

Touristification and residents' well-being: The case of Napier, New Zealand

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology

In the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

2025

School of Hospitality & Tourism

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Abstract

Community well-being dimensions are integral to sustainable tourism development. Prior to the COVID-19 global pandemic, exponential growth in tourism and a heavy focus on the financial returns to be gained from the visitor economy outweighed the environmental and sociocultural pillars of sustainability in New Zealand and elsewhere. Border closures, lockdown measures and disconnection from other parts of the world have provided residents with insights into what their local communities look like when the excesses of tourism activities are reined in. During lockdowns, residents have been required to live more locally, and as a result, become aware of their attachment to place and the impact of tourism on their community. The impact of tourism on residents' quality of life affects satisfaction with a variety of life domains determining their subjective well-being.

This research examines the effects of touristification on residents' place attachment and their subjective well-being. The research contributes to the growing focus on prioritising residents and host communities in moves towards more sustainable tourism. The thesis adopts place attachment theory as a tool to understand the effects of touristification on residents' subjective well-being in terms of their sense of belonging.

A multiple methods approach was used to collect data through a review of secondary data, semi-structured interviews, and a focus group. A case study of Napier, New Zealand is used to build an understanding of how tourism can strengthen residents' sense of place, community and belonging by the examination of residents' experiences and aspirations. Despite academic interest in residents' attitudes and support for tourism, a deeper understanding of the effects of touristification in small cities on residents' place attachment remains largely unexplored. This study reveals the *drivers* of residents' perspectives and highlights the need to integrate these into tourism planning to ensure that development is both sustainable and aligned with residents' well-being.

The findings indicate that the evolution of tourism in Napier involves a complex interplay between tourism planners and public agencies, local businesses, community groups and associations, and residents. The chapters illustrate that a lack of inclusive decision-making and authentic representations in the tourism message can undermine residents' attachment to their place.

The research provides theoretical and methodological contributions to the current literature on urban tourism – specifically small cities. From an applied perspective findings from the research provide valuable insights for policymakers, tourism planners and public agencies. It highlights the importance of balancing economic growth with residents' well-being. The research highlights that authentic representation of local identity are essential for enhancing residents' sense of belonging and mitigating negative

effects of touristification, such as gentrification, overcrowding and cultural appropriation. The research contends that effective tourism governance, true partnership and meaningful community engagement are crucial in enriching both community well-being and the visitor experience.

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Te Reo Māori Glossary

Aotearoa	the Māori name for New Zealand
hangi	a meal or gathering at which food is cooked on heated stones
hapū	kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
mahi	work, job, employment, trade (work), practice, occupation, activity, exercise, operation, function
mana whenua	power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land; territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory.
Māori	the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand; also singular – an Indigenous person
mātauranga	Indigenous knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill
Māui	a legendary figure in Māori mythology
maunga	mountain, mount, peak
pepehā	a way of introducing oneself in te ao Māori that acknowledges and honours one's connection to the land and your ancestors. Thus, a pepehā typically mentions whakapapa affiliations through the ancestral mountain, river, iwi and other kinship ties
pūrākau	storytelling, myth, ancient legend, story
rangatiratanga	chiefly authority and self-determination
rohe	district, territory, area
tangata whenua	local people, hosts, Indigenous people; people born of the whenua (land)
Te Ika-a-Māui	the Māori name for the North Island of New Zealand; literally, “the fish of Māui”
Te Matau-a-Māui	the Māori name for the Hawke's Bay; literally, “the fishhook of Māui”
te ao Māori	the Māori world; Māori world view

whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
whānau	extended family, family group; the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society; in the modern context, may also include friends who may not have kinship ties to other members of the group
whenua	land, territory, domain

List of Abbreviations

AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
CBD	central business district
DMO	destination management organisation
DMP	destination management plan
GDP	gross domestic product
LSF	Living Standards Framework
LTP	long term plan
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment
MRTE	Monthly Regional Tourism Estimates
NBTC	Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions
NCC	Napier City Council
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NTO	national tourism organisation
NZTRI	New Zealand Tourism Research Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QoL	quality of life
RTNZ	Regional Tourism New Zealand
RTO	regional tourism organisation
SLO	social licence to operate
SUS-TAS	Sustainable Tourism Attitude Scale
SWB	subjective well-being
TECT	Tourism Electronic Card Transactions
TIA	Tourism Industry Aotearoa
TIAS	Tourism Impact Attitude Scale
TPPA	tourism planners and representatives from public agencies
TQOL	Tourism and Quality of Life Scale

UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Ethics Approval

As this thesis used several qualitative methods that involved human participants, ethical approval was required from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). Approval was received on 26 July 2021 (AUTEC Reference number: 21/248). Approval for the amendment to the data collection protocol, comprising of the addition of a focus group, was received 14 July 2022.

Acknowledgements

Now that I am nearing the end of this journey, I would like to thank the many individuals whose support and encouragement have guided me to this moment.

From the earliest days of my life, I have been captivated by the connection I formed to certain places, and the memories and/or feeling of belonging they evoked. I have been shaped by the unconditional love and guidance of my grandparents, whose nurturing presence instilled in me a deep-rooted connection and sense of belonging from a young age. In addition to the boundless love of my grandparents, I am grateful for the support of my parents. Their unwavering belief in my abilities has been a guiding light through life's challenges. This belief in my potential laid the foundation for my academic pursuits, providing me with the courage to try and the resilience to overcome any obstacle. I take great pride in having my brothers, their partners, and their children as a part of my family. Your perseverance, intelligence and courage have inspired me. I would also like to thank my family-in-law. Thank you for the shared experiences over the years and the support you have given me.

Foremost, a special thanks is owed to the research participants, whose contributions of time, valuable opinions, insights, and energy not only aided me in my work, but also enriched it with their stories and perspectives on life. This thesis relies heavily on their lived experience and I will be forever grateful to them for sharing this with me.

I wish to express my profound gratitude and appreciation for my primary supervisor, Dr Carolyn Deuchar. From our first encounter during my internship at NZTRI, I felt a deep sense of certainty that you would hold a special place in my life. You have played a pivotal role in shaping my academic journey, but your role in my life has become much more than just my supervisor. We have both travelled through interesting times over the last four years and I'm glad that we could do that together. I am extremely grateful for your unwavering support, consistent guidance, and compassionate mentorship throughout my doctoral studies. Our insightful discussions on academic matters and heartfelt chats about life have been a constant source of inspiration and growth for me.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my secondary supervisor Associate Professor Sari Andajani. I am grateful for your support and encouragement. The refreshing and different perspective that you brought to my research has proven very valuable. I very much appreciate your willingness to jump in and guide me through the second half of my doctoral journey. I also would like to thank Professor Simon Milne for his guidance and support at the beginning of my journey. I would like to extend my appreciation and thanks to the reviewers of my research proposal, Dr Hamish Bremner and Dr Keri-Anne Wikitera, for dedicating their time and providing insightful comments. Your constructive

feedback has greatly contributed to enhancing this research. I would also like to express my gratitude to the examiners of my thesis, Associate Professor Julia Albrecht and Professor Ko Koens. I greatly appreciate the time and effort they dedicated to reading this thesis and providing invaluable feedback. Their suggestions and insights in the examination reports have significantly contributed to the refinement of this thesis. I also wish to acknowledge and thank Liz Stone of Shepston Editing Services for the exceptional editorial support she provided during the final stage of my thesis.

I would like to acknowledge Warren Goodsir and Stefania Patrone of Auckland University of Technology for granting me a fee scholarship for my doctoral studies. Additionally, I wish to express my appreciation to Donna Channings from the Postgraduate Office, Julienne Molineaux, Erin Moloney, and Pip Anderson from the AUT Ethics Committee (AUTEC), as well as the staff at the Student Hub, Library, and Medical Centre for all the help they have provided throughout the years.

My sincere gratitude to my former colleagues at NZTRI for their steadfast support, warmth, and kindness. Suzanne, your assistance with ethics matters was incredibly helpful, and I'm grateful for your prompt help whenever I needed it. Nat, thank you for always being so helpful and providing IT support whenever I reached out to you. To Blake, Caroline, Devika, Eilidh, Jane, Jin, Kim, Mindy, and Sam, thank you for all the enjoyable moments we shared together. The NZTRI office felt like a home away from home, filled with compassion, encouragement and guidance.

My PhD journey wouldn't have been as enriching without the companionship of my friends and fellow doctoral students. Chantal, Dhaifan, Dinesha, Karin, Mahmoud, Roxane, Thao, Tin, and Vi - I feel incredibly fortunate to have met and gotten to know each of you. Thank you so much for your support, needed distractions and thought-provoking conversations. I truly appreciate everything you have done for me.

I am grateful for the support of friends. Special mention here for Kim, Nada and Roy. Your sincere support, friendly phone calls and encouragement are truly appreciated! Also a special mention for Janny & Willem, Joseph, Lisa and Ray, thank you for looking after me. Your support has made all the difference and I am truly blessed for having you in my life!

Finally, and most importantly of all, I must thank my partner. Thank you for your love, ingenuity and willingness to start this journey in New Zealand. I am immensely grateful for your determinate resilience in the sacrifices this journey demanded, and for your positive reinforcement and support along the way. Seeing how you have embraced life in New Zealand, building a network of colleagues and friends, and excelling in your work, fills me with pride.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The objective of this research is to advance understanding of the effects of touristification, the process by which a place changes as it becomes an area for visitor consumption, on the subjective well-being of residents in terms of place attachment and their sense of belonging. While many economies are dependent on tourism, prior to the onset of the COVID-19 global pandemic, exponential growth in visitor numbers and a strong focus on financial gains from tourism overshadowed concerns regarding environmental and sociocultural sustainability, affecting the daily lives of residents. As visitor numbers around the world increase towards pre-pandemic levels, the term 'overtourism' has re-emerged as tourism recovery has surged around the globe. The rapid recovery of tourism worldwide highlights the fact that untrammelled growth in tourism for economic purposes is ultimately unsustainable from a social perspective.

To move towards more socially sustainable forms of tourism, it is crucial to enhance our comprehension of how the process of intensification of tourism activity and transformation of a place into a tourist space and its associated effects (touristification) influences residents in terms of their mental, emotional, social and spiritual well-being. To accomplish this, this research employed a case study methodology within the setting of a small urban area: Napier, New Zealand.

This introductory chapter commences with the rationale and significance of the study and then presents the research objectives and core questions. This is followed by an overview of the thesis structure.

1.1 Rationale and significance of the study

Tourism is known for its impact on the economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions of the destination (Abukhalifeh & Wondirad, 2019; Zhang et al., 2020) and affects the attitudes, expectations, opinions and, ultimately, lifestyles and quality of life of the host community and residents who live in tourism destinations (Gursoy et al., 2019). Tourism exerts an influence on the evolution of both place and the daily lives of residents (Massey, 2009). Besides the economic contribution of tourism, the industry is acknowledged for its influence on the environment, culture and heritage of host communities (Lee & Jan, 2019). Residents' quality of life is often improved, as tourism is considered a way to strengthen the local economy and generate employment (Renkert, 2019; Wang et al., 2020). Other benefits include enhanced community pride, shared values and identity, closer bonds and positive changes in values and customs (Zhang et al., 2020). While acknowledging the positive influence tourism can have on host communities (Cho, 2020; Pan et al., 2018; Uysal et al., 2016), it must be remembered

that the daily lives of residents can also be negatively affected (Fletcher et al., 2019). Examples of negative impacts on the host community are traffic congestion, overcrowding in public areas, and deterioration of the traditional culture (Outón, 2019; Kim, Uysal, & Sirgy, 2013). Tourism development involves *transforming a place* and its resources for economic benefit (Lew, 2020). Place is commodified and exploited as a natural resource for tourism to exist in (Alvarado-Sizzo, 2023; Mbaiwa & Siphambe, 2023). The transformation of place through tourism activity focuses on how consumption-led economic growth, differences in cultural identities, and a globalised economy leads to urbanisation and neighbourhood changes (Carvalho et al., 2019; Gotham, 2018).

Tourism's influence on the *evolution and transformation* of an area often results in that particular area becoming indistinguishable and lacking an authentic 'sense of place' through standardisation, homogenisation and commodification of the social, cultural and economic dimensions of that place for tourism purposes (Devine, 2017; Törnberg, 2019; Young & Markham, 2020). Tourism can limit access to amenities, space and place which negatively affects residents' well-being (Herrera et al., 2007; Milano, Cheer, et al., 2019; Ooi, 2005). The "*process in which various stakeholders interfere, transforming a territory through tourism activity*" (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020), is often referred to as 'tourism gentrification' and can lead to negative consequences when destination management is lacking.

Touristification is a process of place transformation to cater towards visitors (Faye, 2024), and has the ability to create a disconnect between people and the place in which touristification occurs (Cocola-Gant, 2023). The associated effects of touristification are becoming a concern as, paradoxically, residents often start renting out their homes or developing tourism activities themselves to acquire the means required to remain living in a tourist space. By adapting to this consumption-led economic growth from tourism, residents themselves become co-producers of the process they despise (Nilsson, 2020, p. 666; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017, p. 469).

Several authors state that further research is needed to understand the influence of touristification on residents (Kim et al., 2020; Nilsson, 2020). There is a paucity of research to understand what the touristification process entails, how it happens, the stakeholders involved and the factors that effect change within the host community (Jung et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2020; Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). To gain a deeper insight into the influence of touristification on the daily lives of residents, this research builds an understanding of the evolution of tourism and its effect on place, the different stakeholders involved, and their dynamic interactions, networks and relationships. Residents who share space with tourists but who may not come into direct contact with them are affected by tourism and the process of touristification (Sharpley, 2014).

Residents' quality of life as well as the quality of the visitor experience deteriorates when locals or visitors feel a destination has become overcrowded (Goodwin, 2017). In the decade prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, studies regarding tourism impacts on host communities largely focused on the increasing number of visitors, overtourism and the social and environmental impacts of tourism (Koens et al., 2018; Milano, Novelli, et al., 2019; United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2019). An exponential growth in visitor numbers and a heavy focus on the financial returns to be gained from tourism outweighed environmental and sociocultural sustainability in New Zealand and elsewhere (OECD, 2021; Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2019, 2021). Rapid and uncoordinated growth in tourist numbers can have negative effects not only on the experience of tourists but also on the environment and local communities that rely on tourism (OECD, 2021). The social, cultural and ecological dynamics of the daily lives of residents in host communities can be negatively affected by "overcrowding, traffic congestion problems, misbehaviour by visitors and damage to the physical environment" (Briguglio & Avellino, 2019, p. 1; see also, Connell, 2020, p. 1; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). Yrigoy et al. (2024) argue that while research explores residents' perceptions of overtourism, the utilisation of these perceptions by other key stakeholders remains largely unexplored. The lessons from the past remain unheeded as the visitor industry recovers after the pandemic.

Cities where residents felt a growing sense of discontent as a consequence of overtourism prior to COVID-19 include Amsterdam (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017) (neighbourhood transformation due to urban tourism), Barcelona (Martín Martín et al., 2018) (residents' rejection of tourism due to increases in (rental) prices) and Lisbon (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019) (tourism gentrifying the housing market). However, little scholarly attention has been paid to the spatial dimensions of touristification in urban areas – specifically small cities – and the associated effects on residents' place identity, with most studies concentrating on major European cities. Research on the effects of tourism-led transformations in smaller cities is limited, highlighting a research area that can be strengthened by an understanding of how these changes affect the sense of belonging and everyday experiences of local residents.

Tomassini and Cavagnaro (2020) argue that the global crisis brought about by COVID-19 is compelling us to reconsider and refocus on our sense of belonging and our connection to the spaces we live in. During the pandemic, residents became more dependent on and aware of their local surroundings due to travel restrictions and confinement to local areas; therefore, the importance of attachment to place, community and sense of belonging became more evident. A strong sense of belonging plays a crucial role in the psychological and emotional well-being of residents, as it forms the basis for their

attachment to a place and their involvement in the community (Xu et al., 2019). Coupled with other disruptions to the tourism industry (such as unexpected weather events and economic downturns) and the increased movement of people due to globalisation, there is a shift in how individuals perceive and feel about the places they call their own (Xie & Huang, 2022). This presents an opportunity to contemplate the global interconnectivity, reliance on and impact of tourism within our current framework, as well as its influence on the psychological and emotional well-being of residents in terms of their attachment to a place and their sense of belonging. The psychological well-being of local residents in tourism-dependent communities remains relatively unexplored (Kondja et al., 2024), with limited research focusing on the effects of tourism on smaller cities. Psychological well-being is influenced positively by factors related to sustainability. Engaging with sustainable practices can contribute not only to environmental well-being but also to the mental and psychological well-being of individuals (Keshky et al., 2020). Understanding the perspectives of local residents regarding tourism development is, therefore, important to ensure the success and sustainability of such endeavours (Lalicic & Garaus, 2022). Residents' attitudes and sentiments play a crucial role in shaping the outcomes of tourism initiatives, making it imperative to consider and engage with the community in any tourism development effort (Gursoy et al., 2010).

Despite academic interest in place attachment influencing residents' attitudes and support for tourism (Eusébio et al., 2018; J. Li et al., 2021), a deeper understanding of the impact of tourism in small cities on residents' place attachment remains largely unexplored (Stylidis, 2018). Additionally, limited research has delved into the significance of place attachment and emotional solidarity in shaping residents' involvement in tourism within their community, offering valuable insights into fostering residents' positive engagement in tourism (Aleshinloye et al., 2024). Brooks et al. (2023) state that involving local communities in tourism planning and decision-making is crucial to ensure that tourism benefits everyone and supports community well-being. However, quantitative research dominates the literature on host perceptions of tourism impacts (Hadinejad et al., 2019; Sharpley, 2014; Woosnam, 2012). To truly understand the impact of touristification on place and the lived experiences of residents, it is imperative to complement the predeterminate options in quantitative measures of perceptions and attitudes with rich data by the use of qualitative approaches. To address this, this current study adopts a qualitative approach to build an understanding of how touristification as a transformational process affects residents' place attachment, sense of belonging and sense of place, and other aspects of their subjective well-being in a relatively small city in New Zealand.

Prior to the outbreak of the COVID-19 global pandemic, tourism was one of the largest and most consistent growth sectors in the world economy. Tourism was New Zealand's largest export industry, contributing 20% of total exports and 9.8% of total gross domestic product (GDP) for the year ended March 2019 (5.8% direct and 4% indirect) (Stats NZ, 2019). Total annual tourism expenditure (year ending March 2020) was \$41.9 billion (international \$17.5 billion and domestic \$24.4 billion, respectively), and the [tourism] industry accounted for 8.0% of people directly employed in tourism (Stats NZ, 2020b). The COVID-19 pandemic brought about immense change (border closures, lockdown measures and an increasing awareness of the dependency on and impacts of tourism). The first case of COVID-19 was detected in New Zealand in late February 2020 (Health New Zealand, n.d.). On 19 March 2020, the New Zealand Government closed the country's border to almost all travellers except for returning New Zealanders (Stats NZ, 2020a). Although there was a lack of international visitors, New Zealand still featured a strong domestic tourism sector with New Zealanders responding to the restrictions to their overseas travel to instead see more of their own country during this time. For example, in January 2021 there was a 24% growth in domestic tourism spend compared with January 2020 (Tourism New Zealand, 2021a), and for the year ending March 2022, domestic tourism expenditure rose 1.0% (\$249 million), to reach \$24.6 billion (Stats NZ, 2022b). Given that the total tourism expenditure in New Zealand for that same financial year was \$26.5 billion (Stats NZ, 2022b), it is evident how important domestic tourism was to the sector while the borders were closed to international travellers. Even so, this figure of \$26.5 billion for total tourism expenditure was a significant downturn compared with the \$41.9 billion in the year ending March 2020; that is, when the borders were still open. But once the borders opened again, international travellers returned, with Stats NZ (2024a) reporting total tourism expenditure of \$37.7 billion (international \$10.8 billion and domestic \$26.9 billion, respectively) for the year ending March 2023. New Zealand's tourism recovery is on track to return to, if not surpass, pre-COVID figures by the end of 2024. In the year ending March 2024, overseas visitor arrivals reached 3.18 million — an increase of 984,000 compared to the same period in 2023 (Stats NZ, 2024b).

The COVID-19 pandemic was a shock to the New Zealand tourism industry; however, government and industry considered that the pandemic also presented an opportunity to evaluate the future of tourism. Subsequently, there was a shift in focus towards 'reimagining tourism' to be more environmentally and socially sustainable, emphasising transformative and regenerative approaches. Recognising that prior to the pandemic, some communities had become less receptive to visitors due to overcrowding, visitor behaviour and increasing costs of infrastructure to support tourism activity, the New Zealand Government placed a stronger emphasis on retaining the 'social licence to operate' (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2024). However, this was

largely aimed at ensuring communities continue to welcome and host visitors to sustain the tourism experience for visitor satisfaction, and less attention was paid to the community experience of tourism.

Sustainable approaches aim to create a balance between the economic, environmental, and social needs of host communities with regard to the perceived impacts of tourism (Rasoolimanesh & Seyfi, 2020; Waligo et al., 2013). This means a shift in focus towards true sustainability and *inclusive* approaches to development of the visitor industry, in a place-based regenerative economy in which all participants in the tourism system are considered and can thrive and flourish (Ateljevic, 2020, p. 470). Societal expectations have significantly influenced how industries involved in natural resource development operate globally, with communities increasingly demanding greater involvement in decision-making, a fair share of benefits, and assurance of appropriate regulation (Prno, 2013). The concept of the *social licence to operate* (SLO) refers to the acceptance or approval granted by local communities to carry out activities. The concept emerged largely in response to heightened scrutiny and pressure faced by the mining industry in the 1990s due to the environmental and social impacts of the extractive nature of the industry (Zmysłony et al., 2020). In turn, the heightened scrutiny and pressure prompted a fundamental shift in industry perception and societal values (Moffat et al., 2016). When using place as a natural resource the societal acceptance may be affected once local residents perceive negative impacts stemming from tourism (Van Putten et al., 2018). For example, Cropp (2017) talked about a “social consensus” as he outlined a situation in which New Zealanders were surprised to find their favourite places damaged or overrun with freedom campers, and suggested residents might not agree that tourism has kept its “social contract”. SLO goes beyond legal requirements and regulations, encompassing broader social, cultural and ethical expectations as well as support of the community. Therefore, it is important to build an inclusive understanding of residents’ perceptions of the influence of tourism on place attachment and their well-being. Despite its importance in fostering community acceptance and support for tourism development, the concept of the social licence to operate is susceptible to misuse by governments, and its measurement for tourism success remains challenging (Cropp, 2017; Jenkins, 2018). Questions persist regarding who holds the social licence to operate, and who ultimately grants it. Important in any acceptance of an SLO are sustainable practices, engagement in transparent communication, and considering the interests and well-being of local residents and the community at large.

Several authors emphasise the need to align tourism development with the rights and interests of local communities (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Postma et al., 2017; Rodrigues et al., 2020). There has been a slight shift from focus on residents’ perceptions

of and support for tourism towards nascent scholarly interest in the psychological well-being of local residents amid the resurgence of tourism post-COVID-19. Cai et al. (2024) explores the role of factors such as sense of community, social environment and positive tourism impact in predicting residents' subjective well-being and their support for tourism. Host communities are becoming increasingly concerned about the impact of tourism on their sociocultural and natural environment. Several authors emphasise the necessity of awareness of the sociocultural sustainability of tourism going forward (Brouder et al., 2020; Everingham & Chassagne, 2020; Haywood, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020a; Lew et al., 2020). Despite growing recognition of the importance of addressing sociocultural and environmental sustainability in tourism, and signs of recovery in the tourism industry (Doocey, 2024), there is an absence of plans to address the challenges that tourism was facing pre-COVID - and arguably still is facing. Within New Zealand's key indicators of tourism performance and subsequent reporting, there is little to signal a significant shift away from prioritising financial gains and visitor numbers (Tourism New Zealand, 2023a, 2023b). Tourism expenditure remains the focus of government as a measure of success of the visitor industry in New Zealand (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, n.d.(a)). To achieve true sustainability in tourism, a stronger emphasis on environmental and social sustainability in tourism planning and policymaking is needed.

This research is guided by place attachment theory and focuses on the dynamic interactions of participants in the tourism system that affect the host community. Specifically, emphasis is placed on urban tourism in small cities and the effects of touristification on residents' subjective well-being and sense of belonging.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

The overarching aim of this PhD research is:

To advance understanding of the effects of touristification – the process by which a place changes as it becomes an area for visitor consumption – on the subjective well-being of residents in terms of place attachment and their sense of belonging.

Underneath that aim, the research has three objectives, each of which is underpinned by specific research questions:

Objective 1: To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests.

- **How has tourism evolved in Napier?**
- **Who was involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier and what were their roles?**
- **How were local residents involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier?**

Objective 2: To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being.

- **How do residents give meaning and attach to Napier?**
- **How has residents' place attachment been affected by tourism?**
- **How is touristification supporting and/or threatening residents' subjective well-being?**

Objective 3: To investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being.

- **How can community involvement in tourism mitigate the negative effects of touristification and strengthen residents' sense of belonging?**
- **What are the lessons to be learnt from the past in terms of residents' subjective well-being and what actions need to be taken, and by whom?**

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

Following on from this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the impact of tourism on the process of place transformation, place attachment and its relation to tourism to understand the factors influencing residents' subjective well-being. The chapter reviews conceptual frameworks that have been used to understand attachment and well-being factors. Dimensions of these frameworks, including place affection, emotional well-being and a sense of place and belonging, are examined. To strengthen these frameworks, other dimensions that influence the tourism system are included in this review, including stakeholder identification, overcrowding, carrying capacity and inclusive tourism development. The literature highlights the significant focus on growth and economic benefits in the tourism industry and extends to a discussion of the regenerative and distributive approach to economic development.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and describes the methods used in the research. The chapter begins by discussing the methodological approach, including the research paradigm, and offers a rationale for adopting a qualitative research design and justifies a case study approach focused on Napier, New Zealand to understand the effects of touristification on residents' subjective well-being. A discussion of the case study setting is followed by an explanation of how the methodology was applied in the study. The criteria used for selecting research participants and the multiple sources of data are outlined. These sources included semi-structured interviews with tourism planners and representatives from public agencies (TPPA), tourism businesses, and community groups and associations, as well as semi-structured interviews and a focus group with local residents. The chapter then explains the data collection technique used. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the steps taken for the management, analysis and interpretation of the data that provided the basis for analysis of the effects of touristification. The chapter concludes by describing the research ethics and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the primary data collection and analysis to address the first research objective: 1) to inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests. The chapter begins with an historical account of the evolution of tourism in Napier and the accompanied transformations in place. A discussion follows of the various participants in the tourism system, along with their goals and aspirations. Lastly, the chapter explores the participation of residents in the growth of tourism in Napier and concludes by shifting the focus to the present time and evaluating the current status of community considerations in tourism planning and decision-making in Napier.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the primary data collection and analysis focusing on the second and third research objectives: 2) to explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being, and 3) to investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being. The chapter starts with findings related to residents' perceptions of Napier, illustrating the construct of place attachment from the community perspective. The connections residents form with their environment and the factors that contribute to their attachment to Napier are revealed. Then, by understanding these connections, the influence of tourism on the subjective well-being of residents is demonstrated and linked to the experiences of residents in relation to tourism.

Chapter 6 adopts a theoretical lens and draws on the two main constructs that guide the research, namely place attachment theory and residents' well-being dimensions, as tools to understand how touristification is supporting and/or threatening residents' connection to place and sense of belonging, as part of their subjective well-being. By analysing the enablers and barriers to residents' well-being, this chapter provides a framework to understand the multifaceted impacts of touristification on residents. The chapter discusses the findings of the primary data collection in relation to extant literature. The chapter also provides a deeper understanding of the relevant issues addressed in the thesis. Drawing on the drivers of residents' perceptions and outcomes in terms of their well-being, this discussion highlights the disadvantages and benefits of the visitor industry for the host community with a focus on residents' place attachment and subjective well-being.

The concluding chapter summarises and synthesises the main findings of the study and the theoretical, practical and methodological contributions of the thesis. The chapter begins by providing an overview of the research and an answer to each of the three research objectives. Conclusions drawn from the analysis of the case study and their implications are discussed in terms of the (mis)use of community resources for tourism and the importance of tourism planning and destination management in terms of governance, capacity and inclusive decision-making affecting not only local residents, but also the visitor experience. The chapter concludes by presenting practical implications of the findings, limitations of the research, and recommendations on areas for further investigation.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Tourism is a multifaceted industry with significant economic, social and environment effects on host communities (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2022). The purpose of this review of the literature is to present a critical assessment of the current state of knowledge on the touristification process and its influence on host communities and to examine the theory used to understand residents' connection to place in host destinations. The chapter begins by defining touristification and examining various concepts that describe the *process* of transformation of a place into a tourist space as well as its associated effects. This provides insights into the various ways touristification and its focus on place and space can affect host communities. It then explores the factors influencing residents' perceptions and lived experiences of and implications for tourism development. The review then explores the concept of place attachment and its importance for sustainable tourism development. The chapter identifies how tourism affects residents' overall life satisfaction and explores the concept of well-being in relation to specific places. To gain insights into the complex social dynamics that shape touristification, topics such as place attachment, local identity and residents' well-being domains are then explored in the chapter through the theoretical lens of the constructs of place attachment and residents' well-being dimensions.

2.1 Touristification: Process, place and transformation of space

Gentrification is a term originally used to describe the influx of wealthy individuals and place-based displacement of working-class people in Western European and North-American cities in the late 20th century (Maloutas, 2018). *Gentrification* has now evolved into a term to describe redevelopment of urban areas, the subsequent economic and social transformations and the rise in property values and has been applied to critical studies of urban change worldwide in the 21st century (Maloutas, 2018; Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021). Scholars have introduced the concepts of "tourism gentrification" (Gotham, 2005) and "gentrification without gentry" to describe the phenomenon where urban neighbourhoods are transformed into more affluent and exclusive areas, primarily driven by temporary users such as tourists and the use of real estate as a financial asset. This type of gentrification only partially replaces local residents with affluent individuals, however, and primarily leads to transformation due to the direct and indirect place-based displacement of its previous residents (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020; Krähmer & Santangelo, 2018).

Touristification is a term introduced by Picard (2003) to emphasise that tourism's impact is not just an external force, but a process of transformation rooted within place.

Touristification involves ongoing socio-economic and cultural construction within a place, challenging traditional views of tourism as an external influence (Bélangier et al., 2020; Milano et al., 2023; Salerno, 2022). The term touristification is often used in critical urban studies to explain the impacts of tourism that occur when the industry becomes a dominant economic and social force in the destination and begins to erode the local culture and way of life (Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021). When a place evolves through the process of touristification, tourism becomes an integral part of the local culture and identity. Jover and Barrero-Rescalvo (2023) argue that touristification refers to the rapid and substantial growth of tourism in a particular area over a relatively short time frame. However, Ojeda and Kieffer (2020) argue that touristification can be used as an ideologically neutral analytic concept, to describe the process of transformation and adaptation that takes place in a destination as it becomes increasingly orientated towards tourism, without necessarily implying negative consequences. The authors assert that touristification is associated with the “process in which various stakeholders interfere, transforming a territory through tourist activity” (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020).

In 2018, Sequera and Nofre (2018) criticised the idea of incorporating touristification into the gentrification framework, arguing that gentrification and touristification are fundamentally different processes. Whereas gentrification typically involves the displacement of working-class residents, touristification often involves cross-class displacement. Additionally, gentrification is characterised by an influx of new residents, while touristification is often associated with displacement and depopulation. However, both processes could lead to the depopulation of long-term residents, highlighting the complex and multifaceted nature of the social and economic impacts resulting from these transformations. Although, there is an overlap in the way authors have characterised each term as high-status individuals reinvesting in housing, including patterns of second-home ownership (e.g., retirement migration and residential tourism) known as *transnational gentrification* (Cocola-Gant & Lopez-Gay, 2020; Hao & Xiao, 2021; Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020; O'Reilly, 2007; Rofo, 2003; Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2020), there is a distinct difference between the two terms. As gentrification involves an increase in homeownership while touristification involves real estate investment, the property structures involved in the two processes are different (Sequera & Nofre, 2018; Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021). Furthermore, the actors involved in gentrification and touristification have conflicting interests, with early gentrifiers, such as residents, often becoming anti-touristification activists (Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021). Table 2.1 presents the overlap in shared characteristics and differences between the processes of gentrification and touristification.

Table 2.1: Processes of transformation

Shared characteristics	Gentrification	Touristification
Actor profile: high-status individuals	Individuals to become new residents	Individuals looking to invest in real estate
Property ownership in a host destination affecting housing prices	Full-time occupation (home ownership)	Property (or parts thereof) for the purpose of renting out as part of the sharing economy and/or part-time occupation (second homeownership)
Place transformation: displacement of (full-time) residents who can no longer afford housing	Influx of new residents	Influx of part-time residents and/or a rise in accommodations as part of the sharing economy, depopulation of (full-time) residents

There are multiple terms to refer to the process of place transformation due to tourism, including “tourismification”, “touristification”, and “Disneyfication”, among others. Each term carries nuances that highlight different aspects of the impact, ranging from the commercialisation of local culture to the emulation of standardised tourism experiences. Tourismification (Gravari-Barbas, 2017; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998; Salazar, 2009) and touristification (Belhassen et al., 2014; Freytag & Bauder, 2018; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Gravari-Barbas & Jacquot, 2019) are terms that have been used to describe the negative impacts of tourism on local communities and cultures. Disneyfication refers to the globalisation of the entertainment values in mass culture, characterised by a pursuit of bigger, faster and better entertainment experiences. Within this context, Disneyfication is often compared with other terms to describe globalisation, such as McDonaldisation, Wal-Martisation, and Disneyisation (Matusitz & Palermo, 2014).

Touristification suggests that a destination is being transformed and commodified for the benefit of visitors, rather than for the benefit of the local community. Several authors have contended that if there is a lack of destination management, the negative effects of tourism can include homogenisation and commodification of the social, cultural and economic dimensions in these places for tourism consumption (Devine, 2017; Törnberg, 2019; Young & Markham, 2020). When governments and regional tourism organisations

focus on tourism as a means of economic growth, it becomes a major concern for destinations in terms of sociocultural impact when the number of tourists continue to increase. The social consequences of touristification frequently revolve around transformations of place in the everyday social experiences of local residents, stemming from the growth of tourism and the activities it entails. These changes have the potential to alter the daily routines, customs and behaviours of residents (Almeida-García et al., 2023; Milano et al., 2023). The process commodifies a place and its resources for economic benefit (Lew, 2020; Walsch, 2022). As the transformation of place and development of tourism happens over time, the transformation requires contextualising within the historical processes and characteristics of the specific place to understand the process (Saarinen, 2019), and identifying the people involved in the tourism system, along with their roles and interests (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). Jover and Barrero-Rescalvo (2023) researched the touristification process in Seville and found tourism effectively 'sold' collective memories of place, displacing the residents who were holding nostalgic feelings based on those memories through their connection to place. The sense of familiarity and the strong local identity were identified as social dimensions relevant to a sense of belonging. Milano et al. (2023) explored residents' sense of belonging through spatial and social dimensions in their research on residents' attitude towards touristification processes related to social discontent, nightlife noise, the rise in housing market prices and overcrowding in Barcelona. Over time, tourism has the potential to integrate into the everyday lives of the people who live there and become an intrinsic component of its place identity (Zandieh & Seifpour, 2020). Tourism is inherently place-specific, and the identity of a place is context-dependent, shaped by its unique spatial dynamics and the interactions between tourists and locals. Ojeda and Kieffer (2020) concluded that the relationship between tourism and geography is intrinsic, as tourism inherently involves spatial manifestations. They argue that tourism activity cannot occur without a spatial dimension, highlighting the significance of understanding its territorial impacts. In other words, to comprehend the essence of tourism, one must first recognise and analyse its effects on the landscape and geography of a destination. According to Jansen-Verbeke (2008), as tourism has grown, there has been a shift in our perspective on geography in relation to this industry. Previously, geography merely entailed describing locations, whereas now it encompasses a more comprehensive understanding of how tourism influences various facets such as who is involved (stakeholders), how money flows, how spaces are used, and environmental transformations. This helps us see the big picture of tourism's impact on the places and communities within which the sector is embedded. In order to adopt more community-centric approaches to tourism, it is essential to transition from merely informing the host community about the benefits of tourism - essentially promoting the

idea that 'tourism is good for them' - to exploring ways by which tourism can be a force to contribute to community well-being and improve residents' quality of life (New Zealand Tourism Research Institute, 2021). To date, research has focused on large cities and there has been limited research into the impact of changes that occur as a result of the *process* of place transformation by touristification *in smaller cities*, such as social cohesion and social belonging, on residents' well-being.

2.2 The tourism milieu: Shocks, pressures, and the notion of sustainability

The overarching aim of this research is to advance understandings of the effects of touristification, specifically examining its influence on residents' attachment to their local area and subjective well-being. The research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, a period marked by a profound shock to the tourism system. As tourism, especially international tourism, largely stalled, it created a moment to reassess and evaluate emerging themes concerning the impact of tourism on host communities and the findings presented in this thesis serve as a historical record capturing perceptions during this time.

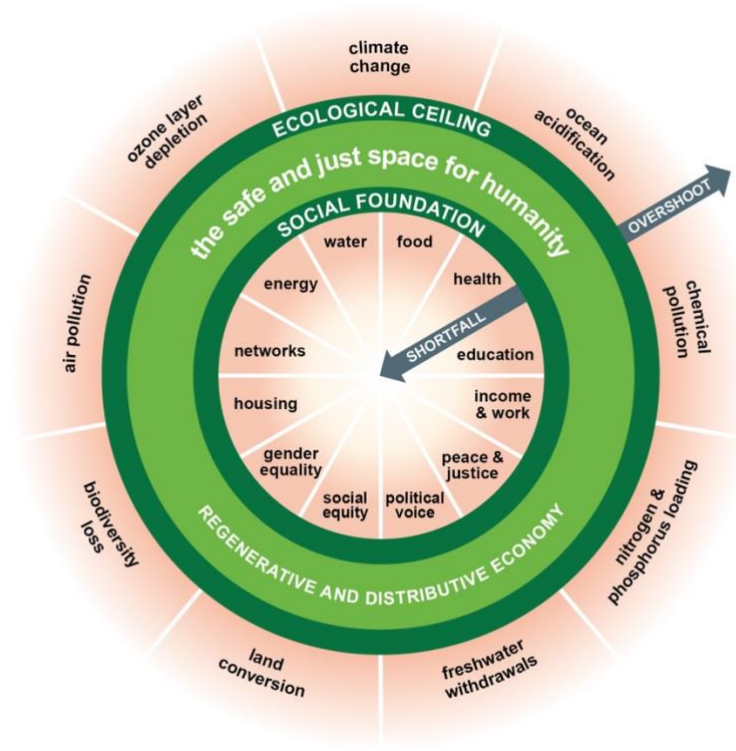
2.2.1 The influence of COVID-19 on the tourism industry

The tourism industry had experienced significant growth in the 10 years prior to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 (Sofronov, 2018) and this trend had been expected to continue (Obradović & Stojanović, 2022). However, the pandemic resulted in a significant decline in global tourism with a near halt in 2020 (Au-Yeung et al., 2022; United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2021; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2022). The pandemic has had a widespread impact on the tourism industry, affecting businesses and destinations in different ways. The OECD reported an estimated 80% decrease in international visitor arrivals in the international tourism economy in 2020 compared with 2019 (OECD, 2021), leaving the industry feeling paralysed (Obradović & Stojanović, 2022; OECD, 2021; Sigala, 2020; Weaver, 2022). Since there was no vaccine or medical treatment for COVID-19 available at the time, countries implemented various measures such as travel restrictions, lockdowns and quarantine to slow the spread of the virus (Wendt et al., 2022). Many countries closed their borders completely or left them open to international tourists only from selected countries, while others had quarantine measures or testing requirements for tourists on arrival. Conversely, in most countries, domestic tourism was not always restricted. Thus, domestic travel offered a strong opportunity to drive recovery and was actively encouraged and promoted by local tourism organisations (OECD, 2021; Wendt et al., 2022). Since that time, nations have once again opened their borders to international visitors.

Recovery from the pandemic has varied in speed and nature depending on location. Some parts of the sector and certain destinations were harder hit than others, both in the short and long term. An example of this is the difference in urban and rural forms of tourism (Anguera-Torrell et al., 2021). In contrast to urban areas, rural or remote places with outdoor recreational opportunities saw increased interest as domestic visitors sought less-crowded, more-open spaces for leisure (Vaishar & Šťastná, 2022). As New Zealand recovers from the pandemic, this moment in time has triggered a renewed interest in strategies that balance development with sustainability and resilience in the tourism industry. This renewed interest is supported by a \$400 million Tourism Recovery Fund and has been viewed by policymakers, tourism planners and academics as a chance to think creatively about how to create an equitable future for the tourism industry (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, n.d.(b); Sharma et al., 2021; Yeoman et al., 2022). Several authors argue that the pandemic has presented an opportunity to reimagine and restart a more sustainable tourism industry, and create tourism policies that address concerns about its economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts (Higgins-Desbiolles & Bigby, 2022; Tomassini & Cavagnaro, 2022). Host communities are becoming increasingly aware of the impact of tourism on their sociocultural and natural environment.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, there was already a debate among policymakers, destination management organisations, and academics regarding whether a pro-growth approach is the best strategy (Butcher, 2021; Raworth, 2017), or if an approach that limits growth (e.g., managing the number of visitors) and focuses on social issues (e.g., improving yield and quality per visitor in terms of social and environmental footprints) is better (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020b; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2022). An example of an approach that limits growth and focuses on social issues is the economic model *Doughnut Economics* by Raworth (2017), which aims to create a balance between social and environmental sustainability (Nieuwland, 2024). The concept is visualised as a doughnut (see Figure 2.1), with the inner ring representing the minimum social standards necessary for well-being – including resilience, political voice and social equity – and the outer ring representing the ecological limits beyond which the Earth's systems may be compromised – like climate change, fresh water use and biodiversity loss.

