'I feel like an extra in my own garden'

The implications of tourism development for the sense of
belonging of the residents of Marken

Wageningen UR

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to provide a historical overview into how the attitudes towards tourism of the residents' of Marken have changed over time and how this has effected their sense of belonging towards their community. *Tourism attitudes* are influenced by both internal as well as external factors. For the conceptualisation of *sense of belonging*, Bennett's (2014) three aspects of *people, history* and *place* are used and explained. This study includes a *historical document analysis* as well as 16 interviewees with residents of Marken, inspired by the *oral history research*. This study argues that tourism has become an integrated aspect in the lives of the residents of Marken, because of the long history of the development of tourism on the island. The residents base their sense of belonging primarily on the social organisation of the community, for example because of membership of associations and volunteer work. Next to that, the traditional Marker costumes and architecture play an important role. Sense of belonging is always changing and adapting because the place is always in development. Tourism plays an important role in that. However, general social trends, such as aging, scaling and migration are also influential regarding the changes of Marken.

Key words: tourism development, sense of belonging, residents' attitudes, host-guest relations, historical document analysis, oral history research, Marken.

Foreword

This report contains my master thesis research, the final aspect of my master Leisure, Tourism and Environment at the Wageningen University. Throughout my master, I was always dreading to do my thesis research. It seemed like such an important and large task that I would not know how to manage it. However, with a lot of determination, hard work and most of all, very valuable support, I have now managed to finish it and hope to graduate soon.

First of all, I would like to take a moment to express my gratitude to my supervisor Karin Peters. After our meetings, I always felt inspired and motivated to continue with my research. Furthermore, I am thankful that Arjaan Pellis took over the supervision when Karin was unable to continue. He helped me to complete this research. Finally, attending the guest lecture by Meghan Ormond on Oral History Research, as part of the Research Methodologies course inspired me to use this method for this research.

Next to that, I'm grateful for the help I have received from the residents of Marken. Adriana Stam, Martijn Ruyg and Yvonne Ooms of the workgroup Tourism and Henk Zeeman, the chair of the *Eilandraad*, have helped me to fine-tune my research design and contact residents. Trijntje Visser has provided valuable information about the Marker Museum, the VVV information point and access to some of its volunteers. Pieter Pereboom has published my research advertisement on the website of Marker News and its Facebook page, helping me reach interested Markers for my interview. Finally, Jan Schild had provided numerous historical sources and helped me understand the history of this fascinated place.

Of course, I could not have conducted this interview without the help of my interviewees. I'm grateful that they invited me into their homes and told me about what it is like to live on Marken. Without their detailed accounts, I would not have been able to understand the implications of tourism on the community of Marken.

Last but not least, without the support of my friends and family, I would not have been able to complete this thesis research. I found great support in my fellow MLE students, both for similar thesis experiences as well as to enjoy the last months of being a student. My friends who have already graduated helped me to look at a bigger picture and realise the new and exciting possibilities of graduating. Finally, without the endless support of my family; both practical but most importantly emotional, I would not have stand a chance.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Figure 1.1 Aerial view of Marken

Marken is an artificial peninsula, a former island that is attached to the mainland by a dike, located in the province of North Holland, the Netherlands. Even though Marken is considered small, ranging only 2,7 km^2 and housing around 1800 inhabitants, it is a popular place for many (international) tourists visiting Amsterdam (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015). (See Appendix A for a clear picture of Marken with all its attractions.) Marken is attractive because of its unique location as a peninsula and it is known for specific traditional architecture, costumes and culture (Gollin, 2015). Despite its size, visitor numbers on Marken are high, with around 400.000 tourists visiting the island in 2016, the vast majority only staying for approximately half an hour (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015). Next to that, most visits takes place in the summer season, which means the vast majority of the visitors are dispersed among only a few months.

As a result, many inhabitants have complained about the consequences of tourism for the local community (Gollin, 2015). They are stating that the former island is turning into an open air museum or theme park and this is negatively influencing the liveability for its inhabitants. Most complaints are of an economic or environmental nature, such as a lack of economic benefits for local businesses or complaints regarding crowdedness and pollution (van Lil, 2015; Eilandraad Marken, 2015). The Municipality of Waterland, the municipality Marken

belongs to, as well as the *Eilandraad*, the local council of Marken, have done some studies regarding the complaints of the residents (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015; van Lil, 2015). However, little research has been carried out about the social consequences of tourism for the inhabitants of Marken. Furthermore, these studies have always had a quantitative research design.

1.1 Aim of this research

Within the social consequences of tourism, in this research, I will focus on the notion of sense of belonging. The concept of sense of belonging has gained popularity in the social sciences as it helps to understand how people feel connected to the place where they live and the people they are living with. Furthermore, I will use the concept of tourism attitudes to understand how residents experience tourism and the consequences for their community. There are of course other theoretical approaches that can be used to study the implications of tourism on a community. However, to take those into consideration would make this study to elaborate. Therefore, I am only focusing on sense of belonging.

The aim of this research is to provide a historical overview into how the attitudes towards tourism of the residents' of Marken have changed over time and how this has effected their sense of belonging towards their community. The objectives of this research are threefold. First, I would like to understand how tourism has developed on Marken and what the residents' attitudes are towards this development. Secondly, I want to analyse how the residents of Marken experience and give meaning to the notion of belonging. Finally, I want to investigate how the development of tourism has influenced the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken.

In order to fulfil the aim of this research, the following central research question has been formulated: how has the sense of belonging of the inhabitants of Marken changed in relation to the development of tourism? In order to answer this central research question, a combination of in-depth interviews with residents of Marken as well as a (historical) document analysis will provide the findings. Several sub research questions have been formulated:

- How has tourism developed on Marken?
- How have the attitudes of the residents of Marken changed towards tourism development on Marken?
- What does it mean to belong to Marken?
- How has the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken changed?

1.2 Outline of this research

In order to answer these sub research questions, and ultimately the central research question, this report will continue with a theoretical chapter. In this **second** chapter, the main theoretical concepts such as resident attitudes and sense of belonging will be explained. This chapter will also include how these notions can be understood in relation to one another. Furthermore, the **third** chapter in this report will elaborate on the methodology, emphasizing on the methods used in order to answer the main research question as well as the different sub questions. The **fourth** chapter provides a background of the history of Marken. I will focus mainly on the development of tourism. The **fifth** chapter will focus on the sense of belonging on the inhabitants of Marken and how they understand what it means to belong to Marken. The **sixth** chapter will combine my findings on the development of tourism and how this has influenced the sense of belonging of the residents. The **seventh** chapter will include a conclusion and the **eight** chapter the discussion of my findings.

Before I continue, I would like to point out that this is an English report based on a research carried out in Dutch, about a Dutch destination. I have tried to translate as much as possible. However, in some cases, I believe that the translation will take away some of the deeper meaning of a word. In those cases, I have used the Dutch term and written it in cursive. The first times these terms are introduced, I have included a translation, either in the text itself or between brackets.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will provide a theoretical framework for this study in order to answer the main research question of how the sense of belonging of the inhabitants of Marken has changed in relation to the development of tourism. The first section will focus on the notion of resident attitudes as discussed in tourism studies. I will elaborate on examples of resident attitudes studies in tourism research and emphasize on their weak points. I will then offer an alternative way in which resident attitudes can be studied. The second section is then centralized on the related concept of 'sense of belonging'. This concept will be used to fill the gaps left by the notion of resident attitudes. The final section looks into connections between resident attitudes and sense of belonging.

2.1 Resident's attitudes

In tourism studies, when researchers focus on the point of view of the local community, several different terms are used. Examples of these include tourism impact, residents' attitudes and residents' perceptions. There is no important difference between these definitions, they are all denominators for the same phenomenon (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). In this research, I will use the term residents' attitudes. Attitudes can be defined as state of mind regarding a particular object or group and can be both positive as well as negative (Ajzen, 1988).

2.1.1 Residents' attitudes in tourism studies

Resident attitudes are an important aspect of tourism studies and have been studied intensively from different perspectives, using different theories. In general, resident attitudes are primarily studied from a quantitative perspective, using large samples. The purpose of these studies is to create general theories in order to predict resident attitudes in other instances (Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013). The first studies regarding residents' attitudes regarding tourism have been conducted in the 1960's. At first, these studies focused primarily on the positive aspects that tourism could have for local communities (Jafari, 1986 in Andereck & Vogt, 2000). The 1960's in general were ruled by a liberal approach to tourism and development, arguing that tourism can bring development and economic growth which the local population would benefit from (Scheyvens, 2007).

An often used example of these initial studies on resident's attitudes is Butler's tourism area cycle of evolution (TALC). According to Butler (1980), tourism in most destinations develops in a more or less linear pattern with several consecutive phases, namely; exploration,

involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and lastly either rejuvenation or decline. His aim was to provide a model that could explain the subsequent phases of tourism development. He argued that resident attitudes were primarily positive in the beginning, but would become more negative as tourist numbers continued to grow (Butler, 1980). Butler's theory, though still often used, is critiqued for neglecting heterogeneity, both between as well as within destinations. This means that it often overlooks the nuances and simplifies groups of residents as having a homogeneous attitude towards tourism development or aspects of it (Lundberg, 2015).

As a result, a more critical approach towards tourism and development arose, with researchers paying more attention towards negative consequences and variety between and within destinations (Jafari, 1986 in Andereck & Vogt, 2000). The belief of these critical scholars was that (economic) benefits of tourism did not always reach the local population as promised. In addition, researchers focused on the ways in which tourism undermines local cultures and causes cultural commodification, social disruption or environmental degradation (Jafari, 2001 in Scheyvens, 2007).

Within these studies to residents' attitudes, the social exchange theory (SET) became an important foundation. This theory argues that 'people engage in an interaction process where they seek something of value, be it material, social or psychological' (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005: 1061). Regarding tourism, this means that residents will more likely develop a positive attitude towards tourism when they recognize the benefits of it for their community (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014). Most of the studies using the SET have separated benefits into different dimensions, such as economic, environmental and socio-cultural. All these dimensions can have both positive as well as negative consequences for the local population, which then influences the attitudes of the residents towards tourism.

2.1.2 Positive or negative attitudes towards tourism

Whether residents perceive tourism and tourism development positively or negatively is dependent on both internal as well as external factors. Internal factors refer to personal characteristics of the residents' that can influence their attitudes. According to Lankford and Howard (1994), there are several personal characteristics that can influence the attitudes of the residents towards tourism and tourism development.

First of all, the length of residence could influence the attitude towards tourism, with long-term residents more negatively opposed to tourism. Second, the economic dependence of

tourism plays a role, where income through tourism leads to a more positive attitude. Third, the attitudes could be influenced by the distance between the place of residence and the location of the tourism activities. Fourth, 'resident involvement with local development decision making appears to influence the level of support and attitude toward tourism and tourists' (Lankford and Howard, 1994: 124). Fifth, the level of knowledge that someone has about both tourism as well as the local economy and history could impact the attitudes. Sixth, the level and quantity of contact between the residents and the tourists could influence their opinion. And finally, demographic characteristics, especially age, could affect resident attitudes (Lankford and Howard, 1994).

Next to that, there are several external factors which influence the attitudes of the residents. These refer to the impact that tourism could or already have on the particular destination. These are often separated in economic, environmental and socio-cultural dimensions. All dimensions can influence the residents' attitudes towards tourism and tourism development positively or negatively (Carmichael, 2006).

Regarding the economic dimension, tourism can lead to an increase in investment, new job opportunities and improved facilities and infrastructure. This often leads to positive attitudes to tourism (Chen & Chen, 2010). However, there could also be negative consequences, such as an overdependence on tourism at the expense of the traditional economy. If the demand for tourism declines, the local economy often struggles to recover. Another example is an increase in the price of goods, lands and services. Only (foreign) investors are able to pay the high prices and subsequently make the decisions regarding the development of an area. This could go against the needs of the local population and could result in negative attitudes towards tourism (Chen & Chen, 2010; Ribeiro, do Valle & Silva, 2013).

From an environmentalist point of view, tourism could also have both positive as well as negative implications. The arrival of tourists can facilitate and support preservation of the nature, for example by raising awareness amongst visitors and locals alike. This often results in positive associations and willingness of the residents to engage in and work with tourism (Lundberg, 2015). Nevertheless, most scholars argue that tourism mainly has negative impacts for the residents', such as crowdedness, different types of pollution, competition over land use, erosion and land degradation. As the quality of the environment decreases because of tourism, residents will develop negative attitudes towards tourism and could try to oppose or stop tourism development (Ribeiro, do Valle & Silva, 2013; Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005).

Furthermore, there are socio-cultural implications of tourism for the local population. Positive implications could be the promotion and (re)gained interest in local culture and history, which could lead to a revitalization of local traditions, crafts and ceremonies. Next to that, tourism could result in an increase in intercultural communication and understanding (Chen & Chen, 2010). It is also argued that tourism, especially when the local population has influence in the decisions regarding its development, can lead to an increase in feelings of empowerment. This results in positive attitudes regarding tourism and tourism development (Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014).

However, there are of course also negative socio-cultural consequences of tourism, for example cultural simplification and commodification in order to appeal to tourists. As a result, the local population may lose the feelings of connection to rituals and traditions as they are being simplified for the tourists' enjoyment. (Chen & Chen, 2010; Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002). In addition, Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt argue that tourism can result in 'a loss in resident identity and local culture', as 'tourism development has an effect on the sociocultural characteristics of residents' such as habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs and values' (2005: 1058). These factors may, in turn, lead to psychological tension or relocation. Furthermore, a negative consequence of tourism could be an increase in illegal activities such as prostitution, crime, gambling and drugs (Ribeiro, do Valle & Silva, 2013).

Lastly, it is important to emphasize that the actual attitudes of the residents can influence the experience of the tourists. Vice versa, the presence and behaviour of the tourist can also influence the attitudes of the resident. This can happen both positively as well as negatively. Knox states that 'the tourist may have his [or her] vacation spoiled or enhanced by the resident. The resident may have his [or her] daily life enriched or degraded by the unending flow of tourists' (Knox 1982, in Carmichael, 2006: 115). As a result, studies regarding how resident's attitudes regarding tourism are formed and changed can help to influence the process where necessary, to assure that both the residents' as well as the visitors perceive a destination positively.

2.1.3 Towards an interpretivist understanding of residents' attitudes

In general, there is also a great deal of critique on studies regarding residents' attitudes. The main critique is that the models used in these studies are too simplistic and therefore fail to provide a truly comprehensive understanding of the attitudes towards tourism from the point of view from the local population (Akis, Peristianis & Werner, 1996). The attitudes are often very diverse and complex, as they focus on the personal experiences of people, which cannot be

grasped properly in a quantitative analysis (Lankford and Howard, 1994) This sentiment is shared by Nunkoo, Smith and Ramkissoon (2013), who carried out a meta-analysis of 140 different studies on residents' attitudes. They state that most studies regarding residents' attitudes are carried out in a positivist paradigm. The positive paradigm emphasizes that reality can be understood and furthermore captured into a conceptual model, which can help to make predictions (Gorton, 2010). Yet these make little sense considering the complexities of people's attitudes and the variances between destinations.

Nunkoo, Smith and Ramkissoon argue that there is a lack in studies about residents' attitudes from an interpretive approach. The interpretive paradigm, contrary to the positivistic one, argues that reality is constructed, and can be understood by focusing on the ways in which people give meaning to the world around them (Gorton, 2010). They argue that quantitative methods 'are less useful in understanding how residents construct the meaning of the phenomenon called "tourism" and how such construction is shaped by the historical and social context in which it occurs' (Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013: 18). Furthermore, they state that an interpretative ontology could be more suited for research regarding residents' attitudes, as it allows for the researchers to understand the *lived experiences* of people as well as they *meanings* they ascribe to it (Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013). Horn and Simmons (2002) emphasize that qualitative research methods allow for a much more precise understanding of the complexity of the processes of how communities respond to the development of tourism.

This brings us to the question how residents' attitudes can be studied from an interpretivist approach, using qualitative research methods. An example is the work of Horn and Simmons (2002), who used in-depth interviews, reviews of archival material and observations in order to create insight into how two different communities in New Zealand responded to the development of tourism. In their research, they focused on five key factors that could affect local perceptions; namely, the relative economic importance of tourism, the visibility of the visitors, the actions of local councils, the sense of control local people experienced in relation to the development of tourism and finally the meaning that tourism already had for the community. This indicates that the way in which the community is organised and if people feel like a part of this community is important for how they experience and relate to tourism (Horn and Simmons, 2002).

Horn and Simmons conclude their article with the observation that the residents' perceptions of tourism depend on the relationship that community members have with each other. They state that it is important to be aware of the way in which the relationships between people of a community are influenced by the history and development of that particular area.

More insight in these relationships between community members and the ways in which they feel responsible for their community and connected to the area that they live in can provide more understanding for how they experience the development of tourism (Horn and Simmons, 2002). In order to understand, then, which attitudes residents have towards tourism (development) in their respective community, it is important to study in more detail the way in which people form a relationship towards a community. There are, of course, many other factors that could influence the stance of the residents towards tourism. In this research, however, I will only focus on the different theoretical notions of how feelings of attachment and belonging to a particular community can be understood and studied.

2.2 Sense of belonging

Social scientists have long been interested in the way in which people form attachments towards a particular community and place and the related processes of identification and feelings of belonging. Next to this, these phenomena have been studied extensively from different disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, geography and psychology. Consequently, there are many different definitions, approaches and methods to study these phenomena (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016). In general, but especially when there is so much contrasting and overlapping work, it is essential to be clear in the chosen approach, definition and operationalization.

