

# Youth participation in tourism policy: A case study in Amsterdam City Centre

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## Preface

As someone who was born and raised in Amsterdam, this city holds a special place in my heart. After living in the city centre for 2 years, I have personally seen how tourism affects the city and its citizens (including myself). From a feeling of irritation but also the willpower to do something, the topic of tourism and participation came to mind. Hopefully, with this research, I can help my city with providing knowledge about the issue and how we can make Amsterdam a better place for its citizens and visitors.

First of all, I would like to thank the respondents of this MSc thesis. Without their input and cooperation this research would not exist. Furthermore, my special thanks go to my supervisors, Karin and Sara, who have been such great and helpful mentors. They have been extremely supportive and considerate in this process on academic and personal level. Lastly, a big thank you to my family who has supported me as well and kept me motivated to finish this MSc thesis.

## Extensive summary

Young people are under researched in tourism studies nowadays, especially in their role as residents of the host community. As this group is susceptible to the effects of tourism in their environment, knowledge is needed about their perceptions and actions related to tourism. Their perspectives, ideas and knowledge can be of use to shape the future of tourism as they are the future of cities. The aim of this study is to gain insight into the relationship between the current arrangement of tourism policy and the engagement of young people.

Through the lens of the Policy Arrangement Approach which focuses on the actors, resources, rules and discourse in a policy domain, a qualitative study is carried out in the context of the centre of Amsterdam. Interviews are conducted with eight stakeholders and eleven young people (15-30 years) living in the city centre. Via a qualitative content analysis, the aforementioned relationship is studied.

This MSc thesis shows that youth participation is almost non-existent in this policy domain. The actors have incidental contact with young people, even though it is desired by them. Also, it comes to the fore that similar ideas about relevant knowledge and skills exist among the active stakeholders and young people. Furthermore, there is a high unfamiliarity about both the rules that focus on the content of tourism policy as on those that focus on the process of participation. Lastly, their view on tourism is, contrary to the actors in the policy-making process, very acceptive of the situation.

The conclusion is that no direct relation exists between the current arrangement of tourism policy and the engagement of youth in Amsterdam. This means that the actors, resources, rules and discourse are not directly connected to actual participation. It seems that the current arrangement of tourism policy sustains an environment in which young people are not made aware of the possibility to participate or the urgency of the challenge of tourism and their participation. Indirect connections, however, exist between the four dimensions and youth participation. These connections are about the unawareness, unfamiliarity or contradicting ideas of youth on the four dimensions of tourism policy.

This MSc thesis contributes to existing literature as it studies the topic of participation from a policy perspective by focussing on four dimensions instead of a personal point of view, such as attitudes and perceptions, which is often chosen by researchers. Also, it aims attention at the role of young people which is a group that remains understudied -for already 30 years- in tourism studies.

A few implications exist, such as missing an important stakeholder, a rather monotonous group of youngsters in terms of age and the fact that this thesis does not include personal factors that also affect youth participation. These can be included in further research to gain a better and more comprehensive understanding of youth participation in tourism policy.

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## 1. Tourism and youth participation in Amsterdam

### 1.1 Tourism and youth participation: a challenge

*“The age of mass tourism is the biggest single factor for change in the great capitals of Europe, and in many smaller historical cities too, in the last 30 years of this century” (Hall, 1970, p.445).*

This quote by Sir Peter Geoffrey Hall, an internationally known town planner, urbanist and geographer, forecasts the situation of many contemporary cities in Europe. From Venice to Barcelona or Dubrovnik, all have altered irrevocably by the increasing flows of tourists (Shoval, 2018). In the media claims of mass tourism have been made and its challenges have been discussed frequently (De Goede, 2017; Koster, n.d.). In academia too, there is an increasing attention for the negative consequences of mass tourism in cities. For instance, some discuss the increasing pressure on these urban areas as places to live in, especially in the historic districts (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017) as local communities experience a deterioration of their quality of life (Hospers, 2019). Others address the direct pressure on fragile ecosystems that cause degradation of the physical environment (Pavlic, Portolan & Butorac, 2013; Niedziółka, 2014). These are just a few broad examples of such negative effects.

The challenges of tourism, including those described earlier, demand an integrated approach to policy development across government departments. This understanding, as identified by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), has led to an increased emphasis on a ‘whole of government’ approach. It is a reaction to the traditional tourism industry strategies which tend to be fragmented and focused on the demand side of tourism (e.g. how to attract tourists to a particular destination). This relatively new approach emphasizes the importance of integration and collaboration between different government departments (OECD, 2010). According to the OECD, the development of a tourism strategy can be crucial for the engagement of government, industry, communities and other stakeholders to identify and set priorities for a long-term and sustainable vision and direction for tourism development (OECD, 2010). Essentially, the development of sustainable tourism is about ensuring that the natural, social and cultural resources used for tourism development in this generation can also be utilized by future generations. It should meet sustainability criteria that focus on development which is ecologically supported and economically, ethically and socially equitable to society in the long-term. This type of development can only be realised by a good governance system which involves active participation of the government, private sector and community (Tirtawati, Dianasari & Saputra, 2019). Effective governance is an essential prerequisite for the implementation of sustainable tourism as it can strengthen democratic processes, gives direction and provides the means to make practical progress (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Dos Anjos & Kennel, 2019). In short, governance -in this context- should be understood as the process of coordination and collaboration of various stakeholders in order to achieve the sustainable development of tourism within a destination (Dos Anjos & Kennel, 2019).

However, generally one particular group often seems to be missing in such political collaborations: young people (Kitanova, 2020). They are an important human resource and key agents for social change, economic growth and technological innovation. Young people act as valuable resources for governments as they have an impact on the progressiveness of a country’s economy and play a long-term role in issues of sustainability and community development (Nkalolang, 2019). Despite their value, today’s youth<sup>1</sup> is the least politically engaged generation in terms of formal and informal political participation (Kitanova (2020). This lack of engagement of young people is also apparent in the sector of tourism (Knežević, Koščak, O’Rourke & Šegota, 2018; R1, 2020<sup>2</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> Young people are also referred to as youth or youngsters in order to prevent over-usage of this first word.

<sup>2</sup> See Table 2 in Method (chapter 4) for explanation reference.

To develop tourism in a sustainable manner, for instance by tackling the challenges described earlier, it is of importance to include this group of people in its planning process (Knežević et al., 2018).

## 1.2 Amsterdam

Amsterdam is an urban place in which the challenges of mass tourism are evident (Hospers, 2019). The city is known for its historical centre, tolerant atmosphere and liberal lifestyle (Gerritsma, 2019) and this reputation makes it an immensely popular destination among tourists (Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). Also, the emergence of budget flights made the city enormously accessible to many people (Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2020). The influx of this group brings economic wealth, but it also puts pressure on the liveability of certain parts in the city, especially in the centre (Sleutjes, Fedorova & de Grip, 2020). For instance, the visitors are causing nuisance: noise, public drunkenness, pollution and public urination (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-a) which leads to complaints and protests of those living there (Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). These developments prompted the municipality to more actively govern and address the issue of tourism. Therefore, in October 2014 the college of the Mayor and Aldermen initiated the program *City in Balance* (Stad in Balans<sup>3</sup>) in which the goal is to find a new balance between residents and visitors. In May 2015 its initial ambitions, visions and strategy were described and in January 2016 the first results were published (Gerritsma, 2019). At that time, four main strategic guidelines were identified that can be described as (1) we make the city bigger, (2) we use the city smarter, (3) we do it together and (4) we do it differently (Brondi, van Ette & van der Kooij, 2016). This program has recently, in 2020, been merged with the *City Centre Approach* (Aanpak Binnenstad) (R3, 2021). The goal of the latter, similar to *City in Balance*, is to restore the balance in the city centre and turn it into a place where locals feel at home and visitors are still welcome (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020). Considering the pressing situation of tourism in Amsterdam and the municipality's desire to govern this issue, in combination with the commonly accepted notion of the importance of youth involvement<sup>4</sup>, this research examines the decision-making process of tourism policy in Amsterdam in relation to the involvement of young people (15-30 years).

The municipality of Amsterdam acknowledges the value of citizen participation and is determined to improve this (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.-b). The aim is to give the residents a greater influence on their immediate surroundings, municipal services and the city as a whole by strengthening their involvement in the city and political decision-making (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018). In addition, per borough an municipal agenda exists, which sets out the priorities of that specific area. In the agenda of the city centre -the borough that experiences the most nuisance and therewith pressure on liveability by tourists (Sleutjes, Fedorova & de Grip, 2020)- the aforementioned aim of greater citizen participation also comes to the fore (Gebiedsteams Centrum, n.d.). In general, the municipality wants to reach and include young people in their policy-making (Semlali, 2019).

As stated before, challenges of tourism require an integrated approach to policy development and effective coordination and collaboration of the various stakeholders in the field. Public policy and therewith the process of policy-making is crucial for the development of tourism because of its role in regulating the tourism industry and activities (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). The governance of tourism -here the policy-making process of tourism in particular- in relation to youth participation is analysed through the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA). The objective of this approach is to analyze and understand the dynamics of policy-making as the interplay of day-to-day practice of policy processes and structural social and political changes in society by focussing on the actors, resources, rules and discourses (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004; Leroy & Arts, 2006). It maintains and fosters the idea of (collective) agency, for instance scientists, governments or social movements, being able and knowledgeable to reflect upon, respond to and make a meaningful difference in a complex world (Arts &

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<sup>3</sup> Dutch translation of document. Will be referred to in brackets in the thesis.

<sup>4</sup> Youth participation is also referred to as youth engagement or involvement in order to prevent over-usage of this first word. In scientific literature, these concepts may be defined differently, but here they refer to the participation of young people.

Goverde, 2006). As tourism is subjected to developments on different levels and different types of stakeholders, this approach would be able to provide a comprehensive overview of this process.

### 1.3 Aim, objectives and research questions

The aim of this study is to gain insight into the relationship between the current arrangement of tourism policy-making and the engagement of young people. When a better understanding of this relationship exists, factors that influence their participation can be determined. This type of information can be used for recommendations to stimulate the participation of young people in Amsterdam. The following research objectives would facilitate the achievement of this aim:

1. To determine the actors, resources, rules and discourses in tourism policy
2. To gain qualitative insights about youth engagement in tourism policy-making
3. To analyse how variables such as actors, resources, rules and discourses affect the involvement of young people in tourism policy

This will be researched by answering the main research question '*How does the current arrangement of tourism policy relate to the involvement of young people?*' In order to answer this the following sub-questions are identified:

1. *How do the actors relate to the involvement of young people?*
2. *How do the resources relate to the involvement of young people?*
3. *How do the (in)formal rules relate to the involvement of young people?*
4. *How does the existing discourse relate to the involvement of young people?*

### 1.4 Relevance

This research is of importance for several reasons. First, in academia the role or participation of residents in tourism policy has been studied. However, the role of young people is often left out and has yet to be further explored. In regard to this topic the focus often lies on, for instance, their travel motivations and behaviours, as seen by Boukas (2013), Cavagnaro & Staffierie (2015) or Prayag, Cohen & Yan (2015). Here, it is apparent that this group of people is often researched as tourists and not as the host community. Therefore, this body of work is of scientific relevance as it touches upon a topic -young people's voice, engagement and participation in the host community- that has remained understudied in tourism research.

This research also has societal relevance. As written before, the municipality of Amsterdam wants to govern the issue of tourism together with other stakeholders -'we do it together'. Thus, it is important to study the role of the group that is often left out in this process. By gaining insights about how the current policy arrangement affects young people's involvement, barriers that hinder their participation can be identified.

Third, this topic is also of importance for the MADE programme. This master programme focuses on urban challenges. While tourism is such an important issue for cities worldwide, it remains rather unaddressed in this programme. This research aims to add upon their knowledge about tourism and hopes to promote its importance. Lastly, from a wider and more encompassing point of view: the Covid-19 pandemic has shown that change is needed in the tourism sector in Amsterdam (Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2020). How to foster such change is very complex and needs to focus on the long-term future. Here, the ideas, perspectives and opinions from young people are valuable as they are part of that future. By gaining knowledge about barriers that hinder their



participation, improvements by the municipality can be made and their input can be of actual use for the future of tourism in Amsterdam.