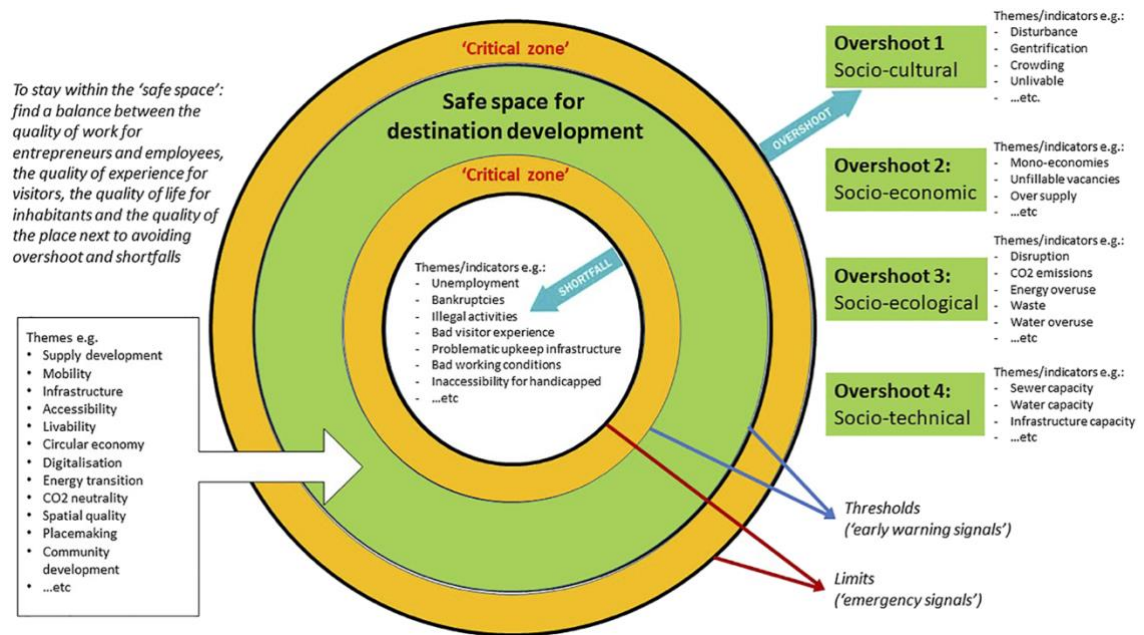
Figure 2.1: Doughnut Economics



Source: Raworth (2017).

The goal of Doughnut Economics is to ensure that humanity thrives in the safe and just space between these two rings. In this manner, tourism is used as a means for development instead of solely being a goal in itself (Hartman & Heslinga, 2022). Hartman and Heslinga (2022) applied the Doughnut Economics model in a tourism context and showcased the sociocultural impacts, such as disturbance, gentrification and crowding in the host community, as outcomes of overshooting the ecological limits (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Doughnut Economics in a tourism context



Source: Hartman and Heslinga (2022).

Raworth (2017) proposes a regenerative and distributive approach to economic development, challenging the traditional growth-centric models. This approach has subsequently been adopted and extended by the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions (NBTC), functioning as the Dutch National Tourism Organisation (NTO), and the city of Amsterdam, who have publicly advocated a shift in the purpose of tourism from being an end in itself to becoming a tool for development. These initiatives represent efforts to shift the focus from economic gains towards societal benefits with a stronger focus on local residents and communities (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021; Nederlands Bureau voor Toerisme & Congressen (NBTC), 2019).

The ongoing debate of economic growth and extending the focus from financial prosperity to social equity and environmental resilience signifies a growing awareness within the industry and among participants in the tourism system that the path forward must align with principles of long-term sustainability and community well-being. The aim of sustainable tourism development is to encourage a positive experience for visitors, while creating a balance between the economic, environmental and social needs of participants involved in the tourism system with regard to the perceived impacts of tourism (Rasoolimanesh & Seyfi, 2020; Waligo et al., 2013). This means a shift in focus "toward meaning, purpose and self-fulfilment" in a "life-affirming, place-based regenerative economy in which all stakeholders can thrive and flourish" (Ateljevic, 2020, p. 470). In the tourism impact literature, the focus on residents' perceptions and support of tourism is slowly transitioning to studies that focus on socio-economic progress and enhanced living standards.

2.2.2 Limits of acceptable change: carrying capacity and overtourism

In recent decades, the growth of the tourism industry has solidified its position as a leading and resilient economic sector (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2020). However, the widespread manufacturing and consumption of tourism experiences has had noteworthy social and environmental impacts on tourism destinations (Andriotis, 2018). The rapid and uncontrolled growth of tourism in the 10 years prior to the COVID-19 pandemic had reached a tipping point where the negative effects of tourism – such as overcrowding, increased costs, strain on local infrastructure (such as traffic congestion and reduced access to services and amenities), and loss of local character – had become increasingly apparent, and begun to outweigh the positive impacts, such as economic benefits (Gössling et al., 2020).

Extractive tourism is a concept closely linked to overtourism and refers to when a place is exploited as a natural resource for tourism to exist in (Lew, 2020; Shackell, 2022). *Overtourism* is a term used to describe a set of tourism-related impacts that exceeds the limits of acceptable change in a destination or parts thereof, with regards to the environment, perceived quality of life and or experience quality (Donaire et al., 2024; Koens et al., 2018). The concept of overtourism suggests that there is a limit to how much tourism a destination can handle before tourism becomes detrimental (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Oklevik et al., 2019), as it can move towards a phase in which a destination becomes oversaturated with tourists and tourism-related development, leading to negative impacts on the local community and environment (Wendt et al., 2022). This includes overcrowding, the place-based displacement of local residents, and the erosion of local culture and traditions (Andrade & Costa, 2020).

The perception of crowding is an important topic in leisure research (Gössling et al., 2020). Feelings of being overcrowded and behavioural and emotional responses people have to high levels of density – such as euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism (Doxey, 1975; Mihalič & Kuščer, 2021) – is fundamentally rooted in one's subjective perception of the density of people in a given space (Schönherr et al., 2023); thus, these feelings and responses will differ between different places and individuals (Dogru-Dastan, 2022; Hou et al., 2021; Kainthola et al., 2021; Kim & Kang, 2021; Kuentzel & Heberlein, 2003; Tokarchuk et al., 2022). The density of people within a given space can have a significant impact on psychological responses, including perceived social density (Stokols, 1972) and concepts of 'personal space' (Steen Jacobsen et al., 2019).

Crowding can be perceived positively by residents when regarded as a vibrant atmosphere. Some visitors may enjoy the opportunity for social interaction and find high levels of social density to be a positive aspect of their travel experience (Hou & Zhang,

2021; Huang et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2016; Popp, 2012) – while other visitors may prefer to keep their distance from other people and opt for less crowded destinations (Jurado et al., 2013; Marušić et al., 2008; Rathnayake, 2015; Vaske & Shelby, 2008). However, if the presence of tourists is perceived as overcrowding, then residents may feel alienated, displaced and a loss of their sense of belonging and privacy, or experience unwanted interactions with visitors (González-Reverté, 2021; Stokols, 1972). As an example, a study conducted by Lueck and Seeler (2021) on domestic tourism in New Zealand examined how domestic visitors used coping mechanisms to deal with crowding. The research found that domestic visitors changed their travel behaviour in order to avoid crowds, either by visiting popular tourist destinations during the off-season or by avoiding them altogether. As a result, “locals and domestic visitors are pushed further and further into the backcountry” (Lueck & Seeler, 2021, p.15). The absence of something negative can also contribute to an increased subjective well-being, which aligns with the hedonic perspective on the formation of happiness (Armbrecht & Andersson, 2020).

Unfortunately, crowding in smaller cities has often been overlooked in past studies (Neuts & Nijkamp, 2012; Shelby et al., 1989; Steen Jacobsen et al., 2019) as most studies focus on the visitor's experience of tourism rather than that of residents. This highlights the need to address the overlooked aspect and effects of crowding due to intensification of tourism on the host community (Zehrer & Raich, 2016), including the emotional, psychological and social dimensions of residents' well-being in smaller cities.

The concepts of carrying capacity and overtourism within a destination are typically characterised by and closely related to the negative experience of overcrowding (Peeters et al., 2021; Wendt et al., 2022; Butler, 2020) and was discussed as early as the 1960s (Forster, 1964; Tokarchuk et al., 2022; Wall, 2020). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines *carrying capacity* as “the maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of the physical, economic and sociocultural environment and an unacceptable decrease in the quality of visitors' satisfaction” (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2019).

To address the challenges of excessive tourism practices, there has been an increase in discussion of more sustainable forms of tourism. The aim of sustainable tourism is to determine how tourism can be developed and managed in a way that benefits both visitors and the local community, while minimising negative impacts (González-Reverté, 2021; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; McCool & Lime, 2001; Saveriades, 2000; Seraphin et al., 2018; Sharpley, 2014; Wendt et al., 2022). Examples include strategies to control the flow of visitors, such as the introduction of a ban on new tourist accommodation in Venice, camera monitoring and limiting the number of tourists who can visit the

UNESCO-listed old town of Dubrovnik (Coldwell, 2017), the implementation of measures to distribute tourists more evenly in London (Smith & Graham, 2019) and across the Netherlands to promote domestic tourism and showcase the lesser-known attractions of the country in an attempt to disperse tourism visitation across regions and address issues of seasonality (Boztas, 2020). Likewise, the regional tourism organisation in Flanders, Belgium is adopting a broader approach to carrying capacity, moving beyond conventional assessments that often emphasise quantitative measures. Instead, focusing on residents' civic pride, well-being and sentiment towards tourism, defining it as "caring capacity" (Andersson, 2019; Sheldon, 2022). By regularly assessing local sentiment towards tourism every two years, Flanders aims to ensure that tourism development aligns with the values and aspirations of the community, fostering a more sustainable approach to tourism management.

There is a need to explore the notion of *limits of acceptable change* as a result of intensification of tourism, from the residents' perspective. The impacts of tourism (both positive and negative) extend beyond large urban areas, as local residents and communities of relatively smaller cities, where tourism is not the major contributor to the economy, are also affected by increased tourism. Overtourism has mainly been associated with large destinations such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Mallorca and Venice (Alexis, 2017; Milano et al., 2018), but the focus on smaller cities (i.e., not the large tourism cities) has not been well addressed.

2.3 The spatial context of tourism and the effects of touristification

The concept of place is grounded in the spatial context. "Smaller cities" are often defined based on factors such as population size and geographic area, though the criteria can vary widely. For instance, a smaller city in China, with a population potentially reaching several hundred thousand, differs significantly from a smaller city in New Zealand, where populations are typically much smaller. Within academic interest in the social impact of tourism in general, there is a need to research the social impact of the process of transformation of place due to tourism in less-populated urban areas. Researchers have predominantly focused on large cities and major urban areas in Europe, such as Amsterdam, Barcelona and Venice, and there is a paucity of studies that have addressed the spatial dimension of small cities. Furthermore, there are even fewer that offer insights into the effects of the process of touristification on residents' subjective well-being; namely tourism-led transformations of places and their impact on the sense of belonging and everyday experiences of local residents. In studies of place attachment, belonging and sense of place, the geographical scale and difference in scale is important (Xie & Huang, 2022). Therefore, this research addresses the concept of place and the impact

of the process of touristification on residents of a small city, which has not yet been delivered.

2.3.1 From space to place

Place is often described, by humanist geographers, as the strong emotional connection of individuals' interactions with the physical, psychological and sociocultural aspects of an environment (Cabrera-Barona & Merschdorf, 2018; Zhang et al., 2022). Safety, spirituality, happiness, freedom from stress, and contentment are aspects influencing emotional and psychological well-being (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011). The interpretations of our surroundings in combination with the emotional responses/interactions evoke affective, positive and emotional bonding with a particular place (Xie & Huang, 2022). This dynamic interaction residents feel with their locality, expressed through their thoughts, feelings and experiences, is often closely linked to the concept of *sense of place* (Sharpley & Jepson, 2011). Sense of place will emerge as space evolves over time, blurring the boundaries between space and place (Wang et al., 2023). In tourism studies, this evolution is grounded in the concept of "space-place", as it is infused with a humanistic set of beliefs (Low & Altman, 1992; Styliadis, 2018; Tuan, 1977).

Derrett (2003) stated that one way that a community's sense of place comes to light is through the way different groups of people are involved in organising community activities and events, how different opinions are integrated and accommodated for during these events, and how communities welcome visitors to these occasions.

Touristification involves the transformation of socio-economic dynamics and the physical environment of place due to tourism (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). The spatial aspects in the process of touristification are important to take into account when exploring the impact of tourism. The exploration of places from a subjective standpoint finds its roots in the influential contributions of Tuan (1975). Tuan's work emphasises the need to consider the meanings and values that individuals ascribe to a place when striving to truly comprehend it. Since then, a diverse array of concepts has emerged to capture the multifaceted nature of people's connections with places. These include terms like 'belongingness', 'sense of place', 'place attachment', 'community attachment', 'sense of community', 'place identity' and 'place dependence', among others (Lewicka, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

To build an understanding of the sense of place, resident attachment towards place and the feeling of belonging, it is important to consider: 1) environmental, human and interactive elements (Brown et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2022); 2) how spaces become places; 3) how we identify with spaces and are identified by them (the cognition and

behavioural process); and 4) the ways in which attachment is constructed in the affective process (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The way places are perceived and connected to memories and mental images, such as nostalgic experiences (Christou et al., 2018), are also crucial in understanding a specific place and residents' attachment towards that place (Uzzell & Moser, 2006). The feeling of happiness, pride and love for place can be seen as indicators of attachment. As the host community is part of, formed through, and belongs to place, the well-being of residents is interwoven with the concept of place.

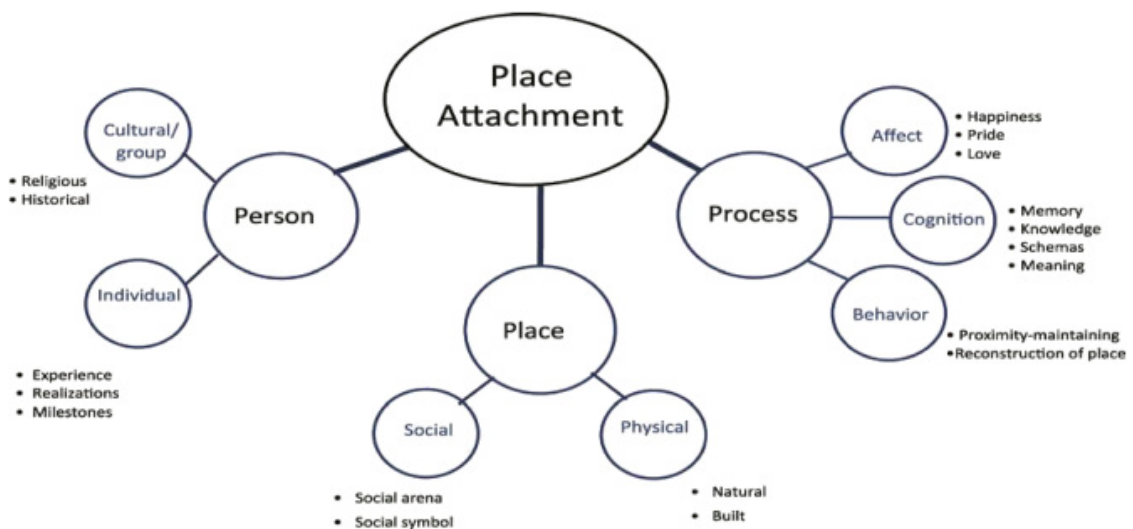
2.3.2 Place attachment

Attachment theory, as established within the field of psychology, serves as a prominent theory for comprehending human relationships (Yip et al., 2018). Place attachment offers a framework for delving into the formation of emotional connections (Krolikowska et al., 2020). The multidimensional concept of place attachment has evolved over the years and expanded across various domains, such as environmental and social psychology, urban sociology, architecture, anthropology, folklore studies and humanistic geography (Brown et al., 2020; Han et al., 2019).

To unpack the concept in general terms, Williams and Vaske (2003) refer to *place attachment* as “a positive connection or bond between a person and a particular place”. Places can be seen within the context of their own history (Portugali et al., 2012), as they reflect the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, responses and decisions of those involved in the place, which when positive creates a genuine sense of pride, cultural identity and the feeling of belonging (Jack, 2012).

Residents' place attachment is complex, diverse and unique for each individual as it embodies the emotional and social meanings (sense of belonging when positive) attributed to place (Lew, 2020). Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite model gives insight in the dimensions of residents' place attachment by considering person, place and process (see Figure 2.3). The model points out the socio-physical dimensions of place attachment including people's experiences or behaviour, the physical environment, and socially constructed meanings of place through affective, cognitive and behavioural process dimensions. These dimensions, in turn, contain bonding, dependency, attachment and identity elements.

Figure 2.3: A tripartite model of place attachment



Source: Scannell and Gifford (2010).

Place and community attachment are both concepts exploring attachment to a place (Trentelman, 2009). Place attachment includes the physical aspects of place, whereas *community attachment* explores people's sense of rootedness within and belonging to a community (Eslami et al., 2019). A sense of belonging is often understood by relations to space and place, often focusing on familiar places in terms of place attachment. Vada et al. (2019) posit that a sense of belonging, purpose and meaning in life is formed through attachment to and identity with a specific place.

Ma (2021) found length of residency to be strongly associated with social bonds, as part of community attachment. According to Wang and Pfister (2008), community attachment consists of an individual's length of residence and active membership in civic organisations in the place of residency. The length of residency determines the depth of community attachment, as it has a positive relationship with residents' feelings and emotional experiences over time (Goudy, 1990; Kim et al., 2021). A person's length of residence has direct effects on how people engage in local friendships, attach to their local community, and participate in social activities (Sampson, 1988; Scarpi et al., 2022). This can be explained by the fact that those who have lived in a community for a long time are more committed to it (McCool & Martin, 1994). Length of residency is often categorised into increments of 10 years (Alipour et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2021).

Studies on community attachment identify linkages to build an understanding on the shared symbolic meanings of places. Community attachment is defined by participation in and the feelings people have towards their community (Eslami et al., 2019). Um and Crompton (1987), Brougham and Butler (1981), and McCool and Martin (1994) contend that the concept of community attachment should be taken into account when evaluating

the effects of tourism, as social participation and integration into the community and residents' emotional attachment to the community can be affected by tourism activity.

Community attachment is explained as people's strong positive feelings, rootedness and sense of belonging towards community. Brehm et al. (2004) found social attachment and attachment to the natural environment to be distinct dimensions of the broader concept of community attachment. Community attachment refers to the level and nature of social engagement and integration within a community and an individual's social participation, involvement in and emotional connection to a community (Bachleitner & Zins, 1999; McCool & Martin, 1994). This connection translates into social interaction, place attachment and sense of belonging (Canosa et al., 2017). Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) assess community attachment through: 1) feeling at home, 2) interest in local news, and 3) emotional ties to leaving. Social engagement and involvement are of importance in place attachment and community development and the ability of a community to define and reach its own economic, social and environmental aspirations. However, it is the underlying drivers of residents' perceptions in rapidly developing regions, such as the pace of change, economic pressures, and shifting cultural dynamics, that often shape how tourism can disrupt or reshape these attachments. While social engagement and involvement are crucial for fostering community development, tourism can introduce external forces that undermine these dynamics.

Although research on attachment has been increasing in focus in the tourism literature, from a theoretical point of view, the concept of attachment is relatively still vague, and strongly focused on visitor attachment rather than that of the host community (Dwyer et al., 2019). This focus on visitor attachment is problematic as it potentially overlooks the importance of social participation and integration into the community for the psychological and emotional well-being of residents, which are critical aspects of their attachment to a place and their sense of belonging.

2.3.3 Sense of place

The concept of a 'sense of place' is broad and remains profoundly individualistic, as it arises from one's own life experiences (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). *Sense of place* is manifested in residents through various aspects related to place; for example, smells, sights, culture, traditions and favourite places. Because of this, there remains a lack of clarity and specificity in the concept's definition (Davis, 2016). Different researchers often take their own approaches when it comes to evaluating residents' sense of place (Kyle & Chick, 2007), as sense of place is regarded as an umbrella term that encompasses various interrelated ideas centred around physical surroundings to describe the sense of belonging or attachment to a particular place (Jepson & Sharpley, 2015). Sense of place

is often explained by researchers exploring the emotional or affective bond captured by place attachment (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013), in combination with other related concepts, such as place dependence and/or place identity (Gross & Brown, 2008).

Place identity refers to the meaning attached to specific physical settings (symbolic attachment) as an intrinsic integral component of the individual's personality (Williams et al., 1992). For example, a person who grew up near the beach might have a strong symbolic attachment to coastal areas. This attachment becomes a key part of their identity, influencing their sense of self and evoking strong emotional responses when they are in similar settings or when these places are impacted, as these places symbolise important aspects of the person's personal history and experiences. In some cases, this includes a person's emotional attachment to the place; in other cases, this is referred to as 'place attachment'. The ability of place identity and the identification of residents with place to evoke strong emotional responses when these places are impacted highlights the importance of considering this concept in studies focusing on the process of place transformation through intensified tourism, as it is crucial for understanding and safeguarding residents' psychological and emotional well-being.

Place attachment can be viewed as an antecedent to psychological balance, highlighting the importance of the inclusion of local residents in the tourism system (Batty & Marshall, 2012; Payton et al., 2005; Stets & Burke, 2003; Wynveen et al., 2009).

Place dependence relates to the relationship between a physical setting and the activities that take place within it (Hewitt et al., 2020). Place dependence is a type of functional attachment linked to a place's ability to fulfil an individual's needs and objectives (Abou-Shouk et al., 2018; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). The length of residency influences the degree of place and community attachment (Man Cheng et al., 2022; Pham & Kayat, 2011).

Place identity and dependency are the two dimensions included in most place attachment studies within psychology and sociology research (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989). Luo et al. (2016), however, argues that exploring place attachment with only two dimensions is limited/incomplete. Place attachment is multifaceted and consists of a diverse range of dimensions – both positive and negative – that exist in relation to each other (Manzo, 2005; Moulay et al., 2018). Wu et al. (2023) concluded that when individuals are often in a particular place due to their place dependence, it is probable that they will cultivate not only an emotional place attachment but also a deep sense of belonging. This, in turn, nurtures the development of a place identity.

2.3.4 Place identity

Previous tourism research on place identity has revealed that it is a complex psychological phenomenon encompassing various aspects of an individual's attitudes. Place identity involves a person's emotional connection (affective), cognitive understanding and conative (behavioural) inclinations towards a particular place (Kneafsey, 1998; Kyle et al., 2004). Place identity can be broken down into two main parts: the first part is about who we are as individuals and the groups we belong to, along with our values, feelings, and attitudes, and the second is about how important each of these aspects is in shaping our identity (Breakwell, 2015). This understanding of place identity can then be split into two more specific ideas: feeling like we belong to a place and recognising what makes that place unique and special (Li et al., 2020; Williams & Vaske, 2003).

However, once again, these studies often adopt a quantitative approach (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006) and/or focus on visitor perspectives (Hailu et al., 2005; Halpenny, 2010; Jepson & Sharpley, 2015; Shaykh-Baygloo, 2021), which limits the exploration of a deeper understanding into the more profound or nuanced emotional, cultural, historical and psychological dimensions of place connection, how people relate to and are shaped by the places they inhabit, and how this is affected by the transformational effects of touristification. To date, few studies have explored the relationship between place identity and touristification (Almeida-García et al., 2023).

2.4 Residents' subjective well-being, and sense of belonging

There was an emergence of sociological and economic studies in the 1960s and 1970s that concentrated on assessing the well-being of societies. Most studies that explore how tourism affects residents in host communities have been guided by economic theories like the Social Exchange Theory (Jordan et al., 2020; Ward & Berno, 2011), and/ or have predominantly been undertaken using quantitative methods (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Nawijn & Mitas, 2012), focusing on the number of visitors or perceived crowding.

Well-being is a complex multidimensional concept comprising economic, sociocultural and environmental elements related to everyday life (Pinto da Silva et al., 2019). Defining and understanding well-being in a clear and helpful way is still challenging (Jarden & Roache, 2023). Hone et al. (2015, p. 98) concluded that "although several researchers have developed theoretical, conceptual and operational models of well-being, and there is general agreement that well-being is a multidimensional concept, that is where the consensus ends."

There have been relatively few in-depth studies on the impact of tourism on sociocultural and environmental dimensions as part of the subjective well-being of residents (Godovykh, 2023; Tokarchuk et al., 2017). Currently, the influence of psychological elements (thoughts, beliefs and positive emotions such as happiness, joy, contentment, excitement, wonder and calmness) on residents' well-being have been overlooked in the tourism literature (Jordan et al., 2019).

Positive emotions and beliefs are important in a host community to strengthen a sense of belonging. When residents experience a loss of place and community participation (membership in decision-making), their sense of belonging is no longer strong (Xu et al., 2019; Dsouza & Shetty, 2024). Without this sense of belonging, residents may feel isolated, disconnected and alienated from their surroundings, leading to decreased well-being and increased feelings of loneliness and social isolation. Preserving and nurturing a sense of belonging in a community is essential for fostering social inclusion, community engagement and overall well-being. Social inclusion is influenced by an individual's feeling of acceptance, status, support, the work environment, and community roles and activities, and is related to one's dignity and worth (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011).

In this research, the term "subjective well-being" is used to explore residents' sense of belonging, which is an element within the broader concept of subjective well-being. Well-being is defined by Mead et al. (2021) as a positive psychological experience, promoted by connections to self, community and environment. Individual well-being is promoted by the dynamic process of social interactions between people (Bentley Brymer et al., 2020). This makes community an important influencer of well-being. Subjective well-being is influenced by perceived satisfaction on quality of life dimensions, such as material well-being, environmental quality, feeling part of one's local community and interpersonal relationships (Badulescu et al., 2022; Nopiyani & Wirawan, 2021). Perceptions of these quality-of-life dimensions, therefore, construct residents' subjective well-being (Bimonte & Faralla, 2016; Kim et al., 2013).

The level of satisfaction residents feel towards their community is closely linked to how they perceive both the positive and negative impacts of tourism (Ko & Stewart, 2002). Schlegel et al. (2017) stated that self-rated health, income, evaluations of the self, marital status, quantity and quality of social contacts, job satisfaction and leisure engagement all positively influence subjective well-being. However, there is not a clear agreement on what influences subjective well-being, as researchers often use various antecedents/factors in their studies (e.g., community spirit, feelings of (un)safety, community involvement) (Taks & Rocha, 2022).

Scholars have differing opinions on what constitutes a 'good' life. While most acknowledge that quality of life is a personal and subjective experience, there is a range

of conceptualisations and methods used to define and measure it. Several tourism researchers have agreed that the concept of quality of life is essentially the same as the concept of well-being (Jordan et al., 2020; McCabe et al., 2010). Researchers often categorise studies into three conceptual frameworks: 1) *life satisfaction*, which relates to quality of life; 2) *hedonic well-being*, associated with happiness; and 3) *eudaimonia*, which relates to psychological well-being (Sirgy, 2019; Uysal et al., 2012). Health consists of physical, mental, and social well-being and is fundamentally dependant on the feeling of security (Corbin et al., 2021; Badulescu et al., 2022).

An understanding of how residents' experiences of tourism affect their subjective well-being is largely missing in the literature. This omission is important because a better understanding could support a variety of participants in the tourism system (including community) to move towards more truly socially sustainable forms of tourism that are in balance with the mental, social, physical, and spiritual needs of the residents of the host community. Spirituality is concerned with people finding meaning and purpose in their lives, as well as their sense of belonging to a community (Haim-Litevsky et al., 2023). There is a need for a better understanding of the impact of tourism activities on the sense of community connectedness and belonging, which is an essential social factor influencing well-being (Gattino et al., 2013; Roffey, 2013). Social connectedness and a sense of belonging, which entail feeling integrated into a broader community, are considered fundamental human needs (Chavis & Pretty, 1999; Allen et al., 2021).

Residents' sense of belonging can be disturbed when they feel displaced, as the influx of visitors alters the fabric of their community. Displacement due to tourism occurs when the presence of tourists in an area has a negative impact on local residents; for example, when residents lose their sense of place identity or access to resources. This can happen in various ways, such as conversion of residential areas into tourist accommodations or the pricing out of locals from basic amenities due to increased tourist demand (Kavetsos, 2012; Salerno, 2022). Displacement can also occur in crowded tourist sites, where locals may feel outnumbered and uncomfortable, leading them to avoid those areas altogether (Lankford et al., 2003; Lueck & Seeler, 2021). Redistributing tourism activities across a wider geographic area can help alleviate the pressure on overcrowded areas and ensure that tourism benefits are more evenly distributed across the host community (Shackell, 2022). But while redistributing tourism activities can indeed alleviate pressure on overcrowded areas, it is also important to recognise that spreading tourism to new areas may just transfer the problem of overcrowding to other areas, or introduce other challenges related to touristification in areas not previously affected.

Place-based displacement can have negative impacts on the quality of life of local residents, their access to resources, the liveability of place, and their ability to engage in

tourism activities themselves (Marcuse, 1985; Vareiro et al., 2013). Davidson (2008) highlighted how shifts in commercial services can affect communities; for example, when essential facilities shut down, leaving residents with fewer options for meeting their needs. Thus, place-based displacement has a negative impact on well-being. These negative impacts can lead community members to experience stresses to their mental health, as well as feelings of material and emotional dispossession, anger, emotional frustration and loss of place (Cocola-Gant, 2023). Thus, residents' emotional responses to their surroundings, known as the *psychology of place*, can affect their subjective well-being.

Strategies residents adopt to address and mitigate the perceived negative changes of tourism are spatial displacement and cognitive coping mechanisms (Kearsley & Coughlan, 1999; Ryan & Cessford, 2003). Spatial displacement occurs when residents leave due to an undesirable situation, rather than a move towards a better one (Kearsley & Coughlan, 1999). Kearsley and Coughlan (1999) argue that cognitive coping mechanisms could help residents cope with the challenges and inconveniences of overcrowding. Espiner et al. (2023) identified four types of coping strategies in their qualitative study in New Zealand: spatial displacement, temporal displacement, rationalisation, and product shift. *Spatial displacement* involves relocating from a place to an alternative one that is deemed more acceptable, while *temporal displacement* refers to a modification in the timing of one's visit. *Rationalisation* is a cognitive coping mechanism in which people reassess an undesirable situation in a more positive one, and *product shift* refers to the change in significance of the (experience and initial personal value of) place. In the context of overcrowding, residents may feel overwhelmed or stressed due to the large number of people around them. Cognitive coping mechanisms refer to mental strategies individuals employ to deal with these overwhelming situations. This involves re-evaluating the experience from a different perspective that emphasises the positive aspects of having larger numbers of people around them, like increased social interactions, a vibrant atmosphere, or an enhanced cultural diversity, in order to cope with the influx of visitors (Kearsley & Coughlan, 1999; Šegota et al., 2022).

However, it is critical to understand the process of place transformation, its effects on residents' subjective well-being, and the value that residents derive from the tourism industry. Place transformation, including changes to social and physical aspects of place, can have a significant impact on residents' place attachment and overall sense of well-being. Rather than simply being told that tourism is beneficial, along with the related psychological impact of this on residents who are experiencing feelings of displacement due to the intensification of tourism, a deeper exploration of how tourism affects

residents' lives and well-being is essential. This understanding is crucial for creating more sustainable and community-centric tourism strategies that address residents' concerns, ensure equitable distribution of benefits, and foster a strong sense of place and community identity.

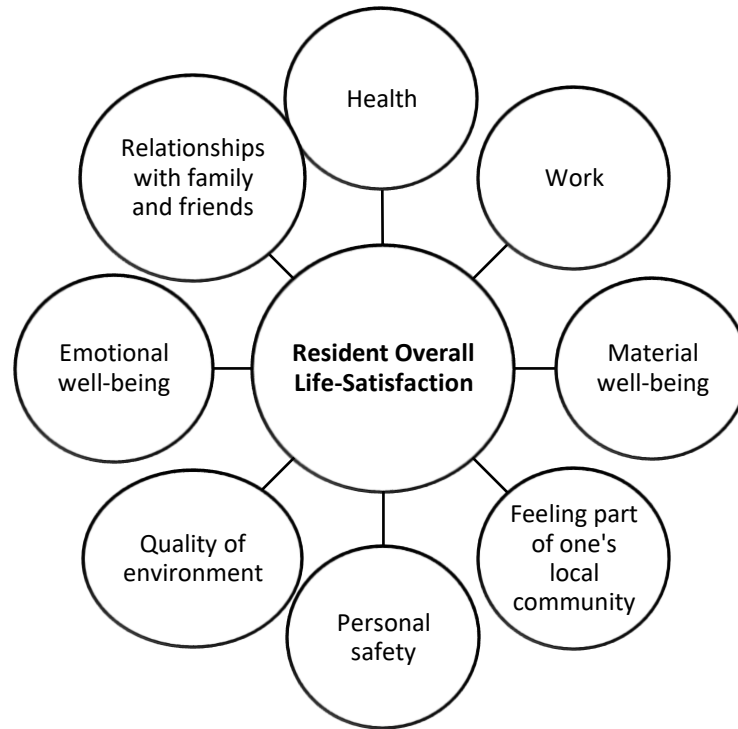
Current tourism impact studies recognise the need for inclusive approaches, community engagement and sustainable tourism development. Several authors (Brooks et al., 2023; Croes et al., 2024; Dwyer, 2023) emphasise the importance of prioritising the well-being and safety of local residents over the economic benefits of tourism. Milano, Novelli, et al. (2019) contend that it is imperative to attract visitors and generate revenue in a manner that does not compromise the quality of life of the destination's inhabitants. This can be accomplished through involving the community in decision-making, managing the level of tourism to avoid overcrowding, spreading tourism activities throughout the year to reduce seasonality, carefully planning development to ensure it does not exceed the capacity of a destination, and offering a diverse range of tourist activities (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2019). While these are all useful strategies to ameliorate the negative effects of tourism on residents' well-being, it is imperative to acknowledge that well-being is a complex, multidimensional concept that extends beyond economic considerations.

2.4.1 Bottom-up spillover theory

Bottom-up spillover theory has recently emerged in tourism studies (Bimonte & Faralla, 2016; Kim et al., 2020; Tokarchuk et al., 2017). This theory is commonly used in psychology literature and assumes that influences – in this case, the influence of tourism – on residents' perceptions of the economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions of their daily lives affects their overall quality of life (Diener & Chan, 2011; Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002; Sirgy & Lee, 2006). Ramkissoon (2023) states that the extent to which residents' aspirations are addressed and their voices being heard could influence their experience of and support for tourism. There is a need for a broader understanding on residents' perception of the impacts of tourism on their trust levels in the community, and their emotional connection to place (Ramkissoon, 2023).

Bottom-up spillover theory recognises that satisfaction with a variety of life domains has an impact on one's quality of life (Diener et al., 1985). Figure 4.2 presents the life domains that determine a person's subjective well-being, such as health, work, material well-being, feeling part of one's local community, personal safety, quality of environment, emotional well-being and relationships with family and friends.

Figure 2.4: Bottom-up spillover model



Source: Bimonte & Faralla (2016).

Subjective well-being is frequently interchanged with terms like mental well-being, mental health, psychological well-being and happiness (van Agteren et al., 2021). Emotions such as joy, acceptance, fear, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger and anticipation are predictors of life satisfaction, which in turn influences subjective well-being (Armbrecht & Andersson, 2020).

Subjective well-being is considered a proxy measure of overall (cross-domain) well-being (McLeod, 2018; Kim et al., 2020). If people think that various aspects of their life, like their standard of living or community pride through sharing experiences (Li et al., 2021), are getting better because of tourism, it makes them feel more satisfied in those areas. When residents feel content in multiple aspects of their lives, their contentment adds up to a higher overall sense of well-being (Kim et al., 2013; Woo et al., 2018).

Destinations face increasing pressure to address social and environmental concerns associated with tourism. True sustainability embodies regenerative and inclusive principles and is built on the idea that everything is connected (natural resources, cultural assets and traditions, communities and built infrastructure). It is critical to focus on community and place and enable environmental, social and economic systems to work together and flourish. Wang et al. (2020) state that once the economic level is satisfying residents, an increase in the financial value created by the visitor sector does not necessarily bring a stronger sense of residents' well-being. This highlights the importance of the sociocultural and environmental dimensions of residents' quality of life

in terms of their overall life satisfaction, and therefore, their subjective well-being (Jordan et al., 2019).

The relationship between tourism impacts and residents' well-being or quality of life is typically explored through bottom-up spillover theory, but this approach only recently emerged in tourism studies. (Han et al., 2023; Suess et al., 2021; Eslami et al., 2019). It is crucial to extend research into the social impact of tourism in a qualitative manner to gain deeper insights into residents' experiences, perceptions and nuanced attitudes towards touristification as these factors all ultimately contribute to residents' subjective well-being. Extending research in this way will provide a more comprehensive understanding that captures the richness and complexity of residents' experiences of touristification.

2.5 The effect of touristification on residents and measurement frameworks

Tourism, and more importantly the process of touristification, has a significant impact on the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of a destination (Abukhalifeh & Wondirad, 2019; Zhang et al., 2020). The economic advantages of tourism development, such as expansion of new businesses to support the growing tourism industry, employment opportunities and increased revenue from tourism-related businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, have been widely reported (Chen et al., 2020; Jordan et al., 2020; López Hernández & de la Santísima Trinidad Mercader, 2015; Nunkoo & So, 2016; Rahman, 2010). The broader visitor economy, encompassing all economic activity such as retail shops, banks and healthcare providers, relates to all those who travel regardless of the reason for their trip. The visitor economy is a concept that takes into account economic activity much broader than that traditionally described as 'tourism' and creates opportunities for actors in various industries who provide goods and services for visitors.

While the economic impacts of a growing visitor industry can influence residents' support for development (Andereck et al., 2005; Lundberg, 2017), support still depends on individual residents' perceptions of how tourism and the broader visitor industry affect their lives (Dyer et al., 2007; Stylidis et al., 2014).

Tourism development can bring positive social benefits for the local community, like enhancing residents' sense of pride, attachment and understanding of their own place; preserving and promoting cultural heritage and traditions (Canaan, 2020); improving community and recreational facilities, services, and infrastructure (Brida et al., 2010; Smith & Graham, 2019; Tomassini & Cavagnaro, 2022); and providing opportunities for community members to interact with and learn from visitors. Touristification, therefore, both shapes the evolution of the place itself and influences the attitudes, expectations,

opinions and, ultimately, lifestyles of those involved in tourism (Gursoy et al., 2019; Lei et al., 2023).

It is important to note that touristification not only impacts the economy – it also has far-reaching sociocultural impacts on local residents and communities. Acknowledging the significance of these viewpoints underscores the importance of considering social values and practices when making plans related to tourism. More specifically, the processes of touristification need to be better understood in terms of the effects they have on local residents and host communities (Cocola-Gant, 2023; Faye, 2024; Milano et al., 2023).

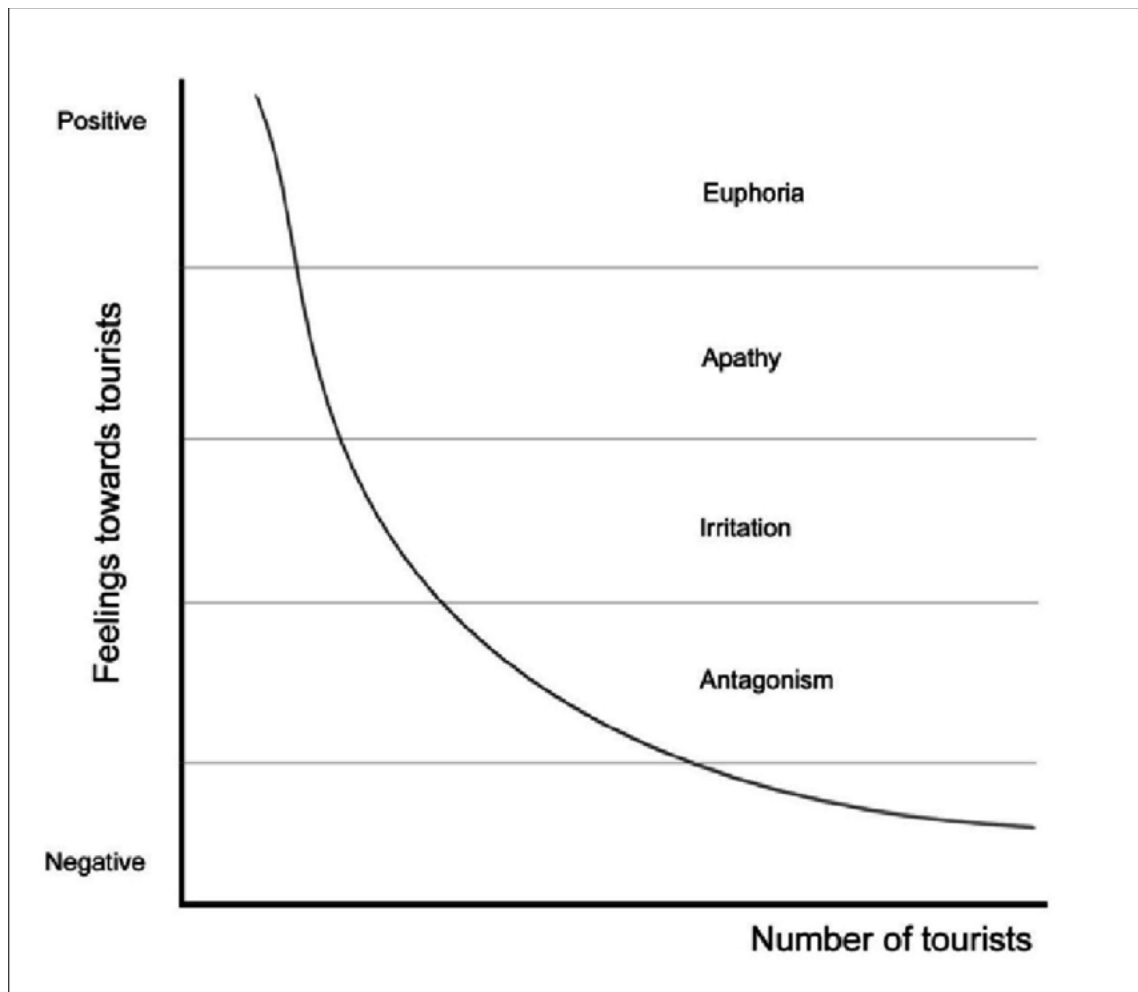
Exploring how residents of a tourism destination feel about tourism can help find different groups within the same community of people who identify and connect to place. Some might be in favour of tourism, while others might be against it. When exploring how residents feel about tourism, perspectives and experiences are based on residents' beliefs, values, ideas and social (cultural) practices, which relates to the psychological areas of subjective well-being and belonging. Welcoming visitors to the place where residents live will influence these perspectives and experiences (Monterrubio & Andriotis, 2014; Wassler et al., 2019), as the essence of place identity can be affected and changed due to tourism.

