas et al., 2021, p. 128). Herewith, the critical role that governance has in tourism management is highlighted again. Similarly, Delgado (2007, as cited in Romagnoli, 2021) highlighted that tourismophobia gained more traction in Barcelona " [...] in the absence of tourism regulations dedicated to the welfare of Barcelona and in a context where the control of public space is becoming increasingly less public" (p. 115). Ramagnoli (2021), however, points in a different direction by indicating that it is about the way in which tourists undertake tourism activities (the how) rather than about tourism per se (the what). This negative image that is associated with tourists also plays a key role in the marketing communication of ecotourism where future clients are invited to "discover [...] that which few tourists have seen" and to

“explore the least visited places” (Boukhris, 2012). Almeida-García et al. (2021) bring the two factors together as they found that, in the context of Málaga (Spain) and Gdansk (Poland), it is the combination of tourists’ poor behaviour and mismanagement of tourist activity that led to tourismophobia, and not the tourist per se. In the academic field, there is thus no consensus on what causes the phenomenon of tourismophobia and related anti-tourism attitudes.

2.3 Tourist segmentation and typologies

This research aims to explore the discourses through which the tourists is constructed as a differentiated subject rather than providing an accurate representation of different segments of tourists, if that is even possible. Nevertheless, it is useful to explore the concept tourist typologies, resulting from segmentation, and its value, which is the purpose of this section.

Until Cohen (1972) introduced a typology of tourists, tourists were seen as a mostly homogeneous group. By arguing that the main differentiating factor is the degree of strangeness or familiarity that is being sought by people, four groups of tourists can be identified, being the organized mass tourist, individual mass tourist, explorer and drifter. The first two are then called institutionalized tourists whereas the explorer and drifter are non-institutionalized types of tourists. Later, this evolved into a distinction between five types of tourists based on the “place and significance of tourist experiences in total world-view of tourists” (Cohen, 1979, p. 179).

Even though Cohen has been frequently cited (e.g. Arnegger et al., 2010; McKercher & du Cros, 2003; Mo et al., 1993; Wickens, 2002), this typology is not uncontested. Uriely (2009), specifically, used the case of backpacking to deconstruct tourist typologies. In this case, Uriely challenged Cohen’s typology in the sense that there should be distinguished between tourism’s type and form whereas type and form were coupled together in previous typologies such as Cohen’s. Here,

tourism’s form refers to visible institutional arrangements and practices by which tourists organize their journey such as length of trip, itinerary flexibility, visited destinations and attractions, means of transportation and accommodation, and contact with locals. Tourism’s type refers to less tangible psychological attributes such as tourists’ attitudes toward fundamental values of their own society, motivations to travel, and meanings they assign to their experiences. (p. 307)

Thus, by suggesting that type and form are interrelated, but not necessarily combined, Uriely calls for further segmentation as backpackers do not necessarily share the same motivations and meanings, even when they travel in the same manner as they are identified as a homogenous group of non-institutionalized tourists. Likewise, McCabe (2005) stated that type and form are not unrelated as “there may be a tendency of groups belonging to a particular ‘type’ of behaviour to choose a particular ‘form’ of institutional arrangement” (p. 91). Thus, the assumption that “tourists who exhibit similar behaviours share the same motivations and meanings” (Uriely, 2009, p. 307) per definition is being questioned. There is being called to make sub-forms of categories as segments are, thus, not homogenous. Herewith, the need for caution and sensitivity with regards to variance in typologies is being highlighted.

Even when it is being acknowledged that market segmentation, resulting in typologies, is not able to provide an accurate representation of the wide variance of tourists, it is still frequently used as it is considered a valuable tool to create strategies for tourism marketing (Srihadi et al., 2016). Often, such studies aim to identify the different types of visitors of a specific tourism destination and their demographic profiles. This is considered successful when statistically significant differences are found between the identified groups, meaning that different segments of visitors have been revealed. Srihadi et al. (2016) found significant differences between the different segments regarding age, race, employment status, number of previous trips to Jakarta and travel companions. This study used demographic and behavioural variables, but geographic, psychological and psychographic variables also frequently form the basis of segmentation (Narang, 2010; Tynan & Drayton, 1987). These findings are then considered useful in the sense that it contributes to generating effective tourism marketing strategies, herewith having an economic impact. Similarly, the findings of Chen and Huang (2018) in relation to a typology of Chinese cultural tourists are considered valuable in the light of destination marketing. Here, differences were found between local day-trippers and other domestic as well international tourists when looking at their types and characteristics, which was suggested to be used by cultural attractions to be able to better respond to the needs and wishes of different tourists.

2.4 Tourist stereotypes and anti-tourism attitudes

Based on the indication that anti-tourism attitudes in the context of Giethoorn are stereotyped, meaning that there is a focus on specific groups of tourists in certain media outlets of residents' irritations with visitors and tourists, it is of relevance to investigate literature on the topic of tourist stereotypes.

In international image theory, international stereotypes are said to stem from the perceived relationship between one's home country and the target country and indicate a country's overall image based on this. This perception of the other or target country is the result of three components, being goal compatibility, relative power and relative cultural status (Alexander et al., 2005; Herrmann et al., 1997). Herewith, stereotypes influence individual's perception of the other, which in the case of tourist stereotypes is the resident's perception of the visitor or tourist.

Local residents, being in contact with tourists on a regular or even daily basis, differentiate between tourists on the basis of nationality. Needless to note that not all tourists from the same nationality do, in fact, behave in the same way. Nevertheless, Pizam and Sussmann (1995) found that there was a significant perceived difference in behaviour between the four different nationalities included in this study, i.e. Japanese, French, Italian and American, in 18 of the 20 behavioural characteristics. Besides such general or ethnic stereotypes, specific stereotypes can be identified in specific business contexts. For example, storekeepers can be expected to develop stereotypes as a guide to the behaviour of different kinds of tourists in a store (Brewer, 1984).

Chen and Hsu (2021) found that residents stereotype visitors to be able to deal with the large number of different cultures among tourists, meaning that stereotypes are a simplification of reality. Indeed, stereotypes are often incorrect, simplified and/or exaggerated (Chen et al., 2016). Nevertheless, stereotypes are long-lasting as the more visible members of the other group keep providing reinforcement. Considering ethnic stereotypes as the result of the unique characteristics of first generations of mass tourists, which are often package tourists, later generations of visitors learn to

fade into the crowd of generic international visitors. However, package tours keep being a small proportion of the total incoming tourist numbers, and these tourists are more visible. As a result, generalizations about the ethnic group as a whole keep being made, even though the majority of the group at that moment does not show such behaviour anymore (McKercher, 2008). Stereotypes may also be reinforced as tourists learn to fit the stereotype that is held by residents. In interactions with each other, both visitors and residents learn to adapt their behaviour to the expectations that the other holds. This includes expectations as dictated by general or specific stereotypes (Brewer, 1984).

2.5 Concluding the reviewed literature

In the foregoing sections, relevant literature in which this study is nested has been reviewed. First, the overtourism concept was introduced as the categorization of tourists is a phenomenon that arose at a time when the negative effects of overtourism as experienced by inhabitants were frequently covered in the media. In the academic literature, it is a frequently discussed concept and commonly linked to tourismophobia and anti-tourism attitudes. These concepts were, hence, introduced as effects of overtourism in this chapter. With the growing number of tourists, touristification and gentrification of tourist destinations also increase, leading to the development of negative attitudes among inhabitants. Furthermore, the topic of tourist segmentation has been reviewed as such techniques result in tourist typologies, which are specific categories of tourists. As an academic concept, it is, however, approached as a market segmentation technique that is useful in the sense that the identification of different segments of tourists contributes to making an economic impact. Because of the focus on specific groups of tourists in the media and in policy, the topic of tourist stereotypes has also been reviewed. These stereotypes also categorize tourists, but with the aim of simplifying reality, which is often done unconsciously. In current academic work, these different fields of study, i.e. the experienced effects of overtourism and the categorization of tourists are, however, not linked to each other, pointing at a gap in the academic knowledge. This study addresses this under researched topic by investigating the categorization of tourists in relation to the negative effects of overtourism that are experienced by local inhabitants, as expressed in media and policy.

3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical foundation for this study will be clarified. First, this research will be positioned within the post-structuralism paradigm as it aims to diverge from the pretence of objectivity. Then, discourse theory will be discussed and related to performativity. Hereafter, literature on the topic of subject formation will be reviewed. These concepts will help study the way in which tourists are constructed as differentiated subjects through discourse as well as the (potential) consequences. To conclude, this chapter outlines the relationships between the reviewed concepts.

3.1 The post-structuralist paradigm

This research builds on the premises of post-structuralism. In this paradigm, there is a focus on the interplay between power and knowledge, leading to the construction of reality, or what we see as real. Namely, according to post-structuralist views, power is exercised by certain people in the way that they guide discourse. As Foucault's concept of "power/knowledge" suggests, people with knowledge have power over those who do not have such knowledge as knowledge implies the possibility to

produce dominant discourses which become accepted as true (Wetherell et al., 2001). Along this line of thought, power operates in discourses which become accepted as true through dominance.

Resulting from this understanding, truth or reality is seen as the construction of discourse and guided by people in power. Reality is, then, described as contextual because a central core of meaning does not exist (Peters & Burbules, 2004). Instead, truth is considered a social construction as it is the consequence of power relations. With this ontological premise, post-structuralist research moves away from the pretence of objectivity but enables one to make sense of social phenomena (Hanna et al., 2016). Because the objective and scientific nature of theories is rejected, research in this paradigm aims to deconstruct, rather than build theories (Peters & Burbules, 2004). Herewith, post-structuralist research, provides a critical stance towards knowledge that is taken for granted in other paradigms. Thus, analysing discourses can counteract established truths and opinions which fits with a post-structuralist paradigm (Williams, 2014).

In short, when socially constructed truths are exposed and dominant discourses uncovered, there is being moved away from the idea that there is an objective truth to be discovered. In a post-structuralist framework, this should be the aim of research.

3.2 Discourse

The term discourse has different meanings and can be approached from many different angles. From a post-structuralist perspective, however, all understandings depart from the idea that our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them. Also, they share the aim of carrying out critical research, i.e. to investigate and analyse power relations in society. In this perspective, the possibility for social change is highlighted through the ambition to formulate normative perspectives from which a critique of such relations can be made (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Foucault (1970, as cited in Hall, 1997) defined discourse as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about [...] a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (p. 29). Inspired by this work, Hajer (2006) defined 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. 67). Likewise, according to Bialasiewicz et al. (2007), "discourse refers to a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible" (p. 406). Here, specific attention is paid to the political aspect. In his analysis of the workings of discourse, Streeter (2013) also highlighted how power inserts itself and is, in turn, exercised through the policy process. In the following example, this is combined with a sense of political economy and it can, then, be understood how practices come into being and are, possibly, constructed different over time. In Hong Kong the government saw a chance to promote a risk discourse in times of the financial crisis, resulting in the legitimization of new government policies supporting neo-liberal strategies (Chan, 2009).

Understandings of discourse are often criticized on the basis of different claims that are said to be made, being (1) everything is language, (2) there is no reality and (3) the inability to take a political position and defend an ethical stance. This is an indicator of the view that interpretation involves only language and not the external, the real and the material. However, a concern with discourse does in fact not exclude non-linguistic and extra-discursive phenomena. It is understood as involving the ideal

and the linguistic as well as the material and the non-linguistic. Laclau and Mouffe (1985, as cited in Bialasiewicz et al., 2007) articulated this well:

the fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has nothing to do with whether there is a world external to thought, or with the realism/idealism opposition. What is denied is not that objects exist externally to thought, but the rather different assertion that they could constitute themselves as objects outside of any discursive condition of emergence. (p. 406)

Further, Hall (1997) clarifies that discourse is about language and practice, as opposed to being a purely linguistic concept. Namely, "it attempts to overcome the traditional distinction between what one *says* (language) and what one *does* (practice)" (Hall, 1997, p. 29).

3.3 The performativity of discourses

The work of Butler has most frequently been cited in relation to the concept of performativity (e.g. Bergeron, 2011; Brickell, 2005; Lash, 2015; Markussen, 2005; Nordgren, 2008). Here, the concept of performativity is defined as " [...] the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Butler's work specifically focuses on the performativity of gender and states that the norms of "sex" regulate the materiality of bodies in a performative fashion. Movements, clothing, speech, etc. are then seen as performances of gender. The subject is constrained by social norms, but at the same time, these norms constitute it as a subject. Particularly, the body's sex is materialized in this way, to materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the regime of heterosexuality. Gender identity is, thus, seen as more than a reflection of bodily reality as it is embodied and enacted which makes it performative (McKinlay, 2010).

According to Suan (2017), repetition is an aspect that is inherent to the performativity of discourses. This is demonstrated in the context of anime as throughout its formal discourse, references to certain trends are being made constantly. Illustrating the same point, Bergeron (2011) draws on a parallel between gender and economics by stating that as with gender, economics-based conceptual frameworks produce their effects through a process of repetition. To secure a sense of naturalness and discipline human behaviour, performances have to be continually re-enacted. What further defines the performativity of discourses is their ability to function as a norm. In workplace discourse, authority and decisiveness are traits that are normatively associated with masculinity. This is brought to interactions in the workplace, meaning that this discourse is performative through its normative function (Holmes, 2008). The following example brings these two characteristics, i.e. repetition and functioning as a norm, together. Bergeron (2011) concluded that conceptualizations of economy and care are dominated by a patriarchal representation of social reproduction, resulting in norms that frame women as responsible and caring partners with minimal bargaining power at home, based on the universalizing portrayal of the household economy and family life. Ford (2013) also brought this together by highlighting that norms operate through discourse, making them subject to reiteration.

Finally, the performativity of discourses means that it constitutes both subjects and objects. Bialasiewicz et al. (2007) captured this in the sense that discourses " [...] constitute the objects of which they speak" (p. 406). From this understanding, discourses involve the ideal and the material as well as the linguistic and non-linguistic, which has also been mentioned in the previous section. States, for

example, are made possible by different discursive practices which combine the ideal and the material. However, that specific state does not pre-exist these performances.

3.4 Subject formation

What Foucault names subjectification, or subjection, is a form of performativity and has been defined as the process through which one becomes a subject (Hillsburg, 2017; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014). Foucault's interest, in the theoretical work on this topic, is primarily in the larger discursive shifts that make different kinds of subjecthood possible or impossible. It specifically describes how specific kinds of subjects, such as the mad and the criminal, are produced as effects of discursive and power relations (Davies, 2006). Rather than prioritizing individual subjects, this sheds light on the historical conditions making possible specific and differentiated subjects (McHoul & Grace, 1993). In a Foucauldian perspective, the focus of study, thus, shifts from individuals to the systems of ideas constituting individuals' identity and herewith previously obscured power relations are highlighted (Woermann, 2012). For example, Foucault deconstructed the history of metaphysics, being one of the many practices and relations shaping individuals, in order to examine the philosophical subject (McGushin, 2005). In this sense, the notion of an autonomous and sovereign subject is being challenged, which is taken for granted by many philosophers.