## **2. The discussion on youth participation in tourism studies**

This chapter will give an overview of the scientific research in regard to both youth participation and general participation in tourism. The aim of this chapter is to position this MSc thesis into the existing academic literature.

### **2.1 Youth participation: engaged versus disengaged**

In academia contradicting notions exist about the political participation behaviour of young adults (Weiss, 2020): on the one hand, representatives of the disengagement paradigm see this group of people as passive and overall devoid of political interest (Farthing, 2010; Kitanova, 2020; Weiss, 2020), while on the other, representatives of the engagement paradigm hold a more optimistic view and believe that young people are actively political in new ways (Farthing, 2010; Weiss, 2020). Previous literature, researching young people's participation can be relatively easily classified along this binary (Farthing, 2010). These two perspectives raise the debate about the role of this group in political activities.

The disengagement paradigm is the dominant one and believes that contemporary democracies are in crisis (Kitanova, 2020): as political participation is an essential part of modern democracies, many academics worry about the long-term trend of young people having less interest, involvement or knowledge of traditional politics (Kimberlee, 2002; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Fieldhouse, Tranmer & Russel, 2007; Cross & Young, 2008). Cumulative data from the European Social Survey (2002-2010), for instance, confirms this trend and shows that generally young people are significantly less engaged in electoral forms of politics than older generations. In existing literature this declining trend can be attributed to a variety of factors: general decrease in participation in civic life (Putnam, 2000); low levels of trust in political institutions (Dalton 2004; Pharr & Putnam, 2000); the individualisation of lifestyles, values and risks in society (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994); and growing cynicism about electoral politics in the media (Stoker, 2006). One main critique on this point of view is the fact that this paradigm focuses on the traditional forms of politics, such as voting, and overlooks new forms of political participation that can be created by young people (Farthing, 2010).

As a response to this criticism the engagement paradigm has emerged, which advocates that young people are not apathetic about politics and are actively engaged in this domain. The 'demise' of traditional politics, such as voting or party membership, is acknowledged, however it goes together with the emergence of a broader variety in ways of participation (Farthing, 2010). Many authors in this paradigm claim that youth engages through new types of political activities that have not been recognized yet. These alternative forms are identified, for instance, as protesting, demonstrating, being part of organisations, signing petitions, or engaging online (Norris, 2004; Sloam, 2016).

These ways of participation are the result of a trend, as described earlier, that takes place for the past few decades: the individualisation of values and lifestyles. It has led to the personalisation of politics and therewith the rise of 'lifestyle politics'. Here, the political activities of young people are determined less by old industrial cleavages, for instance blue-collar workers voting for labour parties, than by their own experiences in and perceptions of democracy in their everyday life (e.g. at home, work, university or in leisure time). This means that young people participate in -for them- meaningful causes guided by their own lifestyles (Sloam, 2016). This new form of politics has derived from the realization that an individual's daily decisions have global implications and that global considerations should therefore influence lifestyle politics. A proverb in which this idea is often

represented is 'think global, act local'. For instance, in lifestyle politics regarding the environment it is believed that the greatest amount of ecological damage derives from modes of life in modern-day society and thus reversing its degradation depends upon adopting new lifestyle patterns (De Moor, 2017).

As a reaction to these new forms, policy initiatives emerged in order to support engaged young people, which can be roughly identified in two types: (1) funding initiatives for youth participation projects and (2) training to support young people's engagement (Farthing, 2010). Respectively it is about financial support by governments or philanthropists to allow young people to pursue their own political forms and training to support their alternative participation in politics. Despite this optimistic view from academics, there is still a fear that the democratic capacity of these new forms will not counterbalance the democratic deficit created by the demise of traditional politics. (Farthing, 2010). This can be seen in Bennet's (2008) claim that new forms may not be enough for developments, such as the massive decline in face-to-face local participation and all the other forms of election-related participation.

Taking these paradigms into account, one can conclude a general trend away from traditional forms of politics, such as voting and party membership, towards more issue-based forms of civic and political engagement. While traditional forms remain essential for contemporary democracies, young people have turned to alternative forms, which can be considered as issue-based lifestyle politics (Norris, 2004; Sloam, 2016) whereby values, principles, ideologies, policies and issues of the day are central (Mangwanda & Lacombe, 2015). Overall, these two paradigms represent two extremes on the line of research towards the topic of youth participation. In reality, however, it can be more complex and fluid and therewith portray a more nuanced picture of youth participation.

## **2.2 Community participation in tourism studies**

The concept of community participation in tourism stems from the general one in development studies, for instance Arnstein's participation ladder (1969) (Tosun, 1999) and as from the late 1970s research towards this topic started to emerge in tourism studies (Canosa, Moyle & Wray, 2016). Ever since, tourism planning has evolved significantly from the rigid, linear and rational planning paradigm (Lin & Simmons, 2017) towards more comprehensive, flexible, responsive and participatory approaches (Simmons, 1994; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998; Tosun, 2006). Murphy's book, *Tourism a Community Approach* (1985), has been an important early work that focussed on the host community, their goals and desires, and capacity to absorb tourism. By means of an ecosystem approach he emphasized the importance of community participation in the planning of tourism (Cole, 2006). Nowadays, this topic has been widely promoted and debated by many scholars (Thetsane, 2019).

The aim of community participation is to establish a good relationship between the members of the community in order to offer tourists a better experience, which at the long term can bring more benefits -described later on- to the locality (Blackstock, 2005). The involvement of the community is not only useful for the improvement of tourism experiences, but also utilized as a basis for alternative forms of tourism. For instance, Renkert (2019) and Chassagne & Everingham (2019) describe how community-based tourism can foster local degrowth societies. These researches show a first insight on how this type of tourism can restructure tourism's diverse forms on a global scale. In addition, Nampila (2005) points out that its goal is to improve the communication between stakeholders in support of facilitating better decision-making and sustainable development. Many academics consider community participation as an integral part of the development of sustainable tourism (Timothy & Tosun, 2003; Cole, 2006). This assumption is also acknowledged by the World Tourism Organization (n.d.) that defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities". In line with this way of thinking, it is commonly noted that the more residents benefit from

tourism, the more likely they will protect the area's natural and cultural heritage and support tourism activities (Timothy & Tosun, 2003). Authors who support this argument suggest that it has the potential to protect and preserve sociocultural, historical and natural resources essential for tourist experiences, achieve a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits among stakeholders and increase mutual benefits among tourists and residents as a better understanding is built (Timothy & Tosun, 2003). Next to its contribution to sustainable tourism, other arguments for this concept can be made. Garrod (2003), for instance, claims that the involvement of the community in the planning of tourism may assist in overcoming resistance or opposition and prevent decisions that may otherwise cause conflict. This view is shared by Small and Edwards (2005) who state that the lack of involvement could jeopardise the long-term sustainability of tourism (Thetsane, 2019).

Even though scholars can clearly envision the purpose and benefits of community participation others are not as convinced. Critics, for instance Addison (1996) claim that lack of education, business inexperience, insufficient financial assistance and conflicting interests are reasons why community participation does not work. Also, Jamal and Getz (1999) emphasize that the ability to participate is not only guaranteed by the right towards it but also by the means. Thus, residents need adequate resources and skills to acquire the capacity to take part, but the power to obtain them is often held by governments or other parties (Okazaki, 2008). Lastly, the time-consuming character of participation is often used as a counter-argument (Taylor, 1995). Based upon the aforementioned arguments and counter-arguments by various scientific authors, one can conclude that the topic of participation in tourism -as well as the topic of youth participation- is divided into those who believe in this concept and those who do not.

Recent research mainly focuses on the attitudes and perception of residents towards tourism. Lankford (2001) advocates basic research into the objectives of tourism in the community from which plans can be developed to address local concerns and issues. Such research should be used as a starting point in developing resident involvement in decisions about tourism development issues, such as scope and density. Therefore, the study on attitudes and perceptions is not only essential but also a commonly used research topic in tourism planning studies (Presenza, Del Chiappa & Sheehan, 2013). Within this type of research two main approaches exist: the first involves the study and identification of factors influencing residents' attitudes towards tourism and its future development (e.g. Williams & Lawson, 2001; Gursoy et al., 2002) and the second focuses on the study and categorization of positive and negative impacts of tourism development on the community (e.g. Upchurch & Teivane, 2000; Yoon et al., 2000). Also, in scientific studies it is often assumed that communities are homogenous of character in which shared norms and values exist (Blackstock, 2005; Sangakorn & Suwannarat, 2013; Nkalolang, 2019). In reality, however, communities are heterogeneous in nature and exist of people from all types of class, gender and ethnicity. Tourism studies have focussed on community in relation to , for instance, gender and ethnicity. The involvement of youth, on the other hand, has yet to be explored (Nkalolang, 2019).

### **2.3 Youth participation in tourism: opportunity for research**

In the late 1990s Thorton, Shaw & Williams already stated that young people are under researched in tourism studies and nowadays the absence of this group in tourism literature is still apparent (Canosa & Wray, 2013; Wu & Pearce, 2013). In studies towards young people the focus often lies in their role in family travel decision-making (e.g. Schänzel, Yeoman, & Backer, 2012) or on their experiences and memories of family holidays. Another topic of interest is the motivations and behaviours of young travelers, (e.g. Boukas, 2013; Canosa, Moyle & Wray, 2016). In these studies, it becomes clear that the focus is primarily on young people as tourists, instead of focusing on them as residents of the host community. As young people in such communities are susceptible to the effects of tourism in their environment, knowledge is needed about how they view and act upon the issue of tourism (Canosa, Moyle & Wray, 2016). Here, a research opportunity is identified: young people -being part of the host community- in the policy-making process of tourism.

### 3. The Policy Arrangement Approach

This chapter will give an overview of the theoretical framework: The Policy Arrangement Approach. Both a description of and a justification for this approach is given.

The policy arrangement approach -developed by Van Tatenhove et al.(2000)- originated in the field of environmental policy and functions (Van Raalte, n.d.), but is nowadays also applied to other fields of study, for instance in tourism policies (Ahebwa, Van Der Duim & Sandbrook, 2012). A policy arrangement is defined as the way in which a policy domain, for instance tourism, is shaped in terms of substance and organisation in a bounded time-space context. This approach tries to analyze and understand the dynamics of policy-making as the interplay of day-to-day practice of policy processes (policy innovation) and structural social and political changes in society (political modernisation) (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004; Leroy & Arts, 2006).

Political modernisation (macro) refers to the transformation processes within the political domain of society: the setting in which diverse groups produce and distribute resources, rules and meaning to shape public life. It is an analytical concept aimed at -as written before- understanding structural transformations in reference to everyday political practice. It entails the changing relationships between the institutions of the state, market and civil society in political domains implying new conceptions or structures of governance (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004). Policy innovation (micro) refers to the renewal of policy-making in everyday interactions in arrangements and is mainly driven by the decision of policy actors 'to do things otherwise'. Arts & Van Tatenhove (2004) believe that human action is highly routinised and patterned because it is embedded in institutional structures and processes. The interplay between the two aforementioned processes, relatively at the structural and agent level, may lead to the renewal of policy arrangements (meso-level) (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004).

This approach can be described and analysed in four dimensions. The actors, resources and rules refer to the organisational aspects of a policy arrangement and the discourse to the substantial ones (Lieverink, 2006):

- (1) Actors
- (2) Resources
- (3) Rules
- (4) Discourses

First, actors refer to those who are involved and excluded in the policy domain and their relations (Wiering & Arts 2006; Leroy & Arts, 2006; Ahebwa, Van der Duim & Sandbrook, 2012). It consists of a variety of players who share resources and/or interpretations of a policy discourse. Some coalitions might support the dominant policy discourse or rules of the game while others challenge these (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004).

Next, resources refer to the availability of assets and the ability to mobilize these (Arts, van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2000). Examples of resources are budgets, knowledge and skills (Arts, Leroy & Van Tatenhove, 2006). The availability of resources and ability to mobilize it as well reflects the power one can hold (Arts, van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2000). The division of the resources leads, therewith, to differences in power and through these differences dependencies between actors will arise (Leroy & Arts, 2006). In other words, power is about the asymmetrical distribution of resources, manifesting itself in relations of autonomy and dependency between actors (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2004). Here, resources are through which power is exercised and inequalities explained (Ahebwa, Van Der Duim & Sandbrook, 2012).

