LOST YOUR WALLET, LOST YOUR PHONE, NOW EVERYTHING IS GONE Perceptions of risk by tourists: An Amsterdam study

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0. Abstract

In this research paper the feelings of insecurity and unsafety of tourists in low-crime countries are discussed. Why tourists have feelings of unsafety and insecurity and whether these feelings differ from the ones residents of a area have, where tourists have feelings of insecurity and unsafety and whether cultural associations play a role in these feelings have been touched upon in this research paper. The case study area of the research was the center of Amsterdam. Using a survey and secondary data by the council of Amsterdam the subject has been researched. The main things found after analysing the research data were that tourists in the center of Amsterdam generally feel even more safe than the residents of the area, that they fear petty crimes the most and that their feelings of insecurity are primarily based in their vision of "grimy" areas. Combined with this is the fact that tourists don't necessarily feel that they have any more or a less a risk of becoming a victim of crime (except petty crimes) than residents. This is different from the theory concerning the subject, as the theory suggests divides between residents and tourists and more prominent feelings of insecurity and unsafety in tourists.

1. Introduction

Tourism is booming. Due to cheaper air travel and the the growth of countries like India and China more and more people are choosing to go to other countries for relaxation, exploring different cultures or to just get away from things (Chao et al, 2004). However, with this increased tourism comes an increased need to know more about everything that makes tourists tick. What do tourists want, what do tourists like and what do tourists fear? This research paper is going to be about the last question, because what tourists think about a place can differ significantly from the views of the local population. In an article by George (2010) for example tourists found the Table Mountain national park in Cape Town to be much more dangerous than the local population. Their fear of carjackings, muggings and other crimes was much higher than the fear South Africans had to be a victim of the same crimes.

This distinct risk perception by tourists can have significant impacts on the local tourist industry. In cities like Paris. Local companies fear that crime and the perception of risk by tourists in Paris threatens local industries (thelocal.fr, 2013), as fewer tourists go to Paris when they think it is unsafe and tourists spend less money in cities that are perceived to be "unsafe". This idea of decreasing attractiveness of a tourist destination is supported by Lisowska (2017), who states that when people think a place is criminal they overthink whether to go to there and if they do go, their willingness to spend is impacted.

This phenomenon has been studied in the general sense, but to get more insight into the idea of tourist risk perception and its effects a case study is needed. Previous research has mainly focused on high-crime places, such as Brazil during the world cup (George et al., 2014) or the similar research in British travellers' perspectives in terms of crime in Brazil by O'Neil (2006). Therefore this research paper will cover the centre of the city of Amsterdam as a case study. The most important reason for this is that Amsterdam is considered to be a low-crime place. According to the 2017 safe cities index (The Economist, 2017) Amsterdam was the 6th safest city in the world. What is also important is the high number of tourists coming to Amsterdam and the small scale makes it perfect for more research. This is because the large amount of tourists have a big influence on the city, as there is a high density of tourists in a small area. This makes them more influential in terms of how the city works, this can accentuate differences between tourists and residents. Diving deeper into the risk perceptions of tourists, plus how and why these differ from the risk perceptions "Amsterdammers" (residents of Amsterdam) have in the centre will help societal agents like lawmakers understand how they can plan (or influence) a city to be more tourist-friendly in terms of insecurity and unsafety. In a continuously globalising world this can help cities become more attractive for tourists.

1.1 Research problem

Because the research background shows it's important to know about the feelings of insecurity that tourists have there is a distinct research problem. This is because those feelings of insecurity can influence the behaviour and spending patterns of tourists in a city. Lisowska's (2017) research argues it is also a factor in deciding whether to go to a place or if to visit again.

The starting point in terms of researching the risk perceptions tourists have is looking at why residents and tourists feel unsafe. When you know the main reasons, you can understand better how their risk perceptions are structured. Combining this with the fact that most research on the subject has touched upon only high-crime countries the following central research question has been formulated:

"Why do tourists have feelings of insecurity in low-crime countries?"

