



The Role of Authenticity in the Representation of Destinations in the Netherlands: A Postcard Analysis

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Abstract

The postcard is one of the most popular products in the tourism industry, as postcards have different purposes. Despite this, the postcard remains an underexamined subject especially in relation to important concepts, such as authenticity and the representation of destinations. This thesis aims to examine the role authenticity plays in postcards of global and local destinations in the Netherlands. Quantitative content analysis and semiotic analysis have shown that there are multiple forms of authenticity used in postcards to represent the destinations. The difference for the local and global destinations lies in how the postcards represent the destinations. While for global destinations modernity and uniqueness is emphasized, in local destinations traditional culture is emphasized. Interviews conducted with foreign tourists furthermore indicate the use of constructive authenticity in postcards. This means that the imagery on postcards partially corresponds with expectations regarding the destinations and with preferences regarding the imagery on postcards. The interviews further reveal the diversity of interpretations on the use of authenticity in postcards. Therefore, authenticity is of importance for how the destinations are perceived through postcards.

Key words: Postcards, Authenticity, Destination representation

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1. Introduction

At any tourist destination in the world, postcards can be found. In all places, there is an opportunity to purchase postcards, for instance at airports, hotels, tourist attractions, souvenir shops, and street vendors (Milman, 2011). Even though digital communication is accessible nowadays, postcards are still purchased (Price, 2013). Postcards are therefore one of the most popular and widely available forms of travel photography (Albers & James, 1988). Additionally, the postcard has multiple functions. Mainly, the postcard is purchased as a mean of communication (Milman, 2011; Rogan, 2005). Accordingly, postcards are purchased to send to the tourists' relatives or friends. Hereby, the postcards serve as prove of having been to the destination (Albers & James, 1988; Price, 2013; Schlüter, 1998; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Moreover, the postcard has the function of being a souvenir (Milman, 2011; Rogan, 2005). In this case, the postcards function as a product to remember the destination that has been visited (Price, 2013; Rogan, 2005; Schlüter, 1998; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007).

Besides, postcards are used to advertise and anticipate travel (Albers & James, 1988). Picture postcards not only represent the product, which are destinations, but also communicate attributes, characteristics, concepts, values, and ideas (Hahm, Li & Milman, 2011; Mackay & Fesenmaier, 1997). According to Albers & James (1988), photography in the tourism sector is therefore a major force in the manipulation of imagery. Moreover, postcards have the ability to influence without appearing to do so (Albers & James, 1988). Accordingly, postcards can regulate what tourists see and how they see it, but also how they know and understand what they see (Albers & James, 1988).

Furthermore, postcards of destinations invite the tourist to visit the destination which is represented on the postcard (Cohen, 2007; Markwick, 2001). Thus, these destinations are represented on the postcards as being timeless, exotic or authentic (Cohen, 2007; Markwick, 2001). While representations are used to suggest authenticity in postcards, reference points are often the past, nature, folk societies and communities (Markwick, 2001). Postcards, also help in guiding the tourist gaze (Waitt & Head, 2002). Thereby, the postcard informs the tourist on where to gaze, in terms of what to see (Urry, 1995, p. 133; Waitt & Head, 2002).

Additionally, in relation to the concept of authenticity differences are expected regarding globality and locality. Hereby, it is expected that the global will have more focus on contemporary and future visions, while there is a focus on being dynamic (Wu, 2005). On the other hand, the local is expected to concentrate on local culture, such as folkloric costumes as well as historical rootedness in relation to authenticity (Cohen, 1988). Therefore, there is tension between the global and the local, which causes to have diverse expectations in relation to the use of authenticity in postcards. While this thesis will conduct research on postcards, four destinations are chosen. From those four destinations, there are two global destinations, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and two local destinations, Volendam and Kinderdijk.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the role authenticity plays in postcards of destinations in the Netherlands. To reach this aim, this thesis will develop a theoretical framework for creating a deeper understanding on the role authenticity plays in representing destinations, with the use of postcards. Furthermore, quantitative content analysis and semiotic analysis of postcards, together with interviews with foreign tourists in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk, will be conducted to be able to answer the research questions, which will be discussed later on in this thesis.

This thesis will start with a literature review on postcard research in tourism, the representation of destinations, authenticity in a tourism context, and the global/ local nexus. After the literature review, the gaps in literature together with the research questions will be discussed, whereby the scientific and social relevance of this research will be explained as well. The methodology for this research will be discussed in the next chapter. This followed by the results of this research, which is split up for the quantitative content analysis, semiotic analysis, the interviews. Finally, the conclusion and discussion, together with limitations and suggestions for future research will be discussed.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Historical Background of Postcards

The Austrian government initially printed and distributed the first official postcard in 1869 (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006; Price, 2013). These postcards consisted of a blank space on the front side to write text, while the back side was meant for the address and a stamp (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Great Britain followed with the introduction of this kind of postcard in 1870 (Milman, 2011). In 1902, Great Britain was the first country to introduce the divided back postcard (Milman, 2011). The divided back postcard was established by the Royal Mail, who allowed the address and stamp to be on the same side of the postcard, which made room for a picture on the other side (Milman, 2011). Subsequently, the postcard as we know it today originated in the United States in 1907 (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Since 1902 the popularity of postcards increased, while the front side included imagery from that time on (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006; Milman, 2011). This immediate popularity can be explained by the social, economic, and technological changes in Europe and North America (Price, 2013). At that time, paid holidays were introduced, and railway networks were expanded (Price, 2013). Furthermore, photographic images could be reproduced with a high-quality, because of the technological developments (Price, 2013). Accordingly, the golden age of postcards started, which lasted till 1915 (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Postcards also played an important role when the tourism industry started to emerge (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Since more people became able to travel, a consumerist attitude towards travel initiated (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Therefore, souvenirs and postcards began to be mass produced, because tourists needed to make sense of their travel experiences, in the context of a consumption-oriented society (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). This was accomplished by objectifying their travel experiences (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006).

2.2 Postcard Research in Tourism

There have been numerous researches that include postcards in their analysis, with all having their own approach. Some authors focus on ethnic representations through postcards, such as Thurlow et al. (2005). In this research, it was concluded that images of local people are used to promote so called ethnotourism (Thurlow et al., 2005). Moreover, Burns (2004) analysed postcards from the colonial era in Arabia. Hereby, he focused on the visual discourse of power and the interconnection between history and politics (Burns, 2004). Furthermore, Mellinger (1994) examined photographic postcards of African Americans in the South, during the period of 1893-1917. In this research, it was concluded that photographers used specific symbolic strategies to culturally represent black bodies' distinctiveness (Mellinger, 1994). Another example is that of Albers & James (1988), who conducted research on the relationship between tourism, ethnicity, and photography. Herewith, a sample that was collected in a

35-year period from different parts of the world was used (Albers & James, 1988). Mamiya (1992), also conducted research on cultures in relation to postcards. In this case, Hawaiian culture was researched to see how this culture is shaped as well as represented by postcards (Mamiya, 1992).

Another approach in postcard research is the role that postcards play in representing a destination image. For example, Milman (2012) analysed postcards from Berlin and concluded there was no clear view of contemporary Berlin, leaving the city without a clear identity. Rather, the postcards showed Berlin's past, different icons, and mascots (Milman, 2012). Moreover, Markwick (2001) analysed postcards in Malta, concluding that stereotypical images are sustained. However, the destination image was also expanded by the images on postcards, since tourists try to access "backstage realities" (Markwick, 2001). Furthermore, Yüksel & Akgül (2007) determined that feelings brought about by postcards determine the extent to which a destination is valued as a travel destination. In somewhat the same way, Pritchard & Morgan (2003) analysed 12 picture postcards of Wales using a discourse analysis. The authors aimed to find out which images of three competing identities are favoured and which are disadvantaged (Pritchard & Morgan, 2003).

Likewise, Waitt & Head (2002) examined the role of postcards in preserving frontier mythologies for Australian nation building and creation. Herewith, Waitt & Head (2002) link postcards to the tourist gaze, claiming that postcards instruct tourists on how and what to see in terms of where and when to gaze. Similarly, Garrod (2009) looks at the closed circle of representation in tourism. Garrod (2009) thereby examined whether the imagery of destinations provided by the tourism industry become the objects of the tourist gaze, which therefore makes these objects subjects of photography.

On the other hand, Milman (2011) developed a conceptual framework of four types of postcards. With the use of this framework, the author found that there are not many postcards representing authentic and true images of Alanya, Turkey. Instead, most of the postcards provided confusing images of the destination (Milman, 2011). This same framework was applied in a research with the destination Orlando (Hahm, Li & Milman, 2011). The conclusion of this research is that most of the postcards did not feature a realistic representation of Orlando, but more a misleading or fantasy representation (Hahm, Li & Milman, 2011). Furthermore, Larsen & Swanbrow (2006) examined the representation of Phoenix, which lacked an authentic Phoenix because most of the postcards showed the commercial landscape.

Apart from that, Cohen (2007) states that postcards are not always used for sending or representing destinations. Cohen (2007) examined Santa Claus on Christmas cards, whereby the images encourage people from the North to spend their Christmas in Thailand. Therefore, Santa Claus is used to promote tourism in Thailand (Cohen, 2007).

2.3 Representation of Destinations

As mentioned before, postcards can play a role in the representation of destinations. Destinations are generally seen as spaces where power, identity, meaning and behaviour is created and discussed, according to socio-cultural dynamics (Aitcheson & Reeves, 1998, p. 51; as cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). This is because space and place are nowadays seen as socio-cultural constructions, and not only as physical locations (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001).

Consequently, this shapes the relationship between culture, identity, and the marketing of places and people in tourism (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Therefore, the tourism industry mostly produces images of destinations, which match with the wishes of the producers of these images (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005).

While the postcard is a true tourist icon, this product is of importance to the tourism industry (Markwick, 2001; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Picture postcards namely represent the destination, through which characteristics, attributes, concepts, values and ideas are also communicated (Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). This makes the postcard of importance in the image of a tourism destination (Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). The image people have of a destination can be established through the pictures portrayed on postcards (Garrod, 2009). Images are generally mental pictures that people have, which are formed by features that make up a destination (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). These images are therefore important for the success of a destination (Milman, 2011; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). This tourism image also shapes the expectations that tourists have of destinations, which are then compared with the actual experience in the destination (Bigne, Sanchez & Sanchez, 2001; Garrod, 2009). Therefore, the image people have of a destination is influenced by the evaluation of the experiences in the destination (Bigne, Sanchez & Sanchez, 2001). Furthermore, when souvenirs are made, such as postcards, it is important to meet the expectations tourists have (Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; as cited in Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007). Thus, the images on postcards should be in line with what tourists expect and have seen of the destination (Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; as cited in Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007). Accordingly, the postcard is of importance in the representation of destinations since it can shape destination images (Garrod, 2009). Correspondingly, postcards exert great power in the representation of destinations (Garrod, 2009).

Postcards might also have an influence on the destination choices people make (Ribeiro, 2009). People want to see something new, which might be noticed on the picture postcards received from family or friends (Ribeiro, 2009). Therefore, in some cases postcards are the basis of tourists' motivation to travel to a destination, after which they can gaze on the visual representation illustrated on that postcard (Garrod, 2009). The information a postcard contains about a destination can also be a tool for moving tourists from unawareness to awareness about a destination (Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Awareness is a concept that determines tourist's destination choices (Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Accordingly, three consideration sets relate to this awareness, which are evoked, inert, and inept (Woodside & Sherrell, 1977; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). The evoked set means that tourists are aware of a destination, and there is a chance of visiting that destination (Woodside & Sherrell, 1977; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). The inert set also means that tourists are aware of the destination, however there is no certainty the destination will be visited (Woodside & Sherrell, 1977; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). On the other hand, the inept set relates to tourists being aware, however the destination will not be visited (Woodside & Sherrell, 1977; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Postcards can therefore be a tool to place a destination in the evoked set (Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Thus, postcards can be considered as an input source for representing a destination (Milman, 2011). When looking at postcards, the tourists' image of a destination may be developed or altered, because of the exposure to new features and messages postcards hold (Milman, 2011).

This shows that tourism imagery, including postcards, has significant implications for how destinations are perceived (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Herewith, tourism representations reflect the identity of the destination, while these representations are constantly produced and consumed (Hall, 1997; as cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Moreover, tourism destination marketers want to establish destination images whereby the promoted and perceived image align (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993; as cited in MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997). Nowadays, destinations are mostly represented by promotional materials (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Nelson, 2005). This is because tourism destination marketers want to display specific images of destinations, to attract certain target groups (Hopkins, 1998; as cited in Nelson, 2005). The identity of a destination is advertised in such a way that the representation are interpretations of reality, rather than the reflection of reality (Nelson, 2005). Furthermore, destinations are represented as a place that should be enjoyed by tourists (Nelson, 2005). Consequently, local inhabitants are represented as irrelevant (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 227; Nelson, 2005).

Thus, visuals such as photographs, pictures, and other symbolic images are of importance when communicating the destination's image, since tourism is visually oriented and experience-based (Mackay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Milman, 2011). In general, destination image is defined as the impressions, ideas, expectations, and beliefs people hold about a destination (Crompton, 1979; Day, Skidmore & Koller, 2002; Gartner, 1994; Hsu & Song, 2013; Kim & Richardson, 2003; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Milman, 2011; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Furthermore, destination image is the combination of denotative and connotative elements, hence the combination of actual images and metaphorical implications (Edwards, 1996, p. 198; as cited in Hunter, 2008). Moreover, research on destination image moves into three directions, the extrinsic direction, the intrinsic direction, and the dynamic direction (Hunter, 2008). The extrinsic direction reflects on the representation in contrast to reality (Hunter, 2008; McGregor, 2000). The intrinsic direction reflects on the meaning and messages the images contain, as well as its style (Hunter, 2008; McGregor, 2000). Then, the dynamic direction is concerned with the power that images and texts have, to influence the perceptions of destinations and tourist experiences (Hunter, 2008; McGregor, 2000).

On the other hand, according to Gartner (1996) destination image consists of three components, which are cognitive, affective, and conative (as cited in Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). From a cognitive point of view, destination image relates to the attributes that are in line with the objects and activities a tourist destination has to offer (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Then, affective image is related to the feelings tourists have about an object (Gartner, 1996; as cited in Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Moreover, the conative image relates to the action component, whereby a decision is made to travel somewhere after external and internal stimuli about a destination are processed (Gartner, 1996; as cited in Yüksel & Akgül, 2007).

In general, there are different ways of describing representations of destinations. According to Hunter (2008), original characteristics of a destination are altered into a reproduction, and in this way destinations are represented by the means of postcards. Moreover, a true description is another way of defining representations (Brown, 1995, p. 135; as cited in Hunter, 2008). According to Hollinshead (2000, p. 501), representations are the structure of an image of objects or events, according to agreements (as cited in Hunter, 2008). However, the true descriptions derive from the past through narratives, books, travel stories, and newspapers about other places (Hunter, 2008). Therefore, these

representations do not exist independently (Hunter, 2008). This means that trust should be put into these true descriptions to recognize different social realities that are present in various destinations (Hunter, 2008). Because of photography, these tourism representations become real and widely available for tourism media, which includes brochures, guidebooks, and postcards (Hunter, 2008). Photography, therefore, shapes people's expectations and influences the creation of personal photographs (Dann, 1996, p. 87; as cited in Hunter, 2008). In tourism, representations evoke emotions such as envy and desire. Furthermore, the representations of destinations inform the tourists of what is worth seeing because they are extraordinary (Dann, 1996, p.66; Edwards, 1996; as cited in Hunter, 2008).

An issue arises here of what determines what an authentic representation of culture and a destination is (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007). Moreover, authenticity appeals to the honesty in which tourism destinations are represented on postcards (Hughes, 1995). What tourists search for is something that is out of the ordinary, something that is different from their everyday experiences (Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006). On the other hand, photographic representations of a destination cause expectations that are related to the quest for authenticity, which motivates people to engage in tourism (Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006; Cohen, 1988).

