



TOURISM AREA LIFE CYCLE: Historiographic interpretation of Reguliersdwarstraat as LGBT tourist territory in Amsterdam

Christopher Smith Bignardi Neves^a

ABSTRACT: Urban destinations concentrate on the largest amount of entertainment for LGBT Tourism (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender). Amsterdam (Netherlands) has several images and stereotypes that project it as a recognized gay-friendly tourist destination, motivated by the attributes associated with freedom, nightlife, parties, and the traditional LGBT Pride Parade in boats (Canal Parade). This study presents the historical evolution of Reguliersdwarstraat, known as Amsterdam's gay street from the perspective of LGBT tourist territory, with analyses for the model proposed by Butler (1980), Life Cycle of the Tourist Area. The netnographic study describes the path that culminates in a successful case, starting in the 1960s, declining in 2010, and rejuvenating soon thereafter. The considerations point out that the existence of LGBT territories, such as Reguliersdwarstraat, broadens the diversity of attractions for the tourist, a factor that contributes to the development of this niche.

KEYWORDS

Turismo LGBT;
Reguliersdwarstraat;
Gayborhood;
Queer Space

Info do artigo:

Aceito 31/Jul/2020
Publicado 30/May/2021

^aMestre em Turismo pela Universidade Federal do Paraná
smithbig@hotmail.com

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14210/at.v6n1.p45-58>

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INTRODUCTION

The LGBT tourist has specific travel motivations and concerns. The 23rd Annual LGBTQ Tourism & Hospitality Survey (Community Marketing & Insights [CMI], 2018) shows that for 78% of tourists it is important to stay at hotels with non-discriminatory policies, as well as to visit destinations with non-discriminatory policies, with 84% more chances of being visited. This projects the idea where gay-friendly spaces are needed for the sense of security of this public.

There is a search for destinations, events, gastronomy, and cultural activities aimed at the LGBT public, which differs these tourists from heterosexuals. The Second Global Report on LGBT Tourism (World Tourism Organization [WTO], 2017) points out as characteristics of this public the need to guarantee that they can maintain their physical integrity in the destinations they visit, since they run the risk of being assaulted or murdered in certain localities due to their sexuality, as listed in the Gay Travel Index (Spartacus, 2020).

This differentiation of the public has roots that are found in the history of the creation of the homosexual subject, as a medical and legal category (Foucault, 1988), when the LGBT tourist comes out of the closet (Sedgwick, 1990) he can express a new identity.

Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Florianópolis, Recife, Fortaleza, are some of the Brazilian capitals that can be considered as the main tourist destinations of the LGBT public; international ones emerge Madrid, Amsterdam, Toronto, Tel Aviv, and London as the five cities best prepared to receive the LGBT tourist (Nestpick, 2017).

The Dutch capital, Amsterdam, is one of the most visited world destinations, in 2018 there were 21.7 million visitors (City of Amsterdam, 2020a). LGBT tourists are motivated by being a center of festivities, an urban destination, including the policies to protect the LGBT community, with a great offer of cultural activities, also for its scenic beauty, headed by the world historical heritage - declared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Amsterdam is iconic for holding in the summer (June to September) the Parade Channel, a differentiated LGBT Pride Parade, conducted by boats - and also for cannabis consumption, legalized in the territory in question. Besides the event, Amsterdam has a history of being a hospitable destination for the LGBT public (Neves & Brambatti, 2019). This study will present how the concentration of targeted entertainment spaces, with Food and Beverage (A&B) offer, can consolidate a tourist destination as LGBT.

From the following assumptions: (a) that spaces ag-

glomerate with greater emphasis on the resident LGBT public, this agglomeration causes tourists to frequent the same places, inducing the tourist use of the developments in the area; (b) the Life Cycle of the Tourist Area as proposed by Butler (1980) can be observed in Reguliersdwarstraat, and that LGBT tourists renewed the space after it had presented characteristics of rejuvenation/modernization. The objective of this study is to chronologically present the installation of gay-friendly and gay-only enterprises in Reguliersdwarstraat until 2010, adding to the historiography an analysis of the tourist importance of the street for the city, through LGBT tourism.

Thus, Reguliersdwarstraat (Figure 1), a street in the city of Amsterdam, is presented as a queer space, derived from the installation of bars and nightclubs aimed at the LGBT public.

Figure 1: Reguliersdwarstraat frequencies (June 2020)



Source: Reguliers (2020b).

The approximately 705 yards street is located in the southern part of the Centrum-Oost neighborhood, a region characterized by Amsterdam's main nightlife sites, especially for being located between the Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein squares (City of Amsterdam, 2020b).

As indicated by Jacobs (2017, p. 27) "nearly all existing research on LGBTQ nightlife in the Netherlands focuses exclusively on lesbian bars", the researcher's statement directs to the need to investigate how bars targeting the majority gay public - and later LGBTQ - have established themselves in the city of Amsterdam, making it known worldwide as the Gay Capital.

METHODOLOGY

As far as the methodological perspective is concerned, in addition to the bibliographical research, the method of analysis of the official website of the street under analysis was used, adding interpretation of official doc-

uments of the municipal government of Amsterdam, in addition to articles published in local and international media about the area in question. This analysis is an extension of the initial study presented by Neves (2019) and Neves, Chemin, and Brambatti (2019a; 2019b).

Creswell (2009) thus understands research as exploratory-descriptive in nature, the main function of qualitative research is to explore and understand meanings, conceived here as appropriate to study the perception of the LGBT tourist given the options available in the shared economy modality.

The examination of materials that have not yet been observed analytically, seeking new interpretations or even complementary interpretations are characteristics concerning documentary research (Godoy, 1995). At this point, it is worth mentioning that the specific analysis of commercial enterprises involved in an association of entrepreneurs from a single street, shows to be innovative, a differential that is adopted by the dynamics placed in Amsterdam itself.

The use of web pages has been chosen because they are considered natural sources of information as they originate in a particular economic and social context and portray and provide data on that context (Godoy, 1995); what characterizes this study as netnographic, model understood by Montardo and Rocha (2005, p. 01) as a study of computer-mediated communication practices is called netnography, or virtual ethnography and its adoption is valid in the field of communication because "many objects of study are located in cyberspace" (translate by the Author). For Kozinats (2014, p. 53) "a group of people, connected by certain social relationships, such as kinship, friendship, working together, shared hobby or common interest or exchanging any kind of information, can be considered a social network" (translate by the Author).