In this study, I have chosen to focus on the concept 'sense of belonging', to look at the ways in which people experience attachment and connection to the place they live in. Another possible concept to describe similar phenomena could have been 'identity'. The notion of identity has been central for many decades in social science (Ritzer, 2008). However, identity has become a rather ambiguous term. On the one hand it is used to refer to something unique and very personal, in the way people identify themselves which differentiates them from others. On the other hand, identity is used as a way to express 'sameness' for example a group sharing the same qualities or characteristics (Byron, 2002). As a result, Lähdesmäki et al. (2016), emphasize that the trend in social sciences in recent years has been moving away from the concept of identity and towards the concept of belonging. They state that the notion of identity has lost its analytic power as it is unable to fully grasp the multi-layered, fluid and processual aspects of identity.

Using the work of Probyn (1996) the preference for the notion of belonging increasingly becomes legitimised, as she argues that belonging 'captures more accurately the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which

individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by *yearning* rather than the positing of identity as a stable state' (Probyn, 196: 19). The notion of belonging however, is used by various disciplines and therefore has different meanings and definitions (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016).

In order to provide more insight into the notion of belonging, Lähdesmäki et al. conducted a meta-analysis focusing on different disciplines using the concept of belonging. From within these different discourses, they argue that there are five overlapping themes that are crucial to understand belonging, namely; intersectionality, multiplicity, spatiality, materiality and non-belonging. It is important to note that a lot of these themes are overlapping, yet Lähdesmäki et al. only separated these themes for analytical purposes. As a result, they argue that in research regarding belonging, the researcher needs to emphasize clearly how they operationalise belonging (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016). In the following section, I will elaborate on my own understanding of belonging. For this, I have been primarily inspired by the work of Bennett (2014), who's research is often cited in interpretative studies regarding sense of belonging.

2.2.1 People, place and history

According to Bennett (2014), the notion of belonging is a difficult though important aspect of everyday life. Using the work of Miller (2003) as a starting point, Bennett emphasizes that 'belonging can be seen as articulated in terms of multiple social relationships stretching between past, present and future generations and places' (2014: 658). There are three important aspects to belonging, namely *history*, *people* and *place*. These three are incredibly interwoven and related to one another. However, for analytical clarity I will now separate them to clarify my operationalization of belonging.

First of all, there is the *historic* aspect, which relates to a particular connection to the past or a particular aspect of the past, such as a tradition or ritual (Miller, 2003). Bennett argues that 'history is not stuck in the past but moves through the lives of people and places' (2014: 658). When it comes to history and memory she emphasizes the importance of materiality, both in the sense of objects as well as the physical surroundings. Bennett states that 'the materiality of objects embodies the past experiences and relationships that they have been part of, and facilitates some kind of ineffable contact with those experiences and relationships (Jones 2010, in Bennett, 2014: 660). Through the constant physical reminders of the past, people engage with it and it remains part of their day to day life.

Next to that, Bennett argues that history 'is constantly being recreated in the present through memories' (2014: 658). She states that 'shared, communal memories provide a framework into which individuals can map their own memories' (2014: 660). In order to explain this, she refers to the work of Blokland (2001) regarding collective memory in a Dutch town. Blokland argues that recurring rituals and collective habits are important in creating these kinds of shared, communal memories. She states that people did not have to be present at a particular ritual or celebration, but because they have been present at others they can share in the experience. Degnen explains that belonging 'is not reducible to an *individual's* experience but instead comes to be made and remade in animated, active forms of social memory and contemporary exchange and debate amongst friends, relatives, neighbours and acquaintances (2016: 1663). This collective remembering of a shared social history allows for a sense of familiarity, which facilitates feelings of belonging.

The second part of belonging is the social or people-related aspect. According to Miller (2003), *people* refer to the social connections and the feelings of connection towards a particular community. The term community is a highly contested term in the social sciences. Community is in fact considered an elusive concept. It is used often by researchers without them giving a definition of what they consider 'the community' to be (Lewis, 2016). In general, a community is characterised by common interests, locality and shared social system or structure, combined with feelings of interdependence or loyalty between the members of that group (Rapport, 2002).

An important aspect to the formation and continuance of a community is the process of belonging. Yuval-Davis (2006) calls this politics of belonging, as she argues that power plays an important role in deciding who can and cannot belong to the community. It is through processes of inclusion and exclusion that belonging is maintained. As a result, these processes can change over time and a sense of community is therefore never permanent and need to be displayed (Yuval-Davis, 2006). It is therefore important to pay attention to who people include and exclude in their notion of community and belonging.

Another interesting part of the social aspect to belonging is related to the amount of influence that people have in taking responsibility for their shared living environment. In a study by Lager, van Hoven and Huigen, they argue that 'respondents not only contested formal structures but also used them as opportunities to re-create a sense of continuity in their sense of place' (2013: 59). They emphasize that, through grass-root initiatives, people not only helped to shape and improve the liveability in their neighbourhood but also made sure that they continued to feel like they belong there and had a say in its development (Lager, van Hoven & Hijgen, 2013). By influencing the shape of the place, the residents can determine what aspects

of it are passed on to future generations. This is related to Bennett's perspective of belonging as a reciprocal gift-exchange between generations. She argues that generations as a whole have the responsibility of passing on the physical place to the following generations and that this reinforces feelings of connection (Bennett, 2014).

The third and final aspect of belonging is *place*, a geographical connection which creates a connection to a particular locality (Miller, 2003). Bennett argues that place has a crucial part in belonging, as it is 'through the development of long-term relationships to place(s) that people come to have an embodied understanding of their obligations to the past and the future' (2014: 658). In that sense, she argues that it is through place, that people experience their belonging towards both history as well as people. According to Lewis, 'it is not that people are exposed to place, but rather that one's history and those of others become bound up in place' (2015: 920). This means that place is part of their everyday life.

There are many studies that have been conducted more specifically into the ways in which people relate to place. Concepts used in social sciences to explain this relationship are, amongst others, sense of place, place attachment or place identity. According to Peters, Stodolska and Horolets, 'these concepts have a broad scope, and sometimes their meanings are overlapping in different theoretical models' (2016: 64). In that case, these concepts have limited use in explaining place. In this study, therefore, I will use Lefebvre's understanding of space and how space is constructed. Even though I am aware there are analytical differences between the notion of space and place (Anderson, 2010), these differences are not important for my research as there are many different ways in which these notions can be understand. Consequently, I will use the terms space and place interchangeably. Furthermore, Lefebvre's understanding of space and its construction is part of a much more elaborated theory. Without going into great depth here, I will use parts of his work that is relevant to this research.

In 'The Production of Space' (1991) Lefebvre emphasizes that in order to understand space you must understand how space is produced. According to Lefebvre, there are three important elements to the production of space, namely spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. Firstly, spatial practice refers to the specific characteristics of that particular location and focuses on how a particular space is perceived. These 'ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion' (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). According to Swyngedouw, spatial practices 'are expressed in daily routines … of everyday life (1992: 318). Secondly, the representations of space refer to how space is (more formally) conceptualised and conceived, for example by planners, geographers or government officials (Simonsen, 1992). The ways in which they 'codify, textualize and represent' space helps to create 'order' (Swyngedouw, 1992:

318). Third and finally there is the element of representational spaces, which is also sometimes referred to as 'lived space'. This indicates symbols and images used in the daily lives of the habitants and users of the space. These representations influence and are in return influenced by these people (Swyngedouw, 1992; Simonsen, 1992).

Lefebvre emphasizes that the production of space is historical as it is a process rather than a finished product. As a result, space cannot be seen as an isolated or static concept, but is constantly changing. Furthermore, space is social, meaning that it is constructed and reconstructed in interaction by people. To explain the relation between people and space, Lefebvre uses the concept of *dwelling*, which is explained as 'the lived experience of everyday life', (Elden, 2004: 190). He argues that people who "dwell" or "inhabit" a particular place have 'a more directly rooted understanding of space or place (Elden, 2004: 190). This means that people who live in a particular place have a way of understanding the place, which is different from those who do not live there and only pass through. Dwelling, then, can be understood as an appropriation of time and space. Lefebvre states that 'for an individual, for a group, to inhabit is to appropriate something. Not in the sense of possessing it, but as making it an oeuvre, making it one's own, marking it, modelling it, shaping it.' (Stanek, 2011: 87). This can be related to the concept of belonging in the sense that people who dwell in a particular place make it their own and form attachments to this place. This, in turn, influences how a place becomes perceived, conceived and lived.

2.2.2 Conceptualisation of sense of belonging

In short, sense of belonging is an important yet difficult concept in the social sciences. There is no clear definition, meaning that it is used and interpreted differently by different researchers and disciplines. In this research, I am using Bennett's conceptualisation of sense of belonging. She argues that in order to understand sense of belonging, there are three important aspects, namely people, place and history. The people aspect to belonging focuses on practices such as inclusion and exclusion and the extend of influence the residents have over the organisation of their community. The historical aspect to belonging is connected to materiality and non-materiality. Materiality in terms of the usage of objects in rituals or daily life and non-materiality in terms of the role of collective memory. Finally, there is the place-centred aspect of belonging. In order to understand how this is constructed, I have used Lefebvre. According to Lefebvre, place is constructed of three parts, namely the routines of everyday life, the official conceptualisation of a place and the symbols and images used in and about a place.

These three are only divided for analytical purposes. In real life they cannot be separated as they are constantly influencing one another. In order to understand the sense of belonging of someone to a place, I will have to collect data about the three different notions and how they relate to one another. Figure 2 provides a simple overview of the conceptualisation of belonging.
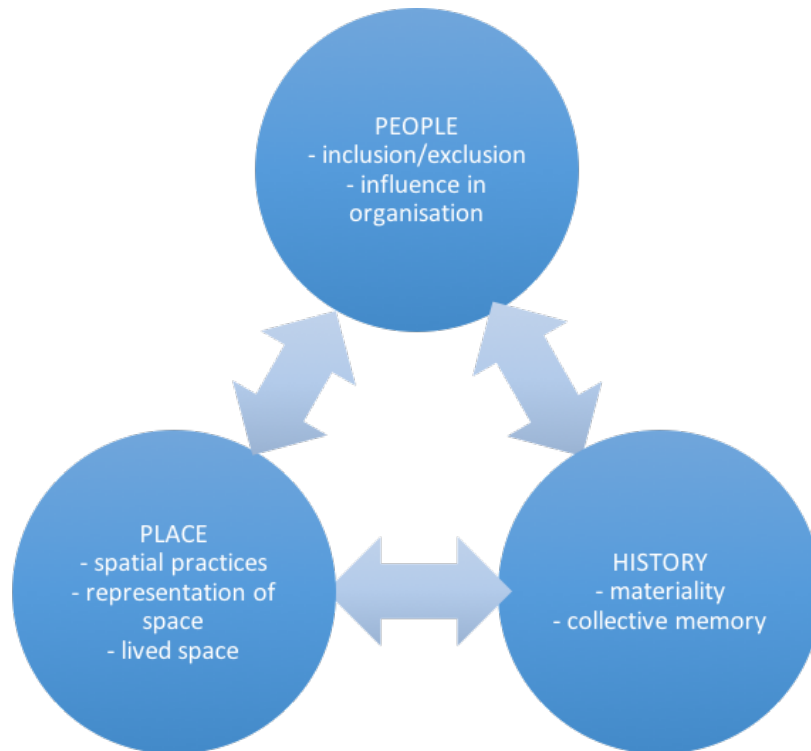
Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework of 'sense of belonging'

2.3 Connecting sense of belonging to tourism

Finally, it is important to emphasize once more that sense of belonging is not constant but that it should be considered as a process. In that way, sense of belonging is something that becomes performed, carried out by people, through time and in a particular place. Generally, it is assumed that sense of belonging of residents of a particular area will increase and grow stronger over time. Pinkster argues that 'as one lives longer in a particular place, the neighbourhood becomes familiar and meaningful through everyday practices and one feels more comfortable and safe there' (2016: 873). However, as places change, so does the way in which people relate to it.

Pinkster argues that feelings of belonging could transform or decrease all together, depending on the changes and the time-frame in which they happen. There are several changes that could influence the sense of belonging. For example, the inflow of new residents often can

influence sense of belonging, particularly if the original residents perceive considerable differences between them and their new neighbours. As a result, the original residents might feel out of place or conflict between groups of residents can occur. In addition, physical changes in the natural and build surroundings can impact the sense of belonging. Especially negative change, such as physical degradation may lead to a decrease of feelings of belonging. Finally, Pinkster argues that changes in local institutional infrastructure can play an important part in change in belonging. People might feel that they are being abandoned or not taken seriously (anymore), which could affect their feelings of belonging.

Tourism and its development could also be an important factor for change, which could influence the sense of belonging in a particular place. On the one hand, as explained in the section regarding resident attitudes, tourism can facilitate many good things in a community, for instance economically, environmentally or socio-cultural. As a result, this can influence the sense of belonging of the residents positively. People may feel proud about belonging to a particular community or place and are eager to show it off to others (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017). On the other hand, however, tourism could also influence sense of belonging negatively. According to Pinkster and Boterman 'growing crowds of visitors are disrupting the "natural" or "ordinary" rhythm', meaning that residents' might no longer feel at peace in that particular place due to the changes of tourism (2017: 9).

Furthermore, it is important to look at the ways in which tourism and the daily lives of the residents interact and share a particular place. McKercher, Wang and Park argue for a distinction between three type of places in tourist destinations. They state that '"tourism place" is designated for the primary use of tourists, "non-tourism place" is designated exclusively for local residents and "shared place" is used by both residents and tourists' (McKercher, Wang & Park, 2015: 54). In each area, a specific set of rules and types of behaviour is accepted. From a theoretical point of view, this makes sense and is relatively straightforward. However, in reality, these types of places are not so easily distinguished.

The problem does not lie with the "tourism places", there are plenty of examples, such as resorts or amusement parks that are solely designed for leisure and recreation. As a result, there are no people inhabiting those spaces and there is generally little conflict about the appropriate behavioural norms. However, because of the worldwide increase in (international) travel and tourism, there are almost no places left that are exclusively "non-tourism" places. In almost all places, residents are expected to share their space with visitors. Moreover, even if the local population is willing to "share" the place with tourists, the place changes and so does the behaviour and rules accepted in that place (McKercher, Wang & Park, 2015). As a result,

research regarding how the residents perceive tourism and how this influences their sense of belonging can expose ways in which they consciously and subconsciously find ways to deal with these changes in their residential area.

As a concluding note to this theoretical chapter, it is important to mention that both residents' attitudes and sense of belonging are very much experienced by people. I believe that they can never really be predicted by literature reviews or comparisons of cases, as they are very much context and case dependent.

Chapter 3: Methodology

As previously explained in the chapter containing my theoretical framework, there has been limited research regarding residents' attitudes from a qualitative perspective (Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013). In addition, when studying the sense of belonging people experience towards a particular community or place, it is important to stay as close as possible to the ways in which people talk about this themselves (Bennett, 2014). As a result, this research will be carried out using an interpretivist epistemology.

According to interpretivist thinking, the world is socially constructed and the role of the researcher is 'to make sense of actions, beliefs, social practices, rituals, value systems, institutions and other elements that comprise the social world' (Gorton, 2010:7). This means that the researcher should try to understand the point of view from its research subjects from the meaning the subjects themselves give to social phenomena (Gorton, 2010; Tribe, 2006). Qualitative research methods best suit an interpretative study, as it allows the participants of the study to talk freely and offer nuances that cannot be captured in quantitative research (Boeije, 2010).

This chapter will firstly elaborate on oral history interviews, as that forms the inspiration for this research. Then, a section will be allocated to the design of this research, focusing on data collection. The third section will focus on the data transformation and analysis process. Finally, I will conclude with the ethical considerations and methodological limitations that have been important in this study.

3.1 Oral history research

As the aim of this research is to provide an historical overview of the development of both tourism and sense of belonging on Marken, this research will focus primarily on conducting interviews. The particular method of these interviews are inspired by the oral history approach. This method is particularly suited for understanding how the past and the future are connected (Trapp-Fallon, 2002). The development of the method of oral histories originates from the 1970's and 80's and comes from social historians wanting to understand history "from below", for example related to women, labour and political issues. The main argument for oral history research is that it allows for marginalised voices, such as women, minorities or elderly, to be heard, as they are often ignored or forgotten in traditional historical accounts (Smith, 2008). Other advantages of this method is that it pays attention to aspects of everyday life that are not

captured in official record and that is often allows for more personal accounts. Shopes (2012) calls this 'the stories underneath the story'.

Oral history research is carried out through in-depth interviews, either as an entire biography or focused around particular themes or topics in a persons' life. According to Trapp-Fallon, the point of oral histories 'is not so much about attaining historical "truth", but about understanding a given point of view' (2002: 299). She argues that 'the point of the in-depth interview is that the researcher allows the interviewee an opportunity to respond in the way they choose and to bring meaning to their interpretation, providing an understanding beyond the limits of documentary evidence' (Trapp-Fallon, 2002: 300). In that sense, the oral history interviews are always interpretations. As a result, in oral histories, the dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee is very important. It is argued that the interview is a shared work between the two, as they both influence the interview process. As a result, it is crucial for the researcher to be aware of his or her own positionality and the way this can directly or indirectly steer the collection and analysis of the data. Furthermore, the interviewer needs to be well prepared and familiar with the topic, so that he or she can determine whether the question has been answered. The researcher must also be able to pay attention to stories that the interviewee may believe the interviewer wants to hear or when stories could be embellished (Trapp-Fallon, 2002; Shopes, 2012).