2.4 Authenticity in a Tourism Context

The concept of authenticity is of importance in the representation of destinations, accordingly the underlying theories for this concept need to be discussed. Ever since MacCannell (1973, 1976) discussed authenticity in a tourism context, the debate on the concept started (Cole, 2007; MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999; Cohen, 1988; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). MacCannell (1973), discussed the so called front and back regions. The back regions are often inauthentic, which are staged for tourist consumption (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1973). The staged authenticity MacCannell (1973) discusses is said to hinder the desire of tourists to have authentic experiences (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1973). Therefore, tourists might think they have entered a back region, while it is a back region that has been set up (MacCannell, 1973). MacCannell (1973) also states that the quest for authenticity the main motive is for tourism (MacCannell, 1973; Olsen, 2002; Cohen, 1988). Tourists are looking more for experiences that are original and real, rather than experiences which are fake or impure (Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007). The search for authenticity is based upon feelings of nostalgia, whereby there is a search for personal historic roots and heritage (Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007). Yeoman et al. (2007), see education as a key driver in authenticity since tourists are more knowledgeable in the choices they make. Moreover, authenticity is an expression of someone's individualism when self-actualisation is achieved through volunteering or tracing ancestral roots (Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007). An authentic experience can also be seen as the desire to explore the untouched, rather than the overcrowded tourist spots (Yeoman, Brass & McMahon-Beattie, 2007).

Even though this work of MacCannell (1973) was revolutionary, until this day there is no consensus on the concept, since there are multiple theoretical perspectives and definitions (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). The difficulty in the use of authenticity in tourism studies is that it is originally a philosophical concept, which has been uncritically introduced in sociological analysis (Cohen, 1988). Some authors define authenticity as an object being genuine and the real thing, rather than a copy (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Another view is from Cole

(2007) who states that authenticity is a cultural notion from the western point of view, associated with the primitive other in contrast to modernity. Moreover, Olsen (2002) states authenticity must be seen as an important value in Western thought. However, different authors criticised this take on authenticity and think there is a need for differentiation of authenticity (Cole, 2007; Olsen, 2002). Consequently, looking past the concept as simple dichotomies like true or false, and genuine or fake (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Wang, 1999; Grayson & Martinec, 2004).

Selwyn (1996), therefore distinguishes between hot and cool authenticity (as cited in Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Hot authenticity is an aspect of an imagined world of tourist make-believe, whereby there is a search for an authentic self and authentic other (Selwyn, 1996; as cited in Cohen & Cohen, 2012). On the other hand, cool authenticity is defined as reserved for propositions which aim to be open to the procedures of Popper (Selwyn, 1996; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Cohen & Cohen (2012) build their work upon that of Selwyn (1996; as cited in Cohen & Cohen, 2012). According to Cohen & Cohen (2012, p. 5), "Cool authentication is typically a single, explicit, often formal or even official, performative (speech) act, by which the authenticity of an object, site, event, custom, role or person is declared to be original genuine or real, rather than a copy, fake or spurious". On the other hand, Hot authentication is defined as "an immanent, reiterative, informal performative process of creating, preserving and reinforcing an object's, site's, or event's authenticity" (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p. 7). These two forms of authentication differ in several ways from each other. While cool authentication has an authenticating agent to make coolly acts effective, hot authentication lacks an authenticating agent (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Moreover, cool authentication is based on proof, while hot authentication is more based on belief (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Also, cool authentication is enacted without the participation of pubic, which makes it independent of visitors (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). On the other hand, hot authentication is socially produced since the authentication is maintained and strengthened by visitors' performative practices (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).

Wang (1999), makes another distinction whereby three forms of authenticity are discussed, which are objective authenticity, constructive authenticity, and existential authenticity (Cole, 2007; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002). Hereby, a distinction is made between tourist experiences and toured objects, which are two different kinds of authenticity often confused as one (Wang, 1999). Objective authenticity relates to the toured objects to be perceived by tourists, which is a museum-linked perspective (Wang, 1999). Trilling (1972) was the first one to relate the concept of authenticity to museums, which is the original use of authenticity in tourism (as cited in Cohen, 1988; as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Herewith, objects of art were tested in relation to whether they are what they appear to be and therefore deserve the admiration they are given (as cited in Cohen, 1988; as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Therefore, the toured objects can be recognised as authentic, even though the toured object might not be judged as authentic by experts (Wang, 1999). In tourism literature, objectivists authenticity is observed and judged by experts instead of by tourists (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). This means that while tourists might think they have encountered an authentic object or experience, this might be false or staged (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Then, constructive authenticity is the result of social construction, which is not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited (Cole, 2007; Wang, 1999).

Therefore, constructive authenticity, also known as symbolic authenticity, is a feature which tourists and tourism suppliers project onto objects, based on imagery, expectations, preferences or power (Belhassen et al., 2008; Mkono, 2012). This makes this form of authenticity social and personal (Beer, 2008; Mkono, 2012; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Existential authenticity is different from the previous mentioned forms of authenticity. Existential authenticity involves personal feelings, which are activated by tourist activities (Wang, 1999). Hereby, not the toured object is found to be authentic, rather the people themselves are perceived to be authentic, due to the engagement in non-ordinary activities (Wang, 1999). Within existential authenticity there are two dimensions, intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity (Olsen, 2002; Wang, 1999). Firstly, intra-personal authenticity relates to bodily feelings in two aspects, sensual and symbolic (Wang, 1999). Moreover, intra-personal authenticity relates to self-making (Wang,1999). When people cannot reach self-actualization in their everyday life, they are likely to turn to tourism to reach that goal (Olsen, 2002; Wang, 1999). Secondly, inter-personal authenticity relates to the pleasure of tourism existent in seeing exotic things, and more importantly in sharing and communicating this pleasure with other tourists or family, who are seeing a sight at the same time (Wang, 1999).

Furthermore, Bruner (1994) distinguishes four ways in which authenticity is present in the context of New Salum, where Abraham Lincoln once lived (Olsen, 2002). 1) the original as opposed to copies (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). 2) a complete and historically accurate simulation of how it used to be, making it an authentic reproduction (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). 3) a historically accurate replication which resembles the original enough to look credible (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002). 4) authorized and certified by legitimate institutions (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Moreover, Handler (1986) described three assumptions regarding authenticity. Firstly, authenticity is a cultural construct of the modern Western World (Handler, 1986). Secondly, authenticity is a cultural construct which closely relates to the Western notions of the individual (Handler, 1986). Thirdly, nationalist ideologies and anthropological thinking attach authenticity to cultures (Handler, 1986).

Another important aspect to realise is that tourists are often influenced when it comes to authenticity. According to McGregor (2000) the less tourists care about authenticity, the more chance they will be influenced by brochures including the reproduced authenticity. Especially in Western societies, the interpretation of authenticity is often conciliated by professionals (Walsh, 1992, as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Moreover, tourists already have thoughts about the site in their mind, because of tour guides or friends and family who told them what to expect (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Another way in which tourists might be influenced is by media, TV, videos, and films (Urry, 1990; as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

2.5 Global-Local Nexus

When looking at the authenticity aspect, the global and local divide is also of interest. Local identities are often seen as more authentic (Richards, 2007, p. 4). This is noticed in the development of products for the tourism industry, as well as the analysis of tourism (Richards, 2007, p.4). Moreover, authentic experiences include traditional local culture rather than popular and contemporary culture (Richards, 2007, p. 4). On the other hand, city spaces are inauthentic, as people seek authenticity through

professionally designed and commercially constructed spaces and places whose invented traditions, symbolism and commercialized heritage all make for convergence rather than spatial identity (Knox, 2005). However, the authenticity in villages is also rapidly deteriorated by modernity (Picard & Wood, 1997, p.146).

Thus, in general globalization is about the growing worldwide interconnections between societies (MacKay, 2004, p. 48). Hereby, a superficial world is created (Morley & Robins, 2002). Moreover, globalization is often seen as a process whereby events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can have consequences for the people and communities in distant parts of the world (Salazar, 2005). Because of this global interconnectedness and interdependency, cross-cultural production of local meanings, self-images, representations, and particular lifestyles for various groups and individuals starts to exist (Salazar, 2005). Related to tourism, Poon proposed the concept of new tourism (as cited in Chang et al., 1996). Poon argues that the international tourism industry has been through a transformation because of changing local and global trends (as cited in Chang et al., 1996). While in the past the tourism industry was mass and standardized, new tourism is more flexible and segmented (as cited in Chang et al., 1996). Related to authenticity, some scholars argue that globalized tourism changes local cultures in such a way that they become simulated for tourist consumption (MacCannell, 1973; Gotham, 2005). Furthermore, Castell's (1996) argues that there is a move away from space of places, which are unique settings with rich emotional ties, well-defined culture and history, and longstanding and respected traditions (as cited in Gotham, 2005). Instead, there is more focus on spaces of flows which is defined by discontinuity, and lack of stability (Gotham, 2005). In contrast, localization implies that local actors and organizations can control the local, by producing unique products, establishing local social ties and networks, and building place distinctiveness by using different themes, symbols, and motifs (Gotham, 2005).

Another interesting concept here is glocalization, which relates to local cultures not necessarily being homogenized because of globalization (Mak et al., 2012). Actually, local cultures can be reinvented because of globalization (Mak et al., 2012). Furthermore, glocalization is associated with the development of more differentiated and distinct consumers (Salazar, 2005). This matches well with global marketing strategies, since it promotes the experience of authentic and traditional cultures (Salazar, 2005). Originally, glocalization concerns itself with the accommodation of global products to particular circumstances, in a micromarketing meaning. However, in a tourism context glocalization is concerned with accommodating local products, such as representations of heritage and culture, to international tourists who are changing global audiences (Salazar, 2005). This shows there is a tension between the global and the local leading to a distinction in destinations, namely global destination and local destinations.

Global destinations in this research are equal to global cities. Smith (1997) characterized global cities as locations of networks of flows of capital, people, and culture that connect different places around the world (as cited in Lie, 2013, p. 133). Moreover, from a more cultural approach compared to the previous economic consideration, global city can be defined by several aspects (Lie, 2003, p. 133). First, the presence of foreigners, which can be migrants, tourists, international businessman, and international exchange students (Lie, 2003, p. 133). Second, the existing daily cross-cultural flow of cultural products and advertising (Lie, 2003, p. 133). Third, the outward looking tendencies of the local people (Lie, 2003, p. 133). Furthermore, homogeneity and standardization are established in cities,

making them comparable to the global (Chang et al., 1996). On the contrary, local destinations are spatially limited localities (Salazar, 2005). Besides, local destinations are inhabited by people with a particular sense of place, way of living, and a certain mentality and worldview (Salazar, 2005). According to Richards (2007), localities find it increasingly important to assert their identity in the face of globalization.

2.6 Gaps in Literature

This literature review has shown that there is some research that tries to show the relationship between postcards and destination image. However, this research does not exist in a great extent, leaving the role postcards play in representing destinations still underexamined. Therefore, more research is needed to create a deeper understanding about the role of postcards in the representation of destinations. In particular, at this moment it is not yet known what role authenticity plays in the representation of destinations, with the use of postcards. While there is extensive research on the concept of authenticity, until now it has been underexamined in relation to the representation of destinations through postcards. Furthermore, authenticity is underexamined in relation to globalization and localization. Additionally, from the literature review it can be concluded that experts are the only people who observe and judge authenticity. This means that the tourists' point of view is neglected regarding this concept. Therefore, it is unknown which influence this has on the use of authenticity in postcard. Consequently, research is needed to increase the knowledge on the link between these concepts.

Therefore, this research aims to address the gap in research regarding the representation of destinations through postcards. Especially, to increase the understanding about how authenticity is used in the representation of global and local destinations in the Netherlands, through postcards. While this research will add to existing literature, this research is of scholarly relevance. Research on this topic could be useful for tourism marketers, since it indicates whether the postcards of the discussed destinations can be classified as authentic. Therefore, seeing if these postcards are true to the destination. Furthermore, this research can show marketers where to adjust a current representation with additional textual or photographic representations (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). In addition, the destination image should reasonably correspond to the actual characteristics of the destination (Garrod, 2009). Thus, the role authenticity plays in postcards should be examined, to make sure tourists together with the people who receive postcards from the destinations are not deceived by showing something staged, which does not correspond with the destination.

The following main research question has been formulated to address the current gap in literature:

What role does authenticity play in postcards of global and local destinations in the Netherlands?

The following specific research questions will help answer the main research question:

- Which forms of authenticity are most emphasised?
- > Does the use of authenticity differ between global and local destinations?
- How do tourists assess the authenticity of destinations?
- Does the assessment of tourists correspond with the initial analysis?

3. Methodology

This research is a mixed-methods research. In this research, quantitative content analysis and semiotic analysis is conducted, to find out what role authenticity plays in representing destinations through postcards. Furthermore, interviews are conducted to find out the tourists' perspective on the concept of authenticity, and thoughts on the use of authenticity in postcards.

3.1 Study Setting

This research is conducted in four destinations, which are Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk. These four destinations are the result of the examination of the global and local in relation to authenticity in this research. Hereby, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are destinations that are global, while they are global cities. A global city can be defined by the following three elements: 1) a great number of foreigners is present, who are migrants, tourists, international businessman and international exchange students; 2) there is a daily flow of cultural products and advertising; 3) the outward looking tendencies of people in these cities (Lie, 2003, p. 133). On the other hand, Volendam and Kinderdijk are local since these destinations are spatially limited localities, with inhabitants who have a particular sense of place, way of living, and a certain mentality and worldview (Salazar, 2005). In these destinations traditions are kept alive and these are also promoted in tourism marketing (Salazar, 2005).

3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis can be used to study print and graphic communication, such as postcards (Camprubí & Coromina, 2016; Smith, 2010, p. 201). The focus in this part of the research is quantitative content analysis, since the method involves counting (Brotherton, 2015, p. 276; Camprubí & Coromina, 2016; Smith, 2010, p. 211). This type of content analysis is also known as manifest content analysis (Smith, 2010, p. 219). With manifest content analysis, word counts are performed of observable features in postcards, while no interpretation of the content of the postcard is given (Smith, 2010, p. 219). Hereby, postcards in each of the four destinations will be counted, to determine which forms of authenticity are emphasized in postcards. By this means, it is found out whether there is more focus on object-related authenticity, or activity-related authenticity according to the literature of Wang (1999). This means that it will be examined whether there is more focus on objects or activities in postcards. Furthermore, in the second round of analysis, manifest content analysis will be used once again. By this means, manifest content analysis will also be used to categorize which kind of objects and activities are illustrated on the postcards.

3.2.1 Data analysis

Data analysis in this phase of research involves the creation of categories, in order to code the data (Rose, 2012, p. 90). Hereby, the categories describe what is seen on the postcards. The first round of analysis only has two categories which are object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity. The second round of analysis includes creating categories which go into depth about what is illustrated on the postcards, within these two categories of object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity. After this the categories will be counted, so that a quantitative account of the content is created (Rose, 2012, p. 97). This will be performed by frequency counts, which are both absolute as relative.

3.3 Staged Authenticity Scale

For the following two research methods, semiotic analysis interviews, a research tool has been designed to make it possible to perform this research. This research tool is inspired by the preliminary theoretical framework developed by (2011). This theoretical framework shows the destination image of Alanya, Turkey, represented postcards. Milman's (2011)theoretical framework consists of a matrix with two dimensions, the level of authenticity displayed in the pictures portrayed on postcards, and the level of contextual representation of the tourist's potential experience at the destination (Milman, 2011).

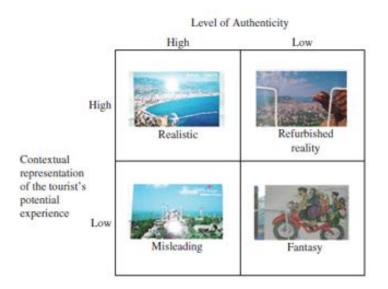


Figure 1. Theoretical Framework Milman (2011)

For the first dimension, the postcards are sorted from low to high authenticity, whereby the evaluation of authenticity is based on how close the picture, image, or item portrayed on the postcard is a truthful representation of the destination (Milman, 2011). The second dimension is evaluated by how close the picture, image, or item portrayed on the postcard is to the potential experience by the tourist while at the destination (Milman, 2011). Consequently, the cross-reference of these two dimensions create four types of postcards which are: realistic, refurbished reality, misleading and fantasy (Hahm, Li & Milman, 2011; Milman, 2011). Milman's (2011) theoretical framework is shown above in figure 1.