One can argue too that the feelings of insecurity tourists have in a city must be different from the ones residents have, because of the different daily patterns tourists have. This means that they are doing different things at different times than residents. The reasoning for this is that tourists visit different places and have different patterns than residents. This is visible in the research of Cooper (1981). Tourists visit the places perceived by them to give the greatest reward for effort during times that are logical for them. This explains the different spatial and temporal patterns tourists have. These different patterns can lead to different feelings of insecurity. Therefore it is important to look at differences and similarities in feelings of insecurity. This forms the basis for the first secondary question:

"Why do residents and tourists feel unsafe and is there a difference?"

The second part consists of looking at where tourists feel insecure and unsafe. This to pinpoint where there might be unsafe places. These unsafe places can be an important reason in whether a tourist feels insecure and unsafe in a city or not. This is why it's important to look at this and it is why the second secondary question looks at the subject:

"Where do tourists feel insecure and unsafe?"

Lastly, cultural associations can have an impact on feelings of insecurity too. According to Resinger and Mavondo (2010) these play a big part in how tourists determine their personal feelings of insecurity and whether a place is "criminal" or not. This is because due to different cultural orientations tourists from different cultures can have different "levels of "travel anxiety". Therefore one must also look at these cultural associations. These questions about cultural associations have been summarised in the third secondary question:

"To what extent does cultural background affect feelings of insecurity or unsafety?"

Combined these questions will show that the feelings tourists have concerning risk perceptions in Amsterdam differ from those shown in the theory, as tourists in Amsterdam generally feel very safe and this feeling of safety doesn't differ that much from the risk perceptions residents have. What is important to note is that tourists do fear petty crimes more, and there are places in the center of Amsterdam that do feel shabby according to respondents.

1.3 Structure thesis

The thesis will focus on presenting the theoretical basis for the research first. This will happen by presenting the most important concepts in the field. These concepts are: Risk perception, fear crime, travel experience, cultural associations and trust in the police. How they are connected to the research and how the research will add to the already existing theoretical framework will also be touched upon. After this the focus will be on the methodology. This means, how has the survey been performed? How has the research population in the center of Amsterdam been chosen? In the second part the results per sub-question will be discussed. This will include the general descriptive statistics from the survey, the qualitative results to some of the questions in the survey and the results of the statistical tests. The final part will contain the conclusion and discussion, in which will be described what could've gone better and what will be interesting for further research on the subject of tourist risk perception.

1.4 Theoretical framework

When looking at the theoretical framework, the most important concepts in the field are those of risk perception, personal safety and a fear of crime. According to an article by George (2010) risk perception can be defined as the personal judgement in terms of what a risk is and how severe it is. The article by George (2010) also helps define the other two concepts. Fear of crime is the fear a person has towards becoming a victim of a crime or something related to crime. Personal safety is the the feeling of security a person has, this can be influenced by their risk perception and their fear of crime. This "fear of crime" has become a very important concept in recent years according to Lee (2013), showing that it has become an important subject in the policy debate.

This tourist risk perception is in important issue in tourist decision making. Alleyne and Boxil (2003) show that in for example Jamaica less tourists are visiting because of their fear of crime and that this fear of crime can be significantly different from the fear of crime locals have. Cultural differences play a part in this different perception, as local inhabitants have a different worldview from most visiting tourists according to Bourne (2011). This shows how the concept of cultural associations is also important.

According to Bourne (2011) travel experience is also important, as people with more travel experience tend to have a lower risk perception. According to the paper this is because they feel more self-confident about their choices. Teichmann (2008) even states that previous travel experiences influence people even in the planning stages of trips.

According to Tarlow (2011) another important factor is that tourists seem to be more vulnerable to crime, as they are viewed as "easy targets". They also believe getting back their belongings and reporting the crime to the police is too much of a hassle. This can be all be summarised under the concept of "trust in the police". Lastly, they usually don't have an idea of what to do after becoming victim of a crime and when it actually happened. An example of this is the crime of being pickpocketed. The vigilance of tourists is lower while on holiday according to Tarlow (2011). In the view of Tarlow (2011) underreporting of crime can also happen because tourists may be the "agents provocateurs" in crimes (agents provocateurs are the people committing the crime, for example a tourist vandalising a street sign), meaning they have a desire to hide the crime.

