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RELATIONAL VERSUS LOCAL VALUES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Tourism gentrification and governance in context

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ABSTRACT

Both harmony and conflict may occur between local and more distant communities regarding artefacts of cultural heritage. Incoming tourism, which is attracted by cultural heritage, may provide jobs and other means of income to local residents. However, incoming tourists may also trigger or accelerate a process of gentrification in which local residents are directly or symbolically displaced by tourists. Local authorities develop governance mechanisms to address this issue, both by visioning and formulation of strategies and by issuing direct tools to regulate use of land and properties in a way that matches this vision. The paper discusses two case studies in the Netherlands, Amsterdam and Giethoorn, where communities and local authorities struggle with the threat of over-tourism. The Amsterdam case focuses on gentrification caused by tourists who rent homes as holiday accommodation through online platforms (such as Airbnb) and the governance response by the city to contain it. The Giethoorn case reveals how economic values of tourism and quality of place to live are competing in the context of a village with a distinct heritage based on a mode of production that has become marginalised. The paper aims to improve our understanding of governance responses regarding heritage-based tourism and gentrification. Based on the analysis, the paper also presents three directions for research: first, mapping relational geographies of heritage; second, developing interactive tools to bridge proximate and more distant communities in a process of place making; and third, development and evaluation of governance measures.

Keywords: cultural heritage, gentrification, Airbnb, planning, housing, governance

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INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage represents the history and identity of a place, and leads to bonding with that place, but also with the past, the present and the future (Timothy–Boyd 2003, Waterton 2005). This heritage is a set of cultural objects or traditions from the past, and it can be tangible or intangible. One of the most pressing problems is the protection of cultural property, as individual and community interests may clash, while it is also difficult to balance public and private rights. Likewise, a delicate balance needs to be struck between (often expensive) conservation and protection and using cultural artefacts for boosting place attractiveness.

Artefacts of cultural heritage that are located in a certain place may cater to an audience that is much larger than just the local community. Different artefacts of cultural heritage may have different relational patterns; they attract people from different regions or cultural backgrounds. The meaning such an artefact has in the local community may be different from the values that are appreciated in more distant areas. A common sociological understanding is that proximity does not always ensure the deepest or strongest relationship between a community and artefacts of cultural heritage. Localised cultural heritage may, however, contribute to place attachment and a sense of belonging. The distant appreciation of cultural artefacts may result in economic activities, e.g. it may support the tourism sector, and so provide jobs and other means of income to local residents.

However, incoming tourists may also cause a process of gentrification in which, in some cases, local residents are displaced by tourists paying much more for homes, directly or indirectly through the exploitation of property for overnight stays or tourist facilities, than locals can afford to pay (Wachsmuth–Weisler 2018). For instance, Airbnb may remove housing from residential housing markets, which can exacerbate the shortage of housing and may increase real estate prices (Edelman–Geradin 2016). It may also result in a form of cultural gentrification in which an ‘invasion’ of tourists changes the character and ‘feel’ of the area. Consequently, defining cultural heritage by a local community may not only strengthen local communities, but it may also be a threat if the values defined are too appealing to the outside world.

This paper discusses three potential problems regarding the management of cultural heritage. First, it discusses the delicate balance between local and relational values attached to cultural heritage, an issue that is becoming more prominent now that tourist flows across the world are rapidly increasing. Second, we discuss how places with important cultural heritage may face the risk of displacement of local population due to gentrification processes. Third, our attention turns to the management of these two previous threats and

particularly the potentials of instruments to govern the process in which the local and the relational become more intertwined, leading to more desirable outcomes.

We illustrate these three potential problems by using two case studies from the Netherlands: Amsterdam and Giethoorn.

The second part will provide a theoretical perspective on the issues of local versus relational values, gentrification due to tourism and the development of policies that can handle these potential conflicts. The next chapter will introduce the case studies, which are subsequently elaborated in the following part. In our concluding section we will discuss the wider implications of our findings.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Clashes between local and relational values result in questions of gentrification and governance

The values of cultural artefacts are not only connected to the local communities living in the proximity of these areas but may also extend into a much wider hinterland. A classic example is the long-term appreciation of Jerusalem, which even contributed to crusades of distant groups to ensure that the 'holy city' would be managed by those that appreciated the cultural artefacts in the 'right' way, and which were not necessarily the groups currently living and ruling the area (John 2017). Also, the appreciation of cultural artefacts from ancient Mediterranean cultures and shipping these towards areas outside this region is a classic example of the large hinterland certain artefacts of cultural values may have and the different ways of representation (Hook 2007, Stevenson et al. 2016). This often leads to conflicts, a clear example of which is the recent call by the Thai government to stop the disrespectful use of Buddha images and statues as decorations or even tattoos (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2015). The hinterland of a cultural artefact is not anymore defined by religious beliefs, as in the time of the crusades, or ideas of the origin of culture, as in relation to antiquities, but can be socially constructed in different ways to make it relevant for a new target group. Residents that have more benefits from tourism tend to judge these differences more mildly than other residents (Shtudiner et al. 2018).

Such clashes between local and relational values not only occur in case of a regime change, as in the age of the crusades, or by taking artefacts out of the area, but such clashes may also happen within the surrounding area itself. Economic development and cheap air travel makes it possible to visit even very distant locations, and we are less dependent on local word-of-mouth information about cultural heritage, as online websites spread the word. Analyses of mobile phone data shows that long-distance travel is even more frequent than is reported using traditional data based on surveys (Janzen et al. 2018). This movement towards global accessibility has also a flipside, in the sense that the promotion of cultural assets to a global hinterland can promote the development of mass tourism. Mass tourism may result in compromising the quality of the location and may ultimately result in reduced attractiveness not only for residents, but also for tourists (Caust and Vecco 2017). This results in questions on how to govern cultural heritage sites in a sustainable way. Engagement of the local community is part of this as local communities may benefit economically from visitors, but, at the same time, residents may be displaced if exploitation of an area for visitors is more profitable than residential use.