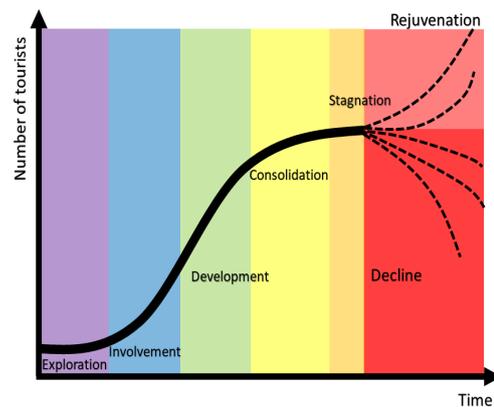
Initially, the netnographic process takes place by consulting the website (retrieved from Reguliers.net), Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter (retrieved from @reguliers) of BedrijvenInvesteringsZone (BIZ) Reguliersdwarstraat (Business Investment Zone); following this there is an investigation in the Dutch media, mainly in newspapers directed at the LGBT public, which unravels a "snowball" of information - while the news is broadcast, an investigation is carried out into the fact in other news. In addition to this, studies produced by Gert Hekma (Gay & Lesbian Studies University of Amsterdam) are also published.

Given this, the study focuses on the congruence of the information provided on Reguliersdwarstraat - both historical, geographical, economic, and social - linking it to the LGBT tourism market. To this end, in pursuit of this, the sites considered to be the most relevant for this investigation were selected. The choice was made subjectively, but with similarity to others of greater popular knowledge.

BUTLER'S TOURISM AREA LIFE CYCLE MODEL

Butler (1980) stipulates that every tourist destination goes through a life cycle, and this cycle is composed of factors that the author determines as crucial, being: exploration, involvement, consolidation, development, stagnation (decline/saturation and rejuvenation/renewal).

Figure 2: Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle Model



Source: Adapted from Butler (1980)

Butler (1980) states that each internship can be associated with a specific impact: economic, ecological, and socio-cultural. The author informs that during the exploration, the initial tourists discover the destination, being a single person or a small group, there is no tourist service facility, but the same places where the residents use for their experience in the place.

At the stage of involvement, Butler (1980) points out that residents perceive tourism with development potential of the site, and initial visitors come more often and in greater numbers, so the economic benefits increase, and investments remain low (depending on the site and a half).

Butler (1980) states that in the development phase the destination becomes known, and the population perceives tourism as an industry, and residents in general start to invest more resources in tourism, causing several times problems of cargo power. At the moment of consolidation, the destination has a satisfactory infrastructure, and mass tourism becomes the best known, in economic terms there is an increase considered, there is also an increase in the flow of tourists that is constant.

The destination begins to stagnate when the number of tourists is large, but the growth rate is below expectations, the groups are standardized, and seek to

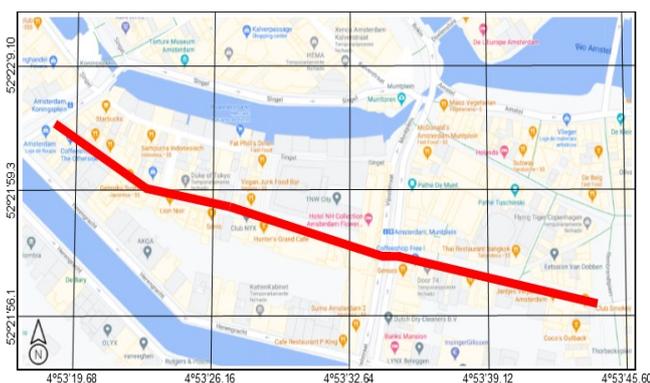
live in the same way of their place of origin, with comfort, availability of services, besides being well attended and with good attractions to be visited; at this time population and tourists are visibly different, because there is a break between them, characterizing the image of the tourist (as superior, the beneficiary of the place) and the resident - as inferior, servant of the tourist (Butler, 1980).

This being said, it is plausible to add that in some readings there is an addition of two other factors reported by Butler (1980), being identified under several names as decline/saturation and rejuvenation/renewal. In these cases, the decline of the destination can be understood as the fall of the tourist, the non-return of investments, where the place is only as a place of use, where it provides profit to small groups - which may not belong to the region, which are seen as explorers, so it is said that this particular destination is saturated. When the tourist destination perceives this cycle and searches for a form of innovation, it is said that it is in a process of rejuvenation or renewal, because it searches for an alternative and offers new products, which differ from the previous offer, changing the form of tourism, searching for new audiences, new periods, new ways of using the infrastructure previously created (Butler, 1980).

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REGULIERSDWARSTRAAAT

To trace this historical evolution that culminates in Reguliersdwarsstraat as a tourist attraction aimed at the LGBT public, it is necessary here to make a record of how the process of construction of this street took place, the following record, although succinct, presents an overview of how the street was inserted into the urban fabric of Amsterdam.

Figure 3: Location of the study area



Source: The author (2020).

For a better understanding of the street, it is presented under the territorial/administrative divisions adopted by the City of Amsterdam (City districts, Practice areas, Areas, Quarters, Neighborhoods): the whole street was found in the Centrum District, in the Centrum-Oost area, in the large Grachtengordel-Zuid neighborhood. The street serves as a landmark for the subdivision of smaller neighborhoods: the northern portion of the street (all side) is in what is called Reguliersbuurt, the southwestern portion in Gouden Bocht, while the southeastern area in Van Loonbuurt (City of Amsterdam, 2020c).

It is assumed that the street has its name derived from the 't Klooster der Reguliere kanunniken, a medieval cloister of priests who lived according to the philosophies of St. Augustine, understood as Regular Canons, because they are those who are part of regular society, that is, a monastic community, based on the three monastic vows (poverty, celibacy, obedience to the government and superiors within the monastery). Augustine's government gave few practical guidelines for the organization of a monastery, as a result of which several houses developed their customs (consuetudines) (Bueren; Dikken, 2018; Hoondert, 2010).

This cloister dates back to the 14th century and operated until the 16th century when a fire destroyed it. Its location close to the street nowadays, induced the use of the prefix derived from the cloister (Reguliers). Thus, the streets (straat), the channel (gracht), the gate (poort), and the square (plein) were named. Reguliersdwarsstraat is the partially transversal street (dwars) to Reguliersbreestraat (breestraat = broad street), which was the main street that connected the old Reguliersplein (now Rembrandtplein) to the old center of Amsterdam. Bakker (2013) gives an account of how these cardinal points served to locate themselves in space, mentioning a cattle market, the author says:

"De veemarkt was in de loop der eeuwen van de Dam naar de Kalverstraat verdreven, vandaar naar het zuidelijkste deel van die straat, na de Tweede Uitleg naar de Reguliersbreestraat, vandaar naar een plek buiten de Regulierspoort, tussen het Regulierenklooster en de vestgracht in, en uiteindelijk naar het Utrechtseplein" (Bakker, 2013, p. 30)¹.