Building on Foucault's work, Butler (1997, as cited in Davies, 2006) also challenged the widely accepted notion of autonomy and sovereignty in the following:

We are used to thinking of power as what presses on the subject from outside [...] But if, following Foucault, we understand power as forming the subject as well, as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence and what we harbor and preserve in the beings that we are. (p. 426)

In the context of tourism specifically, Dlaske (2016) investigated the processes of subjectification that volunteer tourists are subject to as there are certain technologies that enable the orchestration of volunteers' activities towards a specific goal. These technologies of subjectification are considered to operate through discursive practices and were identified throughout the entire trajectory of voluntourism, from the preparation to the feedback after the exchange. For example, planning and organisational skills are essential in the preparatory process as outlined on the internet portal, even though the initiative portrays itself as non-capitalist. Herewith, the portal works as a technology of subjectification in the sense that it is shaped by the rationality of business, making voluntourists subjects of globalisation.

Furthermore, Davies (2006) uses the context of education to make the process of subjectification understandable. In an example which includes two primary school students, it becomes clear how subjects oppose power, while also depending on it. After the students were involved in a fight, the category of naughty boy was imposed on them by their teacher. However, they willfully took this category up and did not submit the emotions or desires that were considered appropriate by the teacher. Herewith, they asserted themselves as powerful. Butler (1997, as cited in Davies, 2006) elaborates on this, by describing the formation of the subject as a process of simultaneous mastery and submission. This double directionality is essential to the concept of subjectification as " [...] we are

both acted upon and we act—not in separate acts of domination and submission, but with submission relying on domination/mastery, and mastery relying on submission” (p. 428).

Certain difficulties are associated with the process of subjection. Subjects may be required to use their imaginative capacity as they take up subject positions for which they have little or no first-hand knowledge. Also, referring back to the context of education, students are at risk of being recognised as inappropriate and incompetent when they cannot accomplish a situation in which mastery is recognised and accepted. This can occur through the absence of acts of recognition, but also through pre-existing categories (Davies, 2006). For example, Butler (2004) analysed how bisexual individuals are forced into being either male or female through certain laws and medical practices. This raises the following questions:

What counts as a person? What counts as a coherent gender? What qualifies as a citizen? Whose world is legitimated as real? [...] By what norms am I constrained as I begin to ask what I may become? And what happens when I begin to become that for which there is no place within the given regime of truth? This is what Foucault describes as ‘the desubjugation of the subject in the play of [...] the politics of truth’ [...]. This relationship is an urgent one; it carries a certain theoretical urgency, precisely at those points where the human is encountered at the limits of intelligibility itself. (Butler, 2004, p. 58)

This is to say that not all subjects have equal chances to accomplish mastery. The formation of the subject is, thus, seen as dependent on powers external to the subject and simultaneous processes of submission and mastery. Even when the subject might resist these external powers, its existence depends on them as there is no existence of the subject outside of, or prior to these acts of formation. The concept of the subject is then formulated as “radically dependent, relational and opaque” (Ford, 2013, p. 1).

3.5 Conceptual model

To conclude this chapter, the conceptual model that is being adopted for this research will be presented in this final section.

The theoretical framework of this study starts from a post-structuralism paradigm. Thus, special attention is being paid to the interplay of power and knowledge as power operates in discourses which become accepted as true through dominance. With this approach, there is being moved away from the conception that an objective or universal truth can be discovered. Thus, from a post-structuralist understanding, discourses are not seen as neutral reflections of reality but rather play in active role in creating and changing our world, identities and social relations. As it has been argued that the categorization of tourists is also not neutral, discourses play a role in this. In this sense, the way in which the tourist comes into being as a differentiated subject is seen as true through to the dominance of certain discourses.

Building on Foucault’s (1970, as cited in Hall, 1997) definition of discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about [...] a particular topic at a particular historical moment” (p. 29), discourses are formed by practices, representations, ideas, concepts and categories. Herewith, it is considered a way to talk about social phenomena and this has political implications in the sense that

certain outcomes are made more or less possible. Discourses are performative through repetition and their ability to function as a norm. Hence, when norms operate through discourse, they are subject to reiteration.

In defining subject formation, Foucault, Butler and others challenged the idea of an autonomous and sovereign subject. A Foucauldian perspective sheds light on how differentiated individuals are produced as the effect of discursive and power relations. There is then being looked at the conditions that make possible differentiated subjects through a focus on the systems of ideas constituting individuals' identity. In addition, Butler addresses the simultaneous processes of submission and mastery which lead to formation of the subject.

In conclusion, the analysis of discourse can provide insights in the way in which differentiated subjects come into being. In a Foucauldian perspective, the focus shifts from individual subjects to the conditions making possible differentiated subjects. Therefore, the discourses that lead to the construction of the tourist as a differentiated subject will be investigated. Namely, from the same understanding, the production of specific kinds of subjects is considered the effect of discursive shifts. These discursive shifts take place when the way in which there is being talked about social phenomena changes. Hence, by investigating the way in which the presented perspectives in media and policy, and thus the produced discourses, change, it can be identified how the tourist comes into being as a differentiated subject. The concept of performativity is used to shed light on the consequences of these subject formations.

4. Methodology

Related to the discussed theoretical framework, the methodological framework will be described in this chapter. First, there will be elaborated on the research design as a qualitative case study. Then, the adopted research method, which is discourse analysis, will be justified. This chapter also describes the ways of data collection and data analysis that have been used. Finally, the validity and reliability of this research will be addressed.

4.1 Research design: qualitative case study approach

The aim of this study is to gain insights in the way in which different groups of tourists are constructed as subjects through discourse and what the (potential) consequences of these subject formations are. Giethoorn has been chosen as a case study for this aim as a focus on "quality tourists" is expressed in the recently published *Future vision Giethoorn*. This in combination with the indication, from the media, that residents have varying attitudes towards different groups of tourists. These categorizations of tourists in both media and policy make Giethoorn an interesting and legitimate case for this study. The adopted case study approach for this research enables the collection of concrete, contextual, in-depth knowledge about a specific real-world subject (Rebolj, 2013; Veal, 2011). Case studies are, however, commonly criticized for their limited contribution to the development of scientific knowledge as generalizations cannot be made on the basis of a single case study. In response, Flyvbjerg (2006) argued that the fact "that knowledge cannot be formally generalized does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society" (p.

106). Thus, even when this single case study does not aim to make generalizations, it can contribute to scientific innovation through the generation of concrete knowledge that is context dependent.

In addition, a qualitative research approach will be adopted in this research. Because this study uses discourse theory as a framework, a qualitative research approach is considered more appropriate than a quantitative approach. Namely, qualitative research is concerned with information in the form of words, images or sounds whereas quantitative research uses numerical data to draw conclusions (Veal, 2011). Following discourse theory, this study is concerned with truth or reality as produced through discourses, and this cannot be properly captured through the interpretation of quantified data. Instead, a qualitative research approach is needed to gain a complete understanding of the phenomenon that is being studied. Likewise, Boeijs (2010) indicated that qualitative research is characterised by its explorative and descriptive capacity. This legitimizes the qualitative research approach of this study as subject formation in tourism is an under investigated topic in scientific research. In other words, it can be explored how tourists are called into being as subjects by adopting a qualitative research approach.

In conclusion, a qualitative case-study approach best matches the aim that has been formulated for this research.

4.2 Research method: discourse analysis

To answer the central question in this research, *how are, through discourses in media and policy, tourists constructed as differentiated subjects in Giethoorn and what are the consequences*, discourse analysis has been chosen as a research method. This will be legitimized in the coming section.

Adopting a post-structuralist view, this research aims to identify how the tourist is constructed as a subject. This aim necessitates an investigation of the discourses through which the tourist emerges as a subject. Namely, what we see as true is the production of discourse, according to post-structuralists. Understanding discourse as the reproduction of power and knowledge, it can be applied as a method to textual analysis. According to Hajer & Versteeg (2005), it is a basic assumption of discourse analysis that language does not solely reflect one's view of the world, but also shapes it. They illustrate this in the context of environmental politics, where used language affects outcomes, laws and institutions. The language that is used to talk about tourists and tourism does, then, also affect the way in which tourists come into being as a subject. Thus, by analysing different texts, discourse analysis aims to shed light on the social and cultural practices that spoken and written texts shape but are also being shaped by. This helps to answer questions about the struggle between different discourses and how different subjectivities are then constructed. In line with this, Johnstone (2018) suggested that discourse analysis is useful in the study of identity. Similarly, Paltridge (2012) stated that discourse analysis considers how identities are constructed through the use of discourse. This is central to the subjectification of tourists as it is concerned with the categorisation of tourists and, hence, the identity of different groups of tourists. Discourse analysis from a Foucauldian understanding, thus, provides insights in how discourses shape the world and are being shaped by the world which makes it a useful method to investigate how tourists are constructed as subjects.

In short, discourse analysis is considered an appropriate method for this study as it is concerned with the way in which discourses are constructed and with the consequences of these constructions. This

matches the aim of this study, which focusses on how different subjectivities of tourists are constructed through perspectives in media and policy that produce discourses.

4.3 Data collection

As mentioned before, discourse analysis is the adopted research method for this study. Discourses can be analysed through the texts and documents in which they are formed. Therefore, samples need to be selected. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017) refer to this as a corpus of statements, which can include samples of texts such as intellectual theories or discussions, policy statements, governmental reports, news articles, official reports and interview transcripts. Considering the aim of this research, which focusses on discourses in media and policy, the final corpus of statements for this study includes newspaper articles, vision documents, content from the council meetings of Steenwijkerland and interview transcripts. In total, 108 documents (78 newspaper articles, 11 vision documents, 17 documents from the council meetings of Steenwijkerland and 2 interview transcripts) were collected for this study. The complete list indicating the name, year of publication and type (i.e. newspaper article, vision document, council meeting Steenwijkerland or interview transcript) of each document that has been included in the corpus of statements can be found in appendix 1. All documents were collected in the months November and December of 2021. In the coming sections, the collection and selection of these different types of samples will be further clarified.

4.3.1 Newspaper articles

Via Nexis Uni, which is a news database, a wide variety of news articles from national and local newspapers can be accessed. The Dutch equivalent of the search term [Giethoorn touris*] has been used to obtain relevant samples. The wildcard symbol asterisk was used so that articles which contain the Dutch equivalent of words such as tourist(s), tourism and touristic were also included in the results. This led to more than 4,000 results published between 1990 and 2021. Following a cyclical process, all documents were selected for inclusion, until no new information was retrieved as saturation had been reached at that point. During data analysis, newspaper articles that did not provide any relevant information or that had been included twice were still deleted. Finally, this resulted in a selection of 78 newspaper articles.

4.3.2 Vision documents

Between 2003 and 2021, different documents indicating a direction for the development of the village Giethoorn and the wider region of Steenwijkerland have been published. After the *Future vision Giethoorn* which was published in 2020 was retrieved, more documents could be collected as references to them were made in other vision documents as well as in newspaper articles. In total, 11 of such vision documents were collected, which have been chronologically listed in table 1. Some of these documents represent a formalized vision, in the form of policy, while others are not part of formal policy. However, all of these documents indicate a vision or strategy that is relevant to Giethoorn and are openly accessible online.

Table 1

Vision documents included in the corpus of statements

Document name	Year
Beleidsnota toerisme en recreatie Gemeente Steenwijkerland	2003
Dorpsplan Giethoorn	2012

Reactienota Omgevingsvisie Steenwijkerland	2017
Omgevingsvisie Steenwijkerland	2017
Coalitieakkoord Steenwijkerland 2018-2022	2018
Nieuw vaar- en verhuurbeleid vastgesteld voor Steenwijkerland - Gemeente Steenwijkerland	2020
Inspraaknotitie Toekomstvisie Giethoorn	2020
Toekomstvisie Giethoorn	2020
Gieters Belang - Proces visie en inrichting Gieterse Polder	2021
Organisatie Giethoorn Onderneemt - GO	2021
't Gieters Belang: Team	2021

4.3.3 Council meetings Steenwijkerland

During the council meetings of the municipality Steenwijkerland, varying issues, including those relevant to recreation and tourism, are discussed on a regular basis. The content of these meetings from the last 5 years (2017-2021) is openly accessible at the website of the municipality Steenwijkerland. This includes motions, written questions and information notes. To select documents from this content, the Dutch equivalent of the search term [touris] was used. All 17 documents encompassing this term were included in the corpus of statements and have been listed in table 2 in a chronological order.

Table 2

Content from council meetings Steenwijkerland included in the corpus of statements

Document name	Year
Kop Top - Zienswijze verhoging Toeristenbelasting	2018
KHN - Bezwaar verhoging Toeristenbelasting	2018
CPB - Motie gratis drinkwater voor inwoner en toerist	2018
Recron - Steenwijkerland brief toeristische lasten	2019
College 1.0 Onderzoek en advies toeristen- en forensenbelasting	2019
College 1.1 Rapportage onderzoek toeristen-en forensenbelasting	2019
Informatienota 2019 - 33 - Projectplan visie toerisme en recreatie	2019
PvdA VVD CU BGL motie Toerisme - Bezoeker draagt bij	2019
CU - Motie vertegenwoordiging riettelers	2019
Toiletalliantie - Iedere (fiets)toerist blij met meer toiletten erbij	2020
Informatienota 2020 - 8 - Stand van zaken visies Duurzaam (Be-)leefbaar Toerisme (DBT)	2020
Informatienota 2020 - 33 - Budgetten Duurzaam (Be-)leefbaar Toerisme, in relatie tot Regio Deals	2020
GL - Motie Onderzoek gedifferentieerde heffing toeristenbelasting	2020
KHN - Verhoging toeristenbelasting	2020
Informatienota 2021 – 52 - Gebiedsgerichte Aanpak Giethoorn binnen het programma Duurzaam Beleefbaar Toerisme	2021
GBT - Coronamaatregelen toeristisch seizoen 2021	2021
Schriftelijke vragen D66 over de kosten van toerisme	2021

4.3.4 Interview transcripts

Besides the mentioned secondary data, primary data for this study has been collected through interviews. In light of the COVID-19 pandemic, it was probable that certain elements that had been included in the vision for Giethoorn were outdated. The interviews were conducted with the purpose of gaining a better understanding of these recent changes. More specifically, semi-structured

interviews were chosen as they combine the benefits of structured interviews and those of unstructured interviews. Namely, it can then be made sure that all relevant topics are covered through standardization and pre-structured content while also leaving space for the interviewee to determine the contents and the flow of the interview (Boeijs, 2010).

The interviewees for this study have been selected through purposive sampling. As the aim of the interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of the most recent updates and how the topic relates to the wider context of the region Steenwijkerland, policy actors were selected as interviewees for this study. Considering this purpose, two interviews have been conducted in December 2021. The names of the interviewees were mentioned in different media outlets and could in this way be approached. The first interview was with Henk van Voornveld, previous program leader and advisor at the municipality's program "Duurzaam (be)leefbaar toerisme", and was conducted via email. Email interviewing can be a viable alternative to face-to-face interviewing, given that guidelines for informed consent, instructions and interview questions are followed (Meho, 2006). The conducted email interview can be found in appendix 2. The second interview took place with municipal councillor Bram Harmsma, who is responsible for among others recreation and tourism in the municipality Steenwijkerland. This interview took place online and had a duration of 45 minutes. To enable transcription, permission to record this interview was asked. This transcription can be found in appendix 3.

To ensure that all relevant topics were addressed in the interview, an interview guide was used. These topics are (1) background of the interviewee, (2) tourism in Giethoorn, (3) vision for the future of Giethoorn and (4) tourist segmentation in Giethoorn. However, as the interviews were semi-structured there was also space to address additional topics that were deemed relevant by the interviewer or interviewee. The interview matrix that has been used to design the interview guide can be found in appendix 4 and the resulting interview guide can be found in appendix 5.