Gentrification

A second potential problem relating to a disconnection between the local and the relational interpretation and appreciation of cultural heritage is gentrification. This is a term originally used by Ruth Glass (1964) when she described how the regeneration of Notting Hill and Islington streets by affluent London ‘bohemians’ coincided with the displacement of long-standing working-class communities. Fundamental to the notion of gentrification is the concept of “displacement” (Glass 1964: xxv). *“All those who cannot hold their own in the sharp competition for space [...] are pushed away.”* (Glass 1964: xxv–xxvi) The effect of this particular type of population turnover is a change in the “social character” (xviii) of a district. Nowadays, gentrification is still used to refer to *“...migration of affluent households to neighbourhoods containing poorer households and generally lower-value property in both urban and rural settlements.”* (Atkinson 2012: 269) However, the concept has provoked much discussion and what it may entail is highly debated, in particular the idea of displacement. Seminal work has been done by Marcuse (1985), who identified four forms of displacement for any building (usually dwelling) on the property market: (1) economic/physical displacement – residents are priced out of a dwelling through rent increases or by physical means such as demolition and upgrading; (2) last-resident displacement – a measure in which only the last resident is displaced; (3) chain displacement – includes all residents who have been displaced from a property during a certain period; and (4) exclusionary displacement, which includes all people who have been unable to access property because it has been gentrified.

The importance of economic/physical displacement is obvious for urban renewal programs with a clear component of housing demolition. Marcuse’s income-based exclusion (see above) refers to the widespread phenomenon in gentrifying areas whereby previously affordable housing experiences rapid price increases and becomes unaffordable for the type of family that had lived in that area. Next to these four forms of displacement, another type can be distinguished. This type is subtler and does not require a move, because it relies on a different mechanism of exclusion. This type of exclusionary displacement often applies to long-term residents who witness gentrification processes in their neighbourhood. Both the characteristics of newcomers (e.g. middle-class gentrifiers or tourists) and place-based changes to social and service environments can create much uneasiness among especially long-term residents who are confronted with rapid and fundamental changes in their neighbourhood. This type of displacement has been labelled as ‘hidden costs of gentrification’ (Atkinson 2000), ‘indirect displacement’ (Davidson 2008), and ‘class-based transformation of place’ (Davidson 2011). As mentioned above, the result is not necessarily a move out of the neighbourhood, but an increasing sense of feeling ‘out of place’ among long-term residents, which may be partly counterbalanced by decreases in local crime and the opening of new stores (see e.g. Freeman 2006, Atkinson 2015). Displacement is also possible in the context of tourism that is attracted by cultural heritage. The relational, distant, appreciation of cultural heritage may displace the local heritage, which may happen if an area is flooded with tourists. This phenomenon has been called ‘tourism gentrification’ and has been described in relation to New Orleans (Gotham 2005), Barcelona (Lambea Llop 2017) and heritage centres in Mexico (De La Torre–Navarrete 2016).

De La Torre and Navarrete (2016) are very critical about heritage policies in Mexico. World heritage sites have become a national concern and local populations, including civil society, are excluded from its use. It has

also a negative impact on social capital as localised networks of social capital are not replaced by an equivalent network among tourists as they stay too briefly to form a localised social capital network.

In a study on holiday rentals in Barcelona, focusing on Airbnb rentals, Cocola Gant (2016, 2018) distinguishes three manners of displacement. Firstly, direct displacement, which involves the termination of use rights of residents in favour of tourists of dwellings “that once provided accommodation for long-term residents” (Cocola Gant 2016: 6). In the most popular area of Gòtic, this accounted for about 17% (1191 apartments) of all flats. Ironically enough, this area is a relatively new (1927–1970) quarter built to reflect ideas about Catalan nationalism “as a way to promote the city through spectacular historic monuments, irrespective of whether they were materially authentic” (Cocola Gant 2014: 18). In other words, an area that was created to express local values has been very strongly affected by economic pressures of others that aim to experience these values for a short stay. Secondly, exclusionary displacement, which implies that the alternative of vacation rentals and the additional scarcity in dwellings available to full-time residents raises property values to levels that become unaffordable for many local households. Thirdly, displacement pressures, which may involve the issues of symbolic gentrification mentioned above, but may also involve “several types of disruption that affect the private lives of residents” (Cocola Gant 2016: 6). Such disruption may go beyond symbolic appreciation, and involve the inability to sleep at night if a large share of apartments in one building are rented out to tourists (including youth hostels), and the acoustic environment creates a mismatch with a context in which people aim to get up early to go to work after a quiet night of rest. Other effects mentioned imply that the facilities in the area become increasingly oriented towards tourists and not to local residents, resulting in an alienation from their own neighbourhood through symbolic displacement. Platforms such as Airbnb have an important role in this: ‘Tourist housing is seen as a business opportunity, even for non-professional lessors.’ (Lambea Llop 2017: 126) In other words, Airbnb has resulted in a shift of properties in tourist cities from homes to live towards properties to exploit. This exploitation strongly affects the neighbourhood, not only through property prices being set to this new level of exploitation – you cannot afford to live anymore in the area if you are not keeping up with the Joneses in exploiting the property – but also through services and ways of living. So, tourists that may book through online platforms to seek authentic experiences in residents’ homes are at the same time contributing to the destruction of the authenticity they are looking for.

Direct and exclusionary displacement work through the property market in which a rent gap (Smith 1979) can be closed by displacing local residents with tourists. Displacement pressures may also be used by landlords as an instrument to get dwellings available for more profitable uses (Newman and Wyly 2006). Moreover, landlords may choose not to enforce nuisance criteria in the rental agreement if noisy tenants are willing to pay a higher rent than quiet tenants.