¹Translation by the Author: Over the centuries, the cattle market had been driven from Dam Square to Kalverstraat, from there to the southernmost part of that street, after the Second Explanation to the Reguliersbreestraat, from there to a place outside the Regulierspoort, between the Regulierenklooster and the moat, and finally to the Utrechtseplein.

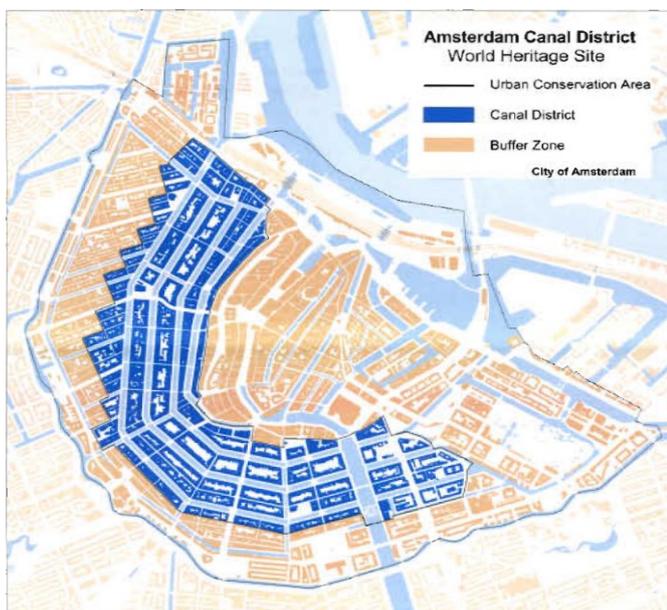
Reguliersdwarstraat dates back to 1586 and owes its creation to military architecture since it is the fruit of the fortification built to protect Amsterdam. The wall consisted of clay bricks, being a very defensive work, presenting bastions in the corners, this fortification contoured the south side of Reguliersdwarstraat, a fact for which at that time the houses were only built in Reguliersbuurt.

With Amsterdam's expansion plan, which provided for the construction of the famous concentric canals, the fortifications were leveled to build the new Herengracht, in 1664, with which Grachtengordel (the name of the neighborhood) emerged. With the construction of the Herengracht (parallel to Reguliersdwarstraat), the micro area called Gouden Bocht (Golden Curve) emerged, so named because of the majestic residences of the rich merchants and administrators of Amsterdam (Tulleners, 1989).

Rosenhart (2012) states that the urban design itself provided that the houses on the northern side of Herengracht had plots that extended to Reguliersdwarstraat, a reflection of the plot designed by C. Philips Jacobsz in 1765, the author explains that "De Reguliersdwarstraat zou gebruikt worden als achterstraat voor de stallen van de paarden en koetsen en als straat voor het doorgaande verkeer"² (Rosenhart, 2012, p. 7), what Bakker (2013) calls "Dienststraten" (Service Streets). The fortunate residents had large gardens, stables and stables (spaces for carriages) at the bottom of the houses, the facades of these annexes also had some architectural features, for Bakker (2013, p. 27) the main function was to beautify the service area.

These stables/houses listed by the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2020), stand out for their facade

Figure 4: Map of properties inscribed as World Heritage Sites



Source: UNESCO (2011).

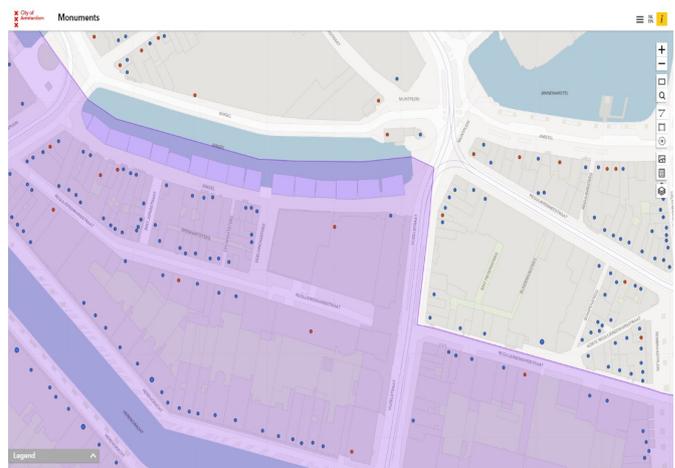
decorated in the style of Herengracht's main house, with the advent of tourism, the advent of restaurants with access to quiet gardens and superb terraces is remarkable.

For Höfkes (2019) the Grachtengordel Area represents a good tourist use of the heritage. For the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (2010) the peculiar form of urban development and architecture that has materialized in an artificial port city has ensured recognition as a world heritage site, this area has witnessed the economic, political, and cultural growth that occurred in the city during the Golden Age (ICOMOS, 2010). While most of the houses built during the 17th century remain, urban architecture is visible in some landscapes. For Höfkes (2019) the heritage is well managed by both the national and municipal governments.

Tulleners (1989) pointed to the existence of 8,863 monuments in Amsterdam, the main ones being in the Gouden Bocht area. The Nominal Document (Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2009) recognizes in the area 3,466 monuments protected by the National Inventory and 433 by the Municipal Inventory. In Reguliersdwarstraat 43 heritage sites are recognized: within the UNESCO listed area there are 31 national and 04 municipal; in the area outside the UNESCO listed area there are 08 national heritage sites, Figure 5 shows the cut of the area and highlights the heritage sites (City of Amsterdam, 2020d).

In the early 19th century, most merchants and rulers living in Herengracht went into decline, with the sub-

Figure 5: National and Municipal Monuments at Reguliersdwarstraat



Source: City of Amsterdam (2020d).

²Translation by the Author: "The Reguliersdwarstraat would be used as a backstreet for the stables of the horses and carriages and as a street for through traffic".

constantal loss of wealth, houses were sold or rented, resulting in a variety of uses, initially housing small businesses (as seen in Bakker, 2016; Bakker et. al, 1983; Hofkamp & Uitert, 1979; Scheurleer, 1941).