Third, rules delineate a policy domain for actors and therewith define the possibilities and constraints for them. Thus, these rules shape the boundaries within which policy interventions are implemented (Ahebwa, Van Der Duim & Sandbrook, 2011). It consists of rules and norms in regard to the policy domain and can be divided into

formal and informal ones. Formal rules are written in laws, legal texts and in plan documents while informal rules are dynamic and formed by the predominant political culture in the policy area (Arts, Leroy & Van Tatenhove, 2006). In general, rules define the way the game should be played, which norms are legitimate, how issues are raised, agendas are set, interests articulated, financial resources allocated, how evaluation is done, decisions made and measures implemented (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004; Ahebwa, Van Der Duim & Sandbrook, 2012).

Lastly, the dimension of discourse relatively points out the views and narratives of the actors involved -such as definition of problems and approaches to solutions- and the specific content of policy documents and measures (Arts, Leroy & Van Tatenhove, 2006). Through these views or ideas meaning is given to physical and social realities (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004). Theoretically a discourse consists of three layers, such as the ontological, normative and strategic layers. In the first one the focus is on the paradigms or worldviews of the policy actors. The second layer deals with the utopias or ideals of them while the last one encompasses the road from reality to desirable -thus the policy programmes- (Wiering & Arts, 2006).

The dimensions are inextricably interwoven: when change occurs in one of the dimensions, change will be induced in the other ones. For instance, the appearance of new actor(s) leads to changes in power relations (Arts, Leroy & Van Tatenhove, 2006). The interrelation of these four is visualized in figure 1.

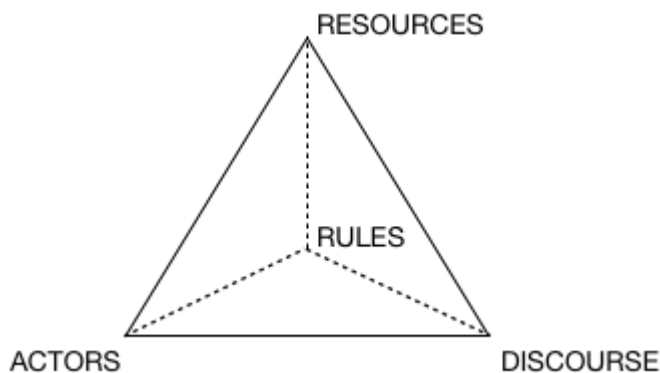


Figure 1. Interrelation of the four dimensions in the policy arrangement approach (own image, based upon Liefferink, 2006).

In addition, it is of importance to stress out why this particular approach is suitable for researching the relationship between the substance and organisation of tourism policy and youth participation in Amsterdam. First, the PAA focuses on four dimensions of a policy domain while other meso-level theories, such as the discourse analysis or the advocacy coalition approach only focus on one or two of these dimensions (Liefferink, 2006). Because of this broader consideration of dimensions, their interrelation and their focus on both the organisation and substance a more complete overview of this relationship can be made. Second, only a few studies using the PAA exist in tourism research, as seen by Anyango-Van Zwieten, van der Duim & Visseren-Hamakers (2015) for analysing the payment for environmental services or Ahebwa, van der Duim & Sandbrook (2012) for examining the tourism revenue sharing policy intervention in Uganda. Presumably, no studies concerning policy-making and youth involvement from a PAA perspective exist. Therefore, this MSc thesis could be adding upon both existing studies towards youth involvement in policy-making from a new theoretical perspective as to this relatively new approach in tourism studies specific. Below the conceptual model of this research is given.

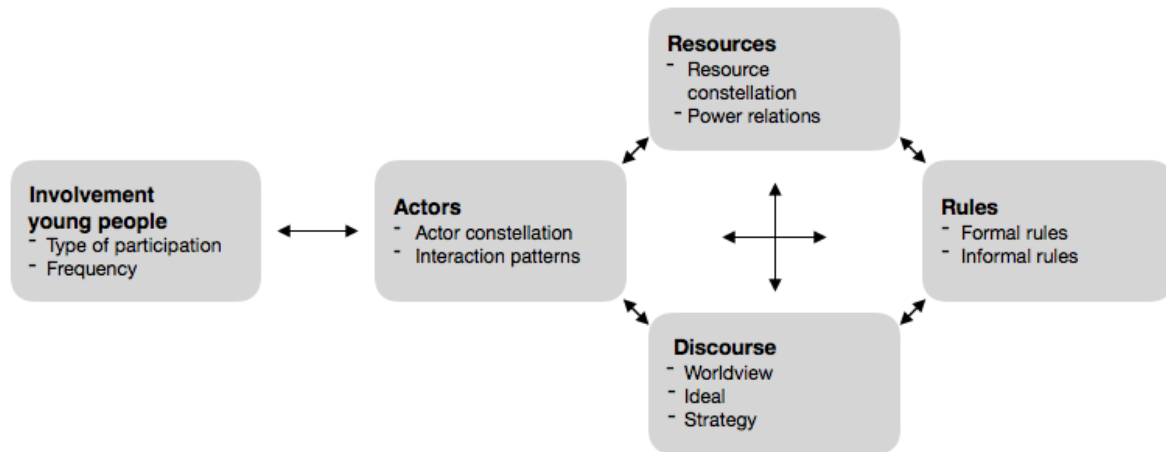


Figure 2. Conceptual model: relation arrangement of tourism policy and involvement of young people.

## 4. Qualitative research

This chapter outlines the methodology of the MSc thesis. It discusses the justification for qualitative research, the operationalization, the data collection and the type of analysis.

### 4.1 Qualitative research: justification

In order to research the relationship between the organisation and substance of tourism policy in Amsterdam and the participation of young people a qualitative research strategy is adopted. The purpose of this type of research is to explore, clarify and understand a specific theme or issue taking place (Reulink & Lindeman, 2005; Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2019). To be more specific: *“qualitative research is a form of empirical research that predominantly uses data of a qualitative nature and aims to describe and interpret research problems in or of situations, events and persons”* (Reulink & Lindeman, 2005, p.4). Instead of focussing on quantities, scope and frequency it rather tries to understand the nature, value and properties of a certain issue (Reulink & Lindeman, 2005).

The aim of this study is to understand tourism policy in Amsterdam City Centre and its relation to the participation of young people. Here, the focus lies on exploring this relationship, getting deeper into the factors that may be affecting it -thus the four dimensions- and understanding how this phenomenon is perceived by different stakeholders. The goal of this research fits the aim of qualitative research in general (as described before). Second, the aforementioned relationship is examined in a case-study design: the city of Amsterdam. A case-study is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question. A case is associated with a location, such as a community or an organization. The emphasis tends to be upon a detailed and intensive examination of the chosen setting (Bryman, 2012). This means that the relationship between tourism policy and youth participation will only be examined in the context of Amsterdam and therewith will be able to provide insights that are specific to this city. The focus on a detailed and intensive analysis of tourism policy and youth participation in Amsterdam is in line with the qualitative characteristic of studying a particular social phenomenon in depth (Bryman, 2012). Lastly, interviews are being held and documents are being consulted in order to examine this relationship. This type of data collection is typically used in qualitative research. In short, the reason why qualitative research is suitable for this research is because of its aim to understand the nature and properties of an issue in depth (tourism policy in relation to youth participation), its usage of a case-study (Amsterdam) and its type of data collection (interviews, policy documents).

Moreover, it is of importance to take the criticism of qualitative research into consideration. Only then a comprehensive overview of this type of research can be given. Examples of contentious issues in qualitative research are described next. (1) The issue of subjectivity: qualitative research is conceptualized as a subjective process that does not permit objectivity and control (Kalu, 2019). Critics refer to the researcher's often unsystematic views about significant and important issues and their personal relationships with those that are being studied (Bryman, 2012). It can be debated whether scientific studies or anything related to human input is ever free of subjective presumptions. (2) The issue of replicability: the ability to replicate is often not considered appropriate in qualitative research (Anderson, 2017; Roberts, Dowell & Nie, 2019). It is almost impossible to conduct a true replication of qualitative research since there are generally no standard procedures to be followed. For instance, the researcher decides upon the research focus, which is a product of what they deem is important, or has certain interpretations, which is likely influenced by personal characteristics. This subjectivity in addition to having no standard procedures makes replication in social research rather unusual (Bryman, 2012). This is also the case for this MSc thesis, nonetheless, efforts are made to describe the procedures in great detail in order to be, at least, transparent in the choices that have been made or to increase its replicability. (3) The issue of generalization: as the goal of most qualitative studies is to provide a deep and contextualized understanding of particular cases, generalizability is not always of importance to researchers (Polit & Beck, 2010). It is often implied that the scope of the findings is very limited and cannot be generalized to other settings (Bryman, 2012). The goal of this MSc thesis, however, is not to generalize the results but to understand this particular case in more depth. Nevertheless, the results can be used as reference data for studies towards youth participation in other settings. When this is the case it is possible to create a more generalised result or view of the topic at hand.

## 4.2 Operationalization

As written before, the aim of this MSc thesis is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the current arrangement of tourism policy and the participation of young people in Amsterdam. In order to do this, it is crucial to understand what the definition of policy arrangement, youth participation and Amsterdam is.

Policy arrangement is defined as the way in which a certain policy domain is shaped in terms of organisation and substance. In this research it is defined as the way in which tourism policy in Amsterdam is shaped in terms of organization (actors, resources and rules) and substance (discourse).

Tourism policy is defined as the official policy of the municipality in regard to tourism. Currently one of the main policies concerning the challenges of tourism is *City in Balance (2020)*. Central to this policy is the focus on the city centre and finding a new balance among the residents and visitors.

Amsterdam is defined as the capital of the Netherlands. The city includes eight boroughs: *Centrum, Noord, West, Nieuw-West, Westpoort, Zuid, Oost, Zuidoost*. In this case-study, however, Amsterdam refers to the city centre because of the focus of the aforementioned policies on this borough and as its residents experience the most nuisance and pressure on liveability by tourists (Sleutjes, Fedorova & de Grip, 2020). In figure 3 a map of Amsterdam and this specific borough is shown.

Centre consists of the following neighbourhoods: *Burgwallen (Oude/Nieuwe Zijde), Grachtengordel (West/South), Jordaan, Haarlemmerbuurt (incl. Westerdok/IJdok), Westelijke Eilanden, Weteringschans, Nieuwmarktbuurt/Lastage, Centraal Station, Weesperbuurt, Plantagebuurt, Oosterdok, De Kadijken and Oostelijke Eilanden*.

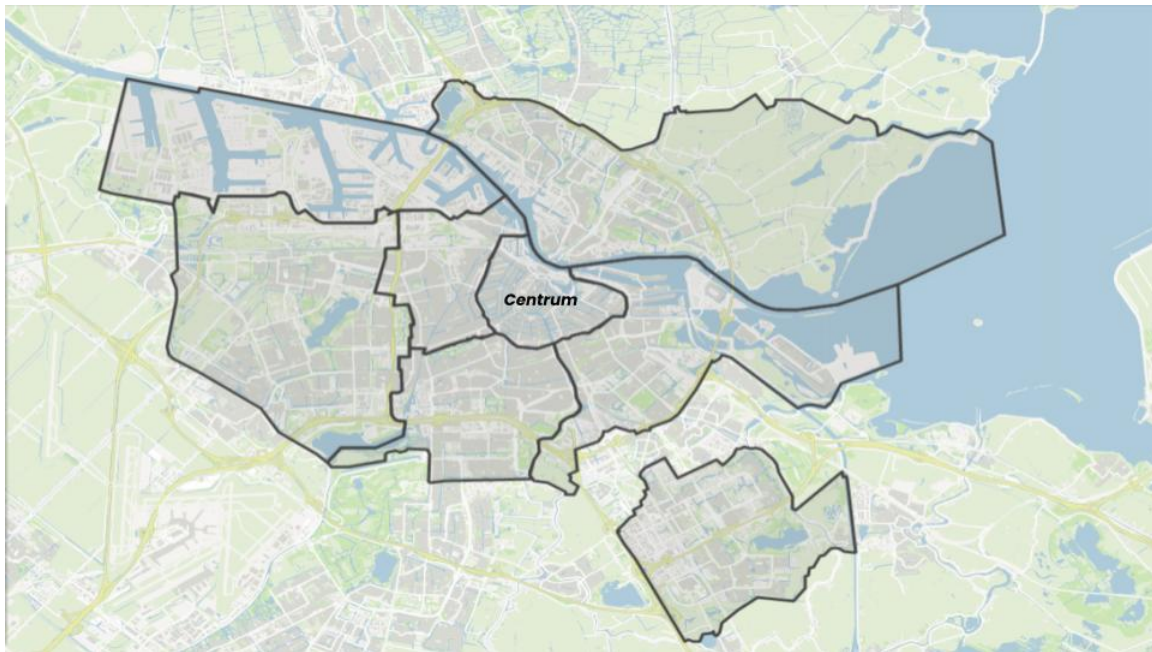


Figure 3. Map of the eight boroughs of the city of Amsterdam. The borough in the middle is the city centre and the focus of this thesis (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.).