4.3.5 Ethics

Considering the moral accuracy of the interviewing activities that have been completed for this study, trust is an important concept as it can increase openness of the participants. Furthermore, important ethical principles that apply to this study are informed consent and confidentiality. To ensure that participants could make a well-informed decision with regards to whether and how they participate, the purpose of the collected data was outlined in an understandable way beforehand. Herewith, informed consent has been ensured. The principle of confidentiality dictates that identifiable information about individuals participating in the study will not be disclosed without their permission. As the interviewees in this study gave permission to attach unique identifiers such as profession and name to the data, their role in the study could be acknowledged and identifiable information disclosed.

This research originally set out to solely focus on newspaper articles and the recently published *Future vision Giethoorn*. However, additional samples were found during the process. These documents were tested by the criteria for discourse analysis as suggested by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017) which have been displayed in figure 1. More specifically, these documents were added to the corpus of statements because they provide further information with regards to the construction of tourists as differentiated subjects in Giethoorn.

Also, Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine (2017) suggested that temporal variability can be an important factor, which is why examples of how the construction of objects varies over time should be included. Hence, samples from different years have been included in the corpus of statements for this research.

Figure 1

Methodological guidelines for discourse analysis (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017)

Selecting a corpus of statements

A corpus of statements refers to samples of text that express rules for how an object is constituted. Criteria for selecting statements might include:

- 1 samples of text that construct a social problem, i.e. how are objects problematized?
- 2 samples of text that show how an object is described or explained, i.e. how are objects constructed?
- 3 descriptions of practices that illustrate how an object is acted upon, i.e. how are objects regulated?
- 4 samples of text that show historical variability in the construction of objects
 - o i.e. how are objects and their problems discussed across different historical periods?
 - o i.e. how and why do statements change over time?
- 5 collection of primary and secondary materials:
 - o i.e. policy documents, intellectual texts, print and new media, interview data, autobiographical accounts, ethnographic observations and thick descriptions, etc.

Problematizations

Problematizations refer to historical events in which objects and practices are made 'problematic' and therefore visible and knowable. They often form at the intersection of different discourses and expose power/knowledge relations. Problematizations serve an epistemological and methodological purpose of allowing the analyst to take up a critical position in relation to how problems are formed and to show how they constitute objects and practices.

Technologies

Technologies are practical forms of rationality for the government of self and others. There are two kinds of technologies appropriate for psychological inquiry: technologies of power and technologies of self. Technologies of power seek to govern human conduct at a distance while technologies of the self are techniques by which human beings seek to regulate and improve their conduct. Technologies are also 'truth games' realized either on a larger political scale or among local and specific instances of local interaction.

Subject Positions

Subject positions define the historical limits of what can be written, said or practiced. Identifying subject positions allows the analyst to investigate the cultural repertoire of discourses available to speakers. They are not only positions on which to ground one's claims of truth or responsibility, but they allow individuals to manage, in quite complex and subtle ways, their moral location within social interaction.

Subjectification

Subjectification refers to the ethics of self-formation. Foucault understands 'ethics' in a practical sense of human beings constituting themselves as subjects of a moral code. Ethics is the practical work of submitting oneself to a set of moral recommendations or obligations. Practices of self-constitution may adhere to standards or techniques imposed upon the self in order to attain wisdom, beauty, happiness, perfection, etc.

4.4 Data analysis

In qualitative research, it is common for data collection and analysis to not follow each other linear. Instead, it often is a cyclical process where the collection and analysis of data are interlinked. This way, there is being allowed for flexibility throughout the research process. However, the collection of data was ceased when saturation had been reached. At this point, the analysis of additional samples did

not lead to the discovery of new information. As more data is generated during the process, the results and the focus of the analysis slowly emerge (Boeije, 2010). In this study, the importance of the historical context emerged during the analysis as it became evident that the studied phenomenon evolved over the years.

To make sense of the collected data, coding has been used. First, while reading the collected samples, labels were assigned to distinct fragments to reflect their core topic. In other words, the identified segments were grouped into categories reflecting the same subject and labelled with a code. Codes were, thus, assigned to specific topics within the data, resulting in an initial list of codes. This includes deductive as well as inductive codes. For example, it was found in the literature that according to the carrying capacity perspective on overtourism, a role is assigned to stakeholders in governance and policy. As a result, one of the codes has been named "blaming municipality". Contrariwise, the inductive codes are not based on the used literature or theory but emerged from the samples themselves. Hereafter, there was distinguished between dominant elements and less important ones. Namely, certain codes do together form common ideas or represent specific discourses. To be able to identify these, notes were kept while coding. In the process of re-reading quotations assigned to specific codes as well as the notes, distinct discourses and themes started to emerge. Meanwhile, codes were created, merged and split as well as differentiating between main codes and sub-codes, leading to a final list of the applied codes.

The process of data analysis ended with the creation of a table providing an overview of how the identified discourses evolved over time. Also, themes that capture the nature of these discourses were identified. These themes are (1) the role of tourism, (2) regulation of tourism, (3) attitude towards tourists and (4) international tourism. This contributed to clarity with regards to the different aspects that are covered by the discourses, how they relate to each other as well as their place in time. This table can be found in appendix 6. Also, during the process of coding, notes comparing the findings to the reviewed literature were kept, to be able to answer the sub-research questions and, herewith, the central research question.

As textual documents are considered to be embedded in power relations, it is characteristic for discourse analysis that the interest is not only in the text itself but also in what has been left out. This necessitates a nuanced reading of the data (Hannam & Knox, 2015). Also, it is essential to ensure the focus of the research on the way in which the tourist is constructed as a differentiated subject, throughout the process. Therefore, the following questions have been used to guide the discourse analysis:

1. How are categories of tourists constructed? What evidence is used? What is left out? What is foregrounded and backgrounded? What is made problematic and what is not?
2. What is being represented as a truth or as a norm? What alternative meanings or explanations are ignored?
3. Which interests are being mobilised and served by this and which not?
4. Which identities, actions, practices, policies are made possible and/or desirable and/or required by this way of thinking/talking/understanding? What is disallowed? What is normalised and what is pathologized?

To analyse the collected data, Atlas.ti has been used. This tool for qualitative data analysis is helpful in coding as it provides structure to the variance of documents, codes and quotations, herewith contributing to the identification of themes.

4.5 Validity and reliability

Validity, meaning that the research measures accurately what is intended, increases when triangulation is applied (Veal, 2011). Therefore, triangulation of sources has been included in the research design. Samples have been selected from varying sources for a more accurate representation of the way in which tourists are constructed as differentiated subjects, which can increase confidence in the research findings. Also, findings from the analysed textual documents can be confirmed in interviews and the other way around. For example, during one of the interviews, there was related to the seasonality of tourism in Giethoorn, which appeared as an important topic during the analysis of different documents. It was, then, verified that international tourists are especially welcome outside of high season because tourists from closer by are less likely to visit during these months. To further increase the validity of this research, the collected data has been coded carefully, i.e. manual as opposed to automatic. Moreover, Jaipal-Jamini (2014) suggested that discourse analysis approaches can be validated by the convergence of interpretations. Thus, when the interpretation of different questions converges, supporting the analysis, a claim for validity can be made. This study can then be validated by the convergence of the answers to the critical questions provided in *chapter 4.4*.

Reliability means that a repetition of the research should produce the same outcomes, assuming that the studied phenomenon itself has not changed. This poses certain difficulties in the social sciences as such studies deal with changing social and physical situations as opposed to controlled experimental conditions that are common in the natural sciences. It is inherent to qualitative analysis that it entails interpretation. As dictated by the post-structuralist paradigm, the researcher's own perspective can be used to analyse and deconstruct perspectives that others advance as objective. Respondent validation, which is a measure to increase reliability, has been applied by taking interpretations from the textual documents back to interviewees for evaluation of the extent to which it represents their perspective. Regarding the reliability of this research, it is also important that methods are applied consistently. The use of an interview guide is relevant as it contributes to the replicability of the interviews. Also, similar fragments have been coded the same through constant comparison. These measures increase the likelihood of getting the same results if the research was to be repeated and, thus, improve the reliability. Still, carefulness is dictated in making generalisations but that is not the aim of this exploratory case study.

5. Results and analysis

After describing the context in which the findings are positioned, perspectives on (1) the role of tourism, (2) regulation of tourism, (3) attitude towards tourists and (4) international tourism that are present in the media and in policy will be outlined. Different discourses have been identified, which are produced through these perspectives. Then, it will be described how tourists are called into being as subjects in the context of Giethoorn, through these discursive policies and practices. The chapter ends with a description of three (potential) consequences of these subject formations. To refer to

documents that have been included in the corpus of statements of this study, superscript numbers will be used throughout this chapter.

5.1 Context of the case study

To provide more context to this case study, a brief overview of the history of Giethoorn and the development of tourism in the village will be outlined. Also, the main stakeholders that are of relevance for this study will be identified and described.

5.1.1 The history of Giethoorn

The village that is nowadays known as the Venice of the Netherlands used to be an isolated and poor village. Around 1230, it was founded by refugees from the Mediterranean Sea-area. They found horns of drowned, wild goats and, therefore, called their settlement the old-Dutch version of the name Goathorn, which later degenerated into Giethoorn^{23,41}. The local economy was focused on agriculture, so ditches and canals were needed to transport peat and reed. Hence, the ditches and canals that are nowadays so typical of Giethoorn were dug at that time. As the result of peat bogging and floods, the puddles and lakes came into existence^{23,28}.

Figure 2 & 3

Use of the old-Dutch version of the name Goathorn



Around 1880, a representative of the “The Hague School” went to Giethoorn to paint but it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that the village started to become known among the touristic public. At that time, more painters had discovered that the small bridges, houses and flat-bottomed wooden boats could be interesting subjects for their paintings^{12,16}. Later, during the crisis years around 1935, the local economy of Giethoorn reached a new low even though it had also not been flourishing before¹². This was reason for some entrepreneurs to expand their market and try tourism. Herewith, the local population slowly started to get more interested in tourism as an alternative or additional source of income^{12,16,31}.

In 1958, the village was in the news because of the movie *Fanfare*, which was filmed in Giethoorn. The movie, recorded by Bert Haanstra, describes the story of two fanfares going on a competition. Due to

their rivalry, each fanfare used each their own piece of music. The movie got attention throughout the Netherlands, resulting in the village gaining more traction as a touristic destination^{12,35,49,63}.

In the next decade, the ministry of agriculture planned to focus on scaling-up. As this was impossible in Giethoorn, it meant the definite end of agriculture driving the local economy of Giethoorn. Instead, entrepreneurs invested in ambitious plans for tourism and recreation in Giethoorn¹². When people's mobility and amount of free time also increased, the number of tourists visiting Giethoorn started to increase⁵⁰. The arrival of the first tourists still caused a stir as they were considered strangers, but soon enough more followed. From that moment, groups of tourists were guided by boat, through the canals that had once been created because of peat extraction in Giethoorn^{26,51}.

Whereas Giethoorn mainly received domestic tourists during the beginning years of tourism in the village, this changed during the 21st century. By the end of the first decade, a great variance of nationalities was present among the tourists visiting Giethoorn. The increase of international tourism started with tourists from Germany and Belgium⁵⁹, but they were quickly followed by tourists from other parts of the world, including Italy, Japan, the United Arab Emirates, China, Taiwan, Spain, Hungary, Norway, Romania and Israel^{47,50}. Of the international tourists, it is estimated that between 20.000 and 25.000 are Asian (Kennispatform Oost, n.d.) while there are also sources stating that 70 percent of the visitors of Giethoorn is Chinese (InfoNu, 2020).

During the current century, the visitor numbers of Giethoorn have been increasing, until COVID-19 started to limit (international) travel. According to the CBS (as cited in CBS StatLine, 2021), the number of inhabitants was only 2.805 in August 2021, whereas estimates of the number of overnight stays in Giethoorn amount to 753.000 per year. However, day visitors are not included in this number of overnight stays. These estimates vary between 100.000, according to the Dutch bureau for tourism and congresses, and 1.000.000, according to a former municipal councillor, tourists per year (Lohuis, n.d.).

5.1.2 The main stakeholders

In the following section, the main actors that are of relevance for this case study will be introduced, which are 't Gieters Belang, Giethoorn Onderneemt and the municipality of Steenwijkerland.

't Gieters Belang is an association representing the interests of the inhabitants of Giethoorn. This association played an important role in the development of the vision for Giethoorn. To address the issues that inhabitants experienced as the result of tourism in Giethoorn, 't Gieters Belang sent an urgent letter to the municipality of Steenwijkerland in the summer of 2017. This letter requested the development of new tourism policy which would protect all parties in Giethoorn to create a balance between the commercial interests (of the entrepreneurs) and non-commercial interests (of the citizens) ('t Gieters Belang, 2017). This indicated the start of the process to develop the *Future vision Giethoorn*.

In 2012, it was recognized that Giethoorn did not yet have an association representing the interests of the entrepreneurs in the village. To fill this gap, a group of local entrepreneurs decided to establish Giethoorn Onderneemt. This association was established not only for entrepreneurs in the tourism and recreation sector, but for all local entrepreneurs⁵³. The organisation aims to represent

entrepreneurs' interests in interactions with for example the municipality of Steenwijkerland, the province Overijssel and marketing organisations¹⁰⁵. Regarding this aim, Giethoorn Onderneemt has been involved in the development of instruments such as the vision for the future of Giethoorn and regulations to safeguard a balance between public health and economic interests during the COVID-19 pandemic⁷.

Lastly, the municipality of Steenwijkerland is involved with tourism in Giethoorn as the tourist destination is located in this area. In the beginning of the 20th century, there had been a restructuring of municipalities leading to the new municipality Steenwijkerland. In the previous structure, the municipality Brederwiede was focused on tourism whereas the former municipalities IJsselham and Steenwijk had a stronger focus on respectively agriculture and urban industry⁶⁷. For the new municipality Steenwijkerland, tourism is an important sector considering its' contribution to employment opportunities in the region¹⁰⁷. The role of Giethoorn as the main tourist attraction in this region is acknowledged by the municipality in policy documents such as the *Environmental vision Steenwijkerland*⁶³. Hence, significant investments have been made in the programme *Duurzaam (be)leefbaar toerisme*. The developed *Future vision Giethoorn* is also part of this programme¹⁰⁸.

5.2 Changing discourses

Having described the context of this study, the discourses that lead to the construction of the tourist as a differentiated subject can be identified and described. Here, discourse is understood 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" (Hajer, 2006, p. 67). During the analysis of the data, it was found that these discourses relate to different, recurring aspects which have been captured in four themes, being (1) the role of tourism, (2) regulation of tourism, (3) attitude towards tourists and (4) international tourism. Thus, the identified discourses are formed through the language that is used in media and policy to describe the variance of perspectives on these themes. Hence, the coming three sections will describe the found perspectives in relation to these themes, which are present in media and policy. Accordingly, the four mentioned themes will be used as subheadings in these sections. Finally, section 5.2.4 will provide a brief summary of the identified perspectives on the different themes and the resulting discourses.

During the analysis of the data, it emerged that the discourses affecting the way in which tourists are constructed as subjects changed over the years. Three periods have been identified based on changing perspectives on the four themes and, hence, the presence of distinct discourses, notwithstanding that there also is some overlap across certain periods. These periods will be addressed in separate sections, being 5.2.1 until 5.2.3. However, these periods do not have strict boundaries as developments gradually take place over time. Specific years have, still, been indicated as an approximation of the time perspective.