While the western part of Reguliersdwarsstraat was characterized by the wealth of Gouden Bocht, the eastern part of the street was characterized by the poverty of the neighborhood, called Duvelshoek (Devil's Corner), now Van Loonbuurt. For the City of Amsterdam (2020f) a structure defined by "die van gangen en sloppen. Deze zogenoemde in pandige gangen definiëerden van oudsher de microkosmos van het bouwblok"³. In Duvelshoek there were countless small private and public houses and the streets were full of beggars, street vendors and all kinds of street artists (De Grondwet, 1918).

The re-urbanization of the city caused part of Duvelshoek to be demolished at the beginning of the 20th century (City of Amsterdam, 2020f), so that the first Dutch cinemas could be built in the area, Bakker (2012) points out that in 1908, Franz Anton Nöggerath, inaugurated the first permanent theater in the Netherlands, the Bioscopen Theater (entry by 34 Reguliersbreestraat).

Abraham Tuschinski, sent in 1918 one of his employees to buy as many houses as possible in the precarious Duvelshoek region. The negotiations were not at all amicable, given the residents' attachment to their homes, with greater financial input, Tuschinski extended the financial compensation until he acquired usable and contiguous lots between Reguliersbreestraat and Reguliersdwarsstraat. In 1921, the Polish Abram Icek Tuszynski (Abraham Tuschinski) established what is still today one of the most beautiful Dutch cinemas, the palatial and luxurious Tuschinski Theatre (Bakker, 2012). "Het theater werd gebouwd in een extravagante stijl die het midden hield tussen Jugendstil, Art Deco en de expressionistische variant van de Amsterdamse School. Hoewel het ontwerp op naam staat van Hijman Louis de Jong (1882-1945), was de bemoeienis van Tuschinski zo groot dat men met recht kan spreken van een 'Tuschinskistijl'"⁴ (City of Amsterdam, 2020g).

In the first half of the 20th century, the narrow Vijzelstraat was expanded (to width 32 feet), allowing the work of the huge Carlton Hotel, built over the Reguliersdwarsstraat, which gave the street (physically and visually) two parts.

"De bouw van het hotel had nogal wat voeten in de aarde. Na de kaalslag bleef het gewonnen terrein jarenlang braak liggen. De eerste ontwerpen die de gebroeders Baanders al in 1922 presenteerden lieten de Reguliersdwarsstraat nog ongemoeid, conform het masterplan van De Bazel. De opdracht ging uiteindelijk naar de Amsterdamse School-architect Gerrit Jan Rutgers, die het hotel vergroete door over de Reguliersdwarsstraat te bouwen. Boven de straat kwam een

grote feestzaal. Nog tijdens de bouw (1928) werd tot een uitbreiding besloten, waartoe een verjongde opbouw met stompe toren werd gerealiseerd door de architecten Gerrit van Arkel en H. J. Breman. In juli 1929 werd het hotel geopend. Het als Grand Hotel Centraal opgezette hotel heette toen al Carlton Hotel, dankzij de Engelse investeerders". (Bakker, 2016, p. 9-10)⁵.

The large hotel, which hosted German Nazi officers during World War II, on the night of April 27, 1943, the Germans managed to shoot down the British bomber Halifax, which fell just behind the hotel, severely damaging its side structure (Bakker, 2016; City of Amsterdam, 2020d), moreover, houses of Reguliersdwarsstraat and Geelvinckssteeg, were consumed by the fire derived from this occurrence - this fire was the most devastating that hit Amsterdam since 1659, but only 13 civilians died.

Anne Frank in her diary reported what happened: "The Carlton Hotel has been destroyed. Two British planes loaded with firebombs landed right on top of the German Officers' Club. The entire corner of Vijzelstraat and Singel has gone up in flames" (Frank, 1995, p. 76).

The destruction left the area without a building for more than a decade, with an open-air parking lot working on the site. In 1964, the Gebouw Muntstaete (name building) was inaugurated, the project of architect Karel Lodewijk Sijmons (Schonenberg, 2020). Originally, it operated as a bank branch (Spaarbank voor de Stad Amsterdam), over time it housed the Museum De Geelvinck and the offices of the Parkeergarage Muntthof. With the completion of the work in November 2016, the building was reused to house other technology ventures, such as the companies The Next Web and Google, which adopt the acronym TQ, occupy 1.48 acre in the area, the Muntstaete currently under the name TNW City has entries by Reguliersdwarsstraat and Singel.

³Translate by the Author: "that of corridors and slums. These so-called indoor corridors traditionally defined the microcosm of the building block".

⁴Translation by the Author: The theater was built in an extravagant style that was midway between Jugendstil, Art Deco, and the expressionist variant of the Amsterdam School. Although the design is in the name of Hijman Louis de Jong (1882-1945), Tuschinsky's involvement was so great that one can rightly speak of a 'Tuschinsky style'.

⁵Translation by the Author: The construction of the hotel had quite a bit of work to do. After the demolition, the reclaimed land remained fallow for years. The first designs presented by the Baanders brothers as early as 1922 left the Reguliersdwarsstraat untouched, by De Bazel's master plan. The assignment eventually went to the Amsterdam School architect Gerrit Jan Rutgers, who enlarged the hotel by building over the Reguliersdwarsstraat. A large banquet hall was built above the street. During construction (1928), the decision was made to expand the hotel, and the architects Gerrit van Arkel and H.J. Breman realized a rejuvenated structure with a blunt tower. The hotel was opened in July 1929. Designed as Grand Hotel Central, the hotel was already called Carlton Hotel at the time, thanks to English investors.



CHRONOLOGY OF REGULIERSDWARSSTRAAT AS A QUEER SPACE (1963-2010)

The presence of bars along the street was already common in the 20th century, so much so that in Duvelshoek there is the register of the bar and restaurant Ognibeni (De Tijd, 1933, p. 4) that can be the first to settle in the 74 Reguliersdwarstraat, operated from 1919 until 1978. After the second half of the 20th century, there was a popularization of bars by Reguliersdwarstraat, which in the region of Duvelshoek had with greater incidence, influenced by the theaters located there.

According to Hekma (2007) between 1930 and 1970, there is a cultural and geographical change related to gay and lesbian people:

"A mikor diákjaimmal megvizsgáltuk, milyen volt 1930 és 1970 között az amszterdami vendéglátóhelyeken kialakult homoszexuális és leszbikus kultúra, arra a következtetésre jutottunk, hogy a vizsgált időszakban nemcsak a homoszexuális és leszbikus kultúra földrajzi térképe, hanem a homoszexuálisok és a leszbikusok identitása is dtáma i változásokon ment keresztül (Hekma, 2007, p. 215)"⁶.