2.5.1 Tourism impact on communities

Research on the social impact of tourism began in the 1980s with studies focusing on residents' attitudes to tourism within their communities (Tam et al., 2022). These studies shifted towards using case studies to explore how local residents perceived tourism development. The studies predominantly used quantitative measures of perceptions and attitudes, using predeterminate options, rather than using qualitative approaches which can create rich data through the exploration of lived experiences (Erul & Woosnam, 2022). Examples of the earlier quantitative approaches are phase models, such as the evolution model of a tourist area (Butler, 1980); attitudinal models, like the Irridex model developed by Doxey (1975), which offers an early theoretical understanding of how residents perceive tourism in their communities; and behavioural models such as the four strategies for responding to tourism impacts by Ap and Crompton (1993), and the matrix model for resident attitudes and behaviours in a rapidly changing tourist area by Carmichael (2000).

Doxey (1975) argues in his Irridex model (see Figure 2.5) that residents may experience different stages of emotions towards tourism, from enthusiasm to negative feelings, based on their perceptions of the benefits and costs associated with tourism (Su et al., 2018; Woosnam et al., 2021; Zaman et al., 2022).

Figure 2.5: Doxey's Irridex model



Source: Reisinger (2009).

These perceptions include economic, social, cultural and environmental costs and benefits (Ramkissoon, 2023; Woosnam et al., 2021). As residents' attitudes towards tourism may vary, the Irridex model (Doxey, 1975) focuses on the interaction between local people and visitors. As shown in Figure 2.5, the model comprises four phases: "Euphoria" when the first visitors arrive, "Apathy" when the number of visitors increase, "Irritation" when the increase of visitor numbers is starting to have a negative impact on the host community, and "Antagonism" when local people are negatively responding to the development of tourism and influx of visitors. The simplicity of the model, however, means it does not capture variations in residents' perceptions and levels of support at each of the tourism development stages.

Furthermore, residents may not only experience the effects of tourism but also change their behaviour, even when the impact may not be considered disruptive, by avoiding certain areas and developing mechanisms to cope with and accommodate more visitors in their community (Rothman, 1978; Šegota et al., 2022). Butler's (1980) model of the tourism area life cycle, used to study the evolution of a particular tourism destination,

focused on the number of visitors within the destination, ranging through stages from exploration, involvement, development and consolidation to reaching carrying capacity and then to stagnation, with options for decline or rejuvenation.

It is important to take Butler's model into consideration in studies on the impact of the process of touristification, as it provides a structured framework to understanding the different phases a destination undergoes as tourism intensifies. However, a deeper analysis of the effects on local residents throughout these stages is needed to address the social and psychological impacts of the intensification of tourism in the host community. It is also important to consider the focus of tourism impact studies that use a *development* lens to explore the effects of tourism intensification on communities. The term "development" is often misused by referring to the excessive growth of tourism leading to residents' negative perceptions, rather than addressing how tourism is established and managed, or how the local way of living is preserved or maintained (Fisher, 2003). While *tourism development* is defined by the growth and management of tourism, touristification consists of the transformation and changes in place through tourism.

2.5.2 Measuring the impact of tourism

Researchers have used a variety of measurement frameworks to understand residents' attitudes towards tourism. In the 1990s, there was an emphasis on the *perception* of tourism development and *support* for tourism. Lankford and Howard (1994) introduced one of the first multidimensional scales, the Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (TIAS), which has two dimensions. The first dimension has 18 items assessing "concern for local tourism promotion and development", the impact level and scope of local and regional tourism promotion, and the government's role in managing and regulating these. The second dimension has nine items, assessing "personal and community benefits", including community infrastructure and public services, personal leisure opportunities, and the economic impact of tourism at the individual and community level. Expanding beyond the TIAS, Ap and Crompton (1998) created a new scale to assess residents' attitudes towards the impacts of tourism; their scale includes economic, social, physical/environmental, crowding/congestion and services domains.

In the 2000s, tourism researchers shifted their focus from refining scales for tourism marketers and planners measuring attitudes towards tourism to considering the social impacts of tourism on communities in the context of sustainability. For example, Choi and Sirakaya (2006) developed the Sustainable Tourism Attitude Scale (SUS-TAS) to assess how residents' interactions and relationships with tourists influence their perspectives on tourism development. Incorporating factors like environmental

sustainability, social costs, economic benefits, community participation (participation in decision-making), long-term planning, visitor satisfaction (providing for and importance of visitor satisfaction), and fostering a community-centred economy represents a paradigm shift by including socio-environmental factors that empower communities to evaluate residents' attitudes, feelings and perceptions toward sustainable tourism. Choi and Sirakaya (2005, p. 385) found that subjective indicators, referred to as the "comments people make about their emotions, attitudes, attributes and personal evaluation", should be recognised as a tool to evaluate development progress at the local level. Choi and Sirakaya (2005) found these subjective indicators to be limited in their scope but can, nevertheless, be used to explore residents' preferences, attitudes and perceptions. While the SUS-TAS encompasses key factors for exploring residents' perceptions, a quantitative survey consisting of predefined factors leaves little room for the exploration of nuances and additional insights on residents' experiences of tourism.

A decade later, Nunkoo et al. (2013) conducted a review of articles published in scholarly journals from 1984 to 2010 on residents' attitudes to tourism. The authors found that the majority of studies were still quantitative in nature and employed multiple statistical techniques in their analysis (e.g., *t*-tests, analysis of variance and principal component analysis). Far fewer studies used qualitative and/or mixed methods approaches, although Nunkoo et al. (2013) did note a slight shift "where researchers are making increasing use of theories drawn from other disciplines, such as sociology and psychology, to investigate the topic" (p. 20). By leveraging theories from other disciplines, researchers can delve more deeply into the psychological aspects influencing residents' attitudes, which could lead to a more comprehensive and nuanced exploration of the subject (Cocola-Gant, 2023; Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020).

However, when exploring the changes brought about by tourism over time – defined as the process of touristification – research focusing merely on residents' perceptions and attitudes does not suffice, and should extend to residents' lived experiences and how tourism has influenced daily life in host communities. What remains unclear is what *drives* these perceptions of tourism, how they evolve, and the underlying factors that shape residents' attitudes toward tourism development, particularly in relation to their subjective well-being and sense of place.

2.5.3 Residents' perception of the social impacts of tourism

Research on how tourism impacts the places people belong to and how this affects local residents has been dominated by quantitative studies that test advanced predictive models (Erul & Woosnam, 2022; Hadinejad et al., 2019). Demographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, income and nationality are commonly used in tourism research to understand how these factors may influence individuals' perceptions of tourism (Almeida-García et al., 2016; Pham & Kayat, 2011; Stojković et al., 2020). Demographic characteristics can provide insights into how different groups of people may view tourism and its impacts, as the demographic profiles of residents can moderate the relationship between their perceptions of the impact of tourism and their support for tourism development (Papastathopoulos et al., 2020). However, the individual complexity of residents extends beyond demographic characteristics, encompassing diverse backgrounds, personalities, experiences and values that shape the effect of tourism on residents. Understanding this multifaceted aspect is essential for developing nuanced strategies that address the varied needs within communities.

The findings on the impact of gender on residents' perceptions have been inconclusive (Šenková et al., 2020). While some studies have reported a non-significant influence of gender on residents' perceptions (Gogitidze et al., 2022; Mensah, 2012; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015), others have found that male residents tend to be more supportive of tourism than female residents (Jani, 2018; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012). This may be because individuals who identify with feminist ideologies tend to exhibit greater concern for society, are more inclined to participate in environmentally responsive behaviours, and demonstrate heightened awareness of the environment (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Stets & Biga, 2003). The impact of tourism on gender (in)equality has been acknowledged as a significant issue in tourism development (Nguyen, 2022). Research indicates that tourism can serve as a beneficial influence on gender equality, providing advantages for women in areas such as employment, income, education and political empowerment (Zhang & Zhang, 2020).

Several studies have shown education to be a significant factor influencing residents' views on tourism (Brankov et al., 2019; Charag et al., 2021; Papastathopoulos et al., 2020). Education can enhance residents' ability to communicate and increase their awareness of tourism-related issues (Sinclair-Maragh, 2017). Almeida-García et al. (2016) posited that residents with higher levels of education may be more aware of the potential negative sociocultural impacts of tourism, while those with lower levels of education may be more supportive of tourism development as a means of generating income. Conversely, Brankov et al. (2019) and Charag et al. (2021) found a positive correlation between higher levels of education and more favourable perceptions of the

impacts of tourism, while Meliou and Maroudas (2010) discovered that residents' perceptions are primarily shaped by their professional experiences and objectives rather than their level of education. Finally, the difference in educational levels among residents may result in marginalised voices and limited agency in tourism decision-making processes, as those with lower levels of education might encounter obstacles in expressing their concerns and engaging effectively in discussions.

While the literature highlights the connections between length of residency, community attachment, and place dependence, the relationship between length of residency and residents' perceptions of tourism has been inconsistent and inconclusive in results (Pachmayer et al., 2021; Papastathopoulos et al., 2020). Researchers have shown that length of residency is an insufficient measure, and it does not significantly affect residents' perceptions of tourism (Almeida-García et al., 2016; Papastathopoulos et al., 2020; Pham & Kayat, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008). For instance, Sinclair-Maragh (2017) discovered that the length of residency was not a factor in determining residents' support for tourism in Jamaica.

However, several authors have concluded that long-term residents – that is, those who have lived in a destination for a significant period of time – may have a different perspective on tourism compared with more recent arrivals (Alipour et al., 2020; Dedeoğlu et al., 2023; Pavlić et al., 2020). An example of this can be seen in Banks (2003), who observed that the length of residency had an impact on residents' perceptions of tourism, with longer periods of residence resulting in more negative attitudes. Weaver and Lawton (2013) suggested that this might arise from frames of reference that compare current development levels with a potentially idealised past, also referred to as *solastalgia* – a term used to describe the feeling of loss in a community after tourism develops and changes everyday activities and services in an urban area (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). Ryan and Montgomery (1994) reported that residents with longer periods of residency disagreed that tourism improved their quality of life, believed the town would be better without tourists, and disagreed that tourism was beneficial to the local economy. Individuals with longer years of residency and strong ties to the community are more likely to perceive negative effects of tourism than others (Andereck et al., 2005; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Um & Crompton, 1987). Lifelong residents may be more sensitive to the social and cultural impact of tourism and may feel more strongly that tourists are unaware of their way of life (Almeida-García et al., 2016; Khoshkam et al., 2016; Sheldon & Var, 1984). This highlights the importance of considering the diversity of opinions within local communities, including those of both long-term and recent residents, when developing tourism policies and initiatives (Sheldon & Var, 1984). There are also several authors who concluded that residents who

had lived in an area for a shorter time had more favourable attitudes towards tourism than those who had resided there for a longer period (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Haley et al., 2005; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996).

The variables that predict how residents perceive the social impacts of tourism are unique to the residents themselves. Commonly used variables in the literature that predict how residents perceive the social impacts of tourism are presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Residents' perception variables in social impact tourism studies

Variable	Description	Authors
Perceived benefits/costs of tourism	This variable focuses on residents' subjective evaluations of the advantages and disadvantages associated with tourism in their community. Residents weigh factors such as economic gains, cultural enrichment and social interaction against potential drawbacks like congestion, environmental degradation and changes in local culture.	Eslami et al. (2019) McGehee and Andereck (2004) Qin et al. (2021) Stylidis (2018) Zaman et al. (2022)
Economic benefit and dependence	This variable assesses the extent to which residents rely on tourism-related income and employment opportunities for their livelihoods. It considers factors such as the proportion of household income derived from tourism, job availability, and the overall economic stability of the community tied to tourism.	Almeida-García et al. (2016) Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) Dyer et al. (2007) Gursoy et al. (2002) Látková and Vogt (2012) Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) Schönherr et al. (2023) Woosnam (2012)
Empowerment	This variable examines residents' sense of control and influence over tourism-related decision-making processes in their community. It encompasses factors such as residents' involvement in planning and development initiatives, access to information, and opportunities for meaningful participation in shaping tourism policies and practices.	Boley and McGehee, (2014) Kondja et al., (2024) Strzelecka et al. (2017) Sutawa (2012)
Place attachment	Place attachment refers to residents' emotional connection and sense of belonging to their community or specific geographical area. It includes feelings of affection, identity, and rootedness towards the place, often influenced by personal experiences, memories, and social connections within the community.	Brehm et al. (2006) Eusébio et al. (2018) Gu and Ryan (2008) Stylidis (2018) Trentelman (2009)

Variable	Description	Authors
Community attachment	Similar to place attachment, community attachment focuses specifically on residents' emotional bonds and sense of belonging to the broader social fabric of their community. It encompasses feelings of solidarity, camaraderie and shared values among residents, which contribute to their overall well-being and satisfaction with community life.	Brehm et al. (2006) Choi and Murray (2010) Eslami et al. (2019) Gursoy and Rutherford, (2004) Jung et al. (2020) Lee (2013) Matarrita-Cascante et al. (2010) McCool and Martin (1994) Mihaylov and Perkins (2014)

While the variables presented offer valuable insights into residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, there remains a need to strengthen the understanding about the effect of touristification in urban areas, especially on residents' subjective well-being within smaller cities. Given that the factors influencing residents' perceptions of tourism's social impacts are unique to each individual it is challenging to measure these effects. There is room to explore residents' lived experiences in terms of place attachment and sense of belonging and the effect of the process of transformation by tourism on overall satisfaction with life.

Most studies centralise host perceptions of the impact of tourism on communities and the environment, whereas studies exploring quality of life often focus on the impact of tourism on individual life satisfaction (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011). The quality of life elements used by Chancellor et al. (2011) – such as the education system, emergency services, safety from crime, overall community liveability, infrastructure, traffic congestion, cost of living, parks and recreation areas, overall cleanliness and appearance, conditions of roads and highways, museum and cultural centres, and job opportunities – suggest that tourism has a broad impact on various aspects of residents' quality of life and that the main objective of tourism development is to enhance the quality of life for residents. Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) introduced the *Tourism and Quality of Life Scale* (TQOL) as a means to combine conventional measures of tourism impacts, based on the underlying belief that tourism has a direct influence on the quality of life of residents. Understanding the dimensions of the TQOL, such as community well-being, way of life and community pride, can be valuable in exploring the impact of tourism on residents' place attachment and sense of belonging. The domains and dimensions of Andereck and Nyaupane's TQOL scale are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Tourism and Quality of Life Scale (TQOL)

Tourism Quality of Life Domains	Tourism Quality of Life Dimensions
Community well-being	Preserving peace and quiet, feeling safe, clean air and water, city services like police and fire protection, a stable political environment, good public transportation, the beauty of the community, quality of roads, bridges, and utility services
Urban issues	The prevention of crowding and congestion, controlled traffic, controlled urban sprawl and population growth, litter control and proper zoning/land use
Way of life	Personal life quality, the preservation of the individual's way of life, a feeling of belonging in the community, resident participation in local government, having tourists who respect the individual's way of life
Community pride and awareness	The image of the community to others, an understanding of different cultures, awareness of natural and cultural heritage, community pride and opportunities to participate in local culture
Natural/cultural preservation	Preservation of wildlife habitats, natural areas and cultural/historical sites
Economic strength	Strong and diverse economy, stores and restaurants owned by local residents, the value of residents' houses and/or land, enough good jobs for residents, retail shops and restaurants and fair prices for goods and services
Recreation amenities	Festivals, fairs, museums, having live sports to watch in the community and quality recreation opportunities
Crime and substance abuse	The prevention of crime and vandalism and the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse

Source: Andereck and Nyaupane (2011).

However, there remains a need for a more explicit focus on the sociocultural aspects of place attachment and sense of belonging. While the dimensions outlined cover important aspects such as community well-being and cultural preservation, there is a need for a deeper understanding of how tourism influences transformation of place, identity formation, and residents' emotional connections to their community. Additionally, considering the potential impacts of tourism on social cohesion, inclusivity and residents'

perceptions of their place within their community could further enrich understanding of the complexity between tourism and residents' sense of attachment and belonging.

Residents' perception of tourism development depends on the exchange of benefits and costs during host–visitor interactions (Eslami et al., 2019; Qin et al., 2021; Zaman et al., 2022). If the economic, social and environmental benefits of tourism outweigh the costs, residents are more likely to have a positive attitude towards tourism. However, if residents perceive the losses to be significantly higher than the benefits, they are likely to resist tourism development (Stylidis, 2018; Zaman et al., 2022). While tourism can bring positive benefits to host communities, such as generating employment opportunities (Gursoy et al., 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012), increasing disposable income and providing access to additional services (Dyer et al., 2007), mutual learning, cultural revival, multiculturalism (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Andereck et al., 2007) and enhancing natural and cultural protection (Coccossis, 2016), tourism can also negatively influence lifestyle, be a catalyst for an increase in crime, (Dyer et al., 2007; Mekinc et al., 2017), intensify noise concerns and congestion (Gursoy et al., 2002; Látková & Vogt, 2012; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012), increase prices (inflation) and limit access to amenities, thus negatively affect residents' well-being (Herrera et al., 2007; Milano, Cheer, et al., 2019; Ooi, 2005).

2.5.4 Resident perceptions of different types of tourism

It is not well understood how residents perceive the effects of different types of tourism. Most research has either focused on a single type of tourism or looked at tourism as a whole, rather than studying the unique impacts of multiple types of tourism in and on a host community (Jordan et al., 2020). The majority of studies have concentrated on cruise tourism, events and accommodation services, particularly those in the sharing economy. Different types of tourism and industry sub-sectors, such as cruises, events and short-term stays booked through sharing economy platforms such as Airbnb and Couchsurfing, can influence residents' perceptions in different ways (see Table 2.4). Residents' perceptions regarding the effects of cruise tourism and short-term stays booked through accommodation platforms tend to lean more towards the negative side.

Table 2.4: Resident perceptions studies based on different types of tourism

Type of tourism	Description	Authors
Cruise	Resident perceptions studies of cruise tourism often highlight concerns about environmental impacts, overcrowding and cultural disruption within local communities.	Brida et al. (2012) Carić and Mackelworth (2014) Chase and McKee (2003) Del Chiappa and Abbate (2016) Gibson and Bentley (2007) Gutberlet (2016) Johnson (2002) Jordan et al. (2020) Jordan and Vogt, 2017) Lučić et al. (2017) MacNeill and Wozniak (2018) Marušić et al. (2008) McCaughey et al., 2018) Chase and McKee (2003) Moscovici (2017) Peručić and Puh (2012) Stewart et al. (2011) Tovar et al. (2020) Vukić and Peronja (2021)
Events	Resident perceptions studies of events tourism frequently emphasise the sociocultural benefits, economic opportunities, and infrastructure development associated with hosting events.	Carswell et al. (2023) Doumi et al. (2020) Gibson et al. (2012) Gibson et al. (2014) Gursoy & Kendall (2006) Jepson & Walters (2021) Kavetsos (2012) Kavetsos and Szymanski (2010) Mair et al. (2021) McCabe (2006) Misener and Mason (2006) Qi et al. (2023) Schlegel et al. (2017) Scholtz (2019) Smith (2009) Taks (2017) Taks and Rocha (2022) Zawadzki (2020, 2022)
Hospitality (accommodation, sharing economy)	Resident perceptions studies of accommodation services through sharing economy platforms commonly focuses on issues such as neighbourhood gentrification, housing affordability, and changes in community dynamics due to short-term rentals.	Jordan and Moore (2018) Jordan et al. (2020) Mody et al. (2018) Petrucci et al. (2020) Richards et al. (2020) Stergiou and Farmaki (2020) Suess et al. (2021) Yeager et al. (2020)

Cruise ships typically dock at ports for brief periods of time, and although they may generate some economic advantages, the negative consequences in terms of economic leakage and social and environmental impacts can often be significant (Chase & McKee, 2003; Jordan & Vogt, 2017; Stylidis, 2018). Tovar et al. (2020) found in their research on residents' attitudes towards the impact of cruise tourism in Gran Canaria that people perceived the economic impact of cruises as very positive, despite the fact that there was not a clear idea about the net effect on the labour market and prices. Conversely, Jordan et al. (2020) identified that cruise tourism was perceived by host communities as one of the worst types of tourism in terms of crowding and creating benefit for local residents. Vukić and Peronja (2021) found in their research on the impact of cruise tourism in Split, Croatia that cruise ship visitors did contribute to the increased level of congestion at the destination and that local businesses were sceptical about a positive impact of the industry as they recorded minimal increase in income and employment related to the cruise activity.

In the case of events, positive social effects such as enhanced civic pride, social unity have been found to occur during events (Chalip, 2006; Kavetsos, 2012; Mair et al., 2021; Zawadzki, 2020, 2022). Unlike large events that are marketed nationwide (e.g., the Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup), smaller events, such as music performances and festivals, have the potential to create more positive and fewer negative social effects in the host community (Gibson et al., 2012; Taks & Rocha, 2022; Zawadzki, 2022). Smaller events are typically perceived as being more sustainable than larger events (Smith, 2009). According to Agha and Taks (2015), smaller events have a greater potential for generating positive economic impact for the local community, as they are less likely to create overcrowding issues which might exclude local residents. Furthermore, hosting multiple smaller events may be a more effective strategy than hosting a large-scale event. Smaller events may be less disruptive in terms of stress, traffic congestion, parking and acts of hooliganism (Smith, 2009), it is important to note that negative social effects, such as a decreased sense of security, general increase of prices, noise, difficulties in traffic congestion, parking problems and reduced access to public spaces can still occur during such events (Scholtz, 2019; Stylidis, 2018; Zawadzki, 2022). According to McCabe's (2006) research, the Ashbourne Royal Shrovetide Football game in England has evolved through continuation and tradition into an event that reinforces community bonds by celebrating a sense of local identity. This example showcases the social value of a well-organised event enriching the social lives of a community. This enrichment, in turn, has the potential to contribute to residents' sense of well-being (Cramm & Nieboer, 2015). Conversely, major events that bring about transformations in local neighbourhoods may pose a challenge for residents in terms of finding meaning, a sense of identity, and a feeling of connectedness within their own community (Misener & Mason, 2006).

Research on the relationship between events and subjective well-being has been limited (Jepson & Walters, 2021; Kavetsos & Szymanski, 2010; Schlegel et al., 2017; Taks & Rocha, 2022), with studies often examining subjective well-being in the context of events through measures such as satisfaction and happiness (Armbrecht & Andersson, 2020). Most studies have focused on the positive effect (hedonic satisfaction/happiness) of participating in an event on the subjective well-being of research participants, rather than the event's impact on the larger community (Armbrecht & Andersson, 2020). The findings on the influence of events on subjective well-being have been inconclusive, with different studies using various indicators – and sometimes only one indicator – to measure subjective well-being, and employing different methodological approaches (e.g., conducting longitudinal surveys online based on memory away from the experience of the case study context) (Kaplanidou et al., 2013; Pfitzner & Koenigstorfer, 2016). A summary of various indicators and methodologies that have been used to study well-being in event tourism is given in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Various indicators and methodologies to study well-being in event tourism

Authors	Methods	Participants	Indicators subjective well-being	Descriptive statistics of subjective well-being
Armbrecht and Andersson (2020)	Quantitative (survey)	Sport event participants	Hedonic satisfaction, eudaimonic satisfaction and the dependent construct subjective well-being	Happiness – My standard of living is good Happiness – My overall life satisfaction now Happiness – My life has developed in a way that I like
Kavetsos and Szymanski (2010)	Longitudinal (survey)	National population	Self-reported life satisfaction	On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?
Schlegel et al. (2017)	In-person intercept repeat cross-sectional surveys	Host city residents	Subjective well-being	Subjective well-being (0–100): • I have felt cheerful and in good spirits • I have felt calm and relaxed • I have felt active and vigorous • I woke up feeling fresh and rested • My daily life has been filled with things that interest me
Taks and Rocha (2022)	Cohort longitudinal survey	Host country residents attending an event	Happiness, life satisfaction and life affects	Happiness – Taking all aspects of your life into account, please select your current level of happiness Life satisfaction – Rate current level of satisfaction with three domains: life at home, health and occupation Life affects – average of three positive items (happily, friendly, enjoying myself) and reversed negative items (frustrated, depressed, hassled, worried, tired)
Kaplanidou et al. (2013)	In-person intercept repeat cross-sectional surveys	Host population	Overall satisfaction with quality of life	Overall, taking everything into account, I am very satisfied with my quality of life
Pfitzner and Koenigstorfer (2016)	Longitudinal survey	Host population	Overall quality of life and well-being in general	Physical domain, social domain, psychological domain, environmental domain

While accommodation services as part of the sharing economy is a sub-sector rather than a distinct type of tourism, its presence and expansion within communities significantly shape local residents' experiences and attitudes. There are multiple motivations for residents to engage in short-term rental platforms (e.g., Airbnb and Couchsurfing), such as economic benefit (Deale & Crawford, 2018; Jordan & Moore, 2018; Xie & Chen, 2019), lifestyle (Deale & Crawford, 2018), social relationship development (Deale & Crawford, 2018; Karlsson & Dolnicar, 2016; Kim et al., 2018; Ladegaard, 2018; Xie & Chen, 2019), and the ability to help others (Kim et al., 2018). Short-term rental services, as part of the sharing economy, are regarded as a sustainable consumption practice that enhances efficient utilisation of accommodation resources, minimises waste, and encourages individuals to share their homes (Petruzzi et al., 2020; Schor & Cansoy, 2019). However, short-term rental services also typically involve longer stays by travellers in residential neighbourhoods, which can increase the level of direct interaction between tourists and residents and effect on residents (Petruzzi et al., 2020). An increase in direct interaction between tourists and residents in residential areas can lead to a unique set of social impacts, such as changes in the sense of community (Jordan & Moore, 2018), increase in the prices of houses (Cocola-Gant, 2023), goods and services (Jordan et al., 2020; Suess et al., 2021; Yeager et al., 2020), and noise complaints (Wang et al., 2023). Davidson and Cotter (1991) found that a positive sense of community contributes to the happiness factor in the subjective well-being of residents. Stergiou and Farmaki (2020) found that residents in Athens believed that sharing economy accommodations contributed towards disruptions in the area. Jordan and Moore (2018) found that residents of Oahu, Hawai'i believed vacation rental accommodations generated job opportunities, but ultimately led to a higher cost of living and property values for locals, while Richards et al. (2020) discovered that residents in Barcelona also believed that accommodation service platforms that are part of the sharing economy contribute to gentrification, which in the long run results in a loss of community identity. Petruzzi et al. (2020) found that the sharing economy increased the level of cultural exchange between visitors and the host community, but also led to a loss of tradition. Conversely, however, Mody et al. (2018) found that residents believed that being able to provide accommodation services through the sharing economy provided incentives for the preservation and restoration of local historical buildings.

2.5.5 Host–guest interactions

The concept of *host–guest interaction* was introduced in the late 1970s by Valene Smith and has evolved into one of the three major areas of tourism research, along with studies on the tourism life cycle and behaviour (Zhang & Xu, 2023). Urry (1990) introduced the notion of the *tourist gaze*, initiating a discourse on the significance of economic status and power dynamics within interactions between hosts and guests in tourism. Academics have frequently used terms like the “gazer” and “gazee” (Huang et al., 2017; Lin & Fu, 2021; Samarathunga & Cheng, 2021; Urry, 1992; Urry & Larsen, 2011). This terminology extends to situations where visitors take photographs and, at times, view locals as an interesting “attraction or aspect” of the destination (Ghaderi & Béal, 2020; Gillespie, 2006). The concept of the tourist gaze highlights the distinct roles, dynamics and dominating influence around visitors gazing over and objectifying local residents as part of tourism consumption (Maoz, 2006). Recent studies on the tourism gaze have expanded to include concepts like the mutual gaze and reverse gaze, highlighting the influence of social media in shaping interactions between tourists and hosts (Lin & Fu, 2021; Samarathunga & Cheng, 2021).

Increased numbers of visitors to a destination triggers changes and adjustments within the host community to better accommodate them. However, places are also changing in response to visitor feedback and often emphasise and incorporate unique local aspects into destination marketing strategies to attract tourists (Canavan, 2016; Pennington-Gray et al., 2005). Consequently, social roles, events and everyday routines are constantly evolving alongside the progress of tourism development. This evolution extends to encompass local amenities, infrastructure, natural and cultural environments, and the perception of local identity (Canavan, 2013, 2016). While the influence of tourism has often been portrayed in a negative light due to its potential to modify places and cultures (Khan et al., 2020), there are many examples in tourism literature that highlight the sociocultural benefits of tourism, as it can enhance local conservation and improve city planning and preservation of cultural heritage through its economic and social impact (Khizindar, 2012; Nawijn & Mitas, 2012; Rastegar et al., 2021). Due to these host–guest interactions, new cultural landscapes emerge, which can be defined as “tourism culture” (Canavan, 2016). In many places, tourism has become an integral part of the locale’s culture. However, few studies have explored these spatial dynamics and their influence on the evolution of place identity within tourism development (Almeida-García et al., 2023).

Smith and Graham (2019) argue that the difference between tourists and locals is becoming less clear. Residents who share space with tourists but who may not come into direct contact with them are affected by tourism (Sharpley, 2014). Emerging trends

reveal that visitors aspire to experience life like locals, while locals, in turn, are interested in exploring their own surroundings from a tourist perspective (Paulauskaite et al., 2017). Demand-side influences from a variety of tourism markets also affect residents' well-being in host communities.

Community members are also at the heart of developing tourism activities themselves and, therefore, become co-producers of the development process (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(b)). Visitors are increasingly demanding authentic local experiences and are looking for more meaningful interactions, co-creations and exchanges with the host community (Loureiro & Sarmento, 2019; Paulauskaite et al., 2017; Tourism New Zealand, 2021b; Tussyadiah & Pesonen, 2016).

Residents' attitudes towards tourism development are not uniform (Koens et al., 2018; Stylidis, 2020). The perspective of the majority of residents towards tourism development is not strictly positive or negative (Gursoy et al., 2010). Instead, local residents acknowledge that certain elements of development might have adverse effects, while favouring the kind of development that can minimise most negative effects.

Previous studies have demonstrated varying levels of support, everyday experiences and levels of influence tourism has on the well-being of different groups among a host community. For example, support for tourism will likely differ between those residents employed in tourism-related businesses and those who work in other industries – which is in accordance with the Social Exchange Theory and its implications of economic dependency (McCool & Lime, 2001; Weaver & Lawton, 2013). Likewise, differences in the influence of, experiences with and support for tourism have been found between residents who were born in the local area and those who have moved there (Xie et al., 2014), and between various ethnic groups within the community (Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015).

Social distance and physical proximity, degree of interaction, and emotional solidarity are variables used to explore the relationship between residents and tourists. These variables have not been studied as extensively, although they are currently gaining more attention in the tourism host perception literature (Erul & Woosnam, 2022).

Physical proximity to tourism and the accompanied degree of interaction with tourists can have a significant impact on residents, highlighting the important socio-spatial consequences of tourism, often referred to as touristification. Residents who share space with tourists but who may not come into direct contact with them are also affected by tourism (Sharpley, 2014). Attitudes towards tourism can be influenced by the level and nature of exposure (Weaver & Lawton, 2013). Those living closer to tourist areas often experiencing more direct effects, such as increased noise and traffic, while those living

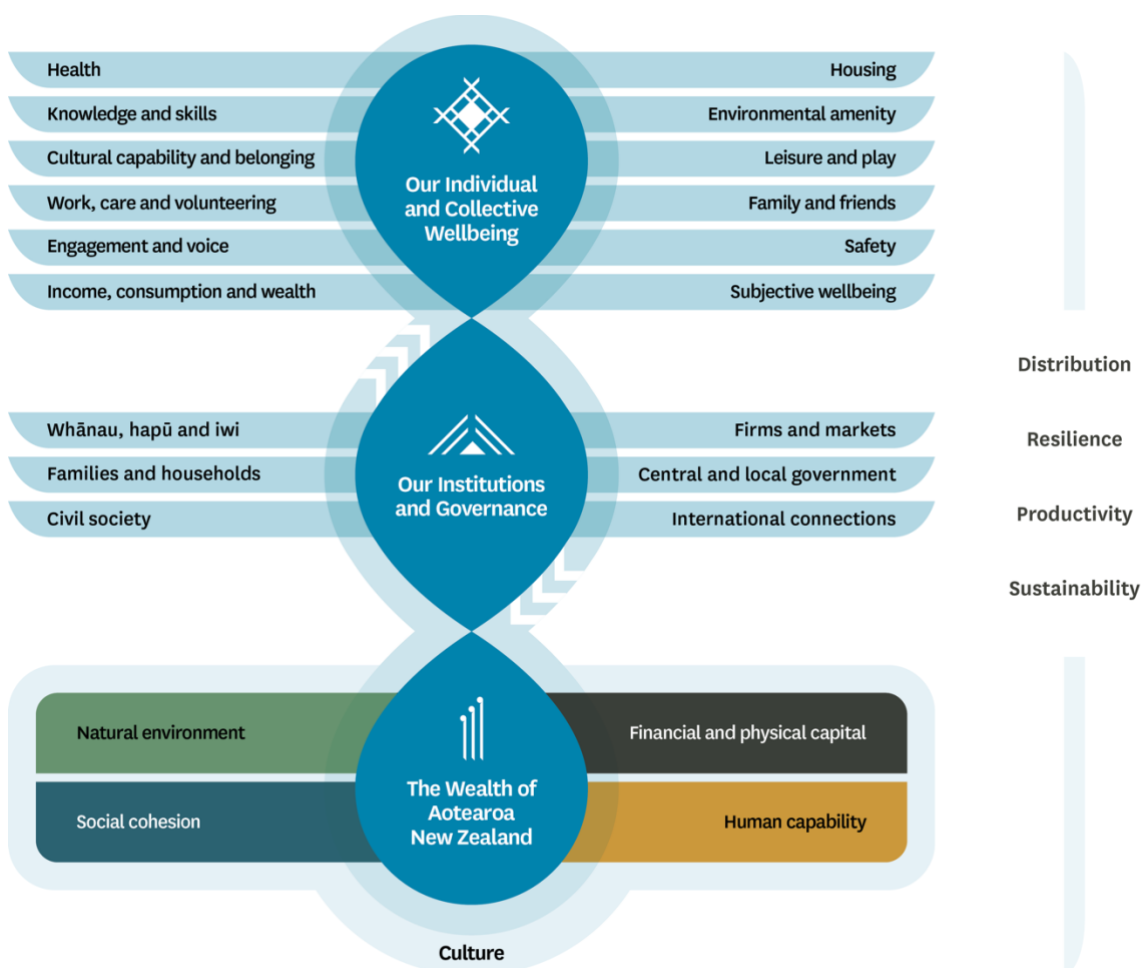
further away having fewer encounters with visitors (Haley et al., 2005; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Khoshkam et al., 2016; Sharma & Dyer, 2009).

2.5.6 Place-based well-being domains

New Zealand has taken a comprehensive approach to measuring well-being through the *Living Standards Framework* (LSF), a tool developed by the New Zealand Treasury to capture various dimensions of well-being. The Treasury's LSF provides a useful example of a measurement framework that can be used to better understand how tourism can strengthen and evolve domains of residents' well-being (The Treasury, 2019a, 2019b). The framework acknowledges that the nature of well-being and its domains is different for all individuals. The initial version of the LSF was released to provide a robust framework for understanding the drivers of well-being. Over time, the framework has evolved into a dashboard, with a significant update released in October 2021 (The Treasury, 2021). This update incorporated feedback to better reflect cultural and children's well-being, aligning more closely with te ao Māori and Pacific cultures.

The framework provides the indicators that Treasury believes are most important to inform policy advice on cross-government well-being priorities, and captures what is important regarding the environment, community, economy and the way New Zealand develops. The Treasury's Living Standards Dashboard comprises three levels: Our Individual and Collective Wellbeing, Our Institutions and Governance, and the Wealth of Aotearoa New Zealand. Within each level lies four or more domains (see Figure 2.6). The domains for Our Individual and Collective Wellbeing are Health, Knowledge and skills, Cultural capability and belonging, Work, care and volunteering, Engagement and voice, Income, consumption and wealth, Housing, Environmental amenity, Leisure and play, Family and friends, Safety, and Subjective well-being. The domains for Our Institutions and Governance are Whānau, hapū and iwi, Families and households, Civil society, Firms and markets, Central and local government, and International connections. And the domains for the Wealth of Aotearoa New Zealand are Natural environment, Social cohesion, Financial and physical capital, and Human capability.

Figure 2.6: New Zealand's Living Standards Dashboard



Source: The Treasury (2021).

The LSF measures the current subjective well-being dimension through self-rated indicators consisting of the ability to be yourself, experienced well-being, family well-being, hope for the future. Life satisfaction, sense of control, and a sense of purpose (Stats NZ, n.d.).

In the LSF that was developed in 2018, sense of *belonging* is related to the language, knowledge and connection to participate in one's culture and helping others grow their cultural capability. A sense of belonging and people's self-worth is influenced by having a strong cultural identity. According to the LSF, people can only benefit from culture and feel a sense of belonging if others actively protect, recreate and respect that culture.

Social capital is a domain within the Wealth of Aotearoa New Zealand level of the LSF, and is concerned with social connection and civic engagement and governance (The Treasury, 2018). When the LSF Dashboard was updated in 2019, the term "Social capital" was renamed "Social cohesion". The reasoning behind this change in terminology was because the term "capital" can be seen as alienating and unintuitive in

meaning (The Treasury, 2021), and the new term was thought to be more accessible. The LSF Dashboard defines *social cohesion* as “the willingness of diverse individuals and groups to trust and cooperate with each other in the interests of all, supported by shared intercultural norms and values” (The Treasury, 2021, p. 40). While social cohesion is about closely knit community and how members support each other, social capital also includes social networks, community voluntarism and mutual exchange. The social cohesion indicators are measured in the LSF using data from Stats NZ’s New Zealand General Social Survey, the Corruption Perceptions Index of Transparency International and the Kiwis Count Survey of State Services Commission.

Sense of belonging and subjective well-being are included within two different domains of the Our Individual and Collective Wellbeing level of the LSF. This research explores the drivers of residents’ perceptions of tourism. A key focus is on the impact of touristification on residents’ subjective well-being, specifically examining how it relates to their sense of belonging, which is an important aspect of the broader concept of subjective well-being.

2.6 Inclusion of host communities in tourism planning

Several tourism studies focused on sustainability have expressed the need to include host communities when discussing stakeholders of the tourism system; however, there is often a lack of description of what a ‘host community’ entails or includes (Ilhami, 2023; Nagarjuna, 2015; Roxas et al., 2020). In the context of sustainable urban tourism, Timur and Getz (2009) posited that the key tourism stakeholders are the local community, governing bodies and the tourism industry itself. Rasoolimanesh et al. (2020) expanded on these three groups, defining five key actors for successful planning and implementation of sustainable tourism strategies: governments, businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), residents and temporary populations (e.g., temporary workers, international students, tourists). This last category accounts for the influence of temporary dynamics in place, broadening the concept of who are key tourism stakeholders to include a diverse range of participants in the visitor economy.

A host community consists of a diverse range of people and residents are not a homogeneous group (Laplume et al., 2008; Tokarchuk et al., 2017). Many authors (González et al., 2008; González-Pérez, 2019; Meethan, 2001; Nicholas et al., 2009; van der Duim, 2005) have noted the importance of identifying the participants in the tourism system and the individuality of residents. It does not make sense, therefore, to refer to the perception of the host community as a collective whole. Host perceptions vary because residents are engaged in and benefit from tourism in different ways (Kim et al., 2020; Reisinger, 2013; Woo et al., 2016). Therefore, a nuanced understanding is needed

to adopt more granular perspectives when studying community perceptions and participation. Recognising the diversity of residents' experiences with and impacts from tourism within the host community will allow for a more accurate representation of the complex interplay between tourism and local communities.

For this reason, the following section focuses on the tourism system, identifying its participants and the inclusion of local residents. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003) stated that "local residents can participate as viable stakeholders to give meaning to the community being built. What is disrupted is their ability to participate in the means of production of that space." A feeling of belonging is, however, important for community participation (Kim et al., 2021). Attachment develops organically over an extended period through residents' shared experiences and emotions. Therefore, Kim et al. (2021) conclude that tourism planners should focus on civic engagement to enhance residents' ability to take control of development projects in the community, rather than the residents feeling excluded and marginalised, and further encourage residents to create positive memories together and cultivate relationships within the community.

To ensure the sustainability of any tourism activities, it is crucial for tourism planners to understand what influences residents' attitudes towards and perceptions of tourism. The long-term success of tourism relies on visitors feeling welcome and appreciated by local communities and hosts, because locals who are unfriendly or hostile will deter tourists from visiting (Tam et al., 2022). It is important, therefore, that tourism planners consider the impact of tourism activities on the local residents and the liveability of the community, as this will determine whether locals are welcoming or hostile. Thus, it is important for tourism planners to consider the needs and interests of both visitors and the host community.

2.6.1 Place as a natural resource for tourism and community participation

The combination of "increasing pressures on industry performance and the associated societal acceptance of such resource development and extraction operations has been described as the social licence to operate" (Moffat et al., 2016). Cropp (2017) gives an example of this concept when he describes a situation in which New Zealanders are surprised to find their favourite places damaged or overrun with freedom campers, and suggests residents might not agree that tourism has kept its "social contract". A *social licence to operate* (SLO), also known as a *social consensus* or *social contract*, is generally defined as "the ongoing acceptance and approval of an operation by those local communities affected by it and those stakeholders who can affect its profitability" (Voyer & van Leeuwen, 2019, p.104). Despite its importance in fostering community acceptance and support for tourism development, the concept of the SLO is susceptible

to misuse by governments, and its measurement for tourism success remains challenging (Cropp, 2017; Jenkins, 2018). Questions persist regarding who holds the SLO, and who ultimately grants it. Important in this concept of fostering community acceptance and support for tourism activities are sustainable practices, engagement in transparent communication, and considering the interests and well-being of local residents and the community at large.

A SLO should be rooted in the beliefs, perceptions and opinions held by the host community and its local residents. The societal acceptance of the use of place as a natural resource by participants in the tourism system may be affected once residents perceive negative impacts stemming from tourism (Van Putten et al., 2018).