Youth participation is divided in two parts. Participation can be defined in many ways but in essence it is about actions or activities that are directed towards influencing political outcomes (Kitanova, 2020). As written in the literature review, these actions or activities can be considered as traditional or non-traditional participation. Like the former concept, youth or young people can be defined in many ways. For instance, the central bureau of statistics in the Netherlands has an age range of 15 - 25 years, while the European Commission uses a range of 15 - 30 years. In this research the latter range is adopted as this research then can be used in both national and international context (e.g. for comparisons). In addition, this MSc thesis focuses on young people living in the city centre Amsterdam.

In Table 1 the operationalization scheme is displayed. Here, the concepts are eventually translated into indicators. These are used to show what exactly is being researched.

Table 1. Operationalization scheme.

Concept	Dimension	Variable	Indicator	Extra information	General questions
Arrangement Tourism Policy					
	ACTORS				
	Exploring	Actor constellation	People participating in tourism policy-making process	Inclusion/ Exclusion Governmental/Non-governmental	<b>Why</b> do you (not) participate? <b>Who</b> do you miss in the policy-making process? <b>Why?</b>



		Interaction patterns	<b>Quality</b> of relationship between stakeholders <b>Number</b> of times interacting with other stakeholders	Co-operative/conflicting	<b>With</b> whom do you collaborate and/or have conflict with <b>Why</b> ? <b>How</b> often do you have contact with other stakeholders <b>Do</b> you think this is enough? <b>Why</b> ?
	<b>In relation to youth participation</b>				How do the actors and their interactions affect the involvement of young people?

	RESOURCES				
	<b>Exploring</b>	Resource constellation	Knowledge Skills Amount of money to influence the policy process	Knowledge and skills that make participation possible	<b>What</b> type of knowledge do you need in order to be involved? <b>Are</b> you aware of the municipal agenda in regard to tourism? <b>What</b> type of skills do you need in order to be involved? <b>To</b> what extent is money available?
		Power	Asymmetrical distribution of resources	Power is the sum of the resources and their difference in that. It will not be an indicator in itself but is based upon the difference in resources	
	<b>In relation to youth participation</b>				How do the available resources and power relations affect the involvement of young people?

	RULES				
	<b>Exploring</b>	Formal (legislation)	Rules written in laws, legal texts and plan documents		What are the legal rules affecting the policy process?
		Informal (political culture)	Behaviour in policy-making		<b>What</b> role do you play? <b>What</b> are your tasks? <b>How</b> are you involved?

	In relation to youth participation?				How do the existing rules affect the involvement of young people?
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	DISCOURSE				
	Exploring	Worldview	Definition of the challenges of tourism in Amsterdam	Ontological	How would you describe tourism? How would you describe the challenge of tourism?
		Ideals	Solution to the challenge of tourism	Normative	What would be your solution to this issue?
		Policy strategy	Steps towards solution	Strategic	What steps need to be taken to realize your solution? What do you need in order to take these steps?
	In relation to youth participation				How do the different paradigms, ideals and strategies affect the involvement of young people?

Involvement of young people					
	Exploring	Quality	Type of participation	Traditional/ Non-traditional politics	How do you engage?
		Quantity	Number of times being engaged in politics		How often do you participate?

### 4.3 Data collection

Besides a literature review and the analysis of policy reports, semi-structured interviews are conducted in order to collect the data. This type of interviews, also referred to as qualitative or in-depth interviews, consist of a general interview guide with predetermined, somewhat more generally formulated questions. It is possible to deviate from this generality in case of new interesting information or further clarification. This gives the opportunity to dive deeper into a topic or gain more in-depth information, which is the goal of qualitative research and this MSc thesis as well. But in general, all the questions from the interview guide and similar wording will be used by the interviewer (Bryman, 2012). The guide focuses on the four dimensions of the Policy Arrangement Approach and therewith the questions relate to the actors, resources, rules and discourses. In Appendix A the interview guide for the experts can be found. It is in Dutch as the interviews are taken in this language. In total nineteen interviews are conducted: eight of them with experts in the field, ranging from community groups, civil servants, business association and a youth participation expert. These interviews are done in order to explore and find out the status quo of the tourism policy-making process in Amsterdam as little information about this topic is known. Table 2 gives an overview of these interviews.

**Table 2. Overview semi-structured interviews of active stakeholders and an expert**

Interview	Reference in quotes	Occupation	Date	Duration (minutes)	Style
1	R1	Municipality	04/12/2020	25:22	Microsoft Teams
2	R2	Community group	21/04/2021	87:08	Zoom
3	R3	Municipality	03/05/2021	69:21	Zoom
4	R4	Community group	05/05/2021	112:48	Zoom
5	R5	Youth participation platform	10/05/2021	46:17	Microsoft Teams
6	R6	Municipality	11/05/2021	32:24	Microsoft Teams
7	R7	Business Association	17/05/2021	52:57	Zoom
8	R8	Municipality	18/05/2021	86:46	Microsoft Teams
9	R9	Municipality	17/06/2021	23:06	Telephone

The remaining eleven are done with young people who meet the two aforementioned conditions: (1) having the age between 15-30 and (2) living in the borough centre. The length of residence varies among this sample: four of them live there their whole lives, three of them between 4 and 11 years and the rest less than 2 years. Here, it is more about their experiences and perceptions about the case. After interviewing the experts it has become clear that there is no to little participation of youth. Therefore, as they have no experience, the questions in these four dimensions have turned into possibilities. This means that instead of asking, for instance, with whom they have contact, it is about under what circumstances they would participate. In Appendix B the interview guide can be found and in Table 3 an overview of this interviewee group. Snowball sampling is adopted to find these interviewees. This is the process of selecting a sample using networks whereby first a few individuals or groups are selected, information is collected and afterwards are asked to identify other people (Kumar, 2014). Consequently these people are interviewed and asked the same thing. This process continued until a saturation point in terms of information was reached or due to no interest in or response to the interview (request). For instance, Amsterdam & Partners, certain civil servants, community groups or young people were not able to do an interview. The majority of the interviews are held via Microsoft Teams or Zoom. Two interviews are conducted via telephone and one is done in-person. Due to the covid-19 pandemic preference was given to do it online. The interviews last between 15 and 120 minutes and are held in Dutch. With permission from the interviewees the interviews are recorded by using an app on the iPhone and notes are taken.

**Table 3. Overview semi-structured interviews of young people**

Interview	Reference in quotes	Age	neighbourhood	Date	Duration (minutes)	Style
1	RY1	29	Nieuwmarkt	11/05/2021	41:13	Zoom
2	RY2	24	Burgwallen (Oude Zijde)	02/06/2021	27:42	Zoom
3	RY3	24	Jordaan	03/06/2021	31:13	In person
4	RY4	25	Grachtengordel West	04/06/2021	19:38	Zoom
5	RY5	24	Jordaan	07/06/2021	32:30	Zoom
6	RY6	24	Lastage	07/06/2021	47:59	Zoom
7	RY7	26	Jordaan	10/06/2021	45:59	Zoom
8	RY8	24	Burgwallen (Oude Zijde)	10/06/2021	43:14	Zoom
9	RY9	26	Burgwallen (Oude Zijde)	11/06/2021	15:05	Zoom
10	RY10	24	Haarlemmer buurt	14/06/2021	33:20	Zoom
11	RY11	28	Nieuwmarkt	14/06/2021	25:19	Zoom

#### 4.4 Qualitative Content analysis

In qualitative research Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is a commonly used analysis method and involves the controlled analysis of textual data in empirical research. Essential to QCA is its systematic process to structure the data into categories or codes. A core action is therewith the coding of the data, thus to select a certain part of the material, and assigning it to a category. In this MSc thesis the text is coded through a concept-driven manner. This means that the categories are derived from a theory and existing literature. The categories are thus determined beforehand and identified in the textual data (Kuckartz, 2019). However, this does not mean that there is no room for other non-identified interesting findings. These are also taken into account for the analysis of the text. The program Atlas.ti is used to conduct the analysis. It is a software that gives tools to code the data, link the findings and visualize them as well. For the Qualitative Content Analysis the following steps are taken. First, the data is being prepared. This means that the interviews are transcribed and anonymized by removing the names and other personal data of the interviewees. In the second phase, main categories are formed. The coding system is displayed in table 4. The categories are the four dimensions and the responses of the youngsters. The latter is also a category in itself to maintain a distinction between the answers of active stakeholders and young people. The codes are based upon the Policy Arrangement Approach and literature about youth participation. In the actors, resources, rules and discourse categories the codes 'youth' and 'other' refer respectively to remarks about youth (participation) and remarks that cannot be divided in one of the other codes. In the youth category 'involvement' and 'other' respectively refer to examples of participation and remarks that cannot be divided in one of the other codes. Third, the textual data is coded with the five main categories.

**Table 4. Coding scheme**

Category	Codes
Actors	Motivation Collaboration Conflict Frequency Youth Other
Resources	Knowledge Skills Financial means Youth Other
Rules	Formal Informal Youth Other
Discourse	Worldview Ideal Strategy Youth Other
Youth	Actors Resources Rules Discourse Involvement Other

## 5. Amsterdam as a tourism destination

This chapter discusses how tourism has developed in Amsterdam and what the current response is of the municipality towards the current situation of tourism. Also, it provides information about youth participation in Amsterdam that does not fit the Policy Arrangement Approach but is still relevant for better understanding.

### 5.1 Tourism development

After decades of suburbanisation and des-urbanisation, thus the exodus of inhabitants and therewith a lower liveability of the city, the municipality of Amsterdam had to make plans to increase its attractiveness (R3, 2021). In the 1990s intentional city marketing policies emerged in order to stimulate the local economy by attracting tourists and foreign investments in luxury hotel chains and other tourist services (Gerritsma, 2019). The (inter)national branding of the city, for instance by focussing on its cultural heritage, became an important tool of The Travel and Tourism Office of Amsterdam and the Dutch Tourism Office. This resulted in a transformation of the tourism industry whereby a record number of tourists, by the end of the 90s, led to a marked increase in tourism revenue (Gerritsma, 2019) and a significant decrease in unemployment rates (R3, 2021). From this moment onwards, proactive investments continued to be made in order to expand this industry, such as improving the city's accessibility for ships and (touring) cars and improving hospitality in the city (Gerritsma, 2019). While this industry kept growing and became more evident in the city, the role and consideration of residents was little in this development. In the Business Plan of The Amsterdam Travel and Tourism Office, for instance, one sentence was assigned to their role: it stated that the organisation should keep an eye on the interests of the locals as, without their cooperation, they would be facing a worrying future (Gerritsma, 2019).

In the first decade of the 21st century several crises, such as the financial crisis 2000/2001 and 2008, the 9/11 attacks and Sars epidemic, led to the notion that investments in the tourism industry still needed to be made in order to boost the city's economy (R3, 2021). Examples of these investments are a hotel policy for increasing the capacity or the I Amsterdam sign on Museum square (Gerritsma, 2019). These local measures together with the global rise of low-budget flights (R3, 2021) resulted in a record-year in 2014: 12.5 million hotel stays in comparison to less than 8 million in 2000 (Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). In addition, it was a rise of 11.3% compared to 2013 (Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). While records were broken, the discussion of crowdedness and pressure on the city began to start as well (R3, 2021).

Consequently, as written in the introduction, the municipality initiated the program *City in Balance* focussing on finding a new balance between residents and visitors. Recently, this program has been merged with the *City Centre Approach*.