There are also certain aspects to tourism and crime that haven't been properly researched yet, as most of the research surrounding tourism, crime and risk perception has happened in places with higher crime rates. How the theories stack up in low-crime rate countries, like the Netherlands (Gallup, 2018) is not clearly visible. This is substantiated by the fact that the connection between crime and tourism still hasn't been determined. This means that research in different contexts, like the centre of Amsterdam, is important.

The research will give perspective on how the theories on risk perception and tourism fit in an Amsterdam context and on whether they apply in low-crime countries. The idea that tourist risk perception is different than residents risk perception might not even be true in relatively wealthy city of Amsterdam, but as tourists have different patterns in Amsterdam the research will help fill in most of these grey areas.

1.5 Conceptual model

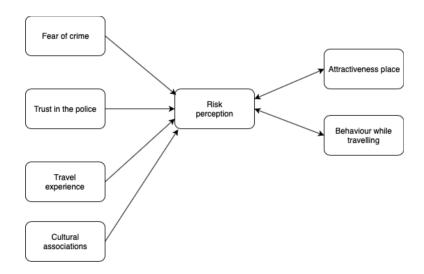


Figure 1. Conceptual model

Summarising the theory in the theoretical framework the following conceptual model was made. The conceptual model above (figure 1) is important in the research. Because it shows the conceptual basis the research is based on. As is visible in the conceptual model, the concepts of "fear of crime", "trust in the police", "travel experience" and "cultural associations" impact "risk perception" which in turn influences the "attractiveness" of a place and tourist "behaviour" while travelling.

The inclusion of "fear of crime" is based on the theory by George (2010) that shows that tourist fear of crime can impact the attractiveness of a place. The concept of trust in the police (in the broadest sense) was added because, according to Tarlow (2011) tourists that know less about the police in their host country, or don't think the police will take them seriously will not report crimes. Adding to this: Trust in the police has two parts: "Real" trust in the local police (they will solve my crime) and people's own willingness to report a crime. Travel experience was added too because Bourne's (2011) research shows that travel experience is an important factor in people's risk perception. Lastly, the concept of cultural associations was added, because Alleyne and Boxil (2003) argue that these play an important part in risk perceptions.

The resulting two concepts ("attractiveness place" and "behaviour while travelling") are based on Lisowska's research (2011) that shows that these two things can be impacted by a different risk perception.

1.6 Hypotheses

Following the basis the theoretical framework has brought to the picture a hypothesis can be devised for the main question and the three sub questions. The hypothesis for the main question is that the feelings of insecurity tourists have are centred around the different patterns tourists have, their travel experience, the cultural associations tourists have with a place and how vigilant the tourists are. Based on this petty crimes must be a significant factor in tourist feelings of insecurity, as petty criminals like pickpockets take advantage of the fact that tourists "let their guard down" while on holiday.

The first secondary question mostly has the same hypothesis, but important to know is that there should be a distinct difference in the feelings of insecurity of residents and tourists. The different patterns, the different attitudes to the police and the lesser amount of knowledgeability tourists have of the host destination society (Tarlow, 2011) means that tourists have a higher fear of crime and feelings of insecurity than residents have.

The second secondary question looks at where tourists feel unsafe. According to the "Veiligheidsmonitor 2018" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018) the center of Amsterdam scores higher than the national average in terms of petty crimes, assault and robberies. This means that there must be places in the centre that seem to be more "criminal" than the rest. It's difficult to really formulate a concrete hypothesis on this secondary question, as results may be completely different than said in the hypothesis.

The third sub-question is based on the concept of cultural associations. It is based on the fact that, as is visible in the literature review, how people experience for example the local police is important. To build on the example of the police: If they think it isn't useful to report the crime (as they have the view that, like at home, the police won't take it seriously) they won't and this affects their risk perceptions. These different world-views are very important to research.

1.7 Methodology

As discussed earlier, for this thesis the case study of the center of Amsterdam has been used. Due to the high density of tourists provisions have been made in the methodology to allow for fast surveying, as methods like door-to-door surveying in a place like Amsterdam won't work.