5.2.1 The "strangers" as an alternative source of income (1990-1999)

Role of tourism

With the upcoming of tourism in Giethoorn, a new source of income for the local economy was identified by the local inhabitants. Namely, tourism was seen as providing an alternative source of income, because agriculture could not fulfil this role anymore¹². However, entrepreneurs indicated

that they were highly dependent on the summer season for generating income in this way as “the only problem with Giethoorn is that it is extremely weather sensitive”²⁶. During warm and long summers, the present tourists were considered sufficient in number to provide income for all entrepreneurs in Giethoorn. Contrariwise, when the summer was less warm or when the summer season started later in the year, there were less tourists and hence less income. Since the start of tourism in Giethoorn, this was for the first time the case in 1996. This had certain consequences, as expressed by a local entrepreneur: “In summers like this, when the really nice weather started late, the competition for the tourist’s favour intensifies”²⁶. Thus, entrepreneurs started to compete with each other to get the biggest possible share of the limited income that was associated with the lower number of present tourists. At the main public road, an entrepreneur tried to lure tourists to his own business and away from competing businesses by indicating directions and distributing maps while also using signs. This led to dissatisfaction and frustration among some of the other entrepreneurs: “It costs us customers if someone is standing at the beginning of the village, guiding people to his parking lot”²⁶. As the competition became more aggressive, the atmosphere in Giethoorn was negatively impacted^{1,25,26,27,29}: “ [...] the atmosphere in Giethoorn has been thoroughly spoiled”¹. To avoid this feud from escalating, the municipality considered it necessary to imply certain measures to regulate the actions of the entrepreneurs. More specifically, entrepreneurs were prohibited from guiding or appealing to tourists. One of the entrepreneurs was of the opinion that the municipality was not allowed to implement this and started a lawsuit to enforce permission to guide tourists to his jetty. Eventually, this had to be settled by a judge who decided that the municipality was in its right by prohibiting entrepreneurs from luring the tourists²¹. This clash among several entrepreneurs as well as between a local entrepreneur and the municipality was widely covered in the media. Hereafter, the situation settled down even though some entrepreneurs were still unhappy with the outcome. The next year, there was again a summer with less warm weather, and hence less income from tourism, leading to a similar situation²⁶. However, this time the coverage in the media was less extensive.

Regulation of tourism

The entrepreneurs aiming to provide themselves with a stable income through tourism highlights the positive, economic impact of tourism on the village. At the same time, there already was some indication of the adverse effects of the high number of tourists that Giethoorn was receiving at that time. Namely, the negative atmosphere resulting from the competition among entrepreneurs is not the only effect that is, in the media, blamed on the growth of tourism. Some of the negatives resulting from increasing tourism, as mentioned in different newspaper articles, are congestion on the roads going into Giethoorn as well as on the main canal, overcrowdedness, air pollution and noise disturbance^{1,26,28,31,87}. Hence, the *Volkscrant* warned that “Giethoorn should not become like [tourist hotspot] Volendam, many inhabitants think”¹. Nevertheless, some other newspapers already drew a parallel with such tourist destinations. For example, in the newspaper of the Dutch province Brabant, Giethoorn was described as the Valkenburg (a tourist attraction in the South of the Netherlands) of the North²⁸. This is part of a wider trend, which was also happening in other tourist destinations in the Netherlands, namely that it was recognized that “cities degrade from tourists”³⁸. However, according to the visitor management guide that was published by the Ministries for Economics and Culture to address such issues, the risks and negatives of overtourism are still seen as that they can be overcome by relatively simple regulations or measures from the municipality or mayor³⁸. In Giethoorn, some of these measures include only allowing electrical motors on rental boats, a limit on the number of rental boats, averting cars from the centre, regulations for flags and being attentive of the horeca^{1,31}. The

perceived result of these measures is that " [...] the centre of Giethoorn is relatively calm and sober in comparison to other tourist attractions like Valkenburg and Volendam. Few screaming commercials, limited car traffic and no endless lines of buses"¹. Also, more complex measures like spreading tourists and focusing on residential tourism are sometimes mentioned in the media²⁶, but not executed yet. There is a lack of formal policy documents from this period, for example from the municipality, representing these plans. What is also defining for this first period is that the mentioned negative effects of tourism were only experienced during the summer as Giethoorn did not receive high numbers of tourists outside of this season yet²⁶.

Attitude towards tourists

The analysed newspaper articles very scarcely indicate signs of anti-tourism attitudes among Giethoorn's inhabitants between the years 1990 and 1999. Instead, the relationship with tourists is, in the media, described as very welcoming and hospitable because the local inhabitants welcomed tourism as an alternative to the old crafts that were required to make a living in the village when it was still poorer^{12,26}. As a result, there are only very little complaints about the high numbers of tourists and associated nuisances, according to different newspapers. The *Leeuwarder Courant* indicates that only the newcomers and second homeowners complain about it sometimes as " [...] they see their rural idyll being disturbed"²⁶. According to the same newspaper, the original inhabitants of Giethoorn say that this is because the inhabitants that came to the village later, do not have the experience of what it was like to live in Giethoorn before the growth of tourism. Hence, the new inhabitants do not sense the urgent role of tourism as a driver of the local economy, according to the first inhabitants. In the few mentions in the media of, relatively mild, complaints regarding overcrowdedness due to tourism, there is no reference to different categories of tourists^{1,26,28,31,38}.

5.2.2 Tourists as the drivers of employment opportunities (2000-2015)

International tourism

At the beginning of the 21st century, local entrepreneurs saw the increase of international tourism as a chance because it gave them the opportunity to make an income from tourism throughout the entire year, and not only in summer⁴⁴. Therefore, restaurants translated their menus into Mandarin^{52,54}, a hotel owner removed room number 4 because this number is associated with bad luck in China^{49,52}, soft mattresses were replaced by harder ones as that is the preference of Chinese tourists⁴⁴ and menus without alcohol were made for tourists from Arabic countries⁴⁹. Thus, entrepreneurs seemed eager to quickly adapt to the preferences and demands of international tourists^{42,44,49,52,54}.

There are different factors behind the internationalisation of tourism in Giethoorn which have been discussed in various newspapers. Especially the reasons for the growing number of tourists from China have been mentioned frequently. Entrepreneur and hotel owner Gabriella Esselbrugge is seen as the person who was responsible for the initial marketing of Giethoorn in China because she recognized that Giethoorn received the majority of the tourists during the summer months and was the first to see a chance in attracting tourists from Asia to the village outside of this high season^{10,14,17,56}. Namely, she thought of running a hotel in Giethoorn as " [...] fun in summer, dead in winter, only Asians could ensure four seasons of liveliness"¹⁷. To get tourists to visit Giethoorn during low season, she started marketing the village in China and worked together with the Dutch Bureau for Tourism and Congresses in China⁴⁹. As a result, the village was included in the Orange Guide, i.e. the Chinese version of the Lonely Planet guide, and positive word-of-mouth is also considered an important factor in the growth

of international tourism as Chinese bloggers started to recommend Giethoorn as the “Garden of Eden”⁴⁴. At the same time, VISA regulations for Chinese tourists were loosened^{14,44,61}, prosperity increased as the middle-class in Asia grew^{12,14,44} and digitalisation was also happening⁴⁷. What is further mentioned as a factor contributing to the growth of international tourism is that the village acquired a spot on the special edition of the board game Monopoly^{14,44,55}. To achieve this, the whole village was mobilized to vote. At the time, Giethoorn had already established awareness as a brand because “ [...] we also saw votes from China coming in”⁵⁵ but this event increased the awareness of Giethoorn as a tourist destination and brand even further in China^{14,55}.

Role of tourism

With the growth of international tourism, the benefits of tourism for Giethoorn were highlighted in both media and policy, rather than the negative effects that are also associated with tourism. This means that a variance of documents emphasises that tourism is important for the local economy of Giethoorn in terms of the provision of income and the presence of facilities. For example, those who have lived in Giethoorn for a longer time realise that times were more difficult in the past as “the people there were always poor. They had to practice three crafts at the same time for a living”³⁵. Inhabitants see tourism as a business that is doing well for Giethoorn in this sense, as it provides them with benefits in the form of income^{12,34,35,46,67,106}. In terms of facilities, an increasing number of Chinese tourists travelling to Giethoorn provided attention to public transport in the region. Because of the high number of Asian tourists using it, among others bus line 70 was maintained while it was previously scheduled to disappear⁵². Thus, inhabitants also see tourism as positive for the village because it is associated with the benefit of maintaining facilities: “Thanks to the Asian tourists, bus line 70 can keep driving”⁵².

Relating to these positive effects associated with tourism in Giethoorn, the (potential) negative effects of tourism were overlooked by the municipality with regards to the number of boats that rental companies are allowed to use, which is fixed in permits. Namely, when rental companies demanded an increase of the allowed number of rental boats in 2007, there only had to be waited to distribute these permits because the bird protection organisation was afraid of the impact it would have on nature. At that time, the municipality had already agreed with the entrepreneurs’ demand. In this case, there was no mention of any worries about overcrowding as the result of increasing the number of boats in the canals⁴¹. Thus, the negative role that tourism can have in a tourist destination was not taken into consideration by the municipality in this case.

Regulation of tourism

Relating to the income that is associated with the tourism sector in Giethoorn, some measures to increase income in the tourism sector are discussed in policy documents for the region. The sense of urgency regarding the need to regulate tourism to minimize its’ (potential) negative impacts was minimal at this time. Instead, there is often related to the goal of generating more employment opportunities and income through tourism when measures to regulate this sector in Giethoorn are mentioned. This view is especially formalized in the *Policy note tourism and recreation municipality Steenwijkerland* that was published in 2003⁶⁷. Along the lines of the trend of the growing economic value of the tourism sector, the municipality formulated the aim to “ [...] generate more carrying capacity and purchasing power through housing construction and economic - and touristic investments”⁶⁷. Considering this goal, the municipality aimed to partly do this in the tourism and

recreation sector of Steenwijkerland through an increase of tourist's spendings in the region. There were two options to achieve this, which were to either attract more day tourists or to increase the average duration of tourists' stay. Of these two options, the municipality preferred the latter, because

when these visitors [day-trippers], however, stay in the region for a longer period, the spendings increase stronger. This because residential tourists spend more per day than day-trippers do. The realisation of more overnight stays in the municipality Steenwijkerland is, therefore, an important means to achieve the formulated goal.⁶⁷

To attract more of these residential tourists, the goals that were formulated by the municipality are to (1) extend the offer of residential recreation, (2) invest in the offer of day recreation by for example optimizing the interaction between art and culture on the one hand and tourism and recreation on the other and (3) improve the quality of boating recreation. Thus, measures such as the realisation of new moorings and the maintenance of walking - and cycling paths were suggested and/or implemented to generate more employment opportunities and income in the region rather than being a response to the (potential) negative impacts that are associated with the tourism sector in Giethoorn. Besides, increasing the offer of day recreation can also be beneficial for inhabitants but in this case, that is not presented as a priority⁶⁷. Instead, the main goal of the municipality's plan to increase the offer of day recreation is to attract more tourists and to increase the duration of their stay.

However, the fact that measures are mostly suggested to capitalize on the generation of income and employment opportunities that are associated with tourism is not to say that the negative effects of tourism on the village, as perceived by local inhabitants, are completely overlooked. Namely, the opinion that it might be necessary to regulate tourism and, herewith, control its' effects does also appear sometimes. Already in 2000, the former municipality Brederwiede produced a plan to regulate one of the negative effects of tourism. Namely, the municipality considered the plan to make visitors pay for required maintenance through a tax on the rent of recreational boats³⁷. Entrepreneurs were, however, strongly opposed to this plan as they were afraid that "with these kinds of measures, tourists are being scared away"³⁷ and an important source of income of Giethoorn's entrepreneurs would, hence, be endangered. This financial motive against the implementation of measures for the tourism industry also returned in another discussion regarding boating in Giethoorn. In 2004, the municipality planned to further regulate the use of boats by only allowing electrical or silent boats in Giethoorn's main canal the Dorpsgracht. A policy officer of the municipality clarified that this regulation was initiated because inhabitants had, in the past, indicated that the use of combustion engines was seen as a problem. However, when the plan was communicated to the local inhabitants, it led to a lot of commotion in the village and an action committee was quickly established to gather signatures against the proposed measures. The majority of both entrepreneurs and inhabitants were against it because "it is not financially feasible for everybody"⁴⁵ and "I want to be able to sail with my boat when it suits me"⁴⁵ which indicates an objection of the loss of some freedom. Furthermore, in 2012, an inhabitant who has been working in the tourism industry for more than 40 years warned that " [...] the municipality of Steenwijkerland should stay on top of it [tourism in Giethoorn]"⁵⁰.

Attitude towards tourists

Considering the emphasis on the positive effects of tourism in Giethoorn, the dominant view became that Giethoorn is equal to tourism and tourists, then, also belong in the village. The two have become

so interwoven that they can barely be separated from each other anymore^{12,35} and “ [...] that is something that nobody can deny nowadays”¹². As one of the inhabitants who has never had a problem with the high number of tourists in Giethoorn stated, “you take it into account”⁵¹. Also, in a survey that was conducted among the inhabitants of Giethoorn, as part of the development of the *Village plan Giethoorn*, it was indicated that the inhabitants see tourism as highly characteristic of Giethoorn. The association between Giethoorn and tourism was even stronger than the association with, for example, polder reclamation which played a major role in the origination of the village. Furthermore, Giethoorn is seen as “ [...] thé big attraction regarding day recreation in the municipality Steenwijkerland and in the region”¹⁰⁶. Thus, local inhabitants consider tourists to be an integral part of Giethoorn and, therefore, accept them.

However, the experienced negative effects of the high number of tourists in Giethoorn as perceived by inhabitants are also mentioned in the media. For example, in the following newspaper article where, what seem to be, issues that are unrelated to tourism are discussed. The article that was published in 2009 covers an information market for sports and literature that had been organised in Giethoorn, which had disappointing results. Here, it is mentioned that

inhabitants of Giethoorn avoid each other. Tourism brought us a lot of benefits, but also hate and envy about the money. Back in the days, we used to have a flourishing association life, but the youth are sitting behind the computer nowadays.⁴³

Even though this is the only part of the article that has a relation with tourism, it headlines the “hate-love relation” that Giethoorn supposedly has with tourism⁴³.

Besides the media, the negative effects that are being experienced by inhabitants due to the high number of tourists in Giethoorn are also reflected in the developed *Village plan Giethoorn* for 2030, which presents the inhabitants’ vision on the desired future development of Giethoorn. It was created at the initiative of ‘t Gieters Belang and the inhabitants with the aim that the municipality would take into consideration their vision with regards to new developments in Giethoorn. However, this document did not have a policy status. To make it an official policy document, the municipality would have had to determine it as spatial policy in the form of a structure vision in accordance with the Spatial Planning Act¹⁰⁶. The main elements in the *Village plan Giethoorn* are maintaining the liveability and authenticity of the village. Nevertheless, tourism and recreation are also described as an economic chance in this vision because the inhabitants acknowledge that “recreation/tourism is an important source of income for the entrepreneurs in Giethoorn and it contributes, for a great part, to employment opportunities”¹⁰⁶. In line with this, the goal of the developed *Village Plan Giethoorn* is that “Giethoorn remains a vital village with a good and social living environment for the inhabitants and an attractive environment for the guests in our village”¹⁰⁶, which refers to a balance between the interest of inhabitants who live in the village and tourists who visit it. Even though the local inhabitants are willing to share the village with tourists, it is specifically demanded from the municipality that they prioritize “ [...] the liveability in the village and support among residents in the consideration whether future developments are desirable or not”¹⁰⁶. This implies that, according to local inhabitants, the focus should be on avoiding or minimizing the negative effects that are caused by tourists and experienced by the inhabitants. Also, in this document, it is explicitly mentioned that “an overkill” of tourism should be avoided to maintain the support for tourism among the village’s inhabitants¹⁰⁶.