The author states that during the Second World War, Nazism introduced legislation prohibiting homosexual male contact, which did not prosper, so much so that during this period new mixed bars were opened, in 93 Reguliersdwarstraat, the bar The Marathon, due to the control of the Dutch police operated for approximately one year, while the bar The Rigo, in 47 Regulierbreestraat, operated from 1943 until 1953 (Hekma, 2007).

For Hekma (2007) it is after the 1960's that bars aimed at the LGBT public appear in the city with greater vehemence, to this example in 1963, is installed in the 11 Reguliersdwarstraat, the first publicly gay bar was inaugurated: MacDonald, according to Hekma (2007), a bar considered quite respectful.

"De opening in 1963 van MacDonald in de Reguliersdwarstraat, vlakbij DOK, was de voorbode van een sterke verbinding tussen Leidsestraat/Kerkstraat en Rembrandtplein. Omdat DOK en COC er strikt op toezagen dat geen jongens onder de 21 binnenkwamen, werd MacDonald snel populair bij de jongere homo's. Ook rond het Rembrandtplein breidde het bestand aan homokroegen zich snel uit (Arnoldussen & Vermij, 1992, p. 23)"⁷.

At the time, gay bars had curtains on their windows (to prevent passers-by from watching) and a doorman (to prevent gay-friendly people from entering the enclosure). The public of the bar was characterized by young gays under 21 years, which given their age, were not allowed to enter the nearby gay club, De Odeon Kelder (DOK), located at 40 Singel.

"Lényegében nem szexpartnerek becserkészésére szolgáltak, sokkal inkább az volt a funkciójuk, hogy a hasonszőrű emberek, a buzik és a leszbikusok biztonságos körülmények között egymás közt lehessenek. Egy ilyen helyen önmaga lehetett az ember. Ilyen értelemben leginkább homokosok és leszbikusok alkotta baráti társaságokra emlékeztettek. A szexet az ember másutt kereste, mégpedig a piszoárookban, a parkokban és a vörös lámpás negyedben (Hekma, 2007, p. 219)"⁸.

For this reason, Hekma (2007) points out that there was not much growth in the number of bars, given that the bars were often visited by the police and also because the searches for sexual activities did not take place in these places (Hekma, 2013).

In the 1970s, Amsterdam had a rather liberal climate regarding sexualities, for Hekma (2013, p. 10) "De homowereld is een steeds belangrijker onderdeel van de samenleving geworden sinds de jaren zeventig"⁹. It was in this year that Coffeeshop Downtown emerged, recognized as the first openly gay establishment, this establishment to this day offers snacks and a breakfast (establishments with a similar name that act in the consumption of cannabis).

Jacobs (2017, p. 22) points out that in the 1970s "At the same time as alternative queer clubs, run and visited primarily by people of color, were shutting down due to gentrification, mainstream gay nightlife was thriving". Thus, in 1977, the group Lesbian Nation started the first gay parade in Amsterdam (Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011), in the same year De Viking is inaugurated,

⁶Translation by Hekma (2007): The Amsterdam gay and lesbian bar culture changed dramatically in the period 1930-1970. Not only the geographical landscape of lesbian and gay culture transformed in those years but also the identities of gays and lesbians. In this article I explore these themes. To indicate the changes in identities.

⁷Translation by the Author: The opening of MacDonald in 1963 in Reguliersdwarstraat near DOK announced a strong connection between Leidsestraat/Kerkstraat and Rembrandtplein. As DOK and COC took strict care that no boy under 21 entered, MacDonald quickly became popular with younger gays. The number of gay bars around the Rembrandtplein also expanded quickly.

⁸Translation by Hekma, G. (2007): The bars were not so many places for cruising and picking up sex partners, but protected places to be among like-minded people, among gays and lesbians. They were places where you could be yourself. They resembled in this respect circles of friends which gays and lesbians formed. Sex you would find somewhere else, the best places being urinals, parks and the red light district. Translation by the Author: The gay world has become an increasingly important part of society since the seventies.

⁹ Translation by the Author: The gay world has become an increasingly important part of society since the seventies.



the first 17-19 Reguliersdwarsstraat gay club, which initially functioned as a hippie style place; the enterprise was frequented by program boys and drug dealers, who organized sex parties at the site, it is possible to find in the newspapers of the time classified looking for strippers, years later journalist's report at the club. After several police raids with a routine encounter of large amounts of drugs, De Viking was closed.

"Gloryholes: Achter in de bar, even verder dan de toiletten, blijkt een schaarsverlichte ruimte te zijn waarin een rijtje ruwhouten badhokjes is getimmerd met daarin op kruishoogte aangebrachte gaten. De gloryholes, waar de bar befaamd om is [...] Striptease: In de Viking, aan de Reguliersdwarsstraat, staat het met grote letters op de deun Tonight Special Male Striptease. Je moet wat doen om je klanten binnen te houden. Op de drukke dansvloer van de twee verdiepingen tellende discotheek wordt ruimte vrijgemaakt. De belangstelling van de bezoekers aan de verschillende bars verplaatst zich van de videoschermen met pornofilms naar een Indische jongen die zich op David Bowie's Let's Dance langzaam uit jackie en spijkerbroek laat glijden (Het Parool, 1986, p. 5)"¹⁰.

STRIPPERS WANTED: GAY-discotheek zoekt voor de vrij. en zat.avond leuke jongens die een goede stripshow kunnen geven. Tel. 020-278417/260158 [...] Horecapersoneel gevraagd: Gay Discotheek zoekt barkeeper. Viking, Reguliersdwarsstraat 17, Amsterdam, tel. 020-260158. In cafe-rest, in de binnenstad Amsterdam een medewerker/ster die niet alleen bekend is met het metier maar tevens leiding kan geven (De Volkskrant, 1988, p. 14)"¹¹.

In the eastern part of Reguliersdwarsstraat (Rembrandtplein area, formerly Duvelshoek - now Van Loonbuurt) there was already a certain amount of heterosexual bars operating since the 1960s (Arnoldussen & Vermij, 1992), which gradually became gay-friendly bars in the 1970s and 1980s (Hekma, 2007), mainly in the Korte Reguliersdwarsstraat (crossbar). This contributed to the first golden decade of the area.