After the literature review the researcher conducted on the concept of authenticity, an adaptation to the theoretical framework of Milman (2011) was made. The decision for this adaptation is made, because of the need for more theoretical underpinning. The theoretical framework of Milman (2011), does not elaborate on the forms of authenticity.

The multiple forms of authenticity are of importance to this research, therefore an adaptation is made with regards to these forms of authenticity. The new developed research tool is shown in figure 2. This research tool is a scale in which staged authenticity can be measured for object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity.



Figure 2. Staged Authenticity Scale

The two forms of authenticity used for the theoretical framework, object-related and activity-related authenticity, are discussed by Wang (1999). In table 1, there is a summary of objective, constructive, and existential authenticity. The staged authenticity scale, shown in figure 2, will be tested on both object-related authenticity as well as activity-related authenticity. Meaning, the postcards will be tested for objects as well as activities on the level of staged authenticity.

Table 1. Types of Tourism Experiences (Based on Wang, 1999).

Object-Related Authenticity	Activity-Related Authenticity
Objective authenticity:	Existential authenticity:
The authenticity of originals.	A potential existential state of being that is activated
	by tourist activities.
Constructive authenticity:	
The authenticity projected onto toured objects by	
tourists or tourism producers in terms of their	
imagery expectation, preferences, beliefs, powers,	
etc.	

In the theoretical framework, the concept of "staged authenticity" ranges from low to high. This means that the indicator "low staged authenticity" is defined as the object or activity being genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). On the other hand, the indicator "high staged authenticity" refers directly to the definition of MacCannell (1973) meaning tourist attractions being staged for the tourist experience, thereby being false, fake and impure. The postcards can be ranged anywhere on this scale.

3.4 Semiotic Analysis

According to Rose (2012, p. 105), "semiology offers a very full box of analytical tools for taking an image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meaning". Within semiology, signs are the most important aspect (Rose, 2012, p. 113). Semiotics is therefore the study of signs, which is the analysis of anything that stands for something else (Griffin, 2012, p. 332; Jenkins, 2003). Furthermore, a semiotic analysis is useful for studying the content of photographic images, such as postcards, and how these images communicate messages about destinations they depict through signs (Jenkins, 2003).

3.4.1 Data Analysis

The postcards are analysed with the use of Peirce's (1931-1958) model of representation (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). This model consists of three elements, the object, sign, and an interpretant (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Moreover, Peirce's (1931-1958) ontology emphasizes the sign-object relationship, which is divided into icon, index, and symbol (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Furthermore, Peirce (1931-1958) emphasizes the importance of collateral experience in the interpretation of representations (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

The collateral experience means that people need to have prior knowledge of an object, in order to recognize a sign, as a sign (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Within the model, the object is the first component, which can be either real or imagined (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

For representing destinations, the destination or part of the destination can be seen as an object (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The object can also be a country, a geo-political entity, or a smaller geographical area (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Objects can also be physical entities and behaviours (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). In this research, the object is the destination. Therefore, the objects are Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk. Then there is the sign, which stands for something else (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The content of the signs, within destination representations, varies from objects (buildings, streets, landmarks, etc.) to activities (festivals, dining, sports etc.) (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The last component of the model is the interpretant, which is the meaning of the sign (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Peirce's (1931-1958) triadic model is shown below in figure 3.

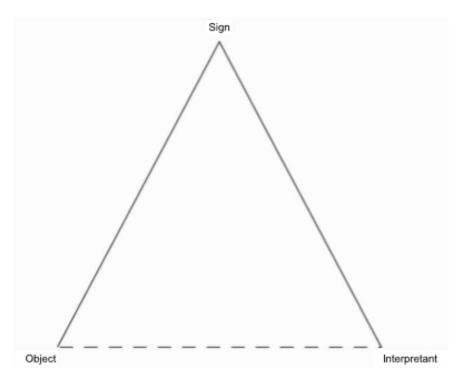


Figure 3. Peirce's Triadic Model (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

The analysis will identify these components according to Peirce's (1931-1958) model. However, in the analysis a distinction is also made between denotation and connotation (Rose, 2012, p. 120). For the denotation, a description will be given of what can be seen on the postcards (Rose, 2012, p. 120). After that, the signs within the postcards will be analysed according to the connotive level (Rose, 2012, p. 120). This kind of signs have higher level meanings (Rose, 2012, p. 120).

Afterwards, the sign-object relationship will be analysed according to Peirce's (1931-1958) model (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). This relationship is important to analyse, since it indicates why a sign is interpreted in the way it is interpreted (Pennington & Thomsen). The sign-object relationship is iconic, when the sign resembles the object (Griffin, 2012, p. 341; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose,

2012, p. 119). In this case, the sign can be called an icon (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose, 2012, p. 119). Furthermore, when the sign has an existential connection to the object, the sign-object relationship is indexical (Griffin, 2012, p. 341; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose, 2012, p. 119). Hereby, the sign is called an index (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose, 2012, p. 119). The sign-object relationship can also be symbolic when the interpretant is based on social or cultural conventions (Griffin, 2012, p. 341; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose, 2012, p. 119). Then, the sign is a symbol (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Rose, 2012, p. 119).

Furthermore, the analysis is done separately for every postcard. Therefore, the postcards are analysed separately for every destination, as well as separately for the object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity. Only after this is completed, the differences between the global and local destinations will be discussed. Herewith, the staged authenticity scale, discussed in 3.3, is the foundation for identifying how authenticity is used in postcards to represent the global and local destinations.

3.5 Interviews

3.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

During this research, semi-structured interviews are conducted as well. The semi-structured interviews are conducted in this research, because this type of interviewing allows the researcher to go into depth on particular topics, or add additional questions when needed (Longhurst, 2003, p. 143). A design for the semi-structured interviews is made, whereby four themes will be covered. The staged authenticity scale, discussed in 3.3, hereby serves as a guideline for the design of the semi-structured interviews. First of all, questions related to the motivation of the tourist to come to the destination are asked. Second, questions about authenticity in general, and related to the destination are asked. Third, questions about postcard purchase are asked. Lastly, questions related to staged authenticity are asked. The questions in the semi-structured interviews are open-ended, while this gets people to talk and to express their personal thoughts and ideas. The semi-structured interviews, therefore, give insight on the opinions and views of tourists on the concept of authenticity in relation to the representation of destinations.

3.5.2 Photo-Elicitation Test

As part of the interviews, a photo-elicitation test is conducted to let foreign tourists assess the use of authenticity in postcards to represent destinations. Hereby, photo-elicitation is used since the postcards are used to help reveal information about the use of authenticity in postcards (Adler & Clark, 2007: 270, 271). With the use of the staged authenticity scale (chapter 3.3) provided to the respondents, information will be revealed about whether the imagery portrayed on the postcards are found authentic or staged (Adler & Clark, 2007: 270, 271). Accordingly, the staged authenticity scale (chapter 3.3) is of importance here while the tourists can arrange the postcards into this scale. Before the respondents assessed the use of authenticity in the postcards, they were instructed on what the scale means. Therefore, it was explained that the concept of "staged authenticity" ranges from low to high. This means that the indicator "low staged authenticity" is defined as the object or activity being genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999).

On the other hand, the indicator "high staged authenticity" refers directly to the definition of MacCannell (1973) meaning tourist attractions being staged for the tourist experience, thereby being false, fake and impure. Furthermore, the respondents are told that the postcards can be ranged anywhere on the scale. By doing this, agreement on the concepts in the scale is assured.

The choice was made, to separate this part from the semi-structured interviews. This was decided to avoid bias, while the respondents would be influenced by the previous asked questions when assessing the postcards on the scale. Therefore, they would have had the tendency to endure their own thoughts and definitions on the concepts of authenticity, rather than having the definitions of the researcher in mind when arranging the postcards on the scale.

3.5.3 Data Analysis

The interviews are audio taped with the consent of the tourists, after which they are transcribed. Accordingly, no relevant information will be lost. The transcriptions are analysed using thematic content analysis. In this way, themes are identified after reading through the transcriptions and making notes. For this purpose, colour coding has been used to reflect the code, category, and finally to attach it to a category (Stottok, Bergaus & Gorra, 2011, p. 20). For the analysis of the photo-elicitation test common characteristics between the respondents are tried to uncover. Therefore, the analysis consists of finding patterns between the answers of the respondents. This will be done for the destinations separately, after which differences between the local and global destinations can be discussed.

3.6 Sampling

Convenience sampling is used for the quantitative content analysis of the postcards. This is because the researcher is dependent on the shops which are open when collecting data. Moreover, shop owners are asked for permission to study the postcards at the location, therefore the researcher is dependent on permission given by shop owners as well.

The postcards themselves are sampled in these same shops. The postcards will be sampled using stratified random sampling. To draw this stratified sample, the postcards will first be divided into strata (Adler & Clark, 2007, p. 120-121). Therefore, two strata are identified which are objects and activities. Within these strata the postcards are randomly sampled with the use of simple random sampling. The sample of postcards is photographed in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Kinderdijk, while the shop owners gave the researcher permission to do so. This was convenient for the researcher, since the postcards did not have to be purchased in these destinations. Moreover, in this way the postcards were immediately available digitally. However, in Volendam this permission was not given to photograph the sample of postcards. Therefore, the sample of postcards from Volendam was purchased, after which photographs were taken of the postcards. The sample size of all the postcards is in total 80. This means that there is a sample size of 20 postcards per destination, of which 10 postcards are objects and 10 postcards are activities. The sample of postcards can be found in Appendix 1.

Furthermore, for the interviews convenience sampling is used. Hereby, the researcher will interview willing and available foreign tourists (Marshall, 1996). Moreover, the interviews are conducted with foreign tourists in the four destinations, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk. The choice

of interviewing foreign tourists, relies on foreign tourists not being familiar with the destinations, and what is has to offer. Since, foreign tourists do not have that much knowledge about the destination, they will probably be more open minded when answering questions about authenticity in relation to the destinations, and in judging the postcards with regards to its authenticity. Furthermore, foreign tourists will be more likely to buy postcards while being in these destinations. While, for example, domestic tourists are not likely to buy postcards from their own country, therefore they can probably have more difficulty in relating to the questions asked. In each of the four destinations, four semi-structured interviews and four photo-elicitation tests are conducted, which makes a sample of in total sixteen semi-structured interviews and sixteen photo-elicitation tests.

3.7 Research Ethics

First of all, it is of importance that all the respondents participate in this research voluntarily. Therefore, the respondents should be willing to participate, without any persuasion. The respondents of the semi-structured interviews and the photo-elicitation tests were told about the purpose of the research. Furthermore, the respondents were informed about how the data will be used. Moreover, the respondents were told that their contributions were anonymous, and that that they may refuse to answer any question as well as disengage at any moment. In this way, voluntary participation was ensured. Consent for recording the semi-structured interviews was also asked to the respondents. As for the postcards, permission was asked to the shopkeepers, for photographing the postcards. Hereby, the purpose of this research was also communicated to those shopkeepers.

4. Results

In this chapter, the results of this research will be discussed, according to the different methods used. Therefore, first the results of the quantitative content analysis will be discussed, then the results of the semiotic analysis, and lastly the results of the interviews.

4.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

In table 2, the results of the quantitative content analysis for Amsterdam are shown. This table shows the use of authenticity in the postcards of Amsterdam. In every shop, besides shop 4, more object-related authenticity can be observed compared to activity-related authenticity. From all the postcards counted in Amsterdam, 79,6% is object-related authenticity, while 20.4% is activity-related authenticity.

Table 2. Authenticity use in postcards from Amsterdam.

	OBJECT RELATED	ACTIVITY RELATED	TOTAL
	AUTHENTICITY	AUTHENTICITY	
SHOP 1	89	7	96
SHOP 2	68	10	78
SHOP 3	31	18	49
SHOP 4	46	25	71
TOTAL	234	60	294

For the postcards in Rotterdam, object-related authenticity is observed to a greater extent, compared to activity-related authenticity. In every shop, the number of object-related postcards is higher than the activity-related postcards. The number of activity-related postcards in Rotterdam is quite low. In the end, of all the postcards counted in Rotterdam 85.4% is object-related authenticity, and 14.6% is activity-related authenticity. These results are shown below, in table 3.

Table 3. Authenticity use in postcards from Rotterdam.

	OBJECT RELATED	ACTIVITY RELATED	TOTAL
	AUTHENTICITY	AUTHENTICITY	
SHOP 1	69	9	78
SHOP 2	33	4	34
SHOP 3	32	8	40
SHOP 4	35	8	43
TOTAL	169	29	198

In Volendam, the number of postcards in total is rather low. The postcards available in Volendam are mostly not from Volendam, but from other cities and the Netherlands in general. The amount of object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity postcards lie close to each other. Furthermore, in one of the shops there are more activity-related authenticity postcards, while in other shops object-related authenticity postcards are more prevalent. In total, 59% of the postcards counted in Volendam show object-related authenticity, while 41% of the postcards show activity-related authenticity. The results are shown below, in table 4.

Table 4. Authenticity Use Postcards Volendam.

	OBJECT RELATED	ACTIVITY RELATED	TOTAL
	AUTHENTICITY	AUTHENTICITY	
SHOP 1	22	16	38
SHOP 2	4	6	10
SHOP 3	8	2	10
SHOP 4	12	8	20
TOTAL	46	32	78

In table 5, the results of the content analysis for the destination Kinderdijk are shown. Kinderdijk has two shops, which both sell postcards. While the first shop sells the most postcards, the difference between object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity is substantial. Since in shop 1, 86.7% of the postcards show object-related authenticity. On the other hand, in shop 2 the number of postcards is smaller. Here, the number of postcards that show object-related authenticity lies very close to the number of postcards which show activity-related authenticity. From the total of all the postcards present in Kinderdijk, 74.6% is related to object-related authenticity, while 25.4% is related to activity-related authenticity.

Table 5. Authenticity use in postcards from Kinderdijk.

	OBJECT RELATED	ACTIVITY RELATED	TOTAL
	AUTHENTICITY	AUTHENTICITY	
SHOP 1	65	10	75
SHOP 2	23	20	43
TOTAL	88	30	118

Furthermore, manifest content analysis of the postcards was conducted to give insight in what types of objects and activities are shown in the postcards. In table 6, the results of this analysis are shown for all the destinations. This shows that there are several categories found. Not all the categories are found in the postcards in every destination. However, postcards with scenery and postcards with historical or political sites are occurring most of the time. While in Amsterdam, museums are also popular objects portrayed on postcards.

Table 6. Objects in postcards

Objects	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Volendam	Kinderdijk
Scenery	4 (40%)	3 (30%)	8 (80%)	-
Museums	4 (40%)	-	-	-
Historical or political site	1 (40%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
Architecture	-	2 (20%)	-	-
Artefacts	1 (10%	-	-	1 (10%)
Sports	-	1 (10%)	-	-
Cultural site	-	1 (10%)	-	-
Transportation	-	-	1 (10%)	-

For the activities, there is one category which occurs in every destination, namely boat tours. Furthermore, also popular activities portrayed on postcards are boating. To clarify, the difference between boat tours and boating is that in a boat tour people do not navigate themselves, while with boating people are able to do that. Moreover, ice-skating is also an activity which is often portrayed on the postcards in multiple destinations. Furthermore, one of the categories, sedentary behaviour, will be clarified. Sedentary behaviour are activities that require low levels of energy expenditure, and involves sitting during leisure (Thorp et al., 2011; Tremblay et al., 2017). The categories used in this research, for the objects and the activities, are established through categories used in previous studies relating to this subject (Govers & Go, 2004; Jenkins, 2003; Özdemir, 2010, p. 177), and categories that flow from the data.

Table 7. Activities in postcards.