5.2.3 Finding a balance by focussing on “quality tourists” (2016-2021)

Attitude towards tourists

A variance of newspaper articles indicates that with the growing number of tourists in Giethoorn, inhabitants' frustrations with tourism and tourists also grew. On Whit Monday 2017, dozens of tour - and silent boats crowded the narrow, main canal of Giethoorn. An inhabitant took a picture of this and posted it on Twitter, which reached not only the regional - but also national media. Posting this picture of the overcrowded canal on Twitter is seen as the moment that a face was given to the dissatisfaction that had been building up among inhabitants but that reached a top in 2017¹⁴. At this time, it, thus, became evident how annoyed the inhabitants were with tourism in Giethoorn, as expressed in a national newspaper: “Two inhabitants who are living in the centre of the touristic area are clear. Less, less, less tourists. They say they are driving crazy”¹⁰¹. Around the same time in 2017, “ [...] two angry inhabitants pulled a Chinese billboard out of the ground”¹⁴ and “they [angry inhabitants] [...] put gates with signs in front of their gardens, with the word ‘private’ in Chinese”¹⁴. The main reason that is mentioned for inhabitants to take these actions is that they wanted to maintain the liveability in the village^{2,5,6,19,92,97}. Inhabitants said that Giethoorn was not liveable anymore as they felt like they were living in a theme park, which is something that should be avoided in their opinion^{5,11,90}. What is considered a turning point in the opinion of the inhabitants is that, with the arrival of international tourists, the nuisances associated with tourism are experienced throughout the whole year and not only in summer¹⁰.

In relation to the increasing overcrowding, it was noticed by the municipality of Steenwijkerland that “the significant growth of the number of visitors, does not seem to be represented sufficiently in the revenue from the tourist- and commuter tax”⁷⁹. This was reason for the municipality to have ZKA Leisure Consultants investigate this issue and provide advice on how the associated revenue could be increased^{77,79} “ [...] in line with the growing costs of the municipality and taking into consideration the competitive position of the tourism industry”⁷⁹. In this research, the offer of residential tourism and income from tourist tax as well as commuter tax were compared over the years 2014 and 2018. The advice that ZKA Leisure Consultants provided to Steenwijkerland, based on this comparison, was to gradually increase the height of the tourist tax over the years. To increase the income from day-visitors, it was advised to investigate a variety of alternatives to be able to also charge day-tourists. These options include parking fees, a contribution per visitor (via boat rental or tickets) and a BusinessInvestmentZone (BIZ) where local entrepreneurs have to deliver a financial contribution⁷⁹. Thus, the municipality associated tourists with revenue in this case.

International tourism

Regarding inhabitants' frustrations with tourism, special attention is being paid to Asian, and specifically Chinese, tourists in the media. The gradual increase in the number of tourists coming from Asian countries, from the previous to this last period, was by inhabitants experienced as an “explosive” growth of tourists from China^{10,44,96}. There are no records of the exact number of tourists available, but the mention of the complaints of inhabitants is numerous in different newspapers. What is especially criticized in a variety of articles is the behaviour of Chinese tourists. More specifically, inhabitants find it problematic that Chinese tourists think of Giethoorn as a theme park or museum. In the newspapers, this is often illustrated with anecdotes from inhabitants, such as these:

Someone found Chinese tourists on his garden bench – they thought that the bench belonged to the public domain. The other was clamped onto by a Chinese tourist who asked ‘at what time does it close here?’ – she meant that she was in an open-air museum. And another one found a diaper in a container that is used to store materials, which belonged to the local sailing club.¹⁴

Other examples of why inhabitants say that Chinese tourists see Giethoorn as a tourist attraction include entering private areas such as gardens, kitchens and toilets, ticking on and looking through windows, taking pictures of everybody and everything and mailboxes being mistaken for trash bins^{5,10,11,14,17,19,44,101}. An initiative of local inhabitants to change tourists’ behaviour, through information provision, also specifically focussed on Chinese tourists: “If you point out to the Chinese that things have to be done differently, you can avoid a lot of irritation”¹¹. Another reason for the local inhabitants to complain about the presence of Asian or Chinese tourists concerns real estate^{14,19,88,90,101}. As Chinese investors bought some houses in the village to accommodate tourists, inhabitants were afraid that this would threaten the authenticity of the village. Besides, there were fears that these houses would be vacant during the majority of the year^{14,19,88}. One of the inhabitants described his concerns as follows:

The Chinese investor has already indicated that he wants to replace the garden with tiles. Because he does not want any maintenance. Surely, this party is not going to maintain the farm and the property as decent as we as inhabitants do. That is not good for the character of the village.⁹⁰

Even though tourists from Asian countries other than China also started to visit Giethoorn more^{12,60}, the tourists from these other Asian countries, such as Japan and Taiwan, are often also seen and described as Chinese. Thus, in many cases inhabitants refer to all Asian tourists as Chinese. The following example shows that this is also the case in the media:

Line 70 brings the tourists from Amsterdam, the last part, to Giethoorn. At the bus stop, the departure times are displayed in Chinese signs. The bus is packed. Bus driver Frans van den Berg and a day-tripper from Limburg are the only ones who do not look Asian.⁵²

The fragment “sailing through the canals of Giethoorn, the many tourists with an Asian appearance are being noticed”⁵⁴ also shows that the high visibility and recognizability of the first Chinese tourists is emphasised in the media. At this point, the growing number of tourists from Asia in Giethoorn is, in the media, even described as an invasion of Chinese tourists^{5,90}. This is also the case in the following fragment: “The groups of Chinese tourists are everywhere. Giethoorn seems like an enclave of the Asian country”⁵². Thus, the media narrative about Chinese tourists has become more negative at this point.

However, other Dutch tourist destinations also noticed the high number of Chinese tourists in Giethoorn and saw this as an opportunity. Namely, the Dutch villages Coevorden and Kampen explicitly expressed the aim to attract more Chinese tourists to generate more income. However, the destinations also want to avoid an extreme situation like in Giethoorn^{57,91}. Thus, the successful marketing of Giethoorn in China is an inspiration for these destinations to take benefit of the chance that this market offers while avoiding the frustration that it has caused in Giethoorn.

Even though inhabitants of Giethoorn expressed frustration as the result of the increasing number of international tourists “ [...] entrepreneurs, who now had clients throughout the year, also in low season”⁵, still see Asian tourists as an important source of income for the local economy of Giethoorn. Therefore, local entrepreneurs are still attracting these tourists and adapting to their wishes and needs. For example, the Chinese mobile payment system Alipay was introduced in Giethoorn as a way to increase the spendings of Chinese tourists in the village⁹⁶.

Role of tourism

The different perspectives relating to the increase of international tourism illustrate the conflicting interests that there are in this village. In this specific situation, the inhabitants are opposed to the entrepreneurs as they are confronted with the negative effects of tourism during every month of the year whereas the second group is glad to receive customers during low season⁵. The opposing interests of inhabitants and entrepreneurs were also highlighted in an aforementioned instance. According to the chair of Giethoorn Onderneemt, the picture that was posted on Twitter was not an accurate representation of reality, because “there was a boat with musicians wedged across the canal, which caused the congestion”¹⁴ which could not be seen in the picture. However, the chair of ‘t Gieters Belang disagreed by stating that the presence of this boat was not the cause of the congestion in the canal. “Besides, during other summer days there also is a traffic jam like this and, then, there is no boat wedged across the canal”¹⁴.

The contradictory interests are not only evidenced by these two specific examples but also in a broader sense. To highlight the interests of the entrepreneurs, it is emphasised how much income tourism provides and how many jobs are associated with the sector. This is the case in the media^{5,9,10,90,92,95,101,102,103} as well as in vision - and policy documents^{62,64,69,70,71,75,80,81,104}. The *Environmental vision Steenwijkerland* specifically highlights capitalizing on the potential for employment opportunities in the tourism sector by focussing on a wealthy target group⁶³. Also, receiving (international) tourists throughout the year, lowers entrepreneurs’ dependence on high season^{93,100}. Whereas positive associations with tourism are supported by quotations of entrepreneurs^{5,9,10,64,90,95,101,102}, inhabitants are quoted to show the negative side of tourism in Giethoorn^{2,5,10,11,14,17,19,64,88,90,91,92,95,101,102,104}. Indeed, in most cases, their interests are opposed to those of Giethoorn’s entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, there also is some overlap between the interests of the entrepreneurs and the inhabitants. For example, the presence of different recreation options and facilities contributes to the interests of both groups.

Regulation of tourism

The municipality saw the situation, with the inhabitants and entrepreneurs opposed to each other, as problematic and started to take a (stronger) role in managing the visitor pressure in Giethoorn. In other words, the municipality was of the opinion that a balance had to be found between the interests of the inhabitants and those of the entrepreneurs. Part of this role has been to facilitate the development of an updated vision for the future of Giethoorn, with the involvement of local parties and individuals. Considering the growth of tourism that the Dutch Bureau for Tourism and Congresses (NBTC) prognosed, the pressure on Giethoorn would increase, which necessitated the formulation of a desired direction for the future of the village¹⁰⁷. In this process, two important focuses arose for Giethoorn, i.e. on the liveability in the village and on its’ authentic character. This has been formalized in the *Future*

vision Giethoorn, that was published in 2020, in the following themes: (1) “the local community is priority one” and (2) “it actually is a strange village”⁶². In relation to the first theme, the municipality’s aim to invest in the local community is formulated. This through a more explicit focus on a good living environment and on limiting disturbance. Making visitors pay, to provide more balance to the positives and negatives of tourism, is also part of this⁶². Namely, local policy makers now acknowledge that, in the past, the focus has mostly been on the economic benefits associated with tourism and not on the broader context¹⁰⁷. The theme “it actually is a strange village”⁶² highlights the authenticity and uniqueness of Giethoorn, which contributes to the experience of visitors. For example, local shipyards plead for more wooden punts in the rental fleet. According to the developed vision, “the starting point is that every initiative in Giethoorn, big or small, must contribute to the strengthening of the quality and uniqueness of this extraordinary village”⁶².

While these two themes solely relate to the village itself, the wider region has also been taken into consideration in the development of the vision. Nature reserve De Wieden is part of the national park Weerribben-Wieden, located in the municipality Steenwijkerland. Giethoorn links to the park’s aims in the following:

In Giethoorn, we see space for initiatives that appeal to target groups that look for quality, pay attention to nature and the environment and care for the well-being of inhabitants. Especially with the increasing attention for a healthy living environment, healthy lifestyle and care for the environment.⁶²

This type of tourist is named the “insight seeker” and matches with the offer of national park Weerribben-Wieden. In this context, a focus on measures to promote residential tourism and spreading also become relevant. However, as this area has a lower carrying capacity, a search for a balance between economy, ecology and liveability is associated with this⁶².

The *Future vision Giethoorn* was designed as a direction-providing document for the future development of the village, meaning that when decisions have to be made, it should be considered whether the initiative contributes to the liveability in Giethoorn as a whole. Thus, the strategies and themes formulated in the vision serve as an assessment framework for future initiatives⁶². Following these guidelines, certain plans have been brought into practice by the municipality already. For example, entrepreneurs now have to pay a tax for rental boats. This with the intention that entrepreneurs claim these costs from boat renters so that visitors also contribute to the region¹⁰⁷.

A concept that is often emphasised with regards to the management of Giethoorn as a destination is cooperation, especially in policy. Policy documents clarify that, especially because there is dividedness in the village, it is important to find common grounds and cooperate with each other in order to improve the quality of the village as a whole. For example, the title of the coalition agreement for Steenwijkerland is “through connection to result”⁶⁹ and at its’ founding, Giethoorn Onderneemt formulated the aim to “work together for one goal, noses in the same direction”⁵³. Also, the *Future vision Giethoorn* highlights the required cooperation in the following:

In the process of arriving at this vision, it has once again been proven that Giethoorn is committed and involved in the future of its’ own village. In the vision working group, there has

been worked (together) hard to arrive at a widely supported vision. This was, however, not always easy. Even though in most cases 'the noses' were in the same direction, there were a number of topics where the interests were a bit further apart.⁶²

This dividedness was especially highlighted in the consultation notes to the vision for Giethoorn. Some of the commenters were of the opinion that further growth of the tourism sector in Giethoorn is absolutely unacceptable as opposed to inhabitants who noted that the costs and benefits of tourism in Giethoorn are, in fact, in balance. Furthermore, it was suggested in these notes that visitors should contribute to the costs that are associated with tourism, but also that there is no carrying capacity for the developed vision among entrepreneurs as it is still to be seen whether tourists will come back⁶⁴. Regarding these diverging interests, the municipality does not "indicate which interests weigh the heaviest" as "often, the right balance can only be found in dialogue with all stakeholders"⁶³. Nevertheless, KopTop, which is an association of recreation entrepreneurs in the region Weerribben-Wieden, states that "the interest of the [tourism] sector can or should be prioritized over the limited interests of several inhabitants [...] who experience the number of tourists as burdensome"¹⁰⁴. Contrariwise, individual commenters and 't Gieters Belang highlight the importance of addressing inhabitants' interests with regards to tourism development in Giethoorn. To enable the cooperation of these parties with their diverging interests, the municipality expressed the aim to take initiative and have a facilitating role^{63,104}.

Besides cooperation within the village itself, it is also considered important by governmental actors to work together with surrounding municipalities and provinces^{63,69} as well as other tourist attractions to, for example, spread tourists and seduce them to stay in the region longer^{8,71,104}.

However, the focus on cooperation in the regulation of tourism is not always reflected in practice, in the experience of inhabitants as well as organisations that are part of the tourism and recreation sector. For example, in a letter that was sent to the municipality by 't Gieters Belang, it was addressed that this organisation felt bypassed in the decision-making process regarding the development of the area the Gieterse Polder⁶⁶. Also, the municipality's intentions to increase the tourist tax led to negative responses from the tourism and recreation sector as "these intentions were not directly, in consultation with the sector, reported or discussed"⁷⁶ and "companies and managers of tourist facilities should get a say when it comes to tourist tax"⁸⁴.