"Gay and lesbian initiatives in the 1970s and 1980s ranged from the establishment of all kinds of organizations and institutions to an annual parade (1977) and the Homomonument (1987), which commemorates the suffering of glbtq people. Openly gay and lesbian candidates were also elected or appointed to city office. In the 1970s and 1980s Amsterdam strongly profited from its liberal reputation as the "gay capital" of Europe. There were new extravagant discos, with drag queens and kings and large and small parties for various sexual preferences and fetishes, from S/M to sport. The lesbian scene grew well beyond its one bar and monthly series of events". (Hekma, 2015, p. 4).

In the 1980s, many elegant and international restau-

rants, some with high ratings by specialized critics opened on the street, starting with Rose's Cantine in 1980. The following year, on June 5th, April Café was inaugurated, which was consolidated for being the most modern and esteemed gay bar open until dawn; the success was mainly due to the parties with extravagant decorations that took place there. April Café became world-famous, being attended by Grace Jones and Jean-Paul Gaultier (Reguliers, 2020c), after renovations, in 1996 April Café was recognized as the biggest gay bar in Europe.

Here it is worth mentioning the entrepreneurial protagonism of Frans Monsma and Guus Silverentand, who also owners of Coffeeshop Downtown, later invested in the nightclub Exit, thus entrepreneurs offered gay-friendly spaces at all times to tourists and residents.

The sexual freedom of this period was lived without much concern until the HIV epidemic changes the routine of the LGBT community with great emphasis. Frans Monsma provided the April Café space for AIDS awareness meetings, organized events in 1985 at the Flora Palace discotheque (later renamed to Bebop and later to iT) to raise funds to fight AIDS in the Netherlands.

Still, in 1985, the Oblomow bar was installed in 40 Reguliersdwarsstraat, destined for the heterosexual public. The owner was Sjoerd Kooistra, an important character who turned Reguliersdwarsstraat into the important space it is today. Kleef and Smits (2011) present that the catering magnate had already consolidated in Groningen, in the far north of the Netherlands, which expanded his business to Amsterdam, culminating in the Plassania Beheer BV conglomerate. Kooistra acquires

¹⁰Translation by the Author: Gloryholes: At the back of the bar, a little further than the bathrooms, it turns out to be a poorly lit space in which a row of wooden bath cubicles with holes made at the time of cruising was built. The Gloryholes, for which the bar is famous [...] Striptease: No Viking, in Reguliersdwarsstraat, is written in large lyrics in the melody "Male Striptease Special Night". You have to do something to keep your customers in. Space is being freed up on the busy dance floor of the two-story disco. The interest of visitors to the various bars changes from video screens with porn movies to an Indian boy slowly taking off his jacket and jeans to the sound of David Bowie's Let's Dance.

¹¹Translation by the Author: STRIPPERS WANT: GAY Discotheque seeks cool guys with the night off who can give a good strip show. Tel. 020-278417/260158 [...] Catering Staff Wanted: Gay Disco is looking for a bartender. Viking, 17 Reguliersdwarsstraat, Amsterdam, tel. 020-260158. At the café-restaurant in downtown Amsterdam, an employee who is not familiar with the business but can also lead. Translation by the Author: "according to insiders - a new entertainment center in the capital: the Reguliersdwarsstraat".

April Café and Coffeeshop Downtown in 1986, and in 1988 the entrepreneur opened L'Entrée, which was later renamed April's Exit.

On June 29, 1989, Frans Monsma, Stef Schey, and Wim Voogel inaugurated a new bar, called danscafé Havana (Koop, 2019; Het Parool, 1989), characterized by Caribbean rhythm, Latin decoration, mixing environments like coffee and dance, attracting a lot of gay and heterosexuals with an open mind, danscafé proposed to open before the discos, right in the beginning of the night (Meuleman, 1989).

Then began the 1990s, which marked the rise of Reguliersdwarstraat as the epicenter of LGBT night entertainment in Amsterdam, Meuleman (1989, p. 18) recorded that "volgens ingewijden - nieuwe uitgaanscentrum in de hoofdstad: de Reguliersdwarstraat"¹², in fact, the street became a gayborhood (Ghaziani, 2018), of worldwide tendency.

The danscafé Havana held fancy April Café-style parties promoting the Eurovision Song Festival among gays, with performances by drag queens, Nickie Nicole - a drag queen personality characteristic of the street - was the hostess of the event, broadcast by the Dutch television network (Rotsteeg, 1996).

Parties organized by danscafé Havana took place in other venues, with which they established partnerships, located at Amstelstraat, the iT club hosted the biggest parties in Amsterdam, and in partnership with the heterosexual disco RoXY Gay Night was established, a day of the week intended for the LGBT public. Together these three ventures established what was called the "Golden Triangle", a nightlife space that attracted heterosexuals and LGBT audiences.

After the second half of the 1990s, the ventures cited suffered from the decrease in attendance, iT lost the current unrest after 1994, and RoXY burned in flames with the 1999 fire. In the meantime, in anticipation of the evacuation of the LGBT public of the city, the danscafé Havana, together with other entrepreneurs created a new event: Amsterdam Pride (Séveno, 2020).

Held for the first time in 1996, it was known worldwide for the differential of those who took place in the middle of the Amsterdam channels, with a parade of decorated boats from various civil and social associations; certainly, the entrepreneurs of Reguliersdwarstraat placed large boats to parade.

The repercussion of this event made the Parade Canal, in 1998, mark the opening of that year's Gay Games, which had more than 14 thousand athletes and 250 thousand tourists from all over the world - the largest LGBT event in the Netherlands. After the Parade Canal and the Gay Games, Reguliersdwarstraat consolidated itself as a place of celebration, which further boosted the street in the field of LGBT tourism. Zebrascki and Maliepaard (2012, p. 24) point out that "Vanaf 1996 wordt jaarlijks de Amsterdam- dam Gay Pride georgan-

iseerd met de Canal Parade. En in 1998 vonden de Gay Games in Amsterdam hun eerste vervolg buiten Noord-Amerika. In 2001 the diende de stad als decor voor het allereerste homohuwelijk"¹³.

In the Rembrandtplein area, the Reality Bar, a multicultural environment, was inaugurated in 1997, making the LGBT community of Amsterdam also attend this side of Reguliersdwarstraat.

In 1998, the entrepreneur Kooistra bought the danscafé Havana; in 1999, he transformed the Richter discotheque (acquired in 1996) into a large gay pub under the name Soho (about the London gayborhood), opening it on June 10 (Koop, 2019).