Finally, it is important to pay attention to the fact that, as a researcher, you are never certain that the story of the interviewee is entirely accurate. In general, this is an issue with interviews, though particularly regarding oral history it is something the researcher should take into account. Shopes emphasizes that 'an interview is a storied account of the past recounted in the present, an act of memory shaped as much by the moment of telling as by the history being told' (2012: 3). When people look back at a particular time in their lives, it is always influenced by the experiences that came later. This can influence the way in which they understand that particular time-frame and furthermore the way in which they talk about it. When using oral histories, the researcher should be very critical of what is said, why it is said and in which context.

3.2 Research design

The following section will focus on the specific research design. Two types of methods for collecting data have been used in this research. The primary sources of data for this research are the interviews that I have conducted with the inhabitants of Marken. Next to that, I carried

out a document analysis, using archives, newsletters and publications. The rationale for using two types of sources is triangulation, meaning that the documents can be used to provide a clear (historical) context through which the interviews can be understood and controlled for accuracy (Boeije, 2010). In oral histories, this is particularly important, as 'the veracity of what is being said in an interview can be gauged by comparing it both with other interviews on the same subject and with related documentary evidence' (Shopes, 2012: 3).

3.2.1 Document analysis

The first method of data collection has been document analysis. Document analysis is traditionally used in oral history research as a way of triangulating the interviews (Shopes, 2012). Historians have long been interested in Marken, amongst others because of its traditional architecture and clothing and the unique transition from island to peninsula (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998). As a result, I found several historical books and publications which provided detailed information about the development of Marken. Next to that, with the increasing trend of digitalisation of archives and newspapers, I found lots of historical documents about Marken. Examples include travel journals, newspaper articles, advertisements and government documentation about Marken. Lastly, I have gained access to some more current documents about the development of tourism on Marken. Examples of this are reports written by the 'Municipality of Waterland', the *Eilandraad* and studies from previous students about tourism and communal change on Marken. The sources of these documents are available in the reference list at the end of this report.

In order to make sure that all these documents were reliable, I have paid a lot of attention to who had written them, were they were published and what might have been the reason for the publication of these documents. In some cases, I found interesting documents but decided not to use them, for example because I could not find the source.

3.2.2 Interviews

The primary method of data collection was through semi-structured in-depth interviews, inspired by the oral history approach. This design allowed my interviewees to speak freely about their experiences and did not structure or steer them too much. During the interviews, I carried a topic list with me, so I could check if all relevant topics had been discussed. However, there was no particular order or format for the interviews and consequently, the topic list served more as a personal reminder.

The selection of participants for the interviews was twofold. On the one hand, a small announcement was published on the 18th of May, 2017 on the local news website *Marker Nieuws* and the *Marker Nieuws* Facebook page (See Appendix B for the announcement). This website is used often to inform the inhabitants of Marken about news and events (Marker Nieuws, 2017). I wrote the announcement myself and provided some information about myself and my research. Moreover, I invited people to contact me in case they were interested in participating in the interviews. The rationale behind this message was that it would inform the entire population at once about the research carried out. Next to that, it provided the population of Marken with a way of contacting me, in case of questions or if they would be interested in volunteering. This meant that everybody could know about it and everybody could participate if they would want to.

On the other hand, another more purposive way of sampling was used. There are several criteria which could be relevant regarding the ways in which people experience both tourism as well as their feelings of belonging to Marken. According to Lankford and Howard (1993), there are both internal as well as external factors that could influence the attitude of the resident regarding tourism. Especially the internal factors, such as the length and location of residency, the dependency and knowledge of tourism and the involvement in decision making could impact the interviewees. This was supported by the *Eilandraad*, the town council of Marken which is run by volunteers. In a meeting with the workgroup regarding tourism on Marken, in preparation of my research, we decided on three factors that might result in different views on tourism.

Firstly, the fact if people are born and raised on Marken compared to those who made a decision to move there could influence their experience. Secondly, the respective location in which they live could be crucial, as the residents themselves make a distinction between busy, average and no tourism areas on Marken. Third, age *could* play a role in the perception of both tourism as well as sense of belonging. As I want to provide a historical overview, I had to speak to people from different generations, as they could potentially have different opinions about trends and developments.

As a result, the workgroup tourism of the *Eilandraad* created a list with names, information and contact details of people that I could contact about participating in my research. These were people that would be helpful to speak to about the history and development of Marken in general, such as the volunteers from the local museum and tourist information office and a local expert on the history of Marken.

All interviews were held in Dutch. In total, I conducted 16 interviews. The interviews were of a semi-structured nature (See Appendix C for the topic list). During one interview, I spoke to a couple, the other interviews were all with individuals. The average length of the interview was around an hour and a half, with the shortest interview lasting an hour and the longest interview was a little over two hours. The vast majority of the interviews was at the homes of the interviewees. However, there were also some in a more neutral environment, such as a restaurant and '*Het Trefpunt*', the village house of Marken.

My interviewees were very diverse (See Appendix D for a list of all the interviewees). This list is of course anonymous, to guarantee the privacy and confidentiality of the people I spoke with. All the interviewees have a number attached to them. In the findings section, I have referred to this number when there is a direct quote from the interviews. In other cases, when I have paraphrased the findings or the point of view was shared by many interviewees, I have given a little description of which interviewees shared that particular vision.

Of the 17 interviewees, I spoke to 9 people who were born on Marken and 8 people who had moved there. Next to that, the youngest interviewee was only 19 years old, my oldest interviewee was already in her eighties. In total, I spoke to 10 women and 7 men. Finally, the interviewees lived in the different areas on Marken. I spoke to 4 people who lived on the *Haven* and 5 people who lived in the *Buurten,* the neighbourhoods around the harbour. There were also 5 interviewees who lived in de *Kerkbuurt* and 3 who lived in the *Nieuwbouw* (See Appendix A for a map of Marken). Out of all the interviews, 11 people had contacted me themselves because of my advertisement. The other 6 interviews were organised with the assistance of the *Eilandraad*.

During the interviews, I first explained a little about my research and the purpose of the study. Moreover, I asked permission to record the interviews, to which everybody agreed. I also mentioned that I might take some notes during the interview, but I hardly did that as I noticed it often distracted people. As a result, I usually spend about half an hour after the interviews to write down some notes, interesting observations and a very brief summary of what had been said. In these notes, I also reflected on the positionality of the interviewee, so that I could try understand why they had said what they had said. At the end of the interviews, all of my interviewees expressed interest in reading my report when finished.

3.3 Data transformation and analysis

After the interviews were completed, they were transcribed as soon as possible. In addition, any notes I might have taken during the interview, or shortly after, for example about posture or hand gestures were also added to the transcripts. As qualitative research is often cyclical, combining data collection with analysis, I wanted to start analysing the transcribed interviews straight away. This might direct the researcher to knowledge gaps that can then be elaborated on in further interviews (Boeije, 2010). However, because the interviews were planned in a short time frame, I was not able to completely transcribe and analyse the first interviews before the others were scheduled.

Before the interviews can be analysed, Shopes argues that it is important to evaluate them first. She emphasizes that there are five important elements to keep in mind with oral histories. These elements are; (1) who is the interviewee? (2) who is the interviewer? (3) what has been said in the interview? (4) for what purpose has this interview been constructed? (5) what are the circumstances of the interview? I was aware of this during the interviews and wrote short notes or a summary after the interview focusing on these points. This helped me to look at the bigger picture and understand the answers people had given.

All data was analysed and coded in three rounds. In the first round, which is called open coding, I coded all the relevant data to an overarching theme in that particular segment. In this phase, I coded the entire transcript of the interview and used many different codes and sub codes. During the second round of coding, which is called axial coding, several codes were reassessed. This means that some codes were combined and some codes were changed or left out as they were used in only one or two interviews. In this round, I tried to pay attention to my theoretical framework. I made four groups, namely 'tourism', 'people', 'place' and 'history'. Most of my existing codes fit in one of these groups. There were also some codes that did not fit into either group, but these were usually codes that were not really related to my subject of research, but were topics that were interesting to my interviewees. In the final round of coding, which is called selective coding, I looked for connections between particular codes. In this round, I paid a lot of attention to whichever interview I was looking at. This helped me to understand the different perspectives, for example between people who had lived on Marken their entire lives and those who had moved there. (Boeije, 2010) (See Appendix E for the final code tree). Whilst writing the report, I translated the quotes I wanted to use to English.

3.4 Ethical considerations

There are several ethical considerations that are important to take into account in qualitative research. Firstly, the notion of informed consent is paramount, which means that the subjects of the research need to be informed that they are being studied. The researcher must also explain to the participants why the research is carried out and what will be done with the findings of the interviews (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012). In this research, I made myself known to the inhabitants of Marken by the way of an announcement in the local news website. According to the *Eilandraad*, the local council, the vast majority of the inhabitants use this website to remain up to date about the news on Marken. This message informed the inhabitants of Marken about the purpose of my research and offered them ways to contact me in case there were questions and concerns. Next to that, prior to the interviews, the participants were informed again about my research. In that way, I can assure that all interviewees have made an informed decision about participating in my research.

Secondly, the privacy of the interviewees in the research is an important ethical principle. This is closely related to the notions of confidentiality and anonymity (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Especially in a close-knit community as Marken, it is impossible to ensure full privacy, confidentiality and anonymity to the interviewees. However, I paid continuous attention to this in my research, both during data collection as well as during the transformation and analysis, by making sure that all data will be anonymous and cannot be traced back to individuals.

3.5 Methodological limitations

In any research you always have to make methodological choices and constrain your methods, research population and data analysis. Otherwise, you would be able to go on and on and never reach any kind of saturation. These choices, however, could influence your results so it is important to be aware of them. In the final section of this chapter, I will focus on the possible methodological limitations of my research and explain what I have done to try an eliminate them as much as possible.

In the first place, it is important to remember that qualitative research facilitates a better understanding of the meaning people give to their lives. Other people could have had other meanings and experiences. Thus, these findings can not be generalised to a larger population or assumed to be overlapping in other cases. Moreover, my interviewees were all very different from one another. If I would have focused on a smaller subgroup, for example only people

living in a particular neighbourhood or only people who were born on Marken, my findings could have turned out differently. However, as this kind of research had never been conducted on Marken before, I believe that a more explorative strategy was relevant to understand the bigger picture rather than focus on a detail. I feel confident that I have tried to find interviewees with diverse meanings and experiences.

Secondly, for oral history studies it is very important to be precise about which historical period you are talking about. This turned out to be difficult in the interviews. Many interviewees talked about history in the rather general term of 'earlier, 'when I was young' or 'my parents/grandparents told…'. Whenever I asked them to be more specific, they often did not remember exactly when it had happened or they talked about a general timeframe. Furthermore, they sometimes referred to their age at a particular time, for example 'I must have been around twelve years old'. However, they did not always tell me their current age, so that would still leave me guessing about which exact period they had been talking. As a result, the historical information through the interviews is not always reliable and is those cases not used.

A third methodological limitation could be related to the fact that the *Eilandraad* helped me to approach certain people for interviewees. It is thus important to consider if they might have try and steer my findings, for example by selecting (or not selecting) certain people to be interviewed. However, they did assure me that they focused on people with relevant experiences and meanings, not necessarily those that represented their own. I always told the interviewees that I was not connected to the *Eilandraad* and some also expressed some critique on aspects of the *Eilandraad.* Finally, the majority of my interviewees had volunteered to participate without the *Eilandraad* being involved. Therefore, I feel like this has not influenced my research.

Chapter 4: The development of tourism on Marken

In order to understand the point of view of the inhabitants of Marken regarding tourism, its development and the feelings of belonging people might have to the community, it is important to first create a more elaborate introduction to the destination itself. In this chapter, I will elaborate on the history of Marken in general and focus on the development of tourism more specifically. Here, I will only focus on the objective facts. In the sixth chapter, I will focus on the point of views of the inhabitants regarding these developments.
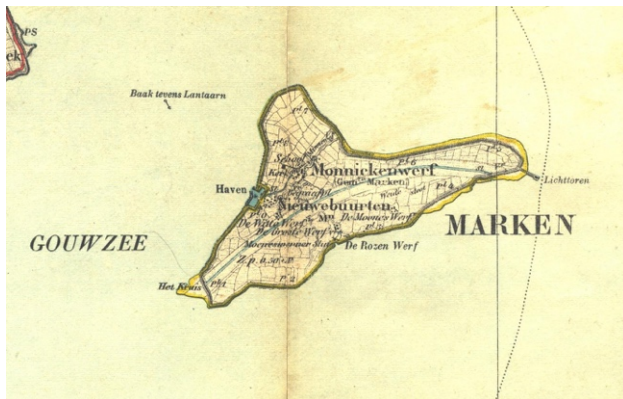

Figure 4.1 Map of Marken, 1909

Figure 4.2 Street in the *Kerkbuurt* (Church Neigbourhood)

4.1 The establishment of Marken

If you want to understand the culture and history of Marken, you have to go back to its origin. The first historical mention of Marken is around 1232, when Friesian monks bought the land from the Lord of Waterland, Nicolaas Persijn. At this point in time, Marken was still connected to the mainland as it is a swamp and peat area that floods regularly (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998). Marken, which means borderland in the old Dutch language, was the most eastern border. The monks who settled in Marken started with the building of the first embankment and because of its irrigation system, they created the *werven,* which are mounds where the land is higher and stays relatively dry. These *werven* became habitable and this is where their monastery was build. The first *werf,* where the monastery was located, is now known as the *Kerkbuurt* (tr: Church neighbourhood) so this is the original centre of Marken (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

Over time, the sea level rose and the North Sea continued to expand south. By the middle of the 14th century, Marken became an island and the sea surrounding it was called de *Zuiderzee* (tr: South Sea). The monastery attracted more people who settled on the land around the monastery and on other *werven* which were created. At the peak point, there were 27 *werven* on Marken. However, there was a constant battle with the sea and floods were regular. As a

result, the soil was to wet for agriculture and most people sustained themselves with either livestock or fishing (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

Towards the 17th and 18th century, fishing became the main livelihood of the inhabitants of Marken and the number of the population grew. The life on the island was one of hardship and endurance. Most men worked in the fishing industry, which was dangerous and hard work. Men usually fished on the *Zuiderzee*, which they did with their own boats, called *botters*. No big companies or joint enterprises arose on Marken, men preferred to work alone or within families. Furthermore, there was no auction house or a lot of commerce associated with fishing on Marken. As a result, the Markers were dependent for selling their produce and acquiring material on nearby fishing villages, such as Volendam, Monnickendam and even Amsterdam. Next to that, outside of the fishing season on the *Zuiderzee*, Marker men worked on bigger fishing boats that would go all the way up to the North Sea, as far as the Shetland Islands and Norway. During these trips, the men would be gone for several weeks (Interview with Jan Schild, 2017).

Because the men were often away for long periods of time, most of the work on the island itself was organised and done by the women. During the interviews, many people spoke of the tradition of strong and independent women. Besides their work, the women of Marken spent a lot of time making their clothes, which were very detailed and unique. Every aspect of the costume was handmade and there were different costumes for different Christian celebrations. Moreover, the clothing was often personal, for example with embroidered initials and different fabrics for different stages in life. Every village had its own traditional costumes and the Marker clothing is very notable, also from other costumes in the region. It was also mentioned that the vast majority of the inhabitants of Marken were protestant, which is considered an important characteristic of the population. This is often portrayed as humble, sober and hardworking people (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

Figure 4.3 Painting Marker interior and family by Adolf Dillens (1877)

4.2 The beginning of tourism

The nineteenth century in Western Europe was characterised by rapid urbanisation and modernisation, which made way for the Romantic era, a movement which is known for its glorification of the past and the rural. At the same time, nationalism was on the rise in many of these nations. This led to many artists, such as writers, poets and painters, travelling away from the cities towards the countryside to show what the urban dwellers left behind. They believed that they would find the true and authentic Dutch culture there, particularly in the fishing villages such as Volendam and Marken. These villages became popular with French, English and German artists. These foreign artists sparked the national interest and before long, also Dutch artists visited Marken (Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 2010; Stott, 1998).

One of the first publications about Marken is by the Frenchman Alphonse Esquiros, who visited Marken in 1855. In his published travel journal, Esquiros elaborates on his observations during his visit to Marken, for example about the traditional costumes, the habits and daily lives of the inhabitants. He mentions that a visit to Marken is like a journey back in time (van Hezel & Pol, 2003). Marken also attracted early ethnologists. Charnock, who visited Marken in 1871, wrote about the Markers that 'they do not show themselves much and rather avoid strangers' (1871: 309). Charnock also emphasizes that there are almost no people from the mainland who are living on Marken and that marriages with people from outside Marken are rare. There are lots of paintings of these period about Marken, particularly the traditional costumes and the architecture of the houses were popular.