Tools of governance for local authorities

The extent to which ‘the local’ and ‘the relational’ clash and different forms of gentrification occur is dependent in part on how local authorities address tourism in relation to cultural heritage. What is particularly important is whether they possess and are able to employ instruments to balance the local and the relational,

and whether citizens take part in the policy-making process with respect to tourism and cultural heritage. It must be stressed that the need to actively engage with tourism in relation to cultural heritage differs between places. For many local authorities the idea of containing visitors is currently not on the agenda as they are not yet tourist hotspots and they are actually working towards place promotion and branding to improve its tourism destination competitiveness (Drakulić Kovačević et al. 2018); they would consider it to be a luxury situation. However, with the global increase in tourism, much of which is related to cultural heritage, heritage-rich places increasingly need policies and policy instruments to avoid conflicts between the relational and the local. In relation to the instruments of local authorities it is relevant to distinguish the strategic level, i.e. the process of visioning and formulation of strategies, from the operational level, i.e. the (deployment of) instruments and regulations to prevent unwanted developments.

Visioning and formulation of strategies

As developed in this paper, cultural heritage may have different meanings in different communities, that is the local community of people living in the neighbourhood and more distant communities of potential visitors. In other words, trying to develop local strategies for cultural heritage requires identifying and managing the perceptions and interests of various target groups among citizens and visitors. For citizen engagement in urban planning and policies, a wide range of digital participatory platforms have emerged recently, which are “a specific kind of collaborative social media.” (Falco and Kleinhans 2018a: 17) Such platforms include a range of functionalities (e.g. analytics, map-based and geo-located inputs, importing and exporting of data, ranking of ideas) which transcend and considerably differ from social media such as Social Networking Sites (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram). Digital participatory platforms thus allow for different levels and intensity of citizen engagement and participation. Falco and Kleinhans identify six main challenges in using these digital participatory platforms: (1) internet accessibility, digital illiteracy and the digital divide; (2) institutional framework, technological factors; (3) technological advancements and data management, and organizational factors; (4) process-related challenges; (5) intra-organizational culture; and (6) availability of human resources. The non-technological issues become even more pressing if these platforms are used to promote interaction between different communities. In the context of this paper, different communities or target groups also involve a large cultural divide, including potentially a language barrier between the communities, and there is a significant difference between living and working in an area and the experience of an area for a visit. However, using digital participatory platforms can potentially help to align perspectives between various parties and can help local communities to develop policies. After all, the tourist sector is also a sector which may allow many locals to earn a living and there are many joint interests between these groups. Moreover, tourists increasingly orient themselves online to visit areas of interest, both in advance and during the trip itself, and participatory tools may help to enrich the experience of visiting and living in an area. Fan pages on social media are used to brand tourist areas and have positive effects on tourist visits (Perez-Vega et al. 2018). Perez-Vega et al. (2018) indicate that creating a fan page community helps in branding areas and that interaction of visitors may help in attracting more visitors. It is not established yet whether, and if so in what ways, interaction between residents’ and visitors’ communities may help to address symbolic gentrification by creating joint representation of the area.

Instruments used by local authorities

Apart from their strategic vision, local authorities may deploy tools or instruments, such as land use regimes or byelaws, to guide the development of tourism in certain areas. Usually tourist accommodation took the form of separate facilities that could be regulated using land-use regulations. This separation of land use has come to an end with the emergence of the sharing economy, including the large platform of Airbnb. As a response, novel experiences have been gained in regulations focused on controlling Airbnb in certain areas. Although there is some evidence of landlords providing rewards to tell on them about subletting apartments through Airbnb to enforce rent agreements (Kaplan and Nadler 2017), most regulations are discussed at the level of local authorities. Here many differences can be seen in shape and form, and the choice of regulations may deviate widely. “Moreover, each regulation reflects the needs of the specific housing markets in particular cities and, as such, demonstrates that there is no one-size-fits-all model.” (Interian 2016: 159). There is currently not much evidence on how effectively these rules operate in practice in relation to the aims the authorities have. A relevant issue is also whether regulations, if issued, can be enforced. By its nature Airbnb rental is a fluid type of land use (Gurran–Phibbs 2017). There is also uncertainty regarding whether authorities have the same aims with these regulations.

METHODS

In this exploratory paper two cases will be analysed to get more insight into the complex aspects mentioned above. The case studies selected are Amsterdam, which is in absolute figures the largest tourist destination in the Netherlands, and Giethoorn, which is in a relative sense, considering its small population, one of the larger tourist destinations. Despite Amsterdam being a large cosmopolitan metropolitan space, and Giethoorn being a ‘rural idyll’, they have in common the dominance of water (canals) in the public space, and as mode of transportation. Both have used nicknames relating to the appeal of Venice in tourist marketing: ‘The Venice of the North’ (Amsterdam) and ‘Holland’s Venice’ (Giethoorn). This is now quite ironical perhaps, since Venice is the archetypical example of an area suffering from ‘over-tourism’ (Seraphin et al. 2018), and the challenge for both Amsterdam and Giethoorn actually is how to stop tourism eroding the residents’ quality of life. Here, we document the strategies of the local authorities to balance local and relational dimensions of cultural heritage.

Amsterdam is an increasingly strong magnet for tourists and a city in which gentrification is a serious concern that is also high on the political agenda. Moreover, fears of ‘Disneyfication’ of the inner city area has led the local authority to develop rules to contain tourism, resulting also in a practice of enforcement. In the case study these policies are analysed. There is a specific focus on the attempts to contain the massive growth of overnight stays booked through online platforms, such as Airbnb. Court cases and enforcement strategies are analysed.

One of the areas that has relatively recently made the step from regional tourism to a more global appeal is Giethoorn, a very picturesque village dominated by water. To study this case the local land use plan is analysed, including the different opinions of interested parties on allowing changes in land use and the arguments developed by the local authority of Steenwijkerland in which Giethoorn is located. Policy documents

by Steenwijkerland are analysed. In Giethoorn two associations, one of entrepreneurs and one of residents, show in their statements diverging opinions on tourist development and these have been analysed based on materials produced by these associations. This provides the second case study.