COVID-19: role of tourism

When the COVID-19 pandemic started, entrepreneurs experienced limited international travel to Giethoorn^{5,10,17,93,94,95,100}. From this perspective, Giethoorn went back to the "time without guests from far away countries"¹⁰. However, local entrepreneurs were happy that the Dutch, Belgian and German tourists started visiting Giethoorn soon enough^{10,17,93,100}. Especially during the weekends, Giethoorn was being overwhelmed by day-trippers. Therefore, the municipality found it necessary to implement measures such as a bicycle ban for the path along the village's main canal, a limit on the number of people that is allowed on boats and the use of traffic controllers^{3,7,10,15,74,94,95}. Even the introduction of a ticket system was discussed, which meant that visitors would have to reserve beforehand, but this was not implemented in the end^{3,7}. So, when there was less disturbance due to international tourism in Giethoorn, inhabitants still had to deal with, what they experienced as, excessive pressure due to domestic visitors as well as tourists from Belgium and Germany. As a result, residents indicated that

they would not find it a problem if the Chinese tourists would not return so that the village would at least be calmer during the winter months^{5,17}. In fact, the newspapers quoted more extreme opinions of inhabitants: “For me, they do not have to return anymore”⁵ and “we don’t want those Chinese to come back anymore”¹⁷. This attitude dominates, but one of the local entrepreneurs is of the opinion that “the big, delivered by busses and walking behind the umbrella of a guide, groups of day-trippers will slowly be replaced by a new generation of Asians, who want more depth in their travel”¹⁷. Nevertheless, the situation regarding experienced effects of overtourism in Giethoorn remained unchanged with the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. Entrepreneurs, on the other hand, were glad that tourists from closer by still decided to visit the village during the weekends and in the summer months^{94,100}. As a local entrepreneur explained, some income could still be generated in this way: “In July and August, I think that we are at least at ninety percent of the normal situation, so that is good and quite comparable to previous years”¹⁰⁰. In this sense, the pandemic highlighted the opposing interests of inhabitants and entrepreneurs. Whereas the first group was relieved that international tourists were not coming, the second could not wait for them to return to the village.

COVID-19: international tourism

Besides the opposing interests, the pandemic also highlighted the vulnerability of tourism as a sector. During the summer months, local entrepreneurs were happy that Giethoorn still received tourists from European countries such as Germany and Belgium. However, when the international tourists did not return the following winter due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the dependence of local entrepreneurs on this group of tourists was emphasised. The wish of entrepreneurs for international tourists to return, so that income could also be generated during these months, was mentioned in several newspaper articles^{5,9,10,92,95,100,103}. For one of the hotel owners in the village, ninety percent of the guests usually comes from outside of Europe during the winter months¹⁰⁰. Thus, with these tourists not being able to visit Giethoorn, the income of entrepreneurs significantly decreased during the winter months in the pandemic. Business owners saw this as problematic and, hence, initiated a taskforce to attract European tourists during this period¹⁰⁰.

In the future vision for Giethoorn, the vulnerability of tourism as a sector is identified as an important development for the village and resilience is an important concept associated with this⁶². The vision relates to this in the following way:

This can, for example, mean a reconsideration of the countries of origin on which area promotion is focussed. In *Perspective Destination Weerribben-Wieden 2025*, there has been chosen to bet on some risk spreading through a focus on different target groups and lifestyles. Besides, there is being focussed on strengthening the connection with the Dutch market and nearby markets such as Germany and Belgium. Herewith, a strong basis is being built for tourism, which can hold when certain developments weaken or shut down the coming of tourists from further markets that are situated further away.⁶²

Thus, entrepreneurs would like to see international tourists come back, but also try to attract European tourists. The formalized vision, however, focuses on investing in the European market and not on the return of international tourists to Giethoorn.

5.2.4 Summary of the changing discourses

The previous sections outlined the different perspectives that were present during the identified periods and three resulting, dominant discourses that were found. Here, a brief summary will be provided.

To sum up the first period in which businesses and inhabitants in Giethoorn had become highly dependent on tourism for income, tourists were seen as a welcome source of income in a time where agriculture was no longer an option for this purpose. However, in Dutch tourist destinations, awareness started to raise about some risks that are associated with high numbers of tourists. Nevertheless, these effects were considered regulatable if the municipality implied relatively simple measures. This perspective also dominated in Giethoorn and tourism or tourists were, thus, not seen as problematic yet as it was being regulated through the measures implied by the municipality. Hence, the discourse “the ‘strangers’ as an alternative source of income”.

During the next period, the identified, dominant discourse was “tourists as the drivers of employment opportunities”. The benefits of tourism for Giethoorn, being the presence of facilities and the generation of employment opportunities as well as income, were highlighted during these years. Especially in the *Policy note tourism and recreation municipality Steenwijkerland*, these positive effects are emphasised. Nevertheless, Giethoorn’s inhabitants also expressed that they experienced some negative effects due to the increasing number of tourists and, therefore, called to maintain the liveability and authenticity of the village. To regulate these negative effects as experienced by inhabitants, some measures were introduced by the municipality. Furthermore, international tourism started to increase but inhabitants still experienced the village as being relatively calm during the winter months of these years.

The most recent years are characterised by the opposing perspectives of local inhabitants and entrepreneurs, which is especially highlighted in light of the growing number of international tourists that Giethoorn received. In relation to inhabitants’ frustrations with tourism, newspaper articles often refer to the behaviour of Asian tourists. Contrariwise, local entrepreneurs see the increasing number of international tourists visiting Giethoorn as essential for their businesses to generate income throughout the year and not only during summer. The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted these opposing interests as well as the vulnerability of the international tourism market. Relating to the differing interests, the municipality started to take a stronger role with the aim of maintaining the authenticity of Giethoorn and giving more priority to the liveability in the village as opposed to solely prioritizing the economic interests. A focus on a different type of tourist, which forms a better match with these goals, was mentioned in different policy documents, hence the formal discourse in the last period is described as “finding a balance by focussing on ‘quality tourists’ ”.

5.3 The subjectification of tourists in Giethoorn

In the foregoing sections, the perspectives on tourists and tourism that were present in the media and in policy, during each of the three periods, have been explored. These perspectives produced different discourses, which have also been outlined and summarised in the previous sections (*chapter 5.2.1* until *5.2.4*). Following a Foucauldian perspective, the coming into being of specific kinds of subjects is the effect of these discursive shifts. Hence, sections 5.3.1 until 5.3.3 describe how the identified discourses

affect the way in which the tourist has been constructed as a subject, in the context of Giethoorn, over the years.

5.3.1 Tourists: a homogeneous group of “strangers”

During the first decade of the analysed timespan, the dominant discourse was that tourists are strangers that should be welcomed and through repetition, this became a norm at the moment. The underlying idea was that inhabitants should be grateful for the coming of tourists as it was not possible to make a living through agriculture anymore. This became a norm in the sense that the complaints of new inhabitants about tourism were attributed to a lack of this realization. The first inhabitants, namely, indicated that new inhabitants would only complain about tourism because they do not realize its’ crucial role for the local economy. Thus, it is normalized that tourists are welcome in Giethoorn and pathologized to complain about the presence of tourists. Herewith, the tourist emerged as a subject that provided an alternative source of income for the village. Through this economic discourse, the tourist became a subject which had to save Giethoorn in the sense that local inhabitants would not be able to provide a living for themselves without the presence of these tourists. Alternative scenarios for Giethoorn, in which the tourist would not be there as an economic subject, then become unfeasible, as expressed in the following: “Giethoorn as an agricultural area. It is almost impossible to imagine”¹². This scenario also becomes undesired as tourism was considered to have an essential, positive role in the local economy. Because all tourists fulfil the idea of a subject that provides a source of income for the village, there were no different categories to be identified at this time. Tourists were, instead, seen as a homogenous group providing a required source of income.

5.3.2 Tourists: the drivers of employment opportunities

During the following years, the tourist still emerged as an economic subject. However, in this process of subjectification the focus was not only on the generation of income but also on the associated employment opportunities for the region. Between 2000 and 2015, certain measures were introduced to take benefit of the tourist as a subject that is essential for the creation of income in the tourism and recreation sector, and herewith employment opportunities. Through this economic discourse, the tourist is constructed as a subject which creates employment opportunities for the region. Even though the tourist only emerged as this one subject at that time, different categories of this subject could be identified. As stated in the *Policy note tourism and recreation municipality Steenwijkerland*, “it is clear that consumers are an increasingly less homogeneous group. This necessitates a flexible and demand-focussed product.”⁶⁷. The way in which tourists were categorized during this period reflects the formation of the tourist as an employment opportunity generating subject, which will be clarified in the following.

Firstly, the country of origin of the tourists formed a basis for the categorization of tourists as Giethoorn started to receive more international tourists, especially outside of high season. Local entrepreneurs had also tried to attract domestic tourists during these months, through the project “Winter Giethoorn”, but that was not successful⁵⁰. International tourists are then seen as a more preferred subject during the winter months as they are more likely to visit during this time, in comparison to domestic or European tourists. The narrative about international tourists was, thus, rather positive as these tourists are associated with the generation of income and employment opportunities, especially during the months in which tourists from markets closer by cannot serve this purpose.

Secondly, there was being distinguished between different tourists based on the duration of their stay. This is reflected in a formalized perspective in the form of the *Policy note tourism and recreation municipality Steenwijkerland*. The preference of residential tourists over day-tourists applies the whole year and not only in winter, since residential tourists are associated with more income and employment opportunities.

Thus, both the categorization of tourists based on their country of origin and the duration of their stay relate to the subjectivity of the tourist that is associated with the generation of income and employment opportunities. As opposed to these formalized perspectives regarding the tourist as an economic subject, the call of Giethoorn's inhabitants to maintain the authenticity and liveability in the village is not formalized. However, there are no different categories of tourists associated with this. It, rather, is the number of tourists that is addressed by inhabitants. Thus, tourists only come into being as differentiated subjects when it is not only the quantity of tourists that is being addressed but also the quality.

5.3.3 A focus on the "quality tourist"

In contrast to the foregoing periods, the tourist does not only emerge as an economic subject, but during recent years also as a subject that is associated with negative impacts or nuisances. The tourist then also emerges as a subject that is impactful for the region. For these reasons, the tourist is furthermore constructed as a subject that has to be managed, which relates to a specific category of tourists, being "quality tourists". Namely, even though they are not explicitly named as such, the targeted "culture tourists" from Germany and Belgium are, in formal policy, seen as the "quality tourists" of Giethoorn.

In the emergence of the tourist as an economic subject, the perspective of entrepreneurs dominates. Here, international tourists are associated with the positive characteristic of providing entrepreneurs with an income during the winter months, which highlights the dependence of entrepreneurs on international tourists. In the context of COVID-19, the image of the tourist as an economic subject was reinforced as the pandemic highlighted entrepreneurs' dependence on international tourists. However, in formal discourse and especially in the *Future vision Giethoorn*, tourists from countries closer by emerged as more desirable economic subjects as this is considered a less vulnerable target group in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, from an entrepreneurial perspective, non-European tourists are the more preferred economic subjects, whereas formal policy presents European tourists as more desired subjects.

The formation of the tourist as a subject that is associated with negative impacts or nuisances is mainly driven by the way in which tourists are portrayed in the media. During foregoing years, tourists were strongly associated with positive effects on the village, in both media and policy, but this changed towards a more negative media narrative between 2016 and 2021. The nuisances as experienced by inhabitants were foregrounded whereas the associated positive effects being income, employment opportunities and the presence of certain services and facilities were backgrounded in the media. In comparison to the previous years, the narrative about international tourists became more negative in specific. In different newspapers, Asian and especially Chinese tourists were associated with behaviour that makes inhabitants feel like they are living in a theme park, which is not desired by the inhabitants

themselves. Thus, relating to the subjectivity of tourists as nuisances-causing for inhabitants, the media makes different categories on the basis of tourists' country of origin.

Because the tourist is an economic subject, but also one that can cause nuisances for inhabitants, the tourist emerges as a subject that is impactful for the village and the wider region. In line with this, the concept "broad prosperity" that was introduced in formal policy emphasises that tourism should not only contribute to economic benefits, but that liveability and ecology should also be taken into consideration. Considering the tourists as an impactful subject, different categories of tourists can be distinguished based on the country of origin, duration of the stay as well as tourist's interests. Here, it becomes evident that the subjectivity of the tourist is the result of binary distinctions.

As mentioned before, Asian tourists emerge as subjects causing nuisances for the inhabitants in different newspapers because they did not behave as they were supposed to, which can be considered a negative impact on the village in this sense. Tourists with other nationalities did, however, not emerge as subjects in this way. Also, European tourists are, in formal policy, presented as having a higher, positive contribution to the region than non-European tourists. This because the perception of European tourists is that they do not only rent a boat and go on the canals before leaving the region, but that they also visit other tourist attractions in the surroundings of Giethoorn. Thus, in policy as well as in the media, non-European tourists come into being as subjects with a negative impact on the region while European tourists are associated with a positive impact.

Furthermore, it is suggested in media and policy that day-trippers contribute less to the region than residential tourists. In this light, day-trippers emerge as less desirable subject whereas residential tourists are more desirable subjects. This is formalized in the *Future vision Giethoorn* as there is being distinguished between day-trippers and tourists based on their overall contribution to the region. Also, the idea that day-trippers and residential tourists are different subjects is reinforced by regulations that make the difference between day-trippers and residential tourists explicit through, for example, differentiated tourist taxes. The duration of tourists' stay as the basis for different subject is less evident in discourses that have not been formalized. Sometimes, day-trippers and residential tourists are identified as distinct groups in the media, but often this is not explicit. Thus, the categorization of the tourist as an impactful subject, based on the duration of their stay, is especially prevalent in formal policy where day-trippers are associated with a negative impact on the region and residential tourists with a more positive impact.

Moreover, the categories that are being made of tourists based on their interests also relate to the tourist as an impactful subject. This categorization has not been identified during the previous periods, as opposed to the previously mentioned categorizations. A recurring theme in policy is "it actually is a strange village". Herewith, formal policy documents focus on the authenticity and uniqueness of Giethoorn and its' special cultural history. Tourists who are seen as a fit with this idea and who are interested in these aspects, are identified as "culture tourists" and are considered to have a positive impact on the region because they will also visit other tourist attractions in the area. Along this line of thought, tourists who are not interested in culture are then seen as less desirable tourists for Giethoorn and are associated with a negative impact on the region.

Thus, what recurs in the construction of the different subjectivities of the tourists during recent years is that different groups of tourists are opposed to each other. For example, day-trippers are constructed as subjects that have a negative impact on the region whereas residential tourists are constructed as subjects that have a positive impact on Giethoorn and the surroundings. Also, non-European tourists are contrasted with European tourists and “culture tourists” are opposed to tourists that are not interested in culture. These categorizations of the tourists in Giethoorn indicate that binary distinctions between tourists form the basis for the subjectivity of tourists.

Finally, the tourist emerges as a subject in a fourth form. Because of the opposition between the tourist as an economic subject and as a subject that is associated with negative impacts or nuisances, the tourist emerges as a subject that needs to be managed. Along this line of thought, the subjectivity of the “quality tourist” is constructed through the dominant, formal discourse. This is considered the ideal, or desired subject for Giethoorn as this subjectivity reinforces the idea that it is possible to attract a tourist which fulfils the positives that are associated with the economic subject, but which is not associated with nuisances. Thus, the tourist emerges as a quality subject or the ideal subject as this subjectivity brings together the opposing interests of entrepreneurs and inhabitants. Characteristics that are ascribed to these “quality tourists” include: staying more than one night, having a higher level of spending in the village, being interested in culture and coming from stable markets which are countries that are situated more nearby. Due to the (stereotypical) images that are being held of certain groups of tourists, the characteristics of the “quality tourist” are mostly ascribed to tourists from Germany and Belgium and not to Asian tourists. Only having a higher level of spending in the village is also associated with Asian tourists, as a local entrepreneur explains “tourists from Asian countries have money to spend”⁸.

5.4 The (potential) consequences of subject formations

The previous sections of this chapter have outlined how through a variance of perspectives, different discourses have been produced over the years, leading to the construction of different subjectivities of the tourist in Giethoorn. The concept of performativity addresses the effects of discourse. In other words, discourse is associated with different realities, or performative effects. Therefore, the final section of this chapter describes three (potential) consequences of different subject formations of tourists.