Because of the interest of artists and the publications about Marken, soon people wanted to visit Marken and see it themselves. According to Stott, Marken became known as more Dutch than Amsterdam and particularly appealed to American tourists who came looking for their Dutch roots. They preferred to visit Marken because it supposedly represented what the Netherlands would have looked like in the past (Stott, 1998). Most of the visitors came in organised daytrips, in which they visited both Marken as well as Volendam. These tourists came by boat from Amsterdam. In 1888, the 'Noord-Hollandse Tramweg-Maatschappij' (tr: North Holland Tramway Association) was founded, this was a company that connected the North of Holland to Amsterdam by tram. Tourists could now travel to Monnickendam by tram and from there take a boat to Marken, which decreased travel times and resulted in an increase in visitors. By 1900, there were regular steamboats connecting Marken to the mainland (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

Soon the Markers realised that they might be able to benefit from the visitors. In a travel journal published in 1874, Havard mentioned that there are two *kijkhuisjes* (tr: show houses)

on Marken. These houses were opened to the public so that tourists could observe the interiors and the objects used in the daily lives of the Markers. The host would receive a little income this way, though it was never much and often shared with the guides who would bring the tourists. The practice of showing you houses to tourists was looked down upon by most Markers, as they thought it was not fitting with their protestant belief to show off your belongings. Nevertheless, for widows or disabled people it was considered a welcome extra income. Several show houses existed, most of them situated on the harbour, but also a few in the neighbourhoods around the harbour and close to the church (Schild, 2007).

Another way in which the Markers tried to benefit of the visitors was through selling souvenirs in little shops in the neighbourhood around the church. Some families also send their daughters to the streets or even on the boat coming to and from Monnickendam to sell souvenirs from a basket. This was locally called *herenjagen,* which translates to something like man hunting as the women were trying to be the first to approach the newly arrived visitors. Finally, women and children would earn some money by posing for people to take pictures and children

were known to beg for money (Schild, 2007).

Figure 4.4 Advertisement (front and backsite) to visit Marken and Volendam (early 1900's).

4.3 The turn of the century

Tourism continued to grow on Marken, but it did not last long until this development was criticized. Already in 1889, an article was published in the Dutch newspaper '*De Tijd*' which warned people not to visit the island. The article argues that the island is staged and no longer authentic, as it comes across as if the inhabitants are constantly posing for pictures (De Tijd, 1889). In 1899, the '*Texelsche Courant*' published a story about the mayor of Marken, who had requested to put up signs on the steamboats to the island to discourage the tourists to give money

to begging children (Texelsche Courant, 1899). This sign was published in Dutch, French, German and English and helped, though it could not completely stop the begging (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

'*Het Nieuws van de Dag*' published a story in 1905 about how both Dutch as well as foreign visitors often complain about people begging in the Marken. This was done in an annoying and rather pushing manner. The island Marken had become notorious for it, just as much as it has become famous for its unique features argued the newspaper. (Het Nieuws van de Dag, 1905). These unique features referred to the traditional clothing and architecture, which was still an important reason for people wanting to visit Marken.

In 1912, the development of tourism on Marken was again national news, as the town council decided to start taxing the visitors. This was called *wegengeld,* which translates to toll and it was justified by people paying to use the roads on the island. Newspapers mainly referred to it as tourist taxes or entrance fee (Texelsche Courant, 1912). Visitors now had to pay seven cents to visit Marken. This way, the town council earned some money of the visiting tourists (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998). Furthermore, the council tried to discourage both the show houses as well the selling of souvenirs by individuals. In order to do so, you needed to obtain a license. In practice, these licences which were hardly given (Schild, 2007).

The year 1916 is an important year in the history of Marken, as a massive storm flood occurred in the night of 13th to 14th of January. Many areas along the *Zuiderzee* were flooded, but nowhere was the damage as high as in Marken, were 16 people died and several houses collapsed. For many years, there had been plans to close the *Zuiderzee*, as flooding's occurred often, but the flood in 1916 sped up the plans. By 1918, the *Zuiderzeewet* (tr: South Sea Law) was created by Cornelis Lely, which entailed a plan to close off the *Zuiderzee* and reclaim lands from this area to turn into farmlands (Schutte & Weitkamp,1998).

The *Zuiderzeewet* was welcomed by the population of Marken, because the Markers knew first-hand how dangerous the connection to the North Sea could be. However, the closure of the *Zuiderzee* also meant the end of the fishing industry around the *Zuiderzee*. Compensation was offered to the men previously employed in the fishing industry. Many new job opportunities became available in the developing industries around Amsterdam and especially young men could follow additional schooling if required. The *Zuiderzee* was officially closed in 1932 with the *Afsluitdijk* (tr: Closure dike) and Marken was no longer in danger for floods.

In 1938, new initiatives on Marken were taken to deal with the increasing number of tourists. The town council had decided to enforce a ban to close all enterprises on Sundays and all Christian holidays, called the *Zondagsrust* (tr: Sunday rest). As these days were usually the

busiest days for visitors on Marken, the town council hoped to be able to regulate it more (Heldersche Courant, 1938). Many people, both from Marken as well as from the mainland were opposed to this law. Tourists were actively warned not to visit Marken on these days, because they could not buy or visit anything. In 1954, 3 enterprises were allowed to open their doors on these days, but only between April and September. Others had to remain closed (Roemelé, 1954). This showed that for many years Marken has tried to find ways to balance the development of tourism on the island. It also shows that it is often the inhabitants that suffer

Figure 4.5 Marker woman in her house (year unkown)

EEN GROEPJE KINDEREN, WAARONDER TWEE JONGENS

Figure 4.6 Marker children posing for a picture (year unkown)

from these developments.

4.4 From island to peninsula to part of Waterland

Lely's plans for the closure of the *Zuiderzee* were not finished with the construction of the *Afsluitdijk* in 1932. He also made detailed plans to reclaim much land from the sea, such as the province of Flevoland and several parts of Noord-Holland. In addition, there was also a plan to create land around Marken, which was called the *Markerwaard* (tr: Marker worth). According to these plans, Marken would have lost its connection to the sea. If these plans would have proceeded, it would have changed Marken drastically, maybe even resulting in becoming inhabitable. However, the plans were never approved and Marken continued to exist (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

One change that did happen was the connection the mainland via a dike in 1957. The Markers call this the *Verbindingsdijk* (tr: Connection dike.) Many Markers were in favour of this development. By then, all children attended secondary school and further education on the mainland. The journey to and from Marken took a lot of time, especially in the winter if the Markermeer froze. Next to that, all of the supplies used on Marken also needed to be transported this way. Already in 1952, a study amongst the Marker community concluded that they saw the dike as necessary for the continuance of the community (Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 1952). A rapport by the 'Economic-Technological Office of Noord-Holland' argued that the construction of the dike would abolish the isolation of Marken and guarantee its existence (Economische-Technologische Dienst voor Noord-Holland, 1957).

However, there was also some opposition to the development of the dike, most notable coming from Sijtje Boes. She ran a successful tourism enterprise on Marken and was afraid that the number of visitors would decrease. She argued that if the tourists would be less likely to visit if they did not have to put in the effort to come there. Furthermore, she feared for the unique characteristic of the island. In an interview with '*Utrechtsch Nieuwsblad*' in 1957, she mentions that already a third of the local population had ceased to wear the traditional Marker costume because it was inconvenient whilst working on the mainland (Utrechtsch Nieuwsblad, 1957). Fortunately, Sijtje Boes had nothing to be afraid off, as the visitor numbers continued to grow as bus companies now travelled to Marken over the newly constructed road and dike. In addition, more people from the mainland started to settle on Marken as it became easier accessible (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998).

Figure 4.7 Marker woman awaits tourists (1924).

Figure 4.8 Tourists on Marken (1973)

4.5 Marken at the end of the 20th century

Marken became more and more aware of its status as a unique heritage and how important it was to protect this. As of 1971, Marken is considered a *beschermd dorpsgezicht* (tr: protected village site). This means that it the buildings and exterior of the island is protected heritage and may not be altered but can only be restored to its original conditions (Marker Museum, 2017).

In 1981 an association for the protection of the Marker culture was established, called 'Vereniging Historisch Eiland Marken' (tr: Association for the Historical Island Marken). The goal of this association is to twofold. The main goal is to preserve the culture of Marken for its inhabitants, so that the future generations would be aware of its unique costumes, architecture and appliances. Next to that, they want to show the Marken culture to visitors and want to make sure these visitors received correct information about the history of Marken. As a result, the 'Marker Museum' was established in 1983. It is situated in a collection of six small houses in the *Kerkbuurt* and has alternating collection, focusing each year on another aspect of its history and culture (Marker Museum, 2017).

Marken lost its status as a separate municipality and joined the Municipality of Waterland in 1991. This municipality is centered in Monnickendam and contains a couple of other villages as well. The total area is 115,6 km^2, of which 53,6 km^2 is water, hence the name of Waterland. Waterland has approximately 17.000 inhabitants (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015). Many inhabitants of Marken did not want to become part of Waterland and heavily protested against this development. A symbolic visa was issued for those who wanted to visit Marken and there were plans to create a barrier on the dike. These actions were not successful however, and Marken became part of Waterland. As a result, many facilities on Marken disappeared such as the town house, the post office and a nursing home for elderly people (Eilandraad, 2017).

The inhabitants of Marken were afraid that they might not be well represented in the Municipality of Waterland. As a result, they established the *Eilandraad,* the council for the Island, in 2001. According to the website of the *Eilandraad*, their mission is to represent the interests of the inhabitants of Marken and perform actions that would benefit the interests of Marken. The *Eilandraad,* is run by volunteers and is used to represent the different views of the inhabitants of Marken. There are different workgroups, who focus on the different aspects of life on Marken, such as tourism, associations, nature, housing, health and promotion. (Eilandraad, 2017).
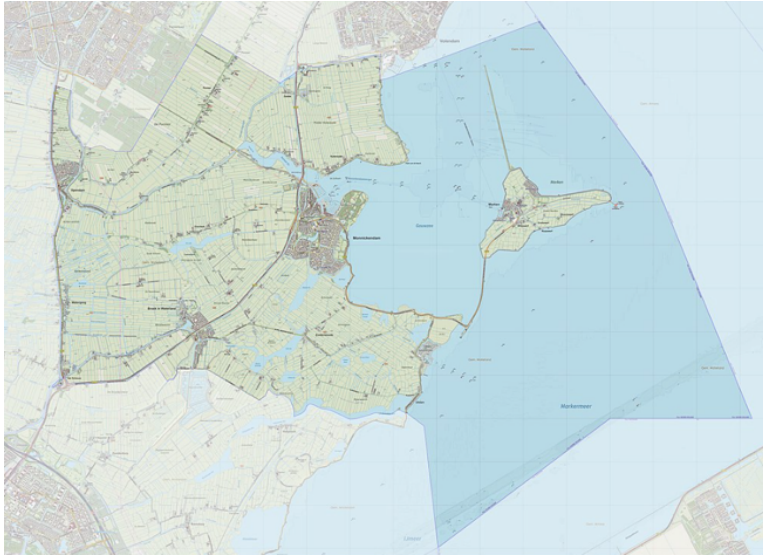
Figure 4.9 Municipality of Waterland (1991).

Figure 4.10 Symbolic visa for Marken

4.6 Marken in recent years

In recent years, the development of tourism has continued to grow on Marken. The Municipality of Waterland reckons that in 2015, over 400.000 visitors came to Marken. These numbers are based on the income received through tourist taxes and parking tickets (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015). As there are also visitors coming to Marken by public transport or with other forms of transport that is not registered, such as cycling or hiking, the actual number of visitors is much higher.

These visits to Marken, both by groups as well as by individual travellers are increasingly supported by the tourism department of Amsterdam. Amsterdam welcomed around 18 million tourists in 2016 and these numbers continue to rise (Amsterdam City Index, 2017). Amsterdam is looking for ways to send their tourists to the region around it, because the city centre is becoming too crowded. Research in 2014 shows that only 18% of the international tourists coming to Amsterdam also visit the region around it (Amsterdam Marketing, 2015). The Municipality of Waterland, including Marken, is promoted as "The Smalltown Harbours" (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015).

Most visitors come with organised tour groups, either in an entirely organised visit to the Netherlands or by a daytrip to Marken and Volendam, booked in Amsterdam. The latter group mostly comes with a tour agency called Tours&Tickets. Most of them either arrive or leave Marken by boat, the Marker Express, which travels to and from Volendam. They then leave the same way as they arrive, or they go into their tour busses, which are parked on the

parking area. As a result, most of these tourists only walk the route between the parking area and the harbour. They make some designated stops along the way, for example at '*De Klompenmakerij'* (tr: Clogs workshop), a workshop that makes the traditional Dutch wooden shoes or at a cheese factory. Finally, there is a stop at a particular souvenir shop at the harbour. They often do not come in the *Kerkbuurt,* or in any other areas of the island. The majority of the tours groups do not stay long on Marken, usually around 30 minutes.

As of 2016, some smaller groups of Tours&Tickets now visit the Marker Museum. These groups cannot be larger than 20 people, because the museum is too small for bigger groups. The groups that go here usually stay a little longer and have more time to explore. In the museum, there is a short documentary about the history of Marken. Next to that, the visitors can wander around and look at the exhibition. Usually, according to the museum staff, they only stay around 10 minutes.

Furthermore, there are also tourists coming individually. They come with their own transport, such as cars, bikes or hiking or they have taken the public transport. This is increasingly being supported. In 2015 the Municipality of Waterland opened a *VVV-point*, a tourist information point targeted at individual tourists. This is being staffed by volunteers from Marken and is only opened during the high season, from Thursday till Sunday between 12:00 and 16:00 pm. In this *VVV-point*, the tourists can find information, maps and buy tickets, for example for a transport pass for the entire province of North Holland. Interestingly, also locals visit this information point, for example for these transport tickets as they are cheaper than travelling with the *OV-chipcard*, the public transport system in the Netherlands (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015).

The development of tourism on Marken reached a turning point in 2014. The Municipality of Waterland had approved plans to build a wharf on Marken, so large cruise ships could make port on Marken. However, most residents of Marken were against this development and formed a workgroup to oppose it. I will elaborate in more details on the reasons why the residents opposed this development in Chapter 6, but they were successful and the permission for the construction of the wharf was cancelled. There was a lot of media coverage on this development, as it was the first time the residents of Marken had made a stance against tourism and opposed its development (van Lieshout, 2014).

Lastly, as of January 2017, after being installed for approximately 100 years, the tourism taxes were cancelled on Marken. Before, visitors had to pay €0,55 per person when visiting Marken. This resulted in a lot of problems at the parking area, such as long lines and frustrated

people. Consequently, the Municipality of Marken decided to only require parking fees, which were increased at the same time (Eilandraad, 2016).

Figure 4.11 Marker Museum.

Figure 4.12 VVV-point

Chapter 5: Changing sense of belonging of the resident's of Marken

In the second chapter, concerning the theoretical framework, I have elaborated on Bennett's (2014) notion of sense of belonging. According to Bennett, sense of belonging is a useful term when studying how people feel connected to a particular place and community. She argues that there are three important aspects that influence sense of belonging, namely people, history and place. In the following chapter, I will elaborate on my findings regarding the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken related these three aspects. It is important to point out that, in this chapter, I have put aside the influence of tourism and tourism development on Marken. This will be discussed separately in the sixth chapter.

5.1 The people of Marken

One of the first and foremost findings of my research is that you cannot see Marken as a cohesive community. Throughout the interviews, I noticed that my interviewees were constantly trying to break up the population into smaller subgroups. In the following section, I will elaborate on the different distinctions that were brought up in the interviews. Next to that, the way in which the community is organised was a returning issue in the interviews. This will also be explained in this section.

5.1.1 Us and them

From the people I have interviewed, 10 of them were born and raised on Marken. However, most of them had lived outside Marken for a couple of years and had moved back when their children where young. They mentioned that they thought Marken was the best place for a child to grow up and that they had missed the social contacts with friends and family who they would run into on the streets whilst living somewhere else. In addition, I spoke to 7 people who had moved to Marken at one point of another. Some of them had been living on Marken for up to 40 years, whereas others had only been living there for a few years. All of them mentioned that they had heard stories of Marken being a closed community, but this had not influenced their decision to move to Marken

Interestingly, everybody who moved to Marken mentioned that they were welcomed into the community and that they thought the image of a closed and religious community was not true. It is important to mention that the people I spoke to were all interested in becoming a part of the community. However, they all said that there was a distinction between them and the people who are born there. Two interviewees had lived on Marken for around 40 years and

considered themselves Markers. They mentioned that their children had grown up on Marken and that they felt like they had done a lot for the community, for example by renovating their traditional houses and participating in several associations and clubs. Nevertheless, one said that 'the "original Markers" still tell me occasionally that I'm not "from there"' (I.4). The distinction still remains, they mentioned.

In interviews with people who were born and raised on Marken, it was stated that the most important part of belonging to the community was participating in it. One way was by participating in clubs and associations, on which I will elaborate a bit more in a following section. Other ways were by attending meetings of the town council, helping each other when needed and things as simple as greeting one another on the street. During the interviews, when talking about others, the interviewees always indicated if these people were born on Marken or not, just as a side-note. They would say something like 'he has lived here his whole life' (I.5) or 'she is married to someone from outside Marken' (I.17). This indicates that it is something they known and register, even if this was not relevant for that example in any way.

The different terms that were used to talk about the different residents of Marken was also very interesting. I was very consciously of which term I was using and tried to always speak about people who were born on Marken and people who had moved. Depending on what group the interviewees belonged to, there was a lot of "us" and "them". Moreover, for the people who were born and raised on Marken, terms that were used in Dutch include: *de Markers, de echte, originele,* or *oorspronkelijke bewoners.* These terms all signify something along the lines of the true, original inhabitants of Marken. For the people who moved to Marken, terms were used such as: *de buitenstaanders, langbroekers, nieuwkomers* or *nieuwe Markers.* These terms translate to: outsiders, long pant wearers (this was a historical term that was not really used by many anymore), new arrivals or new Markers. Some people used air quotes, where they would emphasize some of the words with their fingers. In some cases, some people who also make it very deliberate. Then they would say something like: 'you know, "true Markers"' (I.6) or 'I will call them outsiders for now' (I.11).