CASE STUDIES

Amsterdam

Clashes between the local and the relational

Amsterdam is an established tourist attraction. During the Global Financial Crisis tourism continued to be a flourishing economic sector in Amsterdam and many buildings, including former offices, have been transferred to hotels resulting in a considerable growth of hotel accommodation (*Figure 1*). These figures do not include accommodation through platforms such as Airbnb, so actual growth of accommodation available to tourists was even higher. Also, the tourists kept coming. Between 2006 and 2012 there has been a growth of both guests and overnights stays of about 14.5%. In later years this growth has continued, but at a much higher pace (*Table 1*).

Figure 1. Development of hotel accommodation in Amsterdam (OIS, 2017)

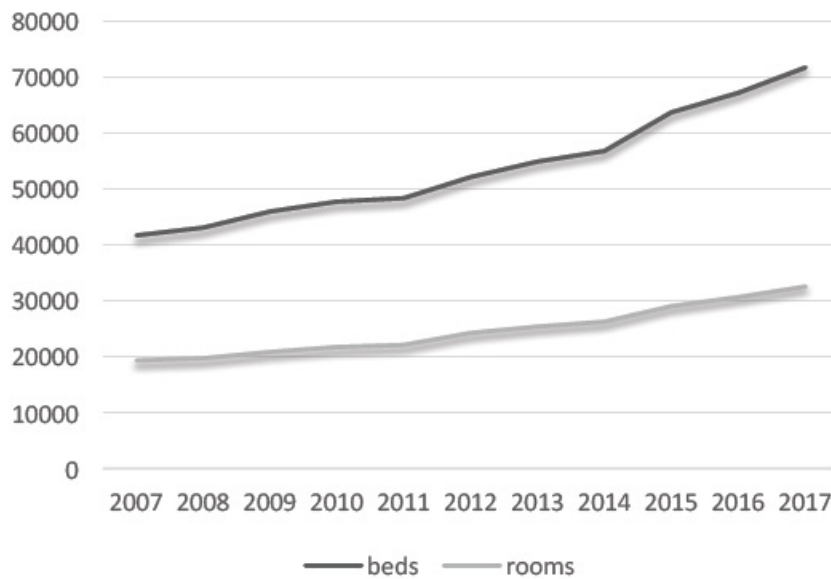


Table 1. Development of tourists and length of stay in Amsterdam (OIS, 2017)

	guests x 1,000	nights x 1,000	length of stay nights per guest
2012	5,733	10,581	1.85
2013	6,024	11,262	1.87
2014	6,670	12,538	1.88
2015	6,826	12,899	1.89
2016	7,270	13,983	1.92

Policies have been developed to redirect tourism from Amsterdam to other areas. The assistant minister (*staatssecretaris*) has for example written a letter to parliament to indicate the actions taken to achieve this aim (MEZ, 2018). Concepts such as “Holland City” are used to attract tourists to areas outside Amsterdam and to attempt to deliberately disperse tourists over a larger area in order to release the pressure on the inner city of Amsterdam. Narratives are developed to combine interests of tourists with other regions, such as that tourists interested in Van Gogh are invited not only to visit the Van Gogh museum in Amsterdam, but also other locations that are relevant to the life and work of this painter. The ‘Amsterdam brand’ is used to market destinations outside the city; for example, the seaside resort town of Zandvoort is now referred to as ‘Amsterdam beach’, the bulb-flower area is now nicknamed ‘Flowers of Amsterdam’ and there is an ‘Amsterdam Castle’ (*Muiderslot*) that is located far beyond the city borders. Obviously, there is some local discontent, as these places feel annexed by the city, but at the same time, it is a strategy that pays off, especially as it is combined with a convenient public transport tourist pass that supports this strategy.

Amsterdam’s attraction to tourists has a significant impact on the ‘sense of belonging’ of residents (Pinkster–Boterman 2017). In the canal district, *“Respondents themselves look at the landscape of the neighbourhood with a tourist gaze and understand its appeal. On the other hand, the reality of sharing the neighbourhood with visitors is experienced quite negatively.”* (Pinkster–Boterman 2017: 464) Pinkster and Boterman point to two metaphors indicating this discontent, one being the theme park in which everything goes, Amsterdam as the city to engage in drugs and drinking, riding beer bikes, having stag parties and getting involved in inappropriate behaviour that you would not do at home, and the other being the metaphor of a museum. Amsterdam has UNESCO heritage status, in which ordinary shops for residents are replaced by expensive outlets to sell to high-end tourists. Remarkably, Amsterdam is a city that attracts both types of tourists, which may also result in conflicts between tourist groups themselves. Residents have responded by shielding themselves from tourists. The emergence of online platforms such as Airbnb has resulted in even a finer grain of mix between residents and tourists and results consequently in larger tensions around the appreciation of heritage (Pinkster–Boterman 2017).

Touristic use of housing has been significantly developed and there are concerns about it. The containment of tourism to find a new equilibrium between its positive and negative impacts on the quality of life is an important issue in the coalition agreement agreed after the council elections of 2018 (Coalitieakkoord 2018).

Prices for Airbnb accommodation in Amsterdam belong to the highest in Europe (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018c). A comparison (*Table 2*) of the share of Airbnb rented dwellings per district and the development of housing value per square meter in these areas between 2015 and 2017 shows a strong correlation (0.80; R^2 : 0.64; R^2_{adjusted} : 0.62).