Residents are increasingly demanding more involvement in decision-making and regulation of the industry and expecting a greater share of the benefits derived from tourism (Moffat et al., 2016). There is a general consensus among tourism researchers that involving local community members throughout all stages of tourism development, including the planning and execution, is crucial to achieving social benefits (Gibson et al., 2014; Gursoy & Kendall, 2006). Since 2020, initiatives such as the Tourism Futures Taskforce, the New Zealand Tourism Industry Transformation Plan, and the 2022 Tourism Policy School, themed “Structural Change for Regenerative Tourism,” have highlighted a strong focus on ensuring social benefits for host communities in New Zealand, signalling the need for structural change in the tourism industry (Pung et al., 2024). Even though participants in the tourism system often have diverse interests, an identified common threat or goal can act as a catalyst to motivate stakeholder groups to come together and collaborate on and towards a shared vision (Butterfield et al., 2004). Through collaboration and co-creation of tourism development, destinations can showcase their distinctiveness and authenticity, ultimately reaping the rewards of enhanced appeal and uniqueness which is integral to place identity (Gato et al., 2022). This value extends to various stakeholders, visitors, local residents and the tourism destination itself.

2.6.2 Identification of stakeholders and their role in sustainable tourism

Tourism involves the movement of people, relationships between people and places, and complex differences and interactions that affect the attitudes, expectations, opinions and, ultimately, quality of life of those involved. Notwithstanding the debate around the appropriateness of the term “stakeholder” and the connotations of power it represents (Sharfstein, 2016), the concept of stakeholder is defined differently by various authors. Attas (2004, p. 315) refers to the *stakeholder* as “a person who has much to lose – financially, socially, or psychologically”, while Day (2017) states that “stakeholders are

often defined as tourism business operators and governments as opposed to consumers and destination residents.”

Two of the key objectives of this research are to inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests (Objective 1) and to explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents’ subjective well-being (Objective 2), in order to build an understanding of the influence of tourism on residents’ place attachment and subjective well-being. Thus, the focus of the research will be placed on the groups or individuals with an interest in a specific area and those “who can affect or are affected by the actions, decisions, policies, practices or goals” (Cooper et al., 2009) of the tourism system.

In this current study, identification of the different participants in the tourism system, including their roles and interests, enables the complexities of community representations to be explored. Recognition of the role of social networks and how such networks develop can provide a richer understanding of the tourism system and its influence on residents. To create an inclusive and sustainable form of tourism in line with the aspirations of residents, stakeholders need to collaborate and have shared decision-making power to ensure that tourism benefits both the residents and the tourism destination (Chauhan, 2022; Jordan et al., 2013; Li & Hunter, 2015). Active community participation in shaping the tourism experience can foster a sense of ownership among residents, leading to a situation where the preservation of traditions, beliefs and values may outweigh the focus on economic benefits that an increase in tourism can bring (Gannon et al., 2021). While effective tourism relies heavily on the active participation of host communities, the transition to inclusive destination management — where residents, community groups, and destination management organisations (DMOs) collaborate — remains a challenge.

2.6.3 The evolving role of Destination Management Organisations

The role of Destination Marketing/Management Organisations (DMOs) worldwide is evolving with a shift in focus from marketing and promotion alone to embracing activities associated with destination development, coordination and leadership (Day, 2017; Dredge, 2016; Hristov & Ramkissoon, 2016; Pike, 2016; Pearce, 2016). d'Angella and Go (2009) emphasised the importance of destination marketing organisations (DMOs) not only participating actively in shaping strategic plans within their own organisation, but also establishing crucial connections within the broader networking ecosystem. DMOs serve as pivotal players in decision-making processes that extend beyond their immediate organisation, thereby influencing the economic outcomes of both the DMO

itself and the broader network of stakeholders (Gato et al., 2022). Several authors argue that an improvement in resident quality of life needs to be a key driver of the sustainable development of the destination rather than an assumption that it will emerge as a result of increased business turnovers. DMOs need to proactively consider the needs of local communities rather than reactively trying to educate local residents that tourism is good for them (Day, 2017; Dredge, 2016).

The evolution of DMO structures, roles and functions and the associated pressure to demonstrate value to stakeholders is the focus of several recent studies (Dredge, 2016; Pike, 2016; Pearce, 2016; Day, 2017; Morgan, Hastings & Pritchard, 2012). While national governments worldwide are placing greater importance than ever on tourism's economic significance, "many are questioning the rationale for DMOs' continued involvement in the sector" (Morgan et al., 2012, p.74). One reason for this is the growing scrutiny on public sector spending and budget restrictions, as well as the arrival of new entrants to tourism (social media, and the collaborative/sharing economy e.g. AirBnB) disrupting the destination system (Day, 2017). These influences have propelled DMOs to evolve, with a change in role from of a traditional top-down public administration model to a more collective one, with a flatter network-shaped structure (Hristov & Ramkissoon, 2016). As DMOs develop there is a strong call for more of a consortium and destination leadership approach that "brings under one roof public sector, private sector, not-for-profit organisations and local communities" (Hristov & Naumov, 2015, p.197). This approach is now seen as imperative (Dredge, 2016; Day, 2017; Morgan et al, 2012).

DMOs are increasingly asked to report to a diverse range of public, private, and community stakeholders often with conflicting requirements, performance measures, and systems of reporting (Deuchar, C., Milne, S., Histen, S. & Thorburn, E. 2021; Hristov & Ramkissoon, 2016). As DMOs (internationally and in New Zealand) are often largely funded by the public sector they are under increasing pressure to demonstrate cost effectiveness and evidence the additional value that accrues from their marketing interventions and tourism activities (Fedyk et al., 2025; Pearce, 2016; Morgan et al., 2012; UNWTO, 2003). Indeed, Day (2017, p.187) argues that DMOs face "an existential challenge to create value in the destination system" at a time when many of their traditional core competencies are no longer valued or becoming too complex and costly to undertake effectively using current funding models" (Dredge, 2016, Day 2017).

Clearly, it is an on-going challenge for DMOs to show the value they create. Regional Tourism Organisations (as DMOs) play a crucial role in shaping tourism at the local level, managing tourism and its impact for the benefit of the community. RTOs that have a focus on purely industry and economic factors restrict their ability to contribute to other important considerations of destination management. Similarly, while there is increasing

pressure on DMOs to address social and environmental concerns associated with tourism (Day, 2017), these activities limit the value DMOs can create in terms of economic impacts. This raises an important question: Who are you creating value for? Is it the community or the tourism system in these host communities? Or both? While RTOs focus more on destination leadership, coordination, facilitation and stakeholder engagement, “the stakeholders are often defined as tourism business operators and governments as opposed to consumers and destination residents” (Day, 2017, p.190).

Despite the evolving role of DMOs, there is a notable tendency to overlook the inclusion of host communities in the tourism decision-making process, which can impact the overall effectiveness and sustainability of tourism development. Gato et al. (2022) explain that DMOs were originally established with the purpose of providing structured strategies for destination development, allowing destinations to grow and adapt to meet the evolving needs of tourists. However, several authors contend that government, tourism organisations and industry emphasise destination marketing, branding and promotion to boost financial gains from tourism, and that this emphasis has overshadowed considerations for sustainability (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020a; Crotts et al., 2022; Gato et al., 2022).

Recent developments signal a shift in government priorities toward more holistic approaches, particularly in New Zealand (Goulter, 2024). Destination stewardship is becoming a central focus, with government-led initiatives aimed at embedding sustainable management practices within tourism systems. This emphasis on stewardship marks a deliberate move from traditional promotional roles toward destination management. In this context, DMOs are increasingly called to lead systems-level change, foster inclusive governance, and embed tourism within broader regional development strategies. This expanded remit, however, comes with new challenges: many DMOs operate without clear mandates, sufficient resources, or coherent alignment across local, regional, and national strategies. Nevertheless, their ability to unite stakeholders, build cross-sector partnerships, and advocate for regenerative approaches places them at the heart of tourism’s transformation.

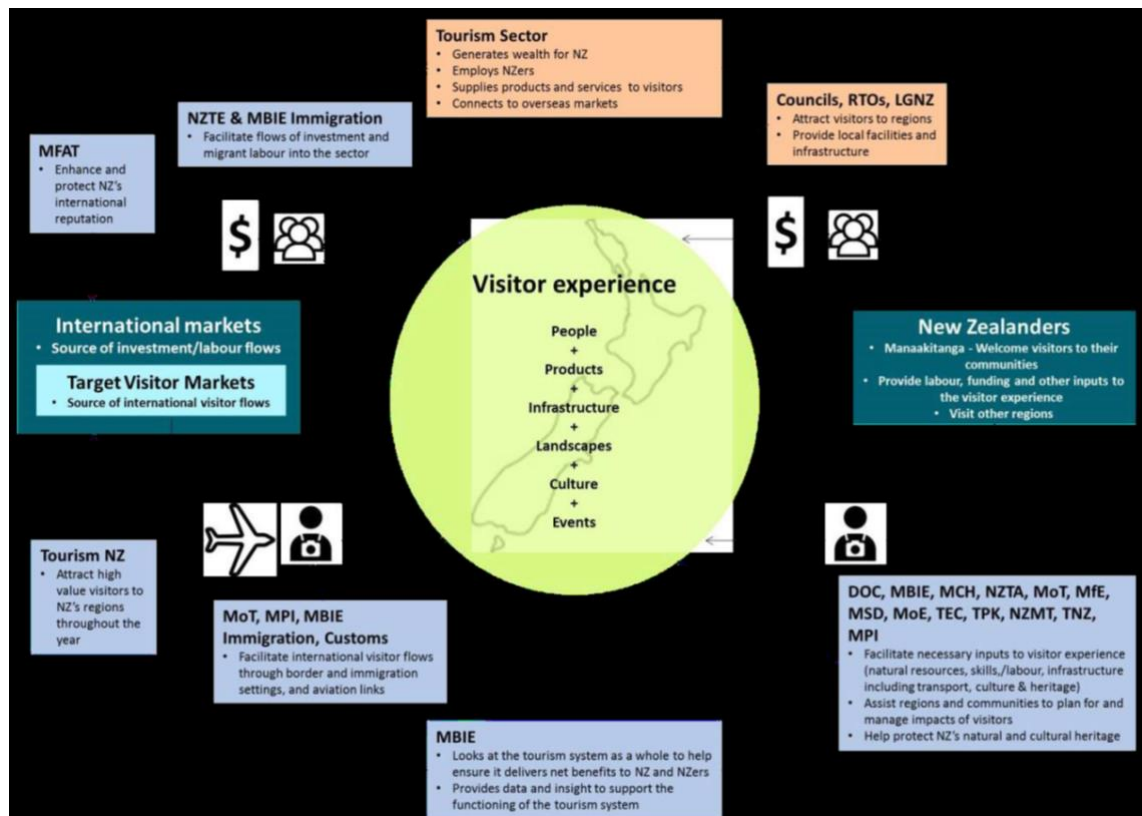
2.6.4 The structural setup of tourism in New Zealand

New Zealand has been at the forefront of the shift towards destination stewardship, particularly in the years following the COVID-19 pandemic. Government-led efforts, such as the development of Destination Management Plans (DMPs) across all regions have underscored a national commitment to embedding stewardship into tourism practice.

The New Zealand tourism sector comprises “a large number of government and non-government actors who play interconnected roles to help ensure the tourism system

functions effectively” (MBIE, 2018). To aid in understanding the tourism system (both inbound and domestic) that delivers visitor experiences in New Zealand, the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE) produced a diagram (Figure 2.7) that shows the links between key groupings including international markets, New Zealanders, and the visitor experience.

Figure 2.7: The New Zealand Tourism System



Source: the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE) (2018).

MBIE (2018) also outline the agencies with the main tourism policy levers and the role they play in the tourism system (Table 2.6). Government roles in tourism tend to focus on the provision of infrastructure, marketing, tourism data and insights, implementation of border controls, and sustainable management and use of natural resources and cultural capital. The government also intervenes where the market is not delivering optimal outcomes, including the introduction of regulations to improve the safety of adventure activities.

Table 2.6: Roles of NZ government agencies in tourism

An all-of-Government approach to the tourism system Government agencies work closely with the sector and local authorities to maximise the net benefits of tourism	
Many government agencies play a part in realising the potential and managing the challenges of the tourism system	
Providing Infrastructure	• <u>MBIE</u> (cycleways, cruise, broadband, mobile coverage) • <u>NZTA</u> (roading, public transport, cycleways) • <u>DOC</u> (walks and cycleways) • <u>DIA</u> (local authority settings) • <u>NZTE</u> (attracting overseas investment e.g. hotels)
Regional destination development	• <u>MBIE</u> administers the Provincial Growth Fund (many agencies have input) • <u>TNZ</u> and <u>DOC</u> also use a regional lens Assisting regional New Zealand to implement priority actions identified in their regional growth action plans, and/or leveraging regional attractions to encourage regional dispersal. Communicating with host communities to inform development. Helping employers meet their skills.
Destination marketing and insights	• <u>Tourism NZ</u> • <u>MBIE</u> • <u>Statistics NZ</u> • <u>DOC</u> • <u>NZTA</u> Supporting sustainable industry development through a portfolio approach to marketing New Zealand off shore and attracting major events, with a focus on regional and seasonal dispersal. Producing raw data and insight reports.
Border and International	• <u>NZ customs service</u> • <u>MBIE (INZ)</u> • <u>MPI</u> (Biosecurity) • <u>MoT</u> (air services) Facilitating travel through immigration and border settings, and aviation links.
Natural Resources	• <u>DOC</u> • <u>MfE</u> • <u>MPI</u> (Internal biosecurity) Creating economic, social and cultural opportunities from visitor's enjoyment and use of New Zealand's natural resources, and mitigating the environmental and other impacts.
Culture and heritage	• <u>MCH</u> • <u>DOC</u> • <u>Te Puni Kokiri</u> Protecting and promoting distinctive stories and places to deliver authentic and unique visitor experiences. Connecting people with New Zealand's culture through a range of platforms and interactions.
Māori tourism	• <u>NZ Māori Tourism</u> • <u>Te Puni Kokiri</u> • <u>MBIE</u> • <u>DOC</u> Helping realise the potential of the Māori tourism sector. The Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (MACI) encourages and promotes all types of Māori arts, craft and culture.

Safety and Regulation	• <u>NZTA</u> • <u>NZ Police</u> • <u>MCDEM</u> • <u>Worksafe</u> • <u>Tourism NZ</u> • <u>Commerce Commission</u> • <u>IRD</u> • <u>DIA</u> (local authority settings) Ensuring safety and good practice, including road safety, visiting drivers, policing, emergency management, and adventure tourism.
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Government plays several roles in the New Zealand visitor industry: as a steward across the whole tourism system to ensure participants have the incentives, information, and capability to play their respective roles; and as an actor directly through its own investments and interventions such as providing public infrastructure used by visitors including roads, broadband and amenities on public conservation lands. Government also has a role to engage with Māori, to help shape visitor demand and ensure the market can respond to that demand, and to coordinate, facilitate and regulate activity and outcomes across the system. This requires government to ensure its own interventions are connected across multiple agencies, and well-aligned with those of industry and regional players (MBIE, 2019).

Tourism management in NZ from central government to regional and/or local administration

During the 2016-2019 period, government (national, regional, local) and non-government actors in the New Zealand tourism system increasingly focused efforts on shaping demand to both grow visitation and enhance yield and - to some extent – to achieve this in a sustainable manner. This resulted in national and regional tourism strategies designed to strengthen regional visitor propositions, improve the economic outcomes from tourism, increase regional and sub-regional dispersal, and reduce high levels of seasonality. To attract visitors in an increasingly competitive global market, various central and local government-led initiatives focused on supporting the industry to increase capacity at the destination to accommodate rapidly increasing visitor numbers with assistance for infrastructure, tourism data, industry training (predominantly in social media and marketing) and to develop and promote new experiences for visitors. The Aotearoa New Zealand Government Tourism Strategy (2019) remains the overarching plan guiding tourism development (MBIE, 2019), but has since been revisited and extended through the Tourism 2050 and Beyond framework, which outlines a future-focused blueprint for balanced growth where tourism is a flourishing and growing industry that contributes to people, place and culture (TIA, 2023).

Government and industry actors also shape the broader industry environment around the destination by developing strategies and plans. Strategic planning is integral to destination management to optimise the benefits of tourism and manage resources. The planning process also determines how government will work with the tourism sector, iwi, communities, and other stakeholders to take advantage of the opportunities offered by growth of the visitor industry, and to manage, mitigate or avoid the negative impacts of this growth.

Destination management and marketing is largely shaped on a national scale by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE). Tourism New Zealand promotes New Zealand internationally to attract visitors. Meanwhile, Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs) in New Zealand vary in structure, function, and scale but increasingly they are being subsumed into economic development frameworks with at least 18 of 31 RTOs now housed within an Economic Development Agency (EDA) (RTNZ, 2025; Pike, 2016). There are currently 31 RTOs throughout the country, and each plays a key role in the promotion of their regions to local, domestic, and international visitors, encouraging tourism growth to address regional economic and social objectives (RTNZ, 2025; Pike 2016; Shone, 2013). While RTNZ highlights the importance of community focus in its approach to regional tourism, the alignment of many RTOs with EDAs may risk prioritising economic goals over the social and environmental pillars of sustainability.

Regional Tourism New Zealand aims for RTOs to provide sustainable economic, environmental, social, and cultural benefits, through tourism, to the local community. The objective is for RTOs to act as vital links between local communities and the broader tourism sector, ensuring that tourism development resonates with the aspirations of the host community in a way that seeks resident input and ensures their voices are being heard, fostering a sense of pride in their locality, and ultimately enhancing both the visitor and community experience of tourism (RTNZ, n.d.). However, in reality the structural setup often leaves destination management in the hands of local councils and tourism businesses. Performance indicators and/or the mandate of many RTOs primarily focus on promoting tourism, supporting local businesses, and driving economic growth. As a result, their interactions with different community groups and decision-making processes are shaped by these priorities. Since RTOs are largely funded by local councils, industry stakeholders by memberships, and sometimes national tourism grants, they are often driven by the interests of those who provide financial support.

Nonetheless, a number of regions have emerged as strong examples of stewardship-focused tourism leadership. For instance, the Aotea Great Barrier Island destination management plan (DMP) stands out for its exemplary community-led

approach and was praised by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment for its deep integration of local values, environmental protection, and mana whenua partnerships (Deuchar, C. et al., 2021). The Bay of Plenty has also taken a progressive approach, embedding tourism within wider regional well-being and environmental objectives, while Rotorua's separate DMP highlights a strong emphasis on cultural identity and regenerative tourism in partnership with the community and iwi (Bay of Plenty NZ, 2021; Rotorua NZ, 2021). Even at the metropolitan scale, Auckland's Destination AKL 2025 strategy reflects a commitment to sustainability and resident well-being, with a balance of economic and community-centric goals (RTNZ, 2025b). These examples demonstrate that while RTOs have traditionally focused on promotion, several are now stepping into genuine facilitation roles — bringing together diverse stakeholders to co-create strategies that reflect the needs and values of their communities.

In considering the evolving role of DMOs, it is important to acknowledge the challenges and realities that RTOs face in practice (UNWTO, 2019b, p.20). This reliance on industry and council funding means that their priorities often tend to align with measurable tourism outcomes and key metrics valued by funders – such as increasing visitor numbers and economic returns (Fedyk, et al., 2025; Gretzel, et al., 2006). Thus, it could be said that RTOs are incentivised to focus on short-term growth strategies rather than long-term community well-being.

Consequently, RTOs may place greater emphasis on marketing and promotion rather than sustainable destination management or addressing community concerns (Gowreesunkar, 2018). The funding structure of Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs) plays a crucial role in shaping their behaviour and interactions with different stakeholders. This raises important questions: *What does the mandate of RTOs mean for the ways in which they interact with different groups in communities and the decisions they take? How may their funding structure impact their behaviour and interactions?* RTOs and local Councils often work with local third sector organisations who act as a bridge between public and private actors and the wider community albeit these organisations have no formally recognised role in tourism planning and development. Examples of such entities include community tourism advisory groups, business associations, and promotions associations. While RTOs do engage with community members (local businesses, councils through their membership programs) the depth of this engagement varies, and the dependence on membership programs can also lead to potential conflicts of interest, where tourism businesses' demands take precedence over broader community interests, resident concerns, infrastructure limitations, or cultural preservation. Additionally, RTOs have limited authority over regulatory decisions,

meaning their role in destination management is often more about advocacy and strategic planning rather than direct governance. This dynamic has implications for the resident experience of tourism, as decisions made in the interest of economic or visitor-focused outcomes may not always align with the long-term aspirations, values, or well-being of local communities.

2.7 Summary

Chapter 2 has examined the extant literature and presented an overview of the complex relationship between touristification and the welfare of host communities. The review has revealed disparities in understanding the effects of changes resulting from the process of place transformation through touristification on social cohesion and social belonging, and their impact on the well-being of residents. To comprehend touristification, it is essential to situate it within historical processes, identify the individuals involved in the tourism system, and recognise their roles and interests. Tourism studies that have investigated the dimensions of residents' well-being, particularly their sense of belonging, are relatively scarce. There is also a need to explore the influence of touristification in the context of small urban areas (small cities) and less populated countries.

Stakeholder identification underscores the importance of involving residents in tourism planning and decision-making processes. Tourism studies often focus on the development of tourism and support for tourism, rather than addressing the transformation process of how tourism is established and managed, or how the local way of living is preserved or maintained. This highlights the need for a better understanding of how residents are affected by place transformations due to tourism.

There is a need for a deeper understanding of the concepts of place attachment and sense of place in these contexts. To date, research on how tourism impacts the places people belong to and how this affects local residents has been dominated by quantitative studies. The New Zealand Living Standards Framework serves as a model for understanding residents' well-being across various domains, emphasising the importance of a sense of belonging and subjective well-being. The current research aims to address this gap in the literature by examining the impact of touristification on the subjective well-being of local residents through an interpretive approach, particularly focusing on place attachment and the sense of belonging.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Method

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research methodology for the study and explain the methods used. The chapter commences with a summary of the research aim, objectives and lines of enquiry, while presenting the research paradigm to establish the ontological and epistemological standpoints that guide the study. This is followed by a discussion of the research design (Section 3.2), encompassing an explanation of the methodological approach, which entails employing qualitative research methods within a case study framework to obtain comprehensive and intricate insights into the complexities, nuances, and subjective experiences and perceptions associated with the visitor industry in Napier. The justification for adopting the case study approach and selecting Napier, New Zealand as the focal point is also given. The next two sections of the chapter present the research strategy, encompassing the methods employed for data generation and collection (Section 3.3), and methods of data management and analysis (Section 3.4). Research ethics and the ethical considerations behind the study are presented in Section 3.5, and the chapter is summarised in the final section.

3.1 Constructivist research paradigm

This research advances understandings of the effects of touristification on residents' subjective well-being. The study explores the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and how residents' sense of belonging, place attachment and place identity are shaped by their connection (historical, emotional, spiritual) to their everyday surroundings. To understand how tourism influences residents' subjective well-being, I examine how residents construct their views of reality, establish emotional connections and create meanings attached to a specific location (place attachment), and cultivate a sense of belonging and well-being within the social constructions of place (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Stokowski, 2002; Williams & Hall, 2000).

The methodology chosen for the research is closely connected to my ontological and epistemological assumptions, that multiple realities exist and vary from person to person (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). Realities are shaped by experiences and perspectives, thus are subjective and socially constructed. This research is grounded in a constructivist paradigm with an inductive approach. The social constructivist epistemological position was employed to understand and explain social phenomena by examining the cultural and historical contexts in which they occur (Crotty, 1998, p. 67; Paddison & Hall, 2022). To do this, I explore the process of touristification within the case study setting of Napier, New Zealand. In community-related tourism studies, inquiry often focuses on residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism. To date, most studies have relied on quantitative

approaches and predetermined closed-ended questions. This data collection method presupposes the range of responses from research participants, and so limits the exploration of diverse perspectives and lived experiences. By incorporating notions of place attachment and sense of belonging to examine how local residents emotionally connect with and feel about the place they inhabit, and how this connection is influenced by tourism-related transformations, a fresh avenue of investigation and analysis is introduced to the existing literature on the social impact of tourism.

Embracing this perspective means engaging with the complexity and richness of residents' lived experiences and the multifaceted nature of reality. As Reason (1994, p. 9) aptly describes, human inquiry should be based on experience, engagement, love, and respect for individuals' integrity. It requires a continuous willingness to rise above presuppositions, to continuously look and to look again, fostering a deeper understanding of the complexities. Through this lens, the research delves into the intricate interplay between touristification and its effect on residents' place attachment and subjective well-being. The social constructivist approach is guided by the ever-changing complexity of multiple realities, which are constructed through individuals' own understandings, meaningful actions and interactions (Creswell & Creswell, 2003; Veal, 2017).

The social constructivist approach allows for a detailed examination of the similarities and differences between participants' perspectives, based on place experiences, meanings, social interactions, historical context, language and shared cultural identities. By contextualising these phenomena within the social constructivist framework, the research seeks to uncover the sociocultural dynamics that shape residents' perceptions of their environment and the ways in which tourism influences their sense of belonging and overall subjective well-being.

3.1.1 Positioning the researcher

I have witnessed the profound impact of tourism and excessive numbers of visitors on places, individuals and communities. Personal experiences have had a significant impact on my perspective and may unintentionally have introduced pre-established assumptions or ideas. I have travelled extensively, including spending significant time in Europe with my family, studying and completing tourism internships abroad. My own travel, combined with my work experience in the industry, has broadened my understanding of tourism. My travel experiences have shaped my ability to compare different places and how tourism affects them. This frames my understanding of the dynamics of tourism impacts and enables me to contextualise findings within the broader tourism landscape. I lived in a relatively small town in a peri-urban area in the

Netherlands for most of my life and then in a large urban setting in Auckland, New Zealand for four years. These two very different places of residence provide me with the perspective and familiarity of tourism in various place settings and sizes. Furthermore, my personal experience of having lived in a small town helps me to understand potential differences in the impact of tourism on smaller cities, like Napier.

This personal connection to tourism-related transformations has influenced the way I approach my research. For example, I have observed how the visitor industry can bring about changes in places over time. For instance, Giethoorn, a village I used to visit as a child, is now transformed into a place where local residents perceive that visitors have invaded their privacy by taking pictures of them in their homes, creating a sense of being observed like zoo animals. Another example is Terschelling, an island of which I have fond memories, spending many holidays there with my family. Terschelling has evolved into a place with a higher cost of living, housing shortages and displacement of local residents as residential properties are repurposed for holiday accommodation. As a result of my observations of changes in places I felt connected to, the following questions arise for me: How are local residents affected by these tourism-led changes? What are the effects on how residents feel about their place and their sense of belonging? And how can communities harness the potential of tourism for their benefit? It is important for me to acknowledge that these experiences potentially bias my understanding of residents' attitudes towards visitors.

From a constructivist perspective, the social interaction and place setting between research participants and the researcher is crucial in terms of building an understanding of their experiences and the physical and emotional connections with place, which lead to residents' sense of belonging (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Empathy in the research process is another important element in qualitative data collection, in order to be able to build an understanding of participants' perspectives, their roles and experiences (Tracy, 2019, p. 1195; Wiseman, 1996). Experiencing the place as a visitor, attempting to see Napier through the participants' eyes, remaining non-judgemental, interacting with local residents and by asking them questions, I generated a better understanding of and knowledge about the emotional and social connections residents in Napier have with their surroundings and community and how tourism has an influence on this.

While I took conscious steps to acknowledge my outsider status – both as a relative newcomer to New Zealand and as someone outside the specific research area – it is important to recognise how this positionality shaped the interactions, data collection, and subsequent interpretations. As an outsider in the case study location, my role as a researcher had both advantages and limitations (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Being an outsider allowed me to approach the research with minimal preconceived notions about

the subject matter. Being transparent about my background served as an effective icebreaker, enabling participants to share their insights with an awareness that I was learning from them. However, this approach may have also influenced the responses I received, particularly in terms of the narratives that participants chose to highlight or omit based on their perception of my background and research objectives. Being an outsider also brought several challenges in terms of familiarity with the specific local context, established collaborations, partnerships, lived experiences of local residents, and cultural dynamics. I addressed this by recognising the importance of acknowledging my outsider position and actively engaged with the interview participants by fostering an open dialogue and demonstrating a willingness to learn about their experiences and perspectives to ensure a more nuanced and contextually informed understanding throughout the research process (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

I actively addressed potential bias by the development and use of reflexivity in the research. I was guided by an open and reflexive stance throughout the research process, maintaining what I describe as a “open personable mindset” – remaining open to new information, minimising preconceived notions, and grounding my interpretations in participants’ perspectives rather than assumptions. This allowed me to be aware of, for example, participants’ body language, and actively listen to the diverse range of keywords that portrayed the feelings and emotive responses of interviewees (Lavee & Itzhakov, 2023), without imposing my own preconceived points of view or biases onto their responses. During interviews, I adopted a reflective practice when taking notes, by summarising and repeating back to the participant what they had shared with me to affirm I had grasped the essence of their comments and to ensure that no assumptions had been made. During this process, participants sometimes offered further information for clarity. Participants’ perspectives were actively addressed by delving more deeply and an in-depth understanding sought by asking questions that explored the participants’ perceptions, feelings and reactions to specific situations. This technique ensured a nuanced and unbiased approach to the data collection. However, complete objectivity is an unattainable ideal, and I was mindful of how my own subjectivity inevitably influenced the research process. This is evident in the way I framed interview questions, interpreted findings, and prioritised certain themes over others. For instance, my focus on residents’ perceptions of tourism was shaped by an interest in understanding drivers of attitudes, but an alternative lens – such as one rooted in power dynamics, historical inequalities, or economic dependencies – might have yielded different insights. Future research could adopt such perspectives to explore additional dimensions of the topic.

While I was strongly guided by ethical principles – beneficence (“doing good”) and minimising harm – it is essential to continually reflect on the ethical responsibility as a

researcher conducting a qualitative study in a real-world community and to question how my presence as a researcher influences participants and the knowledge generated. In my case, participants may have viewed me as someone with tourism expertise, potentially leading them to frame their responses in ways they deemed more “appropriate” or “correct.” While I made efforts to counteract this by emphasising their lived experiences and verifying my interpretations with them, acknowledging this dynamic remains crucial.

Methodologically, I attempted to mitigate biases by employing interviews and a focus group to validate findings and ensure that insights were not overly influenced by my own interpretations. The inclusion of a focus group was particularly valuable in addressing potential social desirability bias – where participants might tailor their responses to align with what they assumed to be my expectations. By facilitating a group discussion, I was able to observe how participants negotiated shared understandings and challenged one another’s viewpoints, which added depth and authenticity to the findings.

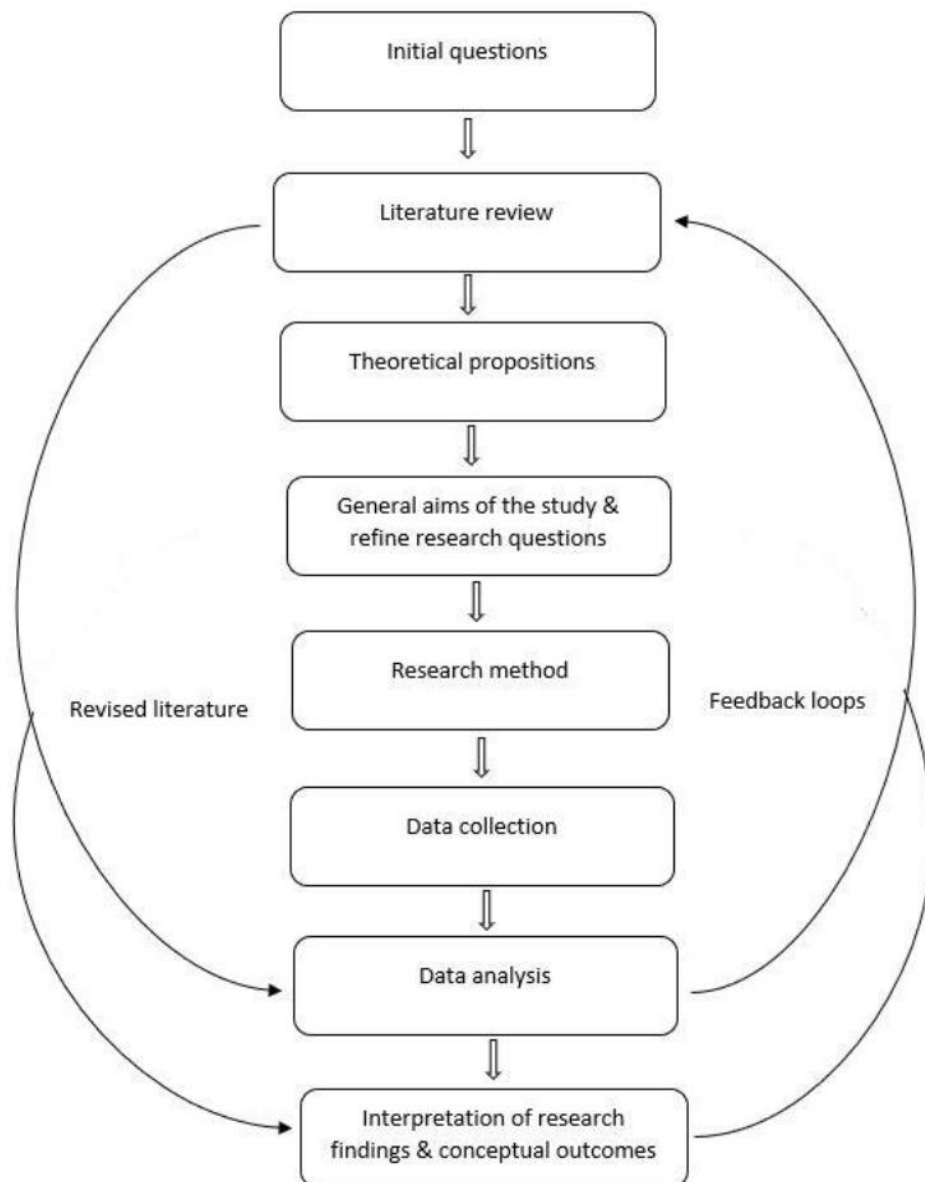
3.2 Research design

This section discusses the research design and qualitative methods used in this research. The main source of empirical evidence to advance understandings of the effects of touristification on residents’ subjective well-being comes from a case study of Napier, a small city in New Zealand.

Figure 3.1 gives an overview of the research design, which is adapted from Knight and Cross (2012, p. 50), highlighting the main bodies of knowledge that form the theoretical foundations of the research. A review of the literature provided a background understanding of the issues and themes that have emerged from previous studies in tourism about connection to place and subjective well-being and helped to identify the three research objectives:

1. To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests.
2. To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents’ subjective well-being.
3. To investigate how tourism influences residents’ sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being.

Figure 3.1: Approach to the research design



Source: Adapted from Knight and Cross (2012, p. 50).

The research commenced with a thorough review of the literature and secondary data related to place attachment, tourism impacts on community, policy and planning. A review of the existing body of knowledge about host perceptions of tourism and residents' place attachment provided valuable insights, but also identified that the extant literature about the touristification/tourism development process and its impact on residents' place attachment, subjective well-being and sense of belonging can be strengthened. The literature review initiated the identification of theoretical propositions and helped define the overarching research aim, three research objectives and specific research questions. A comprehensive understanding of the impact of tourism on the development of Napier,

as well as the roles and interests of the various participants in the tourism system, was achieved by combining this background information with insights obtained from semi-structured interviews. This valuable information played a crucial role in addressing the first research objective. Secondary data sources consisted of local tourism, policy and planning information from economic, community and environmental plans.

Various methods were used in the generation and collection of data including a familiarisation visit and semi-structured interviews with participants involved in the local tourism system. Participants comprised tourism planners and representatives from public agencies (TPPA), tourism businesses, representatives from community groups and associations, and residents. Additionally, a focus group specifically held with residents was conducted. A sequential data collection strategy was used in which the earlier interview results informed the development of the discussion guide for the next stage of data collection. The review of the literature and familiarisation visit informed the design of interview and focus group discussion guides (see Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Appendix 5). A pilot interview with a diaspora community member was conducted in September 2021 to assess whether interviewees would understand the questions and themes to be explored in the interview guide, as well as the efficacy of the interview process. This assisted me to fine-tune the interview discussion guide and process before commencing data collection in January 2022.

3.2.1 Determining a methodology

If more is to be known about how places are being transformed by tourism, then a method of enquiry is needed to explore issues and uncover and explain certain phenomena to respond to the research questions. Touristification can lead to changes in the everyday lives of residents, which ultimately influences their sense of belonging in places used as tourism resources (Massey, 2009). I contend that there is an over-reliance on residents' perceptions of tourism in extant tourism literature, as opposed to a better understanding of the *drivers* of those perceptions and, of the outcomes, disadvantages and benefits of the visitor industry for host communities.

Quantitative research methods have dominated studies on host perceptions of tourism and its social impacts (Hadinejad et al., 2019). However, the measurement of perceptions in residents' attitudes towards tourism encounters challenges, with existing metrics struggling to fully capture the intricate interplay of individual and community-level impacts (Šegota et al., 2022). Perception metrics to understand how residents feel about tourism also come with limitations, such as their reliance on predetermined measures and variables that may not fully capture the complexity of the research topic and limits the ability of the researcher to adapt or adjust the research design or discussion guide

based on emerging insights or surprising findings (Hadinejad et al., 2019; Deery et al., 2012; Nunkoo et al., 2013). Moreover, emotions, social interactions and cultural contexts are difficult to quantify and may not receive the attention they deserve when a researcher is relying solely on quantitative measures (Murphy et al., 2019). The interpretivist perspective was considered the most appropriate for this research as it allows for an in-depth exploration of subjective perceptions, meanings and interpretations when examining the context of place, space, city or township, and community well-being (Portugali et al., 2012). Therefore, a qualitative approach was chosen as it offers a flexible and nuanced framework to capture the multifaceted nature of human experiences and interactions within the tourism system, encompassing physical, psycho-emotional, historical, cultural and political aspects (Portugali et al., 2012).

Globalisation and the movement of people through tourism and immigration raise questions about the right to belong to specific places and the changes occurring in these locations as tourism expands. With tourism exerting influence and causing changes in the environment, economy, culture, religion and politics of these places, it prompts us to reflect on our own identities and how people interact with one another (Bateson, 2021). There is a need to build an understanding of the process of how places evolve due to tourism, taking into account the complexity of groups and aspirations of people involved in the tourism system and the diverse areas in which changes can occur.

This research responds to a call from several authors (Bateson, 2021; Okumus & van Niekerk, 2015; Taillon, 2014) for more interdisciplinary research in tourism, extending into fields such as psychology, human geography, urban sociology, and tourism studies.

3.2.2 Case study approach and setting

Case study research is commonly used to clarify and shed light on how a phenomenon is observed and understood in existing literature and allows an in-depth examination of a context-dependent phenomenon (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Siggelkow, 2007; Yin, 2018). In this doctoral research, a case study in Napier, New Zealand builds an in-depth understanding of the influences of tourism as part of a larger socio-economic system in an urban area. With its distinctive blend of rural and urban elements, Napier provides a unique context for a nuanced exploration of the complex interplay between tourism and the broader socio-economic dynamics within a smaller city (Siggelkow, 2007). The case study approach allows for a detailed examination of the unique contextual factors and intricate relationships involved, facilitating a comprehensive understanding of the impact of tourism on residents' connection to place.

Napier, a small city in the Hawke's Bay region of New Zealand, was selected as a case study due to its distinctive blend of rural and urban elements, offering an under-explored

context for research. By choosing a single case study, the researcher aimed to capture rich insights into the development of tourism in a specific area, how people participate in tourism, and how residents feel about the impacts of tourism on their emotional connections and sentiments towards their locality – specifically, whether tourism contributes to or detracts from their sense of place attachment. The choice of Napier, a small tourist-destination city, was motivated by the limited attention given to spatial considerations in existing literature, particularly smaller cities.

By concentrating on Napier, this research can strengthen the literature by investigating spatial dynamics within the tourism industry. It emphasises the importance of understanding how residents of smaller cities, such as Napier, deal with and react to the impacts of touristification on their sense of attachment and well-being. The research investigates the nuanced effects of touristification on residents' subjective well-being, encompassing psychological, social and cultural dimensions. Specifically, the research focuses on aspects that contribute to residents' feelings of attachment to Napier and explores how tourism affects their emotional connection to the place.