### 5.2 City Centre Approach

This municipal document was developed in reference to the aforementioned tourism developments: the increasing influx of visitors has put pressure on the city in terms of crowdedness, undesirable behaviour and ambiance. This resulted in an increasing feeling of alienation and decreasing liveability among the residents over the last years (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020; R2 & R4, 2021). In addition, tourism contributes to, among other things, other developments in the inner city: an economic monoculture has emerged due to unilateral retail offering aimed at tourists and on the housing market a process of displacement has risen due to the attractiveness of vacation rental, such as Airbnb (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020). Thus, while tourism brings the aforementioned pressure on the public space of the city, it also threatens the retail and residential market in terms of homogeneity.

In order to tackle these negative impacts, the municipality came up with six priorities that each consists of measures. The first priority concerns the mix of functions and diversity. Their assumption is that through a mix of housing, stores, offices, social, cultural and commercial facilities the inner city becomes a place for everyone and not only tourists. Next is about additional and more effective enforcement which would improve the liveability and safety of the city. Third involves the idea of a valuable tourism economy that is inclusive in terms of educational places, internships and jobs, maintains or adds facilities that benefit the residents and businesses and commits to innovation and sustainable consumption, mobility and waste management. Fourth entails the strengthening of cultural diversity and neighbourhood identities in order to maintain the city's cultural diversity and to improve the liveability and sense of community in neighbourhoods. Next is to foster more and diverse housing supply, which has been under pressure by the aforementioned reason. Last priority is about the addition of recreational space and greenery in public space (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020).

The *City Centre Approach* has been co-created by the municipality, residents, entrepreneurs, real estate owners and cultural and knowledge institutions. To build on this collaboration, a proposal exists to form four separate platforms focused on citizens, businesses, culture and real estate in order to monitor the progress and co-operation.

### **5.3 Youth participation in Amsterdam**

Based upon the interviews with young people, one can conclude that participation in general is quite difficult. When asked how they participate in society the following ways were mentioned: voting, being a party member, demonstrations and petitions. The topics of interest are climate change, equal rights (e.g. women's rights, Palestine conflict, Black Lives Matter) and animal rights. Also, residency time seems to play a role in feeling the need to participate: those who live their whole lives in the city centre have more sentiment to their neighbourhood and are willing to participate. In order for this to happen, they also state that they want to be actively invited. This means that, if they would be invited, it should not be in a general manner but for young respondents specific.

## **6. Tourism policy-making in Amsterdam: where is the youth?**

In this chapter the results are displayed and divided into the following dimensions: the actors, resources, rules and discourses. Each sub-chapter consists of an exploration or explanation of the dimension based on the empirical results and is followed by an analysis that tries to understand the dimension's relation to the involvement of young people.

### **6.1 Actors**

#### **6.1.1 Actors in tourism policy**

In the policy domain of tourism several types of stakeholders are active. In the municipality there are a variety of civil servants who are directly or indirectly concerned with the topic of tourism. This ranges from those who are responsible for policy related to guided tours or to hotel occupation in the city centre. Involved departments are, for instance, Economic Affairs, Planning & Sustainability, City Development and District Centre (Stadsdeel Centrum). Economic Affairs, which focuses on economic development in Amsterdam, is mainly involved with this topic as the activity of tourism is an important part of the city's economy. Moreover, the District centre is also of importance as they are responsible for the program *City in Balance*. Civil servants who act as the 'the eyes and ears' of the municipality (Gebiedsmakelaars or Straatmanagers) also play a key role. They are the first point of contact for citizens and business owners in a neighbourhood and gain input from them.

Next, there are various community groups in the centre who engage whether it be as a group in itself or organized in a federation of groups. They often have a focus on their neighbourhood in the centre or the centre as a borough. The two respondents of the community groups argue that it was necessary for them to let their voices be heard as the liveability of their neighbourhood decreased. One of them says:

*“At a certain point, you simply have to realise that the old city centre, the Red Light District, in particular, has become a tourist attraction of the first order. It is so incredibly crowded, where the quality of life is not adversely affected but is actually completely gone” (R2).*

Not only their physical attendance, but also the fact that their neighbourhood is focussing on tourists is a reason for the respondent of the second community group to engage with the topic of tourism in policy-making:

*‘We started this group because of safety issues and now it is more to safeguard the liveability of the neighbourhood. Everything in the neighbourhood has started to focus on tourists. It has become one big tourist business. But that doesn't do any good for the residents’ (R4).*

Further, business owners who are mostly organized in business associations are active as well. One business association is mentioned as a collaborating actor by the three respondents of Economic Affairs. This association represents larger and smaller companies located in the centre. Also, *Koninklijke Horeca Nederland* -the association for the hospitality industry- is mentioned by these three as an important actor. Their motivation to be involved is, logically, because of their financial interest. Lastly *Amsterdam & Partners*, a non-profit organisation in the public-private sector, came to the fore. Originally, they were focussing on the marketing of Amsterdam to attract visitors to the city. As from 2014, however, this focus on tourists changed towards maintaining the balance between citizens and tourists.

In terms of collaborations and conflicts it can be stated that there is a lot of contact among the different actors. According to the respondents of Economic Affairs, they have mostly contact with the business association and *Koninklijke Horeca Nederland*. This relationship is described as follows:

*I've been working with them for 22 years and we have a very long history. But that's very intensive and it's also very pleasant for [name] if you know your opponents, well, your antagonists, because they know what's in it for them. That's nice. They know what they can say to me. A certain bond develops. It's professional and you don't have to explain certain things. And we clash with great regularity’ (R8).*

There is frequent contact as the members of these associations will be most affected by changes that the municipality wants to implement. This relationship is quite personal as they see each other frequently and know each other for a long time. The business association also acknowledges this relationship:

*‘We have a great relationship with the municipality. You try at the district administration, at civil servants, at aldermen, at the mayor, we talk to everybody. I think I have 150 people from the municipality in my file’ (R7).*

Topics that are being discussed relate to the shop diversity policy, keeping the city clean and accessibility. In addition, there is a so-called business panel, organised by the municipality, whereby business owners and civil servants of the District Centre discuss current events and issues. Even though their relationship is considered a good one and agreement exists (e.g. shop diversity policy), it is also acknowledged that there can be conflict. For instance, the business association argues that:



*'The municipality is really an unreliable thing. And if one department says A, just like that another department can say B, when you didn't know you needed department B. You know.'* (R7).

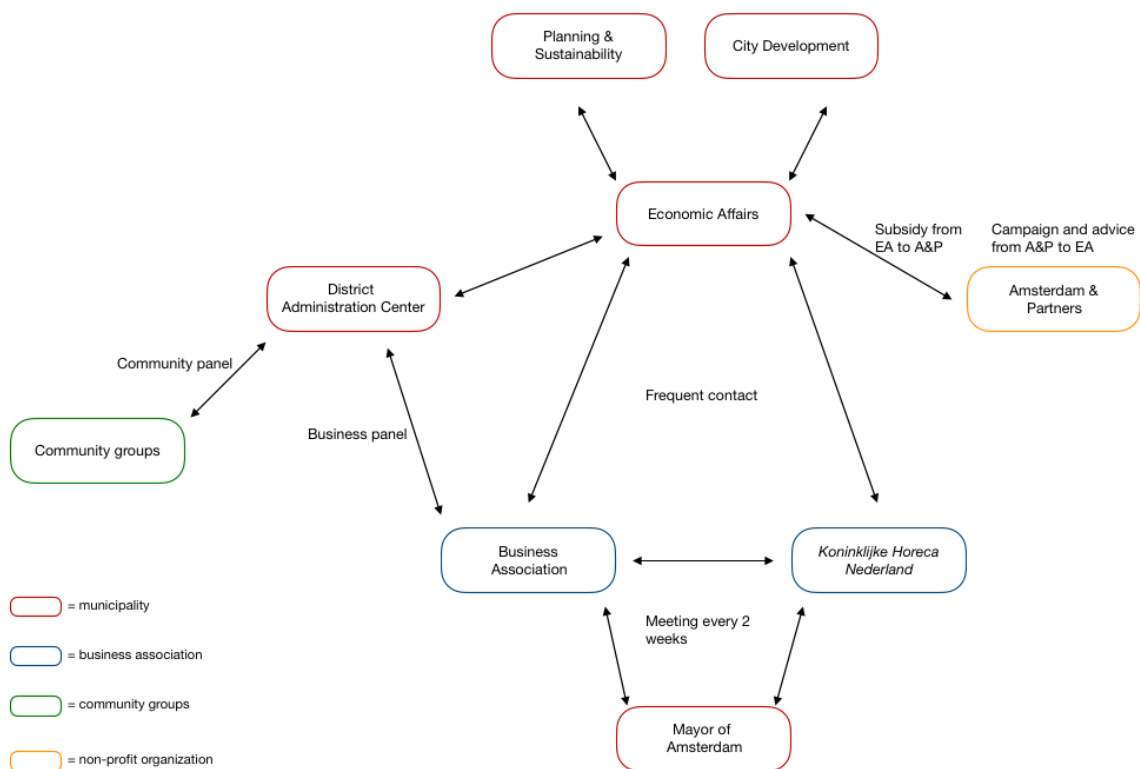
A point of conflict is about what type of visitors are welcome in Amsterdam. While the municipality believes in attracting new types of tourists who create value for the city, the other respondent from the business association has a more sceptical view about this. They, especially during the covid-19 pandemic, want the tourists to come back as soon as possible and with as many as possible.

The municipality also has contact with community groups through the District Centre which is also considered as good and personal contact. A quote of one community group representative illustrates this relationship:

*'We just have a very good entry point, we have the phone numbers of the administrators. The alderman I run into, before corona, then it was just the three kisses and then your conversation started'* (R4)

Similar to the business panel, a community panel exists, whereby both parties discuss what is currently going on and what needs to be done. This used to be a frequent meeting but has changed to once in every 6 weeks due to lack of content.

Furthermore, according to the respondent of the business association there is regular contact with community groups as from 2014, which resulted in a pact that showcases the common understanding of the actors about a liveable and hospitable environment in the centre of Amsterdam. This pact, however, is co-created with other community groups and not those in this MSc thesis. Figure 4 gives an overview of the contact relations between the identified actors.



**Figure 4. Overview of actors in tourism policy arrangement approach and their relations. Note: this figure is a limited representation of reality as not all actors and relations are identified within the scope of this MSc thesis.**

### 6.1.2 Youth and actors: the experiences

All the respondents of the municipality, community groups and business association state that there is no to little contact between themselves and young people. The quotes below, made by two community groups and two civil servants, reflect this common perspective:

*'To illustrate what I mean and how difficult it is to apparently involve young people, at least in our part of town. Two years ago we had a neighbourhood meeting and there was a huge turnout. If you just look at the age, everyone is welcome you know, everyone has had the same invitation. And you see who is coming and who is not coming. You know. Everybody is there and where the hell are the young people. They are just not there. Maybe they want to come' (R2).*

*'But let's look at young people. I find that a tricky thing because I think that groups that are less organised will drop out and that. Young people, of course, are not so involved in this' (R3).*

*'It is very difficult to involve young people, because they are often in a phase that does not interest them at all because they are busy with other things. We do have a number of younger people in our own circle. But they, and the meetings are too stiff for that' (R4).*

*'Yes, but that's a group that is more difficult to reach, because it's a group that I don't come across easily' (R6).*

This shared perspective is backed up by the notion of the youth participation expert that this activity in itself is quite difficult to foster. According to this respondent, in general only a small share of young people are interested in engaging with policy, such as those who foresee a career in it. The majority, however, is less interested and therefore harder to reach.

According to one community group and the business association, contact with young people happens incidentally. For instance, the former invited a local young person to the community panel after an interview they did together. This young person enjoyed it and was, at the time of the MSc thesis interview, somewhat involved with the media of the community group. In addition, the municipality acknowledges that young people are not involved. There are initiatives, although not specific to the topic of tourism, to stimulate contact between these two groups. For instance, the *nachtburgemeester*, the mayor of the night, is the chairman of an organisation that is committed to a lively, diverse and inclusive nightlife in Amsterdam. This party collaborates with, amongst other parties, the municipality.