Activities	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Volendam	Kinderdijk
Non-physical activities				
Boat tours	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
Cruise	-	2 (20%)	-	-
Events	1 (10%)	-	-	1 (10%)
Dressing up	-	-	2 (20%)	-
Sedentary behaviour	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	-	
Physical activities				
Boating	1 (10%)	-	3 (30%)	3 (30%)
Cycling/ Walking	-	-	-	1 (10%)
Ice Skating	3 (30%)	-	1 (10%)	4 (40%)
Shopping	-	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	-
Smoking Weed	1 (10%)	-	-	-
Combination				
Sedentary behaviour +	-	1 (10%)	-	-
Shopping				

4.2 Semiotic Analysis

In this section, the results of the semiotic analysis are shown. This means that in this section the results of the analyses of the postcards are shown. The results will be discussed for each destination separately. Firstly, the results from Amsterdam will be discussed. Secondly, the results for Rotterdam will be discussed. Thirdly, the results for Volendam are discussed. Lastly, the results for Kinderdijk are discussed. Besides the results being discussed separately for every destination, the results are also discussed separately for the categories object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity. This means that when the results for Amsterdam are discussed, first the results from the object-related authenticity postcards will be discussed, and afterwards the results for the activity-related postcards will be discussed. The same structure applies for the other destinations, Rotterdam, Volendam and Kinderdijk. In this way, it becomes clear how authenticity is used for the object-related authenticity postcards and the activity-related authenticity postcard.

Moreover, this structure shows how authenticity is used in these postcards of the destinations. Furthermore, the categories from the quantitative content analysis serve as a guideline in presenting the results with regards to the use of authenticity in the postcards. Accordingly, the categories of objects and activities are used to discuss the results.

4.2.1 Amsterdam

4.2.1.1 Object-Related Authenticity

In the category object-related authenticity, objects that are shown are museums, historical or political site, scenery and artefacts. In the first category, museums, postcards 2,4,8, 10 are to be found. Within this category, there is a distinction between historical buildings and modern buildings, whereby postcard 2 and 8 are museums located in historical buildings, while the museums on postcards 4 and 10 are located in a modern building. The historical buildings have connotations related to what the

building used to be and the purpose it holds today. Therefore, the National Maritime Museum, portrayed on one of these postcards, has connotation of being a warehouse for the Admiralty of Amsterdam as well as a monumental building from 1956 used as a museum. The same applies for the ship on postcard 2, which is part of the National Maritime Museum. This ship is a copy of a famous ship from the Dutch East India Company. Therefore, this ship has a connotation linked to the Dutch East India Company. On the other hand, it has the connotation related to the museum, while the ship is a museum nowadays. These connotations are emphasized with the use of lighting and sky colour, which gives a sense of mystery and danger. The Rijksmuseum, on postcard 8, is also a historical building however, its purpose remained the same since the building was built especially for the museum. Therefore, it has the connotations of being historical, old, and a museum associated with art. This corresponds with the objects being symbolic signs, since they refer to heritage appreciation. Furthermore, these objects are iconic signs, because they are recognizable for the tourists while they resemble the object (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

The authenticity use in the postcards, where historical buildings represent the destination, is mostly objective authenticity. The museums are genuine and the real thing, to be found in Amsterdam (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Furthermore, since these buildings are monuments, they are authorized and certified by legitimate institutions, making it authentic (Bruner, 1994). On the other hand, the ship is not the original, but it is a copy. However, this can still be perceived as authentic, because according to Bruner (1994) a complete and historically accurate simulation of how it used to be is also a form of authenticity. This is emphasized in this postcard, even though without the background information you might think it is not a copy. On the other hand, the feeling of mystery and danger created is not representative of reality. These feelings do not correspond with the connotation attached to these buildings. Therefore, staged authenticity is used to attract the viewer to the postcard, which makes people want to buy the postcard.

On the other hand, for the museums in the modern buildings, the connotations are related to which kind of museum it is, as well as to the architecture of the buildings. Therefore, the 'Stedelijk Museum' and 'Eye Film Museum' are portrayed on postcard 4, which has connotations to art collections and collections related to movies. This object is also an iconic sign, while the sign mirrors the object. Hereby, there is a true representation of these two museums, which represents a small part of what Amsterdam has to offer. Therefore, these museums are the real thing, which makes it authentic. (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Objective authenticity is, therefore, emphasized in this postcard. On the contrary, postcard 10 portrays the 'Eye Film Museum' in a cartoon form. According to Cohen (1993), this means the postcards is a comic image. This postcard is amusing to look at for the viewer, however does not represent Amsterdam in a true way. The object in this postcard, is recognizable as the 'Eye Film Museum' though, however it is not the original. Therefore, it is 'staged' to make the postcard look funny, rather than realistic.

The second category, historical or political site is shown on postcard 1 which portrays the royal residence. This postcard is a cartoon which makes use of staged authenticity, to make the postcard look funny rather than realistic. The connotations related to this postcard make clear what the image is, otherwise it was difficult to know what is portrayed.

Therefore, the pigeons associated with royalty, and grace makes the link to what the object is. Furthermore, the text which says 'Royal Palace Amsterdam' makes sure that the viewer knows what the object represents.

The scenery postcards (3,6,7,8,) all have its own way of representing the destination. In postcards, 3,6, and 7, Amsterdam is represented by showing the canal with its canal side houses. These have connotations of being typical Amsterdam, while Amsterdam is known for the canals and the canal side houses. Also, bikes are shown in these scenery postcards, which has the connotation of being Dutch since so many people ride bikes in the Netherlands. This makes these signs iconic as well as indexical, whiles these objects are something that will be seen when in Amsterdam. Moreover, these signs are recognizable and familiar since these images are shown in tourism marketing. In each of these postcards, lighting and sky colour is used to add connotations to the postcard, which influence the authenticity use. In the other scenery postcard, 9, another sort of scenery is shown which is a view of the 'Dam', the historical centre of Amsterdam. Altogether, the scenery postcards make use of objective authenticity to represent the destination. The images are namely the original, and not a copy (Bruner, 1994). The postcards portray Amsterdam how it is, therefore the imagery is genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). However, the use of lighting and sky colour in most of the scenery postcards create a romantic feeling, which is more 'staged' to make Amsterdam more attractive.

Lastly, postcard 5 belongs to the artefact category, while it portrays the 'I Amsterdam' sign. This sign has connotations to the city of Amsterdam as a whole, since it is a slogan for the city. This is an iconic sign, because it is recognizable for the city of Amsterdam. Objective authenticity is emphasized in this postcard, while showing something that is original. This sign stands for the city of Amsterdam, and is a true representation. According to Bruner (1994), this would be the original as opposed to copies.

4.2.1.2 Activity-Related Authenticity

Within this set of postcards, the categories are related to the activities in Amsterdam. The activities portrayed on the postcards are boat tours, boating, sedentary behaviour, events, smoking, and ice skating. For the boat tours, postcards 2 & 8, the connotations relate to the use of authenticity. Boat tours are namely associated with sight-seeing, canal cruise, relaxation, admiration, joy, and happy feelings. Therefore, this postcard evokes bodily feelings such as relaxation, recreation and refreshment, which is intra-personal authenticity. Furthermore, a sense of togetherness is created, while there are multiple people on the boats. Therefore, inter-personal authenticity is used to convey this message. While this is true for both postcards, postcard 2 is a cartooned image, which Cohen (1993) identifies as a comic image. Therefore, staged authenticity is also present in this postcard. This postcard cannot be taken too seriously, it is rather a fun, amusing image. Lastly, the boat tours are iconic signs while people recognize this kind of activity. This also relates to the authenticity, while showing that this activity can be experienced in Amsterdam.

The category boating includes postcard 5. In this postcard staged authenticity is emphasized, in multiple aspects. The postcard is in black and white, with red aspects. Red is associated with power, in contrast with the grey and black which is associated with old, simple and dull. Therefore, this colour use is an aspect of staged authenticity while these colours are not observable in reality. Furthermore, there is a red car portrayed with four people in it, which is driving in the canal. This makes the postcard

amusement for the viewer, a funny image, with elements of Amsterdam in the background. It is not possible to ride your car in the canal, which makes the postcard unrealistic. Therefore, this postcard is a fantasy, making it false and fake.

The next category is sedentary behaviour which is portrayed in postcard 7 and 10. These postcards portray people sitting on a terrace, and in the park. The connotations attached to these activities are calm, peace, quiet, relaxation, joy, happy feelings, rest, and being together. These connotations reflect intra-personal as well as inter-personal authenticity. Bodily feelings such as relaxation, recreation, and refreshment are experienced during these activities. Furthermore, inter-personal authenticity is used, since the postcard illustrates the togetherness of people. This relates to being authentic together, and experiencing authentic natural bonds between people. Moreover, this activity is recognizable, and something that can be done in Amsterdam. Therefore, this activity is genuine and real, making it authentic. Consequently, this reflects upon this activity being an iconic sign. Accordingly, authenticity is used to represent something real from Amsterdam.

Furthermore, the category event is shown in postcard 1. This is a cartooned image, and a comic image according to Cohen's (1993) framework. This postcard wants to amuse the viewer, rather than show a realistic image. Therefore, in that sense the postcard is 'staged'. However, the postcard connotes the gay pride, which is an unique event. In that way, the postcard uses authenticity to illustrate something original. This activity is also a symbolic sign, since not everyone will know that the gay pride is illustrated on this postcard, while the event is based on social and cultural conventions (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Furthermore, existential authenticity is emphasized in this postcard, especially intrapersonal authenticity. This postcard emphasizes bodily feelings, since these feelings are created in participating in this event, in the sense of relaxation, sensation-seeking, entertainment, and excitement (Wang, 1999). But, more importantly the aspect of self-making comes into play here. Everyday life can be constraining for the gay community, while sometimes they cannot express themselves in work and everyday roles that are expected from them (Wang, 1999). Therefore, these people can turn to tourism, such as this gay pride event, to realize their authentic selves.

In the category, smoking weed, there is only one postcard which is postcard 4. Hereby, joints, a coffeeshop and pricelist is portrayed. However, this activity is put in a sensual way because of the red lips and the use of the red colour in general. This postcard emphasizes drugs, as if going to Amsterdam only happens because of drugs. Therefore, this postcard is debatable on the authenticity aspect. Nevertheless, existential authenticity is emphasized, in particular intra-personal authenticity. Bodily feelings are experienced when having a joint, therefore relaxation, sensation-seeking, excitement, and sensual pleasures are experienced because of this activity. So, while doing drugs is legal in Amsterdam and is done by many tourists, this postcard puts doing drugs in a sensual way, which is more staged. On the other hand, this activity can also be seen as a genuine and a real activity that can be experienced in Amsterdam. This, furthermore, refers to this activity being an iconic sign while people know this activity can be done in Amsterdam.

The last category, ice-skating, is found in postcards 3,6 and 9. This activity has the connotations of ice, frozen, fun, winter, cold, exercise and relaxation. Existential authenticity plays a big role in this postcard. First of all, the postcard tries to illustrate something traditional for Dutch culture. Ice-skating can be perceived as an authentic experience, since this is an activity that can be experienced when the

water freezes in winter. As for existential authenticity, there is use of intra-personal as well as interpersonal authenticity. Intra-personal authenticity is used to show bodily feelings, as relaxation, recreation, excitement, sensation-seeking etc. (Wang, 1999). However, there is also self-making, since self-actualization, for some people, can be achieved by going ice-skating, while this cannot be achieved in their daily routines. On the other hand, inter-personal authenticity is also used in this postcard. This postcard namely illustrates people coming to together to go ice-skating.

Important to mention is that in every postcard, there are also objects portrayed besides the activities. Therefore, in most postcards objective authenticity is also emphasized while portraying something original, which is the real thing. On the other hand, the cartooned postcards also have objects portrayed, however these objects are staged due to the lower level of recognisability, and being a copy.

4.2.2 Rotterdam

4.2.2.1 Object-Related Authenticity

While the content analysis shows that there are different objects to be found, these categories can be further categorized for this analysis. All the objects in these postcards are namely landmarks, which can be divided into modern landmarks, historical landmarks, and cartooned landmarks. The connotations are different per landmark, but what they do share is being iconic signs. Therefore, the sign is an icon, which resembles the object (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

Within the modern landmarks (1,5,7,8,9 and 10), the emphasis is on objective authenticity while the objects are genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). The connotations of the modern landmarks are related to the purpose of the landmark as well as its design. Such as the Markthal, on postcard 1, has connotations of being an indoor food market, home, and work. This indicates the purposes the Markthal serves. Also, connotations are made regarding the architecture of this building, which can be extraordinary, beautiful, or dull, and simple. This, of course, depends on the person judging the building, however these connotations are directed towards the design of the object. Moreover, there is one postcard with symbolic signs besides only having the iconic signs. This postcard namely illustrates a gazebo with Chinese characteristics, therefore being associated with China. Hereby, the link can be made with China Town, which is a neighbourhood in Rotterdam comparable to other big cities around the world. Moreover, this gazebo symbolizes Rotterdam as a multicultural city. Hereby, the postcard means to illustrate the diversity of the city. On the other hand, the gazebo can be perceived as staged. This is because such a gazebo is not originally from Rotterdam, it has its roots in China. Nevertheless, the gazebo could be seen as authentic when we take one of Bruner's (1994) views on authenticity. Then, the gazebo is a historically accurate replication which resembles the original enough to look credible (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002). Still, this object within the postcard can be seen as staged authenticity, because this is not a local cultural product.

The postcards which are historic landmarks (2,3, and 6) include connotations related to the history of the buildings (their intended purpose), as well as its purpose today. For example, in postcard 3, the connotations of the main object in the postcard are the 'Holland Amerika Lijn', since this building used to be the headquarters of the Holland America Line. On the other hand, it also has the connotations of luxury, and comfort, since today it is the Hotel New York. Besides, the use of objective authenticity,

the typology of Bruner (1994) is also used in these postcards. The historical landmarks are namely certified, being on the World Heritage list. Therefore, according to Bruner (1994), it is authentic since it is authorized and certified by legitimate institutions (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). The postcards with historical landmarks, also include the use of staged authenticity, besides the use of objective authenticity. This is most likely used, to make the postcards, and objects, more attractive and relate to the object as being historic. This is done in different ways.

Firstly, in postcard 2, this is done with the use of sky colour, which is red/purple coloured. The romanticising feeling of the sky does not correspond with the objects portrayed on these postcards. This is because historical does not immediately mean romantic. Therefore, it does not correspond with the true image of this object in Rotterdam. The use of black and white, in postcard 3, also refers to the use of staged authenticity in these postcards. Black and white colouring is associated with old and traditional. Another way in which staged authenticity is noticed in a postcard, is with the use of blurriness in postcard 6, which is either associated with bad quality or oldness. While these landmarks are old and traditional, this connotation corresponds with each other. However, in this way the postcards are staged because it does not correspond with reality. Therefore, the destination is not represented as the way it is. Rather, these objects create a false image of the objects in reality.

There is one other postcard (4) which belongs to the cartooned postcard category. This postcard is namely a painting of three different landmarks in Rotterdam. This postcard will mostly be associated with art. This connotation is taken into account, with the use of authenticity in this postcard. Whereby in previous mentioned postcards the objects are clearly recognizable as these objects, here it is more difficult to distinguish. Therefore, this postcard is more authentic in the way of original art. On the other hand, staged authenticity is prevalent since the objects are illustrated so loosely, in a way that they do not resemble the object. Furthermore, it gives the idea of being a copy, making it more false and fake.

4.2.2.2 Activity-Related Authenticity

According to the content analysis the activities are categorized into boat tours, cruises, shopping and sedentary behaviour. First of all, the postcards which illustrate the boat tours, have the same scenery around the main activity. Therefore, the connotations of the postcards are all the same. The connotation to the boat is recreation, relaxation, fun, happy feelings, enjoy, sight-seeing. These feelings of joy are accentuated by having a blue sky in these postcards, since a blue sky is also associated with good weather and tranquillity. While the focus is on the activity in these postcards, the background with objects cannot be ignored. Moreover, these postcards (1,5,6,8,9), all have modern landmarks such as the Euromast or Erasmusbrug, which represent the city with its icons. The activity, the boat tours, are furthermore iconic signs since these activities are recognizable and familiar to the tourist. This relates to the use of authenticity, while these boat tours can be experienced in Rotterdam. Therefore, the boat tours portrayed on the postcards can be regarded as being real and genuine, accordingly being authentic (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Moreover, these postcards try to evoke feelings of existential authenticity. Since this boat trip is done by tourists for relaxation, recreation, and entertainment this creates intra-personal authenticity because of the bodily feelings it evokes. Furthermore, a boat trip brings people together.