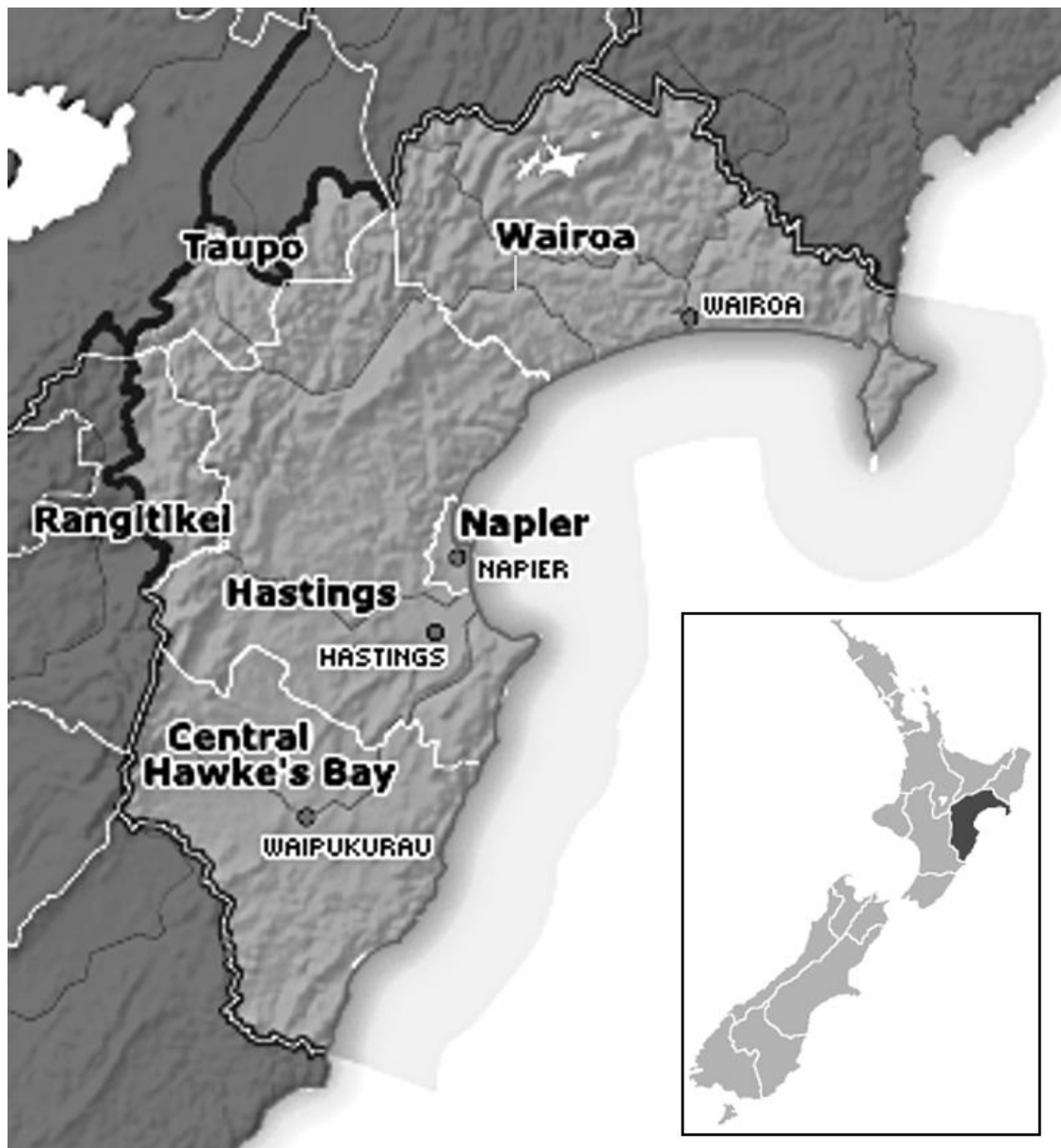
Because tourism happens in a certain place, place is used as a resource to enable benefits for host communities. Indeed, the well-being of residents in Napier as a community is formed through and interwoven with the place itself. Thus, it was essential to prioritise the intricacies of relationships among participants in the local tourism system in the research. Furthermore, Indigenous people and cultures, and the wisdom and values they hold dear, play a vital role in redefining tourism (Pollock & Holliday, 2020; Sheldon, 2020), and Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. So, although this research does not specifically focus on Māori perspectives and experiences, it was essential to include *mana whenua* [the local iwi, or tribe, with territorial rights] in the discussion.

Situating the research in Napier, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand

Napier is an urban area which covers 105 km² in the Hawke's Bay region of the south-eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand (see Figure 3.2). The Hawke's Bay region is home to the largest crossbred wool centre in the Southern Hemisphere (Napier City Council, n.d.(a)). With its highly fertile soils and warm climate, the region is also one of the largest apple, pear and stone fruit producing areas in New Zealand (Dunlop & Mooney, 1986; Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2020b; Travel New Zealand, n.d.). Hawke's Bay is well-known for its thousands of acres of farms, orchards, vineyards, wineries and restaurants. Complementing this is a large frozen meat, sheep's wool, wood pulp and timber trade passing through Napier Port, which is the leading port for central New Zealand (Napier City Council, 2021a; Napier Port, 2020).

Tourism is the third largest contributor to Hawke's Bay's GDP and employs one in 10 of the region's workforce (Tourism New Zealand, 2024).

Figure 3.2: Napier, within the Hawke's Bay region

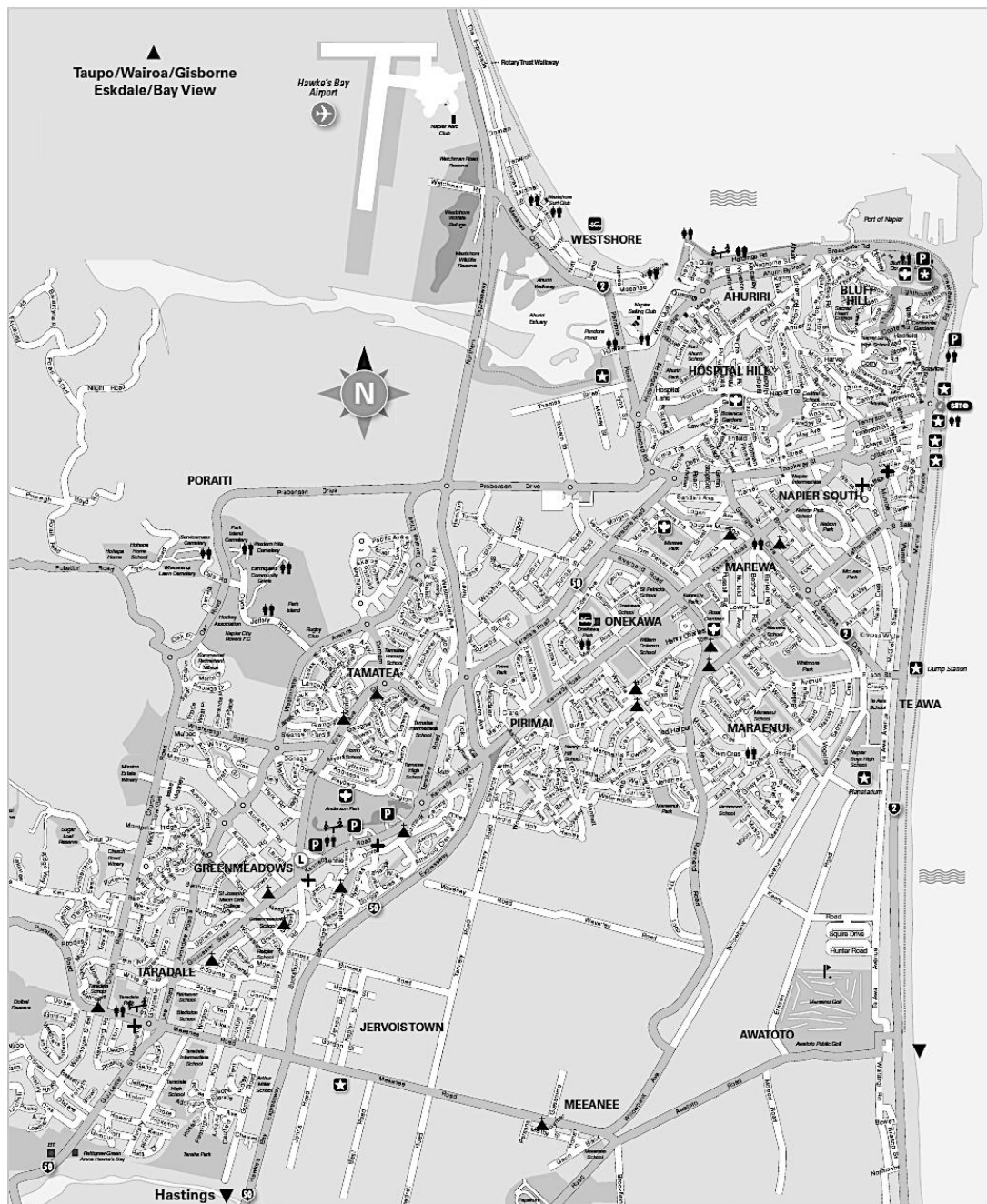


Source: Adapted from Napier City Council (2017).

Napier is bound by the Esk River in the north, the Pacific Ocean in the north-east and east, the western hills and Tutaekuri River in the west and south-west, and the Hastings District Council area with Cape Kidnappers and Te Mata Peak in the south (see Figure 3.3). Napier is somewhat geographically isolated (i.e., not on main touring routes) and consists of a mixture of hills and flat land, with reserves and beaches. Napier has evolved through the performance of the extensive regional economic base of pastoral

farming in the hinterland, horticulture, forestry, wine, and tourism (Annabell, 2012; Hawke's Bay Regional Council, n.d.).

Figure 3.3: Napier



Source: Adapted from a map from the Napier isite Visitor Centre.

Stats NZ defines small urban areas as those with populations between 5,000 and 9,999 people, medium urban areas as those with populations between 10,000 and 29,999, large urban areas as those with populations between 30,000 and 99,000, and major urban areas as those with populations of 100,000 or more (Stats NZ, 2021d, p. 17). Napier is a large urban area and is home to 66,700 residents (2021 Census), distributed

over 23,781 households (Stats NZ, 2021b, 2021d, 2022a). This makes the findings and outcomes of this research highly relevant to understanding ways to address the notion of place and the influence of tourism on small cities. This spatial dimension remains largely unexplored, particularly in comparison to major population centres in New Zealand, such as Auckland City (population 1,715,600 in 2021), Christchurch City (392,000), Wellington City (217,000), Hamilton City (178,500), Tauranga City (155,200) and Dunedin City (133,300) (Stats NZ, 2021b). Cruise ports situated in relatively smaller cities and of similar population size to Napier include Bunbury in Australia, Kristiansand in Norway, and Zadar in Croatia.

Historically, Napier is rich in both Māori history and European settlement (Buchanan, 1973; Wright, 1994). Māori first settled in the region (Heretaunga and Te Whanganui-a-Orotū, at Napier's inner harbour) around 1250 to 1300 CE (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(a); Pollock, 2015), with Ngāti Kahungunu becoming the dominant iwi in the area after arriving in the 1600s (Mackintosh, 2014). The coastline of Hawke Bay is known to Māori as Te Matau-a-Māui [the fishhook of Māui], as legend has it that Māui used his fishhook to fish up Te Ika-a-Māui [the North Island of New Zealand], and the coastline of Hawke Bay resembles a fishhook, when viewed from above. Traders, whalers and missionaries visited the region in the mid-1800s (Annabell, 2012; Napier City Council, n.d.(a)). In the early days of European settlement, the area was administered by the Wellington Provincial Council, but in 1858, the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council was established. Between 1852 and 1876, Napier served as the administrative centre for the Hawke's Bay provincial government, which enhanced its growth and recognition as the main centre of the region despite having relatively few industries at the time (Napier City Council, n.d.(b)). The provincial town only hosted a mix of small businesses, including two newspapers with associated printing establishments, two breweries, two tailoring, two saddlery, two furnishing, and two aerated water establishments, one iron foundry, one timber mill, one brickworks, one coach building concern and one tent and sail making business. Napier became a borough in late 1874, with the first municipal council elected in early 1875. However, a year later, the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council was disestablished, following the abolishment of provincial government in New Zealand that same year. In the early 20th century, Napier started advertising itself more aggressively as a tourist destination (Campbell, 1975). Despite challenges with the rugged Napier-Taupo Road, which was often impassable in winter, the town attracted visitors, particularly in the summer months. By 1908, Napier Carnival Executive, a committee chaired by Mayor John Vigor Brown published a booklet to promote Napier as a "charming city" and "ideal holiday resort," with its natural attractions like Marine Parade, the municipal gardens, bush walks, golf, cycle trips and nearby vineyards (Napier City Council, n.d.(b)).

After World War II, Napier saw increased industrial development, contributing to improved national prosperity. The Napier Borough Council officially became the Napier City Council in 1950 after attaining the requisite population of 20,000 (Freyberg, 1950). Napier became a well-established centre of business with a growing port, servicing a wide area, with initial development centred around the surrounding hills and the port.

New Zealand has 11 regional councils and 67 territorial authorities. Napier City Council operates as a territorial authority, which functions as the second tier of local government in New Zealand, positioned below regional councils (Local Government Commission, 2023). Napier City Council has a wide range of responsibilities encompassing infrastructure services, waste collection and recycling, and community facilities. Additionally, the council is tasked with resource management planning and has the authority to establish bylaws related to public health, safety and offensive behaviour in public areas. Furthermore, the council plays an important role in economic development, particularly through initiatives aimed at promoting tourism and supporting local businesses, such as the Art Deco Trust and Napier City Business Inc. In their Long Term Plan (2018–2028), Napier City Council states that its aim is to achieve sustainable growth and prosperity by supporting existing businesses (Napier City Council, 2018).

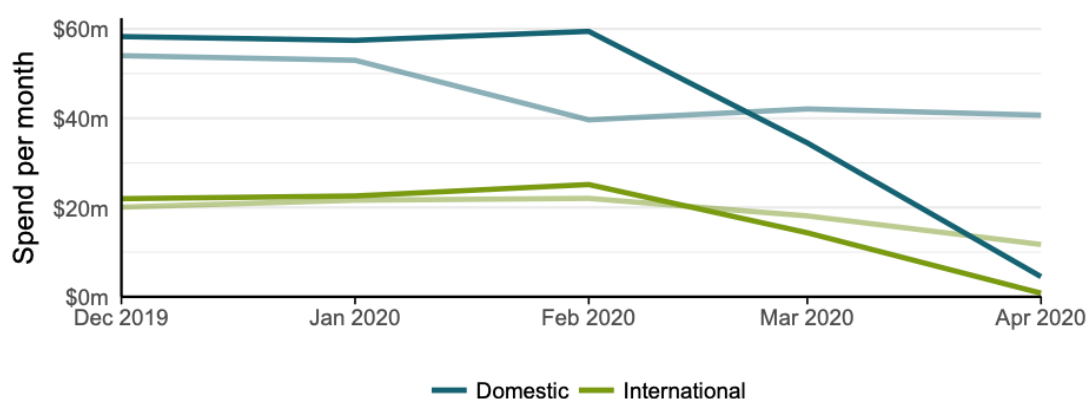
Tourism in Napier and Hawke's Bay

This section focuses on tourism's contribution to the regional economy of Hawke's Bay. At the time of writing this thesis, there were few tourism statistics for Napier readily available. This was challenging but not surprising, for two reasons: 1) tourism statistics are often not available at the territorial authority or local level in New Zealand, and 2) when tourism research is conducted locally, findings are often not publicly available. The tourism industry plays a significant role in the Hawke's Bay economy by creating jobs and income opportunities. The tourism industry is the third-largest contributor to regional GDP (after processing/manufacturing and agriculture) in Hawke's Bay (Thompson, 2023). Almost one in ten (9.4%) of jobs in Hawke's Bay are supported by tourism (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(b)). Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, tourism in the Hawke's Bay region was on the rise. With a split of 30% international and 70% domestic visitors, the sector generated \$664 million in direct spending in the year ended August 2019. The number of guest nights in Hawke's Bay increased steadily from March 2018 to 85,627 in 2019 – a 6.6% increase compared with 2018 (Stats NZ, 2019). Over the five years leading up to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Hawke's Bay region experienced a year-on-year average growth rate in tourism spending of 3%, slightly below the national average of 4% (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2020b).

The initial economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic began affecting tourism industries early in 2020 (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2020b; Stats NZ, 2021a) (see Figure 3.4). The methodology used by MBIE also shifted during this time, moving from Monthly Regional Tourism Estimates (MRTes) to domestic Tourism Electronic Card Transactions (TECTs). A caveat was placed on combining domestic and international market totals, as they should be considered independently. This is because the TECTs in each market account for varying proportions of the overall tourism expenditure.

Due to international travel restrictions and domestic travel limitations, tourism spending decreased by \$50 million in the year ending September 2020, leading to uncertainty in the Hawke Bay's tourism industry (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2020a, p. 5). After a two-year period of border closures, New Zealand gradually reopened its borders from late February 2022 onwards, fully reopening its borders and welcoming back visitors in October 2022 (Hipkins & Faafoi, 2022). In August 2023, after three years of border closures and lockdowns, it was reported that the tourism industry in Hawke's Bay had seen a tourism market-share decline of 11% due to the February 2023 Cyclone Gabrielle and consequent flooding (Rutherford, 2023).

Figure 3.4: Tourism spend in Hawke's Bay by market



Note: Faint lines show historical trend data by MBIE monthly regional tourism estimates.

For the first two decades of this millennium, tourism in Napier grew exponentially. With more and more cruise ships stopping at Napier, the number of international cruise ship passengers reached 105,943 in the year ending in June 2020, a very significant increase over the fewer than 20,000 passengers who had arrived in the city in 2000 (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(b); Stats NZ, 2020b). To put these numbers in context: in 2000, there were 20,000 cruise ship visitors and 55,300 residents in Napier (Jackson, 2011), but in 2020, there were 105,943 cruise ship visitors and 66,200 residents in Napier. In other words,

over 20 years, the number of cruise ship passengers had increased by more than 500% whereas the city's resident population had increased by just 20%.

At the time of data collection, at the beginning of 2022, Napier had witnessed a decline in visitor numbers due to the COVID-19 pandemic, with a decrease of 100,000 visitors (Napier City Council, 2022). However, the cruise sector is recovering, with 130,000 cruise visitors estimated to arrive at Napier Port between November 2023 and April 2024 (Napier Port, 2023). Besides cruise visitor arrivals, current tourism data at the regional (subnational) and local levels of Napier, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand, is notably lacking.

In 2015, Napier City Council developed a City Vision, acknowledging the significance of place to both the local iwi (with their mana whenua, or territorial rights) and community with the principle "Our People, Our Stories" (Napier City Council, 2015, p. 13). However, there seems to be a disconnect between this vision statement and the actual implementation of strategies, plans and regulations. While the vision prioritises residents, it is not clear how this translates into concrete actions and practices of engagement. This disconnect calls for a closer evaluation of the alignment between stated intentions and actual implementation. The City Vision, which was adopted by Napier City Council in 2016, aims to make Napier an important hub for Hawke's Bay's tourism, transport, administration, specialised manufacturing and retirement/lifestyle sectors (Wilkinson Urban Design and Placemaking, 2015). The City Vision also focuses on improving the quality of key components in Napier's built environment, like Marine Parade, the coastal suburb Ahuriri, Art Deco quarter, Pettigrew Green Arena, Park Island regional sports and recreational complex, and retail and commercial areas, as well as a variety of residential areas and footpath/cycle pathways (Napier City Council, 2021b). Marine Parade is popular with its amenities and attractions for local residents and visitors. Napier City Council acknowledges Ahuriri to be of significance to tangata whenua [people of the land], while also noting that the suburb has been developed from an industrially oriented area into a thriving commercial, tourist, recreational, leisure and residential area (Napier City Council, 2021b, p. 7). However, Napier City Council concludes there is a possibility of Napier exceeding its limits of available space, infrastructure and resources, particularly in relation to population, household and economic growth. The council states that if growth deviates from anticipated levels, it could lead to adverse effects, such as the rise of house prices due to limited land availability (Napier City Council, 2021b, p. 80). As Napier's tourism development has grown increasingly in the last 20 years, with attractions like Art Deco and the increased number of cruise ship arrivals, this research aims to explore these issues, examining the impact of tourism in terms of space, infrastructure and residents' well-being. It seeks to understand the implications of

development on everyday liveability in the city, as well as residents' connection to place and sense of belonging.

In 2018, Tourism Industry Aotearoa (TIA) provided input to Napier City Council's Long Term Plan 2018–2028 (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2018). TIA's *Tourism Strategy Report for Napier* (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2018, p. 1) states that "only a fraction of visitor spending actually occurs in places commonly considered visitor specific (e.g., accommodation, attractions)." Sixty per cent of the visitor nights in Hawke's Bay (pre-COVID-19) consisted of residents hosting visiting friends and/or family, highlighting the important role of residents in the region's tourism industry (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(b)). This input is relevant to this research because TIA expressed concern about the rapid growth of tourism on host communities: "Fast growth of the visitor economy has caused unease in some host communities, with locals worried about the number of visitors and the impact" (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2018, p. 3). TIA emphasised the importance of tourism as a resource in safeguarding Napier's prospects to facilitate economic and social benefits for the local community.

A Hawke's Bay Destination Management Plan was published in early 2023 providing a broad framework for tourism development across the region (Hawke's Bay Tourism, 2023). While the regional strategy was informed by a resident attitudes survey with data collected through an online research panel across Hawke's Bay, this approach did not adequately capture the specific concerns of Napier residents. Although the regional strategy provides essential overarching objectives and a strategic vision for the entire region, it lacks the necessary detail to effectively tackle the distinct challenges and requirements of Napier, a smaller city heavily impacted by tourism and the process of touristification. This includes aspects such as infrastructure, community involvement, visitor flow management, and the safeguarding of Napier's unique local identity and culture. For instance, the significant number of cruise ship visitors, who generally spend only 3-4 hours in port, have limited opportunities to explore the wider Hawke's Bay region. This situation highlights the necessity for a more localised strategy that addresses Napier's specific tourism needs, thereby enhancing the understanding of the impacts on community well-being, aspirations, and local perceptions of tourism within Napier.

3.2.3 Field research: preparation and familiarisation

In February 2021, I visited Napier to familiarise myself with the local area and gather input into the proposed research. February is when the annual Art Deco Festival usually takes place. The Art Deco Festival (a large event in New Zealand) is held to commemorate the anniversary of the 1931 magnitude 7.8 earthquake that killed 256

people and levelled Napier (and the nearby city of Hastings). The festival celebrates Napier City as the Art Deco Capital of the world – given that much of the city's rebuild after the earthquake happened during the heyday of Art Deco, Napier has one of the highest concentrations of Art Deco buildings anywhere in the world (Art Deco Trust, n.d.).

Figure 3.5: Emerson Street in Napier



Unfortunately, a number of activities that usually feature in the festival were cancelled because of restrictions still in place as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, I was still able to familiarise myself with the local area, talk with tourism service providers, other visitors and local residents, explore some of the tourism attractions, and witness the vintage car parade from Clive Square to Marine Parade.

Figure 3.6: Vintage car parade in Napier



Prior to data collection, I went on another two-week familiarisation visit to Napier, in December 2021. One of the aims of this second visit was to identify potential research participants, and I was able to identify places where I could distribute flyers about the community research. During this visit, I kept a research diary to document my observations, reflections and experiences while exploring Napier. I made notes about the experience of visiting Napier, my impressions of and feelings about this locale as a visitor (sense of place), while getting to know the research area and local people. The research diary proved to be a valuable tool for documenting my thoughts, safeguarding information about my first-hand encounters, and noting insights gained while familiarising myself with the research area and the community.

3.2.4 Recruitment of the research participants

Rasoolimanesh et al. (2020) identified five key actors for successful planning and implementation of sustainable tourism strategies: government, businesses, NGOs, residents and temporary populations. The actors involved in the tourism system that were found during data collection are TPPA, local businesses, and community. The later category consists of community groups and associations, residents (both permanent and non-permanent) and diaspora community members. It is important to highlight that this categorisation of research participants, with a significant focus on residents, was intentional and aligned with the research objective of understanding the perspectives and experiences of the local community in relation to the tourism system in Napier.

Initially, publicly accessible information such as online sources was used to identify potential participants and their contact information. As the research progressed, the identification of participants was further refined through the use of secondary data and from information gathered during the first few semi-structured interviews. This iterative approach allowed for exploration of the diverse participants involved in the local tourism system and their roles and interests. The inclusion of participants was not solely reliant on referrals or recommendations, which could potentially introduce a bias. Instead, efforts were made to ensure a diverse range of perspectives by actively seeking out individuals who might offer unique insights or differing viewpoints.

To recruit participants for the resident interviews, I created a flyer with my contact details, a brief overview of the study and a QR-code providing additional information about the research. These were distributed at various outlets (e.g., supermarkets, library, community boards) across the research area. In addition to the distribution of flyers, I originally intended to make contact with potential resident participants and extend invitations to participate in the research via online community pages, entries in local newspapers and newsletters. However, with the COVID-19 lockdowns and social distancing regulations, most community groups (e.g., sport groups, social associations) had paused their activities.

I was approached by a local news reporter who offered to write a segment about the research and run an advertisement to invite residents to participate in interviews, but after consideration I decided not to proceed. My concern was that potential research participants might feel hesitant to reach out, less open to speak, and unsure about their anonymity when information about the research is distributed through a (larger) news outlet.

In the first phase of the research a *purposive maximum variation sampling* technique (Nyimbili & Nyimbili, 2024) was employed to collect the data. This meant avoiding repeated sampling of participants with similar characteristics; for example, participants who operated similar tourism businesses but in different areas of Napier. Instead, I purposively recruited participants with a diverse range of backgrounds and perspectives. Specifically, I identified and selected relevant tourism planners and representatives from public agencies, tourism businesses, as well as community groups and associations for the study. To minimise potential bias and ensure a more varied participant selection, participants were not asked to refer additional individuals (snowball sampling) after the initial interviews (Gierczyk et al., 2023).

During Phase 2 of the data collection a passive approach was taken, allowing participants to voluntarily reach out to participate in the research and share their perceptions and valuable insights. I included all residents who were willing to contribute

to the research through a semi-structured interview. In a few cases, there was a snowball effect as some residents were willing to join in an interview after been made aware of the research by another research participant. It is noteworthy, however, that a referral did not necessarily indicate similar perspectives during the interview, as careful consideration was given to maintaining diversity in the sample of participating residents. This approach ensured a comprehensive exploration of varied viewpoints within the community. A range of demographic elements (Sinclair-Maragh, 2017), such as age, gender (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Ramkissoon & Nunkoo, 2012), and length of residency were taken into account as all of these are likely to have an effect on perception of place and tourism development.

A semi-structured face-to-face in-depth interview of approximately one hour was held with each participant, in a location of their choice. Some of the semi-structured interviews were conducted remotely (e.g., by phone or over Zoom) instead of the traditional face-to-face interview. Four of the semi-structured interviews with TPPA, community groups and associations, and businesses (Phase 1) and four of the semi-structured interviews with residents (Phase 2) were conducted remotely due to COVID-19 health and safety regulations or logistical preferences. There was a need to strategise, modify and be able to adapt to remote tools (e.g., phone or Zoom interviews) at the last minute, as the pandemic created a challenging environment to conduct face-to-face interviews (Moises, 2020). I considered the ethical need to modify the data collection design in a manner to accommodate research participants who were very willing to be included in the research but not comfortable with a face-to-face interview in times of social distancing. Researchers need to be sensitive to characteristics, such as age, internet connection, as well as access to an internet connection and phone costs when conducting research remotely or online (Lord et al., 2016). Research participants were encouraged to express their preferred channel of communication and/or the one they felt the most comfortable or capable with (e.g., phone, Zoom, Skype, FaceTime) to make their participation in the interview as convenient as possible.

3.3 Data collection

For the purpose of this research, I define *community* as encompassing both permanent and non-permanent residents as well as individuals who consider themselves part of the Napier community despite not living in the city.

Data collection occurred in three phases (see Table 3.1). *Phase 1* consisted of 17 interviews with representatives from government and public agencies, community groups (e.g., heritage, business), local and regional destination management organisations and local business operators, some of whom do not reside in Napier. The

primary focus of the Phase 1 interviews was to gain an understanding of the participants involved in the local tourism system, and the roles and interests of those involved. *Phase 2* comprised 20 interviews with residents to understand their thoughts on how tourism has had an impact on them as individuals and on their community. *Phase 3* was a resident focus group, designed to provide insights into how local residents construct their understanding of the impacts of tourism in Napier. Specifically, I was interested in exploring aspects of residents' place attachment and sense of subjective well-being, guided by the underlying principles of the bottom-up spillover theory. By examining the shared meanings and representations that underlie residents' perceptions and behaviours, a deeper understanding is formed about the influence of tourism on place identity, everyday experiences, culture and community as a whole. The focus group also explored community aspirations for the future.

Table 3.1: Summary of data collection

Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Time frame	(Jan 2022–Mar 2022)	(Jan 2022–Jul 2022)	(Aug 2022)
Aim	Identification of participants in the tourism system	Residents' lived experiences related to place and tourism	Community aspirations for the future
Objectives	To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests	To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being	To investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being
Data collection methods	17 semi-structured in-depth interviews of, on average, approximately 60 minutes	20 semi-structured in-depth interviews of, on average, approximately 60 minutes	1 focus group of 1 hour and 15 minutes
Participants	10 representatives from local business, 2 from community groups and associations, and 5 tourism planners and representatives from public agencies	21 residents of Napier	5 participants from the residents interviewed in Phase 2

Table 3.1 provides details of the data collection process, specifying the objectives of each data collection activity, a brief description of what was done, and a timeframe. The

research instruments used for data collection in each of the three phases can be found in Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Appendix 5, respectively.

Primary data collection included semi-structured interviews conducted over a 7-month period (between January and July 2022). Data collection was originally scheduled for September to November 2021 but had to be placed on hold due to COVID-19 travel restrictions and lockdowns in Auckland, New Zealand (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2023). The research was designed to ensure flexibility and enable me to continue with work in the event of any lockdowns occurring due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Through the analysis of relevant secondary data sources (including tourism statistics from previous years, economic reports and tourism strategies) and qualitative interviews with local residents, their lived experiences prior to the border closure were captured.

Upon reflection, the timing of the research and data collection was opportune. I was exploring residents' experiences of tourism following a period of lockdown and travel restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Similar to several authors (Kim et al., 2023; Woosnam et al., 2021), I found this to be a positive outcome for the research as the travel restrictions and subsequent disruptions to the tourism industry gave the host community the opportunity to rethink and reconsider the impact of tourism on their daily lives. The interviewees noticeably reflected on the changes in their everyday environment caused by the border closure and travel restrictions and showcased a range of perspectives when it came to envisioning how to welcome back visitors once travel resumed.

3.3.1 Phase 1: Identifying participants in the tourism system

In order to gain an understanding of the local tourism system, during Phase 1 I aimed to identify the different participants in the tourism system and explore their perspectives and roles within the system. Phase 1 was designed to gain deep insights into the complexity of tourism's influence on the evolution of tourism in the area and how this has affected the way Napier has developed. This included the identification of the different types of participants, such as TPPA, tourism businesses and community groups. A core group of eight participants were identified in the local tourism system from Phase 1, to whom I was frequently referred. This group of participants, consisting of three representatives from TPPA, three business representatives and two community groups and association representatives, is from here onwards referred to as 'the core group'.

To ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity, a systematic coding system was employed throughout the research process, aligning with the ethical considerations of the research. I made use of an alphanumeric code. Each participant was assigned a

unique code that protected their identity and maintained their privacy. These participant codes are presented in brackets. For example, C1 denotes a member of a community organisation, B1 denotes a representative of a business, and T1 denotes a tourism planner or representative from a public agency who participated in a semi-structured interview in Phase 1, respectively. Likewise, R1 represents a resident who participated in one of the semi-structured interviews in Phase 2. This approach not only safeguarded the participants' anonymity but also facilitated the organisation for data analysis. In Phase 1, 17 semi-structured interviews were held with 20 representatives from government and public agencies, community groups (e.g., heritage, business), local and regional destination management organisations, and local businesses. Table 3.2 presents an overview of the 20 participants who were interviewed in this first phase, together with their demographic characteristics such as gender, age and length of residency. The eight research participants who were identified as part of the core group are highlighted with an asterisk (*).

The number of interviews was based on reaching saturation point. Ali and Frew (2014) contend that 10 cases are adequate in developing themes and concepts from qualitative data. I Initially intended to conduct 10 semi-structured interviews with representatives from government and public agencies, community groups, local and regional destination management organisations and local businesses in Phase 1. However, determining the saturation size in qualitative research involves a careful balance between information power and the aim of the study. *Information power* suggests that the depth and quality of dialogue in interviews with research participants directly influence the required sample size (Malterud et al., 2016). Factors such as sample specificity, the utilisation of established theory, the quality of dialogue with participants, and the chosen analysis strategy all contribute to this determination. *Saturation* is reached when new information adds little or nothing to the emerging findings in the data collection and analysis processes (Braun & Clarke, 2022). By considering these elements, and continuously evaluating new insights from interviews and comparing them with previous findings (similarities and differences), I ensured to reach a saturation point where further data collection would yield minimal additional insights, thus optimising the efficiency and depth of the qualitative data.

Although the initial goal was 10 semi-structured interviews in Phase 1, during the research this was expanded to 17 interviews, of which five were with TPPA, two with representatives from community groups and associations, and 10 with local business operators (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Data collection interviews, Phase 1

Interview participants	Abbreviated interviewee details	Gender	Age	Length of residency
Community groups and associations (e.g., heritage groups, local business association)	(C1)*	Male	50–65	1–3 years
	(C2)*	Female	35–50	Non-resident
Businesses (e.g., accommodation providers, recreational activities, local shops, wineries)	(B1)	Female	35–50	4–6 years
	(B2) 2 interviewees	Female + Male	65–80	Non-resident
	(B3)	Female	50–65	10+ years
	(B4)	Male	20–35	1–3 years
	(B5)	Female	20–35	7–9 years
	(B6)	Female	50–65	Non-resident
	(B7)*	Male	35–50	7–9 years
	(B8)	Female	35–50	4–6 years
	(B9)* 2 interviewees	Female + Female	35–50	Non-resident
	(B10)*	Female	35–50	1–3 years
Tourism planners and representatives from public agencies (e.g., local government, tourism planners, regional tourism organisations, Department of Conservation)	(T1)*	Male	50–65	1–3 years
	(T2)*	Female	50–65	Non-resident
	(T3) 2 interviewees	Female + Male	35–50	10+ years
	(T4)*	Male	50–65	Non-resident
	(T5)	Male	50–65	4–6 years

Note: * denotes research participants who were identified as part of the core group of eight participants in the local tourism system.

The participants included those who were involved with local government, tourism planners, destination management organisations, tourism organisations including accommodation providers, recreational activities, local businesses, wineries and

heritage groups. Expanding the number of interviews helped to capture a more diverse range of opinions and perspectives and allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the various experiences related to tourism planning and development. It also ensured that a broader range of participants in the tourism system in Napier were represented, leading to richer insights and enhancing the credibility and validity of the research outcomes.

3.3.2 Phase 2: Host community perceptions of tourism

Phase 2 focused on the influence of tourism on residents' place attachment, sense of belonging and subjective well-being. Twenty semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to understand how the residents of Napier perceive the impacts of tourism on their lives and their ongoing relationship with the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of the place where they live. During Phase 2, I also explored how residents' experiences and interactions with their surroundings influence their sense of belonging and overall life satisfaction across various dimensions, including material conditions, community engagement, emotional well-being, and health and safety. Table 3.3 presents an overview of the 21 residents interviewed in Phase 2, together with their demographic characteristics such as gender, age and length of residency. The research participants who had close connections to the core group are highlighted with an asterisk (*).

Table 3.3: Data collection interviews, Phase 2

Interview Participants	Abbreviated interviewee details	Gender	Age	Length of residency
Residents	R1	Male	51–65	Diaspora
	R2	Male	66–80	10+ years
	R3	Female	51–65	10+ years
	R4	Male	36–50	10+ years
	R5	Male	66–80	4–6 years
	R6	Male	51–65	10+ years
	R7* 2 interviewees	Female and Male	66–80	10+ years
	R8	Male	51–65	10+ years
	R9	Male	66–80	10+ years
	R10	Male	51–65	10+ years
	R11	Female	36–50	7–9 years
	R12*	Female	51–65	10+ years
	R13*	Male	66–80	10+ years
	R14	Male	51–65	10+ years
	R15	Female	20–35	4–6 years
	R16	Male	51–65	10+ years
	R17	Female	51–65	Diaspora
	R18	Male	36–50	10+ years
	R19	Female	36–50	4–6 years
	R20	Female	51–65	10+ years

The resident interviews were originally planned to follow Phase 1 but were conducted simultaneously due to COVID-19 lockdowns. As New Zealand went into and out of strict national and regional travel restrictions during this time, the fear of another potential lockdown created a sense of uncertainty within me. However, I remained resolute in my determination to successfully gather data and accomplish my research goals, while not affecting the efficacy of the data collection process. Thus, I was motivated to maximise the time available during (and between) lockdowns. Once able to travel out of Auckland to other regions, I optimised the opportunity by conducting Phases 1 and 2 simultaneously. The willingness of residents to engage and share their perspectives became a valuable resource, enabling me to concurrently conduct Phases 1 and 2 of the data collection.

Although the observation of the usual ground reality of tourism and community interactions was limited within the case study due to the international border closure, I could build an understanding of everyday life within the case study setting. I arrived in Napier and made a concerted effort to immerse myself in the field. I was able to engage with local residents who were willing to participate in the research. This interaction with residents allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the area and gather pointers for conducting interviews with participants in the local tourism system, such as local community groups and businesses.

Twenty residents and one diaspora community member who used to spend a lot of time in Napier were interviewed (8 women and 13 men). Fourteen of these residents had lived in Napier more than 10 years. The research successfully captured a diverse range of participants in terms of age, length of residency in Napier, and involvement in the tourism industry (e.g., accommodation service providers, volunteer tour guides).

When designing research instruments, my original plan was to start the Phase 2 semi-structured in-depth interviews using a modified version of the photovoice method as a conversation starter developed by Wang and Burris (1997). *Photovoice* is a method that encourages “participants to take photographs of aspects of their daily lives and discuss them to collectively build a critical dialogue” (Sánchez-Ledesma et al., 2020, p. 260). I planned to ask residents to bring photographs of places in Napier that are meaningful to them, such as their favourite places and/or places that filled them with a sense of pride, as well as locations they feel are affected or changed by tourism. The idea was to use these photographs to start a conversation and help participants to reflect on their connection to their living environment. This activity would then provide insight into the residents’ environment and their attachment to it.

However, this approach did not work well in the first interviews. Participants either forgot to bring a photograph and felt pressured as if they had failed the interview, or were

over-thinking the assignment, which negated the efforts of the conversation starter for interview participants to ease into the interview and feel comfortable with the researcher. Thus, I modified my strategy in a way that was more comfortable for the participants, encouraging them to freely talk about what Napier means to them and the places they love in the area. I had a map of Napier on the table during the interview, which encouraged some of the participants to visualise their everyday experiences and identify the places they felt strongly connected to by using the physical map. I felt that this approach allowed for natural conversations and often led to participants inviting and showing me some of their favourite places. I observed that starting the interviews with small talk about favourite places was a great conversation starter. Often research participants were eager to walk and show me around Napier after the interview, which enabled me to gain insight into the residents' feelings and emotions in a more natural way. Participants also had the option to draw and make notes of favourite places, well-known tourism activities and/or areas of concern on a physical map of the area. For example, one resident shared how he used to love going to the eastern beaches, even though they are known for not being safe to swim in. He had great memories from when he was younger. He also mentioned the port in Napier and how lots of visitors come to town because of it. He reflected on the traffic when buses drop off visitors in the city centre. Figure 3.7 shows the drawings of this resident on the physical map of Napier.

Figure 3.7: Drawings on physical map of tourism activities and areas of concern



3.3.3 Phase 3: Community aspirations for the future

Phase 3 involved one focus group of 1 hour and 15 minutes, which was held in the boardroom of the MTG Hawke's Bay Tai Ahuriri Museum in Napier. The aim of the focus group was to understand how well-managed tourism aligned to community aspirations for the future could strengthen a sense of belonging. The focus group approach was employed as it offers a dynamic platform for residents to share diverse perspectives. The focus group, with its group dynamics and interactive approach, was chosen over individual interviews to foster a rich exchange of perspectives and insights to uncover shared (and/or divergent) community sentiments regarding aspirations for tourism in Napier. Nine potential participants were invited to join the focus group, and five accepted the invitation and took part in the group discussion on 4 August 2022. The other invitees were not able to make it due to illness (COVID-19), family plans or simply did not attend without explanation.

The focus group discussion was conducted after Phase 2. Although the data analysis of the interviews in Phase 2 conducted prior to the focus group had not been completed, I had identified certain thematic patterns to guide the discussion topics. The focus group aimed to delve into sentiments towards Napier, taking into account the positive and negative impacts of tourism, in line with the principles of residents' attachment to place and their subjective well-being. These topics were introduced using sentence openers as prompts, such as "I am proud to be a resident of Napier because..." and "For me, as a resident, tourism brings..." (see Appendix 5). The sentence openers were designed to encourage conversation between participants based on their perspectives and to gather data that might build upon the emerging themes identified in the earlier interviews in Phases 1 and 2. This technique facilitated a nuanced understanding of how residents perceive tourism's value in their lives, beyond economic contributions.

The focus group session also explored several themes of subjective well-being; encompassing health, work, material well-being, community belonging, personal safety, environment quality, emotional well-being and relationships. The group discussion explored how well-managed tourism aligned to residents' aspirations for the future and how tourism can strengthen residents' sense of belonging. Identification of what residents' value is considered to be the most important task in place making as part of a community development and planning process (Lew, 2020). At the end of the session, residents expressed their thoughts on a vision for the recovery of the tourism industry in Napier, as a reflection on how the visitor industry could be of interest for them. Participants were asked: "If you were talking to tourism planners, what would you be saying or asking?", and "What could be done to support (socially) sustainable tourism development in Napier?". This aspect of the group discussion was aimed to capture

tangible suggestions for improvement and ascertain how residents believed tourism could enhance their quality of life. Additional questions were designed to understand what the participants thought could be barriers to realising these aspirations.

The participants in the focus group lived in Napier but were not part of the core group identified during Phase 1, to whom I was frequently referred. I made a deliberate decision to prioritise residents' perspectives and not include members of this core group in the focus group, as my concern was to accurately represent the diverse voices and experiences within the community. Thus, to ensure residents had a safe and open platform to express their thoughts and concerns, I wanted to delve into the experiences and concerns of the broader community, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the impacts of tourism on Napier's residents. Prioritising residents aimed to ensure that the research captured the perspectives of those directly affected by touristification, ultimately providing a more nuanced and inclusive analysis of the impact of tourism on the host community. It was clear that creating a separate space for residents to freely express their perspectives without any potential influence or power dynamics from the core group was important. One of the focus group participants initiated a discussion by inquiring about the presence of individuals associated with the core group, specifically listing their names and organisations. The decision to invite only residents to participate in the focus group proved to be valuable, as the data collected from the group discussion provided comprehensive understanding of the local impacts of tourism from a resident-centric perspective, and thus contributed to a nuanced understanding of the local tourism system and its implications for the community.

3.4 Data management and analysis

3.4.1 Data management

The interviews from Phases 1 and 2, and the discussion from the focus group in Phase 3 were all documented through the use of note taking and digital recording, after consent of the participants was obtained (see Appendix 9, Appendix 10 and Appendix 11). I made notes during and after each interview, and the focus group. Data included digital recordings and field notes with comments on ideas and themes related to the research topics and observations on the research process itself. Collected data were transcribed verbatim as part of the immersion in the data, (digitally) stored, and analysed by an open coding technique using NVivo software (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

Several authors recommend that transcripts are returned to the participant for review to minimise misinterpretations and thus verify accurate representation of the participant's contribution to the research. The aim behind returning the transcripts to the participants

for checking is to ensure credibility and validity of the data and, from an ethical standpoint, to empower and engage participants through an active involvement in all phases of the research (Goldblatt et al., 2011). However, the transcripts were not returned to participants to review before coding and analysis. Instead, to enhance the accuracy of data interpretation, a rigorous approach was adopted during the semi-structured interviews, where I summarised the participant's input and fed it back to them for confirmation immediately. This process aimed to capture nuances in their responses, ensuring that their perspectives were accurately understood. As this research is following the constructivist approach, which upholds the presence of multiple realities, I am confident that the collected data reflect genuine experiences, insights, perspectives and opinions on the impact of tourism in that moment, reflecting on the situation prior to and during the COVID-19 pandemic.