In general, the youth respondents argue that they do not engage in the policy domain of tourism as they never felt the urge or had the opportunity. If they were, in fact, interested in doing so, more than half of them would start this process by contacting the municipality. When asked if they were ever invited by the municipality or community groups to talk about the challenges of tourism, no one could confirm. Yet a few somehow let their voices be heard. For instance, one of them was part of the community panel in the centre. This interviewee became part of it through an acquaintance and was interested in how the issue of safety was discussed by the actors. Thus, it was not because of interest in the topic of tourism per se, but rather in the topic of safety. Also, another young respondent once joined a community meeting to discuss how they experience living in the city centre which was in collaboration with the municipality, residents and sex-worker(s). Another respondent is involved in joining meetings of the businesses in the neighbourhood. Here, it is discussed how to attract tourists without changing the authenticity of the area. Mainly business owners are involved in this meeting and also presumably a civil servant. Both respondents joined at the request of a parent. Lastly, one of the respondents is the initiator of a grassroot petition which is about setting boundaries to the mass tourism in Amsterdam. According to this respondent it is relatively easy to set up such an initiative. Over time they had contact with various civil servants, the aldermen of Economic Affairs, community groups and political parties. The relationship

with the municipality is considered to be a frequent and accessible one. Now the initiative is in a phase when less contact is needed. Another finding is that two young respondents engaged politically by separately initiating art projects in the public space. Both were focussed on the influence of tourism on their personal environment and by either stickering buildings or placing banners in public space they let their voices be heard.

Thus, young people are (almost) not involved in the tourism policy-making process in the traditional form. When they are engaging, it is rather on a lower scale and in a non-traditional manner as seen respectively in the aforementioned business meetings or engagement in public space. Also, these respondents joined due to personal relations, such as parents or acquaintances instead of the municipality or organized groups (e.g. business associations or community groups). In addition, young people see the municipality as one of the main actors in this domain. The actors, even though they desire to collaborate with youth, are almost not involved with them as there is no structural contact and only occurs incidentally. As described in chapter 5, youngsters are more inclined to participate when they are actively invited.

## 6.2. Resources

### 6.2.1 Resources in tourism policy

The two respondents of the community groups consider, as cited below, empirical knowledge to be of importance. This is knowledge gained through experiences or observations of certain issues in their own neighbourhood:

*'What you need is your own knowledge and understanding. And in fact use empirical knowledge. That is very important because as a local resident, you just see what is happening on the street. And yes, that empirical knowledge that you gain, it's not by development, you just see it happening before your eyes. That is very important knowledge that you can use' (R2).*

*'That is the knowledge you gain about the neighbourhood. Your neighbourhood knowledge, your common sense' (R4).*

Besides, factual data through research is important according to them and the business association. Especially in combination with empirical knowledge it is seen as a useful way to bring across ideas and perspectives to one another. In regard to factual data one can think of the report about the carrying capacity of tourism<sup>5</sup>, which is carried out by *Research, Information and Statistics (Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek)* on behalf of the municipality. Moreover, the Amsterdam City Index is mentioned by the business association as a useful source of data. It provides an index with numerical data about themes such as business climate, accessibility, quality of public space and the economy in the centre of Amsterdam. Examples of empirical data are observations on the behaviour of tourists or the enforcement of certain rules such as the alcohol or amplified music prohibition. It is more about monitoring and whether situations, such as enforcement, could be improved. Factual data, for instance the aforementioned reports, are also used to back up one's own knowledge and experiences. This data is quite accessible as it is mostly available on the internet. Effort and time, however, needs to be taken to look for it. Considering the long and great experience of the community groups and business association in this policy process, they know where to look or who to approach for information. One can state that their experience in this process helps them to find what they need.

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<sup>5</sup> Source: Sleutjes, B., Fedorova, T., & de Grip, F. (2020). Onderzoek naar de toeristische draagkracht van wijken de invloed van toerisme op de leefbaarheid. <https://data.amsterdam.nl/publicaties/publicatie/toeristische-draagkracht-van-wijken/561cf8c1-5dae-40c9-84ea-8c311748f039/>

When this knowledge and data is acquired, it is needed to turn this into a narrative. According to the representatives of the two community groups and the young initiator of the petition, creating a consistent narrative is vital for bringing across a message to others and making them understand your point of view:

*'But underneath that, of course, you have to go and create a story, as it's called these days, a beautiful narrative. You have to make sure that this gets across, for example, in public opinion, and that civil servants and administrators also understand it. That they don't think 'yes, they are whiners'. But they suddenly think 'well, that's quite a good story actually' (R2).*

*'And constantly stating that and having and making a consistent and good story' (R4).*

*'You have to be able to write a piece well, you have to be able to convey a very clear message and story' (RY1).*

Another skill, mentioned by a representative of the community group and the young initiator of the petition, is that one needs to maintain an overview of the developments in order to build up a memory. This memory functions as a reminder to the others that certain issues have been discussed already and that next steps need to be taken. It is a way to prevent the discussion from taking too long. This goes in hand with being able to have an assertive attitude and not being afraid to speak up at certain times. According to respondents of the community groups and the business association, being able to work together is another key skill. This makes it easier to form a block and push their agenda to the municipality. Lastly, using the media as an outlet is also a skill that is mentioned. One community group uses a certain type of media to give a critical note on what is happening in their neighbourhood in regard to tourism. This is a way to express their concerns and is sometimes even picked up by the municipality. The quote below briefly describes how the resource is used by the actor to bring an important issue on the table at the municipality and that it also resulted in concrete change.

*'Yes, yes, yes. Look, the [name of media]. I wrote this story [about lack of enforcement in the neighbourhood] on the front page of the [name of media]. Well one week later I was at the town hall. [...] A month later, the mayor came with a letter that they were going to organise enforcement differently at other times. That also resulted in this' (R4).*

In terms of financial means the three non-municipal respondents have no to little money available. The ones who do not have a budget, do not consider it as a missed opportunity to influence the policy-process as they feel they can simply do without. Those who do have one, either by a small subsidy or from their members, use it mainly for administrative aspects, such as the creation of the aforementioned media outlet or the organization of a meeting.

#### 6.2.2 Power

As written in the theoretical framework, power is seen as the sum of the resources and its asymmetrical distribution among the identified actors. It becomes clear, based upon the availability of resources, that there is a difference in power among the stakeholders. For instance, the community groups and business associations have no or little money available. Even though these parties do not miss this type of resource, it shows that they have less means at hand. It does not, however, make them powerless. The quote above (R3) shows that this actor holds a certain power as they initiated actual change in the functioning of the municipality. The same respondent shared another example of how they influence policy and therewith hold a certain power:

*'If you walk down my street here, you just walk through a 'tunnel' of Cannabis cookies. [...] Now it says in Aapak Binnenstad that they want to do something about it. That wouldn't have happened if I hadn't constantly gone to the shop windows with every journalist and every council member to show how the tone is set. And that's where it eventually ends up in the City Centre Approach' (R4).*

The municipality has knowledge (e.g. factual data), skills and, contrary to the other stakeholders, financial means. Since this actor has more resources than the others and thereby reflects the unequal distribution of means, one can assume that they tend to hold the most power in this policy field. Moreover, the fact that they organize the business and community panels shows the dependency of the other actors: without these meetings there would be less opportunity for the community groups and the business association to give input. This dependency is also seen, as cited by one community group representative, in the collaboration for the City Centre Approach:

*'We provided input, on invitation by the way, on the approach plan for the inner city' (R2).*

The fact that they need to be invited in order to give their input, shows the dependency of this group on the municipality. This organizational power, as seen by the panels and City Centre Approach, creates dependency of the actors on the municipality.

### 6.2.3 Youth and resources

The majority, six young respondents, believe they have a certain type of knowledge that could be useful for the municipality. Given examples are their positive and negative experience with tourists, their personal networks in the neighbourhood and their ideas over the different types of tourists. Thus it is rather about the status quo of tourism and less about possible solutions to the challenge of tourism. They also state that their knowledge is limited and that other (factual) data is needed in order to get a comprehensive image of the situation. The rest of the young respondents either think they do not possess useful knowledge or could not answer this question. In addition, the respondent, who started the initiative, also points out that their educational background has been very helpful in participating: two of the initiators are economists and the other two are legal experts. This respondent says:

*'Yes, yes, that [legal expertise] has helped too. And also, economic knowledge has helped. Because of course we have a whole story about taxes. Because we can explain our ideas well. And could come up with other literature to show that what we say is not nonsense. I think that would make us more likely to be taken seriously. No, that certainly helps.' (RY1).*

According to this respondent, it helped them respectively with bringing across part of their proposed solution - how higher tourist taxes can be beneficial for the city- and setting up the initiative. In terms of skills, all young respondents did not feel that special skills are needed and that everyone is eventually capable of being part of the policy-making process. The following skills, however, are brought up: the ability to make a narrative, bring across this narrative, deal with different opinions, empathise with other actors, convince people and to write. Next, money is seen as a useful resource when participating. If a small fund would be available seven young interviewees would be more interested in participating. They believe in the power of money as it makes the participation process more practical and concrete. Some of this group think that participation is just about discussions and no real changes. Thus it can be used as a means to realize actual change. This interest is shown in the quotes of two respondents:

*'Of course, I am interested if a small budget would be available. It is also a kind of duty that you have as a citizen to talk about things. I like it too, you know' (RY7).*

*I think so, because it is partly about the money, which you can use to do practical things. Yes, but it's also partly a kind of confirmation of 'okay, we take you seriously and you can do a lot with this' instead of going to such a meeting and not always knowing afterwards what will happen. So yes, I would join' (RY10)*

The rest of the young people did not see money as a stimulus for their participation. Also the young respondent who started the citizen initiative did not consider money to be of importance and did not feel like the lack of it limited their ability to participate. Lastly, in terms of power it becomes clear that youngsters have the least resources at hand in comparison to the identified actors. Nonetheless in a broader sense one can say that their power can be seen in real life context: two youngsters have been able to temporarily set up art projects in public space, which requires resources, and let their voices be heard. Thus, while they may seem powerless in the policy domain, they are able to communicate their thoughts and views about tourism to others in another realm.

As written in the theoretical framework, power is seen as the sum of the resources and its asymmetrical distribution among the identified actors. It becomes clear, based upon the availability of resources, that there is a difference in power among the stakeholders. For instance, the community groups and business associations have no or little money available.

Thus, all non-municipal respondents have quite similar ideas to what important knowledge and skills are in the policy-making process: respectively their own experiences/observations and factual data of the municipality as knowledge and communicative skills. In addition similar ideas about important knowledge and skills exist between the identified actors in the policy-making process of tourism and young people. The latter group has an accurate view on important resources in the current tourism policy-making process. There is a difference in their ideas about financial means: even though the respondents of the community groups and business association do not consider it to be of importance, the majority of young people deem it as a useful means to make them engage and realize change.

### 6.3. Rules

#### 6.3.1 Rules in tourism policy

The respondents of the community groups and business associations find it difficult to identify the rules which affect the policy-making process. The two community groups interviewees could sketch a situation whereby legislation affected tourism policy in Amsterdam: the proposal of the municipality to limit Airbnb stays in the city centre eventually got rejected based upon European laws. Moreover, one respondent of the municipality says that formal laws and rules affect their ability to shape new policies that relate to the challenge of tourism. The quotes below back up this notion:

*'Yes, that is the European Services Directive and it is real. And that is really for us a terrible instrument that stands against us. It could be changed' (R8).*

*'But also things like substitutions, which we are having a lot of trouble with at the moment in the city. And that's just the Civil Code. Civil Code protects very much the right of ownership' (R8).*

European legislation is affecting the legal boundaries in Amsterdam as it is very protective of market players who want to enter a market. It makes the refusal of new players difficult and that is exactly what the municipality in Amsterdam wants to do. For instance with the policy about shopping diversity: the aim is to maintain a diversity in shops in the city centre in order to prevent the trend of increasing tourist-oriented shops and that can result in the refusal of new stores. This has been fought in court based upon European rules. Eventually, the municipality won this case as their arguments overruled the counterarguments. Nonetheless, the right of ownership -a law on national level- is also affecting the shopping supply and therewith legally limits the capability of the municipality. A so-called substitution is a regulation that allows the owner of a store to transfer the

contract to another party without the approval of the landlord or municipality. This affects the supply and also diversity of shops in the city centre as there is less overview on who takes over the shop.