For this thesis primary and secondary data collection has been used. This because of the fact that for the data on resident's fear of crime in Amsterdam a dataset already was available. However, for tourists there was no data whatsoever. Therefore the decision was made to gather primary data and use the available dataset as secondary data. For the primary data collection empirical quantitative research in the form of a face-to-face survey has been conducted among 81 tourist respondents in the center of Amsterdam. This was decided to be the best research method, as it'd allow to quickly gather a lot of data. For the questionnaire Maptionnaire has been used, allowing for more in-depth questions on where respondents where from and easier data processing. The easier data processing is because paper-based surveying would have resulted in a large amount of paper clutter that would've had to be processed by hand. Bu using Maptionnaire on an iPad this has been circumvented. Respondents had the possibility to access a privacy policy concerning the survey (the privacy policy showed how their data would be processed and how they could file a complaint) and always could've stopped if they wished. All responses were anonymous and respondents weren't coerced "forcefully" to fill in the survey. Surveying happened in the mornings, afternoons and evenings near the Anne Frank House, the Museumplein and the Oudezijds Voorburgwal. The locations were chosen for their high amount of tourists, different kinds of tourists and great opportunities for surveying. Most of the surveys happened during the fall although a few were also gathered in winter.

In the survey results, people that didn't properly fill in the survey or placed the "Where are you from?" marker in the Netherlands have been excluded from the results. This to get a more complete picture and to not distort the data. The geographical data from the map has been used to create a map and most of the data has been recoded into a binary high/low crime variable based on the 2018 Gallup Law and Order poll (Gallup, 2018). This to make sure there were enough cases per group to use the data in statistical analysis. Precautions were also made to ensure the validity of the data, although the data might not completely correspond to the real situation, as the survey was only in English and a part of the tourist population can't read English. The reliability of the data was very high, as the questions were easy to comprehend and simple to fill in. This all to make sure a possible following surveyor would get the same results.

Secondary data has also been used, this consists of a few variables in the "Veiligheidsmonitor 2018" (gemeente Amsterdam, 2018). This data has been recoded to make them compatible with the variables in the surveys. After this the data has been transposed.

All further data has been put into SPSS for further statistical analysis. To check whether the data showed differences with the theory multiple statistical tests were used. The secondary and primary data was compared to check whether there were differences and variables like how often someone has travelled abroad were combined with their view on their risk perceptions in the center of Amsterdam.

2. Feelings of crime of tourists and residents: Petty crimes cause fear but not much else

"Why do tourists and residents feel unsafe and is there a difference?"

When looking at the theoretical framework the results for this question should be clear. Tourists, according to Bourne (2011), fear crimes more, as they have a different risk perception than the regular inhabitants. Connecting this with Tarlow (2011) they have less of a clear picture of the area and its inhabitants, pay less attention to their surroundings and they have less of a connection with the local police. These are all factors in perceptions of risk and can lead to definite differences too.

To check whether this was the case, the survey contained multiple questions on the subject of feeling unsafe. Pointed questions were there to ask whether tourists have actually felt unsafe in Amsterdam or not, how they assess the risk of a certain amount of crimes and whether they felt safe in certain places. Most of these questions were direct translations from the Dutch survey, making comparison between the two groups possible.

The first part of the secondary question to look at though is why tourists and residents feel unsafe. For residents this is mainly focused on general hindrances while going through the city, as the center part of Amsterdam scores lower on the criminality index (Veiligheidsmonitor 2018), but very high in the general hindrance index, meaning that this is a large issue for the residents of the center of Amsterdam. Important in this feeling of insecurity is the trust in the police. Because if people will not report a crime because of feelings of distrust or unease between the tourists and the local police this can exacerbate further the feelings of insecurity the tourists have. In the survey two important questions have been asked about this. Firstly, a yes/no question on whether the respondent would report a crime if it'd happen to them in the center of Amsterdam. Respondents that answered no then also got shown a different question, asking them what their reasons were. The below table shows the results to the second question:

Why wouldn't you report it to the police? (Choose THREE)	% (out of the 27% who answered NO)
I don't speak Dutch	23,4375
Too much of a hassle	21,875
The police will not solve the crime anyways	17,1875
It's difficult to approach the police	15,625
Don't know how to do it	12,5
I fear the police will not take my report seriously	9,375

Table 1. Why wouldn't you report it to the police?