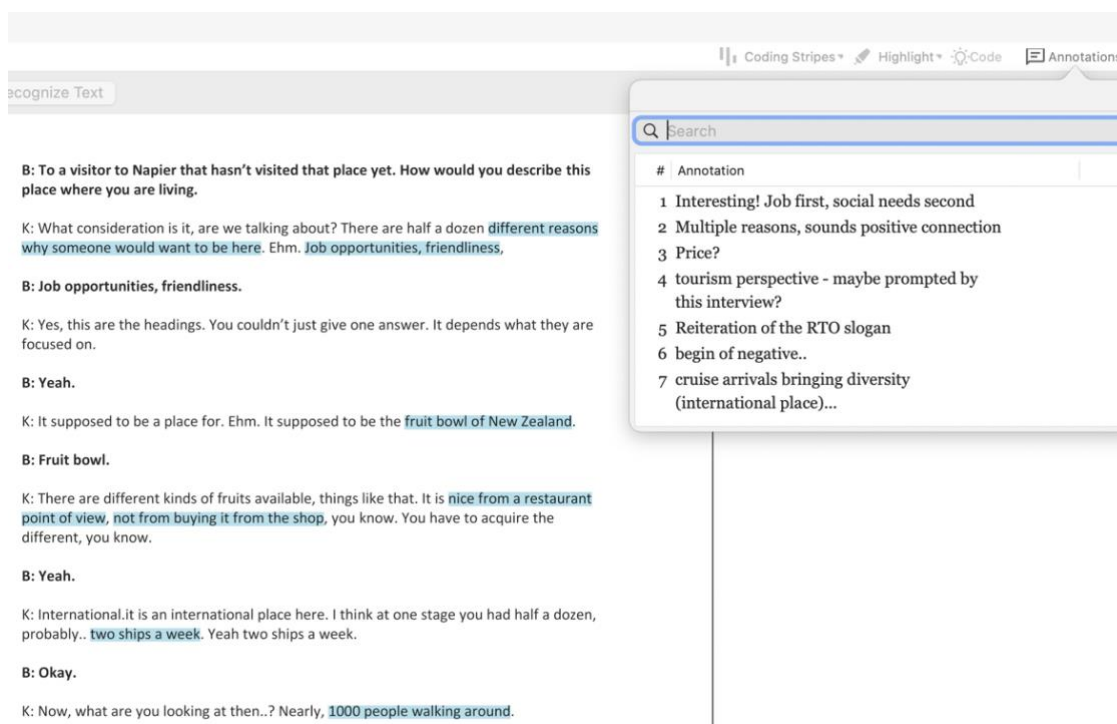
3.4.2 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis aims to find themes and categories within a set of data (Gibbs, 2018). Thematic analysis of interview data was the approach taken to uncover recurring themes, patterns tied to the research questions within the collected data for this research (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 2002). This research adopted a thematic approach to explore the deeper meanings within various themes and to establish connections and explanations for interpreting the data. Numerous methods can be used to uncover themes in data, with the most well used in tourism studies being discourse analysis, narrative analysis and thematic analysis. *Discourse analysis* looks at how language shapes our view of the world. It sees the use and understanding of words as a cultural product connected to the broader social context (Qian et al., 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2015). *Narrative analysis* is an interpretive method that explores the stories people tell about their experiences and how they are told to deliver the main message. This analysis focuses on the repeating themes in the story and the significance they play in conveying the story's meaning. It helps understand how narratives are used to make sense of the world (Peralta, 2019). Like the first two, *thematic analysis* is also an interpretive method, useful for examining rich and detailed data and generating themes to emphasise important aspects and summarise interview data (Alhojailan, 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) stated that thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data." In this research, thematic analysis is preferred over other methods due to its flexibility and accessibility, allowing for a comprehensive exploration and interpretation of the participants' perspectives and experiences. The analysis followed the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87): "familiarising yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing".

Familiarising myself with the data

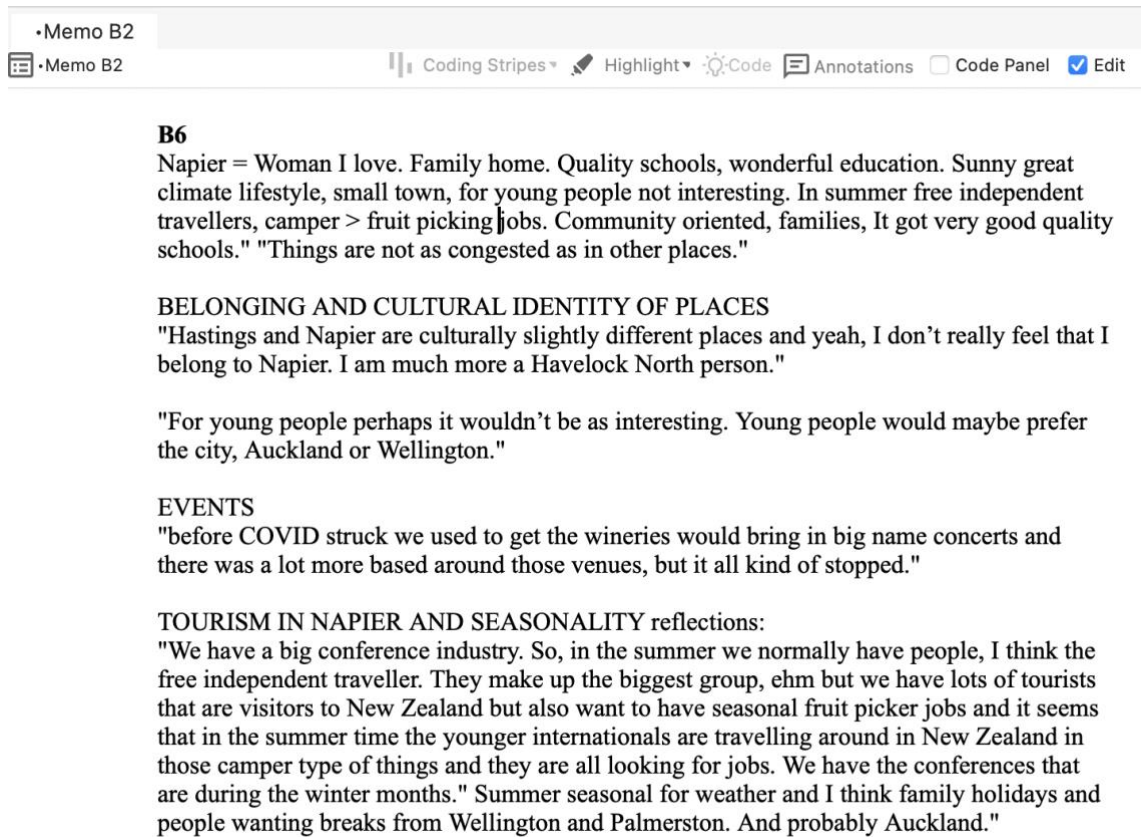
I employed a combination of manual coding, using pen and paper, and NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. During the coding, NVivo was a valuable tool as I read through the transcripts. It facilitated the organisation and management of transcriptions of the interviews and focus group and enabled on-screen manual coding. I used the “annotation” feature to take quick notes on key points and ideas. Figure 3.8 presents an example of annotations made on a resident interview transcript in NVivo.

Figure 3.8: Example of annotations made on a resident interview transcript in NVivo



The “memo” option in NVivo allows for capturing analytic notes (see Figure 3.9), summarising interpretations of the data, and identifying emerging patterns. This made it easy to jot down any thoughts related to data analysis as they occurred.

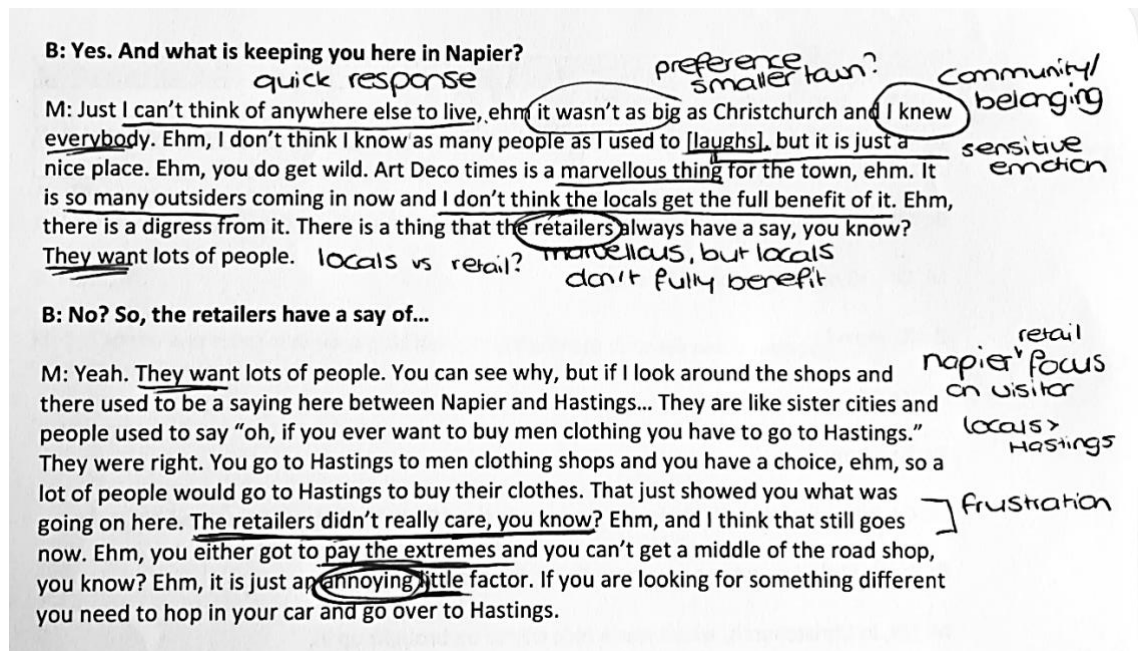
Figure 3.9: Memo example in NVivo based on an interview with a tourism business



Qualitative data analysis does not follow a straight path, as it is an iterative process that begins with data collection and concludes with data interpretation (Eakin & Gladstone, 2020). To make the process a little less overwhelming and to familiarise myself with the raw data, I followed the main three steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1) transcribe, 2) read and re-read, and 3) note down the main ideas.

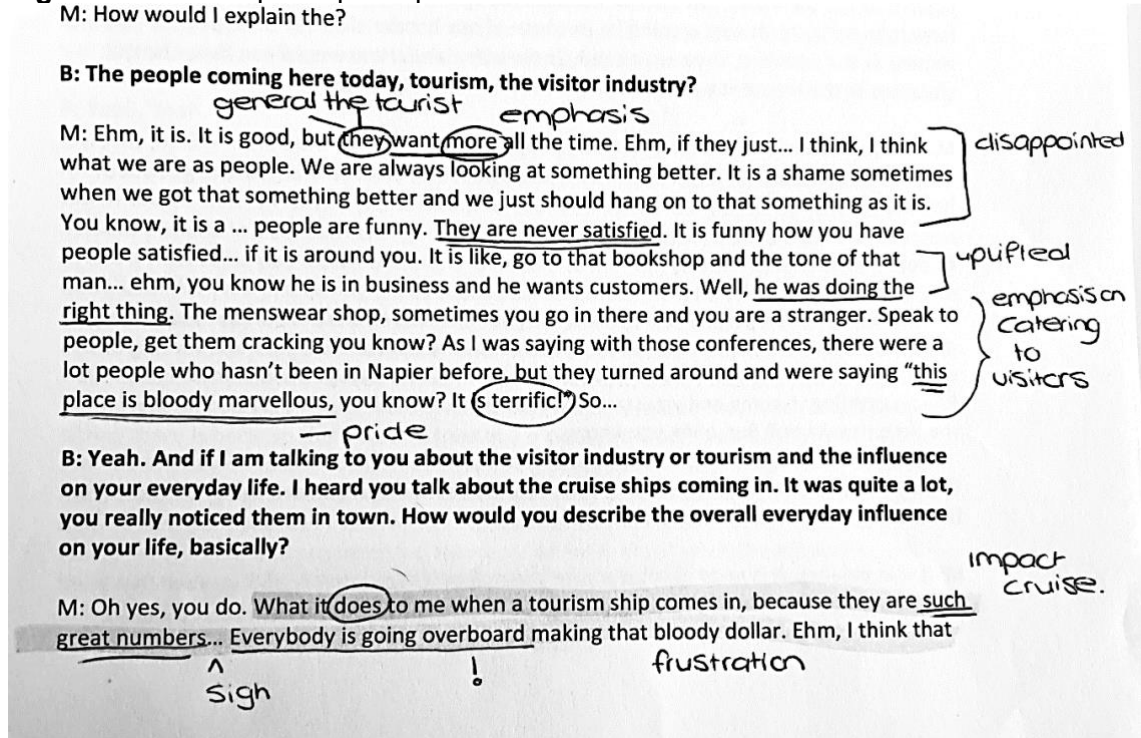
I listened to the recording for the first time after finishing the interview to enhance my initial notes. After finishing the fieldwork, I transcribed the interviews and focus group recordings. Transcribing the audio recordings allowed me to become more acquainted with the data. I listened to the audio recording for a third time to ensure the accuracy of the transcripts. After that, I printed out copies of the transcripts. I read through them to begin manual coding, while listening to the recording for a fourth time. Figure 3.10 presents examples of manual methods using pen and paper.

Figure 3.10: Example of manual methods using pen and paper



While listening to the recording for the fourth time, I took notes on the participant's tone, to grasp their emotions in specific situations, and underlined important words or phrases (see Figure 3.11). For instance, when asked if they could tell me about Napier and what attracted them to Napier as a place to live in, the participants provided responses characterising the location and their relationship to it such as: "There is nothing like it", "comfortable place", "friendly", "small enough, big enough", "pretty relaxed and easy to get around", and "I love living here". I highlighted these important words and made short notes on the printed transcript to capture the main ideas. This made up the first coding cycle in the qualitative analysis.

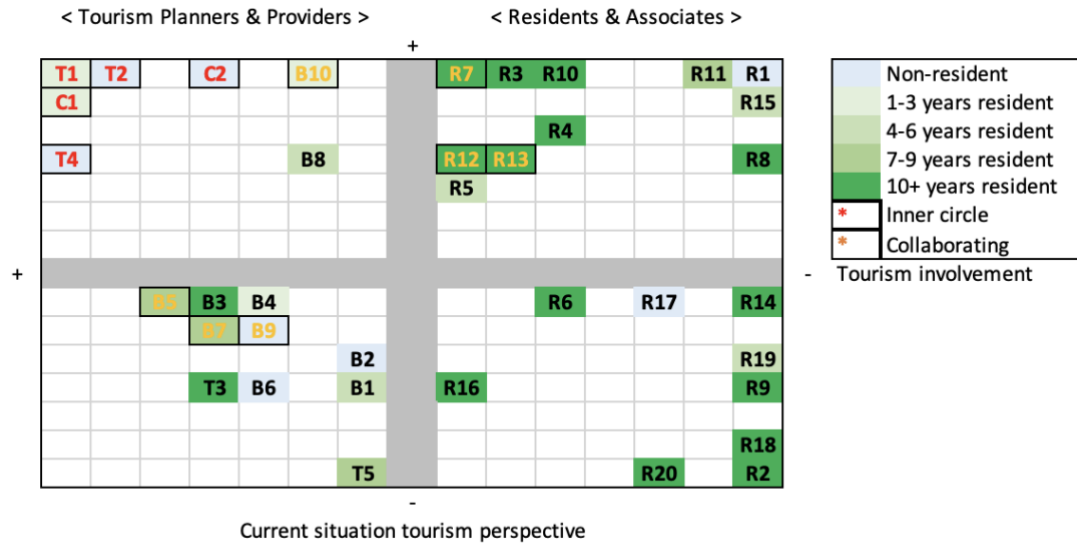
Figure 3.11: Example of participants' emotions notes



I then used lines to link connected ideas and made simple summarising notes in the margin to show how concepts related to each other. To gain a deeper understanding, I merged and compared my initial notes in the research diary and handwritten notes on the transcripts among the various participant categories in the tourism system, namely tourism planners and public agencies, businesses, community groups and associations, and residents.

During the data familiarisation phase, in-depth exploration was conducted into the roles of individuals involved in the tourism system of Napier. As part of this analysis process, a diagram was constructed to examine the correlation between tourism involvement in Napier and the length of the participants' residency (see Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12: Tourism involvement and length of residency



This diagram (Figure 3.12) was used to get an orientation of the research participants, their connection with each other, their orientation towards tourism, length of residency and a level of involvement in the industry. It aided me to discover the connection to the core group of people involved in tourism in Napier.

Generating initial codes

To categorise the notes and ideas, themes and sub-themes were established. *Inductive analysis* starts with no preconceived ideas and uncovers patterns and insights in the data (i.e., the analysis is data-driven), and is often used for theory development (Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Riley & Love, 2000; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Inductive analysis led to the development of three main themes and ten sub-themes. The topics around participants' reflections on the impact of tourism that arose in the first cycle of analysing the semi-structured resident interviews were grouped into sub-themes further explored in the codes (Nowell et al., 2017). These codes were grouped into sub-nodes in order to distinguish different perspectives, providing insight within the sub-themes. In each sub-theme, I considered the specific stakeholder groups from the interview data. I kept the overall research aim, three research objectives and specific research questions in mind (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). This ensured that each theme aligned with the overarching narrative, effectively guiding the interpretation to create a coherent narrative addressing the research questions.

Table 3.4 provides an example of a main theme and one of its sub-themes. The first column shows the underlying codes that reflect the residents' perception of tourism benefits, the second column clarifies the meaning of these themes based on my

interpretation, and the third column gives illustrative examples using excerpts from the transcripts.

Table 3.4: Examples from the inductive coding framework

Main theme 3: Residents' perceptions of tourism benefits <i>Sub-theme: Atmosphere and vibrancy</i>		
<u>Codes</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Excerpts from transcripts</u>
Pride	Sense of pride to share local culture	"It just gives it that kind of much different atmosphere I suppose. I really love this place, so I think there is an element of showing off. Like, wanting people to see it."
Recreational benefits	Activities and events for locals to participate in	"The locals will come. Because the tourists are here, locals will come out and go out. They might not come into town all year but will come up to stick a hat on and a bow tie, and say they are Art Deco. It is just something to do, you know? So, it is actually really good for the city."
Diversity	Cultural interaction with visitors (language, diversity)	"Seeing different people. Visually they bring things like fashion; I mean I am not a fashionista, but I do notice things. I have no doubt that people instantly felt ... ladies that are interested in fashion see fashions coming in. You hear if you are in shops and restaurants, you talk to people from overseas. If the conversation goes to anything past local, you get views about the world situation."

Themes: searching, reviewing, naming

Following the identification of the initial open codes in the data set, I organised codes with similar concepts into themes. This second coding cycle, often referred to as "pattern coding" (Saldaña, 2021), aimed to uncover patterns that reveal connections guiding the data analysis. For instance, it helped me understand the relationships between various themes, such as the impact of increased visitors on tourism businesses. Initially, I kept specific notes from individual participants, highlighted on paper, and started categorising emerging ideas and topics on paper, making sure each theme was clear. I then grouped similar themes into larger categories based on what they had in common. An example of this is the sub-theme "atmosphere and vibrancy", which developed out of the codes "pride", "recreational activities" and "diversity". The themes were inductively established by looking at the data itself rather than using themes from existing academic literature.

3.4.3 Writing up the research

Throughout the writing-up process, I once again went back to the data and refined my analysis and selection of quotes to ensure they effectively addressed the research questions. The data are presented in an aggregated fashion to reflect the participant group the interviewee belonged to, so that no individual or organisational information is mentioned in the findings.

3.5 Research ethics and ethical considerations

To protect the dignity, rights and welfare of research participants, it is important to adhere to ethical principles (Tracy, 2019). In order to adhere to the ethical principles of Auckland University of Technology (AUT), I applied for and received approval from the AUT Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 26 July 2021 (AUTEC Reference number 21/248; see Appendix 1). An amendment was filed and approved on 14 July 2022 to account for the addition of a focus group with participants from the semi-structured resident interviews after prior data collection (AUTEC Reference number 21/248; see Appendix 2).

During the development of the research proposal, representatives from the local iwi [tribe], Ngāti Kahungunu, were contacted for input and guidance to ensure the research has respect for the land and people and acknowledges Ngāti Kahungunu's relationship with the whenua [land]. Ngāti Kahungunu are the mana whenua iwi of the Hawke's Bay and Wairārapa regions, meaning that they have territorial rights and jurisdiction over the land as it is their traditional tribal area. During data collection, several participants identified as Māori and were willing to share their perspectives and insights, helping me to explore Māori well-being outcomes and aspirations for future generations. Twenty per cent of those interviewed in Phases 1 and 2 identified as Māori, of which over half (12%) were mana whenua. This proportion is similar to New Zealand's estimated Māori population of 17.4% of the national population in the year ending June 2022 (Stats NZ, 2022c).

The principle ethical considerations of this study were non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice (Pietilä et al., 2020). Autonomy and justice were upheld by respecting the rights of potential research participants to make informed decisions regarding their participation in the research. Participants were provided with clear information about the purpose, procedures and potential risks and benefits of the research, and their consent was sought prior to their involvement. Participation in the interview was voluntary and the consent fully informed and transparent. Tourism planners and public agencies in the Phase 1 of the research were interviewed in their work capacity. The participant information sheet (see Appendices 6, 7 and 8) was discussed with the interview and

focus group participants, including ethical considerations and confidentiality of data, and the participants were required to sign a consent form (see Appendices 9, 10 and 11) prior to their participation in the interview or focus group discussion. Beneficence, or “doing good”, was prioritised by striving to maximise the potential benefits of the research while minimising any potential harm (non-maleficence). Although Napier is a relatively small urban community compared with cities such as Auckland or Wellington, which have significantly larger populations, the size of the regional centre and large urban area (Stats NZ, 2021b) and the presentation of findings in an aggregated fashion ensured the confidentiality of individual responses and facilitated the protection of participant anonymity to uphold non-maleficence. Individual identities and names of organisations that they represented have not been presented in the findings. Care was taken to include diverse perspectives and voices in the research, reflecting the varied perceptions and concerns within Napier’s tourism system. In addition to these core ethical principles, transparent communication and ongoing reflection were integral to ensure that the research was conducted in a manner that upheld the highest standards of integrity and ethical conduct. Participants were encouraged to express any concerns related to anonymity and confidentiality and were able to decline to answer any question and withdraw from the research at any time. However, none of the participants chose to withdraw during the interviews and focus group session. If they had, I would have discarded any previously recorded data from the research. I was always willing to answer any research-related questions from the participants before, during and after the interviews and focus group session. Participants were offered a small token (e.g., coffee, lunch, compensation for transport costs in the form of a gift voucher, etc.) of appreciation to thank them for their time.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach for the research. The research employed a social constructivist, qualitative approach and used the case of Napier to achieve a deeper understanding of the impact of tourism on residents' sense of belonging and place attachment. The research design and qualitative methods have been detailed in the chapter, including the data collection procedures which comprised a familiarisation visit, semi-structured interviews and a focus group. A qualitative research methodology was chosen over quantitative methods due to the limited ability of a quantitative approach to capture rich insights into the impact of tourism on residents. Qualitative methods, guided by place attachment theory and the bottom-up spillover theory, aimed to capture the richness of contextual information, subjective lived experiences, and the complex interplay of factors in understanding the impacts of tourism on residents. The decision to use the case of Napier was motivated by the absence of spatial considerations in current literature, particularly in smaller urban areas. Napier's unique blend of rural and urban elements makes it an ideal and underexplored context for this research.

The chapter has explained participant recruitment, fieldwork design, and the number of interviews conducted in each phase, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the local tourism system and the effects of touristification on the community. The data management and analysis procedures were described, with the latter focusing on a thematic analysis of the roles and interests behind the driving forces of tourism in Napier, as well as residents' experiences in place, highlighting well-being aspects. Data were documented through note taking and digital recording with participant consent, followed by thematic analysis using manual methods and NVivo software. In conclusion, the method chapter has provided a detailed description of the research process, in which the richness of participants' voices and experiences have been captured and analysed.

The thesis now turns to presenting findings (in the following two chapters) that shed light on the dynamic interplay between tourism, community well-being and place attachment in Napier.

Chapter 4. The Evolution of Tourism in Napier

Using the case of Napier, New Zealand, this chapter presents findings to address the first research objective: 1) to inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests. Key questions include: How has tourism evolved in Napier? Who was involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier and what were their roles? and How were local residents involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier? The chapter is presented in three sections. Section 4.1 delves into the influence of tourism on the development of Napier, focusing on how tourism has shaped the region; Section 4.2 explores the various participants in the tourism system, along with their goals and aspirations; and Section 4.3 explores the participation of residents in the growth of tourism in Napier, concluding by shifting the focus to the present time and evaluating the current status of community considerations in tourism planning and decision-making in Napier.

The findings presented in this Chapter 4 draw on data collected in Phases 1 and 2 of the research. Phase 1 involved 17 semi-structured interviews with 20 tourism planners and providers. Ten of the interviews were with business owners/operators, two were with representatives from community groups and associations, and five were with tourism planners and representatives from public agencies. This last group involved representatives from destination management organisations, local government and public agencies (e.g., Napier City Council, the New Zealand Department of Conservation, and regional tourism organisations). This group of five is referred to as *tourism planners and public agencies* (TPPA). As outlined in Chapter 3, a core group of eight participants in the local tourism system was identified during Phase 1, to whom I was often referred. This core group consist of three representatives from TPPA, three business representatives, and two representatives from community groups and associations. This core group emerged as playing a dominant role in promoting and developing tourism in Napier.

In Phase 1, eight of the research participants were male and twelve were female. At the time of the interviews, two of the participants were aged between 66 and 80 years old, seven were 51–65 years old, nine were 36–50 years old and two were 20–35 years old. Three of the participants had lived in Napier longer than 10 years, two for 7–9 years, three for 4–6 years, and four for 1–3 years, while eight were non-residents (see Table 3.2). In Phase 2, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 Napier residents, 13 of whom were male, and 8 were female. Six of the Phase 2 participants were aged between 66 and 80 years old at the time of the interviews, ten were 51–65 years old, four were 36–50 years old and one was in the 20–35 years old age category.

Fifteen of the participants had lived in Napier longer than 10 years, one for between 7 and 9 years, and three for 4–6 years, while two participants were diaspora community members (see Table 3.3).

4.1 Transitioning tourism trends

When discussing the way tourism has evolved in Napier, the core group of participants, who are actively involved in promoting and developing tourism in Napier, could not provide much information about the evolution of or drivers for tourism in Napier, as they were relatively new to the city themselves. The TPPA and the representatives from community groups and associations, who also play a significant role in the current tourism industry in Napier, predominantly reflected on the preservation of the Art Deco buildings in the early development of tourism in Napier and the significant increase in cruise ship arrivals in the past 30 years. The participants focused on the wineries in the region, the Hawke's Bay Farmers' Market (the first farmers' market in New Zealand), the transition from bus tours and rail transport to the Art Deco revival in the 1980s, and then the growing cruise sector in the 30 years prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Most TPPA consider that tourism in Napier started in the early 20th century, specifically after the 1931 earthquake that destroyed the city, and has remained focused on Art Deco ever since. However, it is important to keep in mind that two of the three participants as part of the core group of TPPA, one of the three business representatives and one of the two representatives of the community groups and associations do not live in Napier, and others have only recently moved there; therefore, their perspectives and priorities might differ from those of people who have lived in the area for a long time.

A lack of deep-rooted local knowledge among key decision-makers can result in tourism strategies that do not fully align with the cultural, social, and economic priorities of the community, potentially overlooking historical significance, community expectations, and cultural sensitivities. Additionally, their weaker connections to local networks – such as businesses, indigenous groups, and heritage organisations – may limit meaningful collaboration, reducing opportunities to leverage local insights and resources for sustainable and inclusive tourism development (Goulter, 2024).

4.1.1 Transitioning tourism trends: Transportation

The *Napier Express* was a passenger train that served as a vital transportation link between Napier and Palmerston North for more than 60 years. Opening in 1891, the route was later extended to Wellington, in 1908. Due to a shortage of crews and coal in 1954, the *Napier Express* was discontinued and replaced by a more efficient and faster railcar service, marking the end of an era and paving the way for new modes of

transportation. The last train in operation between Wellington and Napier, the *Bay Express*, was introduced in 1989. This inter-city rail connection relied primarily on domestic traffic but faced increasing pressure from low airline ticket prices and the affordability of private cars. With a travel time of 5 hours and 30 minutes, the *Bay Express* could not compete with the speed of air travel (one hour) or the convenience of cars (four hours). As a result, the financially unsustainable *Bay Express* was disestablished in 2001 due to low ridership and lack of funding. The research participants noted that from the 1980s onwards, visitors to Napier relied more heavily on bus transportation and cars to get to Napier and to explore the surrounding Hawke's Bay region. Guided bus tours offer visitors the chance to experience Napier, delve into its history, and visit the wineries in the region.

4.1.2 Transitioning tourism trends: Art Deco Revival

The genesis of tourism in Napier is largely perceived to have emerged from the aftermath of the destructive Napier earthquake of 1931. The earthquake, measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale, devastated the city, leaving it in ruins. However, the disaster presented an opportunity for rebirth and reinvention. After the earthquake, the people of Napier rallied together to rebuild and did so largely in the Art Deco style. The subsequent reconstruction efforts saw the emergence of a vibrant Art Deco architectural landscape, replacing the devastated buildings with structures characterised by geometric patterns and sleek lines. The emergence of Art Deco architecture and the region's flourishing wine industry played pivotal roles in shaping Napier's appeal to visitors. This architectural transformation became a defining feature of Napier. After this, New Zealand's involvement in World War II and the years of the Great Depression limited tourism opportunities.

Several interviewees perceived the evolution of tourism to be closely linked to the involvement of volunteers and third-sector groups. The heritage group played a significant role in shaping the tourism landscape. Some residents and a representative of a community group explained that during the early 1980s, a new chapter in Napier's tourism narrative unfolded with the revival of interest in its Art Deco heritage. A local resident, the late Robert McGregor, recognised and observed the Art Deco architectural style of buildings and identified them as important elements of the cultural and architectural heritage (Hawkes Bay Today, 2015). Upon returning to Napier, McGregor brought attention to the city's historic buildings and gathered community members to celebrate and preserve them. Robert McGregor established the Art Deco Trust in 1985 which, along with the annual Gatsby Picnic, helped rekindle fascination with the city's architectural treasures among community members. As time passed, the annual Gatsby Picnic grew in size and popularity, as more people joined in. Then the Art Deco Festival

was recognised by the core group as a tool to stimulate the local economy and attract a growing number of visitors, which led to Art Deco events across the region.

Tourism-led beautification: Concerns about commodification of culture and a lack of authenticity

A common theme that emerged from the interviews with TPPA and community groups is that Napier is a region that is actively seeking to grow its tourism industry and capitalise on its “unique selling points”. This viewpoint was especially apparent among the TPPA participants, who often referred to the importance of the tourism industry to the local economy. Speaking about tourism at a national level, TPPA perceive New Zealand to be a unique destination at “the bottom of the world”; one which international visitors would save money to see once in their lifetime and often combine with a trip to Australia. Some TPPA identified several distinguishing features of Napier as a visitor destination: the thriving wine industry, the region’s warm climate, and the resurgence of Art Deco as part of cultural/heritage experiences for visitors. Moreover, as the region is actively pursuing economic growth in its tourism sector, there is a deliberate effort to identify and capitalise on these features to attract visitors. While some of these selling points may indeed be inherent and exclusive to the region, there was also an acknowledgement by the participants that certain aspects may be promoted strategically to enhance the destination’s appeal and competitive edge, which did not always align with the authentic essence of Napier. An example of this is the repainting and beautification of the Art Deco heritage buildings, which is done by owners with grants from the Art Deco Trust. Through the years, the Art Deco Trust has strengthened its links to the tourism sector and is supported by funds from Napier City Council. One participant from a community group reflected on the lack of authenticity in the way the ‘Art Deco’ theme has been captured and commodified for tourism:

Back in the '80s, people became more aware of how you can leverage heritage aspects of your place. Most of these buildings back in the 1930s were grey. They were built of concrete. Acrylic paint wasn't invented till the 1950s. If any of them would have any colour, it was because they dropped paint pigment into the concrete. They would have been really pale and over the years all the colour would have disappeared entirely. So, it would go back to concrete. So, what Napier has also been doing is a little bit of cosmetic enhancement to make it look pretty. [C1]

A local resident offered an alternative view of the way the beautification process in Napier for tourism and similarly remarked on the paint colours of the Art Deco buildings, which were funded through grants from the Art Deco Trust and indirectly by the Napier City Council. They noted that the original appearance was of coloured concrete. For this interviewee, the current paintwork allows for a clearer visibility of the plaster details on

the buildings, enhancing their overall aesthetic. This transformation can be described as a significant improvement, particularly with the use of Art Deco colours. As one strolls through the town, it is evident that the buildings painted in the 1990s featured pastel shades, followed by earthy tones, a green phase, and a return to earthy tones. He adds “It is fascinating to observe that, having become so familiar with these buildings, I can now identify the periods during which they were painted” [R12].

Several participants commented that projects were undertaken to beautify the buildings and went on to explain how Napier transformed from an affordable family destination to an upmarket tourism spot. This led some to doubt the authenticity of the Trust’s preservation efforts. Originally, the Art Deco Trust was a community-driven, historical restoration initiative aimed at preserving heritage in the built environment, but over time, the focus on Art Deco has gradually shifted as the TPPA have used these buildings to develop the Art Deco narrative to attract more visitors to Napier. In the 1980s, the Art Deco Trust’s initiatives and activities shifted away from culture and heritage preservation, the Trust’s original focus, to a more tourism-orientated promotional focus – resulting in the Trust now being closely associated with tourism planning and promotion, and largely funded by the local Council. The shift in focus was manifested in a move towards incorporating tourism into the Trust’s activities, thus commercialising the architectural heritage of Art Deco. With a new focus on generating economic benefit, the community initiative has been transformed by a rebranding into a tourism product, like the annual Art Deco Festival in February, the Winter Deco Festival in July, and year-round walking tours, to attract visitors.

A number of local residents and a representative from a community organisation expressed their concerns regarding the recent shift in focus and objectives, indicating their disappointment with the departure from the original mission and goals of the Art Deco Trust, as well as the ensuing commercialisation of Art Deco. They emphasised that if the aim is to safeguard, maintain, and honour Napier’s Art Deco heritage, the organisation seems to have overlooked this mandate, allowing the festival to overshadow its true purpose. The initiative has transformed into a tourism enterprise primarily aimed at profit generation, leading to a perception of it being somewhat devoid of spirit. The integrity of the heritage organisation appears compromised, as it seems to have lost sight of its foundational role. Furthermore, there are sentiments that the Deco Trust has been somewhat clumsy in its approach, having been entrusted to individuals more interested in financial gain and promotion rather than the preservation of the historical buildings.

I feel that the Deco Trust has been a bit ham-fisted, and it was given over to people who just wanted to make money out of it and hype it up. And use it to sell real estate and buy some expensive hotels and they have lost sight of the idea that was actually to preserve the buildings. [R18]

It is important to recognise the balance between promoting features of a destination while ensuring that promotion remains authentic and aligned with the place's identity. This is important because when promotion strays too far from the community's values and the true character of the place, it can lead to a loss of cultural meaning and local support. Authenticity helps foster a sense of pride among residents and contributes to a more meaningful experience for visitors, strengthening both community well-being and long-term tourism sustainability (The Treasury, 2021; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The local Rotary Club is one of the third-sector organisations mentioned by the participants. The Club's members are mainly business owners/operators, although its membership is open to others as well. The TPPA recognises the Rotary Club's role in initiating the idea to create a network of interconnected cycle trails in Napier during the mid-2000s. Local residents expressed their appreciation for the cycle trails, and the TPPA noted the trails' success and the potential they offered for themed experiences, such as food and wine trails and Art Deco cycle trails.

One of the TPPA shared during their interview that the Hawke's Bay region's favourable climate and fertile soils have made it an ideal location for vineyards and wineries. The diverse landscape in the region encompasses the historic vineyards of Taradale and Meeanee, as well as the renowned Gimblett Gravels and Bridge Pa Triangle regions, which host some of the finest wines produced in the area. This participant is proud of the region's wine and food sectors and sees these as key attractors to Napier and the wider Hawke's Bay region.

We are promoting the one thing that brings all of Hawke's Bay together – from the south of Porangahau to the north of Mōrere hot pools – is the food and wine story. So, you know, almost everybody and every region is touched by or is involved in the production and delivery of food and wine experiences. The growth of that. [T1]

Napier, as part of the Hawke's Bay region, has capitalised on its viticultural heritage to attract wine enthusiasts from around the world. TPPA and local community groups and associations have been focused on actively emphasising the city's "unique selling points", such as the wineries and the Art Deco buildings, for promotional purposes to attract more visitors. Because of this, the wine industry has become an integral part of the city's visitor industry. The region has also developed a thriving beer culture in recent years, with a significant presence of small breweries that offer tastings and related activities.

Residents reflected on the role of vineyards and wineries as part of tourism in the region, but felt that the tourism offerings could better resonate with local culture and identity. For example:

How do we open up tourism in Hawke's Bay, apart from the wineries, the Art Deco and bike trails. There is no cultural component. [R20]

Although wine and Art Deco can be regarded as components of Napier's cultural identity this resident was seeking something beyond the established tourism offerings, raising the lack of a cultural component in a desire for more direct engagement with indigenous/Māori culture, which could further enrich the region's tourism offerings and reflect a broader, more inclusive representation of local culture. However, it was apparent that local culture and identity was not uppermost in the minds of TPPA and community groups and associations. During the Phase 1 interviews, these participants placed a heavy focus on marketing and promotion, generating demand, and the economic benefits of the tourism industry, especially cruise tourism:

The reality is that cruise ships bring in about 25 million to the region. From an economic perspective, the isite is probably our highest performing contributor to economic dollars. [T4]

The isite is a Napier City Council-owned tourism business that is actively involved with the arrival of cruise ship visitors. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the TPPA had been focused on ways to ensure continued growth in visitor numbers and a relatively balanced domestic/international visitor split. However, the pandemic presented significant challenges; something the TPPA participants commented on.

Currently, the visitor industry – with COVID – is on its knees. It is finding things tough, very tough. It is just focusing on keeping the businesses operating. ... Tourism was our second biggest importing [sic] industry – second to agriculture – and that was stopped overnight. [T4]

It is interesting to note that this comment from a tourism planner refers to tourism as New Zealand's second largest import industry whereas tourism is widely acknowledged by government as a major export industry and principal earner of foreign exchange (Tourism New Zealand, 2024). Nonetheless, the TPPA and community groups and associations all expressed a goal to create vibrancy in Napier's central business district (CBD) and encourage people to spend money in Napier by collaborating on campaigns to attract visitors and support local businesses. However, when reflecting on their role to build vibrancy on the streets, the TPPA and community groups and associations stated that it is the responsibility of the retailers to make their shops look welcoming to encourage people to enter and make purchases. They also acknowledged that foot traffic does not always translate to increased sales.

One viewpoint expressed by a member of the TPPA is that Napier has limited offerings beyond its Art Deco architecture. He highlighted the significance of this architectural style as a primary draw that distinguishes Napier from other locations. However, individuals and businesses outside the core group believe that the region offers more than just its

Art Deco heritage. Another TPPA member, who is not part of the core group, underscored this point during their discussion, emphasising that there is much more to experience than merely enjoying wine and the ambiance of the 1930s. While the buildings are attractive, there are myriad activities available. This interviewee felt that other voices were being overlooked in terms of promotion, reflecting a lack of inclusivity in tourism planning and potentially a lack of capability to connect with a broader range of tourism stakeholders (including local businesses and residents). This represents a missed opportunity for tourism, in terms of broadening the visitor experience and dispersing the benefits of tourism to local areas beyond the main street of the urban area. Several of the participants also noted that there are various other non-Art Deco events in Hawke's Bay that draw people from outside the region. For instance, prior to the pandemic, sports events like the Hawke's Bay Marathon and IronMāori (an annual endurance sport event in Hawke's Bay) and concerts during summer at the Mission and Church Rd wineries attracted a significant number of visitors.

It is important to consider a balance between promoting the area as a tourist destination and supporting the needs and interests of the local community. It was clear from the interviews that TPPA are primarily focused on promoting the region as a tourist destination, with a particular emphasis on showcasing the Art Deco architecture of Napier. However, this is contrary to the importance some local businesses place on Art Deco. An example of this came from a manager of a tourism business in Napier who expressed his observations and personal perspective on his role and interest in tourism. The manager acknowledged that there is a dedicated group of residents involved in the Art Deco scene, but at the same time, feels that a significant portion of the local population in Napier and Hawke's Bay does not actively engage with it.

There is a certain core of residents that are involved in Art Deco, but – I don't want to be critical, but at the same time, a lot of Napier and Hawke's Bay don't go near it. ... I think there is a big portion of the population who doesn't actually know when the festival is on. They probably couldn't tell you. [B7]

While sharing his opinion, the manager admitted that if he weren't employed in the tourism industry and immersed in the Art Deco culture and events, he would personally choose to stay away from Napier CBD during the Art Deco Festival as it does not align with his personal interests: "I would stay away. It isn't really my thing, but you know – I get paid to do it." [B7]. However, he recognises that his job requires him to be involved and contribute to the promotion and preservation of Art Deco in the region.

The TPPA place significant emphasis on marketing, promoting, advertising and selling stories and places as a visitor attraction. However, few comments came out of the

interviews that indicate any focus from TPPA on developing Napier as a sustainable tourism destination.

Residents, on the other hand, expressed a much stronger focus on sustainability, raising ideas of offering visitors the opportunity to have a sustainable, carbon-free holiday by reducing their use of cars and instead using bicycles. Additionally, the promotion of local produce and the concept of provenance has been developed, which encourages visitors and locals to eat and drink locally and reduce food miles.