Therefore, it is easier in this setting to talk to other people, and even make friends (Wang, 1999). Sharing, and communicating about what you are seeing on the boat trip, like the Erasmusbrug, is perceived as authentic.

The second category of activities found in the postcards, is shopping. This activity holds the connotations of spending money, relaxation, enjoyment and activity. Once again, this activity can be regarded as being an iconic sign, since it is a recognizable and familiar activity for tourists (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The connotations also evoke bodily feelings, which is intra-personal authenticity, a form of existential authenticity. Furthermore, intra-personal authenticity is used in this postcard as this activity relates to bodily feelings. Shopping creates happy feelings, is done for relaxation, and brings sensual pleasure (Wang, 1999). Accordingly, this can be characterized as illustrating an authentic experience, not only because of evoking these bodily feelings, but also since shopping in the 'Koopgoot', which is illustrated on the postcard as well, is an authentic experience. There is namely only one 'Koopgoot' in the world. This makes the experience unique, while not having the opportunity to experience this anywhere else. However, the postcard is made more attractive with showing lights, which has the connotation of warmth. Thereby, it is tried to convey this meaning of warmth, but this is not successful. The use of this lighting only makes the postcard more staged, since these lights are not there every day throughout the year.

The third category is sedentary behaviour (3 & 7). Hereby, a terrace is shown, which is associated with dining, lunch, drinks, friends, relaxation, joy, sunshine, and happy feelings. This is an activity which is familiar to most people, making it an iconic sign. The use of authenticity in this postcard is similar to the category shopping. The postcards evoke bodily feelings, which is intra-personal authenticity. Furthermore, it evokes intra-personal authenticity in the way of family ties. Family is namely part of the private sphere, whereby you can experience your true self (Wang, 1999). Therefore, being on the terrace makes people experience the authentic, and emotional bonds that exists in families or among friends (Wang, 1999). This activity can therefore also be recognized as being authentic since it is something that can truly be experienced, making it genuine and real (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999).

The last category is cruises, which are portrayed in postcards 4 and 10. A cruise is an iconic sign while the cruise is something recognizable. Hereby, the connotations are luxury, holiday, relaxation, expensive, joy, happy feelings and excitement. However, the way that authenticity is used here to represent Rotterdam is different. Postcard 4, namely uses black and white colours with landmarks in the background, while postcard 10 uses colours with buildings in front and in the back of the cruise ship. First of all, the black and white can be associated with traditional, old and the past. Furthermore, it also adds mystery to the postcard. On the other hand, the colours give the connotation to the now, with the tall buildings also meaning modernity. Cruises are not necessarily an activity from the past, and rather an activity of nowadays. Therefore, the black and white composition is rather staged, giving a false idea of the cruise being in the past while it might not be the case. Therefore, postcard 10 is more authentic, since it shows the real, and genuine. Furthermore, existential authenticity is used, both inter- as intra-personal authenticity. Cruises are namely undertaken by tourists for relaxation, recreation, and entertainment. This creates intra-personal authenticity because of the bodily feelings. Moreover, inter-personal authenticity can also be of use here because when thinking of cruises there is also a connotation of togetherness.

Since people come together from all nationalities and statuses everyone is together on an activity that is not part of any obligatory task (Wang, 1999). Therefore, tourism creates communitas because cruises allow sharing experiences of non-familiar sights with others (Wang, 1999).

4.2.3 Volendam

4.2.3.1 Object-Related Authenticity

In Volendam, the postcards portray objects belonging to the categories transport, scenery, and landmarks. For the category transport postcard 2 is included, whereby boats are portrayed. A boat is an iconic sign, since a boat is something which is a familiar object. The boats, furthermore, have the connotation of recreation, relaxation, sailing, joy, and entertainment. On the other hand, these boats can also have the meaning of fisher's boats, therefore also associated to working, fishing, and making money. Since the destination is Volendam, fisher's boats will be seen as typical for Volendam since it is known as being a fishing-village. Therefore, in this postcard objective authenticity is emphasized. This postcard is a true representation of what can be seen in Volendam. That makes this postcard authentic, since it is genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999).

For the scenery postcards (1,3,4,6,8,9, and 10), there is mostly a representation of Volendam, including the dock and the street above it which has restaurants and shops. The positioning does differ, however the connotations and use of authenticity are overall similar. This is because on each of the scenery postcards buildings which look like houses are portrayed. Having been in Volendam, there is knowledge that these houses are tourist shops and restaurants. Boats are also shown which have different meanings, as discussed before. The objects that are shown, are objects which are recognizable as well as familiar for tourists, which makes them iconic signs. Therefore, objective authenticity is used for these postcards to show the original (Wang, 1999). That makes this postcard authentic, since it is genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). The postcards show what Volendam is known for, and how it truly looks like.

The last category, which is landmarks, is seen in postcards 5 and 7. Whereas postcard 5 shows several landmarks, postcard 7 only shows one landmark. Landmarks that are shown are a hotel, statue, and a windmill. Connotations attached to these images are that the hotel is associated with relaxation, comfort and spending the night. Furthermore, this hotel is called 'Hotel Spaander', which has received great media attention because of participating in a tv programme to upgrade the hotel. Then, the statue that is portrayed is a statue of Maria. This is found in Volendam, since this is a catholic village. Therefore, the connotation to this statue is religion, however personal attachments can also be made as for the look of the statue. Lastly, the windmill has the same connotations of a tool that creates energy, which then again can be used to mill grain, and pump water. This meaning can only be attached if there is prior knowledge about what the purpose of the windmill used to be, since nowadays windmills are not used for this purpose anymore. Windmills, also have the meaning of being the traditional way of living, and working in the Netherlands. Therefore, drawing from Peirce's (1931-1958) work, the windmills can be perceived as an indexical sign since it shows the existence of the windmills, which is part of the locale's culture and heritage which tourists can experience (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Moreover, in this postcard the windmills can also be seen as iconic signs. This is because, iconic signs are recognizable, therefore creating a sense of familiarity (Pennington &

Thomsen, 2010). The windmill can even be considered to be a symbolic sign since the portrayal of the windmill may indicate heritage appreciation (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The objects that are portrayed are the real thing, and the original, making the images a true representation of Volendam. However, one image is rather staged, which is the windmill. Even though the object itself is authentic, is not representative for Volendam. The windmill can namely not be seen in Volendam, not in the touristic area. Therefore, staged authenticity is used in order to make it seem this can be seen in Volendam, while it actually is not that easy to find.

4.2.3.2 Activity-Related Authenticity

As for the activity-related authenticity for the postcards from Volendam, the categories are boat tours, boating, dressing up, ice-skating, and shopping. The first category, boat tours, includes postcard 1 and 5. Herewith, the connotations are that the big boats can be seen as recreation, relaxation, joy, entertainment and sight-seeing. Furthermore, the background of these postcards show objects as the restaurants and shops. The boat tours are going to Marken and back to Volendam, which many tourists do. Therefore, it illustrates an activity that is truly there in the destination, making it the real thing. Accordingly, boat tours are iconic signs since many tourists take boat tours when on a holiday, therefore making these kinds of images familiar to the tourist. Furthermore, this is an authentic activity, because there is only one boat tour going from Volendam to Marken, and back. This postcard also emphasizes the participation in activities, that are not related to daily routines (Wang, 1999). Therefore, existential authenticity is also used in this postcard to represent the destination. Especially, intra-personal authenticity, since this activity brings people in an experiential state, as such recreation and entertainment (Wang, 1999).

The second category, boating, includes postcards 2, 3, and 8. Hereby, sailing boats are portrayed which have the meaning of, recreation, relaxation, joy, entertainment and sight-seeing. On the other hand, the boats can also have the meaning of sail boats and fisher's boats, therefore also associated to working, fishing, and making money. As mentioned before, fisher's boats will be seen as typical for Volendam since it is known as being a fishing-village. Once again, these sailing boats are iconic signs while they resemble the object in reality. However, going sailing is more difficult to experience in Volendam compared to the boat tour. Many of these boats are from local inhabitants and many tourists only stay in Volendam for a few hours. However, Volendam is known for sailing and fishing, therefore this can be perceived as an authentic representation of Volendam. This postcard emphasizes the participation in activities, that are not related to daily routines (Wang, 1999). Therefore, existential authenticity is used in this postcard to represent the destination. Especially, intra-personal authenticity, since these activities bring people in an experiential state, as such recreation and entertainment (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, inter-personal authenticity is used in this postcard as well. Interaction is shown on these postcards, therefore they are searching for authenticity of, and between themselves (Wang, 1999). In this postcard, togetherness between the people is felt and therefore inter-personal authenticity is emphasized.

Dressing up is another category, which is seen in postcard 4 & 7, and on a small image in postcard 8. In these postcards, people are dressed in traditional clothing which used to be worn in Volendam. Therefore, it is traditional fishermen and fisherwomen clothing. The signs here are mostly symbolic while it shows appreciation of local culture. Hereby, it can be said that the clothing is a local cultural product that is commoditized (Cohen, 1988). This cultural product has lost its meaning to the locals

since, they do keep in touch with their own culture, however are not wearing these clothes in everyday life anymore. Still, this product is produced and presented to tourists, since it is something exotic to most people (Cohen, 1988). Therefore, dressing up in these traditional clothing from Volendam is staged only for the tourist experience.

Then ice-skating, shown in postcard 6, has the connotations of being a tradition (for Dutch culture), winter, ice, sport, exercise, relaxation, recreation, activity, fun. Ice skating, is an iconic sign as well as an symbolic sign. The people on the postcard are most likely hosts, since ice skating is something the local inhabitants do on natural ice. Furthermore, the chance of guests having ice skates with them on their travels is not likely, and there is mostly no opportunity to rent any ice skates. Existential authenticity plays a big role in this postcard. There is use of intra-personal as well as inter-personal authenticity. Intra-personal authenticity is used to show bodily feelings, as relaxation, recreation, excitement, sensation-seeking etc. (Wang, 1999). However, there is also self-making, since self-actualization, for some people, can be achieved by going ice-skating, while this cannot be achieved in their daily routines. On the other hand, inter-personal authenticity is also used in this postcard. This postcard illustrates people coming together to go ice-skating. Hereby, authentic togetherness is experienced (Wang, 1999), as well as an activity that is not concerned with any daily, obligatory tasks (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, the postcards portray an activity which is genuine and real.

Lastly, shopping is seen in postcards 9 and 10. These have the connotations of joy, spending money, and relaxation. There is a focus on intra-personal authenticity in these postcards, while people engage in tourism and are entertained by it (Wang, 1999). The people in this postcard are mostly found to be authentic since they are out of their daily routines, experiencing new and seeing other things then at home (Wang, 1999). Once again it is of importance to acknowledge that the activities are not the only things portrayed on the postcards. Besides the activities, the scenery of Volendam is portrayed with its dock and street with houses, which are actually shops and restaurants. Therefore, there is also an emphasis on objective authenticity in these postcards, while this shows what Volendam actually looks like. Therefore, it is genuine, and the real thing, which makes it authentic (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999).

4.2.4 Kinderdijk

4.2.4.1 Object-Related Authenticity

In 9 out of the 10 postcards, from the object-related authenticity category, a windmill is illustrated. This means that all these windmills have the same connotations. However, the way in which the windmills are displayed together with its background have influence on the connotations, and the use of authenticity within the postcards. Therefore, the windmills are clustered into colourful or colourless, and singular or multiple. Herewith, colourful is distinguished as being the use of colours, while colourless is the use of black, white or grey. Singular, then means if there is only one windmill displayed, while multiple means more than one windmill is on the postcard.

In general, the connotation a windmill has is a tool that creates energy, which then again can be used to mill grain, and pump water. This meaning can only be attached if there is prior knowledge about what the purpose of the windmill used to be, since nowadays windmills are not used for this purpose anymore. Windmills, also have the meaning of being the traditional way of living, and working in the Netherlands. Therefore, drawing from Peirce's (1931-1958) work, the windmills can be perceived as

an indexical sign since it shows the existence of the windmills, which is part of the locale's culture and heritage which tourists can experience (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Moreover, in this postcard the windmills can also be seen as iconic signs. This is because, iconic signs are recognizable, therefore creating a sense of familiarity (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The icon therefore mirrors the object (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The windmills, as iconic signs, can be a factor that attracts tourists to the destination, but on the other hand the danger of this iconic representation is that it can become generic, whereby the representation lacks individuality and appeal (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). The windmill can even be considered to be a symbolic sign since the portrayal of the windmill may indicate heritage appreciation (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

There are no postcards in the category singular + colourful, however in the category singular + colourless, postcard 6 is situated. The connotation of the windmill being traditional, and part of Dutch heritage is accentuated by the use of black and white, which is also associated with old and traditional. Therefore, in this type of postcard, the elements are used to recreate the feeling of oldness and traditionalism, since that is what the windmill is. Accordingly, in this postcard authenticity is used in a way to call upon feelings of nostalgia and the search for heritage (Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007). However, the use of black and white could also be seen as the use of staged authenticity, since it creates a connotation which is false and fake, making it staged. Furthermore, the windmills in these postcards are less recognizable. This means that these windmills can still be regarded as icons, since the images are still recognizable as being windmills. However, they are not recognizable as the windmills of Kinderdijk. Therefore, these windmills could also be from other places. This can, nevertheless, not be checked, even though the text may say that the windmills are from Kinderdijk.

In the category multiple + colourful, postcards 2,3,5,7,9, and 10 are to be found. In these postcards, the multiplicity is of importance for the authenticity in these postcards. These postcards try to show as many windmills of Kinderdijk as possible, therefore trying to create a realistic representation of the destination. The form of authenticity which can be observed here is objective authenticity. The original windmills, which can be seen in Kinderdijk, are depicted here on the postcards. The windmills are what they appear to be, and therefore deserve the admiration it is given (Cohen, 1988, Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Therefore, this representation goes back to the definition of authenticity as the object being genuine and the real thing (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Moreover, the windmills of Kinderdijk are on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Since they are authorized and certified by the UNESCO, the objects themselves are authentic and therefore make the pictures of them authentic as well (Bruner, 1994; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). However, there is also one postcard in this category which displays staged authenticity. Postcard 3, namely has an encircling image of a 'Delfts Blauw' windmill, which has the meaning of being typical Dutch. However, the encircling image is more of a cartoon-like image. While it does illustrate a windmill, it is not a true representation of the windmills in Kinderdijk. That makes this encircling image staged. The image tries to give an authentic meaning, while having the 'Delfst Blauw' incorporated, making it seem traditional Dutch. However, that still does not make the image itself authentic and neither does it give the true representation of Kinderdijk, making it more false and fake. Therefore, there is a mixture of forms of authenticity which are used within this postcard.

Then, in the category multiple + colourless, postcards 1 and 8 are situated. While in both postcards the windmill is pictured in black, therefore colourless, the sky does have a colour namely red/orange. While previously the connotation of old and traditional was given to the colourless windmill, here the connotation is mystery due to the fact of the added sky colour. This sky colour gives the idea that these postcards portray either a sunset or sunrise. These colours also give a romantic feeling to the postcard. Another important aspect here is that postcard 1 is a 3D card, while postcard 8 is a regular postcard. This makes more of a difference while assessing the use of authenticity. In general, the use of 3D makes this postcard more staged. The intention was most probably not to use staged authenticity in the postcard, however the 3D makes the picture look less realistic. Furthermore, the romantic feel the two postcards send out does not correspond with the reality. Also, the windmills are not recognizable as the windmills that are there in Kinderdijk, because of the dark coloured mysterious vibe. Thus, it could be said this postcard is a misfit with the reality and therefore not a good representation of the destination. Accordingly, authenticity is not optimally used to represent the destination as it is in reality.

Lastly, there is one postcard which does not portray a windmill on it, which is postcard number 4. Hereby, clogs are shown in a wooden rack, which have the connotation of the traditional Dutch culture. In the past, the millers used to wear this type of footwear, however nowadays it is mostly a tourism product. The use of authenticity here is more used in showing traditional culture of the Netherlands. Of course, the clogs are the real thing, but they are not representative of Kinderdijk as a destination. As Cohen (1988, p. 372) states "colourful local costumes and customs, rituals and feasts, and folk and ethnic arts become tourist services or commodities, as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption". That is exactly what happens with these clogs as well. While there is only a little amount of people in the Netherlands that still wears clogs, they are highly produced for tourism. Therefore, it is destroying the authenticity of this local cultural product (Cohen, 1988). This means, staged authenticity is observed in this postcard.