Finally, it is important to mention that, according to the interviewees, generally there is a difference in status and interest between the people who were born on Marken and those who moved there. The Markers who moved there were more interested in issues such as sustainability and both natural and cultural protection compared to those who grew up on Marken. Even though all the people I spoke to emphasized they meant it as a simple stereotype, I heard it several times, from people from both groups, which I thought was interesting.

5.1.2 Volunteers, associations and mutual support

During the interviews, it was pointed out often that Marken has lots of clubs and associations, especially for such a small community. There are several sport clubs, choirs, card clubs and a music association, to name a few. Next to that, most people living on Marken are a member of organisations such as the association of the school, churches, childcare, library and townhouse. During the interviews, many people told that they were a member of several different clubs and associations. All these clubs and associations are run by volunteers and often also depend on contributions and donations from within the community. Everybody stated that the memberships of clubs and associations is a very important aspect of the social life on Marken. One interviewee said that 'via the associations and clubs, I know people from all different segments and parts of the community' (I.1). This means that it is usually easy to organise or find something on Marken. Because of the associations there is a broad network or someone will know someone else who can help.

According to some of the interviewees, particularly those whose families have lived on Marken for several generations, there is a lot of mutual support on Marken. They told stories, both from the past as well as the present of how people come together in need. One woman told a story of how in the past, when a fire would occur, all the neighbours would run into the burning house and try to save as much stuff as possible. They would then keep it in their own house for safekeeping and return it when the affected family had rebuilt their house. Similar stories were told about events occurring more recently, for example about people helping in case of sickness.

Some people also said there was a downfall to this closeness in the community. They emphasized that news, both positive but especially negative, would travel very fast. As a result, personal circumstances would be widespread. Next to that, people mentioned that the residents of Marken are not very direct, but that a lot of problems are discussed behind other people's backs. According to the interviewees, this enhances the feelings of being watched and discussed by others. However, as most of the people I spoke to have lived outside of Marken for at least a few years, many said that they thought this was a characteristic of any small community and that they had experienced similar problems in other villages of the same size. Others mentioned that they had missed possibility running into acquaintances all the time and people being involved in their life and decided to move back because of it.

5.1.3 Living in Marken

Marken is a small community, and like many villages in the Netherlands, aging is an issue. All interviewees were worried that the future of Marken might be uncertain if the population would continue to shrink. Ultimately, facilities such as the supermarket, school and clubs could disappear if there is insufficient support or a large community to cater to. As a result, Marken is actively trying to appeal new people. In February of 2017, an article was published in 'Het Parool' with the header: '*Nieuwe bewoners hoeven niet zondag ter kerke te gaan'*, which means that new inhabitants do not have to attend church on Sundays (Meershoek, 2017). This header is ironic of course, as it was not compulsory to attend church before, but Marken has become aware of its image of a Christian and traditional community. Both the news article as well as the interviews indicate that particularly families with young children are wanted, as the community in Marken is aging fast.

Particularly families with children attending the local primary school were considered as appealing by the interviewees. It was mentioned that several people saw the school as kind of the foundation for integrating the children, and in accordance also their parents, in the community. One person directly said that 'if children from a young age become involved in the social life on Marken, they would feel at home here, for example because of involvement in the local clubs and associations and play dates with other children in the neighbourhood' (I.10). Contrary, if the children did not form an attachment to Marken, their parents were less likely to do so. Several examples were given of families who had moved to Marken, but had send their children to primary schools in Monnickendam. Their motivation for doing so was grounded in the fact that the primary school on Marken has a Christian foundation. As a result, these kids developed a social life outside of Marken and did not join clubs or made many friends on Marken. In most cases, these families moved away again in a few years.

There are also many people moving to Marken who do not have young families. This was a concern for most interviewees, particularly for those who were born and raised on Marken themselves. In the first place, they mentioned that there is an increasing number of people who are moving to Marken but are only living there part time. They treat Marken as a second home where they only stay over the weekend or during the holidays. Some people were upset about the fact that these houses are rented out to visitors or were afraid that this might happen more in the future. Contrary, I also spoke to people who had moved to Marken but did not live there permanently. One person said that 'we understand the preference of some inhabitants for more permanent residents, but we are trying to do our best for the community by renovating this house, visit as often as we can and become involved in clubs and associations' (I.7).

A second concern and point of much difference between the interviewees was the vision they had of residence on Marken in general. Many people who had grown up on Marken claimed that the new inhabitants had a vision of Marken as a quiet and peaceful village and more importantly, that it should remain so. According to them, the new inhabitants were against most kinds of initiatives, such as new buildings or enterprises. Yet, the Markers who had grown up there claimed that this image was incorrect and that Marken had not even been a quiet and peaceful village when they were growing up. Someone said 'there is always something happening on Marken, particularly in the areas where the tourists visit' (I.15). Moreover, the feel like Marken should continue to develop and grow, rather than try to remain frozen in a picture they feel is incorrect to begin with.

In the interviews with the new inhabitants, they did often mention that they moved to Marken to be closer to nature and away from the hustle and bustle of city life. One interviewee said: 'in about half an hour, I can be in the centre of Amsterdam, but when I drive over the dike and come back to the island it feels tranquil and I feel a calmness come over me. It's an incredible luxury to have the best of the two worlds so close together' (1.5). Next to that, when speaking about the development of Marken, many people who had moved to Marken were very critical of these developments and indeed try to stop them. They said that they felt like the people who were born on Marken did not realise how fortunate they were with the island and were too careless regarding its future.

A third concern of the interviewees is related to the availability and pricing of the houses. Many people who were born and raised on Marken argued that their children who also like to stay in Marken, but that there are not enough houses available and that the vacant houses had become too expensive for many to buy. They claimed that the housing market became ruined by outsiders who could pay these prices. Others argued that the young generation did not want to stay in Marken anyway. Their arguments were that these houses required too much maintenance, that they preferred to live in cities rather than a village and that they were studying and working further and further away. The majority of the people I spoke to who had moved to Marken had bought a traditional house and felt like they were doing an honourable job by renovating it.

The final concern is that houses on Marken are increasingly owned by social housing organisations. People who live there are placed there by their system and not necessarily because they choose to live on Marken. One of the interviewees complained that 'these people are often not interested in becoming part of the community and would rather move away again to a bigger town as soon as possible' (1.8). Furthermore, these social housing corporations and

the people living in these houses are not as concerned with the upkeep of Marken and people mentioned that they have untidy gardens or trash that changes the appearance of the community.

5.1.4 Organisation of the community

During the interviews, the topic of how the community was organised was often discussed. First of all, the interviewees had different opinions about Marken being part of the Municipality of Waterland. On this issue, it is difficult to make a more general statement about people who were either born or had moved to Marken, because it is more complicated than that. Related to the organisation of the community, it turned out that their opinions were based on personal interactions with the municipality and how they were experienced.

One interviewee had only recently moved to Marken and compared his interactions with the municipality of Waterland with those he had had previously with the municipality of Amsterdam. He told me the ties were very short on Marken, that the service in the town house in Monnickendam was great and that he thought the municipality was well aware of the issues occurring on Marken. This was backed up by interviewees who were born and raised on Marken. They presented arguments that Monnickendam is close enough to visit when necessary and that increasingly things could be sorted out online. Marken as a separate municipality would only be very expensive and was not necessary. Furthermore, they argued that the municipality was well aware of the issues on Marken, but that it was difficult to respond to them adequately. This, however, would have been the case in other scenario's too, it was mentioned, as they are complicated to solve.

Another person, who had lived on Marken for many years argued differently. He said that 'the municipality has no idea what is happening on Marken' (I.3). Marken, he argued, was an important source of income for the municipality because of tourist taxes and parking tickets. However, all that income was used in other parts of the municipality, but it never came back to Marken. Other interviewees acknowledged this as well, claiming that the municipality forgot about Marken and only invested money when the King and Queen would come for a visit. Furthermore, 'we have no idea what they do with all that money earned through the tourism tax and parking fees' said another person (1.12). The transparency of the municipality was another issue for several other people as well.

The interviewees were all positive about the *Eilandraad*, claiming that it was important that there is a local organisation who would represent the interests of the community. It was mentioned that the *Eilandraad* should try to remain objective, which is sometimes difficult. Some interviewees argued that they would like for the *Eilandraad* to take more interest in their

particular case. However, they also understood that it is crucial for the *Eilandraad* to try and stay objective and that they cannot get involved in everything. Again, it was mentioned how important it was that there were so many people willing to volunteer and that without volunteers the *Eilandraad* could not exist.

5.2 The history of Marken

In the following section, I will look at different ways people related to the history of Marken and argued how they experienced feelings of belonging to Marken because of its history. In this section, I will focus on the different historical perspectives on Marken, the commemoration of the *Watersnoodramp* of 1916, the traditional costume and the protected heritage. There might be a slight repetition because the history of Marken has already been discussed in the previous chapter. However, in the fourth chapter I focused on the historical account, whereas in this section I will focus on the meaning the interviewees gave to the history of Marken and how it affected their feelings of belonging.

5.2.1 Different perspectives on the history of Marken

An interesting result of the interviews was that some of the interviewees had a very different understanding of the history of Marken compared to others. To some extent, this can be dedicated to the fact that some interviewees had not lived on Marken very long and might therefore not be fully informed about the history and the development of the island. Another explanation can be that not everybody is interested or aware of the history of the location that they are living in.

Throughout the interviews, though, some interviewees told me stories about the history of Marken that could not be supported by the historical evidence that I found or that were greatly exaggerated. Someone, for example, told me that Marken had been an important harbour during the Golden Age of the Netherlands and that many ships of the VOC and WIC (tr: the Dutch East and West India Trading Company). He claimed that because of this aspect, the people of Marken were closely associated to Amsterdam. Marken had indeed played a role as a *scheepskanaal* (tr: shipping channel) as the large boats could not reach Amsterdam themselves (Schutte & Weitkamp, 1998). However, the story of the interviewee had been exaggerated.

Another historical point that people had different opinions on was the openness of the community. According to some interviewees, throughout the history of Marken, there have always been good connections with communities such as Monnickendam, Volendam and

Amsterdam. This meant that people often visited other fishing communities for business and that others also came to Marken. Other interviewees emphasized more the isolation on Marken, claiming that there was very little interaction with others.

5.2.2 Collective remembering of the *Watersnoodramp*

2016 was an important year for historical awareness on Marken, as it is the 100th anniversary of the *Watersnoodramp*. This was a big flood in January 1916, which destroyed many houses on Marken and killed 16 people. To commemorate this disaster, the annual exhibition of the Marker Museum in 2016 focused on the *Watersnoodramp*. In addition, a book called *'Leven met het water'* (tr: 'Life with water'), was published in 2015 by historian Jan Schild. This book focuses on this particular flood, but also about previous floods and the life with water in general. Moreover, a monument was revealed to remember the flood as well as information signs throughout Marken with information about the flood and the water levels at different places.

During the interviews some people, who had had family living on Marken during that time, talked about how they had never heard many stories about it from their family members. 'I don't think I ever spoke of that disaster with my grandparents or others who had lived in that time' said one interviewee (I.1). They argued that the residents of Marken did not spend a lot of time commemorating tragic events. Rather, they very quickly moved on to the order of the day. As a result, the interviewees argued that they thought it had been very important that last year there had been so much attention for the remembrance of the *Watersnoodramp*. It had made them more aware of what their families had gone through.

Interviewees who had moved to Marken also emphasized that they thought it was very important that the Marker community should remember these events and do this collectively. They mentioned that they often did not know about the hardship of living on Marken before the construction of the *Afsluitdijk* in 1932. 'I always had a rather romantic notion of life in these fishing villages before I moved here and started reading about it', said one person (1.17). Because of the year long commemoration in 2016, the Marker Museum and the books published about the topic, they had been able to learn more about what it meant to live on Marken and how the history of the island has influenced the present situation.

5.2.3 The Marker costumes

Another important historical character of Marken is its traditional costume. Nowadays it has disappeared from the daily lives of the residents of Marken. The traditional costume was a

particularly important topic for many female interviewees, as they felt very personally connected to it.

Historically, the women were already closer connected to the traditional clothing than the men. They made the clothing of course and wore it in their daily lives. When the Marker men worked in the fishing industry, they often still wore the local costume. When the fishing industry disappeared and the Marker men found work on the mainland, they often stopped wearing the costume. The same can be said for women, thought this was a little later. One female interviewees told me that 'I used to wear the wear the Marker costume when I was a child, but I would switch to normal clothing before leaving the island (I.14). They argued that the "normal clothing" is more comfortable. Next to that, some of them felt out of place in Amsterdam in their Marker costume and recalled situations where they were bullied or called names because of it. As a result, they gradually started wearing it less and less often.

Many older women though continued to wear the Marker costume and until the 1990's it was still common to see a couple of women wearing the traditional costume on Marken. However, when the local nursing home was abolished on Marken and many elderly had to go to the nursing home in Monnickendam, that really signified the end of the daily wear of the traditional costume. Whereas women in the nursing home on Marken were often helped by friends or family members to get dressed in their traditional clothing in the morning, this was no longer possible in Monnickendam.

Nowadays, the traditional costume is worn in a couple of situations. First of all, some people wear it on Sundays or other religious celebrations, such as Easter and Christmas. The Marker costume is very elaborate and is different for each celebration. Secondly, the costume is sometimes worn with other celebrations, such as weddings, Kingsday and commemorations, such as those of the *Watersnoodramp*. Thirdly, the Marker costume is the official attire of the music association. Finally, there are some local guides who wear the traditional costume when guiding or volunteers who wear it when they work in the museum. There is also staff at some enterprises who wear the Marker costume. However, the interviewees mockingly told me that they often do not wear it correctly. One interviewee even called it 'a disgrace' (I.9).

Many families on Marken still have a lot of the traditional clothing and do not know what to do with it. Sometimes it is given to the Marker Museum as a donation or for use during a specific exhibition. However, the Marker Museum does not have the facilities to store all the clothing. As a result, the Marker Museum is trying to create more interest in the clothing, so that people want to store and use it themselves. Every couple of years, they try to organise an *IJsbruiloft* (tr: ice wedding). These are a kind of celebrations were people wear the traditional

costumes and commemorate their heritage and culture. In this way, the younger generations learn about the costumes and traditions and the older generation can enjoy wearing them from time to time.

It is interesting to point out that also people who had moved to Marken were interested in the local costumes and owned some pieces of clothing. One person argued 'it is nice, on a day like Kingsday, to wear the costume like everyone else' (I.3). You do not have to be born on Marken to be able to wear the costumes. Several people who were born on Marken were appreciative of this. They argued that it was important that the new residents showed interest in the costume as that would help preserve it for future generations.

5.2.4 Protected heritage

All the interviewees mentioned that they thought it was very important that Marken had become a protected heritage site. As a result, people are not allowed to make any changes to the exterior of their houses and when they are renovating, they have to return everything to the original conditions. They argued that they were proud of the traditional architecture and wanted to maintain it for future generations. Several interviewees who moved to Marken did so because they fell in love with the wooden houses and wanted to help preserve them.

However, several interviewees also complained that it is very difficult to deal with the strict rules that come with the protected heritage sites. One interviewee explained, 'my house used to contain two separate smaller houses and consequently had two front doors next to one another. When we wanted to replace the wooden panels and place double glazed windows, we would only receive a permit if we would restore the front of her house to original conditions, including two front doors, which would not make any sense' (I.8). She argued that these measures had gone out of control and that the preservation of heritage should not be more important than the liveability of the residents.

Other interviewees acknowledged this. I have heard multiple stories of how expensive it is to live in these wooden houses and make sure they remain in good conditions. All work on these buildings needs to be done manually, which costs a lot of time and money. Several interviewees argued that they should receive some form of compensation or be able to apply to funding for renovating their houses.

5.2.5 Nostalgia

Finally, there is the notion of nostalgia, which I was very curious about. However, this is a delicate subject in oral history studies as it can quickly become steering. Interestingly, though,

my interviewees were not very nostalgic, at least not about the history of Marken. Several mentioned that they were very happy to have grown up or lived on Marken for many years. However, they argued that there were equally pleased Marken continued to develop. One person said 'I dislike this idea that the time has stood still here, as if we still live like we used to a hundred years ago. I heard the stories from my grandparents and I'm very pleased with my electricity' (I.10). This was acknowledged by others as well.

When I would then ask if they missed particular aspects, they all mentioned that the important things had still remained the same. Another person said 'we moved back here when the children were little and they had the same childhood as I had had, always playing around everywhere' (I.13). The interviewees emphasized that in the social aspects, for example with the memberships of clubs and associations, not much had changed.

5.3 The place of Marken

The final aspect to sense of belonging, according to Bennett, is the notion of place. In the following section, I will argue how place was addressed by the interviewees during the interviews.

5.3.1 Marken and its surrounding

First of all, the interviewees all acknowledged that they were happy to live on Marken. Only one interviewee mentioned that he was not sure if he wanted to continue to live on Marken. For all interviewees, the surrounding of Marken was an important aspect of their choice for living on Marken. Most interviewees travelled from Marken on a daily basis, either for work, education and leisure. The only exception were those who were retired. However, they argued that they did not mind the transport when they had been working. 'We are used to it from a young age, so we don't mind it, we don't know any better' (I.16). The interviewees who are born and raised there are used to do this from a young age. For the interviewees who moved there, the transport time was not an issue as they claim you have similar transport times almost anywhere else as well.