4.1.3 Transitioning tourism trends: Cruise ships

Prior to the pandemic, the cruise sector played a prominent role in Napier's tourism landscape, as cruise ship passenger arrivals in Napier increased substantially from fewer than 20,000 in early 2000 to between 80,000 and 100,000 passengers each summer season prior to the COVID-19 pandemic (Hawke's Bay Tourism, n.d.(b)). Commenting on how tourism has changed over time, one TPPA participant noted the exponential growth of cruise tourism in Napier:

I think the big change was the cruise sector. I mean that went from, you know, that probably grew over a period of ... 10 to 15 years from maybe getting 10 cruise ships in a year to the last year before the pandemic, we had 85. So, that grew over that 12 to 15 year timeframe. That is a massive change. It was very little ships and then very big ships. [T2]

During the interviews, tourism planners, public agency representatives, and business operators acknowledged and considered the dissatisfaction expressed by community members regarding the impact of increased cruise ship visitors and the subsequent distribution of their spending across various sectors of the tourism industry, including wineries. Many vineyard owners with tasting rooms were apprehensive that cruise ship passengers participated in brief tours, engaged in tastings without making purchases, leading to a situation where wineries felt they were providing substantial amounts of wine without receiving adequate compensation. Consequently, they implemented tasting fees over the past two to three years. Some wineries opted to avoid hosting tours for cruise ship passengers, as the influx of large groups — sometimes up to 40 individuals — into small tasting rooms significantly altered the experience for all attendees. This resulted in considerable resistance from the wineries. This highlights the everyday realities and operational pressures faced by wineries, which were seemingly overlooked in broader tourism planning processes led by the TPPA. This underscores the importance of meaningful engagement, genuine collaboration and inclusive planning between stakeholders to ensure tourism strategies are both effective and recognises the diverse aspirations and priorities of different tourism subsectors.

The participants of the TPPA shared their perspectives on the influence of tourism, particularly cruise tourism, on the community, incorporating various opinions from local business owners and residents they were familiar with. The repercussions of the pandemic were evident, as TPPA members noted that this sector of the industry was initially deemed insignificant; however, once lockdown measures were implemented, businesses experienced a considerable decline in revenue. The impact of cruise tourism was particularly pronounced. Community perceptions regarding cruise days were mixed, with many residents opting to avoid the town during these times. Prior to the pandemic, some retailers expressed sentiments such as, 'Cruise ship passengers hold no value' and 'They do not contribute to our sales.' Yet, in the absence of cruise visitors, these same retailers lamented, 'We truly miss the cruise passengers' and acknowledged their substantial influence on our business. One TPPA participant referred to the impact of cruise ship visitors on Napier residents as somewhat of a “double-edged sword”, saying the cruise ships brought both a sense of vibrancy to town but also an overcrowded city centre on cruise days. He acknowledged the range of positive and negative perspectives:

Napier residents on a cruise ship day are very affected by the tourism industry and we hear anything from “Oh, it is far too busy, so I don't come into town on a cruise ship day” to “I just love the vibe, it is great to see lots of people around”. So, you are going to get opposing views. [T2]

The added vibrancy is felt when cruise ships are in port and Art Deco events are held. However, seasonal spikes in tourism activity were also commented on by tourism business operators, who mentioned the city's warm climate and scenic beauty, which have long attracted tourists, particularly during the summer holiday season. The Hawke's Bay region is predominantly busy during school holidays, highlighting the need to proactively promote the area to potential visitors at other times of the year. Issues of tourism seasonality were reinforced and reflected on during the interviews with business operators and residents, who felt that those involved with tourism planning (TPPA) are ineffective in countering the effects of reduced seasonal demand and only focus on promoting the region during the summer months when it is easy to attract visitors. Some of the business operators and residents believe that the planners need to do more to attract visitors during the winter months when tourism is slower. For example, one business owner commented:

One of the other gripes I have with [TPPA] is that they pat themselves on the back for bringing lots of things and doing lots of things in summer time, which is a real easy one. It is a big blind spot and fills this place in summer time, because the weather is great, it is flat, it is easy ... I think in 20 years, Art Deco had rain once, you know. It is a really sure thing that whatever you organise can go ahead in the summer time. [But] they do nothing in winter. It is actually – we need help in the winter time. People will come here in the summer. We got enough going on. Don't pat yourself on the back for that.

Do the mahi [work] and get people here in the winter time, because we still have a lot to offer in the winter time. The days are relatively settled. We have cool nights, but relatively good days. If it rains – it shouldn't put off an entire event. There should be other things that we could do. [B3]

The need to strike a balance between opportunities and challenges for sustainable tourism growth was recognised by TPPA and tourism business operators. They identified a reliance on young international backpackers to provide seasonal staff for the horticulture and tourism industry as a challenge prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic then exacerbated this problem – as international travel ground to a halt due to government-imposed travel restrictions and vaccination mandates, it became more difficult for tourism businesses to find staff.

The biggest challenge, of course, to our sector has been about staff, and staffing. Where we certainly have been more reliant on international, young travellers and backpackers making their way around, ... Backpackers who would have been here to pick, pack and prune fruit, but also those who would have worked in hospitality. So, more recently with the new vaccination mandates, we have seen probably an increased number of hospitality outlets struggle to be able to find the staff, but vaccinated staff, to be able to work, so that has proven to be a challenge. [T1]

There was, however, no mention of encouraging residents to join the workforce. This gap suggests there has been little planning to build a strong local tourism workforce by supporting training, skill development, or encouraging local people to take up jobs in the sector.

Numerous business stakeholders expressed concerns that as New Zealand reopens to tourists, it is essential to establish clear guidelines regarding visitor conduct. One business operator shared insights on the tangible effects of the tourism revival on the everyday lives of local inhabitants. She reflected that over the years, there has been a steady increase in the number of cruise ships. The community has gradually acclimated to this change, including the parking situation outside their local bakery, which has been a norm for the past two years. However, this influx is expected to escalate rapidly, not over a decade, but within a span of six to twelve months. This transition may present a cultural shock for both businesses and the community.

The Tiaki promise is part of a national strategy to encourage responsible forms of tourism and represents a pledge made by visitors to New Zealand to safeguard the nation's natural environment and cultural heritage. Another operator expressed anticipation for the return of visitors to Napier yet criticised the effectiveness of New Zealand's sustainability commitment in addressing the challenges faced by host communities. For her, the Tiaki promise needs to be imbued with greater significance, as it currently lacks substance and remains merely eloquent phrases on paper. While such expressions can hold value, collective commitment is necessary. She commented that while we must

embrace the return of visitors with clear expectations. It is unacceptable to witness public indecency or littering. Therefore, while we should extend a warm welcome and ensure visitors have an enjoyable experience, we must also maintain reasonable expectations regarding their behaviour in our community. Nonetheless, she was enthusiastic and eagerly await the return of visitors to the region.

Residents' views on cruise ships

Importantly, this PhD study offered residents an opportunity to present their opinions and have a 'voice for tourism'. This means that residents have the ability and freedom to express their opinions, ideas, and feelings, and to be heard and considered. It also implies having agency and power to influence decisions or events. In essence, it's about having the opportunity to participate in conversations, share perspectives, and make one's voice heard on matters that matter.

Most of the residents interviewed felt the TPPA were prioritising attracting visitors and promoting tourism over addressing the needs of the local community. One of the residents shared his dissatisfactions with tourism in New Zealand more broadly, prior to the pandemic:

Before the pandemic, I didn't like what was happening to New Zealand. New Zealanders couldn't travel in the summer. Everything was tourist-rates. It was always jam-packed. [R3]

A local resident questions the tourism planners' emphasis on increasing visitor numbers rather than adopting yield-driven strategies that promote sustainable benefits for local communities. They highlighted the reliance of local businesses on the influx of tourists to Napier and voiced concerns regarding the rising number of cruise ships. The resident pondered whether the focus on visitor statistics is truly beneficial, suggesting that if retailers effectively engage with their customers, their businesses should thrive independently of tourist numbers. They noted that while conference attendees often praise the local offerings, the sudden arrival of a thousand cruise ship passengers can be overwhelming. The resident expressed scepticism about the value of simply increasing visitor counts, questioning the necessity of such growth if local businesses are adequately serving their clientele.

A thousand people coming off a cruise ship? Good god, that is a shock for everybody. You know, I think there is a bit of falseness in saying, "We get the numbers and there are another five ships coming this month, da da da da." What the hell. Do we need them? ... If retailers are doing their thing properly, if they have their customers, you shouldn't have to want a cruise ship to satisfy your business, you know? [R9]

These comments highlight the disconnect between residents' opinions regarding the necessity of tourism for local businesses and the dedication of TPPA to tourism promotion strategies to attract visitors and create vibrancy in the host destination.

4.2 Clarifying roles and responsibilities: a disregard for destination management

With the effects of touristification being felt by a diverse range of community members, it was important to explore who was involved in the development of tourism. Within Napier City Council, an economic business adviser is responsible for overseeing the tourism industry at a local level. The council owns several tourism businesses and visitor attractions in the region as part of their promotional efforts to attract more visitors. These include the National Aquarium of New Zealand, McLean Park, Kennedy Park Resort, Napier Conferences & Events (at the War Memorial), Napier isite, Par2 MiniGolf, Napier Municipal Theatre, Ocean Spa, Bay Skate and the Napier Aquatic Centre. These council-owned tourism businesses and visitor attractions actively work with each other and other council-supported community groups and associations, such as Napier City Business Inc. and regional tourism organisation Hawke's Bay Tourism.

The interview then turned to discussing tourism in a strategic context. During the field research preparation, the review of secondary data included an extensive search for a visitor strategy for Napier. Unfortunately, no such plan could be found. While Napier City Council's Long Term Plan did include aspects of tourism, it was primarily focused on visitor spending, maintaining visitor numbers and marketing strategies (Napier City Council, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c). When asked about a destination management plan for Napier, as has been done at a sub-regional level in Queenstown (Destination Queenstown, n.d.), the TPPA did not see it as their responsibility to create one, were not sure who would be responsible for creating one, or didn't believe in tourism strategies and the ability to manage a destination. The RTO did not mention the Hawke's Bay Destination Management Plan during their interview in January 2022, which was later published in early 2023.

I don't know whose responsibility that is. Whether it is (a regional tourism organisation) or just the responsibility of anybody who wants to get into it. I think that is probably the issue in here, in Napier, is that we don't have an overarching sort of – "Okay, where are our gaps?" And who is going to fill those gaps? How are we going to make sure that when we got international visitors back, how are we going to make sure we have lots to offer? So, I think strategically there is not a lot done around the development of tourism around here. I think it happened sort of organically. [T2]

It became clear that this TPPA was not aware of the difference between a destination management strategy and a marketing plan. Another participant, from a regional tourism organisation, did not see their role as encompassing destination management.

We are not involved in the development of tourism, Birthe. So, we are involved in generating demand ... Many regions are talking about destination management and destination development, and I have some thoughts about that [laughs and sighs]. You can't control a region in many ways. [T1]

As the discussion progressed, this TPPA representative limited his focus to identifying new areas for product development and promotional efforts, seemingly unaware that this is one aspect of destination management. However, New Zealand Government guidelines for developing a destination management strategy include defining the destination, brand positioning, identifying target markets, marketing and promotion, product development along with other aspects of sustainable tourism that include defining a vision for the destination, data research and analysis, strategising, gauging community attitudes towards tourism, managing amenities, services and infrastructure, environmental stewardship, capability building, determining leadership structures, risk and crisis management, and measuring success (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2022).

During their interview, each participant was asked for information about the aims and objectives of their organisation. The aims of organisations associated with the TPPA group of participants are twofold: first, to establish an appealing and dynamic destination that encourages people to visit, and second, to entice individuals to relocate and settle in the area. Some of the participants commented that Hawke's Bay and Napier have traditionally been sought-after family and summer destinations. According to the TPPA participants, Napier appeals as a summer destination for families and as a wonderful place to bring up children, as well as being known for its distinctive architecture.

The interviewed participants were of the opinion that the focus of TPPA was on finding ways to market Hawke's Bay and Napier as desirable places to visit, rather than simply relying on the destination's intrinsic appeal, the inherent attractiveness of the region's natural features, such as scenic landscapes, and the city's cultural heritage and recreational opportunities to attract visitors. There was less focus on promoting the cultural or natural environmental aspects of the area, and more on the built environment – i.e., the Art Deco architecture – which is seen as the region's point of difference. One TPPA interviewee also noted the remoteness of the area:

In the New Zealand context, Hawke's Bay is harder to get to than other places. Hawke's Bay does not have an iconic landscape in the same way that many other places in New Zealand do. Rotorua, Waitomo Caves,

Franz Josef Glacier, Milford Sound, you know, those are truly iconic – that does not exist in Hawke's Bay. What Hawke's Bay does have, is that point of difference, is kind of that architecture. That's what sets Napier apart from anything else. [T1]

It is important to note that most of the TPPA participants interviewed for the research were not (long-term) residents, raising questions about their understanding and connection to Napier. It also became clear during the interviews that on the topic of tourism strategy and destination management, participants (as identified from the core group) defaulted to simply talking about marketing and promotional strategies. This indicates a lack of understanding about what 'destination management' means (a capacity issue), along with confusion about whose responsibility it is to develop a destination management plan.

4.2.1 Working together: an exclusive group and feeling left out

Collaboration is both an opportunity and a challenge for tourism in Napier. Despite occasional networking initiatives, joint goal setting is primarily based on Napier City Council funding and marketing initiatives by the identified core group of TPPA, businesses and community groups and associations, and seldom extends to include the wider community. During their interview, one TPPA representative described the people involved in tourism as "a wonderful tourism community ... there is me, along with my managers... marketing the region". When asked about collaboration and working with others, two representatives from the TPPA, and both community groups and associations – who were part of the identified core group – reflected solely on their commitment to their members. These research participants represent organisations that have paid membership models. In the response to the question about collaboration these participants commented that the focus of working together was simply to market the region. As one interviewee from the TPPA [regional tourism organisation] commented:

Real membership starts at around \$300. ... Our commitment is to our members and [that] is what we do, and basically what they get for their investment. [T1]

When asked about collaborations in the current tourism system, another TPPA [public sector organisation] also reflected on the role of paid membership and marketing efforts:

We are paying a membership to help promote and advocate Hawke's Bay. So you could say that is the collaboration. I mean, we involve and touch base with [the RTO] team regularly. There is a collaboration, for sure, but we have our own strategies. We have our own marketing budget. [T4]

The underlying sentiment suggests that paying for membership is considered a sufficient form of collaboration, implying that financial contributions are viewed as the primary

responsibility toward partnership efforts. It is noteworthy that their focus is primarily on promoting and marketing the region as a brand with an emphasis on paid memberships from businesses within a designated area in Napier's CBD and individual marketing budgets. This suggests a selective and exclusive approach to tourism, rather than a collaborative effort to not only enhance the visitor experience but to benefit the community as a whole. Participants were limited in their responses when asked about the local community and working together in collaboration. Some businesses reflected on their own role and position as tourism providers in the "core group". Other business operators were aware of collaborations in the form of paid memberships:

If you are a member of [TPPA part of the core group], you get invited basically. Not many people tend to go, there were only seven at the last one. ... It is more of a tourism update, so they tell us things about the industry and what they are doing – sort of lead business to the region and what's happening outside of the region in New Zealand and other things that are happening. It is really informative. [B7]

This type of approach – invitation only and information giving rather than dialogue – does not allow for genuine conversations or wider community engagement and collaboration, which is critical for ensuring that the diverse perspectives and needs of all participants in the tourism system are considered. However, while all voices should be heard and included in the conversation, practical constraints such as resource limitations, policy priorities, and conflicting interests mean that not every request can be implemented in full. Decision-making must navigate these realities while striving for meaningful and inclusive engagement. To fully harness the benefits of collaboration, it is important for all parties involved to engage in meaningful and inclusive dialogue that allows for a range of voices to be heard. A range of community members – both business operators and residents – said they felt they were not being heard by the TPPA. An operator of a tourism business expressed concerns regarding insufficient support from the regional tourism organisation, attributing this to differing target markets. Although aware of the plans for tourism and having had opportunities to contribute; this interviewee commented that she currently lacked confidence in alignment of the TPPA with her business objectives adding: "Our business does not receive substantial backing from the regional tourism organisation, as we do not align with the food and wine demographic. While they do provide some support, we are not prioritised since we do not conform to the 'fork country' branding". She went on to explain that her clientele primarily consists of families, which are not a significant target group for the TPPA as families typically do not possess considerable financial resources. The focus of the TPPA was, to her, on retired Boomers and couples without children, who are more aligned with the food and wine market. Later in their interview, this same business owner/operator commented that while they felt they were informed about marketing initiatives and events, they also felt left out of important

conversations about tourism – unless they were perceived as having something valuable to “donate”:

I don't know really what kind of representation we get out of that [membership of TPPA]. You get the information, you get the updates, you get the events. That is all really valuable stuff in terms of a membership, but I don't get the feeling that [the tourism business] in our present state is a priority. It is nice to have on the landscape, but I don't feel that we necessarily are a priority. Until, and I am going to be a little bit ferocious here ... until they want us to give something – Can you donate this and that? People like to want stuff from us and then we are valued; then we have value. [B9]

While the comment above reflects a concern that some members of the RTO and/or business associations often felt that their membership offered little return, others expressed concern that the TPPA, businesses and community associations, were pushing their own self-interest.

[A community group and association] was friendly with anyone who was running [TPPA] and so you know ... There were just all these deals being done. You know, by people that knew each other. And I don't think they listened [to local residents] a great deal. I don't think they cared, and at that stage, I just couldn't be bothered [to be involved]. [B2]

Several business operators voiced their dissatisfaction and confusion regarding the approach taken by the TPPA and the community groups and associations involved in tourism planning. One individual suggested that there exists a rather exclusive circle from which they feel excluded, their input disregarded and had incurred difficulty in effecting any change, leaving them unimpressed with the TPPA, especially with one chief executive who was keen on promoting bicycle tours. This business operator reminded the chief executive that if she wished to pursue this, a public tender must be issued, given that they are a charitable organisation reliant on public funding so it was inappropriate to award such opportunities to acquaintances without a transparent bidding process. However, they were not receptive to such suggestions. While there may be some level of collaboration and membership engagement happening between participants in the core group to work closely together to market the region, concerns were expressed by other tourism business operators and residents that this approach is neither inclusive nor allows for genuine engagement/consultation. As a result, some tourism business operators and residents feel that their perspectives are not being considered and/or that their voices are not being heard. This dynamic is, in part, shaped by the mandate and funding structures of Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs) in New Zealand, which often prioritise tourism promotion and economic growth, aligning their strategies with the interests of councils and participants in local tourism through membership programs. Given this focus, RTOs may place greater emphasis on

increasing visitor numbers and financial returns rather than focusing on broader community well-being, potentially limiting their ability to engage meaningfully with residents and address concerns related to sustainable destination management and long-term liveability.

4.3 Consideration of community in tourism planning and decision-making

Several business operators expressed their views on the economic emphasis of the TPPA, suggesting that there should be a transition from assessing the success of the tourism sector based solely on statistical and economic indicators to incorporating social dimensions and community values. One tourism business operator remarked that for the TPPA this 'is familiar territory for them', and it is straightforward to incorporate performance metrics based on market position, accreditation, numerical data, and revenue, believing that these concepts are easily comprehensible. However, the operator also added that 'the notion of social return on investment is relatively new adding that when discussions shift to the well-being framework and the concepts of social value and social license to operate, it becomes essential for individuals to grasp the implications of this terminology.' [B9]

As local residents are part of the place in which tourism exists, it is important to explore their involvement in the evolution of tourism in Napier, including their involvement in strategic decision-making and tourism planning. After discussing the topic of collaboration between participants in the tourism system, the interviewees from TPPA, businesses, and community groups and associations were asked whether residents were involved in tourism planning. It was evident from the participants' responses that residents are not only not currently included in planning efforts but also their absence did not concern some of the representatives of TPPA and community groups and associations, who asked why the residents should be included.

Not to be rude, but I wouldn't ask a local: "Who do you think I would be marketing the city to?" or "What is the best thing you think about Napier?" Rather – people who work in this world, to kind of position the city, the region. Because you are actually talking to – you are not talking to the residents. We are not trying to get the residents to Napier. The residents are already here. [C1]

A representative from the community groups and associations reflected on the participation of residents in the Art Deco Festival. They observed that there are both enthusiastic supporters and critics of the festival within the community. This underscores the importance of involving residents in conversations regarding tourism. The participant emphasises the importance of collaboration or consultation with tourism stakeholders and partners who directly impact their business, while contending that the broader

resident population's involvement is largely irrelevant unless they have a direct link to the tourism sector. Although the community groups and associations receive significant funding from the Napier City Council, he proposes that the responsibility of consulting the wider resident population may lie with the Council, given their direct relationship with ratepayers. The representative from the community group expressed scepticism about the value of consulting local residents, stating: "There are individuals who are very vocal, and we likely have as many detractors of the Art Deco Festival as we do supporters. I am uncertain about their contributions because unless they are involved in tourism, they do not have much to add to the discussion". For instance, an accountant working in the area is not affected by tourist activity and does not contribute to the tourism sector. In contrast, the bus company is integral to the broader conversation as they are service providers. However, he went on to add that he would not seek input from a retired resident living on the hill who may or may not have an opinion about tourists. His consultations were focused on stakeholders and partners, the city, volunteers, staff, and suppliers he collaborates with. Involving residents in discussions about tourism was something that he felt was the Council's responsibility with their ratepayers. These comments indicate a certain lack of respect for and appreciation of the perspectives and contributions of residents whom the participant deems are not directly involved in the tourism industry. This community group representative appears to dismiss the relevance of residents who do not have a direct connection to tourism-related businesses or those who have retired and may hold opinions about, and are impacted by, visitors. This viewpoint suggests a potential disregard for the broader community's input and the value of diverse perspectives in shaping a destination's tourism strategy, particularly for those who are not directly involved in the industry but whose daily lives are affected by tourism.

Another business operator described an experience with a community consultation process to develop a visitor strategy where the process focused on fictional personas rather than real members of the community. The interviewee emphasised the importance of receiving meaningful feedback to plan for the future. They also alleged that tourism planners in Napier have a poor track record in terms of community consultation and expressed hope for improvement through a longer and more inclusive process. When asked about the involvement of residents in the development of visitor strategies, this business operator responded:

I wouldn't say with confidence yes. They have all sorts of, to be honest ... I get really confused with how council does community consultation at times. We had a visitor experience strategy, but that was 2018, 2019. That was more focused on that we worked together in personal personas than the community. "Disgruntled ratepayer, mother of three" – you know these rather comical personas. In terms of us individually and what we are trying to do planning our future, we do want to do it over a longer process and get

more ideas and meaningful feedback on what we should be. So the aspiration is there. Historically I would say “not done so great”. [B9]

Napier City Council engage for annual and long-term plans and when there are any significant proposed changes to the city. Its consultation process includes newsletters, press releases, and online forums – although it is unclear how effective or meaningful this process is. The intended outcome of consultation with residents is also somewhat questionable, with the emphasis seeming to be more about fulfilling the procedural requirement of conducting consultations than sincerely and actively engaging with and involving the community and incorporating the input and perspectives of residents. The following quote from a tourism planner is an example of comments that led to this conclusion.

So, we consult with the community whether they want X, Y, Z to go in and to be funded through their rates. ... To consult is flyers in letterboxes, social media, our website, radio. It is all the different marketing forums. We have a “Say It Napier”. That is sort of our base where we get all of our feedback and consultation. ... So you go to the Say It Napier website and residents get the opportunity to vote. In some we allow commentary, where they stand on a particular thing. [T4]

This reference to “allowing commentary” highlights a power dynamic between tourism planners and public agencies and residents. Here, it seems the focus is on talking to or at community members, rather than engaging with them at a deeper level, to listen to their concerns and aspirations, and to involve residents and local businesses in tourism planning in Napier.

Only one of the 21 residents interviewed in Phase 2 talked about engaging with the council through its website. She suggested that the website needed to be developed to make it easier for residents to submit their opinions about community issues. However, she also expressed scepticism that individual voices have an impact on larger planning and development decisions, citing an example of a development in Ahuriri Estuary. This development requires stormwater management and recreation upgrades, among other development initiatives, and despite opposition from many people, was still approved by the council. The resident believes that the power and influence of the developers overrode the voices of the local community.

I am looking at [the council] site at the moment. The council [website], like the dog bylaw submissions, and I am doing a submission, so I can imagine that for planning and things like that it would be the same. ... I don't believe that one person has a voice. There is a lot of development and lower areas of Napier that are, for what it is worth, I think, directly polluted. Like Ahuriri Estuary, that is still going through. A lot of people were against it, but regardless, the developers will always [win] ... you know, they have got the money. So, yeah. Yeah, I am not too sure. [R19]

Several members of the community voiced concerns that the TPPA may not be receptive to differing opinions and viewpoints from residents and the broader community. Numerous comments from residents and tourism business operators indicate feelings of social exclusion, a lack of control, and discouragement from fully engaging in TPPA consultations and activities. These remarks imply that dissenting opinions are not always embraced or valued resulting in a feeling of being deliberately marginalised. While individuals are permitted to attend meetings and express their views, any attempts to challenge the status quo are met with resistance. For instance, a member of the Art Deco Trust has noted that individuals who disagree with prevailing opinions are often socially ostracised, with efforts made to exclude them from events and to foster resentment towards their contributions. This situation underscores the difficulties communities face in asserting their control and having their perspectives acknowledged amidst dominant economic interests. One resident, involved in a community group, participated in meetings but felt a lack of agency in the decision-making process:

‘The community group holds meetings to provide advice and discuss future actions. However, in all the meetings I attended, the decisions seemed predetermined. When I questioned the possibility of opting out of a decision, the response was dismissive, indicating that prior agreements were binding. Thus, while meetings are held to solicit opinions, it is evident that decisions have already been made and are not subject to reconsideration.’

The challenges faced by residents in having a sense of control and having their viewpoints considered are even more crucial when discussing authenticity. The local community has the ability to verify and determine the authentic sense of place, as their lived experiences shape the true essence of the destination.

4.3.1 Telling authentic stories: the tui, the fantail, our maunga where we belong

Participants who identified as Māori felt similarly excluded from tourism planning. While there is some acknowledgement by the TPPA of the importance of Māori culture, this is primarily seen as a means of enhancing the visitor experience:

One of the challenges is that the visitor experience in this region, or the interpretation of the visitor experience in this region, has in the past probably been from a colonial viewpoint. Through a colonial lens, so to me that’s an opportunity. [T1]

There is a heavier focus on enhancing the tourism product rather than developing a genuine fundamental partnership with local Māori. Here, again, it seems the focus is on talking to or at community members, rather than engaging with them at a deeper level to listen to their concerns and aspirations, and to involve residents and local businesses in tourism planning in Napier. Of particular concern is this comment from a TPPA

participant, who appears to see cultural heritage purely as a resource that can be tapped into:

Start to create a much nicer sustainability story. And then you start thinking of some of the sovereignty and thinking of some of the Māori stories from the region and bringing that into it and allowing them to create a platform, partnering up to allow for the stories of the Matau-a-Māui, the fishhook of Māui, of the region that we live in. [T1]

It is important to incorporate local stories and perspectives into the sustainability narrative of a region, especially when there is a true partnership with Indigenous communities to do so. This would create a more inclusive, authentic, and sustainable form of tourism that reflects the unique cultural heritage of the area and strengthens the social sustainability of tourism. However, the use of the pronoun “them” and the phrase “allowing them” with reference to Māori does reflect an attitude that could be interpreted as distancing, othering and marginalising of the autonomy and agency of Māori people. This is further evidenced in discussions about the evolution of tourism in Napier and the way Māori were treated during the rebuild of the city after the 1931 earthquake.

The original builders who were tasked to rebuild Napier after the devastation of the 1931 earthquake, began by modelling the city on Santa Barbara in the United States. But they also sought something fresh, vibrant and modern for their city, so they included the addition of Māori motifs on some of the new buildings. One resident gave the history of the buildings and their Māori motifs:

Robert McGregor, he is called Mr. Art Deco. So, back in the 1970s, Robert's job – he was responsible for knocking down a lot of the Art Deco buildings. Then he went over to the United States and he clicked on this idea there: “Hey, we got this in Napier. This heritage.” So, he came back and in the early '80s, they derived how to protect these buildings. And how to make Napier stand for something, yeah? Which is Art Deco. The funny thing was that today we are in a museum of the 1930s. It is in the past. Everything is nostalgia. The irony is that people that rebuild the city, they modelled it on Santa Barbara ... They wanted something new and fresh and vibrant and modern. So, Art Deco in '31, although it already being passé, it was no longer in date, because that was – yeah, it kind of had its time. But for New Zealand, it was kind of fresh and new and modern. They had Māori motifs on some of the buildings, which was not politically correct at the time. New Zealand was very very English, yeah? [R4]

None of the participants could recall any consultation process with local iwi regarding the use of these Māori motifs on some of the Art Deco buildings in Napier, including a Māori resident who expanded on the history of these Māori motifs:

This is an unnegotiated art between Māori and European. ... It is not what a Māori designer would do. Yeah, but this happened in the 1930s and just as in the 1960s and 1970s, the bank that was here – the Bank of New Zealand almost taken the art away and it wasn't until the 1980s – I forget

who owned the building – but they decided to touch up, redesign, repaint the art of the 1930s. Yeah. So it is here. We are sort of proud of it, but we Māori are kind of uncomfortable with it as it was not negotiated. [R16]

Several of the research participants commented on this lack of partnership with Māori over the buildings' designs, particularly the motifs, which they saw as inappropriate and somewhat of an appropriation of Māori culture. This lack of consultation with Māori raises questions about cultural sensitivity and respect for Indigenous cultures in the built environment. The same resident who had reflected on the city's history of lack of consultation with Māori when the Art Deco buildings in Napier were first being built in the 1930s and then later, redecorated throughout the years, urged that we move beyond the colonial thinking of those times. Instead, they explained, if Europeans wish to use a Māori design, they must ask for permission from the local iwi, and it is up to the mana whenua [those who have territorial rights in that area] to decide whether the design is appropriate and accessible and whether it will fit into the life of the building:

... local Māori and I think I have said once or twice – everything has to be consulted, otherwise you get a mish mash on the wall in the middle of Napier, and I know once or twice it has been quoted. We remember with cultures it has to be negotiated out, otherwise it is a mish mash. You get a mish mash. ... Somewhat appropriation. Well it happened in the 1960s when a lot was done without being asked. They know Māori designs, so they put it up there and luckily these are nice positive ideas that belong to the whole of Māoridom, but it never happens now. If Europeans wish to use a Māori design, they will always be required to ask whether it is appropriate and “Does this belong or is accessible to the local people?” or “Is it from another tribe?” You know, Māori are not allowed to put up Hamilton designs or Auckland designs in Napier [Māori motifs belonging to another iwi] on a building unless they have proper permission. This is what used to happen in the 1960s. ... They told Europeans, “Luckily these symbols fit in by default.” ... But Europeans throughout New Zealand – don't do that. We have passed 1960s thinking. If you want something, talk with us and check out if it is the right symbol with the right theology and whakapapa [genealogy] that will fit into the life of your building. [R16]

The resident also reflected on the 1980s, when Māori chiefs expressed their dissatisfaction with the misappropriation of Māori words, images and designs without permission. This interviewee mentioned that in the 1980s, Māori had to remind the New Zealand public about their equal rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. The principles of partnership, participation and protection underpin the relationship between the Government and Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. In particular, Article 2 of the Treaty protects Māori rangatiratanga (chiefly authority and self-determination), thus giving the Indigenous people of Aotearoa guardianship over their treasures and resources, including their art, designs and intellectual property (Human Rights Commission, n.d.). The resident shared an example of the creation of the statue of Pania, a figure of Māori mythology, which is located on Marine Parade in Napier. The statue was negotiated by

a Māori priest and created in the 1950s to honour the life of Pania. The local council and Rotary Club ultimately had the final say in the decision-making process and agreed to use a Māori teenager as the model, but an Italian design studio had complete control over the final design of the statue and finished the statue in bronze. There was no sign-off from Māori on the decisions made. The resident reflected on how this process would not be acceptable today, as there would be more emphasis on genuine consultation and involving Māori in decision-making. Then the resident proudly shared how a talented Māori architect was given a budget and artistic freedom to design a park with Māori cultural themes in an area of about two hectares along the waterfront in Napier. The Hawke's Bay architect, Jacob Scott, incorporated Māori designs and carvings on the concrete and included the names of local ancestors. The focus of the design was on creating an experience of Māori culture rather than keeping it separate as statues or carvings. The resident stated that Napier City Council only needed to "tick off" on the design for safety reasons. He concluded that negotiation and collaboration with Māori in the design and construction of cultural places creates a positive energy and an atmosphere of "good karma", which reflects the difference of the negotiated places in Napier.

Another resident talked about another place of significance to Māori in the region where a landowner carved out walking tracks without consulting the local iwi. Concerns were shared about the impact of the development of walking paths on the place and surrounding environment. The resident added that the landowner is now working with the regional council to mitigate the impact of the walking tracks on the land. However, the lack of consultation with Māori and consideration for sustainability has been frustrating and reflects a lack of partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi. The resident believes that working in partnership with Māori and investing in sustainable practices is crucial for achieving long-term benefits for both residents and visitors.

It wasn't about what he had done, but it was about there being no consultation. And we all know about the Treaty of Waitangi and working in partnership, but they didn't do it and there it starts again. Why? All we are interested in – that is our maunga [mountain]. That is one of our pinnacle land points. That is what we say in our pepehā [a way of introducing oneself in te ao Māori], identifies who we are, where we're from and where we belong. When we stand in front of that mountain, we know that is where we belong ... Working in partnership is important to me.
[R20]

The mountain is a significant place to the local iwi and is a part of their identity and sense of belonging. The resident stated that when they stand in front of the mountain, they know that is where they belong. The development of walking tracks without consultation

with Māori and consideration of sustainability has caused concern about the impact of the tracks on the land and environment.

The impact wasn't so much on the people; it was the land. He impacted the land. Now, the regional council has come up with the plan to put natives [trees] all along the maunga, so it doesn't erode. That it attracts all the native birds, the tui, the fantail, all those sorts of things. [R20]

Therefore, it can be concluded that this lack of consultation and partnership in the development process led to a disruption of the connection between the local iwi and their land, which in turn affected their sense of autonomy, belonging and identity.

A tourism business owner also reflected on the consultation process and acknowledged the importance of working closely with local Māori to develop stories with consensus views and to ensure authenticity by receiving sign-off from mana whenua. The tourism business has a great relationship with local iwi, who support their efforts.

We work closely with local Māori to develop the stories. Obviously there are different hapū [kinship groups] and everyone has a slightly different view, but we certainly work to have a consensus view and lots of different voices as well. ... They work pretty hard to make sure that there is sign off on everything and that it is authentic. We have a great relationship with local iwi and they really support us and we need that. We need to be telling authentic stories. [B10]

These examples show that varying degrees of engagement and approaches in partnership, collaboration and consultation – or the lack thereof – lead to varying outcomes for both residents and tourism businesses.

4.4 Summary

Chapter 4 has presented the findings of this research regarding the evolution of tourism in Napier, New Zealand, focusing on how tourism has had an impact in terms of its development and the current state of the tourism system. Tourism planners and public agencies (TPPA), businesses, community groups and associations, and residents have all been identified as participant groups in the tourism system. The evolution of tourism in Napier can be traced back to the mode of transportation, by bus and train, for visitors to the city, the emergence of viticulture in the region, the Farmers' Market, and the community-driven initiative of the Art Deco revival in the 1980s. In more recent times, tourism activity in Napier has been highlighted by the significant growth of cruise visitor arrivals.

The chapter has shed light on stakeholders, such as TPPA and community groups and associations, and their efforts to capitalise on the city's unique selling points, noting their

emphasis on attracting visitors to Napier through the promotion of the city's Art Deco buildings and efforts to accommodate the surge in cruise ship arrivals. The significant growth in cruise tourism since the 2000s has brought both economic opportunities and challenges, including concerns about its true impact on local businesses, Napier's authentic identity and everyday life in the host community.

However, with TPPA and participants identified in the core group focused almost exclusively on promotion and marketing, there is a lack of clarity and capacity – and even willingness – among participants in the tourism system regarding responsibility for developing a destination management plan that also considers the well-being of the residents of Napier. Collaborations in the local tourism system are described by TPPA in the form of paid memberships and marketing strategies, whereas tourism business operators, residents and local Māori are concerned about true partnership, inclusivity, community engagement/ consultation and a perceived lack of agency in decision-making processes regarding tourism in Napier.

Chapter 5. Residents' Place Attachment and Subjective Well-being

Chapter 5 presents findings to address the second and third research objectives: 2) to explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being, and 3) to investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being. Key questions include: How do residents give meaning and attach to Napier in their daily lives? How has residents' place attachment been affected by tourism? How is touristification supporting and/or threatening resident place attachment, as part of their subjective well-being? How can community involvement in tourism mitigate the negative effects of touristification and strengthen residents' sense of belonging? and What are the lessons to be learnt from the past in terms of residents' subjective well-being and what actions need to be taken, and by whom?

The chapter starts with findings related to residents' perceptions of Napier, illustrating the construct of place attachment from the community perspective. The connections residents form with their environment and the factors that contribute to their attachment to Napier are revealed. Then, by understanding these connections, the influence of tourism on the subjective well-being of residents is demonstrated and linked to the experiences of residents in relation to tourism. Lastly, the chapter concludes with an overview of the complex relationship between transformations brought about by tourism, residents' place attachment and their subjective well-being. Through examination of common themes, an understanding of how touristification either supports or threatens residents' place attachment and, consequently, impacts their overall well-being becomes clear.

The findings draw on data collected in all three phases of the research. Three participants from the TPPA group, one of the representatives from community groups and associations and seven of the business operators interviewed in Phase 1 are also local residents (see Table 3.2). In Phase 2, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 residents of Napier. Of these, fifteen had lived in Napier longer than ten years, one for between 7 and 9 years, three for between 4 and 6 years, and two participants were diaspora community members (see Table 3.3). Of the 21 residents interviewed, seven were engaged in activities that were closely related to the visitor industry: three had a tourism business that provided accommodation services and four participated in tourism as, for example, volunteer tour guides or organising events during the Art Deco Festival. In Phase 3, a focus group was conducted with five local residents who had also participated in a semi-structured interview in Phase 2.

5.1 The emotional and cognitive bonds that residents form with Napier

The residents expressed positive emotions about Napier and pride in the place they call home. Our deep-rooted desire to belong somewhere, to call a particular spot “home”, is an essential part of our identity (Allen et al., 2021). Place holds a special significance in our lives, shaping our experiences, relationships and overall well-being. When it comes to belonging as part of well-being, residents often emphasised the significance of connections in their lives. For them, the bonds formed with family members and childhood friends and meaningful relationships are important. These connections provide a sense of rootedness, support and emotional nourishment, fostering a profound feeling of belonging in the community. For many individuals, the concept of home and the place to belong extends beyond mere physical space. It embodies memories, emotions and personal narratives that intertwine to form a rich and complex connection to a specific location. Therefore, experiences, memories and narratives within a place are a crucial part in terms of residents’ connection to place. A thriving community offers its residents a sense of belonging, fostering social cohesion and collective well-being (Cotter & Pawelski, 2022; The Treasury, 2021). In these interconnected environments, opportunities for personal growth, social interaction and cultural exchange abound.

5.1.1 A place we’re proud to call home: Family, comfort and a sense of belonging

Residents used different sentiments to describe Napier and their connection with the place. Some residents traced the origins of Napier back to the 1800s and recognised that the land was once known as Ahuriri, the Māori name of the district. The region encompassing Napier and Hastings is known as Te Matau-a-Māui (Māui’s fishhook). Ahuriri carries a captivating significance for one resident, as the name speaks to the essence of the area itself:

In Māori terms, this area, from the border of Hastings and up to Taupo, was called Ahuriri. Ahuriri is a really interesting name for the area. Ahu, meaning “channelling” and riri “aggression”. Ahu riri: Channelling aggression. The belief is that for Māori, the area is channelling aggression, because they had the ocean coming in that was eroding the area. [R16]

For most, the description of their beloved city is succinct and heartfelt; it is simply “home”. This word encapsulates the deep sense of belonging and attachment the residents feel towards the place where they have built their lives, created memories and formed lasting relationships. To them, Napier represents a space of comfort and familiarity which brings them joy and peace.

We are very entrenched here, we die, marry here, all those things. Raise a family here, which I have done. Hawke's Bay has everything. People are confined by their location. You probably know this – a person generally thinks by three factors: 1) their social environment, 2) their family and, of course, 3) their occupation. [R4]

Residents frequently reference family in connection with their attachment to Napier. The relationships that participants develop within their families are often nurtured in a shared physical environment. A strong familiarity with a location strengthens these connections, fostering a profound sense of belonging and comfort. One resident expressed a deep commitment to Napier, stating that despite having travelled abroad, this is where she feels she truly belongs, as her roots and family are established here. She actively participates in the local community, walking her dog by the rivers and shopping locally, which reinforces her connection to the area. Another resident highlighted the significance of family ties, sharing his decision to return to Napier 22 years ago when his daughter was born, motivated by a desire to support his parents and ensure they could be part of their granddaughter's life. He emphasised his love for living in Napier, illustrating the deep emotional ties that family and place can create. For several of the residents, their childhood place became the backdrop for countless memories, the foundation upon which relationships and a connection with place were built.

I belong in Napier. That is through family and the activities I do. Being brought up here and just having been to a few places in the world – there is nothing like it. For me, it is a comfortable place. [R8]

However, when this continuity is broken by close friends and family leaving the area, it can lead to a diminished sense of belonging for residents who remain living in Napier. One resident commented that many individuals have left and have not returned and this creates a noticeable difference. Thus, the sense of belonging is not as strong as it would be if more of her peers from school were still present. [R6]

A long-time resident of Napier, originally from overseas, later relocated to New Zealand. He reminisced about both locations and determined that Napier provides him with a sense of belonging due to its tranquil atmosphere reminiscent of his childhood home abroad. He also holds fond memories of his time spent in Napier with his late wife. For him, Napier feels more like home for several reasons. Firstly, it is the last place he shared with his wife who passed away, creating a heartfelt connection to Napier. Secondly, when he travels to his hometown overseas, he is reminded of an area once untouched as he recalls driving past fields with horses. Now, it has become developed and bustling, filled with traffic and crowds. It no longer resembles the place of his youth, while Napier retains that essence. Despite being a city, for him, it maintains a small-town charm. This illustrates how memories in place can shape a sense of belonging, even when they

originate from different places. This resident's visits to his hometown reveal a disconnect from the past, as urban development has transformed it into a place that no longer reflects his childhood memories. The resident's story highlights how the evolution of a place can lead to the loss of comfort that place once provided. Napier, with its blend of urban life and a small-city feel, became a place where this resident's past memories and present converge, allowing him to feel at home based on these memories and connections in place.