Table 2. Share of Airbnb in housing stock in December 2017 and change of assessed value of housing per square meter (WOZ) per district in Amsterdam (Inside Airbnb, 2017; OIS, 2017)

	Share Airbnb	Value 2015–2017
Centrum-West	7.6%	28.9%
Centrum-Oost	6.3%	28.9%
Westerpark	6.4%	23.5%
Bos en Lommer	5.9%	30.9%
Oud-West/De Baarsjes	8.4%	30.6%
Geuzenveld/Slotermeer	1.0%	12.7%
Osdorp	0.9%	9.5%
De Aker/Nieuw Sloten	1.1%	13.9%
Slotervaart	2.0%	23.0%
Oud-Zuid	4.8%	33.2%
Buitenveldert/Zuidas	1.7%	21.7%
De Pijp/Rivierenbuurt	6.4%	31.1%
Oud-Oost	6.2%	34.7%
Indische Buurt/Oostelijk Havengebied	4.4%	26.7%
Watergraafsmeer	2.7%	23.8%
IJburg/Zeeburgereiland	4.1%	13.3%
Noord-West	1.6%	13.8%
Oud-Noord	3.6%	20.9%
Noord-Oost	1.8%	16.4%
Bijlmer-Centrum	0.8%	23.2%
Bijlmer-Oost	0.8%	9.8%
Gaasperdam/Driemond	0.7%	7.2%
Average	4.3%	25.5%
correlation: 0.80		
R2: 0.64; R2adjusted: 0.62.		

It can be discussed whether this correlation is a matter of causation, i.e., that the potential of exploiting dwellings such as Airbnb is causing this value change, as is suggested by a bank's press release, indicating that proceeds of Airbnb allow for an extra mortgage of about € 100,000 (ING, 2016), or that the same external factors make the same area more attractive both to tourism and housing. In either case, gentrification can be an issue. Another potential explanation is that the higher shares of Airbnb premises are located in central areas which have, almost by definition, a higher value of housing, which is also prone to stronger value increases.

Relevant to the gentrification issues are all kind of governance arrangements that may provide a counterforce to the use of dwellings as tourist accommodation. In the following we will discuss public and private arrangements.

Public arrangements

The City of Amsterdam uses housing laws to restrict the use of housing for other purposes than residence, which includes the use of housing for Bed & Breakfasts (B&B) and for holiday rentals, such as through platforms as Airbnb (Le Cat 2017). The law (*Huisvestingswet*, article 21) provides local authorities with the possibility to apply more stringent rules to those parts of the housing stock that are scarce in order to protect

it from further shrinkage. Based on a study of housing conditions, the city of Amsterdam has decided that the whole of the housing stock belongs to this scarce housing stock category. Scarcity is not defined by market definitions of effective demand and supply, but by political definitions of housing need and adequate housing provision. In Amsterdam this is indeed an issue and the council has used these extra powers to apply extra rules to the management of the housing stock. These extra powers cannot run forever: the City must review the housing conditions at least every four years to determine whether the scarcity still exists and define appropriate measures, which may be laid down in a new byelaw, based on this new assessment.

The use of housing for tourists is considered to be a withdrawal of housing from the scarce housing stock and is so bound by certain rules. If an owner or tenant follows these rules it is allowed as-of-right. However, for withdrawal of housing from the housing market beyond these rules, a permit must be requested, and it is illegal to withdraw housing stock without a permit. Alternatively, house owners could apply for a permit. The general principle behind this permit is a weighing of interests. Such a permit can only be withheld if the municipality considers the interest of containing the housing stock more prominent than the interests the applicant has in permitting it (MvT Huisvestingswet 2010). The byelaw must contain principles to weigh these interests and it is possible for interested parties to go to an administrative court to review a decision to grant or not to grant such a permit. There are cases in which permits have been provided to change housing to tourist accommodation (Gerechtshof Amsterdam 2017b). The rules about the as-of-right permission exclude the use of the social housing stock, which includes all housing with a rent of, currently, below € 710 a month, which includes about 42% of all dwellings in Amsterdam. In case of B&B these rules prescribe the maximum share of the guest accommodation of the floor area of the dwelling, the obligation of the lessor to live in the dwelling at the same time as the guest stays, the maximum amount of beds (four, which is based on fire regulations) that can be exploited and the obligation of the lessor to report the B&B to the local authority. There is no obligation in relation to the amount of nights that a B&B can be exploited per year as the conditions see to the enduring livability of the dwelling by its main user. For holiday rentals of the whole apartment (or for a larger percentage than the B&B-rules) there is a cap of 60 days per year, which will be reduced to 30 days from 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018a), and a maximum of 4 guests per dwelling, which is based on fire regulations. Since October 1, 2017, all individual bookings must be reported to the local authority, which has opened a specific web portal to allow for this. The City has the power of issuing an administrative fine if conditions are not met, because in that situation the dwelling has been withdrawn from the housing stock without permit. For first time offenders this fine is currently € 13,500 – per dwelling – so it adds up if several dwellings in a building are being used for holiday rentals without meeting the as-of-right conditions, and this fine has been upheld in court (Raad van State 2017a, Rechtbank Amsterdam 2017a, 2018). Next to Airbnb, also rentals using other platforms, such as Booking.com (Raad van State 2017c), are being prosecuted. These fines may be issued to both owners and organisations organising rentals, which in the latter case resulted in a € 178,000 fine for 14 dwellings (Raad van State 2018) next to a fine to the owners. The fact that a dwelling is temporarily rented to tourists means that *“the dwelling during the rental could not be used as a dwelling”* (Raad van State 2017b, paragraph 3.1) and is consequentially withdrawn from the housing stock. This means that the rental period is not relevant, but that any use for another purpose can be qualified as such if this is formulated in the right way.

From October 2017 rental must be reported and the City has issued administrative fines (of € 6,000) for not reporting a single rental contract (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017b). These measures have not yet resulted in an end of the growth of supply of dwellings advertised through Airbnb. The supply rose by 8% between July 2017 and July 2018 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018d).

The housing byelaw cannot be used for house boats. The city used the local land use plan, which did not allow the exploitation as an hotel, as a ground for issuing a € 50,000 penalty to ensure conformance, which was allowed according to the court (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2017b). However, as this is just a penalty to ensure conformance, it can be avoided by changing the situation after the city has issued the penalty. By a formal registration as living in the boat, a presumption that this is the case is created and a new burden of proof rests on the municipality.