4.2.4.2 Activity-Related Authenticity

With this set of postcards, the categorization lies within the activities portrayed on the postcards which are, boating, boat tour, walking/cycling, ice skating, and event. Noticeable is that there are windmills portrayed on every of these postcards. Therefore, these all have the same connotations as well as the use of authenticity, as discussed before. However, it is interesting to see what the activities add in terms of authenticity use.

As for boating, which is seen in postcards 1,4 and 10, every postcard has a different way of portraying the activity influencing the use of authenticity. However, the similarity lies within boating being a recognizable activity making it an iconic sign. While, boating mainly has the connotation of relaxation, intra-personal authenticity is emphasized in these images, since for example relaxation and recreation are causing these bodily feelings in tourism.

In postcard 1, the way the activity is portrayed has a strong influence on the use of authenticity. The postcard is tulip shaped with the portrayal of a clog shaped boat, which is yellow with a red sail. The connotations, therefore, are traditional culture. The clog is accordingly a symbolic sign referring to heritage appreciation. Furthermore, the tulip has the meaning of being typical Dutch. Accordingly, it seems that stereotypes are used to represent Kinderdijk, or actually the whole country since the text

on the postcard says 'Holland'. For Dutch people, the clog has lost most of its meaning, while tourists search for something unique and exotic (Cohen, 1988). Therefore, the clog shape is used for this boat to make it look authentic, while it is actually staged for the tourist experience (Cohen, 1988).

Postcard 4, in contrast to postcard 1, looks more realistic while displaying a regular boat within the scenery of Kinderdijk. Besides the bodily feelings, as part of intra-personal authenticity discussed above, in this postcard intra-personal authenticity is also used. This postcard namely evokes the feelings of togetherness, and the emotional bond within a family, since there are two adults and one child in the boat, experiencing this activity together. Furthermore, it could be argued that this activity is authentic in the sense of being a genuine and real activity to be experienced in Kinderdijk (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999).

While, postcard 10 is quite similar to postcard 4, the use of colour influences the connotations, together with the use of authenticity. The landscape being dark coloured (colourless), together with the sky being red/orange gives the connotation of either being sunset or sunrise, which gives a romantic feeling. Similar to some of the postcards in the object-related set, the romantic feel the postcard sends out does not correspond with the reality. Also, the windmills are not recognizable as the windmills that are there in Kinderdijk, because of the dark coloured mysterious vibe. Therefore, it could be said this postcard is a misfit with the reality and therefore not a good representation of the destination. Accordingly, authenticity is not optimally used to represent the destination as it actually is. Therefore, the attention is not as much on the activity anymore, which has the same use of authenticity as discussed above.

The category boat tour is seen in postcard number 7. The connotations, as well as the use of authenticity is similar to the category 'boating'. While the boat tour has the connotations of relaxation, recreation, joy, and fun, bodily feelings are evoked, the use of intra-personal authenticity is present in this postcard. Furthermore, feelings of togetherness are emphasized in this postcard, since people are portrayed sitting beside each other on the boat. Therefore, inter-personal authenticity is used because in these kind of tours people are able to share experiences with each other about non-familiar sights, such as the windmills, with others (Wang, 1999). This activity, can also be experienced in Kinderdijk, making it an authentic activity. This also strongly relates to this activity being an iconic sign, while tourists are familiar with these kind of boat tours.

The next category, walking/cycling, is portrayed in postcard 2, being the only postcard in this category. The activity shown here, which is walking and cycling, has the connotations of relaxation, exercise, recreation, and getting from point A to point B. Walking and cycling are iconic signs, because it is something familiar to foreign tourists. Intra-personal can be observed in this postcard. This image, with the connotations above, namely sends out the message of having bodily feelings such as admiration, relaxation, entertainment, and excitement (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, for the two people walking, there is use of inter-personal authenticity in this postcard. While walking together, there is a sense of authentic togetherness (Wang, 1999). Therefore, there is not only the joy of seeing the windmills, there is also an experience of authentic, natural bonds and intimacy between these two people (Wang, 1999).

The last category, ice-skating, is portrayed in postcards 3,5,6, and 8. The connotations in these postcards are the same, because the same activity is portrayed. Ice skating has the connotation of being a tradition (for Dutch culture), winter, ice, sport, exercise, relaxation, recreation, activity, and fun. Hereby, ice skating can be seen as an iconic as well as symbolic sign. This is because, ice skating on this image mirrors the actual activity making it recognizable. Furthermore, it is a symbolic sign since it has to do with the culture of the Netherlands. Existential authenticity plays a big role in this postcard. First of all, the postcard tries to illustrate something traditional for Dutch culture. This makes these postcards authentic since this is an activity that is real and genuine whenever the waters freeze up. This image could certainly be observed at Kinderdijk, in winter, if the water is frozen. As for existential authenticity, there is use of intra-personal as well as inter-personal authenticity. Intra-personal authenticity is used to show bodily feelings, as relaxation, recreation, excitement, sensation-seeking etc. (Wang, 1999). However, there is also self-making, since self-actualization, for some people, can be achieved by going ice-skating, while this cannot be achieved in their daily routines. On the other hand, inter-personal authenticity is also used in this postcard. This postcard illustrates people coming together to go ice-skating. Hereby, authentic togetherness is experienced (Wang, 1999), as well as an activity that is not concerned with any daily, obligatory tasks (Wang, 1999).

4.3 Interviews

The semiotic analysis has given insight into the meanings the postcards hold, and which forms of authenticity are used to represent the destinations. The interviews give further insight in what the concepts of authenticity and staged authenticity actually mean for foreign tourists, as well as how they perceive the use of authenticity to represent the destinations.

4.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

First of all, figure 4 below shows how people define authenticity. The larger the word is, the more often the word is used to describe authenticity. This is the basis for tourists to indicate what they find authentic in destinations as well as how this concept is used in selling destinations.

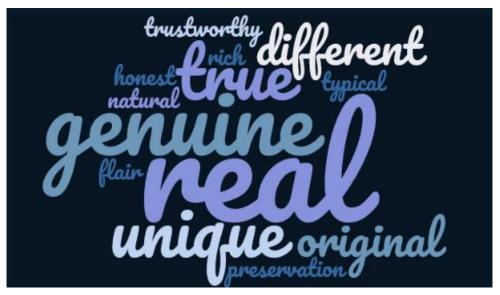


Figure 4. Definitions Authenticity

In the interviews, people have also talked about their associations with the destinations. Below, in figure 5, the associations that people have with the destinations are shown in a word cloud. In these word clouds, the bigger the word the more often the word was named by the respondents in association with the destinations. This shows what the respondents expect of the destinations.



Figure 5. Associations for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk

The information gained on the definition of authenticity as well as for the formation of the associations for these destinations is gained from research online. Besides online research, the respondents are also informed by brochures. Another way in which this information is gained is through the information given by the local inhabitants of the destination, in order to see what they find authentic. What local inhabitants indicate as authentic in the destination, is believed to be authentic by foreign tourists.

Furthermore, the interviews show that the majority of the foreign tourists do not buy any postcards anymore, when on a holiday. This is because of the technology available to use nowadays. With the availability of photo cameras and smartphones, it is easy to make pictures. That is something that is often preferred over purchasing postcards. As respondent 9 declares: "The postcard now is sending a picture, you know, a text message that is the postcard". Moreover, respondent 7 adds: "you can make your own postcards". This further shows there is no need in buying postcards, while there are other resources which are seen as the postcard of today. However, the interviews do show that often the older generation still buys postcards to send to relatives. Especially grandchildren are mentioned here, as being an important relative to send postcards to. In contradiction, whenever younger people do buy postcards, it is often kept as a souvenir.

So even though, the majority of the respondents do not actually buy postcards anymore, or not often, they do know what they want to see on a postcard. It is of importance, that what is on the postcard has been seen or experienced by the tourist, while at the destination. On the other hand, sometimes postcards are also purchased for other reasons. As one of the respondent clarifies: "when it is an important sight we did not get to see or we did not get to see enough of. Or we did not take pictures. Because there are places we have been before where they don't allow you to take photographs, and so we will buy".

Besides, there are big differences in what the respondents search for when buying postcards. Some want to have the scenery, while another is interested in an arty postcard. Respondent 2 said: "Usually if I ever get one, there is some sort of scenery, usually they are like natury, and not like the big buildings, or with words like 'oh greetings from Amsterdam'". In contradiction, respondent 4 says: "If I do look for postcards, it is just having the name of the place that I am at". This shows that the choices of postcards are very personal, while everyone has their own preferences on the imagery shown on postcards.

However, most of the respondents do want to see something that is recognizable on the postcard. Therefore, the interviews show that respondents are mostly not interested in cartoon or comic type postcards.

Moreover, one of the respondents, spoken with in Rotterdam, mentions that he is looking for something that Rotterdam is authentic for, when searching for a postcard. He states: "I would like what really signifies 'hey that is in Rotterdam". Therefore, it is of importance that something is shown on the postcards which represents the destination in a true way. On the other hand, there are also people that not necessarily look at the image on the postcard but rather at the text or the design of the postcard, whereby the image is of less importance. As respondent 11 clarifies: "If it is like a very modern and futuristic city, it is a good thing to have a very good design". While others have an exact picture in their minds of how the postcard should look like. One of the respondents, spoken with in Kinderdijk, was very specific in searching for a postcard with the scenery, including a long shot with a sunset or when the sun is out.

In addition, the interviews show what people find authentic in the destinations, and whether the respondents think this is used in selling the destination. According to the respondents, Amsterdam is sold with the use of its history, as well as by certain things that are allowed which are not allowed everywhere, such as drugs and prostitution. For Rotterdam, authenticity is used in selling the destination by emphasizing the culture of the city, with its modernity. Moreover, for Volendam, showing the history and culture is selling the destination with the use of authenticity. Furthermore, for Kinderdijk authenticity is used in selling the destination, by emphasizing its nature and history. Also, in general, the interviews show that authenticity important in representing destinations, in the way of being able to show that the destinations have something which cannot be found anywhere else. Thus, tourists are attracted in this way.

On the other hand, the respondents also indicate the presence of staged authenticity to represent the destinations. The respondents often give the same definition of what staged authenticity is namely, fake, a recreation, or something that is set up to attract tourists. However, the objects or activities that the respondents have indicated as being staged differ. Respondent 1 claims that in Amsterdam the waffle and tea shops are staged authenticity, while they are to be found everywhere in the city. Another respondent names one of the activities in Amsterdam as staged, while she indicates "the canal cruises are a bit cheesy". Furthermore, the Anne Frank House was referred to as staged, since according to respondent 7: "they do not have a lot of the old items that were in there, so they will create things that look like things they used to have, to show us the way it used to be".

In Rotterdam, the respondents did not indicate anything that was staged. Rather, the authenticity of the city was emphasized. All of the respondents refer to the buildings in Rotterdam, being very different than what is seen before. One of the respondents clarifies: "the way you build them is kind of wonky, and they are different". This was perceived to be authentic for Rotterdam. On the other hand, the history of the city, which relates to World War II when the city was bombarded, is also referred to as being authentic for the city. This is seen as authentic, because the history of a place cannot be exactly similar to the history of another place.

In Volendam, the statues and the front of the buildings, is in essence perceived to be staged. However, this is not seen as something bad, because otherwise the statues and buildings would be lost. The dressing up in period costumes, together with taking pictures of that, was perceived to be staged as well. On the other hand, one of the respondent did not believe anything in de destination is staged. First of all, this relates to the fact that the respondent believes that Volendam is a village where people live. Therefore, staged authenticity is not present, while it does not set anything up to show how it was many years ago.

For Kinderdijk, one of the respondents found that someone dressed up in a period costume in the windmill is staged authenticity. In contradiction, another respondents found there was no staged authenticity present in Kinderdijk. The respondent states "It looks real to me here. So far, it is what I expected".

4.3.2 Photo-Elicitation Test

All the completed photo-elicitation tests are shown in Appendix 2. The tests have shown that every individual judges the use of authenticity in postcards differently. Even though, every respondent has the same starting point, since the definitions from the staged authenticity scale were communicated to the respondents. It becomes clear that what is perceived as being staged is personal. Therefore, it is difficult to find patterns in the answers of the respondents, but there are some points that are striking. For the object-related postcards as well as the activity-related postcards from Amsterdam, it is striking that the different ages are in contradiction to each other. Hereby, for the majority of the postcards, when the older generation places a postcard on the high end, the younger generation places this same postcard on the lower end, and vice versa.

There are many contradictions found for the object-related authenticity postcards from Rotterdam, therefore there not a clear pattern to be found. However, the majority of the respondents place postcard 2 of the objects, which portrays the 'van Nelle' on the high end. Postcard 3, with the portrayal of Hotel New York in black and white, is assessed as high on the scale by the majority of the respondents as well. Also, for the activity-related postcards the postcards that are similar to each other (e.g. 5,6, and 9) are only judged being the same level of staged authenticity by two of the four respondents. However, the majority of the respondents agreed upon postcard 2, which portrays the activity shopping. Hereby, the postcard was judged to have a high level of staged authenticity.

For Kinderdijk, postcard number three in the object-related authenticity category is assessed as high on the scale by the majority. Moreover, the postcards in category the object-related authenticity, which look alike (e.g. 1,8 and 2,10) are rarely judged as being the same level of staged authenticity. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents judged postcard 1 and 9 of the activity related postcards as staged, while this postcard is placed on the higher end of the scale. In addition, the postcards portraying ice-skating (3,5,6,8) in the activity-related set of postcards, are not judged on the same level of staged authenticity. While three of these postcards are placed next to each other on the scale, mostly on the low end, there is always one of the ice skating postcards further away from the other three.

Then, for Volendam the postcards that are judged in roughly the same way are postcards 3,9 and 10 of the object-related postcards. These postcards portray the scenery of Volendam and are placed on the higher end of the scale. However, the exact placing still differs for every respondent. Furthermore, for the activity-related postcards, the postcards portraying dressing up (4+7), and ice skating are judged as being high on the scale. Once again, these were not judged to be at actually the same level for every respondent. Besides this, no clear patterns are found, rather the judgments are contradicting each other.

5. Conclusion & Discussion

5.1 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to examine the role authenticity plays in postcards to represent global and local destinations in the Netherlands. The results from this research provide relevant new information, which adds to the existing literature. Especially, the way authenticity is used in representing destinations through postcards adds to the literature. This is because authenticity is not often examined with the use of postcards.

Overall, it can be concluded that object-related authenticity is emphasized in postcards. This applies for all the four destinations, the global and local destinations. However, from a more thorough analysis, with the use of the semiotic analysis, it can be concluded that while in every destination the emphasis is on the use of objective authenticity for the category object-related authenticity, the use of staged authenticity is also emphasized. In the category activity-related authenticity, the most emphasis is on intra-personal authenticity, while the activities portrayed on the postcards evoke bodily feelings. However, in the activity-related authenticity postcards, staged authenticity is also of importance in the representation of the destinations.

Moreover, constructive authenticity is also used in postcards to represent the destinations, however not yet in a great extent. This means that the expectations foreign tourists have of the destinations, partially correspond with the imagery on the postcards. Furthermore, most of the preferences foreign tourists have regarding the imagery on postcards, correspond with the imagery on the postcards from the destinations. Additionally, the interpretations of foreign tourists on the use of authenticity in postcards are diverse.

Nonetheless, there are aspects which have an influence on how foreign tourists assess the use of authenticity in postcards. These aspects are design, colour, and recognisability. So, it can be concluded that authenticity plays an important role in postcards, for representing global and local destinations in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, the main difference in the role of authenticity in global and local destinations is, that in global destinations modernity and uniqueness is emphasized in representing the destinations. On the other hand, for the local destinations traditional local culture and heritage is emphasized in representing the destinations.