In regard to the political culture or the informal rules in this policy domain different tasks and roles are assigned to the actors. The representatives of the community groups and the business association state, as reflected in the quotes below, that their main task is to deliver information on issues that affect them and give input on existing ideas or documents:

*'Yes, of course, to provide information. Citizens should inform the government anyway. You may have an active duty there. And that's how I see it. You can complain about anything, you can also say 'well I'm going to complain, but I'm going to complain to the right people'. So an information duty' (R2).*

*'Yes, informing and critically thinking along. That is what it is and that is also what the community panel does. We also have all kinds of questions, we put things on the agenda' (R4).*

*'Look, we have. It is our role to inform our members about things that are coming up. And to ask for their opinion. And then to form an opinion so that we can put that back to the municipality' (R7).*

Not only an information- and criticism-oriented role is adopted by these groups, they are also able to raise issues themselves and set the agenda during the meetings. This goes together with the municipality, who also form their own agenda and raise their issues. Logically, the municipality also has the task of inviting other stakeholders and gathering input from them on their plans and ideas. This is done, for instance, during the afore-written community or business panels. Based upon this mutual exchange of information, amongst other things, decisions are eventually made by the municipality. This decision-making power is acknowledged by the other community parties, as seen in the following quotes:

*'These are high-ranking officials who are going to determine where the focus should be' (R2).*

*'We discuss the problem together. And what you ultimately do with it as a government. That is your task. That is your business. You are going to do something with it' (R4).*

Besides these tasks and roles, a few norms are also mentioned. For instance, the gentlemen's agreement and common decency are determined as norms that are common during meetings. This is respectively about the actors keeping information to themselves until told otherwise and telling each other the truth in a decent manner.

### 6.3.2 Youth and rules

The majority of the young respondents are not aware of the rules in regard to tourism. The remaining two could identify rules that affected tourism in Amsterdam, such as the limitation on Airbnb stays, the alcohol ban in certain parts of the city centre and the proposal of prohibiting the selling of weed to tourists. These rules focus on the content of tourism-related challenges rather than the process on how to participate. None of the young people are aware of the rules on how to participate and how to become part of the policy-making process. This goes in line with the statement of the young respondent who started the petition: according to this interviewee the rules on how to participate or engage, for instance by starting a petition, could be clearer and more visible. This was less of an issue for them, due to the legal background of one of his companions.

For seven of this group the rules would be of interest to them when for instance they would be interested in the topic of tourism in the first place or when these rules would positively affect the cohesion in the neighbourhood. In regard to the latter, some argue that the increasing vacation rental negatively affects the sense of community in the neighbourhood as possible long-term settlers are replaced by the short-stays of tourists. Furthermore, there is also interest in rules that focus on fines for certain behaviour. For instance, sometimes it can be forgotten that the rules for tourists, such as the alcohol ban on the street or amplified music on water, also applies to the inhabitants of the area. It would be useful to create more awareness about the application of these rules on locals. Thus, interest also exists when the rules would positively affect the cohesion in the neighbourhood (e.g. limiting vacation rental) or when it minimizes the risk of getting a fine (e.g. the alcohol ban).

Thus, it is quite difficult for the non-municipal and municipal respondents to determine what formal rules are affecting the policy-making process. One representative of the municipality could give a few examples on European and national level. In terms of the informal rules or the political culture in the tourism policy domain it becomes clear that the community groups and business association have an informative and advisory role while the municipality holds the decision-making power. Similar to the identified actors, the majority of the young respondents are not aware of the rules in the tourism policy domain. Also, none of them are known with the rules that focus on how to participate or engage. So, both rules focussing on the content of tourism policy (e.g. limitation Airbnb rental) as those on the process (e.g. how to become part of the tourism policy domain) are (mostly) unknown to young people.

## 6.4. Discourse

### 6.4.1 Discourse in tourism policy

The municipality's view towards the phenomenon of tourism changed over the years. As described in chapter 5 their focus was formerly on attracting as many tourists as possible and this started to change around 2014/2015 when the negative consequences of this influx of people started to become visible. This change of attitude is concluded by two respondents of the municipality:

*'That is, of course, the turning point, that if you have a, even if you have a narrower idea of what economics is, tourism growth at a certain point is no longer good. We started looking at it differently' (R3).*

*'Of course, what we think of tourism has changed quite radically. Around 2015 is the breaking point. That is when we no longer see tourism as beneficial to the economy, for employment and the vitality of the city and also as a breeding ground for all kinds of activity in the city. Then tourism takes a turn for the worse. Then it becomes a disruptive factor in the city' (R8).*

In the City Centre Approach, and described in chapter 5 as well, the direct and indirect consequences of tourism come to the fore. These impacts are also acknowledged by the two respondents of the community groups. They, however, consider monoculture to be the biggest challenge: almost every aspect, for instance shops or housing in their neighbourhood is tourist-oriented. While these two actors and the municipality (to a certain extent) wish to adapt the visitor economy, the business association is dependent on this economy and benefits from high quantities of tourists. It is the municipality's goal to realize a visitor's economy that is sustainable, improves the liveability and adds value to the city centre and its inhabitants. Thus, tourists are still of importance but need to add value to the city. The business association contests this idea as it is, to them, rather unclear and excessive. In order to realize this ideal, the municipality has set up six priorities, each consisting of different measures<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> See Case Context (chapter 5)



These priorities can be considered as the steps (strategic layer) to go from their current worldview (ontological layer) towards their ideal (normative layer).

In terms of organisation one administrative and one official management has been chosen to ensure the coherence of the measures. Also, there is a budget of 7.5 million euros available in 2021 and 2022 for this program. Key in the organisation of this program is the collaborations with parties in-and outside of the municipality: there is a need to make the consultations among the different actors more aligned to one another and to welcome other parties to the table.

#### 6.4.2 Youth and discourse

When asked what their view is on tourism, all young respondents could assign advantages and disadvantages to this phenomenon. Tourism is negatively associated with terms such as crowdedness, monoculture, displacement, gentrification and loss of community feeling. In terms of benefits, economic value, pride, conviviality and liveliness are mentioned. Six of them have the feeling that these issues slightly affect them on a personal level. They say, for instance, that the crowdedness makes them feel restless or that because of the monotonous availability of shops, groceries need to be done in other neighbourhoods. Even though the youngsters identify challenges and are slightly affected by them, all accept the situation as it is. These negative issues are considered as something that is part of tourism in Amsterdam/general and therefore they personally adapt to this situation. In addition, two young interviewees use the argument that they travel to other cities and thus are tourists themselves and therewith cannot complain about the situation here. This accepting attitude is reflected in quotes of three respondents:

*'But everywhere I think you go in the world you have tourism. Yeah, so I kind of, I think it's part of it. I think you have to adapt to it a little bit. You can't do much about it. It's just part of it' (RY4).*

*'But I also think that tourism is part of the city. Amsterdam needs tourists just to survive' (RY8).*

*I think it's just part of it. Tourists, that's part of it, because I go to another city sometimes and I am a tourist too' (RY11).*

Four respondents, who live their whole lives in the city of Amsterdam, currently feel the need to engage and let their voices be heard. They see and experience changes over the last years and have a sentiment of how their neighbourhood used to be. The remaining seven would be prone to engage if it would be clearer and concrete to them how the tourism-related developments affect them indirectly or directly.

Further, almost no one is aware of the municipal agenda related to the challenges of tourism. Only two of them, via their parents or acquaintances, ever heard of the City Centre Approach without knowing the specific content. While they are unfamiliar with this program, a few measures could be identified<sup>7</sup>. One respondent has seen the campaign about respect for the locals: photos of real locals on the windows with the text 'i live here' have to make visitors aware of the fact that they are in a neighbourhood and need to act accordingly. Also, these young locals hear about the measures, such as the weed ban for tourists, of the municipality through the internet, newspaper or family and friends.

Thus, different views exist on tourism and its related challenges. While the municipality and community group feel the urge to change the current state of tourism, the business association and young respondents seem to have this feeling less. The business association acknowledges tourism-related problems but is also financially

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<sup>7</sup> See Youth and Resources (paragraph 6.2.3)

dependent on them. This makes them less interested in changing the whole visitor economy. The youngsters have a more accepting attitude and do not experience tourism-related developments as such that they feel the need to engage. Also, almost no one is aware of the municipal agenda except for a few measures. Opportunity for engagement, however, exists if the narrative of the municipality additionally would be more focussed on youngsters.

## **7. Conclusion**

This chapter presents the conclusion of the main question, the discussion and a reflection on the research and Policy Arrangement Approach. It concludes with recommendations for the municipality on how to stimulate youth participation.

### **7.1 Indirect connection between tourism policy arrangement and youth involvement**

By analyzing the current arrangement of tourism policy and the involvement of young people, this thesis shows the status quo and the relationship between the two. It comes to the fore that youth participation is almost non-existent in this policy domain. Examples of engagement, however, exist to a limited extent: in non-traditional ways such as community and/or business meetings, petitions and engagement in public space. To emphasize: it happens incidentally and not in a structural manner. As youngsters are almost not involved in this process, logically, no direct link exists to the actors, resources, rules and discourses in the policy domain of tourism. Yet, there are findings that show how these two concepts are indirectly related.

In terms of the actors, it is determined that they have incidentally invited youngsters in the past and have, although little, contact with them. Even though collaboration with young people is desired in the tourism-policy making process, no specific actions are taken by these actors. Furthermore, similar ideas about relevant knowledge and skills exist among the active stakeholders and young people. The latter has an accurate understanding of what is important to know and have in this process. Third, there is a high unfamiliarity about both the rules that focus on the content of tourism policy as on those that focus on the process of participation. If the young respondents would be interested in engaging, it is unclear to them how they could become part of the process. This is backed up by the finding that when youngsters are participating it is through the introduction by parents or acquaintances and not on their own initiative. Lastly, young people are -to a limited extent- aware of the municipal discourse about tourism: they know that change is desired and needed, but not exactly how. Their view on tourism is, contrary to the actors in the policy-making process, very acceptive of the situation. This attitude makes them feel less inclined to do something about it and let their voices be heard.

Thus, based upon the main results above (and those in the results chapter) this thesis exposes that no direct relation exists between the current arrangement of tourism policy and the engagement of youth in Amsterdam. This means that the actors, resources, rules and discourse are not directly connected to desired participation. It seems that the current arrangement of tourism policy sustains an environment in which young people are not made aware of the possibility to participate (as seen in the actors or rules dimensions) or the urgency of the challenge of tourism and their participation (as seen in the discourse dimension). Even though a direct relationship is missing, it is unfair to state that there is no relation at all. As described earlier, indirect connections exist between the four dimensions and youth participation. These connections are about the unawareness, unfamiliarity or contradicting ideas of youth on the dimensions of tourism policy.

## 7.2 Discussion

The conclusion applies to the context of Amsterdam. Even though the focus of this research is not to generalize, it could be useful to find out what the results mean in a broader scientific context. First of all, it has been difficult to find studies that have a similar focus on youth participation in tourism policy in a metropolitan area. Only a few addresses this topic in the context of Amsterdam, such as Gerritsma & Vork (2017). They research the attitudes and perceptions of residents on tourism in different neighbourhoods and conclude that in general a positive attitude exists, except for the increasing negative feelings among locals in the centre of Amsterdam. Subsequently these feelings are linked to their participation behaviour: those with negative feelings have negative views about the degree of participation in decisions concerning their neighbourhood and those with positive ones are more involved. Another study, by O'Sullivan (2020), also focuses on the attitudes and perceptions of residents on tourism. Here it becomes clear that, contrary to Gerritsma & Vork (2017), residents are less positive as there is a widespread dissatisfaction with tourism in the city. It comes to the fore that similar studies -thus focusing on participation in tourism- mainly address the attitudes and perceptions of residents about tourism. Compared to the existing literature, this MSc thesis adds new knowledge to this topic as it approaches participation from a different angle: instead of focussing on attitudes and perceptions alone, it goes a step further and includes non-personal aspects, such as the four dimensions. This shifted focus from personal to policy level allows for examples of what can be done on policy level, thus by the municipality, in order to stimulate their participation. These recommendations can be taken into consideration by other cities after studying their own youth participation level in this policy domain. Next, the results can function as a reference point in future similar studies. It would be interesting to see if European or other global cities come to the same conclusions. Do they also experience lack of youth involvement? If so, do the same indirect relations exist? In addition, it might be interesting to determine how these relations are in cities with high levels of youth participation in tourism policy. How do the four dimensions then relate to actual youth engagement? How do these relations compare to those of cities with no youth engagement? The results can be considered as reference material for other researchers interested in studying youth participation in tourism policies.