As visible in table the 3 main reasons for people not reporting crimes to the police were that they don't speak Dutch, it's too much of a hassle and the police will not solve the crime anyways. This connects to the theory of Tarlow (2011). It also shows that due to tourists having less of a feel of the police system in other countries they have their reasons for not reporting crimes.

Important for this is to check whether people have felt unsafe in the center of Amsterdam are also less likely to report crimes to the police. To test this the two binary variables of "Would you report the crime to the police yes/no" and have you ever felt unsafe in the center of Amsterdam yes/no" were transposed against each other. Using the spearman's rho (the ideal test parameter as it allowed two binary variables) to test whether there was a connection between the two variables. The results showed that with statistic significance people that have felt unsafe in the center of Amsterdam were also 0,65 times less likely to report a crime to the police. This means that both

variables are connected and that people that have felt unsafe in the center of Amsterdam are also less likely to report a possible crime to the police. A lot of the reasons why tourists wouldn't report are also different from the ones inhabitants have (for example: Don't speak Dutch), showing an aspect of the different tourists-inhabitant perspectives.

The second part of the question on feelings of unsafety also asks whether there is a difference in the feelings of insecurity of residents and tourists. This because according to Bourne (2011) residents have a different view of their own space to live than tourists, who are just temporary visitors. Connecting this with Cooper's (1981) different patterns of tourists this must show differences. To test this multiple questions like 'Does it ever happen that in the center of Amsterdam you; Feel unsafe while walking on the streets at night?' And the Dutch version of this question were put against each other using the population sign test. This because the population sign test was the best way to analyse the data. All the test results showed up to be inconclusive expect one: Tourists felt like there was a higher risk they were going to be pickpocketed during their stay in the center of Amsterdam. Part one of the results shows a real difference from the theory by Bourne (2011). The data makes a real similarity in terms of the fears and scares of residents visible. For example: Tourists feel as unsafe walking on the streets at night and tourists feel like they have the same chance of experiencing an armed robbery as residents. This shows that for tourists and Amsterdammers is an as safe/unsafe place. The second part of the results shows a difference though, the petty crime Tarlow (2011) talked about seems to be in the hearts and minds of the tourists too.

If you would have to rate how safe the centre of Amsterdam is, what grade (from 1 to 10) would you give?'	Tourists	Residents	
		7,93	7,21

Table 2. Grades tourists and residents

The tourists and residents were also asked to give a rating from 1 to 10 to give to the general safety in the center of Amsterdam. This was also compared and it shows that tourists find the center of Amsterdam to be significantly safer than residents of the center of Amsterdam (this is visible in table 2). However, residents find the center of Amsterdam to be very safe too. Tourists on holiday seem to be generally happier (because they are on holiday) so this has to be taken into account.

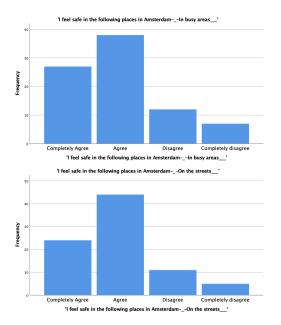
To conclude, tourists generally feel very safe in the center of Amsterdam. Most of the feelings of unsafely tourists have are the same, but they do fear pickpockets more. Tourists also have a high trust in the police, although there is a large minority that wouldn't report a crime. This shows similarities with Tarlow (2011), as the reasons given for not reporting the crime are the same as in his research.

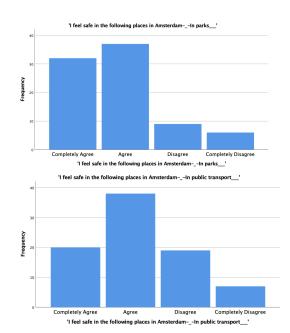
3. Where tourists have feelings of insecurity: The Wallen and the Central Station seem unsafe

"Where do tourists feel insecure and unsafe?"