5.4.1 Desired and undesired subjects

Firstly, the construction of a desired subject for a tourist destination, like the “quality tourist”, also implies that there are subjects that are undesired. Namely, as a consequence of the dynamics in which the “quality tourist” is constructed as the ideal subject, other groups of tourists are constructed as less desired or even undesired subjects, based on their nationality. The strict definition of the “quality tourist” as described in policy does, however, not necessarily exclude certain groups of tourists. The focus on tourists with an interest in culture which is considered a characteristic of the “quality tourist”, does not exclude international, or specifically Asian tourists. Also, the focus on residential tourists does not exclude any ethnic groups. It is through the interplay of the dominant, formal discourse of “finding a balance by focussing on ‘quality tourists’ ” and the media discourse which constructs specific groups of tourists as nuisance-creating subjects, that the “quality tourist” is constructed as a desired tourist whereas other groups of tourists are constructed as less desired or undesired subjects. However, there also is a strong economic discourse present still. It is due to the presence of this discourse that the idea

that there should also be focussed on other tourists, i.e. non-European tourists, still emerges, which is especially expressed in the perspective of entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, through the interaction with the dominant, formal discourse, these tourists are then constructed as less desired or even undesired tourists as they do not fit the category of "quality tourists". Thus, in the subject formation of the "quality tourist", other groups of tourists are constructed as less desired or undesired subjects.

This dynamic, where certain groups of tourists become desired subjects and other groups undesired subjects, also becomes evident in relation to the construction of the tourist as an impactful subject. The formal discourse, which was present between 2016 and 2021, constructs the tourist as a subject which should make an overall positive contribution to the region. At the same time, the media discourse constructs non-European tourists as subjects that are associated with nuisances for the inhabitants and with day-trips, but not with residential tourism. Through the interaction of the formal discourse and the media discourse, non-European tourists are thus constructed as less desirable subjects for Giethoorn as a tourist destination.

During the first two periods, it was not the case that certain tourists were constructed as undesired subjects. At that time, tourists that contributed to the generation of income and/or employment opportunities were constructed as desired subjects. Because almost all tourists make such a contribution, notwithstanding that they do this to different extents, there were no different subjectivities of tourists to be identified. In other words, the different subjectivities that were identified during this last period, did not play a role at that time. As a result, there were no groups of tourists that were constructed as undesirable subjects.

5.4.2 Backgrounding of certain interests

A second consequence of the presence of different discourses and subject formations is that the interests of specific (groups of) people might be backgrounded. This section builds on Foucault's concept of power-knowledge to elaborate on this consequence.

The economic discourse has been constant throughout the analysed periods. During the first years, this was the only discourse that was present. The idea that Giethoorn needed tourists as there were no alternative sources of income available was constantly repeated in documents from a variety of sources, securing a sense of naturalness. This is what Butler (1993) describes as " [...] the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (p. 2). In the process of the normalization of this economic discourse, the interests of second homeowners and newcomers who see their rural idyll being disturbed are backgrounded. During the second period, other ideas about the sector arose at a wider scale. Local inhabitants started to recognize that there also were some negatives associated with tourism, i.e. that the high number of tourists that Giethoorn was receiving could threaten the authenticity and uniqueness of the village. Nevertheless, the formal discourse at this time still was that tourists contributed to the generation of income and, herewith, to employment opportunities in the region. Thus, the economic discourse still dominated then. Local inhabitants' ideas of the negatives of tourism did not become a part of formal policy during the timespan of this second period. Relating to Foucault's concept of power and knowledge, the dominant economic discourse at this moment was guided by people in power. The alternative discourse that was guided by the local inhabitants was, on the other hand, not part of formal policy as those who guide this discourse did not have the power to guide the dominant discourse.

In line with the dominant economic discourse, the tourist emerged as an economic subject from 1990 until 2015. In this subject formation, it was, however, backgrounded that the tourist can also lead to nuisances for the local inhabitants. It was only in the last identified period that the tourist also became another subject than solely an economic one as the perspective of inhabitants was incorporated in formalized discourses to a greater extent. First, a discourse that presented tourists as a nuisance for Giethoorn became prevalent in media and the tourist was then constructed as a subject that is associated with nuisances. Through repetition, this subject formation started to influence, and become part of, formal policy. Herewith, local inhabitants' perspective was incorporated in formalized discourses, reinforcing the subjectivity of the tourist as nuisance creating. However, formal policy did not only relate to the economic discourse and the experienced nuisances. The tourist also arose as a subject that is impactful for the village and the wider region. These subject formations do also foreground and background specific interests. Thus, this case study of Giethoorn shows that the subjectivity of the tourist is mostly dependent on formalized discourses and in this process, some interests and perspectives are backgrounded whereas others are foregrounded. When the tourist is constructed as a certain subject, interests that are in line with this subject formation are foregrounded and other interests are backgrounded.

Thus, the interests of certain groups of people might be backgrounded through discourse as well as through different subject formations. The perspective of local inhabitants, who expressed that they experienced negative effects due to tourism, was not reflected in the formal discourse at the beginning of this century. As a result, the interests of this group of people were backgrounded in the process of policymaking. Also, in the construction of the tourist as a nuisance-creating subject, it is backgrounded that tourists generate income, which is in the interest of entrepreneurs. Contrariwise, the formation of the tourist as an economic subject backgrounds the interest of local inhabitants who expressed that they experience nuisances as the result of tourism. From a Foucauldian perspective, the concept of power-knowledge can thus be used to explain why certain perspectives or subjects are not present in a discourse or in different subject formations of the tourist, as is the case here. Relating to this post-structuralist perspective, it means that not all stakeholders are in a position of power to influence the way in which the tourist is constructed as a subject in the case of Giethoorn.

5.4.3 Legitimation of measures

Another consequence of different subject formations is that it can legitimate the implementation of certain measures or policies. Chan (2009) identified how in Hong Kong, policies were legitimized by the risk discourse that was promoted by the government at that time. Not only discourses, but also different subject formations can have this consequence, as has been illustrated in this case study of Giethoorn. In this tourist destination, a discourse that constructed tourists as subject that have to make a positive overall contribution to the region was present between 2016 and 2021. As a result, the tourist was constructed as an impactful subject, and this is associated with different categories of tourists. In the light of this discourse, the distinction between day-trippers and residential tourists was made explicit in policy imposing differentiated tourist taxes. Thus, the implementation of differentiated tourist taxes for day-trippers and residential tourists in Giethoorn is the consequence of the formation of the tourist as an impactful subject.

Furthermore, during the second period, inhabitants already experienced some negative impacts due to high number of tourists. However, it was not until more recent years, when frustrations had reached a peak, that this perspective also became part of formal policy, and that the tourist was constructed as a nuisance-creating subject. Only then, it was normalized to minimize the negative effects of tourism on local inhabitants, leading to the implementation of measures to regulate these experienced effects. This shows that certain subject formations can lead to the legitimization or implementation of measures in line with this subjectivity.

Moreover, the subjectivity of the “quality tourist” that was constructed during the most recent period, can lead to the legitimization of further measures and, herewith to the exclusion of certain groups of tourists. When the discourse that a balance between the opposing interests of inhabitants and entrepreneurs has to be found is constantly being repeated, a focus on “quality tourists” is normalized. This would also legitimate the implementation of measures to attract this specific category of tourists to a tourist destination and avoid other groups of tourists. In other words, the subject formation of the “quality tourist” can legitimize the implementation of measures that encourage certain tourists to visit a tourist destination whereas other groups become subject to tactics of exclusion through such measures. For example, a minimal duration of tourists’ stay in the village could be implemented. At this moment, this is however not the case in Giethoorn as there also is a strong economic discourse present, which constructs other groups of tourists as desired subjects to generate income. For example, in the economic discourse, non-European tourists are desired to generate income during the winter months of the year. However, when this changes, there is a risk that a tourist destination starts implementing measures to only receive “quality tourists”. Thus, the risk of certain subject formations is that it can lead to the exclusion of other groups of tourists. Namely, the formation of the tourist as a certain subject can legitimize the implementation of measures for this aim. In other words, the legitimization of measures that can lead to the exclusion of certain groups of tourists is a serious risk of subject formation.

6. Discussion

After having discussed the findings of this study in the previous chapter, the significance and relevance of these results will be explored in this chapter. The limitations of this research will be clarified in the last section of this chapter.

6.1 Academic contribution of the results

To justify the significance and relevance of this study’s findings to the academic knowledge, there will be related to four specific fields of academic knowledge that were introduced in the literature review (*chapter 2*), being overtourism, tourismophobia, tourist segmentation and tourist stereotypes.

6.1.1 Overtourism

Firstly, this study contributes to the academic work relating to overtourism. The concept has been under discussion for a longer time, but the term as such is relatively new (Perkumienė & Pranskūnienė, 2019). This was previously captured in the carrying capacity concept. However, this term solely focused on visitor numbers and did not take into consideration factors such as timing, type of use and visitor

behaviour which is why this concept is considered too limited (Lindberg et al., 1997). Indeed, this study supports the theory that it is not only about visitor numbers. It has not only investigated how there is being talked about the number of tourists but also about, for example, tourist behaviour, which has been identified as an important factor in the negative effects of overtourism as perceived by residents.

After the carrying capacity perspective, the academic literature made a shift towards the responsibility of tourism industry actors and individual tourists rather than stakeholders in governance and policy (Koens et al., 2018). In this case study of Giethoorn, it was also found that stakeholders in governance and policy aim to give the sector itself more responsibility, thus depoliticizing the problem. At the same time, local inhabitants call on governmental actors to take their responsibility. Nevertheless, the findings of this case study indicate that the perspective as mentioned in the academic literature is prevalent in formalized discourses, meaning that the responsibility of governance and policy stakeholders is denied in these formalized discourses. Instead, it is framed as a problem of the sector through these dominant discourses.

In the case of Giethoorn, gentrification has been identified as an important negative effect of overtourism that is perceived by inhabitants. This especially relates to residents' perceptions of Asian tourists. The fact that Chinese investors started to buy houses in Giethoorn, contributed to the image of a "Chinese invasion"⁸⁸. The combined process of gentrification, as evidenced by the influx of second homeowners and investors, and touristification of the village is termed tourism gentrification (Liang & Bao, 2015). Scholars such as Simas et al. (2021) and Gotham (2005) suggest that gentrification and touristification reinforce each other, but the findings of this research indicate that the effect can also be contrary. The ongoing gentrification in Giethoorn was a sign for the municipality to bring a halt to the touristification of the village. It was the start of a period in which regulations to minimize the commercialisation of the residential space were introduced. Thus, because the phenomenon of gentrification is especially associated with a specific group of tourists, and this was incorporated in formal discourse, it led to the implementation of measures to regulate this. Herewith, the subjectification of tourists in Giethoorn minimized touristification when gentrification increased, whereas the processes of gentrification and touristification normally reinforce each other according to different scholars.

6.1.2 Tourismophobia and anti-tourism attitudes

Simas et al. (2021) considered the term tourismophobia to be a neoliberal reaction to touristification, advanced by those interested in tourism. Namely, it was evidenced that the negative impacts of touristification, such as gentrification, were not discussed when tourismophobia was discussed in the media. This is, however, not the case in this study. The effects of touristification are, in fact, discussed together with the phenomenon of tourismophobia in the media. Herewith, the term tourismophobia can be used to describe "the fear, aversion, or social rejection that the local citizens feel in a destination towards tourists" (Can et al, 2020, p. 695) without the implication of it being a neoliberal reaction.

This study then contributes to the theoretical knowledge on anti-tourism attitudes and tourismophobia as it was found that anti-tourism attitudes play a significant role in the formation of the tourist as a subject. In the case of Giethoorn, inhabitants started to express their frustrations after being confronted with the negative effects of tourism for several years by, for example, pulling Chinese

billboards out of the ground. According to Can et al. (2020), this is considered an example of an anti-tourism movement or protest. Also, expressions such as “two inhabitants who are living in the centre of the touristic area are clear. Less, less, less tourists. They say they are driving crazy”¹⁰¹ indicate that anti-tourist attitudes had developed at this point. Thus, this study found that the concept of the “quality tourist” comes into being in a context where negative associations with tourism and tourists reached a top among local inhabitants.

In the academic field, there is no consensus on what causes the phenomenon of tourismophobia and related anti-tourism attitudes. On the one hand, there are scholars who argue that (a lack of) governance plays an important role as tourismophobia especially arises when regulations addressing residents’ needs are missing in tourism development (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Delgado, 2007, as cited in Romagnoli, 2021; Kim & Kang, 2020; Simas et al., 2021). This means that anti-tourism attitudes develop when residents feel like their needs are not being properly addressed. In contrast to such unaddressed needs, the focus on “quality tourists” that has been expressed in the case of Giethoorn is supposed to focus on resident’s needs. Indeed, the anti-tourist attitudes among inhabitants, as expressed in the media, seem to not be focussed on tourists who fit the characteristics that are ascribed to “quality tourists”, even though they sometimes refer to tourists in general. In relation to the lack of governance that is mentioned in the academic literature, it was indicated in different media that inhabitants are of the opinion that tourism should be regulated by the local government, e.g. a local inhabitant warned that the municipality should stay on top of tourism in Giethoorn⁵⁰. On the other hand, it has also been indicated in the academic field that the behaviour of the tourists themselves plays an important role in the development of such attitudes (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Romagnoli, 2021). In Giethoorn, complaints about the behaviour of tourists are numerous, but especially about Asian tourists. In line with Almeida-García et al. (2021), this study then suggests that it is the combination of the two mentioned factors, i.e. (lack of) governance and the behaviour of tourists themselves, that leads to tourismophobia. Namely, during earlier years, it was also indicated that tourism should be regulated by the local government. But even though some negatives of tourism were experienced by the residents then, complaints about the behaviour of tourists were not addressed in the media or in formal policy and there was no sense of tourismophobia at this time. It was the quantity of tourists that was addressed instead. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that tourismophobia arises when inhabitants experience a lack of tourism regulations addressing their needs, but only when this is combined with nuisances that residents perceive as being the result of tourists’ behaviour. These results build on existing evidence of Kim and Kang (2020), who added the same nuance to this causal relationship between overtourism and anti-tourist attitudes. However, this study brings a further nuance. When inhabitants are not content with the behaviour of tourists, this implies that inhabitants experience a lack of governance in the sense that their needs are not reflected in the received type of visitor. However, this study also found that when inhabitants feel like their needs are not reflected in governance for other or undefined reasons, this does not lead to anti-tourism attitudes. Thus, the argument that is made here is that when inhabitants experience a lack of governance in the sense that the type of visitor does not reflect their needs, anti-tourism attitudes will develop. Contrariwise, when a lack of governance is experienced for other reasons, anti-tourist attitudes will not develop among inhabitants. This is notwithstanding that there might, in fact, be other reasons for inhabitants to feel like their needs are not addressed which will also lead to the production of anti-tourism attitudes, but that has not been identified in this case study of Giethoorn. Thus, the developed anti-tourist attitudes in the case of Giethoorn are focussed on a specific subjectivity of the

tourist, being nuisance-creating due to the tourists' behaviour. This implies that anti-tourist attitudes do not apply to tourists that are not constructed as such subjects. Herewith, the conducted study adds to the academic knowledge on anti-tourist attitudes by showing how such attitudes are being developed towards specific groups of tourists. In the case of Giethoorn, these attitudes are specifically focussed on Asian tourists, which can be clarified by the fact that the negatively perceived behaviour of tourists, which is an important factor in the development of anti-tourist attitudes, is especially associated with this specific group of tourists. In this light, tourismophobia is a symptom of the way in which inhabitants perceive the behaviour of certain tourists and the way in which their behaviour is regulated by governmental actors. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is publicly directed at tourists in general when there is being referred to inhabitants' wishes to decrease the number of tourists in Giethoorn. Also, the constructed subjectivity of the desired "quality tourist" then implies that other tourists are nuisance-creating subjects and are associated with anti-tourism attitudes among inhabitants.