At the end of the decade, the restaurants, bars, and nightclubs of the street had pages on the Internet, informing tourists and frequenters about the local agenda. The advent of the Internet marks the beginning of the 21st century, causing people to connect with this interactive means. Especially for gay people, the internet represented a safe space, which means that the interaction migrated to the virtual space.

Although tourism has developed with greater emphasis in this millennium, the frequency of gay street spaces has decreased, possibly with a direct link to the introduction of the euro in 2002. In the same year that the popular danscafé Havana was closed, Angelique Schippers and Rob de Jong, on the other hand, inaugurated ARC, a very modern gay bar for the time. In 2006, Café 't Leeuwte, located in the Rembrandtplein area, became gay-friendly, reinforcing the importance of LGBT bars on both sides of Reguliersdwarstraat.

Between 2006 and 2007, Reguliersdwarstraat underwent a revitalization process, with the addition of a new sidewalk, removal of old or inconvenient objects, extension of the sidewalk, and installation of traffic blockers. This last item becomes relevant for the safety of tourists and other passers-by, which without cars on the road, in addition to more public space, made it possible to organize outdoor events in the summer period (Reguliers, 2020).

According to Kleef and Smits (2011) Sjoerd Kooistra, plays an important role in the development of the street as a space for homosocialization, the entrepreneur acquired ARC in 2007. It is after this that he becomes the owner of all the LGBT bars on the street, creating a monopoly of LGBT nighttime entertainment at

¹²Translation by the Author: "according to insiders - a new entertainment center in the capital: the Reguliersdwarstraat".

¹³Translation by the Author: "Since 1996 the Amsterdam Dam Gay Pride has been organized annually with the Canal Parade. And in 1998 the Gay Games in Amsterdam found their first sequel outside North America. In 2001 the city served as the backdrop for the very first gay marriage"



Reguliersdwarsstraat (Reijden, 2012), which stimulates him to create mechanisms to improve safety on the street, and greater festive events there.

The suicide caused great apprehension at the time, given the fact that the enterprises directed at the LGBT public were responsible for the economic movement of Reguliersdwarsstraat (Kok, 2012), making other enterprises around them benefit from the public they frequented. Among the LGBT community of Amsterdam, the concern was with the possible loss of queer space. The street came to decline, not even the inauguration of the Taboo Bar leveraged the street again to the (colorful) lights of night entertainment.

In 2010, 47 years after the first gay bar opened at Reguliersdwarsstraat, this street that reached its peak was on the decline, famous and successful enterprises like Havana, Exit, April Café, ARC, Soho (all owned by Sjoerd Kooistra), Coffeeshop Downtown and other LGBT entertainment spaces were closed.

FOR A LGBT TERRITORY OF TOURIST USE

Tourist Guides aimed at the LGBT public mention the street as an essential attraction in the itineraries of these tourists. Furtado (2017) points out Reguliersdwarsstraat as "Amsterdam's most famous gay street", endorsed by Alisson (2020). Digital influences also refer to the street as the LGBT redoubt of the city, Arestis (2020) of the Nomadic Boys - tourism blog starring a gay couple - lists Amsterdam's attractions, putting the street in the foreground.

Travel platforms present the street as a place of leisure where "you will find the best establishments" (Submarino Viagens, 2020) or as "the gay district of Amsterdam" (MisterB&B, 2020), a concept also shared by the portal Vrbo (2020), Bol (2018) and the Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas (Sebrae) (2015), which situate Reguliersdwarsstraat as a "gay-friendly neighborhood" - which fits the theory of Ghaziani (2018).

The architectural beauty of the houses recognized as World Heritage by UNESCO per se is a tourist attraction, as is the Rembrandtplein Square, located at the end of the street, as well as the Tuchinski Theater, equipment that can serve as motivation for a more cultural public. However, the appropriation of the space by LGBTs has instilled a new identity to the place, which historically has been occupied by this community.

The presence of LGBTs alone is not enough to transform the space, it is necessary to resignify. Unlike many cities, Amsterdam made possible the homo-bi-

transexual experience (Hekma, 1992), the fruit of the political discussions of the 19th century (Hekma, 1995). There was a reflection on the mentality of the resident population, who in a liberal way knew how to live with the different sexualities. Until the 1950's the Dutch were considered conservative, it was in the following decades that the metropolis began to attract a more liberal public (Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011). Homosexuals who migrated to Amsterdam contributed to the fact that years after the city was recognized worldwide as the Gay Capital (Zebrascki & Maliepaard, 2012).

"Ook het Homomonument aan de Westermarkt vormt een trekpleister. Vrijdag presenteert de stichting haar plan om de reputatie van de stad als 'homo- en lesbische hoofdstad van Europa' te verstevigen. Er moet een expositieruimte voor homo- en lesbische cultuur en een informatiecentrum voor buitenlandse bezoekers komen, op een prominente plek in het stadsbeeld. Niet alleen omdat homo's en lesbiennes een groeiende toeristenmarkt vormen en relatief kapi- taalkrchtig zijn, maar ook omdat de huidige voorzieningen niet goed zijn toege- rust op dit specifieke marktsegment. Dat Amsterdam zijn kansen ruikt, blijkt volgens de initiatiefnemers wel uithet feit dat het Nederlands Bureau voor Toerisme zich dezer dagen met advertenties in Amerikaanse homobladen tot potentiële klanten richt" (Arnoldussen & Vermij, 1992, p. 23)¹⁴.

What is noticeable in Arnoldussen & Vermij (1992) is that in the early 1990s there was already interest from the local Convention Bureau in promoting destiny, Durand (2006, p. 17) states that "Depuis le début des années 90 le tourisme international gay est entré dans le débat des politiques publiques"¹⁵. Giraud (2010) says that tourist reports on the gay metropolises of the time have become abundant (the author even presents a gay map of Amsterdam dating from 1981), this has contributed, according to Jaurand (2005), to the formation of international geography of gay tourism, mainly illustrated by urban and coastal centers.