Illegal holiday rentals are a priority in the municipal enforcement programme (Gemeente Amsterdam 2016). A combination is sought between acting on complaints and active enforcement directed towards repeat offenders, i.e., professional agencies that transfer housing to holiday rentals. For this enforcement officers focus on certain areas and search for rentals on the internet. To follow up on complaints, the local authority has equipped an agency “Meldpunt Zoeklicht” that handles all kinds of housing fraud, including subletting, drugs and human trafficking, and which for illegal holiday rentals can be called 7 days a week and provides direct contact with a law enforcer who can visit the location. A report of such a law enforcement officer has the power of proof in the courts. So, in this way, people that face nuisance issues of holiday rentals in their neighbourhood have a direct contact possibility with enforcement agencies who have the capacity to act. This bureau has received a strong growth of reports of tourists rentals of dwellings, that is, 403 in 2014, 834 in 2015, 1332 in 2016 and 1770 in 2017 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018b). An enforcement overview indicates that 378 administrative fines have been issued of a total value of €4.2 million in 2017, compared to 169 fines for €1.9 million in 2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018b). The amount of Airbnb rental dwellings according to Inside Airbnb (2017) is 18,547, which is comparable to figures published by the City of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018c, 2018d).

The City has made deals with Airbnb (Gemeente Amsterdam and Airbnb 2016) and Booking.com (Booking.com and Gemeente Amsterdam 2017) to promote rule following and collection of tourist tax, which is currently 6% of the accommodation price for this type of accommodation. This provides a considerable financial stream of income to the city, which accounted about € 65 million in 2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). In this way, the City can afford to hire some law enforcement officials. Public policies are not restricted to Airbnb, as even with regard to regular hotels, policies are now in place to restrict the opening of new hotel facilities in the inner city and to direct development to less central locations.

Private arrangements

An important issue, already discussed in section 2 relating to Barcelona, is the ‘infiltration’ of tourism in apartment buildings, having direct impact on the experience in the building’s common spaces. Residents of apartments can not only file complaints to the local authority to enforce public regulations but may also demand observation of private apartment regulations. Two regulations are of relevance: first, the property

division deed, by which the rights over the apartment are created, and, second, the domestic rules set by the meeting of the association of apartment owners. The property division deed is the constitution of the apartment rights: it is concluded by a notary, laid down in the public registers, and can only be changed with explicit support of all (or nearly all in some cases) apartment owners through a procedure at the notary. The domestic regulations can be changed during a meeting of the association of apartment owners (*Vereniging van Eigenaren*) using procedures set in the property division deed, which may indicate that a simple majority, based on the shares of different owners in the association, can be sufficient. It is however only the property division deed that can limit the rights of the holder of an apartment right (Le Cat 2017).

An example of how these two rules interact can be found in cases brought before a cantonal judge (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2015a, 2016a). In both cases the meeting of owners had decided to tolerate Airbnb rental. However, the property division deeds indicate that it is not allowed to use the apartment as a guest house (in Dutch “*pension*”). One of them was even, at its building stage, advertised as “an island of tranquillity” (*oase van rust*), but this did not prevent one of the owners finding “a stranger wandering in the staircase. He had a Google print-off showing that he had a rental in [address] and wanted to get back into the flat. He smelt of alcohol and was clearly slurring” (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2015a: paragraph 1.7). Based on the property division deed, the court, based on a claim of other owners, nullified the decision of the association of owners in both cases. Airbnb was not allowed.

Landlords have also ended rental agreements of tenants subletting to Airbnb. The rental agreements have in practice a provision that it is not allowed to sublet the whole or part of the dwelling. For social housing, there is in addition a principle that social housing is not a commodity and should not be a source of revenue. In theory, the rental contract can be dissolved in such a case. Courts have not always done this as they are bound to weigh the proportionality of the measure (Vols et al. 2015). A tenant in Rotterdam could stay in her dwelling as the housing association had not well communicated the specific Airbnb type of subletting, the tenant stopped subletting at the first signal of the landlord, was already living for 21 years in the dwelling, and had specific personal circumstances (Rechtbank Rotterdam, 2015). The Court of Appeal, however, decided that the benefits of the Airbnb rental, that is the proceeds minus costs, such as the contribution to Airbnb, had to be paid to the housing corporation as compensation (Gerechtshof Den Haag 2017a, 2017b). Also in a case of only 5 subrentals the transfer of profits to the housing associations was required by the court (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2016b). There are other cases in which rental agreements have been dissolved due to subletting to tourists (using the Airbnb platform) on request of private landlords (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2014, 2015b, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 2017a). This means that by subletting their rental home, tenants are taking a serious risk of losing it. Considering their position as protected tenant (Korthals Altes 2016), with a high level of tenure security, this is a strong sanction against subletting dwellings to tourists.

Landlords that fail to enforce subletting arrangements may be fined by the local authority in the same way as this is done with other owners. So, this is an extra incentive for landowners to enforce their rental contracts.

In conclusion, the case of the very cultural heritage-rich city of Amsterdam shows an enduring pressure of visitors that reduces the resident’s appreciation of the area. As a counterforce, policies have been developed

to protect dwellers from exploitation of housing for touristic purposes. This demands a lot of regulatory and enforcement capacity, and the existence of regulations that can be used to regulate the housing stock plays an important role in this.