It was interesting to notice that the residents of Marken were constantly making comparisons to other towns in the area. The interviewees constantly mentioned other developments in the area, particularly in the Municipality of Waterland. Most in the interviewees were very well aware of the developments in the municipality.

Interestingly, during the interviews, they also pointed out that Marken was often compared, by others, to villages such as Staphorst and Urk. These towns are known as close and very conservative communities. Other comparisons, again made by others, were to Giethoorn and Volendam, both small villages that are known for their appeal to tourists. The interviewees were upset that Marken was compared to these places and argued that the comparisons were not correct. They argued that Marken was very unique and could not be compared to anywhere else.

At the same time, the interviewees often mentioned that Marken was no different than any other small community in the Netherlands. Developments that had happened in other places had happened on Marken around the same time, such as the construction of sewages, electricity and internet. Also other developments, such as aging, the collapse of the church as the focal point in the community and the integration of small municipalities into larger ones had happened on Marken just the same as it had in the rest of Noord-Holland and elsewhere, according to the interviewees. As a result, the residents of Marken wants to be seen as unique, but at the same time want to be taken seriously. The interviewees argued that the unique aspects of Marken often make it seem as if it had not developed, which is not the case.

5.3.2 Differences between neighbourhoods

Another important issue related to place is the differences between neighbourhoods. In Appendix A. a clear picture with all the different neighbourhoods is added. According to the interviewees, it does not matter in which neighbourhood you live. Everybody on the island is connected by means of the clubs and associations. One person argued that 'you are not considered "more" or "less" of a Marker if you live in the old wooden houses or if you live in the more recently build concrete houses' (I.12). The interviewees argued that your decision for a house is based on your personal preferences. As a result, I have spoken to both people who were born on Marken as well as people who moved to the *Nieuwbouw* (tr: new buildings). I have also spoken to different people living in the wooden houses.

What interested me was that every neighbourhood has its own issues. Furthermore, the interviewees argued that the people living in other neighbourhoods are not aware of what they are dealing with or do not consider it such an issue. 'Those living in the *Haven,* don't realise that we also have issues here, just different ones from theirs. However, that does not make them any less relevant for us' (1.10). An important issue is the nuisance from tourists, see further chapter 7. However, issues such as parking, transport possibilities and safety have different consequences in each area.

For example, the people living in the old town centre, called the *Buurten* (tr: neighbourhoods) and the *Haven* (tr: harbour) complain that they can often not reach their houses with their cars. Next to that, they cannot park their cars close to their houses, as the streets are often too small. During the interviews, they would mention that, parking-wise, they would prefer to live in the *Nieuwbouw*. However, the interviewees living in the *Nieuwbouw*, complained that their parking places are often filled by visitors who do not want to pay the parking fees at the parking place. They mentioned that those living in the *Buurten* think they are whining and do not understand this problem, but that for them it can be very annoying.

5.3.3 Liveability in a historical destination

I have already mentioned in the previous section about history that Marken is a protected heritage site and that, as a result, people are not allowed to change the facades of their houses. However, in this paragraph, I would like to focus on how the place in a wider sense is affected by the history.

Because of the traditional architecture, especially on the *werven*, there is not a lot of space between the houses. Houses are often build on top or attached to others, as those *werven*, were the only save places to live before the construction of the *Afsluitdijk*. As a result, there is not a lot of living space and people often share their gardens or courtyards with those living around them. There are signs everywhere on Marken that tell you to keep out or that something is private property. These are only for the visitors however. The interviewees mentioned that if you are living on Marken, you can walk anywhere. One woman argued 'all my neighbours ignored these signs and that is fine, I don't mind them in my garden, but the tourists have to stay out' (I.9).

In addition, entrances to houses are often difficult to be found, for they can be hidden in dead-end alleys or in little nooks. This again is related to the construction process of building the houses on the dry patches of land. In some cases, interviewees send me very detailed explanations of how to get to their house, told me to ring them if I couldn't find it or were already waiting for me in a more visible spot.

Finally, there are many shortcuts in Marken. They go past courtyards and through very tiny alleys and streets. These are official roads, but because they look so small, visitors often assume that they are a dead end. Interviewees often asked me how I had come to their house and would then point me another way to go back, one which was often shorter or less crowded. These interviewees mentioned that these shortcuts are mostly unknown to tourists and that they

want to keep it that way. They feel comfortable sharing their space with other Markers, but try to create borders for the visitors.

5.4 Changing sense of belonging on Marken

In short, this chapter has shown how the residents of Marken give meaning to the notion of belonging. First of all, connection to other people is important. On Marken, the many clubs and associations are pointed out as the main connector between the residents. In addition, many people are volunteers, either for the clubs and associations or for the *Eilandraad*, the Marker Museum, the VVV-point, the church and so forth. Even though there are mixed feelings about Marken being a part of the Municipality of Waterland, many people try to influence the organisation of the community via the volunteer work.

It is important to note, however, that there are two important subgroups amongst the residents of Marken. The first group argues that Marken has always developed and adapted to new circumstances, for example the construction of the *Afsluitdijk* or the *Verbindingsdijk*. This point of view, although not exclusively, was often expressed throughout the interviews by people who were born and raised on Marken and had strong historical family ties to the place. In contrast, the second group argues that Marken is and should aim to remain a quiet and peaceful village. This view was often expressed by interviewees who moved to Marken deliberately. They choose Marken for the village atmosphere, the surrounding nature and the perceived distance to the rest of the Netherlands because of the dike.

Essentially, each subgroup has a different sense of belonging, as they both have different understandings of what it means to be resident of Marken. Nevertheless, they should be considered as *sub*groups, because there are many aspects of belonging that do overlap. Examples of this can be the appreciation and preservation of local culture, such as the traditional costumes and architecture. Next to that, the interviewees were proud to point out differences from other neighbouring places, such as Volendam and Monnickendam. In the following chapter, I will now look at the influence that tourism on the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken.

Chapter 6: Sense of belonging and tourism

In this chapter, I will focus on the attitudes of the inhabitants of Marken towards tourism and its development. First, I will argue how these attitudes have been in the past, based on the interviewees I have spoken too. Then, I will elaborate on the current attitudes towards tourism and its development. Furthermore, the expectations and concerns of the residents about the future development of tourism will be discussed. Finally, I will argue in what way the development of tourism has influenced the sense of belonging of the residents.

6.1 Tourism in the past

With the interviewees who were born and raised on Marken, I spoke a lot about their memories of tourism in the past. They all acknowledged that tourism has always been present on Marken during their lives and that they have strong memories of it from their childhood. All of them did argue that they thought that in their youth, the amount of tourists was much less compared to the situation today. They mentioned that the tourists would only visit in the high season, mostly during the weekends and holidays and always during the day. It was argued that during the rest of the year and in the evenings there were hardly any visitors. One person said, 'after the tourists left, the island really belonged to us again. This indicates that the island was shared with the tourists, but the residents felt more at home when there were no visitors. Then, there were no people taking pictures, peaking into the houses or big crowds on the *Haven*. As a result, Marken felt more quiet and the people just lived their lives like they would normally, without the interference from visitors.

Many interviewees recounted positive or funny encounters with tourists from their childhood. One interviewee told about the time that a tourist had fallen into the small canals and had had a shower at her grandparents' house to clean up. Another one mentioned that they would sometimes find tourists on the toilet downstairs. Other interviewees told stories about how they would pose for pictures when they wore the traditional Marker costume or that they remembered having short and friendly interactions with tourists. Finally, one interviewee mentioned that the children used to play a sort of game with the tourists. The aim was to cycle as fast as possible over the harbour and in the *Kerkbuurt* and try not to hit tourists or see them jumping aside when ringing their bells.

However, there were also some negative experiences. One interviewee told that she would keep her children close to the house or in their own garden during the summer days. She felt that it was not safe to keep them out her sight with so many strangers. Another interviewee

mentioned that her son was extremely blond as a child. He always complained about tourists touching his hair or wanting to take pictures with him. The interviewee told me that her child had sometimes asked her to dye his hair dark and that he would never leave the house without a cap in the summer. In general, most of these stories were positive. Tourism was just part of the daily lives of the residents of Marken.

These stories were acknowledged by some interviewees who had lived on Marken for many years. They argued that when they first moved to Marken, the scale of tourism was much smaller than it is today. They mentioned that it had not been a point of consideration when they had moved, because it was so small and occasional. Moreover, one interviewee said that he had especially liked it about Marken, because the tourism made it more lively than other villages of similar sizes.

6.2 Tourism in the present

According to the interviewees, there are two kinds of visitors on Marken. First of all, there are the individual tourists, the interviewees called them *dagjesmensen* (tr: day visitors). They organise their visit themselves, come by public transport and by cars, bikes, hiking or boats. Usually, these tourists take their time and spend a couple of hours on Marken. Often, they visit the Marker Museum, the VVV-point, rent a bike or hike to the lighthouse. They also make use of the restaurants or cafes and browse in the different souvenir and small art shops. 'Marken is extremely suited for this type of tourism' was the response of one interviewee (I.10). This view was shared by the others I spoke to. In general, these visitors are interested in the history and culture, are respectful of the privacy and space of the residents and provide a form of income for Marken.

However, next to these individual tourists, there are many tourists coming to Marken with organised tour groups. Some of them have an organised package and Marken is just one stop amongst many other destinations. Furthermore, there are tourists who come to Marken by booking a daytrip in Amsterdam. The residents of Marken argue that these groups continue to grow bigger and bigger. They often spend very little time on Marken and have a fixed route and itinerary. According to many interviewees, some of these tour groups only spend half an hour on Marken before traveling to the next destination.

The interviewees argued that, in the last ten years, the tourism has grown particularly fast on Marken. When I asked them to elaborate on this, they all emphasized that this statement was related to the big tour groups. These groups have gotten bigger and bigger and there seems

to be less control possible. The individual tourists were no problem One person stated: 'these groups, it has really gotten out of control and I don't know how this can continue' (I.3). In the following section, I will elaborate on different aspects of tourism in the present and how the residents experience this.

6.2.1 Location of tourism

It is important to emphasize that tourism is very centralised on Marken. This means there are areas that a great deal of tourists visits and there are areas that attract hardly any tourists. The most visited site is the *Haven* and the route from the *Haven* to the parking place, which is around 500 meters long and only takes a few minutes. Visitors can also walk to the church, the *Kerkbuurt* and the Marker Museum. From the harbour or the parking place, this is about 700m and takes 10 minutes or so. Finally, the tourists can walk or cycle to the lighthouse or follow the dike and walk around the entire island. The first is approximately 2,5 km and is around 30 minutes one way, the latter is 9 km and takes a couple of hours (See Appendix A for a map of Marken).

The vast majority of the visitors, especially those coming with a group, only walk from the *Haven* to the parking place. Some interviewees lived along this route and they said there could be several groups with up to hundred tourists walking by during the day. The harbour is crowded as well. However, in the *buurten,* the neighbourhoods around the harbour, it can be very quiet and not many tourists walk around there. 'It looks like a maze around here, maybe that's why tourists do not come here as often' said one person about the big difference between the *buurten* and the harbour (I.3).

The route from the harbour to the church and the Marker Museum and little further down the road can again be crowded. However, when venturing further away from these sites, the chances of encountering tourists becomes slimmer and slimmer. In the *Nieuwbouw,* the modern build neighbourhood furthest away from the harbour, they hardly see any tourists. One person who lived there said 'we see the walking over the dike to the firehouse sometimes, but not here in the neighbourhood. This is not interesting obviously' (I.1).

As mentioned before, in the section about belonging and place (Section 5.3), I already argued that the interviewees argued their fellow Markers form different neighbourhoods did not understand the circumstances they are dealing with. Regarding tourism, everybody is aware of the crowds that walk around the harbour and the disturbance this creates. Nevertheless, some residents of the busier areas said the other inhabitants claim they cannot complain about tourism too much, as they choose themselves to live there. This argument was made about living on the

harbour and along the busier routes and only to people who moved to Marken deliberately. In general, the people who live in the busier tourism areas are more negative of tourism and more critical of its development. This can be explained by the fact that they are confronted with it much more than the residents who live further away.

6.2.2 Implications for the residents

Many residents of Marken have a negative connotation with the visitors, particularly the big tour groups that do not stay long. They argue that their visit to Marken is too short and that, because of the fixed itinerary, the Marker entrepreneurs do not benefit from these visitors. In addition, the groups are often too large for the small streets on Marken and the people do not take into account that Marken is inhabited. The visitors walk in the middle of the street and do not give way when the residents ride around on their bikes or cars. One man remarked: 'I used to be able to reach the main road from my house in a few minutes with my car. Now I always reserve extra time. When it is busy, it can take much longer because the road is blocked with tourists' (I.3). Another person said: 'I know that my mother, and many other older people, do not feel safe to ride a bicycle anymore. There are so many tourists everywhere and if there is a collision, we always get the blame' (I.10). Thus, it is also a safety concern for some interviewees. Others argued that, in case of an emergency, it is not guaranteed that the police, ambulance or firemen can reach the destination in time with so many people around.

Furthermore, according to the interviewees, many visitors in Marken do not seem to realise that Marken is actually inhabited. They argued that Marken was considered to be an amusement park or an *openluchtmuseum* (tr: open air museum). The visitors peek into the houses, knock on the wood to check if its real and sit on the garden furniture to take their pictures. In addition, several people mentioned that questions such as: 'when does Marken close?' or 'where do you live in the winter?' are very common. One woman said: 'I feel like an extra in my own garden' when I asked her how this made her feel (I.9). In Dutch, she used the word *figurant,* which I could not translate directly to English. The term refers to people who are living props on movie sets, they are a some of extra decoration. Tourists also asked her to pose or show how she hangs her washing, so they can they pictures or videos of her.

As a result, several interviewees talked about small measures they are taking in their daily lives to make living with tourism more bearable. One person said: 'I never sit in my own garden, as I cannot just read a book or relax. There are always tourists passing by who want to ask questions' (I.11). This was acknowledged by other interviewees, who would keep the windows or doors closed during summer to keep out the noise. Other people mentioned that the

amount of tall hedges had increased in recent years, so that the residents had a more private garden. Moreover, a great deal of signs and gates had been erected by residents that warned tourists of private properties, dead-end streets or dogs, according to the interviewees. These are all designed to create some distance and prevent tourists from walking into their houses and gardens.

Finally, several interviewees spoke about the tourism in relation to the traditional Marker costume. They argued that many visitors expect the local population to still walk around in the traditional costume and are disappointed when they find out that this is not the case. As I mentioned in section 5.2.3, the residents of Marken like to wear the costume, but from themselves, as an affirmation of their identity, not for the appeal of tourists. One woman even said: 'when we wear the costumes, for example for a celebration, I always hope there will be no tourists around. It is a personal thing, we do it for ourselves and I don't want to pose for pictures then' (I.8).

6.2.3 Organisation of tourism

Some interviewees argued that the only real advantage of tourism for the residents is the facilities that can remain open. The local supermarket, for example, might have been closed or would have been smaller if there were no visitors, according to several interviewees. The same goes for the public transport, that now connects Marken to Amsterdam twice an hour. There are also several restaurants, cafes and small shops for presents and souvenirs. 'This makes Marken more lively, there is always somewhere to go' (I.17). Several interviewees also worked in the tourism industry as volunteers, for example in the Marker Museum or the VVV-point. Furthermore, some women worked or had worked as a guide for a local tour agency. This was evaluated as very positive, as they were able to interact with the tourists, tell them local stories and show of their heritage and culture.

However, several interviewees complained that the majority of the entrepreneurs on Marken are not actually *from* Marken, but come from Volendam or Amsterdam. 'Out of all the restaurants and cafes along the harbour, only one is owned by a Marker' (I.15). Furthermore, there is only one tour agency with local guides. As a result, the Marker population does not really benefit financially from the tourism, because most of the profit leaks away. Next to that, some of the business are part of a chain and belong to big tour agencies. Several interviewees expressed that they wished for more clarity in the organisation and tourism by the businesses involved in tourism on Marken. They also claimed that the big tour agencies do not always give

the tourist the correct information or care about the consequences of the crowds for the local population.

Different explanations were given when I asked why there were so few Marker entrepreneurs, especially in the tourism industry. Most interviewees argued that entrepreneurship has never been very common on Marken. Even as far back as the time of the fishing industry, no large companies were created. The businesses that are created, in all industries, are small and family-owned. The interviewees assigned this to protestant ethics of not trying to achieve too much, but rather live a simple life. In addition, the interviewees argued that Markers do (and did) not like to take risks. Finally, several interviewees pointed out that, already the *kijkhuisjes* and *herenjagen* in the past, had negative connotations. 'Maybe Markers still think it is not very appropriate to work in tourism. I think that still plays a part. They think you should not show off too much' (I.1).

To elaborate on that, many interviewees were very negative of the tourism development in the nearby town of Volendam, another popular tourism destination in the region. Many argued that there is nothing authentic left in Volendam, as the vast majority of the architecture has been demolished to make way for more modern buildings. The Volendammers, according to some interviewees, care too much about showing off and is therefore an example of 'tourism gone wrong' for many. The interviewees were relieved that Marken had kept its authentic architecture and that the scale of tourism on Marken was not quiet as large as that in Volendam. The same was said about Amsterdam. There is hardly any overnight tourism on Marken and that is a good thing, according to the interviewees. One person said 'can you imagine the noise if all those suitcases if they have to be dragged over the roads here, that would be horrible' (I.9).