The theoretical framework concerning this secondary question focuses on the different patterns tourists have according to Cooper (1981) compared to residents of the area. This because they visit different places and have different rhythms than residents.

For tourists, two questions have been asked in the questionnaire survey to address this issue. The first question was a question asking whether people agreed with a statement saying they felt safe on the streets/in public transport/in parks or in busy areas. This resulted in the following graphs:





Graph 2 to 5. I feel safe in the following places in Amsterdam: -

As is visible in the graphs it is difficult to spot a clear difference between the graphs. Tourists seem to generally feel very safe in the center of Amsterdam, as to every statement they answered very positively with none of the places standing out as specifically safe or specifically unsafe. This can be connected to Tarlow's (2011) idea of tourists being in a general state of happiness while on holiday, paying less attention to what could be unsafe around them. Respondents were asked whether they feel safe in general instead of specific places, because it was assumed tourists wouldn't have known enough about the center of Amsterdam yet to give a proper answer on where they really feel unsafe. This is because tourists on average only spend 1,92 nights in Amsterdam when visiting (OIS, 2018).

There was also a question in the survey asking whether respondents wanted to describe when and where they felt unsafe if they ticked the box that they did feel unsafe once in the center of Amsterdam. A number of respondents answered this question and resulting from it were a few interesting answers.

Multiple respondents mentioned the Red Light District and weed:

- Only in the red light district (it was late saturday night)
- The Wallen are sketchy
- Drugs, smell of weed
- Lots of people smoking weed, homeless people

The Centraal Station was also named:

- Area around the central station because of the homeless people
- The central station is very crowded and feels unsafe at night. I travel with my boyfriend and even he was scared.

Important to note from these quotes is that people keep noting the Wallen and the area around the Central Station as unsafe areas. Seemingly people connect the Red Light District and the Central Station area with unsafety. People also noted the continuous smell of weed and the "large" amount of homeless people as reasons for unsafety. This means that for some one of the reasons to go to Amsterdam makes them others feel unsafe in the city (weed-tolerant policy). This shows that however people very safe in the centre of Amsterdam, that there are places that have a different "vibe" for some tourists.

As a summery, one can see that there isn't a large difference visible in where tourists feel unsafe or safe. In parks, on the streets and in more places tourists generally feel very safe. However, their responses to one of the questions shows that they do mind the Wallen en the Central Station. The smell of weed is also a problem.

4. Cultural associations and feeling unsafe: No difference between cultural backgrounds

"To what extent does cultural background affect feelings of insecurity or unsafety?"

When looking at the theoretical framework for the third secondary question one must pay attention to the research by Alleyne and Boxil's (2003) research on fear of crime. They argue the fear of crime tourists have must be significantly different from the "local" fear of crime. This is similar to the comparison between tourists and people from Amsterdam in terms of feelings of unsafely. According to them this difference is fuelled by the cultural background. This combined by Tarlow's (2011) research on tourist underreporting of crime and Resinger and Mavondo's (2010) research on culture and fear of crime shows that cultural associations can play a significant role in shaping how one views a city. This is connected to travel experience, as according to Bourne (2011) people with more travel experience have a lower perception of risk.

Multiple questions in the survey questionnaire have touched on the subject of cultural backgrounds and travel experience to check whether this plays a role. Firstly, respondents were asked were they were from. They could use the iPad to place a marker on their home town. This resulted in the following map (Image 1).



Image 1. Map of where respondents live

As is visible in image 1, most of the respondents came from Europe and especially the countries near the Netherlands. Most of the respondents came from Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy and Belgium. Looking at other parts of the world than Europe: The US and Australia show multiple respondents. This means that most of the respondents to the survey are from "Western" countries. The best would have been to recode the home locations of respondents to continents, so that they can be compared. The problem is that there simply aren't enough respondents from Asia, South-America and Africa to divide the location per continents. Therefore the decision was made to divide the respondents into two groups. One of the groups is from low-crime countries (Gallup, 2018) and the second group is from high crime countries. The research used the designations from Law and Order Poll (Gallup, 2018) to decide whether a country is low- or high-crime. The divide was chosen because this can show best how culture can have an impact, as people from high-crime countries might have a completely different view on the matter than

people from low-crime countries. This also allows the test group to be divided on the basis of factual information and not an "artificial" divide like Western/Non-Western or Northern/Southern. After recoding the location information into two groups the data was ready for comparing the data.