As concluded by Thorthon (1990), Canosa & Wray (2013) and Wu & Pearce (2013) young people are under researched in tourism studies and this group -being part of the host community- in the policymaking process has been identified as a research opportunity. This MSc thesis tried to close this scientific gap by highlighting the status quo of youth participation, their perception and actions to the challenge of tourism and how this eventually relates to the current arrangement of tourism policy. Moreover, by highlighting the absence of research on and with young people, it tries to expose and emphasize the importance of studying youth participation in tourism policy. Thus, the added value does not necessarily lie in the concrete results that can be easily applied to other cities. After all, that is not its aim as a qualitative study. This MSc thesis is of importance as it functions as reference material for other like-minded researchers, as it adds scientific knowledge to an identified literature gap and as inspiration and stimulus to contest dominant research topics in tourism studies.

## 7.3 Reflection

Besides its added value, as described above, it is also relevant to reflect on the decisions made in this research and its theoretical foundation. In regard to this MSc thesis as a whole, it was not possible to include all active stakeholders in the study. For instance, after several requests it was not possible to interview Amsterdam & Partners. As this is an important party in this policy field, their missing perspective consequently leads to missing results. Attempts are made, however, to incorporate their perspective and actions by asking the other municipal interviewees. They have a close relationship with this party and are, to a limited extent, able to describe their point of view and actions. In addition, one can state that the majority of the young interviewees are about the same age (around 24 years). Even though they fit into the range (15 - 30 years) a more diverse age group is desired to gain more diverse perspectives. Considering, however, the limited possibilities to get in touch with

this age group in the centre (e.g. youngsters are not organized, no personal network, no network from other interviewees) and time restraints this fact has to be accepted. Lastly, the focus is on tourism policy and youth participation. By trying to understand this relation, factors that influence their participation can be determined. Besides the factors relating to policy, personal factors logically also affect their participation. Due to the identified focus of this research and lack of time these personal factors are not incorporated. Research to this topic, as an addition to this study, could be helpful in understanding youth participation in tourism policy from a broader and more complete view.

In terms of the theoretical framework, the Policy Arrangement Approach, a few remarks need to be made. This study has a rather exploratory character, as it touches upon a topic that has been understudied. Before analysing the relation between the current arrangement of tourism policy and youth engagement it is necessary to determine the status quo of each. In order to get a comprehensive view on this status quo, it is important to research a variety of aspects. This approach made it possible to explore different dimensions of the policy-making process instead of focussing on one or two. In addition, it provides a systematic overview of policy as it gives focus on certain aspects, thus the four dimensions separate, but also reveals the interrelations to one another. It also made it possible to code the interviews in a structured manner. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this framework is used to its full potential as it focussed on an aspect, youth participation, which is almost non-existent in the policy domain of tourism. This means, as described in the results, that few indirect relations exist between the current arrangement of tourism policy and youth participation. This framework would probably foster more concrete and direct relations between these if there was indeed youth participation in this policy domain.

#### **7.4 Recommendations**

Based upon the interviews with youngsters a few recommendations, relating to the four dimensions, for the municipality are made. These are focussed on how to create circumstances in which they are more inclined to participate. First, relating to the actors it is advised to actively invite young people. This means that general invitations and statements need to be avoided and instead the municipality has to specifically address them and emphasize their need for young people's opinion on the issue of tourism. For instance, to make contact they should go to locations where youngsters can be found such as schools, universities or student associations. Next, money is seen as a useful source for attracting young people and making participation more interesting for them. Thus it is advised to make a (small) budget available for them to spend. Third, even though youngsters are not interested in the rules per se, it has become clear that making the rules on how youth can participate more visible, comprehensible and accessible could only be beneficial. Lastly, it is advised to incorporate explicitly the effects of tourism on youth and their importance in this issue in the municipal discourse. It is necessary to make the discourse about tourism challenges more visible and relatable to youngsters. When there is more connection to this topic, and it becomes clear how it affects them personally, besides a sense of crowdedness, they are more inclined to participate. For instance, a campaign via social media can be started whereby young influencers can explain why the voice and input of young people matters in this topic for both the city as the youngsters themselves.

Key to all these recommendations is that the municipality must take the lead and cannot expect youngsters to come to them and participate. Therefore, the first step is to -after determining why they want youth included in this matter- to set up a (small) team that actively thinks about how to stimulate youth participation in tourism policy. The creation of such a team can draw on the knowledge of experts in the field of youth participation, such as the one consulted for this MSc thesis.

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## Appendix A - Interview guide municipality, community groups, business association and youth participation expert

### ACTOREN

1. Waarom doen jullie mee **of niet** in het beleidsvormingsproces over toerisme? *Bijvoorbeeld in Stad in Balans of Aanpak Binnenstad.*
2. Welke groep ontbreekt er in dit proces? Waarom denk je?
3. Zijn er groepen die jullie specifiek proberen te betrekken bij dit proces? Zo ja, welke en waarom? Zo niet, waarom niet?
4. Weet jij met wie je contact moet opnemen om jullie stem te laten horen?
5. Met wie en/of welke groepen heb jij contact? Waarom?
6. Hoe zou jij de relatie met XXX beschrijven?
7. Wat maakt het makkelijk om met deze groep samen te werken en wat zijn uitdagingen in deze samenwerking?
8. Hoe vaak hebben jullie contact met de andere actoren?
9. Vind je dit genoeg? Waarom?
10. Kunnen jullie een voorbeeld geven van een meeting met hen? Wat zijn bijvoorbeeld de rollen in deze meeting? Welke onderwerpen worden er besproken?
11. Hoe beïnvloedt jullie aanwezigheid en interacties met andere actoren de betrokkenheid van jongeren? *Denken jullie bijvoorbeeld dat jullie aanwezigheid of samenwerking met bepaalde actoren de betrokkenheid van jongeren kan stimuleren?*

### MIDDELEN

1. Wat voor kennis hebben jullie nodig gehad om mee te doen in het beleidsvormingsproces? *Bijvoorbeeld bepaalde documenten of andere informatie*
2. Wat maakt het voor jullie moeilijk of makkelijk om te participeren?
3. Kunnen jullie de informatie die wordt gegeven door de gemeente goed begrijpen of is het te technisch?
4. Zijn jullie op de hoogte van de agenda van de gemeente omtrent toerisme?
5. Wat voor vaardigheden hebben jullie nodig gehad om mee te doen in het beleidsvormingsproces? Wat ontbrak er om mee te doen?
6. In hoeverre is er geld beschikbaar om te gebruiken? Zo niet, missen jullie dit om invloed uit te kunnen oefenen?
7. Hoe wordt dit geld besteed?
8. Welke invloed hebben jouw beschikbare middelen en machtsverhoudingen op de betrokkenheid van jongeren?

### REGELS

1. Wat zijn de legale regels die het beleidsvormingsproces beïnvloeden? *Denk aan regels die zijn opgeschreven in wetten, legale teksten of planning documenten.*
2. Wat zijn de informele regels die het beleidsvormingsproces beïnvloeden? *In een meeting, zijn er bepaalde regels waar jij je aan moet houden?*
3. Wat voor rol bekleden jullie in het proces?
4. Wat zijn jullie taken?

5. Hoe zijn jullie betrokken?
6. Hoe beïnvloedt de bestaande regelgeving de betrokkenheid van jongeren?

#### **DISCOURSE**

1. Hoe omschrijven jullie het fenomeen toerisme?
2. Wat is volgens jullie de uitdaging van toerisme in Amsterdam?
3. Wat is volgens jullie de oplossing voor deze uitdaging?
4. Welke stappen moeten er genomen worden om jullie oplossing te realiseren? Wat is er bijvoorbeeld nodig aan actoren en middelen?
5. Welke invloed heeft jullie opvattingen, idealen en strategieën op de betrokkenheid van jongeren?

#### **JONGEREN**

1. In hoeverre missen jullie jongeren in het beleidsvormingsproces?
2. Hoe denken jullie dat de participatie van hen gestimuleerd kan worden?

### **Appendix B - Interview guide young people**

#### **ACHTERGRONDINFORMATIE**

1. Hoe oud ben je?
2. In welke buurt woon je en hoelang woon je daar al?

#### **VRAGEN JONGERENPARTICIPATIE ALGEMEEN**

3. In hoeverre doe jij mee/participeer jij in het vormen van beleid? Heb jij ooit dus geprobeerd invloed uit te oefenen op beleid door je stem te laten horen? Hier kan je aan elk onderwerp denken.
  - **Zo ja**, welk onderwerp, waarom en op wat voor manier?
  - **Zo niet**, waarom niet?

#### **VRAGEN TOERISME**

4. Denk jij dat toerisme, dus het komen van bezoekers naar oa jouw buurt voor persoonlijke/professionele doeleinden, effect heeft op jouw persoonlijke leven?
  - **Zo ja**, hoe? Kan je een voorbeeld geven?
  - **Zo niet**, waarom niet?
5. Heb je ooit de behoefte gehad om je bezig te houden met toerismebeleid?
  - **Zo ja**, waarom?
  - **Zo niet**, waarom niet?
6. Heb je ooit de kans gehad om je er mee bezig te houden? Hoe zag dat eruit?
7. In hoeverre doe jij mee/participeer jij in het vormen van beleid omtrent toerisme in Amsterdam?
  - **Zo ja**, ga naar vragen WEL PARTICIPEREN
  - **Zo niet**, ga naar vragen NIET PARTICIPEREN

#### **NIET PARTICIPEREN**

#### **ACTOREN**

1. Waarom laat jij je stem niet horen over het onderwerp toerisme?
2. Wat voor mensen praten er, denk jij, mee over het toerisme vraagstuk?
3. Stel jij zou wel je mening willen uiten over toerisme, weet jij wie met wie je contact moet opnemen? Hoe zou jij dat doen?

4. Ben jij ooit uitgenodigd door de gemeente (of bewonersgroepen) om mee te komen praten over het toerisme probleem?
5. Als de gemeente jou zou uitnodigen om mee te praten over dit probleem met andere jongeren in jouw buurt? Zou jij dan komen?
  - **Zo ja**, waarom
  - **Zo niet**, waarom niet?

#### **MIDDELEN**

1. Wat voor kennis moet je, denk je, hebben om mee te kunnen praten als het gaat over het toerisme vraagstuk in Amsterdam?
2. Wat voor vaardigheden moet je, denk je, hebben om mee te kunnen praten als het gaat over het toerisme vraagstuk in Amsterdam?
3. Denk jij dat jij bepaalde kennis hebt over het toerisme probleem in Amsterdam, omdat je het van dichtbij meemaakt? Kan jij een voorbeeld geven?
4. In hoeverre denk jij dat dit bruikbaar is voor de gemeente?
5. Als de gemeente geld beschikbaar zou stellen voor jongeren om hen actief mee te laten denken over het toerisme probleem. Zou je dan mee doen?
6. Als de gemeente geld beschikbaar zou stellen om ook echt iets uit te voeren, bijvoorbeeld een persoonlijk idee. Zou je dan mee doen?

#### **REGELS**

1. In hoeverre ben jij bekend met de regelgeving omtrent toerisme?
2. In hoeverre ben jij hierin geïnteresseerd?

#### **DISCOURSE**

1. Wat vind jij van het toerisme in Amsterdam Centrum? Hoe kijk je ernaar?
2. Heb jij ooit gehoord van de Aanpak Binnenstad?
3. Hoor jij van de gemeente wel eens iets over de problemen van toerisme?
4. Hoor jij van de gemeente wel eens iets over toerisme in combinatie met jongeren inspraak?

#### **OVERIG**

1. Wanneer zou jij wel meedoen in dit beleidsvormingsproces? Onder welke voorwaarden? What makes you engage?
2. Hoe kan de gemeente het aantrekkelijk voor jou maken om toch mee te doen, om je stem te laten horen?
3. Heb jij de Amsterdam Heeft een Keuze Petitie getekend? (Grenzen aan het massatoerisme. Verhogen toeristenbelasting, geen Airbnbvergunningen, coffeeshops alleen voor Nederlanders, minder budgetvluchten).

#### **WEL PARTICIPEREN**

Dezelfde vragen zoals bij Appendix A