The Amsterdam municipal administration recognized the use of Reguliersdwarsstraat for tourism, inserting it in the LGBT tourism plan, after the suicide of Sjoerd Kooistra and consequently the decline of the street, acting in agreement with businessmen and the Heineken brewery, for the reopening of the developments,

¹⁴ Translate by the Author: The Homomonument at the Westermarkt is also an attraction. On Friday, the foundation presents its plan to strengthen the city's reputation as the 'gay and lesbian capital of Europe'. An exhibition space for gay and lesbian culture and an information center for foreign visitors are to be set up, at a prominent place in the cityscape, not only because gays and lesbians are a growing tourist market and are relatively proficient in languages, but also because the current facilities are not properly geared to this specific market segment. According to the initiators, the fact that the Dutch Tourist Board is now targeting potential customers with advertisements in American gay magazines shows that Amsterdam smells its opportunities.

¹⁵ Translation by the author: "Since the early 1990s, international gay tourism has entered the public policy debate".

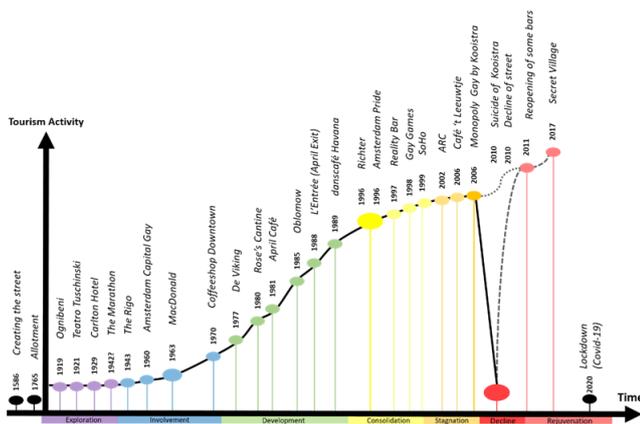
given the need of the residents themselves to have an LGBT space for homosexualization.

Bluiminck (2012) points out that the reopening of the developments took place the following year, in 2011, some with the same name (as a way to maintain an identity): Soho, Havana, Lunchroom Downtown, April Café (renamed: Ludwig II), ARC (renamed: EVE). Due to Kooistra's death and the collapse of his catering and hospitality empire, Reguliersdwarstraat's 30th anniversary as a gay street cannot be celebrated, so the festivities have been postponed to next summer (Grievink, 2012).

Another public-private partnership action, mediated by BIZ Reguliersdwarstraat, resulted in the inauguration of Secret Village on June 9, 2017, this revitalized area of the street has great tourist appeal, directed to consumers of night entertainment and gastronomy.

"Along with our official partner Heineken, we bring together open-minded people from all over the world. Locals, people working at all surrounding creative offices, gays & friends, and international tourists. They fuse in a natural manner enjoying life and each others presence and the enchanting décor. (Secret Village, 2019)". The decline of Reguliersdwarstraat in 2010 is directly related to the monopoly held by entrepreneur Sjoerd Kooistra, which has exposed the dangers of keeping the ventures on a single owner. Figure 7 illustrates how the Tourism Area Life Cycle was designed by the inauguration/opening of the enterprises aimed at the LGBT public.

Figure 6: Application of Butler's Theory (1980) to the Reguliersdwarstraat Timeline



Source: The Author (2020).

Relating to Butler's (1980) theory to Reguliersdwarstraat's ventures, it is possible to collate that the area was only developed by the demand of the LGBT public. The intervention of businessmen and public power after the death of Kooistra prevented the de-

finite decline of the street as a stronghold of entertainment, but of greater importance was the need for a territory where LGBTs could come together, rising to the rejuvenation of Reguliersdwarstraat.

For Browne and Bakshi (2011, p. 191) "Creating such leisure spaces plays a number of important functions that include offering non-scene spaces and social support systems, safety for those fearful of outing their lesbian identities and also developing leisure activities", can add to the authors' exposition, all the non-heterosexual and non-binary identities.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The insertion of Reguliersdwarstraat as an LGBT tourist territory is due to the linearity of the 705 yards of the street that presents enterprises to satisfy the desires of tourists and residents, making possible a variety of activities focused on leisure and entertainment at night, which is the most evident in the case of the street presented here.

There are also homes, garages and offices, bars, restaurants, coffeshops, nightclubs, shoe stores, clothing stores, souvenir store, liquor store, hairdressing salon, tattoo studios, massage parlor, unoccupied commercial spaces, hotel, B&B (Bed and Breakfasts) and real estate for season rental, conferring a diversity of street use, not restricting only to tourist or LGBT use.

For Reguliersdwarstraat, tourism represents an important economic source, since the functioning of bars and restaurants represents tourist equipment of prime necessity, followed by the hotel and night entertainment spaces, causing the presence of LGBT tourists to be noticed every day of the week, every month of the year.

With the formation of BedrijvenInvesteringsZone (Business Investment Zone), which structured the Secret Village, Reguliersdwarstraat is constantly renewing itself, as it is perceived when relating the area with Butler's model (1980) (see Figure 6). Secret Village, a micro area within the space under analysis, is characterized by bringing to the street, more than a green space composed of the internal gardens of restaurants and houses, it has brought to this street new tourists, of different sexualities and nationalities, as well as attracting the city's residents.

Amsterdam offers LGBT tourists queer spaces in various locations in the city, which reinforces the image of a gay-friendly destination; offering micro-territories destined for the LGBT public throughout the city amplifies the diversity of attractions for tourists, as are the cultures, sub-cultures, and tribes within the LGBT spectrum (Stereotypes or Physical, Empathetic, Intellectual, Spiritual, Identities).



The tourist potential of Amsterdam reflects in the phenomenon of overtourism since the city is carrying out a new tourist planning to reduce the negative impacts of the activity. In this way, Reguliersdwarsstraat presents itself as an area that can reduce the flow of tourists in neighborhoods with a high incidence of visitors, such as the Red Light District and Joordan, since the LGBT tourist when attending Reguliersdwarsstraat can spend several hours of the day in this territory, visiting the other attractions at times of lower tourist flow.

Reguliersdwarsstraat is a case of success when analyzing from the perspective of the Tourism Area Life Cycle, proposed by Butler (1980), because there was a rejuvenation of the area soon after an abrupt decline, causing a new period of development that extrapolates the period proposed in this study, which can be seen in future analyses, especially regarding the pandemic period imposed by COVID-19, which resulted in two lockdowns in Amsterdam in the year 2020.

It can be said that LGBT tourists like those who frequent Reguliersdwarsstraat boost the local economy and can be a resource for other forgotten or degraded spaces. To do so, one must travel a long road that breaks with homo-lesbo-transphobia. The process of gaytrification that induces the creation of gayborhoods is a means to boost new LGBT territories, so new tourist regions can be created, attracting these consumers estimated by the market.

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