The second question concerning unsafety and cultural associations asked people what their travel experience was. This means that they were asked how many times they have left their own country in the last five years for business or leisure. Five years was chosen as the cut-off point as memories on past travels tend to fade over time, so estimates on how many times people went to other places to travel tend to become more vague.

To test whether cultural associations played a big role in tourist fears of crime in the centre of Amsterdam multiple statistical tests were used. Firstly, to test whether people from high or low-crime countries feel more unsafe in the centre of Amsterdam a binary singular logistic regression based on the location of the respondents was used. Results showed that there is no difference. This could be due to the recoding of the location variable or due to other causes. The second statistical test connected the location of the respondents to their rating in terms of safety of the centre of Amsterdam, this test also showed that there seems to be no difference. The other tests connected the location of people to how they viewed the safety of the centre of Amsterdam compared to before going there and their view on how much crime there is in the centre of Amsterdam. These tests showed that there was no difference. Analysing this vis-a-vis the theory shows a strong dichotomy.

When combining both parts of the question you can see that cultural associations don't play a big role in tourist feelings of unsafety. The travel experience tourists have doesn't impact how safe they feel in the center of Amsterdam and it doesn't really matter too if you are from a low- or high-crime country. This can all be connected to the main message in this research paper, most tourists really do feel very safe in the center of Amsterdam. Comparing this to the theory, Bourne's (2011) research paper doesn't seem to apply in a low-crime city like Amsterdam.

5. Conclusions

Summing up all the results, the feelings of insecurity of tourists and residents have similarities, but are also very different. Residents focus more on general hindrances, like littering and other hindrances. Tourists pay more attention to petty crime, as they feel there is a higher likelihood of becoming a victim of pickpocketing than residents. This is also the main difference between residents and tourists, as both generally feel very safe in the centre of Amsterdam. Most of the tourists would also report a crime, but similar to Tarlow (2011) there is a large minority that wouldn't. Tourists feel even safer than residents though, as they rate the safety in the centre of Amsterdam significantly higher than residents. This doesn't mean that the center of Amsterdam is unsafe for residents though, they rate it very highly too (OIS, 2018). Hindrances matter more to residents though, but this doesn't impact their feelings of unsafety.

Tourists also generally feel very safe in the centre of Amsterdam, as the results of the survey questions have shown. In parks, public transport, on the streets and in busy areas tourists have enough confidence in their personal safety to answer positively to the research questions. On where tourists feel unsafe, the results of the qualitative questions have shown that tourists seemingly feel unsafe in the area surrounding the Central Station, near the Wallen and near homeless people. The Wallen especially sprung up as an area where people have feelings of insecurity, this is also due to the smell of weed.

Generally, a connection of cultural background to feelings of insecurity or unsafely could not be proven. This is different than what is said in the theory, but this could be due to the fact that the happiness in terms of safety of tourists in the center of Amsterdam is already very safe. This shows a difference from the theory, as according to George (2010), Bourne (2011), Resinger and Mavondo (2010) and Alleyne and Boxil (2003) there is supposed to be a difference.

To conclude, the answer to the main research question ("Why do tourists have feelings of insecurity in low-crime countries") focuses around the results of the survey. Tourists base their feelings of insecurity on possible petty crimes, fear places that look "grimy", but generally just feel

very safe. Theory on feelings of insecurity that tourists have doesn't seem to apply as much to low-crime countries or low-crime areas like the center of Amsterdam. The rating tourists give to the safety in the area is even higher than the rating residents give, so there seem to be no real reasons to be concerned. This shows a real difference from high-crime countries, where tourists feel more unsafe and there is a large divide between residents and tourists.