6.2.4 The role of the Municipality of Waterland

Finally, many interviewees were critical of the role of the Municipality of Waterland in the organisation of tourism on the island. There were several reasons mentioned. First of all, the interviewees claimed that the Municipality made a lot of money from tourism, for example through the previous tourism tax and now the parking fees. This money, the interviewees claim, is not (or not enough) invested into Marken, but is used in other areas of the municipality. One person said 'the tourists come to Marken for the architecture, but we do not receive any funding or support from the Municipality to pay for the maintenance or renovations' (I.3).

Secondly, many interviews remarked that the Municipality had made a mess of the construction of the parking place. They had focussed too much on making it useful for the tourists but not enough on the practicality of the residents. There were also not enough facilities,

such as toilets. Thirdly, some residents expressed safety concerns, as already mentioned above. They felt that the Municipality should take more responsibility for this topic. Fourthly, several interviewees argued that they would like more transparency from the Municipality regarding the development of and the incomes generated through tourism on Marken.

As a result, some interviewees held the Municipality responsible, at least partly, for the growing imbalance between tourism and residence on Marken. A good example for this, which was mentioned by many interviewees, was the plans around the construction of a big wharf in the harbour of Marken. The Municipality had approved those plans and argued, according to the interviewees, that it would result in more income and job opportunities on Marken. All but one interviewee disagreed with this view, claiming that it would mostly result in more disturbance and crowds. One person argued 'those cruise tourists have everything on board, all pre-paid for, they will not spend their money here' (I.4). Another said that 'we cannot change a single thing on the exterior of our houses as Marken is a protected heritage site. However, one entrepreneur wants a big ugly wharf right in the middle of the island and that is approved because of the money it could bring' (I.8). In 2014, the residents of Marken managed to stop the development of the wharf.

6.3 Future of tourism

The plans for the construction of a big wharf on Marken are cancelled for now. But that does not mean there won't be other tourism initiatives in the future that could result in more growth and disturbance of tourism. Furthermore, visitor numbers in the Netherlands in general and the region around Amsterdam in particular are expected to continue to grow in the upcoming years (Amsterdam City Index, 2017).

When I asked the interviewees about their expectations for the future, many were concerned as they assume tourism will continue to grow on Marken. One person even stated that 'I have lived here pleasantly for many years, but we have started thinking about moving away because of these crowds' (I.3). All other interviewees were happy to remain on Marken, though several knew people who had moved away because of tourism. They did argue that there should be a better balance between tourism and residents on Marken. Otherwise, the liveability of the island would suffer because of the crowds. The interviewees felt like that would result in more people moving away or not wanting to move to Marken in the first place.

Most interviewees had some ideas for how more balance between tourists and residents could be achieved, though they indicated that this would be difficult to achieve in reality.

Suggestions include more local tour guides, more facilities and more local initiatives and activities for tourist to do, particularly outside of the already busier areas. Several interviewees mentioned that the *Eilandraad* is working hard to communicate and make agreements with the tour operators. The interviewees thought this was a good thing and very important. Lastly, some interviewees suggested that a tourism controller or host might be a good idea, though others completely disagreed with that. In short, with many different ideas and preferences, it will be difficult to find ways to balance tourism that all residents agree on.

6.4 Changes in belonging related to tourism

In section 5.4, I mentioned the changes I have noticed in the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken. In this section, I will focus specifically on the influence on tourism regarding the changing sense of belonging. As argued in section 5.4, there are different and contrasting notions of what it means to belong to Marken, mostly related to having been raised there and the future visions of the place.

Tourism plays an important role in this discussion. On the one hand, many Markers, particularly those who were born and raised on the island, were fearful of the development of overnight accommodation on the island. They argued that some people had moved to Marken, but treat it as a second home. The Markers are afraid these houses will be rented out as Airbnb's or holiday homes. According to one person, 'I'd rather have a family with kids move here than those who see Marken as their weekend and holiday home. Before you know it, they start the Airbnb trend that you have in Amsterdam' (I.9). This view was shared by several other interviewees.

A couple of interviewees argued that people who had lived on Marken their whole lives were less likely to rent their homes to visitors. One person argued that 'most people did not want to turn their house into a *kijkhuisje* (tr: show house) in the past. They are not likely to now have people stay overnight either' (I.14). However, it was mentioned by several interviewees that people who moved to Marken, particularly from Amsterdam, are much more acceptant of Airbnb's and are therefore more likely to do it themselves.

On the other hand, however, it was argued by interviewees who had moved to Marken that they are much more critical of the development of the island compared to the residents who grew up there. Several interviewees had become involved in workgroups to stop certain developments. One of them said 'the "traditional" Markers can be a little passive and feel like they do not have a say in the development of the island. But people who moved here are more motivated to fight for it' (I.4). This was acknowledged by other interviewees as well. Another

said 'maybe we feel more protective of Marken, because we have experienced how it can be elsewhere if you do nothing' (I.17). This was related to both tourism development as well as housing projects and other issues. It will be interesting to see how tourism will continue to develop on Marken in the years to come and how the residents of Marken will react to this development.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This final chapter will contain the conclusion of my findings. First, I will repeat the aim of this research and focus on the research question. This will be followed by a brief overview of my theoretical framework, methodology and conclusions from my results. In the following chapter, I will discuss my findings, focusing on both theoretical as well as empirical comparisons.

7.1 Summary of the research

The aim of this research has been to provide a historical overview into how the attitudes towards tourism of the residents' of Marken have changed over time and how this has effected their sense of belonging towards their community. The central research question was: how has the sense of belonging of the inhabitants of Marken changed in relation to the development of tourism?

In the theoretical framework chapter, I have argued that there are two relevant theoretical notions, namely resident attitudes to tourism development and sense of belonging. Tourism attitudes are mainly studied with a quantitative research design, but I have argued for an interpretive approach. In addition, it is important to make a distinction between internal and external factors that could influence the attitudes of residents to tourism. Furthermore, I have limited this research to the ways in which the attitudes to tourism influence the sense of belonging of the residents.

Sense of belonging, according to Bennett (2014) is made out of three interrelated aspects: history, people and place. The *history* aspect is related to materiality, such as historic objects and collective memory. Processes of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the amount of influence residents have in the organisation of the community are important for the *people* aspect of belonging. Finally, I have used Lefebvre's notion of the production of space to understand Bennett's notion of *place.* Places are produced and reproduced and are made of three interrelated levels, namely; spatial practices, representation of space and lived space.

According to the Pinkster and Boterman (2016), sense of belonging changes when the space residents live changes. Tourism can be one of those factors for change as tourists and residents are often required to share space, claim McKercher, Wang and Park (2015).

In this research, I have focused on Marken, a small peninsula in the province of North Holland. In 2015, 400.000 tourists visited Marken, according to the Municipality of Waterland (Demmers-van Es & van Oostrom, 2015). However, these numbers are probably much higher as not all types of transport to Marken are accounted for. In this research, I have carried out a

historical document analysis focusing on the development of tourism on Marken and semi-structured interviews, inspired by the oral history method, with residents of Marken.

7.2 Conclusion

In order to provide a short conclusion, I will answer my four sub questions in the following section. The first sub question was: how has tourism developed on Marken? As I have argued in the fourth chapter, tourists have been visiting Marken since the 1870 approximately, so it is very much integrated in the Marker community. Over the years, the numbers of visitors have continued to rise and several initiatives have been experimented in order to create a balance between tourists and residents. Examples of these are the tourist taxes, the Sunday rest and restrictions for residents to beg for money or sell souvenirs. From the early years of tourism on Marken, people have expressed concern, arguing that Marken would lose its authentic character. However, tourism has continued to grow, especially after the construction of the *Verbindingsdijk* in 1957, which turned Marken in a peninsula.

The second sub question focused on the change of the attitudes of Marken towards the development on Marken. According to the interviewees, particularly those who have always lived on Marken, the residents have always accepted tourism on the Marken. In that sense, their attitudes have not changed over the years. The residents are more cautious now though, as they claim the tourism has grown particularly vast in the last ten years and they feel like they have lost control over tourism. The residents emphasized that they felt like the Municipality of Waterland should help more to create a balance between residents and tourists.

The third sub question focussed on what it means to belong to Marken. In general, the interviewees argued that participation in clubs and associations as well as volunteer work was the most important aspect of belonging to Marken. However, the interviewees still made a distinction between residents who were born on Marken and those who had moved there. Interviewees who had lived on Marken for over 40 years were still considered sometimes considered "outsiders" by the "traditional" population. The reason for this is that there are different visions regarding the future of Marken. The first vision sees Marken as a place that is always transitioning and developing. This view is often expressed by those who have grown up on Marken. The opposing view, which is often expressed by those who have moved to Marken, sees Marken as a place that is calm and quiet and should remain so. This results in different ideas on what the future will hold.

The final sub question focused on the change of the sense of belonging of the residents of Marken. It is important to start with the statement that sense of belonging is always changing as it is produced and reproduced by people. In Marken, after the *Verbindingsdijk* increasingly people from elsewhere have started to settle there. This has resulted in two subgroups within the population, those who were born on Marken and have long family ties and those who have moved there. As argued in the previous paragraph, there are two different visions on what Marken is and what is should become and that results in two different notions of belonging on Marken. As a result, the aspect of wanting to belong by participating in the social organisation of the community, such as through the clubs, associations and volunteer work becomes increasingly important.

Chapter 8. Discussion

In the following section, I will provide a discussion of my findings. First, I will do so from a theoretical point of view. I will compare my findings with other theoretical studies, who have focussed on the issues of changing tourism attitudes and sense of belonging. Secondly, I will compare my findings with other empirical studies that have focussed on Marken. I will analyse if my conclusions are in agreement or contradiction with these studies. Thirdly, the limitations of this research will be discussed. Finally, I will give some suggestions for future research.

8.1 Theoretical comparisons

It is important to look at other studies with a similar theoretical perspective. As I already explained in the theoretical chapter, there are lots of studies focusing on resident attitudes with a quantitative research design. The findings of these studies are not directly comparable with the findings my study. However, it is still interesting to look at their overall conclusions.

8.1.1 Resident attitudes

As explained in my theoretical framework, research regarding resident attitudes in tourism studies are often carried out using a quantitative research design. As I have argued for a qualitative interpretation of resident attitudes, it is difficult to compare my findings with the overall conclusions of resident studies.

First of all, in resident studies, there is a difference between internal and external factors that can influence the perception of the resident towards the development of tourism. The internal factors include, amongst others; length of residence, economic dependence of tourism, distance between residency and tourism activities, amount of involvement in decision making, level of knowledge about tourism, amount and quality of interaction and demographic characteristics. I will not cover all of these, but some interesting comments can be made.

Almeida García, Balbuena Vázquez and Cortés Macías (2015) published a paper in which they compare several studies regarding resident attitudes towards tourism and the internal variables that could be important. In their section regarding resident attitudes and community attachment, they argue refer to several studies, for example Lankford and Howard (1994), Besculides, Lee and McCormick (2002) and McGehee and Andereck (2004), which have argued that 'long-term residents and those born locally had less favourable attitudes towards tourism… or were more aware of the negative effects of tourism than those who had been residents for less time' (2015: 36). Interestingly, this view is in opposition with my

findings. In the case of Marken, most interviewees argued that the new residents were more aware and more critical of the development of tourism compared to those were born and raised on Marken and had strong historical family ties there.

Next to that, Almeida García et al., quote studies by Belisle and Hoy (1980) and Hayley et al. (2005) that argue that 'residents that live closer to the tourist area had a more positive attitude towards tourists than those living further away' (Almeida García et al., 2015: 36). This, again, is in contrast with my findings on Marken. The people who lived along the popular tourism route or close to the harbour were more critical of the development than those living further away. In addition, those living in the tourism places had also more fearful expectations of the future developments.

Finally, 'residents' attitudes towards tourism and tourists will be more positive if the community or residents depend on the tourist dollar' (Almeida García et al., 2015: 35). This opinion is based on a great deal of studies, for example Andereck et al. (2005), Lankford and Howard (1994) and Snaith and Haley (1999). The contradiction of this finding would be that residents or communities who do not benefit economically from tourism would have more negative attitudes. This is also the case in Marken, as many interviewees complained about the lack of economic benefits the community receives because of tourism. Next to that, they argued for more transparency from the municipality and tourism entrepreneurs on Marken.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this section, these quantitative conclusions cannot simply be compared with my qualitative findings. The same goes for the external factors of resident studies, such as economic, environmental or socio-cultural consequences of tourism. There can be countless of reasons why my interviewees had positive attitudes towards a particular aspect of tourism and another respondent in another case could have a negative attitude. Therefore, it could be interesting if more studies regarding resident attitudes would use a qualitative or possibly a mixed-method design. In that way, resident attitudes can be understood in new ways.

8.1.2 Sense of belonging

Next to that, I will now focus on the notion of sense of belonging. Interestingly, many recent publications about this topic use Bennett's conceptualisation of belonging, focusing on the aspects of people, place and history.

In her own study, about sense of belonging in a small town called Wigan in the United Kingdom, she argues that 'only those with some of the deeper historical connections will be ascribed an identity as a "Wiganer" and belong ontologically' (Bennett, 2014: 669). She

explains that 'to belong ontologically is to be implicated in a set of mutual obligations to care for the past and future of places and those who inhabit them' (Bennett, 2014: 670). It takes time, according to her study, to truly belong then, not just to experience sense of belonging yourself but also to be ascribed by others as belonging to that place. In that way, she emphasizes that belonging is 'ultimately an exclusionary process associated with the production of power and identity' (Bennett, 2014: 669). In Bennett's view, place is seen as a gift, which is passed on from one generation to the next. Belonging to a place, then, means that you need to take good care of it and pass it on to the following generation. According to Bennett's study, it takes time to belong and might take more than one generation before one truly belongs to a place.

It is interesting to compare this to my research on Marken and the sense of belonging there. Two interviewees, who had lived on Marken for over 40 years, expressed that they were still considered as "outsiders" by the residents who were born on Marken and had strong historical family ties to the island. Using Bennett's notion of ontological belonging, it could be argued that even though these interviewees had lived on Marken for many years, they were still not considered "real Markers" because they had not really taken place in the long historical tradition of passing on Marken as a gift to the following generations. In that sense, being born in a place really does make a difference.

In a study by Lewis (2016), this notion of 'born-and-bred' belonging is also discussed. She states that 'in the 1950's, the community was made up of an "extraordinarily homogenous and stable but also remarkably contained" population and belonging was rooted in lasting attachments to families and neighbours' (Lewis, 2016: 914). However, because of rapid social change, such as urbanisation and globalisation, the content of what it means to belong has changed. Based on Mckenzie (2012), Lewis argues that of investing in and claiming ownership to a community has become very important. 'They know that where they are is where they will stay' (Mckenzie, 2012: 473).

In the case of Marken, this is very relevant, as many interviewees expressed that they would like to remain on Marken for the rest of their lives. Maybe they were not born on Marken or have strong family ties to the place. Nevertheless, they have made a conscious and deliberate decision to move there and are willing to invest in the community, for example by renovating their wooden houses or become volunteers in clubs and associations. The same argument goes for the residents who were born on Marken and decide to stay. By making the choice to remain behind and take responsibility for the community, feelings of belonging are expressed and increased.

Furthermore, in a lot of these studies regarding sense of belonging, the notion of nostalgia is important. Blokland emphasizes that 'references to the local history and contributions to mutual story-telling supported a sense of familiarity without intimacy' (2001: 280). She argues that reminiscing about the past is a form of inclusion and exclusion, as differences are made between those who can remember and those who cannot. Bennett acknowledges this, stating that 'looking back does not have to be seen as nostalgia but can confirm identities and belonging in the present' (2014: 669). In that sense, talking about the past, whether this is nostalgic or not, affirms sense of belonging.

It is difficult to compare this with the case of Marken, as I have not collected many findings regarding nostalgia. One of the reasons for this is that I did not want to ask the interviewees about this topic, as it could be too steering. In addition, when talking about the past, it was sometimes unclear about which particular timeframe the interviewees would speak. However, both interviewees who were born on Marken as well as those who had moved there expressed the importance of the local history. Several interviewees who had moved to Marken expressed that they wore the traditional costume during celebratory days. In addition, the support for the Marker Museum and the commemoration of the *Watersnoodramp* was also shared between residents who were born on Marken and those who had moved there. Furthermore, as the history of Marken was perceived as harsh, because of the fishing industry and the floods, nostalgia in general did not really seem to be an issue.

Finally, Pinkster and Boterman (2017), emphasize the importance of the daily rhythm of everyday life in relation to the notion of belonging. They argue that the sensory experience of living in a place is the foundation of feelings of home, because it makes a place feel familiar and safe. According to Pinkster and Boterman, 'when tourists perform the area differently than considered appropriate by long-term residents, the spell is broken' (2017: 13). McKercher, Wang and Park (2015) argue that, the function of a particular place changes, which influences both the behaviour as well as the meanings people attach to a place. As a result, everyday coping strategies are created, so that the residents find ways in which they can deal with the visitors (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017).