Giethoorn

Clashes between the local and the relational

Giethoorn is a village of 2570 inhabitants (CBS 2018) in the municipality of Steenwijkerland in the province of Overijssel. It is a “*water streekdorp*” (Kroes–Jans 1986), which means that it is developed from the production of peat and that water was originally its primary mode of transportation. It is not built around a village road, but along a village canal (*dorpsgracht*). It is located in a region in which peat production, reed production and agriculture have been developed in a specific order (Haans 1953). After the extraction of peat, used as fuel, reed, to be used for roofs, has been growing forming floating islands based on the networking of roots, the “*kragge*” (Haans 1953). After a certain period, the *kragge* became land, which reduced the productivity of reed growth, but allowed for the production of hay or the grazing of cows. Specific for Giethoorn, and different from the more westerly located wetlands Weerribben and Wieden, is that the sand layer is relatively close (only about 1 to 1.5 meters) to the surface, which allowed for a much swifter cycle of territorialisation towards dairy farming (Haans 1953).

Giethoorn is an iconic area for this specific type of community. It provided the backdrop to the 1958 movie *Fanfare* (by Bert Haanstra) over two competing brass bands in a village, including iconic pictures of a brass band in a punt. The area has had official heritage protection (*beschermd dorpsgezicht*) since the 1980s (Kroes–Jans 1986) and 43 buildings are listed in the national heritage register (<https://cultureelerfgoed.nl/monumentenregister>). The location by the water makes it a tourist attraction, which had predominantly a regional focus, meaning that it had a clear touristic peak in the summer season.

Recently, tourism to Giethoorn has changed from daytrips and short visits of regional visitors to a more global tourist attraction with many visitors from Asia, including China. This shift is generally attributed to the activities of one entrepreneur, Gabriella Esselbrugge (Alebeek et al. 2015, Hillebrand 2015, Jacobs 2016), who is the third generation in a family run hotel with about 20 rooms. Esselbrugge has developed broad experience in the tourist sector through her previous employers Tulip Inn and Booking.com. It took about 6 years between the first presentation in China at a happening organized by NBTC Holland Marketing in 2005 and the growth of tourist numbers, and this involved making a culture shift towards presenting a tourist destination that fits to the expectations of people from a different culture.

The idea of getting new visitors was also aimed at lengthening the tourist season (Alebeek et al. 2015). However, it also resulted in extra pressures in summer, resulting in problems for residents, who cannot cycle anymore on cycle paths as these are blocked by tourists wondering why people are cycling on this busy footpath.

Governance arrangements

The Association of Village Interests of Giethoorn (VDG 2017) sent a pressing letter to the council of the municipality of Steenwijkerland, in which the association members indicated that they appreciate tourism,

but that the pressure has become much too large. It is not only about transferring homes to tourist accommodation, but also about the busyness of the area, which previous measures, such as one-way traffic boating in canals, have not addressed sufficiently. They demand that measures be taken, which include ensuring the liveability, security and authenticity of the village, the enforcement of regulations, parking, signage, improvement of paths, greenery and lighting, the sheet piling of canals, public transportation, access of emergency services, the distribution of tourist accommodation and a new waterway ordinance (VDG 2017). Many of these issues, such as parking signage and waterways improvements, are also a matter of concern for the local association of entrepreneurs, but they also ask for a relaxation of rules to allow for more tourist accommodation (GO 2017). These two perspectives on the area, enlarging liveability for the inhabitants and enlarging the capacity to host more tourists, are on the agenda of the local authority Steenwijkerland, which is seeking to develop a joint vision for the area (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2017). Working groups were established on: (1) transport and safety, including parking and access of emergency services; (2) boating, including the congestion on the *dorpsgracht*; (3) staying and overnights, including tourist facilities, Airbnb and B&B and (4) maintenance of public space.

Posters produced for this session (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018d) show that data is lacking on tourists and use of accommodation. They also show concerns about ghost houses, which are empty except for seasonal rent and the issue that some tourists apparently think they are visiting a museum village and have their lunch on garden furniture in private gardens. Tourists renting a boat do not all have boating experience or think it is fun to use the boats as a bumper car on the water, which makes the water a no-go area for residents.

Parallel to this has been the process of renewing the local land use plan, which contains the regulation of land use. The aim of the municipality was to conserve current land use, based on what has been approved before. In this process, 39 opinions of interested parties have been raised and collected giving an overview of the concerns, which confirms the picture of conflicts between tourism and amenities for residents. These opinions were both pro and con facilities for tourism. Examples of issues raised are the following: the use of buildings for tourist facilities, including B&B, ice-selling parlours with terrace, use of an approved boat house for a restaurant, allowing of camping on some spare land, and land use changes from retail to gallery or museum of jewellery, including a gift shop. Several opinions concerned the shift from traditional land use to temporary land use: which includes the change of a building from use by a thatcher (reed roof makers) to housing or from agriculture to a landscaping firm. Many issues were also about boat storage facilities, both in summer as well as in winter storage. The answers show that a so called 'facet plan' for containing tourist development had been developed earlier. This plan was especially restrictive on the use of auxiliary buildings, not connected to the main building, for tourist facilities. Some matters were allowed based on prescription due to continuing deviant use from 1996 to 2017.

The local authority has submitted a bid book to acquire provincial grants to develop infrastructure that can help spread tourism over a larger area (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018c). This bid book has been critically assessed by the residents' organisation as they expected that it would result in more tourists (Gieters Belang 2018a). Moreover, the preparation of this bid book was done in parallel to, but without any interaction with,

the process of visioning together with local stakeholders. This grant was not awarded by the province, which decided to spend the money elsewhere. The residents were much more positive about the purchase of a farm by the local authority. In this deal 22 hectares of grassland was bought for 1.5 million euro allowing different parts of the village to be connected, which was part of the agenda in the bid book (Fix 2018, Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018a, 2018b). The purchase of the farm was not covered by a provincial subsidy and was not planned beforehand. A critical issue in the decision document was that a market party was interested in the farm and the local authority could get control over development by this purchase. The local authority bought the property subject to approval by the council, which was granted at a confidential meeting of the Council of September 18, 2018 (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018a) – though this confidentiality was lifted right after the meeting (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018b). The residents' organisation has performed an online survey of its members about what to do with this land (Gieters Belang 2018b). Some respondents consider it as an opportunity to reduce the pressures on the village, while others fear that it will be used for facilities that will result in extra attraction for visitors or that it will result in decay of the current characteristics of the area. The survey indicates that there is no support amongst the members of this organisation for new leisure centres in the area.