6.1.3 Tourist segmentation

As this research set out to identify the discursive practices and policies that lead to the construction of tourists as differentiated subjects, it also contributes to the academic knowledge in the field of tourist segmentation. This study, however, approaches the topic in a way that sets it apart from other research in this field. Cohen (1972) first introduced a typology of tourists, which distinguished between 2 groups of institutionalized tourists, i.e. the organized and individual mass tourist, and 2 groups of non-institutionalized tourists, being the explorer and drifter. Before, tourists were seen as a homogeneous group according to the literature. In Giethoorn, however, tourists were still seen as a homogeneous group at the end of the 20th century. It was already the beginning of the next century when tourists were being categorized based on characteristics like their country of origin.

Several scholars contested Cohen's (1972) typology because it was not sensitive enough. Among these scholars is Uriely (2009), who called to distinguish between tourism's form and type. The form of tourism relates to factors such as the length of the trip, visited destinations and attractions and means of transportation and accommodation whereas type relates to less tangible psychological attributes such as tourists' attitudes toward fundamental values of their own society, motivations to travel, and meanings they assign to their experiences. Herewith, the urge to make sub-forms of categories is being highlighted. There is a wide variety of literature relating to this (e.g. Chen & Huang, 2018; Narang, 2010; Srihadi et al., 2016; Tynan & Drayton, 1987). Such studies are considered successful when statistically significant differences are found between the identified groups, meaning that different segments of visitors have been revealed. Herewith, such studies mostly have an economic impact. What this study specifically adds to the academic knowledge on the topic of tourist segmentation is that it does not aim to make an economic impact in that sense. Instead, it investigated the discourses through which categories such as the "quality tourist" come into being and the consequences of these subject formations, which relates to a social or societal aspect.

The aforementioned studies on the topic of tourist segmentation also contribute to the creation of a reality. By putting tourists into categories, the idea that there are distinct groups of tourists, which can be associated with different economic impacts, is being reinforced. Such studies do, however, overlook how such segments come into being. They take for granted that different categories of tourists exist out there and ignore that it can be seen as a discursive construction. It is this gap in the academic

knowledge, where this study has made a theoretical contribution by exploring how the tourist comes into being as a differentiated subject, through discourses that have been produced in media and policy. This is to say that the reduction of tourists to economic subjects is not only part of the sector, but also reinforced in academic literature. In this sense, this study can also be seen as a critique on the categorisations that are used in the academic literature. This is, namely, not harmless. Through the segmentation of tourists, the idea of the tourist as an economic subject is reinforced. In this process, other relevant factors can easily be overlooked. For example, in the context of Giethoorn it was observed that nuisances as experienced by inhabitants were backgrounded when the tourist was reduced to a subject that provides income and, herewith, employment opportunities.

This study has, furthermore, adopted an innovative angle by investigating how the discourses that produce a reality in which tourists are seen as differentiated subjects have evolved over time. Based on their review of the use of discourse analysis in tourism studies, Qian, Wei and Law (2018) concluded that an important area for future research is “the longitudinal analysis of dynamic and changing tourism phenomena” (p. 534). This research specifically relates to this gap in the academic knowledge as different times and contexts have been taken into consideration. Regarding the time perspective, this research focussed on the years 1990 until 2021. Relating to the context, it was for example found that in times of the COVID-19 pandemic, economic issues gained more traction. As a result, the formation of the tourists as an economic subject was reinforced in the media.

6.1.4 Tourist stereotypes

Finally, this study also contributes to the academic debate regarding tourist stereotypes. In the literature on this topic, there is being distinguished between general or ethnic stereotypes as well as specific stereotypes. The first are based on tourists’ nationality and the second can be identified in specific business contexts. For example, it is of relevance for storekeepers to differentiate between different kinds of tourists in a store (Brewer, 1984). Both these types of stereotypes have been identified in this case study of Giethoorn. Chen and Hsu (2021) indicate that understanding such stereotypes is essential if the tourist experience is to be enhanced as well as to grasp residents’ attitudes towards tourism development.

In the beginning, Giethoorn was overwhelmed by relatively big groups of Asian tourists. Even when these tourists could not visit the village anymore, due to COVID-19, certain characteristics were still associated with this group of tourists. According to Chen et al. (2016) stereotypes are long-lasting because more visible members of the group keep providing reinforcement. The results of this study do, however, not fit with this claim as the findings show that such stereotypes still persist when there is no reinforcement.

According to Chen and Hsu (2021) stereotypes are a simplification of reality. Indeed, statements like “bus driver Frans van den Berg and a day-tripper from Limburg are the only ones who do not look Asian”⁵² indicate that there is being related to Asian tourists in an oversimplified way. This provides a plausible explanation for the fact that the characteristics of “quality tourists”, i.e. staying for several days and having an interest in culture, are not associated with Asian tourists or day-trippers. Instead, tourists from Germany and Belgium are seen as fulfilling the idea of this “quality tourist”. For these groups of tourists, the associated stereotypes offer a positive reinforcement of the discourse that produces them as impactful subjects.

This study has also shown that the discussed stereotypes are especially prevalent in media, which is useful in diminishing negative stereotypes and enhancing the tourist experience (Chen & Hsu, 2021). Namely, the findings have shown that in recent years, a stereotyped image of tourists has come to dominate the media. Asian tourists are, then, seen as undesired tourists through these stereotypes. In policy, on the other hand, such an explicit differentiation is not being made. Here, the focus on “quality tourists” arises through different discourses. The tourist is simultaneously presented as an economic subject, a subject that is associated with nuisances for inhabitants and a subject that can make a positive impact on the region. For these reasons, the tourist is a subject that should be managed and when this is done properly, a “quality tourist” can be attracted to the village. Thus, the media builds on, and reinforces, stereotypes as it focuses on Asian tourists as a specific category that is associated with acts that negatively impact Giethoorn’s inhabitants, which constructs this tourist as a subject that is associated with nuisances for inhabitants. This is not the case in policy, where the other subjectivities of tourists are also highlighted.

6.2 Limitations

This study has advanced the academic knowledge in different ways, as described in section 6.1. Nevertheless, there are some limitations that are of relevance to this study, which will be described in the following section.

Firstly, the findings of this research are based on perspectives on tourists and tourism as represented in the media and in policy. It has to be taken into consideration that these documents have been produced with a certain goal. For newspaper articles, the purpose might be to provide as accurate information as possible to the public. This would be a best-case scenario and it is not to be overlooked that this might, in fact, not always be the complete reason for the production of a certain article. It is, instead, likely that some media sensationalism is also involved. This can affect the produced discourses. For this reason, vision documents have also been included in the corpus of statements of this research. Also, consultation - and response notes have been analysed for this study. These notes provide a more unbiased perspective. Also, when it became apparent that certain interests were associated with an expressed perspective, this has been mentioned.

Secondly, it is inevitable that certain perspectives or discourses have been backgrounded in the selection process. Thus, the subjectivity of the researcher unavoidably impacts the research. However, by openly referring to this and explaining the rationale for selection, this potential limitation can be seen as an enrichment. Nevertheless, a more complete image could have been gained when interviews with entrepreneurs and inhabitants would have been completed. During in-depth interviews with these groups, the attitudes towards tourists and tourism would probably have been described in different ways which could have provided a more complete or accurate impression of these perspectives. However, regarding access to interviewees, certain difficulties were posed during this study. In the current context of COVID-19, the researcher dealt with a low willingness for participation in this study which is possibly caused by entrepreneurs’ concerns about the lower number of tourists in Giethoorn. Also, the time in which this study has been conducted is outside of high season. Besides, discourse is also reflected in images and multimodal texts, which combine different modes like language and images (Ademilokun, 2015; Gee, 2010). This means that this study does not provide a complete image as only written texts have been analysed. Thus, a richer and more complete image

could have been gained if more perspectives were included by, for example, conducting interviews with local stakeholders and analysing images.

The last limitation relates to the limited timeframe of this study. In the findings of this research, it was mentioned that the current COVID-19 pandemic highlighted certain aspects. Namely, the opposing interests between inhabitants and entrepreneurs were underlined. Also, it was found that entrepreneurs desired the return of international tourists, whereas formal policy suggested a focus on tourists from closer by in the context of the pandemic. If the timeframe of this research were extended, long-term effects could be identified. As travel restrictions either persist or are being lifted at some point in time, the aspects that were highlighted during the pandemic might be backgrounded and other aspects might be foregrounded. This can also affect the way in which tourists and tourism are perceived, leading to the production of different discourses and subject formations.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

This research investigated the discursive construction of the tourist as a differentiated subject through media and policy and the (potential) consequences by answering the following research questions, (1) *which relevant discourses can be identified in media and policy and how have they changed over time*, (2) *how does the tourist come into being as a differentiated subject through these discourses* and (3) *what are the (potential) consequences of these subject formations?* In the coming, a brief conclusion to answer the formulated research questions will be provided. Lastly, recommendations for further research on this topic will be outlined in the final section of this chapter.

The discursive construction of the tourist as a subject is a phenomenon that has changed over the years. Hence, three different time periods have been identified. Furthermore, the variance of perspectives that produces the discourses through which the tourist is constructed as a differentiated subject relates to four recurring themes, being (1) the role of tourism, (2) regulation of tourism, (3) attitude towards tourists and (4) international tourism. Thus, the tourist is constructed as a differentiated subject through the perspectives on these themes, which have been expressed in media and policy.

During the first period, the dominant discourse was “the ‘strangers’ as an alternative source of income”. Tourism was an essential source of income as an alternative to agriculture which could not fulfil this role anymore. Nevertheless, there was a certain level of awareness of the (potential) negative effects of tourism for Giethoorn. Still, the dominant perception was that these effects could be overcome with relatively simple measures implied by the municipality. Hence, the relationship with tourists was welcoming and hospitable. International tourism was not a relevant theme during these first years as no signs of it were found in media or policy.

During later years, “tourists as the drivers of employment opportunities” became the dominant discourse. Tourism was still considered an important source of income and it was, especially, associated with the generation of employment opportunities for the region. This in media as well as in policy. Regulations for tourism were mainly introduced with the aim of capitalizing on these positive effects. As a result of this focus on the benefits of tourism for Giethoorn, tourists were considered to

belong to the village. Inhabitants did, however, call to maintain the liveability and authenticity in Giethoorn. International tourism slowly increased during these years, and this was primarily seen as a chance for Giethoorn to generate income and employment opportunities throughout the year and not only in summer.

“Finding a balance by focussing on ‘quality tourists’ ” was the formal discourse during the last years of the analysed period. Tourism highlighted the opposing interests of inhabitants and entrepreneurs. Whereas inhabitants were frustrated with tourism, entrepreneurs considered the growth of the sector to be essential for the generation of their income. In relation to the expansion of international tourism in Giethoorn, it was often addressed in media that local inhabitants were annoyed by the behaviour of Asian tourists who made the inhabitants feel like they are living in a theme park. Entrepreneurs, however, saw international tourism as a welcome source of income during the winter months. During the most recent years, the municipality started to act upon these conflicting interests. Certain measures were introduced with the aim of also giving more priority to the liveability in the village and not only prioritizing entrepreneurs’ economic interests.

Through the discourses outlined above, different subjectivities of the tourist emerged over the years. From the beginning of the analysed period, the tourist has been constructed as an economic subject and this remained constant throughout the years. During the first period, this was based on the generation of income and during the second period on employment opportunities. However, during the second period, perspectives that associated tourism with a threat to the authenticity and uniqueness of the village arose were also present. Nevertheless, these perspectives did not become part of formal policy and did not lead to the construction of the tourist as a subject different from the economic subject. It was only during the last period that the tourist was not only constructed as an economic subject but also as a subject that causes nuisances for inhabitants and one that is impactful for the wider region. With these different subjectivities of tourists existing next to each other during the most recent years of the analysed period, the tourists also emerged as a subject that has to be managed, which lead to the idea of the “quality tourist”.

Finally, there are several (potential) consequences that are associated with the different subject formations of tourists. Firstly, the formation of certain groups of tourists as desired subjects also implies that other tourists are undesired subjects. Secondly, when the tourist is constructed as a specific subject, other interests or perspectives are backgrounded in this process. Finally, different subject formations can legitimize the implementation of a variance of measures. This includes measures focussing on the attraction of specific target groups, such as “quality tourists”, which can lead to the exclusion of other groups of tourists. Thus, it is considered a risk to attract only “quality tourists” as this subject formation of the tourist can legitimize measures leading to the exclusion of other groups of tourists if opposing discourses are absent or silenced.

In short, this study has investigated how different categories of tourists come into being as the result of discourses, being subjective in nature, which are produced in media and policy. Also, the (potential) consequences of different subject formations have been addressed. By answering the formulated research questions, it has specifically contributed to the identified knowledge gap regarding the way in which different categories of tourists are constructed and not simply exist out there. Namely, this is mostly ignored in academic research on the topic of tourist segmentation.

7.1 Recommendations

Based on the completed study, several recommendations for future research can be identified. These will be described in this final section.

Firstly, this research has addressed how the tourist comes into being as a differentiated subject in the context of Giethoorn, through discursive policies and practices. However, it has not addressed the risks or effects of these different subjectivities as experienced by the tourists themselves. Building on subjectification theories, it is likely that tourists oppose the imposed subjectivities through their actions. In this sense, tourist's behaviour could be constrained by, for example, the norms regarding what is considered appropriate behaviour for "quality tourists". In future research, this case study could be elaborated to investigate these potential effects. This necessitates the adoption of ethnographic methods such as in-depth interviews with tourists or participant observations.

Furthermore, it can be recommended to elaborate this case study as a longitudinal study incorporating in-depth interviews with inhabitants, entrepreneurs and other local stakeholders. The addition of interviews as a research method can provide a more detailed representation of individual attitudes. Since, in a longitudinal study, the same individuals are involved over time, it can also be investigated how these perspectives change over time. Besides, investigating the way in which perspectives on tourists and tourism among these different stakeholders develop over time, through interviews, can provide a deeper understanding of cause-and-effect relationships with factors such as the implementation of certain measures. A prospective study, as opposed to the completed retrospective study, would also shed light on the way in which events such as the current COVID-19 pandemic change attitudes towards tourism and tourists on the long term.

Moreover, this study found that the tourist as an economic subject has been a constant throughout the analysed period. Future research could build on this finding and adopt the premises of Marxian political economy as a paradigm. This would provide a different perspective on the way in which tourists are constructed as differentiated subjects. Namely, this paradigm starts from the understanding that society is organised around the production, distribution and use of material resources (Marx, 1859). The focus of the proposed research would then be to investigate the role of tourist subjectification in capital accumulation; how are tourists constructed as subjects at the service of the capitalist system? This approach has the potential to provide an alternative explanation for the emergence of the different subjectivities of the tourist. The case of Giethoorn, as well as other Dutch or European tourist destinations where the categorization of tourists is relevant, could be used for the future studies that have been recommended here.

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