This was also visible on Marken, as many interviewees talked about ways in which they tried to deal with the increasing amount of tourists. There are several examples of this, such as taking alternative routes to avoid the crowded places, planting different vegetation in gardens to create higher and thicker bushes for more privacy or placing signs with 'private property' or 'dead-end street' to avoid tourists walking through the gardens. It will be interesting to see what the long term effects of these small and seemingly innocent strategies will be in the long term.

Pinkster and Boterman argue that 'everyday coping strategies to deal with the tourist spectacle contribute to the more permanent transformation of the neighbourhood and residents themselves become co-producers of the process which they evaluate so negatively' (2017: 13).

8.1.3 Theoretical conclusions

In short, both resident attitudes to tourism development as well as sense of belonging has been studied extensively by other scientists. It is difficult to compare my conclusions with studies regarding resident attitudes, as the research designs and purposes are inherently different. However, in my point of view, the transition to a qualitative research design in resident attitudes has proved to be interesting as it allows for a deeper understanding of the point of view of the residents.

In addition, sense of belonging is usually studied from with a qualitative research design. These types of studies are not designed to be compared or used to predict the sense of belonging in other cases. However, it is interesting to point out that the findings of of other similar studies can be used to reach a better understanding of the sense of belonging and how it evolves on Marken.

8.2 Empirical comparisons

It is also interesting to compare the findings of my research with other studies carried out about Marken. In the following section, I have looked at several other studies that have been published that are interesting in the light of the development of tourism on Marken and its implications for the residents. These studies and their findings will be discussed bellow and I will argue how my own findings relate to them.

8.2.1 Historical documents

I have read several books and studies about the development of Marken in general and of tourism in particular. Particularly, the study by Roodenburg (1990), '*Marken als relict*' (tr: Marken as relict) provided an interesting point of view. According to Roodenburg, historically, Marken appealed to tourists on three aspects. First of all, he argued, Marken attracted tourists because of its physical location. Especially before the construction of the *Verbindingsdijk*, the journey to Marken was adventurous. In addition, this enhanced the image of Marken as an isolated place, where time had stood still. Secondly, there is the battle against the water, which had lasted many centuries on Marken. The marks of this battle are still visible, not in the least

by the architecture of the houses, which is an important part of the attraction of Marken, according to Roodenburg. Finally, the traditional costume, with its details and colours, appealed to many tourists.

Interestingly, all three aspects were used the interviewees to describe the appeal of Marken today. This emphasizes that, besides of course the growth in scale and visitor numbers, not much has changed in regard to the motivation of tourists to visit Marken. Furthermore, these aspects were also important for the Markers themselves, as they were important aspects of the identity and history of Marken. As a result, the appeal of Marken is very similar for both the tourists as well as the residents.

In addition, Van Ginkel (2009) wrote an interesting article about the way in which Marken and Volendam have been represented, for example in advertisements and films, and what the consequences of that have been. He states that Marken (but also Volendam) became popular because they represented a particular simplified image of the Netherlands. This particular image has been maintained because of the emergent tourism industry. As a result, for visiting tourists the traditional costumes have become representative for the Netherlands in general and is in this way also simplified. However, for the Marker population, the traditional costume is still a very important aspect of their identity and culture. It is worn to express this identity to others, but even more so to themselves, to show that Marken has not lost its identity. Van Ginkel argues that, in a way, the visitors had appropriated the traditional costume for tourism purposes and, by doing so, expropriates the local population. However, the local population did not let this happen, has appropriated the traditional costume and uses it, more than before, as a symbol for its identity' (freely translated from van Ginkel, 2009: 23).

This is corresponding with my findings regarding the traditional costume and tourism. Several interviewees acknowledged that they continue to wear the traditional costume on important celebratory days. However, on these days there are often not many tourists. Furthermore, they emphasized that they would rather avoid the tourists when they would wear the costumes and that they wear it for themselves. They are proud of their identity and nobody can take it from them.

8.2.2 Quantitative tourism numbers

There have been a few studies about tourism on Marken from a quantitative point of view. In 2014, the *Eilandraad* has issued a survey amongst the residents of Marken. This survey has been used as a basis for the '*Visie voor Marken op de Toekomst*' (tr: Vision for the Future of Marken) (Eilandraad, 2015). Their survey has been used to collect information about the

residents of Marken concerning a number of issues, such as health, public transport, clubs and associations, living and also tourism. Focusing on tourism, the main concerns are the lack of insight into the economic profit of tourism for the tourism entrepreneurs and the municipality. In addition, the survey emphasized the fact that the residents feel like they do not benefit from the development of tourism. Furthermore, the policy of the Municipality of Waterland is not in agreement with the wishes of the residents (Eilandraad, 2014).

The main conclusions of this survey are in accordance with some of the conclusions of my research. Several interviewees argued that they would like more information into the organisation of tourism from the point of view of the tourism entrepreneurs and the Municipality of Waterland. There was one interesting contrasting issue with the conclusions of the survey of the *Eilandraad* though. According to that survey, the residents of Marken would like more *verblijfstoerisme* (tr: overnight tourism). However, the majority of interviewees I spoke to argued that they would prefer the visitors to only stay during the days.

Next to that, in 2015 van Lil, a student from the InHolland University of Applied Sciences, had conducted a study on the impacts of tourism on Marken commissioned by the Municipality of Waterland. In this research, based on a survey amongst residents and stakeholders of Marken, van Lil concluded that there are mostly negative impacts of tourism on Marken. The negative impacts were related to safety, privacy, crowdedness and pollution on Marken. However, van Lil argues that the local population has an open approach to the development of small-scale tourism, in which they would have more control and direct interaction with the tourists, rather than the tour agencies (Van Lil, 2015).

Again the main conclusions of the research by van Lil are similar to the findings of my research. Tourism on Marken is perceived negatively by the residents as it affects their daily lives. However, the residents accept that tourism is part of living on Marken and are willing to be open towards future developments, especially those in which they have more influence, such as locally organised and owned tourism enterprises.

8.2.3 Empirical conclusions

In short, tourism on Marken is an interesting topic that has been studies by several authors from different perspectives. The outcomes of those studies are more or less similar, thought they have all focused on different aspects. Interestingly, though I have used a qualitative research design, the findings of my research are similar to those of the other studies, both the historical studies based on historical documents as well as the quantitative studies based on surveys. This means that my conclusions can be triangulated with the other studies. Combined, all these

studies together will help to provide more and more elaborate understanding of the implications of tourism on Marken.

8.3 Limitations of this research

As a researcher, it is important to remain critical of your own research and the possible consequences of the choices you have made. These choices could influence all phases of the research substantially. In the third chapter of this report, I have already included a section on the methodological limitations of this research. In this section, there are three more limitations that I want to discuss.

Firstly, I have decided to focus in this research on the point of view of the residents. However, as I briefly mentioned in my theoretical framework, Knox (1982, in Carmichael, 2006) argues that the experiences of both the residents as well as the tourists are shaped, amongst others, by their interactions. This would argue that it is important to look, more closely, at the point of view of the tourists. Next to that, during their visit, the tourist could also form a particular sense of belonging to the place. This could explain, for example, why some visitors might return to a place or become interested in its history and culture. For this research, I believe, this would have been too elaborate. However, not including it might have influenced my results.

Secondly, I mentioned in my report that the vast majority of tourism enterprises on Marken is owned by outsiders. These entrepreneurs are not from Marken and often do not live their either, according to the interviewees and the *Eilandraad*. Nevertheless, their presence on Marken plays a very important role for the development of tourism. Moreover, they also have a particular sense of belonging to Marken, as they have decided to open their businesses there. It would have been interesting to speak to focus on the point of view of these stakeholders. However, again I believe that would have been too elaborate for this research.

Thirdly, throughout this research I have excluded the point of view of the Municipality of Waterland.

8.4 Suggestions for further research

The previous section with limitations offers a bridge into recommendations for further research. As I mentioned, it could be interesting to do research regarding the experiences of the visitors of Marken. Next to that, insight into the behaviour of the visitors, such as the amount of visitors, the places they visit and the time and money they spend on Marken would be interesting for

both the residents as well as the involved stakeholders. In general, more research into the point of view of important stakeholders in the development of tourism on Marken would be interesting, such as the tourism enterprises and the Municipality of Waterland. Ultimately, these different parties will have to work together to maintain the balance between tourism and residence on Marken.

Finally, throughout this study I kept noticing that everybody still used the term 'island' when referring to Marken, even though it has lost its status as an island since 1957. It would be an interesting research topic to find out why Marken is referred to as an island instead of as a peninsula. Arguably, this could play an important role in both the sense of belonging of the residents as well as the appeal of the visitors as it has played an important aspect in the development of Marken.

Afbeelding 8.1 Past and present on Marken.

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Appendix A: Map of Marken

Appendix B: Announcement on Marker Nieuws

Wie wil Tessa helpen met 'de gevolgen van toerisme' op Marken?
Voor haar onderzoek wil Tessa interviews houden

In overleg met de Werkgroep 'Toerisme' van de Stichting Eilandraad Marken, stel ik me bij deze aan jullie voor.

Mijn naam is Tessa Geertsema en ik ben een 27-jarige master student aan de Wageningen Universiteit. Ik volg de studie Leisure, Tourism and Environment, een tweejarige onderzoeksmaster naar de gevolgen van toerisme. Ik heb me gespecialiseerd in de sociale en culturele gevolgen van toerisme, voornamelijk vanuit het perspectief van de lokale bevolking.

Voor mijn masterscriptie heb ik dit dan ook als onderwerp gekozen en wil ik mijn onderzoek graag uitvoeren op Marken. Ik heb voor Marken gekozen omdat ik tijdens bezoeken en ook in de media me erg heb verbaasd over de grote stromen toeristen die hier komen. Ik ben heel benieuwd hoe dat door jullie, de bevolking, ervaren wordt.

In mijn onderzoek wil ik me richten op een historische vergelijking, dus kijken naar verschillende periodes in de geschiedenis van Marken. Per periode wil ik onderzoeken in welke mate er toerisme plaatsvond op Marken en wat voor gevolgen dit het gemeenschapsgevoel en leefbaarheid voor de bewoners.

Interviews
Voor mijn onderzoek wil ik interviews houden. In deze interviews zullen we spreken over verschillende levensfases en hoe u in deze periodes het gemeenschapsgevoel en het toerisme op Marken heeft ervaren. De gesprekken zullen ongeveer één tot anderhalf uur duren en zijn uiteraard vertrouwelijk. Mocht u interesse hebben om deel te nemen aan mijn interviews, of geïnteresseerd zijn in meer informatie, dan kunt u contact met mijn opnemen.

Hopelijk tot ziens!

Vriendelijke groeten,

Tessa Geertsema
tessageertsema@gmail.com
Tel. 06-83 25 32 60

Appendix C: Topic list interviews

Introductie
- Stel mezelf kort voor
- Leg kort nogmaals uit waar mijn onderzoek over gaat, waarom ik het onderzoek doe en wat er met de resultaten van mijn onderzoek zal gebeuren.
- Vertel kort hoe het interview zal verlopen, hoelang het ongeveer zal duren, dat ze het altijd kunnen stoppen en vragen niet hoeven te beantwoorden als ze dat niet willen.
- Vraag toestemming om het interview op te mogen nemen.
- Benadruk dat ik vertrouwelijk met mijn gegevens zal omgaan en hun privacy in acht zal nemen door mijn data te anonimiseren.

Per verschillende levensfasen:
Praktisch
- Hoe oud was u in deze fase?
- Waar woonde u? in wat voor omstandigheden?

Sociaal:
- Hoe zou u uw sociale leven van die fase omschrijven?
- Lid van verenigingen/clubs? Welke en waarom? Wat voor soort activiteiten? Hoe regelmatig?
- Goed contact met directe buren? Wijk gebonden? Hele eiland?
- Sociale contacten met mensen van vasteland? In welk verband?
- Huwelijken/relaties/vriendschappen met mensen van buiten Marken?
- Positie van familie in gemeenschap?
- Waren er duidelijke groepen te onderscheiden?
- Waren er mensen die er niet bij hoorden? Waarom?

Cultureel/historisch
- Deelname aan culturele activiteiten?
- Viering van feestdagen?
- Dragen van klederdracht? Wat betekende dit?
- Kerk?
- Politiek betrokken?

Plaatsgebonden
- Activiteiten over heel Marken, of specifieke buurten?
- Bezoek aan vasteland? Waarom?
- Identificatie met specifieke buurten? Of eiland breed?
- Werden dingen binnen bepaalde straat/buurt georganiseerd? Waarom?
- Voorzieningen -> bezoeken van bepaalde winkels/dokters/scholen/kerk

Toerisme
- Herinneringen aan toerisme in die periode? Positief of negatief?
- Interacties met toeristen? Wat voor soort toeristen? Hoe regelmatig?
- Toerisme op specifieke locatie? Of overal?
- Invloed van toerisme op dagelijks leven -> wonen/werken/vrijetijdsbesteding?
- Maatregelen nemen tegen gevolgen van toerisme?

Toerisme algemeen:
- Eerste interactie met of herinnering aan toerisme?
- Meest positieve en negatieve herinnering aan toerisme?
- Kennen ze mensen die in toerisme werken?
- Omslagpunt van te veel toeristen al geweest of komt dat nog? Waar zit dat in?
- Wat voor effect heeft toerisme op de gemeenschap?

Woonomstandigheden
- Hele leven op Marken gewoond? Of: Wanneer en waarom naar Marken verhuisd?
- In welke buurt van Marken?
- Verhuisd binnen verschillende buurten in Marken?
- Voor- en nadelen van wonen op Marken algemeen? En respectievelijke buurt?
- Interesse (gehad) om in een andere buurt te wonen? Of buiten Marken? Waarom wel/niet?
- Plannen om op Marken te blijven wonen? Waarom wel/niet?
- Bij verhuizing naar Marken: Spijt hiervan gehad? Waarom wel/niet?
- Familie en vrienden woonachtig op Marken? Ook sociale contacten buiten Marken?

Scholing
- Basisonderwijs gevolgd op Marken of op vasteland?
- Andere vormen van scholing (Middelbaar/Beroeps) gevolgd buiten Marken?
- Wat waren de voor- en nadelen van de specifieke situatie?

Werk
- Wat voor beroep (gehad)?
- Werkzaam (geweest) op Marken? Of erbuiten?
- Had u graag op Marken willen werken? Waarom wel/niet?
- Voldoende mogelijkheden voor werken op Marken?

Sociaal
- Vriendschappen met mensen uit Marken?
- Voornamelijk uit buurt of over het hele eiland?
- Vriendschappen met mensen van buiten Marken?
- Hoe is het contact met buren? Met eilandbewoners?

Afsluiting:
- Vragen of mensen nog iets willen toevoegen en benadrukken dat ze altijd later nog contact kunnen opnemen als ze nog wat te binnen schiet.
- Mensen bedanken voor hun tijd en moeite om mee te doen.
- Aanbieden om interviewee op de hoogte te houden van de uitkomsten het onderzoek

Appendix D: Overview of Interviewees

Number	Gender	Born on/moved to Marken	Neighbourhood	Age
1.	Female	Born on Marken	Nieuwbouw	30-60
2.	Male	Moved to Marken	Haven	60+
3.	Male	Moved to Marken	Buurten	60+
4.	Male	Moved to Marken	Kerkbuurt	60+
5.*	Male	Moved to Marken	Haven	30-60
6.*	Female	Moved to Marken	Haven	30-60
7.	Male	Moved to Marken	Kerkbuurt	30-60
8.	Female	Born on Marken	Buurten	60+
9.	Female	Born on Marken	Buurten	30-60
10.	Female	Born on Marken	Nieuwbouw	30-60
11.	Female	Moved to Marken	Buurten	60+
12.	Female	Born on Marken	Kerkbuurt	30-60
13.	Female	Born on Marken	Nieuwbouw	60+
14.	Male	Born on Marken	Kerkbuurt	30-60
15.	Male	Born on Marken	Haven	-30
16.	Female	Born on Marken	Kerkbuurt	-30
17.	Female	Moved to Marken	Buurten	30-60

*This was one interview, with two interviewees.

Appendix E: Code Tree

Tourism
- Ervaringen
  - Vroeger
    - Positief
    - Negatief
  - Tegenwoordig
    - Positief
    - Negatief
- Toekomst_verwachtingen
  - Optimistisch
  - Pessimistisch
- Toeristen
  - Groepen
  - Dagjesmensen
- Activiteiten
  - Marker_Museum
  - VVVpoint
  - Faciliteiten
  - Horeca
  - MarkerExpress
- Cruise_steiger
- Aanpassingen/maatregelen
- Klederdracht

People
- Bewoners
  - Origineel
  - Import
  - Conflict/verschil
- Sociale_contacten
  - Vroeger
    - Positief
    - Negatief
  - Tegenwoordig
    - Positief
    - Negatief
  - Toekomst_verwachtingen
- Clubs&verenigingen
  - Vroeger
  - Tegenwoordig
  - Toekomst
- Vrijwilligers/vrijwilligerswerk
- Gemeente_Waterland
- Eilandraad

History

- Socialecontacten
  - Vroeger
    - Positief
    - Negatief
- Klederdracht
  - Vroeger
  - Tegenwoordig
- Watersnoodramp
- Beschermd_dorpsgezicht
  - Positief
  - Negatief

Place

- Vergelijkingen
  - Amsterdam
  - Volendam
  - Monnickendam
  - Buitenland
  - Overig
- Buurten
  - Kerkbuurt
  - Haven
  - Buurten
  - Nieuwbouw
- Wonen
  - Positief
  - Negatief
  - Maatregelen/aanpassingen
  - Tuinen