6. Discussion

The most important points in the discussion are: The test group and date/time of surveying, the survey itself and the recoding of the location variable. Firstly, regarding the test group and date/time of surveying. For better results it would have been better to use a larger group of respondents (the size of the group of respondents for this research paper was 81). This would have resulted in better results, better answers to the qualitative questions and a more useful location variable. The date and time of surveying are also a point of improvement. The survey was conducted on an iPad in the fall/winter. Due to this the temperatures on survey days were low and using the iPad generally was difficult. There is a probability that this has caused people to skip questions, miss the qualitative questions and spend less time than was actually necessary to properly answer the questions on the questions themselves.

Secondly, the survey. Better and more qualitative questions would have resulted in clearer and more useful data. This is because to know more about peoples fears of insecurity and why people have them qualitative questions really are the best. This is a great starter for further research. Quantitative questions could also be less vague. The question on the places where people feel insecure or unsafe didn't show any proper distinction between places, this could be connected to the fact that the places (parks, public transport) weren't specific enough for people to connect these feelings of insecurity and unsafety with them.

Lastly, the recoding of the location variable. This is based on the question where people were asked where they were from. In the thesis, this was recoded into a binary variable (low/high-crime countries). It'd be better to recode it into continents or cultural groups, this would mean that more respondents are necessary though.

7. Literature list

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Appendix A. The survey

	Tourist feelings of insecurity -
	Centre of Amsterdam
	1a. Where are you from?
	Where you live
	You can place the marker on your city
	1b. Travel experience
	How many times have you traveled outside of your own country for business or leisure (in the last 6 years)?
	2a. Feeling unsafe
	Have you ever felt unsafe while in the center of Amsterdam?
Yes	
No	
If yes: When, where and why?	
	2b. Feeling unsafe
	Does it ever happen that in the center of Amsterdam you:

Feel unsafe while in your accommodation alone?	
Fear you'll become a victim of crime?	
Feel unsafe while walking on the streets at night?	
Take a different route to your destination to avoid places that you deem to be unsafe?	
Often	
Sometimes	
Almost never or never	
No answer	
	2c. Feeling unsafe
	I feel safe in the following places in Amsterdam
On the streets	
In public transport	
In parks	
In busy areas	
Completely agree	
Agree	
Disagree	

Completely disagree	
	2d. Feeling unsafe: Rating how safe the centre of Amsterdam is
	If you would have to rate how safe the centre of Amsterdam is, what grade (from 1 to 10) would you give?
1	
10	
	2e. Feeling unsafe: The reality compared to expectations
	Do you think that the centre of Amsterdam is safer, as safe or more unsafe than you thought before going here?
More safe	
As safe	
More unsafe	
If more safe or more unsafe, why?	
	3a. Crime in Amsterdam

	Do you think that there is a lot, almost no, or no crime whatsoever in the center of Amsterdam?
A lot of crime	
Almost no crime	
No crime whatsoever	
	3b. Crime in Amsterdam
	How do you assess the risk of the following crimes in Amsterdam?
Being pickpocketed (without violence)	
Being robbed on the street (with violence)	
Your accommodation being broken into	
Mental or physical assault	
Significant	
Large	
Average	
Small	
Very small	

	3c. Feeling unsafe: The police
	If you would become a victim of a crime while in the centre of Amsterdam, would you report it to the police?
Yes	
No	
	3d. Feeling unsafe: The police
	Why wouldn't you report it to the police? (Choose THREE)
Too much of a hassle	
Don't know how to do it	
The police will not solve the crime anyways	
It's difficult to approach the police	
I fear the police will not take my report seriously	
I don't speak Dutch	
	Thanks for your participation!

Appendix B. Peer Reviewers Comments

The peer reviewer commented that commented that the in-text citation wasn't always good, therefore this was fixed. The peer reviewer commented that the paper missed a literature list. Because of this a literature list was added combined with a reference to table 2.

Adding to this, a pointer sentence was added to the section in the "Questions Thesis" part of the thesis. This to point readers to the text that shows where the research questions were based on. The flow between the theoretical framework and the conceptual model was also improved, this to make it easier for the reader to analyse the thesis. The peer reviewer also commented on expanding the ethical considerations, but as this is quantitative research, expanding them is not really possible.

The headings were also changed on the suggestion of the peer reviewer, as they can cause a reader to have more interest in reading that specific part of the thesis.