5.2 Discussion

First of all, the results have shown the emphasis on object-related authenticity in postcards. The results from the quantitative content analysis have shown that for the postcards from Amsterdam, there is a strong emphasis on object-related authenticity. In this destination, there is a large gap between the number of postcards which emphasize object-related authenticity, and the postcards which emphasize activity-related authenticity. The same applies for Rotterdam, where the emphasis is on object related authenticity as well. Here the difference is also large between the amount of object-related and activity-related postcards. As for Volendam, there is an emphasis on object-related authenticity in the postcards. However, the difference between the number of postcards, which emphasize object-related authenticity and the postcards which emphasize activity-related authenticity is relatively small.

In Kinderdijk, the majority of the postcards emphasize object-related authenticity as well. Furthermore, the difference is somewhat larger between the use of object-related authenticity compared to activity-related authenticity. Even though, in every destination there is an emphasis on object-related authenticity in the postcards, there are still differences worth mentioning. In total, there are namely much more postcards available in the global destinations, Amsterdam & Rotterdam, compared to the availability in the local destinations, Volendam & Kinderdijk. Furthermore, the gap between the amount of object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity, in the global destinations as well as one of the local destinations, Kinderdijk, is quite the same. Hereby, the gap is large, meaning that there is a very strong emphasis on object-related authenticity in the postcards. On the other hand, the numbers for Volendam lie closer to each other. This means, that the emphasis on object-related authenticity is not as strong compared to the other destinations.

This result is unexpected, since the researcher had expected beforehand that in the global destinations, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, there would be an emphasis on activity-related authenticity while in the local destinations, Volendam and Kinderdijk, it was expected to have an emphasis on object-related authenticity. Beforehand, it was expected that the global destinations would have a focus on being dynamic in relation to authenticity. Therefore, the global destinations, being vibrant cities, were expected to have more emphasis on this, by having an emphasis on activity-related authenticity. While historical rootedness and local culture in relation to authenticity was expected for local destinations, this was connected to object-related authenticity.

While in every destination the emphasis is on the use object-related authenticity, a more thorough analysis revealed the use of multiple forms of authenticity in postcards, to represent the global and local destinations. The postcards in the category of object-related authenticity, mostly have an emphasis on objective authenticity, in every destination. Hereby, the objects are what they appear to be, which leads to the objects deserving the admiration it has been given (Wang, 1999). The use of this form of authenticity, relates to what kind of signs are found in the postcards. The objects all have in common that they are so called icons. This means that the sign-object relationship, Peirce (1931-1958) emphasizes in his model, relates to the sign mirroring the object (as cited in Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Thereby, these objects have a sense of recognisability, as well as familiarity for the tourists. With showing objects which are recognizable, it becomes clear for the tourists what is worth seeing, and therefore on where to gaze (Urry, 1995, p. 133; Waitt & Head, 2002). Therefore, this form of authenticity is used to give an accurate representation of the destination, by showing something recognizable. However, this does not mean that all tourists are familiar with the object before having

seen the postcard. Therefore, the iconicity only occurs when the tourist is indeed familiar with the object, and therefore recognizes that the object on the postcard resembles the object found in the destination. This means that with the use of objective authenticity, the destinations are represented according to the cognitive point of view discussed in the literature (Gartner, 1996; as cited in Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). The destination image, namely, relates to the attributes that correspond with the objects the destinations have to offer (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007)

Furthermore, for the postcards with the emphasis on objective authenticity, for representing the object, and ultimately the destination, there are postcards in which other forms of authenticity are observed. Bruner's framework (1994), is often applied to the object-related authenticity postcards. The historical sites specifically use the form of authenticity of being authorized and certified by legitimate institutions, which make them authentic. Furthermore, whenever a historical site is shown, Bruner's (1994) framework is also of use when assessing the use of authenticity. However, this cannot be seen from looking at the postcard, therefore knowledge about these objects is needed, to know this form of authenticity is used.

The results have further shown that in some postcards staged authenticity is used. This use of staged authenticity occurs, due to the use of specific colours, lighting, or the use of pixels. The use of these extras to the setting and background, in most cases, try to correspond with the connotations of the object. However, for some postcards this is not the case and no relation between these extras can be found with regards to the connotation of the object. Then, these extras make the postcard more attractive, and have that effect of catching your eye, between an assortment of postcards. Striking is that this use of staged authenticity is observed in postcards which portray historical buildings. With the use of specific colours, as black and white, and the use of pixels, making it look blurry, accentuates the connotation of being historical. This also relates to these historical buildings being symbolic signs, therefore the meaning of appreciating heritage is attached to these buildings. On the other hand, no explanation can be given for the romanticizing sky colour used in some of the postcards with an historical building on it. This is because, historical buildings do not need to be romanticized. For the images which have cartoon-like images in the category of object-related authenticity, the use of staged authenticity is also prevalent. In this way, the images are a copy of the object, rather than the portrayal of the original object. Accordingly, these types of postcards are staged since it is false and fake, rather than genuine and the real thing.

As for the activity-related authenticity, there are many similarities to be found between the destinations. For all the activity-related authenticity postcards, from every destination, intra-personal authenticity is emphasized. Intra-personal authenticity namely relates to bodily feelings, which are in correspondence with the connotations attached to the activities. These connotations are particularly, relaxation, recreation, and fun. Furthermore, what these postcards all have in common is that the activities are all icons, while they are recognizable and familiar to the tourists. Most of the activities, therefore can be considered as authentic, since these activities can be experienced in the destinations. On the other hand, whenever the activity shows people doing the activity together, or insinuates that this activity is done with others, togetherness is emphasized. While the togetherness refers to sharing and communicating about what is seen or experienced, intra-personal authenticity is emphasized.

Furthermore, self-making is emphasized since self-actualization can be achieved by doing an activity, especially ice-skating, while this cannot be achieved in their daily routines. But, these two forms of authenticity are less prevalent in the postcards, especially self-making while this is difficult to observe.

Within the activity-related authenticity postcards, the use of staged authenticity is also observed. In these postcards, use of colour and lighting causes staged authenticity. However, there are also postcards included where the whole activity is staged, such as a clog shaped boat and a car driving in a canal. Furthermore, the setting in which the activity is placed also adds to the authenticity of the postcard. There are also activities which are portrayed in a cartoon-like form, which are, therefore, not portrayed in a genuine and real way (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Consequently, these images are staged, and not an authentic representations of the activities in reality.

Furthermore, the results have shown the use of constructive authenticity, which is also known as symbolic authenticity, in postcards to represent the destinations. Constructive authenticity is known as an attribute which tourists project onto objects and activities, based on imagery, expectations, preferences or power (Belhassen et al., 2008; Mkono, 2012). The results of the interviews presented the associations people have in their minds regarding the destinations, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam and Kinderdijk. These associations are the expectations that the foreign tourists have of a destination, and therefore also what is expected to see in the destination. According to the literature, the expectations of the tourists should be portrayed on the postcards (Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; as cited in Hashimito & Telfer, 2007). However, when comparing the expectations of the people with what is on the postcards, this does not always correspond. For the destination Amsterdam, only two expectations are portrayed on the postcards. The expectations of the respondents namely are, Dutch, pancakes, 'stroopwafel', unique, coffeeshops, liberated, free, eclectic, and weed. In this case, coffeeshops and weed are portrayed on a postcard. Yet, this is only portrayed on one postcard in the activity-related authenticity category. The remaining expectations are either not seen on postcards (pancakes, stroopwafel), or cannot be portrayed on a postcards because they are not objects nor activities (unique, liberated, free, eclectic). Moreover, foreign tourists also attach many associations to the destination Rotterdam. In this case, only architecture is observed in the postcards. While some of these associations, can also be regarded as experiences from the destination rather than expectations. However, the expectations as port and containerships are not seen on the postcards.

Moreover, the destination Volendam has the associations of tourists, countryside, windmills, cheese, tulips, water and picturesque. Not all of these expectations are in line with what is seen on the postcards. However, water, windmills, and tourists are seen on the postcards, whereby water is shown on almost all of the postcards. Tourists are also portrayed on postcards, however in some cases it is hard to distinguish whether the people on the postcards are tourists or local inhabitants. Further, a windmill is portrayed on two of the postcards in the object-related authenticity category. All the other expectations are not specifically seen on the postcards. However, for the expectations of 'countryside' and 'picturesque', it is difficult to know what kind of image is formed with these two words. Then, the associations for Kinderdijk are pleasant, heritage, history, windmills, and quiet. Hereby, windmills are the only word that is portrayed on the postcards. The other concepts relate to expectations of the destination, which cannot necessarily be observed in a postcard such as heritage, history, and quiet. On the other hand, pleasant is the experience on site, rather than an expectation beforehand.

This is also an unexpected result when referring to the existing literature, since it would be expected that more of the associations people have would be pictured in the postcards. Especially since Hitchcock & Teague (2000) claims that the expectations of the tourists should be portrayed on postcards (as cited in Hashimito & Telfer, 2007). Therefore, it seems that the tourism industry mostly produces images of destination, which match to the wishes of the producers of these images, as Bandyopadhyay & Morais (2005) stated.

Furthermore, the preferences of the respondents came to light, related to what they prefer to see on postcards. Hereby, the respondents pointed out different aspects, such as scenery, landmarks, nature, and art. Furthermore, characteristics like the name of the destination, something that is recognizable, and something representative of the destination was mentioned. Therefore, the preferences of foreign tourists are taken more into account compared to the expectations, since many of these preferences are shown in postcards. Landmarks are namely shown on the postcards of every destination, in the object-related authenticity category. Moreover, scenery is also often shown on postcards, in the object-related authenticity as well as the activity-related authenticity categories. However, nature is not something that is often illustrated on the postcards of the four destinations. There is some nature shown in the postcards from Kinderdijk, while green and water is illustrated besides the windmill. Furthermore, nature is also shown in one of the activity-related authenticity postcards of Amsterdam, while it shows a park. Moreover, art is one of the preferences not often illustrated in postcards as well. This is only shown in the postcards which look like paintings, which is one postcard in the activity-related authenticity category from Amsterdam, as well as one postcard in the object-related authenticity category from Rotterdam.

On the other hand, the respondents who prefer to have the name of the destination in the postcard have the most chance of finding a postcard corresponding with their preference. The majority of the postcards have the name of the destination on the postcard, even though there are still postcards in every destination which do not have text on them. Interestingly, neither the expectations, nor the preferences of the foreign tourists, mention any activities. This could refer to the consumption-oriented society, while people objectify their travel experiences. (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006). Therefore, there is made sense of travel experiences by purchasing a postcard with an object of the destination on it, rather than a postcard with an activity on it (Larsen & Swanbrow, 2006).

Additionally, the results have shown the diversity of interpretations from foreign tourists on the use of authenticity in postcards. In general, foreign tourists have a good basis for judging the authenticity of destinations. While, the most named words are real and genuine. This corresponds with what some of the scholars define as authenticity. Some authors, namely, define authenticity as an object being genuine and the real thing, rather than a copy (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). The literature also suggested that postcards are the most popular form of travel photography (Albers & James, 1988), as well as still being purchased even though digital communication is available (Price, 2013). However, this proves not to be true, while the respondents have indicated that they often do not buy postcards anymore because of the availability of digital communication. Therefore, it seems that postcards might not be as popular as the literature assumes. The postcard, is also not purchased mainly as a mean of communication, as was suggested in the literature (Milman, 2011; Rogan, 2005).

Rather, the older generation does use the postcard as a mean of communication, in order to send a picture as well as text with experiences to grandchildren. But, it seems that the purpose of the postcard for other respondents have shifted towards a souvenir (Milman, 2011; Rogan, 2005). Since, the respondents who buy postcards, only buy it for the purpose of keeping it for themselves.

On the other hand, while every respondent was communicated the same definitions on the forms of authenticity used for the staged authenticity scale, the interpretations are diverse. However, it was expected to find more common characteristics compared to what is found now. Another unexpected result is that while there are postcards which look similar, they are not interpreted as the same level of authenticity in some cases. This is something that is difficult to understand as to why this is happening. Moreover, it is beyond the scope of this research to find what the cause of this great diversity is. However, the results do show some aspects on what kind of diversity is shown. The diversity that is shown in the results can derive from the designs, colours, and recognisability of the postcards. This means that these three aspects are different for each individual, because they are based on personal feelings as well as preferences. In this way, the judgement of the respondents is influenced, and determines the diversity. This diversity is not any different for local or global destinations, neither is there a difference for object-related or activity-related postcards. These aspects influence judgments of respondents in any case. Furthermore, it is also found that age might have an influence in the judgment of authenticity.

The results have also shown that there are differences in the use of authenticity in postcards for global and local destinations in the Netherlands. First of all, the cartoon-like images, in the object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity category, are only found in the global destinations, Amsterdam & Rotterdam. Hereby, the representation of the destination is not true to the destination. Why these types of postcards are only found in the global destinations, is a question which unfortunately cannot be answered within this research. Additionally, more differences can be identified with regards to the use of staged authenticity within the postcards. Specifically, in the global destinations staged authenticity is used in the postcards of historical buildings. As discussed before, some of the time links are then made with the connotations attached to these historical buildings. In the global destinations staged authenticity is also used to make the postcard more attractive, or to show something funny which is not realistic. An example here, is the lights used in the shopping postcard from Rotterdam, or the car driving in the canal in Amsterdam.

On the other hand, whenever staged authenticity is used in the postcards from local destinations, traditional culture or heritage is accentuated. An example from Volendam is the portrayal of the windmill. This windmill was also not representative for the destination, since it is not actually observed in Volendam, however it does refer to the heritage and traditional culture of the Netherlands. Another example are the clogs, in the object-related authenticity category, from Kinderdijk. This postcard is not representative of the destination Kinderdijk, however it does accentuate traditional Dutch culture. Hereby, the link was also made to the millers, who used to wear clogs in the past. The same applies to the activity-related authenticity category. This is shown in the postcard, from Volendam, which portrays dressing up, emphasizing the traditional local culture of Volendam. Moreover, for Kinderdijk the clog shaped boat illustrated in a tulip shaped postcard shows aspects of traditional Dutch culture. Therefore, these postcards show local products that have become commoditized (Cohen, 1988).

These products are especially produced and presented to tourists, since it is something exotic to foreign tourists (Cohen, 1988). Interestingly, the results of the interviews show that dressing up in period costumes, which is shown on the postcards from Volendam, is judged as staged by the respondents.

Therefore, the use of authenticity in postcards of local destinations is partly corresponding with the existing literature. According to Markwick (2001), stereotypical images were sustained for the destination Malta. For the local destinations, in the postcards where staged authenticity is used, stereotypical images are also shown. Therefore, it is true that the past and folk societies are the reference point for the use of authenticity in postcards (Markwick, 2001). However, this is only true for the local destinations. The use of authenticity in the postcards of global destinations, specifically do not use these reference points to represent the destination. Hereby, reference points are rather modernity, however also the uniqueness of the destination. Moreover, according to the literature, authentic experiences include traditional local culture rather than popular contemporary culture (Richards, 2007, p 4.). However, the respondents have suggested the opposite. For example, Rotterdam is perceived as authentic, while this is a city with contemporary culture. While, traditional local culture, in terms of dressing up, is not seen as an authentic experience. On the other hand, traditional local culture is also portrayed in for example the windmills, and fisher's boats, which are found to be authentic. Nonetheless, this provides new insights, contributing to existing literature. Furthermore, in contradiction to Milman (2011) who found that there are not many postcards representing authentic and true images of Alanya, Turkey, overall for every destination there are many postcards which represent authentic and true images of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Volendam, and Kinderdijk. Of course, there are also postcards which include staged authenticity however, these misleading images do not have the upper hand in representing the destinations.

5.3 Limitations

One of the limitations in this research is researchers' bias. Unfortunately, this cannot be avoided completely, while subjectivity is inevitable in qualitative research (Mehra, 2002). However, objectivity is ensured by carefully complying to the procedures, as discussed in the methodology (Bopry, 2002; Mehra, 2002). Furthermore, the data from the interviews can be subject to bias since the data is collected through human interaction. Therefore, the researcher might have influenced or encouraged the expression of thoughts or opinions, without intending to do so. However, this is mainly avoided by having a semi-structured interview, whereby there was some structure to hold onto. Moreover, conducting interviews was very time consuming. With the limited amount of time, this means that there is only a small sample of interviews. This means that the findings are not generalizable to larger populations. Including more interviews would increase the credibility of this research, while this would provide more insights and opinions.