The case study shows that emergent developments may intervene in ongoing processes of visioning and shows that making connections between these two layers of governance is complex. Decisions relating to emergent developments have to be taken irrespective of the time schedule set out for the process of visioning.

DISCUSSION

Visitors of heritage sites provide economic opportunities for local communities. These economic opportunities may include jobs, tourist spending and other ways to make a living. However, local and relational communities of heritage may have different interests, which may result in conflicts.

The cases show that whereas in Amsterdam, the growing tourist sector has found a counterforce in housing regulations and an enforcement agency based on which a number of fines can be collected ensuring that enforcement is self-financing, the situation in the rural context of Giethoorn is different. There, discussions on handling tourism are still in an early phase and the economic interest of tourism is relatively of much greater importance in Giethoorn than in Amsterdam, which has a much broader economic base. The Giethoorn case shows a remarkable shift in visitors, from regional Dutch to Asian visitors, involving a change in the relational geography of heritage.

The Amsterdam case also shows that the economic value of exploiting homes as tourist accommodation is high and that development of holiday rentals in dwellings can push away residents so that development of house values largely correlate with shares of Airbnb rental in their district. Enforcement of policies must, consequently, be able to have significant enforcement capacity and sanctions to have any effect on it. The Amsterdam case shows both public enforcement and private enforcement. In public enforcement the authorities need to make full use of powers given them by law, which makes that for certain types of housing, as house boats, there are less mechanisms available. Residents and landlords can use private enforcement powers. Neighbours sue each other to deny the possibility of holiday lettings of apartments based on the apartment

constitution, and landlords have evicted tenants because of illegal subletting to tourists. The level of fines and persistence of development is such that currently public enforcement can be financed by fines, and the tourist tax provides a safety net in case almost everybody obeys the law and hardly any fines are due. Currently, the number of dwellings being offered for holiday rentals is still growing, but figures presented show that the rules may impact the way properties are used, e.g. the 60-day rule is generally observed (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018d). It is an open question how this will develop and whether the more stringent measures to limit rental even more will work as well. Apart from public policies we can also observe private enforcement of the use of dwellings for housing.

The Giethoorn case shows that in a more rural area conflicts may be sharpened by additional, more globalised tourism. The tension between local entrepreneurs and residents comes more to the surface as tourism is one of the main local employers, as traditional employment has diminished in importance. Joint visioning activities and land use planning are used to govern the situation, while emergent developments such as new provincial grants and land purchase opportunities may thwart these activities in a way that may be supported by one of the groups.

Promising research on this topic may be developed in three directions, first by mapping relational geographies of heritage, second by developing interactive tools to bridge adjacent and more distant communities in a process of place making and third by development and evaluation of governance measures.

Mapping relational geographies of heritage may be addressed by using 'big data' to detect patterns in cultural heritage tourism as follows. Using the digital archives of travel guides (e.g. Michelin, Lonely Planet, etc.) it is possible to study the development of cultural heritage tourism over several decades, e.g., which places are mentioned for their cultural heritage and how extensively is this covered in guidebooks and how does this develop over time? This could lead to identification of best practices and worst cases: what explains why places with cultural heritage have been newly included or get relatively more coverage in guide books over time. And why does the attention directed towards others decline? Factors could include: policies, accessibility and quality and ease of use of transport, offer and quality of accommodation, possible combination with other tourist activities (part of itineraries?) This approach could be extended to include TripAdvisor and similar sites, or the offer of professional (quality oriented) travel agencies.

Planning practices, using social media, are in need of further development. Research has shown that both social media and digital participatory platforms show potential in terms of their characteristics, features and applications to foster joint resource mobilisation and collaboration between (local) authorities and various stakeholders, including joint solutions, designs, delivery schemes and budget priorities for urban spaces, public facilities, etc. (Falco–Kleinhans 2018a: 2018b). In the context of local and relational communities of heritage, such media may facilitate a more comprehensive perspective on the different and/or conflicting interests between long-term residents of cultural heritage areas, and 'external consumers' of such areas and their amenities, i.e. not just tourists but also travel agencies, etc. However, the abundance of digital platforms as well as research on the conditions to use these platforms and other social media has paid little attention to how governance networks need to be adjusted to effectively incorporate the data produced through such

methods. Revealing different and conflicting interests between residents of cultural heritage areas and ‘external consumers’ does not solve the conflicts. Even if challenges and requirements for social media use (see Falco–Kleinhans 2018b) are properly addressed, online two-way communication between authorities and citizens requires offline follow-up actions to lead to any real changes in public policy or service delivery. Further research should reveal how intra-organisational workflows and government ‘back offices’ need to be adapted to implement ideas or solutions that arise from online dialogic governance and conflict resolution. By bridging both local and relational communities, symbolic gentrification may be addressed. This does not help against economic gentrification, but such a bridging effort may mitigate the undesirable and unintended consequences of symbolic gentrification. Here, enforcement of deviant use of areas is an issue: establishing clear shared interests between local and relational communities helps to get information and carrying capacity.

Finally, governance measures can be developed and evaluated. Here measures must fit the local situation and policies developed in the area. The Amsterdam approach, using enforcement mechanisms and big fines, is an option, but would not work in all contexts. Using a local land use plan, as in Giethoorn, requires a very good enforcement mechanism as most changes are about changing the use of properties, which means that change of use has to be monitored. It is important that these policy measures fit the specific local type of heritage patterns and are based on a sound policy. If the policy aim is to support citizens in taking ownership of their area and heritage, this should be a starting point for elaboration of the policy itself. Here there could be a tension between local policies for the locals and the regulation of the single European market, involving principles such as the freedom of capital and the freedom of establishment for all throughout the European economic area.

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