Not only the interviews were time consuming. The data analysis, especially the semiotic analysis, was time consuming. It was not expected that this analysis would take as much time as it did. Accordingly, one of the initial specific research questions was taken out. Therefore, no research is conducted on whether the findings of the content and semiotic analysis, corresponds with the representations shown in PR material. The decision was made by the researcher to rather conduct an adequate and thorough semiotic analysis, than to keep the other research question and misconduct two analyses.

Another limitation, is that many of the stores in the destinations sell the same postcards, which made it more difficult to sample the postcards. The researcher had to pay great attention to not double count the postcards for the content analysis as well. The researcher did accomplish this without double counting the postcards, therefore not damaging the reliability. Moreover, in Kinderdijk, there were only two shops, which did both sell postcards. This made the number of postcards to sample from smaller compared to the other destinations. However, this was not a big problem since there were enough postcards to randomly sample the postcards needed for this research. Overall, in all the destinations there were also a lot of postcards of Holland, rather than postcards of the destination itself. In Volendam, the experience was that there were in general not many shops that sold postcards. Many of the shops, which did sell postcards, mostly had the same postcards. Therefore, it took some time to collect the sample. Furthermore, in Volendam there was no permission given to take photographs of the postcards. Thus, the postcards had to be purchased in this destination.

In addition, after the postcards have been analysed according to the semiotic model, it becomes clear that cross-cultural knowledge is necessary to understand how symbolic content will be interpreted (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). While the researcher does have cross-cultural knowledge, it has not been possible to analyse the postcards according to other cultural conventions. Hereby, there is no knowledge or guarantee whether everyone would analyse these postcards in the same way. However, semiotic analysis also has strengths. Semiology is a good method to examine how meaning is used to convey messages, which is demonstrated in postcards (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). In this way, semiotic analysis also shows what the strengths of the destinations are, while it can be discovered how postcards represent the destination (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010). Therefore, the analysis shows whether postcards need to be adjusted or not, to be in line with what the tourists prefer and to correspond with the destination image (Pennington & Thomsen, 2010).

5.4 Future Research

While, as mentioned before, one of the specific research questions was taken out of this research, this is still interesting for future research. This is because the literature claims that the postcard is also a tool for advertising. Therefore, it is interesting whether the images on the postcards correspond with images shown on websites and in brochures. Furthermore, the literature therefore suggests that the use of authenticity might be the same for the postcards, as well as the PR material, which is interesting to find out in the future.

Furthermore, future research might want to focus on more in-depth interviews as well as more people completing the photo-elicitation tests. Therefore, a greater amount of responses is generated, which will lead to more interpretations. From this greater amount of data, there might be more to conclude from. Hereby, there could even be a comparison to the interpretations of domestic tourists.

This research, could also be expanded by conducting in-depth interviews with manufacturers of postcards. While, this research focuses on the role of authenticity in the postcards, as well as the interpretations of foreign tourists on this concept, it is of interest whether the manufacturers think that authenticity plays a role in the postcards.

Additionally, it is interesting to find out whether manufacturers feel like they consider the expectations and preferences people have of the destinations and on what should be on the postcards. Given that the results of this research show that especially the expectations of foreign tourists are not considered in the images on postcards.

Furthermore, it was not within the scope of this research to find out what the causes for the diversity in the interpretation giving by the respondents of the photo-elicitation tests. However, this is of interest for future research because the diversity in interpretations must have a cause, which influences the way the destinations are perceived. Therefore, there might be groups of people that prefer certain types of postcards, while other groups might prefer other types of postcards. This is something that might be of interest for tourism marketers as well as manufacturers of postcards, to see which groups are interested in which kind of postcard.

Something else which was not examined in this research, is the use of text on the postcards. In future research this might also be considered when examining the representation of destinations, as well as the authenticity use. Texts, namely also convey messages which might be important for purchase decisions as well. Postcards from 'Holland', rather than the specific destinations were also not included in this research. However, this type of postcard is found in great numbers in every of these four destinations. These images, might be completely different in terms of use of authenticity, compared to the postcards examined for these global and local destinations.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1: Postcards

Amsterdam – Object-Related Authenticity





















Amsterdam - Activity Related Authenticity



















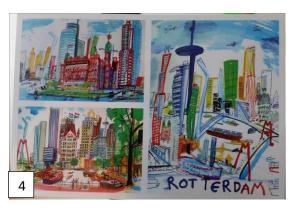


Rotterdam – Object-Related Authenticity





















Rotterdam – Activity-Related Authenticity





















Volendam – Object-Related Authenticity

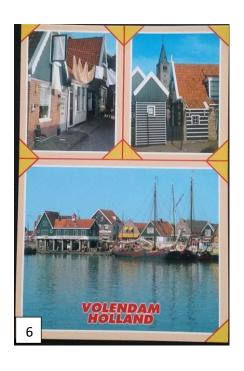




















Volendam - Activity Related Authenticity





















Kinderdijk – Object-Related Authenticity





















Kinderdijk - Activity Related Authenticity





















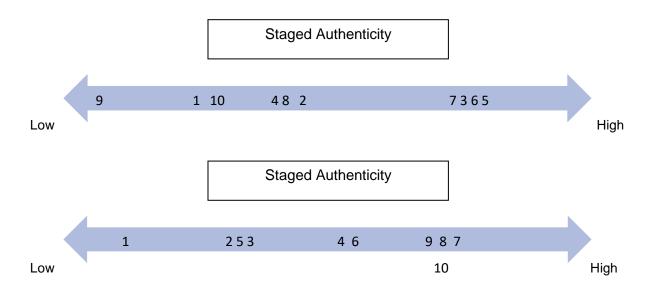
7.2 Appendix 2: Results Photo-Elicitation Test

Following are the results from the scoring assignments. For each respondent, first the results from the object-related authenticity is shown, with underneath the results for the activity-related authenticity postcards.

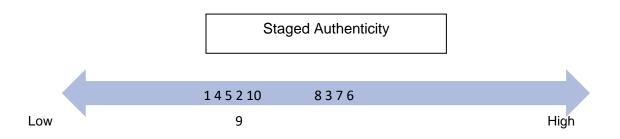
AMSTERDAM SIERISM MAGGIZMA

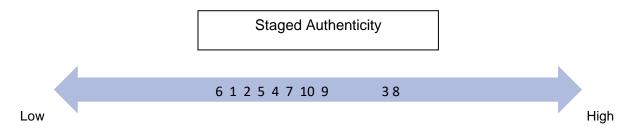
Amsterdam

Respondent 1: Female, Austria, 20 years old.

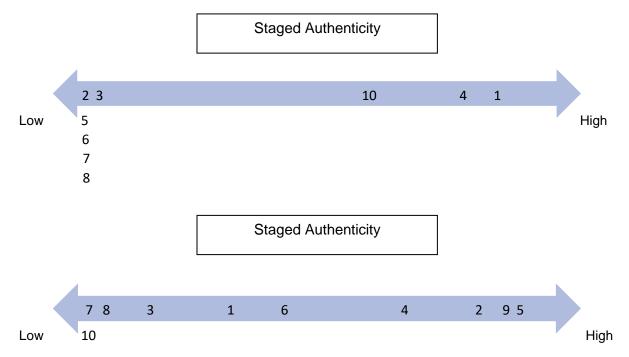


Respondent 2: Male, Austria, 26 years old.

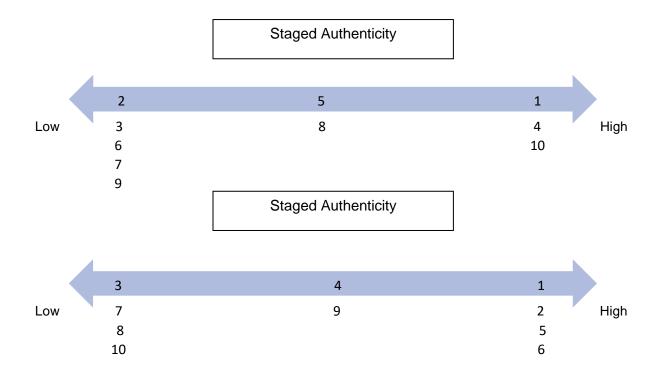




Respondent 3: Male, USA, 70 years old.



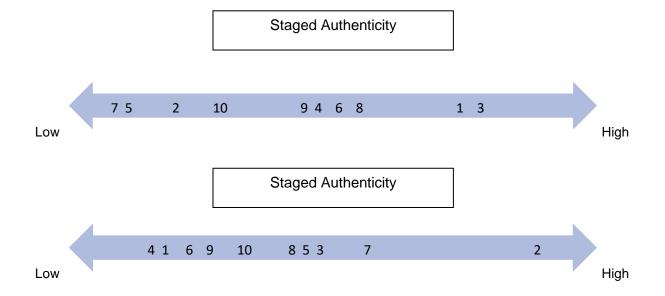
Respondent 4: Female, USA, 65 years old.



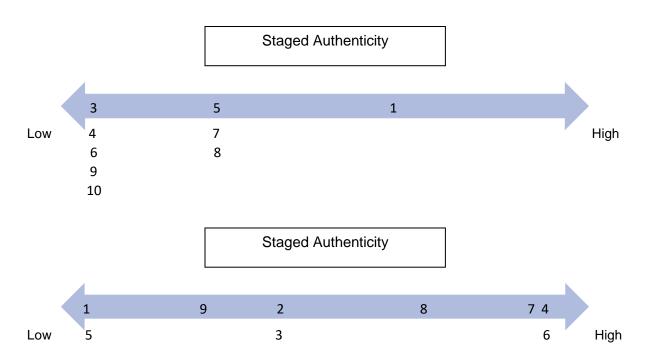
Rotterdam



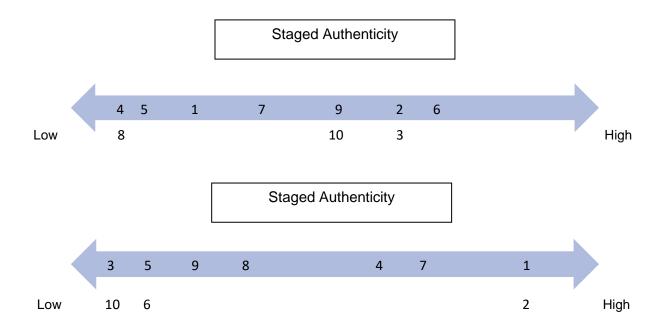
Respondent 1: Male, Great Britain, 74 years old



Respondent 2: Female, Belgium, 34 years old



Respondent 3: Female, Belgium, 61 years old.

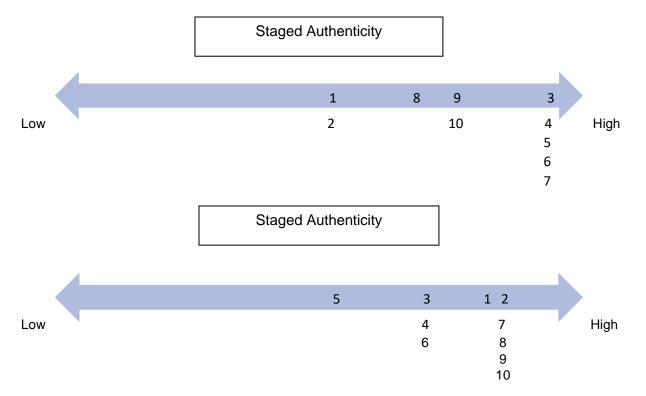


Respondent 4: Male, Great Britain, 26 years old.

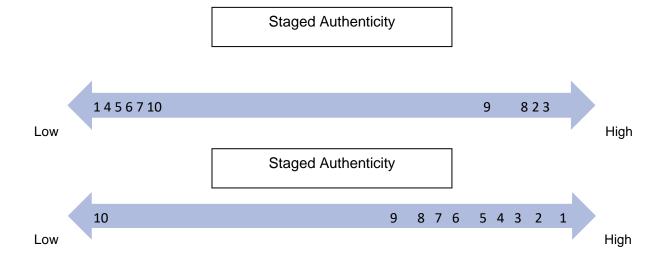




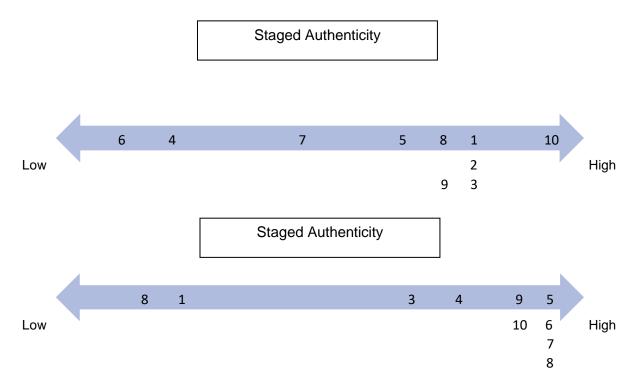
Respondent 1: Female, Chez Republic, 42 years old.



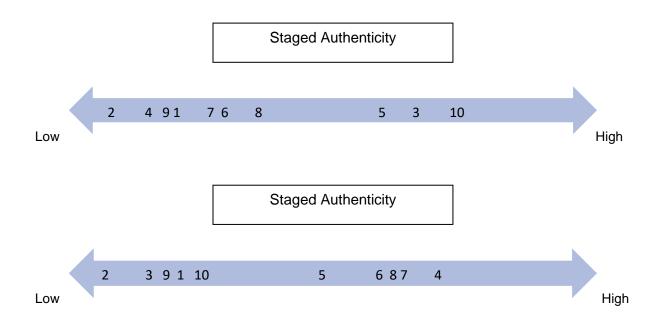
Respondent 2: Female, Spain, 24 years old.



Respondent 3: Female, Czech Republic, 52 years old.



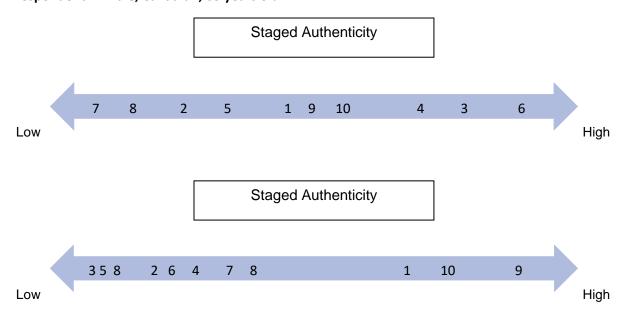
Respondent 4: Female, Spain, 25 years old.



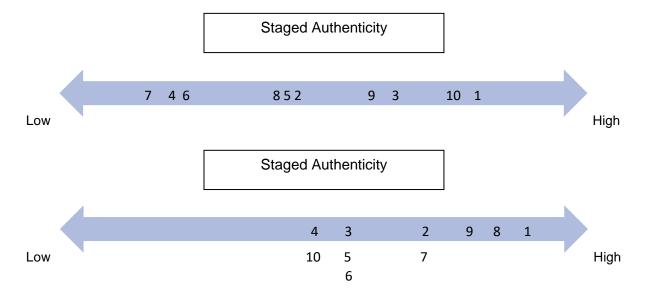
Kinderdijk



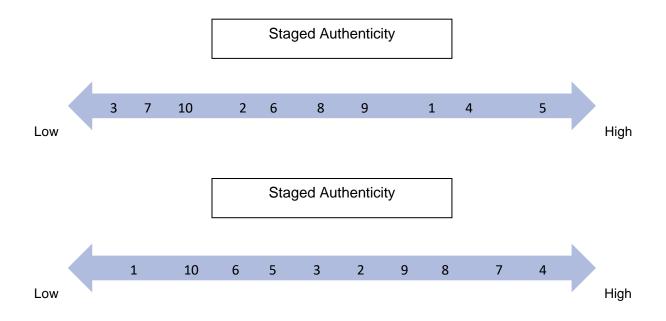
Respondent 1: Male, Canadian, 63 years old.



Respondent 2: Male, Saudi Arabia, 30 years old.



Respondent 3: Male, Thailand, 43 years old.



Respondent 4: Male, America, 56 years old.