Others reflected on their fondness for Napier by highlighting its charm and inherent beauty. They describe it as a "nice place", acknowledging the region's picturesque landscapes and stunning coastline as well as the architectural character of the city. Residents also spoke of the small-town appeal of the city and its remoteness from other large urban areas.

It is kind of small enough, big enough. So small enough to be personal and big enough to have a few things going on. So, we have enough cultural activity here. I am into the hills, hunting and fishing, so that is a factor. [R6]

The social fabric of Napier is tightly woven with the landscapes and recreational opportunities, such as walking, cycling and beach visits, which are integral to the community's lifestyle and well-being. Residents shared their favourite places in Napier and the diverse range of activities and experiences the city offers. These included strolling along the scenic Marine Parade, immersing themselves in the vibrant local arts and culture scene, fish and chips on the beach, and indulging in the region's wineries and restaurants. Engaging in these activities not only brings residents personal enjoyment but also strengthens their connection to the community, through church, volunteer work, sport teams and offering help and assistance to others, as highlighted by one female participant.

The act of helping and gathering people together (volunteering) fosters a form of contentment. This sense of purpose and significance reinforces the idea that individuals are part of something larger than themselves. When residents actively participate in their community, they create meaningful connections that enhances their own emotional well-being, promoting overall life satisfaction (subjective well-being). The resident had reflected on the interconnectedness of this sense of purpose, as it creates a positive cycle of support and belonging.

Friendly locals, social interactions and a feeling of being accepted were also common themes in feeling a sense of belonging. For example:

You can come to the Mission [a local winery] dressed to the nines, or there could be a wedding going on there, or you can come in your shorts, but you are always accepted. [R3]

This comment highlights the community's customs and values, and consistency in a sense of being welcome and accepted, which was valued by this resident.

Relatively new residents in Napier often reflected on their move from one city to another as being a transformative experience, filled with a mix of excitement and uncertainty. For these individuals, the decision to move to Napier was driven by various factors— job opportunities, seeking a change of pace, a desire for a closer connection to nature, or a longing to live in a place with a strong community spirit. Some residents reflected on the various local activities they participated in and involvement in community initiatives that they enjoyed. Being accepted as part of the community by other residents played an important role in helping new residents feel settled and connected to Napier. The warm and welcoming nature of the local community influences how these new residents feel about their newfound home. One resident noted that shared perspectives contributed to their sense of belonging in Napier noting a sense of acceptance by the local community. For this resident, being a 'Kiwi' meant there is an inherent feeling of belonging, as there is a shared worldview to some extent. Nevertheless, the area has evolved into a more cosmopolitan environment, with a diverse range of ethnicities now present. Overall, the community remains very accepting and maintains an open-minded outlook on the world. A few residents who had moved to Napier from Auckland (New Zealand's largest urban area) described a certain stigma about identifying as "Aucklanders".

I was one of the Aucklanders, dreaded Aucklanders that were coming here to buy property and push the prices up. So, I used to say jokingly to the people that I worked with when they asked about me, "Oh, yes , I am one of that lot, that are coming here – you know, to steal the houses that your kids might want," but I never actually got flak over that. [R5]

When they first arrived, some residents said they felt judged and sometimes treated in a condescending manner. In contrast, they had found newfound pride associated with being from Napier and commented that when they travelled within the country, the reception they received was more positive. One of the residents reflected on the opportunity to call Napier "home" when she moved into the area:

I think one of the best feelings, and living in Auckland you may have picked up on this, is that the rest of the country looks a bit down their nose when you say you are from Auckland. So, for us, when we went down to the South Island, probably six months after living here and someone asked us where we were visiting from and we said "From Napier" – it was that little "Oh, we can say that now" [laughs]. That was a really good feeling. [R15]

By identifying with and having a sense of belonging in Napier, residents feel accepted while travelling in other parts of the country.

Residents were also somewhat parochial in their comparisons with other neighbouring towns, especially Hastings (another small city, 20 km from Napier), often expressing a

preference for Napier. Residents believe that Napier holds a unique appeal. One interviewee reflected on the significant portion of Napier residents who opposed the proposed amalgamation of Napier and Hastings councils in 2015 (the proposal was rejected), highlighting a strong sense of independence, distinct place identity and resistance to being absorbed into a larger entity. Furthermore, there is a perception that many people in Hastings lack enthusiasm for their own town. Napier is viewed as a community with a strong social conscience and a vibrant spirit that sets it apart from its neighbouring counterpart.

I never really liked Hastings. The thing is, Napier is a city and Hastings is a town. I don't care who tells me facts and figures: "Hastings is bigger, Hastings has more people, or Hastings is more business." The thing is to look at it this way: when we had the amalgamation referendum back in 2013 [September 2015], something around 80% of people in Napier got their backs up. Hastings is more amalgamated. The thing is though, only half of the people in Hastings bothered to even vote. Hastings is the most enigmatic place, no one in Hastings seems to be interested in Hastings. [R18]

Small-town parochialism is evident in this comparison between Napier and Hastings and the resident's preference for Napier underscores the valuable notion of pride of place/civic pride.

5.1.2 Tourism: Fostering civic pride, cross-cultural interactions and sharing world views

Residents expressed a sense of pride in showcasing their place to visitors. Some of the interviewed residents and those from the resident focus group willingly offered local insights to assist visitors in discovering noteworthy places to visit; these interactions are a positive aspect of the resident's experience of tourism. Some local residents were involved in tourism; for example, by volunteering for a local tourism community group or through a tourism-related business such as Airbnb. These residents find pleasure in hosting tourists and value the experiences gained through these interactions. The residents expressed willingness to engage with visitors and stated that a warm welcome and taking genuine care of visitors contribute to creating a unique experience for them. Additionally, they highlighted the increased diversity and enhanced social connections facilitated by tourism. Some emphasised the unique atmosphere visitors bring to their beloved city, noting that some residents enjoy showcasing "showing off" and "wanting people to see" the beauty of Napier that they love and are proud of.

Another resident actively participates in the Art Deco Trust as a volunteer tour guide and is proud to share Napier with visitors. By participating in local events, volunteering or simply interacting with their neighbours, residents forge bonds that strengthen their social

connections. The sense of camaraderie and shared experiences foster a deep appreciation for the city's vibrant social fabric. During her interview, the volunteer tour guide expressed a sense of pride and enthusiasm for sharing her living environment with visitors, recognising the significance of Art Deco to Napier's identity. She reflected on the contrast between her attitudes towards visitors who take these tours and those of another resident who privately resides in an Art Deco building:

It is kind of interesting. A resident didn't like that people were taking photos of her building. That is one of the buildings that the Art Deco Trust Walking Tours stop to talk about, because it is interesting. She had bought an apartment, and she did not like the fact that people were taking photos of it. My attitude at the time was: "Why would you live in an Art Deco building, knowing that Art Deco is so important to Napier, and then make a fuss about the people taking pictures of the building that you live in?" That was my attitude, and it still is. We wouldn't have bought an Art Deco house if we did not expect it to be part of tours. [R12]

This resident's attitude is rooted in the expectation that residing in an Art Deco house naturally involves exposure to tours and photography. However, it is important to acknowledge that not all local residents may share the same sentiment. A resident who is not interested in or involved with the visitor industry may have a different perception and view their Art Deco house primarily as their personal residence rather than a public attraction. Their preference for privacy and a quieter living environment is understandable, as it is a subjective choice shaped by individual preferences and priorities. This reflection underscores the diversity of perspectives among residents and the complex relationship between the local community and the visitor industry. While some residents take pride in showcasing their surroundings, others prioritise their personal space and privacy. Balancing the needs and desires of both groups is crucial for nurturing a harmonious coexistence between the local community and tourism in Napier.

A few residents noted how events like Art Deco Weekend create a vibrant party atmosphere that not only draws tourists but also encourages locals to participate and enjoy the festivities.

When it is Art Deco Weekend, it is almost like the tourists take over. They go into the effort to dress up, and they foster that feeling of "Okay, it is party time." The locals will join, because the tourists are here. Locals will come out and go out. They might not come into town all year, but will come to stick a hat on and a bow tie, and say they are Art Deco. It is just something to do, you know? So, it is actually really good for the city. [R8]

Businesses and residents also reflect on the balance between lively tourist-filled weekends and the quieter times during winter, appreciating the diverse experiences both offer.

You don't want to be stuck in a small quiet town. You want to have a balance, so that it's not too fast. You get those busy weekends and all the tourists are in town, and that is all good, but you also have quiet times in the middle of winter where nothing is happening. I am fine with that, too.
[R8]

The TPPA and community groups and associations also recognised and emphasised the potential of tourism to enhance the vibrancy of a place, fuel creativity and innovation, and nurture a sense of pride and purpose among its inhabitants. They believe that it is their role to harness the economic potential of tourism and create a vibrant and prosperous community by focusing on marketing campaigns to effectively promote the destination and encourage tourism growth. TPPA expressed a belief that tourism can have a positive impact on the local community and asserted that by attracting visitors and facilitating experiences, they can provide sociocultural benefits for the local community, such as intercultural exchange and a better mutual understanding.

I believe that there is only a benefit. The reason that tourism is positive is because it is an exchange of people and an exchange of ideas, so you are constantly refreshing a community and you are bringing outside influences in. I think that that is really important. It ensures communities aren't isolated, isolated in connectivity and isolated in thought. [T1]

Several residents emphasised the importance of engaging with visitors from diverse backgrounds, observing that it enriches their lives both visually and culturally, while also providing broader insights into the world. Over time, Napier has become increasingly multicultural and intriguing. It has moved away from a parochial mindset of exclusivity. For some, the influx of tourists, particularly from cruise ships, has enhanced its appeal. One resident believes that welcoming new and diverse individuals fosters a departure from rigid ways of doing things as they introduce innovative ideas and alternative perspectives adding that individuals from various cultures often possess different ways of thinking and upbringing, which is fascinating. As such, newcomers offer an opportunity to unite and learn from one another, and the resident wholeheartedly support this diversity. This resident shared her appreciation of diverse cultural practices and perspectives when interacting with visitors and newcomers from different backgrounds. This reflection on the enriching impact of diversity in Napier aligns with the concept of *cultural capability*, which is the foundation for meaningful participation in both one's own culture and that of broader society (The Treasury, 2018). The New Zealand Living Framework (2018) contends that cultural capability fosters a sense of identity, allowing individuals to confidently engage with their own culture, while also embracing the wider community.

In contrast, some long-term residents feel that their established social norms are being overshadowed or undervalued due to the social disruption caused by visitors. This

disruption often manifests when traditional practices are challenged by newcomers and visitors. For example, a local business owner voiced frustration over Chinese visitors attempting to bargain on clearly marked prices in their shop.

When we get Chinese, or Asian groups – they all try to bargain on the prices and we tell them we don't bargain on the prices. ... It just uses up our time. We need to price ourselves for the local market. The rest of the year we are dealing with locals or people from Auckland, Wellington. We just find them frustrating to deal with. [B2]

This bargaining, which is not a common practice among locals and undermines the standard business norm of fixed pricing, can create a sense of cultural dissonance and exacerbate the divide between “insiders” and “outsiders”.

5.2 Residents' experiences of touristification in Napier

As data collection occurred at the height of restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic, the context added a new layer of hesitation among residents regarding the return of visitors to Napier. There was concern about the potential risks associated with welcoming them back. Some residents acknowledged that while they appreciated the vibrancy visitors brought, the pandemic had changed their view – they felt some resistance towards a return of tourism and had become increasingly concerned regarding the spread of highly contagious new COVID-19 variants.

I like people who come to Napier, because they are on holiday and they are always in a good mood and it has a nice atmosphere and it doesn't matter if they are from a cruise liner or on a bus tour or they are just in their own car. It is just a very positive vibe doing tourism things. But, I think now – I am still a guide, but every so often I am “Do I really want to do this? Do I really want to be with people who may have COVID-19?” [R12]

The emergence of COVID-19 led to concerns among certain residents, particularly those in the tourism sector, regarding the desirability of close interactions with individuals who may be carriers of the virus. There was considerable discontent expressed by some residents of Hawke's Bay during the visit of the Ruby Princess, the last cruise ship to dock in the area, as it was associated with the region's initial COVID-19 case. Being the final port of call before the ship departed New Zealand, there was significant outrage directed at the Napier City Council for not preventing the ship's arrival. However, it is important to clarify that the decision to allow the ship to dock was not within the Council's jurisdiction, a fact that many individuals failed to comprehend, resulting in a plethora of negative remarks. The presence of cruise ships remains a contentious issue among the residents of Napier, with some expressing strong opposition to their return. This uncertain and cautious mindset reflects the prevailing sentiment of prioritising health and safety in the face of the pandemic, even if it means reconsidering the traditional

openness and hospitality towards visitors. However, the theme of resident safety extended beyond the pandemic in participant comments. Feeling safe is a crucial component of residents' well-being and quality of life and there was some concern with increasing levels of crime in the city.

Numerous residents shared their thoughts on the impact of government policies, particularly regarding housing, which have adversely influenced their sense of safety and overall quality of life. For instance, they voiced worries about the increasing rates of homelessness and the night-time closure of the local police station. One resident noted that the decline in quality of life began in 2013, attributing it to the actions of then Social Housing Minister, who initiated the demolition of numerous homes in the Maraenui area, leading to a rise in homelessness. This decision was perceived as part of a broader agenda to merge Hastings and Napier, which was met with resistance from Napier's residents. The closure of the Napier police station during night-time hours, a decision made by the Minister, further exacerbated safety concerns in the community. Additionally, there were calls for action to address the presence of homeless individuals in Clive Square, as some residents feel threatened by their presence. During the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns, several properties in the hospitality sector used by visitors for accommodation were converted to temporary housing. Visitor accommodation such as motels and hotels have also increasingly been used as emergency housing for short-term accommodation for New Zealanders who cannot stay where they are and have nowhere else to go. Emergency housing is also dependent on income and assets and usually available to beneficiaries or low-income earners. Several residents attributed an increase in crime in Napier to those in temporary housing, making them feel less safe. Residents expressed disappointment at the conversion of a motel into emergency housing near the Ahuriri area, which was seen as dampening the vibrant atmosphere and contrasting with the surrounding neighbourhood.

Around the Ahuriri lagoon there is the Bayswater Motel; that is turned into social [emergency] housing, so the Rodney Green Motel and multi-million dollar apartment buildings around and then you got this motel that was designed for tourists and now it is social housing. Emergency [housing] of course that I wish would bummer off, because it just brings down the vibe of the Ahuriri area and that is sad. [R19]

A local resident and volunteer tour guide in Napier expressed concerns regarding the perception of safety among visitors, emphasising that the focus should be on the safety needs of the local community. This viewpoint is noteworthy. When prompted to consider the impact of tourism on his quality of life, he primarily thought about the visitors and expressed greater concern over the potential reputational harm that Napier could face as a tourist destination. He suggested that measures should be taken to ensure a clean

and crime-free environment, as negative perceptions, such as the presence of gangs, could deter visitors from returning. He highlighted the issue of motorcycle gangs traversing the city, which can create an uncomfortable atmosphere and lead to negative experiences for both tourists and residents.

By expressing the importance of a clean and crime-free city, this resident acknowledged the potential impact negative perceptions of safety can have on visitors' experiences and their likelihood of returning to Napier. This shift in focus reflects a heightened concern for the city's reputation in the eyes of visitors, recognising that negative word-of-mouth could deter future visitors. The resident's reference to the presence of gangs and the experience of encountering them implies a desire to maintain a safe and secure environment from gang members, by both residents and visitors. Overall, this focus on visitors' perceptions of safety rather than residents' sense of security showcases an interesting dynamic and highlights this participant's recognition of the impact that visitor opinions can have on the success of tourism in Napier.

5.2.1 Touristification: A surge in facilities, infrastructure and things to do

In discussions regarding tourism, local residents highlighted the emphasis of the TPPA on attracting visitors and enhancing the area's appeal. Nevertheless, some residents underscored the necessity of addressing and managing the requirements of the local populace first and foremost. One resident expressed her concerns about the quality of water in Napier, which is more pronounced in the older suburbs, and this made her question the status of her city and the country as a whole "Come on, we are not a third world country!" [R19].

Access to healthcare is another essential aspect of overall well-being and residents' quality of life. Multiple residents reflected on the disestablishment of the hospital in Napier, emphasising its impact on the community. One participant stated it to be "a huge issue" noting that the old Hospital Hill had been demolished, requiring residents to travel to Hastings for hospital care.

This lack of a nearby hospital not only affects immediate access to healthcare but also undermines the overall sense of security and well-being within the community. Some residents also voiced concerns about reduced police presence, which again highlights the importance of residents' perceived safety and security for their overall sense of well-being.

While residents were focused on their needs being met, the TPPA had a stronger focus on the needs of visitors. TPPA actively promotes and stimulates visitor demand. In terms of promoting Napier as a tourist destination, TPPA emphasised the importance of recreational facilities, accommodation options and improving transport networks and

other supporting infrastructure. Examples of these are the Napier City Council-owned tourism facilities such as McLean Park, Kennedy Park Resort, The National Aquarium of New Zealand, Napier isite visitor centre, Par2 MiniGolf, Napier Conference & Events and Napier Municipal Theatre, as well as organisations that are substantially funded by the council such as the Art Deco Trust. By investing in these facilities and organisations, Napier City Council commented that they aim to continuously grow and accommodate more visitors to Napier. According to one of the TPPA's assertions, an influx of visitors would be advantageous for local residents, as they would also benefit from the enhanced facilities and attractions available to them. For this participant, the manner in which visitors choose to spend their money is of little concern. By generating demand to attract more individuals, the population in that area effectively increases for the day. As such, this rise in population would enable a greater number of cafes, restaurants, and retail establishments to thrive. The participant assumed that local residents may not fully grasp this concept, but argued that the existing population alone cannot sustain the current number of cafes, shops, and restaurants that are enjoyed by the community. The development of tourism necessitates the enhancement of existing facilities and the establishment of new infrastructure. This requirement stems from the growing demand for services and amenities that cater to newcomers to the region and the needs of visitors.

Catering to the needs of visitors inherently adds an element of seasonality to the local economy. As tourism often peaks during certain times of the year, such as holidays and summer months, businesses and attractions must adapt to these seasonal fluctuations. A resident in the focus group stated that a mechanism many establishments who cater to tourists (tourism businesses) employed to address seasonality was to close their doors during the off-season in winter. She felt that this limited available options for local residents during those months:

A lot of the places do shut when it is not summer [winter season]. That could be a challenge for the local people. People can't enjoy the wineries all year, for example. [R3]

The residents in the focus group concluded there needs to be an attempt to create a positive experience for both visitors and locals. Seasonality can pose difficulties for the local people who may rely on these venues for employment and, or leisure activities. This relates to residents' job stability. Job opportunities play a vital role in residents' sense of belonging, as fulfilling employment not only provides financial stability but also contributes to a sense of purpose and social integration (Byrd, 2022). Place also provides the backdrop for job opportunities, career advancements and the pursuit of professional goals.

The significant changes and development of tourism (restaurants, wineries, trails) in Napier are noticed by residents and support the focus and strategies of TPPA on growth and on attracting newcomers (or returning residents) to the area. The increase in the number of amenities and facilities was evident for a resident who returned to Napier after 30 years.

I moved away for 30 years, because there was no tourism here. There was nothing. There were not many restaurants. But now I have come back after 30 years and we [Napier] are expanding. There wasn't a great variety of different restaurants or food, or fine dining. We have got these in Napier and Hastings now. They weren't here before. [R20]

This quote reflects Napier's transformation due to tourism. The resident contemplated the impact of recent developments on the tourism sector in Hawke's Bay, primarily influenced by the initiatives of the Council. She highlighted the growth of various attractions over the years, including wine trails, bike trails, and heritage events such as the Art Deco celebrations, ultimately concluding that the tourism offerings lack a significant cultural essence. In her view, the essence of tourism in Hawke's Bay revolves around the wine trails and bike trails, with the Council's focus on Art Deco. She highlights alternative opportunities for tourism such as tramping, given the access to the surrounding wilderness and mountains. During the summer, particularly in the fruit season, there is an influx of trampers, as the region is known as the fruit bowl, attracting many visitors. However, she noted that there is a deficiency in cultural depth within the tourism experience.

This suggests that the Council has been one of the primary drivers in shaping the current tourism message. This highlights a top-down approach where certain attractions were prioritised, potentially at the expense of a more diverse cultural representation.

During the resident interviews, it became evident that for some residents, there exists a notable separation between their perception of tourists/visitors and a preformed notion of who these visitors are and what they would enjoy doing during their visit to Napier. For example, one resident seemed to struggle to identify specific tourist activities in Napier, expressing a belief that there is not much to do. As the discussion continued, she started to list possible activities she might contemplate should friends or family come to visit, suggesting that there were indeed various options to consider. She considered the cycling paths to be rather unexciting, as they are predominantly flat however the choice of activities would largely depend on the visitors. There is a vibrant café in Ahuriri that has a lively atmosphere, which she would certainly choose for lunch and similar outings with them. This example of a resident struggling to identify specific tourist activities in the place they reside but later considering options, sheds light on a common tendency among residents to overlook the significance of their visiting friends or relatives as being

domestic tourists. Residents mentioned going up Bluff Hill for a panoramic view of the port, suggesting a scenic attraction that they themselves may appreciate but may not perceive as a typical tourist activity. Another resident remarked on how her experience volunteering with the Art Deco Trust transformed her perspective on Napier's architectural landscape. As a member of the volunteer team for the Art Deco Trust, she has come to realise that understanding Napier's history, particularly the earthquake, has significantly altered her views on the importance of looking after the built environment (the Art Deco buildings in particular).

When asked how they believed tourism has affected Napier over time, there was a notable change in perspective. This shift occurred as the residents started seeing Napier through the lens of its tourism appeal rather than solely as a place to live. Rather than commenting on their thoughts and feelings towards tourism, residents focused on highlighting well-known tourist destinations and activities, aligning their descriptions with the narrative of what Napier offers to visitors and what people would enjoy in the region. In other words, many of the residents simply echoed the slogans and promotional focus of the regional tourism organisation's marketing messaging and collateral, emphasising Napier's identity as a food, wine and Art Deco destination.

The resonance of slogans and promotional messages established by the TPPA among residents suggests that they contribute to shaping Napier's place identity, emphasising the crucial need to convey a comprehensive and inclusive message that encapsulates the essence of what Napier truly represents.

5.2.2 Beautification, authenticity, and tourist attractiveness: Tinseltown

A recurring theme in the resident interviews was the historical prioritisation of beautification projects aimed at attracting businesses. In the 1960s and 1970s, Napier City Council prioritised creating a high quality of life for its residents as a means to attract newcomers to the region and promote business development. As a result, the council invested in developing parks and creating an attractive living environment for residents. However, one of the residents believes that excessive spending on unnecessary projects by the council, along with profit-seeking (tourism) businesses, has contributed to a high cost of living without substantial benefits for the local community. Despite the influx of tourist money, this participant felt that the local community has not seen significant improvement in their overall standard of living, attributing this to increased costs for the town's residents through what they viewed as the misuse of council spending:

I think the council has been spending too much money on projects that they don't need and are not maintaining services. At the same time, I think that people like the Art Deco Trust, the business people, the port, real estate agents – they just try to screw the last dollar out of Napier and that makes

it a very expensive town for people to live in, and yet money from the tourists has not really done much to raise the standard of living for the rest of the people in the town. [R18]

Some residents and business owners expressed concerns about the Council's focus on beautification efforts aimed at short-term visitors, suggesting that the needs of local residents are being neglected. They emphasise that while they appreciate the importance of tourism, the Council's priorities should also reflect the interests of those who live and have been born in the area.

When your council does so [emphasis] much to beautify for the benefit of someone who comes 24 hours versus the people that live here and are from here, born here, it is concerning. And I am in tourism and I want it to look good here, too. That is the council, not tourism's responsibility, but you know as a citizen, I would really like to know how much it benefits. [B5]

This perspective is not limited to local residents, as some tourism business owner/operators who do not live in Napier also emphasised the importance of understanding the true benefits and impact of these efforts.

During interviews with residents, questions regarding the evolution of tourism over time and the changes it has brought to Napier as a place to live elicited both positive and negative sentiments. Some acknowledged the positive transformations of the Marine Parade area, recognising the improvements brought about by a focus on beautification and tourist attractiveness.

Conversely, other residents believe that tourism has had a negative influence on Napier, referring to the city as "Tinseltown", indicating a negative perception of excessive glamour and artificiality.

A resident noted that perceptions of Napier's heritage have significantly evolved over time. Previously, some locals felt little pride in sharing the city's history and were hesitant to acknowledge it in the presence of visitors. During Art Deco tours, it was common for residents to casually downplay the importance of the architecture, often muttering phrases like 'Just old buildings' as they walked by in a manner that ensured you could hear them. For those who grew up in Napier after the 1931 earthquake, the city's reconstruction was simply a facet of their upbringing. As they matured, they began to view the buildings as aged, pre-war structures. The residents expressed a strong desire to reflect the authentic local identity of Napier to visitors and highlighted the richness of events and cultural experiences available in their community. They expressed concerns about overcrowding and a sense of the town being cheapened and exploited for tourism, with diminishing returns.

I describe it [Napier] more as an entity rather than a city or a town. I feel it is like a living person. I feel, to use the analytic term, it is being prostituted.

That is how I feel about the town. It is like a woman who was once quite high class, but now turned into a bit of a tramp and cheapened. I suspect that happened, because [name withheld], in charge at the Art Deco Trust, council people, they try to squeeze the last dollar out of tourism and it hasn't really worked. It has cheapened the whole town. It is sort of like ... I don't know if you are familiar with economics, diminishing returns. [R18]

An influx of visitors and a focus from TPPA on attracting visitors and specific recreational activities, such as Art Deco tours, have, for some, overshadowed or neglected the authentic everyday aspects of the local culture that residents hold dear. A local dentist, who is a long-term resident, expressed scepticism about the value of Art Deco-related tourism:

You go to the local dentist and they have been here all of their lives and you say to them, "What are you doing for Art Deco?" And they are saying, "I am not going to dress up like all those punchers." Punchers are people that have no feet on the ground. They are window-shopping; nothing comes of it that is worthwhile. [R2]

This statement sheds light on the potential of tourism to affect local everyday life. Residents are frustrated with inauthentic place representations. Residents expressed desires for more engagement with visitors through Airbnb, workshops and sharing the cultural aspects of the Hawke's Bay region. Some residents raised concerns about the lack of promotion and investment in their area, feeling that the unique art and cultural offerings of their community are being overlooked in favour of more popular attractions like Art Deco and the strong focus on cruise ships. This was exemplified by one resident who felt that currently, the situation appears to be exploiting the aftermath of the earthquake, resulting in an unbalanced situation. To attract visitors this resident believes it is essential to engage the local youth as he believes the sector of the population he describes as 'old money' (a social class of the rich who have been able to maintain their wealth over multiple generations) has moved away from initiatives aimed at invigorating the youth, theatre, and arts. He adds that by focusing on local cultural events that highlight the unique aspects of Napier, rather than the broader New Zealand culture, it is possible to draw people in. However, this requires a long-term commitment, potentially spanning a decade. The current approach lacks sustainability and is diluting the community's offerings. With the influx of cruise ships, there seems to be little incentive to promote Napier. For him the question arises: why is there a need for promotion when substantial revenue is generated from the ships and Art Deco? The outer suburbs of Napier receive little financial attention. He asks: Is it not feasible to consider a model that operates with minimal profit or even without profit, as long as it benefits the community? This could be deemed sustainable, as it supports various community initiatives.

The heavy focus of TPPA on economic benefit and promotion and marketing of wine, food and Art Deco to attract visitors is deemed unsustainable by many of the local residents. The residents who attended the focus group, as well as some of the residents in their interviews, emphasised the importance of diversifying the tourism message beyond the predominant themes of Art Deco, wine and food.

Several local residents emphasised the importance of maintaining the integrity and authenticity of the community and expressed their fear that the tourist experience is not reflecting the everyday life and culture of Napier residents. They emphasised the importance of showcasing genuine New Zealand experiences and the warmth of local hospitality in the tourist experience. For example, one resident was critical of the lack of authenticity in the Art Deco aspect of tourism in Napier deeming it “a load of rubbish. I will tell you that it is actually quite false and over-promoted”. [R2]

The participants of the focus group (residents) clearly differentiated between the areas that the TPPA has constructed for visitor appeal and the less favourable neighbourhoods in Napier that are excluded from the promotional tourism narrative. One resident argued that it is unlikely that one would guide a tourist through the deprived suburbs and that tourism, after all, is often perceived through an idealised lens, often revolving around a romanticised perspective. If one engages with tourism and embraces this notion, they are likely aware of this reality. For those who remain unaware, it may be time to gain a clearer understanding. The resident maintained that tourism often involves a degree of fabrication, presenting a curated version of reality that lacks genuine substance. Another participant extended on this line of reasoning, and brought the notion of showcasing local culture and heritage to the fore:

Some people are not travelling for Tinseltown type of experiences. They want to experience different cultures and different countries. People are more worldly and they can go into different areas, which maybe were excluded before from traditional tourism approaches. You will find in a few years that the travellers have a more worldly view, a more accepting view of local culture and perhaps wanting to identify with it, instead of what they are doing at the moment. [R2]

In both the focus group and during the interviews, several residents raised their concerns about a lack of partnership between local Māori and many tourism businesses, such as using Māori names without consultation or permission, highlighting the importance of working with local hapū and iwi:

You have got a few businesses that have got Māori names, but they are not Māori. They got a Māori name, though. You are not calling yourself a name if you haven't got the hapū, the iwi to ask for permission in that area. They don't think to work in partnership. It is all about business. For us, it is all about partnership. [R20]

Another critical issue raised by residents identifying as Māori is the current lack of representation and inclusion of Māori voices in local governance. This quote sheds light on their concern:

I am not saying this as a racist thing ... in Napier Council, they only have two Māori seats in there. The rest of them are European, so that in itself would be very hard to get through. Those other 10 people – our cultural aspect, they wouldn't see it. They are all going for Art Deco. So, how do you blend Art Deco and Māori together? When predominantly it has always been Art Deco and "Māori's" weren't included in that. I don't want to sound racist again, but you know "Māori's" were always the blue collar workers, so we were always at home doing the cooking and the cleaning and minding the workforce. The more affluent people had the opportunity to do the Art Deco and to go out there. [R20]

Residents in both the semi-structured interviews and the focus group were also concerned about the lack of genuine Indigenous cultural encounters in the current tourism offerings. This resident, who identifies as Māori, stressed that Indigenous cultural activities should be appropriately conducted with tangata whenua [people of the land]:

I have always grown up with racism here, but slowly it is changing and it does affect people's perceptions of going out in the community and selling things and being a tourist and when they want a hangi [a meal or gathering at which food is cooked on heated stones] ... "Oh, you Māori over there, come and help us." We should be working together, not having this hierarchy thing, you know? [R20]

This reflection underscores the systemic challenges and historical marginalisation that Māori communities face in cultural representation and highlights the need for equal partnership in tourism endeavours, moving away from tokenistic inclusions of Māori culture (Reid et al., 2016). This would not only foster a more inclusive community where all residents feel valued and represented, but also enhance the authenticity of cultural experiences for visitors.

5.2.3 Touristification: housing, the cost of living and the need to move out

The tourism industry is widely acknowledged for its ability to generate socio-economic benefits for the local community, including job creation and additional sources of income. Many residents commented on the role of tourism in creating economic benefits or job opportunities for the community. A participant in the focus group noted the potential for local residents to engage in tourism-related activities, such as establishing small side businesses like Airbnb, as well as opportunities for retirees to offer transportation services, thereby generating additional financial advantages.

It is important to acknowledge that residents within the destination may have varying levels of tolerance toward tourism, which is significantly influenced by the relationship

between their personal benefits derived from tourism and their perception of its impact (Almeida-García et al., 2016; Schönherr et al., 2023). Residents who actively engage with the tourism industry – for example, by volunteering at tourism community groups and associations or who derive economic benefits from accommodation sharing platforms – in most cases tend to have a more positive perspective on the tourism situation in Napier. Their direct involvement and personal gains from tourism contribute to a greater appreciation of the positive impacts of the industry and foster a sense of ownership and pride in their community. Conversely, residents who are not involved in tourism activities exhibit a more negative perspective due to limited exposure to the industry's benefits.

Both representatives from community groups and associations made a noteworthy observation during their interviews, noting that an increase in visitor numbers does not necessarily lead to significant economic advantages for local businesses. They pointed out that a high volume of visitors, particularly those arriving via cruise ships, does not ensure considerable spending in the local economy, as many tourists tend to limit their purchases to food items. This sentiment was echoed by local residents and business representatives. Concerns regarding the allocation of tourist spending and its effects on local enterprises are illustrated by the following statements:

[There are] nearly 1000 people walking around. But they don't buy anything. It doesn't do local shops any good at all. Everything they buy, they buy on the cruise ship. Apart from the food, it is not really valuable. It just brings bodies around the place. [R2]

It is really interesting to talk to the shops, the retail about the cruise ships, because obviously you have your Napier City political front who say that cruise ships are so big for our economy and they will be for certain parts of the economy, but a lot of the shops say that they just come in and just make a mess and they don't spend. [B5]

The significance of data and insights in informing decision-making is paramount for effective destination management. Several comments from participants highlight the necessity of not only having local visitor data available, but also the capability to interpret and use it to understand visitor behaviour and expenditure trends. A representative from a community organisation noted that their survey of foot traffic and visitor spending in Napier revealed that an increase in foot traffic does not always result in substantial benefits for local businesses. According to them, cruise ship passengers are not typically high spenders in the area, as they tend to allocate their funds to the cruise experience itself. They may purchase a coffee or a light meal, but souvenir shops have not seen significant sales in recent times, indicating that cruise ships do not contribute significantly to retail revenue. Similarly, a local resident remarked that they initially perceived the influx of tourists as a financial boon, only to realise that while visitors did spend at cafés,

their overall spending was limited, as many were already prepared for their cruise and not purchasing items like clothing or accessories. This led to some dissatisfaction among locals regarding the presence of tourists. These comments highlight the potential limitations of cruise visitors as generators of income for local businesses. The community organisation's finding and the local resident's observation challenge the assumption that increased tourism automatically leads to economic prosperity for all local businesses. Instead, they suggest that a significant portion of visitors' purchases are made on board the ship rather than within the local community. Reflecting on the impact of cruise ships visitors, one of the residents reflected on the excessive focus on profit-making at the expense of the local community.

What it does to me when a tourism ship comes in, because they are such great numbers. Everybody is going overboard making that bloody dollar. I think that sometimes costs us money as ratepayers to try and get them something to do. As I say, there are lots of things to do, but you can't pour money into it all the time to keep the tourists happy. It should be here for them. It shouldn't be created. [R9]

Important to note is this resident's reflection on the costs incurred by ratepayers to provide activities for tourists. Some residents are frustrated and disappointed with the way their rates are used. In the above quote, the resident has argued that the infrastructure and attractions should already exist for the benefit of residents, and not be created solely to cater to tourists. This perspective raises an interesting point, highlighting that the average local resident who is not directly involved in businesses that are directly or indirectly receiving benefits from an influx of visitors, may not themselves reap significant benefits from tourism development. It underscores the need for a balanced approach that considers the overall well-being of the community as well as the economic gains brought by tourism.

The newcomers to Napier were more aware of the benefits of tourism compared with the long-term residents. While residents who are new to the region expressed that (often long-term) local residents are concerned about the influx of people from other areas, it is important to recognise that this growth and process of change in place could bring potential benefits such as improved dining options, sporting events and infrastructure. However, the cost and funding of such developments poses valid questions and challenges that need to be carefully considered. One of the residents said generally there is a strong dislike of newcomers to the region, as some long-term residents believe that newcomers from larger cities bring inflated expectations of facilities and infrastructure, which they had in a much more-populated city (gentrification).

I am pro-growth, but I guarantee, you come across people who go: "You know what? The town is already 'fucked'; those Aucklanders are coming

in.” It doesn’t matter if they are from Auckland, Wellington, or wherever. The fact that they are from out of town; they call them all Aucklanders, you know? They won’t want them. [R1]

A common theme that came out of the residents’ interviews is the perception that growth in the tourism industry has led to a rise in the cost of living, specifically in terms of housing. This was attributed to increased investments from people (particularly Aucklanders) outside the region, further driving up housing prices and exacerbating the affordability issue for locals.

“Oh you Aucklanders” and that is what they say if you talk to some of them. “You come down here and you push all of our house prices up and through the roof.” But hang on a minute. ... So about Aucklanders putting the prices up: thank the Aucklanders, if that’s the case ... Your house price has just risen, probably doubled in the last past five years. ... If you are leaving Auckland or Wellington, and going, “Honey, let’s go and retire. The kids are off our hands and we are going to have a nice lifestyle”. [Napier] is a lovely place to go and live. You are going down there and buy a nice house and still leave some money in the bank. [R1]

There are a lot of empty stores. Some of those were to do with Auckland owners who were charging Auckland prices and you know, which is more expensive than the provinces can afford, right. [R14]

Other residents reflected on the broader issue of housing prices, describing them as “getting ridiculous” and “high”, noting that “New Zealanders can’t buy them”. They believed this damage was done five to ten years ago when anybody could come, with specific mention of “Chinese people”. Such high housing prices were believed to have been exacerbated by the influx of people immigrating or temporarily coming to live in New Zealand.

This comment suggests that residents believe unrestricted entry of immigrants contributed to the escalating housing prices, not only in Napier but also in other parts of New Zealand. The resident’s comment reflects concerns about housing affordability and the impact of international migration on the local housing market. However, they also singled out a specific nationality – which does not seem to be based on any hard evidence from the housing statistics.

Residents' sense of place is significantly influenced by the access to housing and the cost of living, which are part of the foundation pillars of quality of life. A secure environment and affordable housing form part of the basic needs residents are seeking, which allows them to thrive within their community. One resident mentioned affordable housing when asked what attracted him to Napier as a place to live:

I got a very cheap flat, which is useful. I am in a Housing Corp flat, and to be honest, I couldn't afford the market rent on this place. I am in my 60s, I am not that fit and I am not that well. I don't really think I really got another shift in me, or maybe one more shift somewhere and that is about it. I don't really think that I want to move if I don't have to. [R18]

A focus of TPPA on attracting newcomers to the region can significantly influence housing prices, as part of the gentrification process. Gentrification can thus disrupt the stability and affordability that local residents depend on and has the potential to force them to move against their wishes.

According to tourism businesses and residents, the plans and strategies of TPPA over the years indicate a quantitative focus on the economic aspects of tourism and increasing the number of visitors rather than creating an enjoyable living environment for residents. For example, this resident believes:

It is all geared towards money across the counter. Now to a larger extent you get the local people that have to subsidise that, having to subsidise that by paying too much money for local food. If you take the ships away and you take everything away, then the prices come down. It is strictly linked economically. The local people get a raw deal with that. [R2]

Residents linked various difficulties they encounter in their daily lives to tourism, in part because of the marketing of Napier as a tourist destination and the "Art Deco capital of the world", as well as the events that come with it. Residents in the focus group agreed with the following statement made by one of the participants:

Tourism affects the local population quite dramatically in prices and the availability of day-to-day needs, as they are matching the tourism dollar. That is one of the big drawbacks of what tourism brings in town. [R2]

The price of attending events and the quality of events was another concern for some residents who believe that the focus on promoting tourism and attracting visitors has also resulted in increased prices for events and recreational activities and a decrease in the quality. They attribute this to the way Napier is promoted to visitors, aimed at attracting a particular income level rather than a specific type of person, and the emphasis on making money in the area leads to higher prices for locals who feel like they end up subsidising the cost of tourism.

Several of the research participants commented that the rising cost of living and food prices also made it difficult for them to afford to attend an event or enjoy recreational activities.

One of the TPPA said they had started to plan a new marketing strategy for the area that involves incorporating locally produced wine and fresh food.

We are also working on stories [marketing strategy] of provenance, so if you are eating all local produce, of what you are getting served up in a restaurant or in a café, it will be the Hawke's Bay experience on a plate, or Hawke's Bay experience in a glass. You are reducing the food miles of that, so you start to create a much nicer sustainability story. [T1]

However, it could be argued that promotion to increase visitor demand on local produce could increase demand and further drive up food prices. In addition, many residents and some representatives of businesses feel that the events, such as the Art Deco Festival, are overpriced, excluding many local residents, as well as visitors, due to high costs. A suggestion was made to organise cheaper, more spontaneous local events that could attract a larger crowd, therefore making more money in the long run, rather than focusing on and increasing the scale of exclusive events. Providing affordable events can make them more accessible to a wider range of people.

We go out to eat degustation meals. But again, you know, it is all about the money and what sort of people that you attract. You do not attract a certain kind of – you are attracting a certain income, not a kind of person, and with the rates of mortgages going up and the cost of living, food prices ... Even when I go out on the weekend, you know there are more people my age, you know, not the families, not the single people, because they can't afford it. [R20]

This comment highlights the perception that the high prices in Napier are excluding a substantial portion of the community. This exclusivity can limit participation and contribute to a sense of disconnect within the community.

5.3 Residents' well-being, governance and feeling disregarded: the influence on belonging

One resident shared his perspective on what he referred to as "community quality of life", highlighting three main elements that define it: First, he spoke about the way artists are treated – something he believed is a significant indicator of a healthy community. The resident reflected on the dominance of Art Deco in Napier and concluded it has overshadowed individualistic and creative expressions, leading to the marginalisation of professional artists and the dilution of artistic appreciation, which in turn, he said affects the mental, spiritual and physical well-being of the community. The resident emphasised the devaluation of art, which according to him, has shifted from being at the centre of culture and community to a peripheral attraction primarily focused on commercial interests and tourism.

The professional artists – where are they? They have all gone underground. They are swamped, literally swamped by Art Deco. Art Deco, swamps everything that is individualistic, creative, because they [TPPA] are milking the disaster of the earthquake and that is at the same level as not

having to worry about customers coming in via the ships, you see? People are coming in for Art Deco. In February they pull the Art Deco crowd and then through winter you get another lot. That's on the same level as pretty much tourists coming in through the shipping lines, because Art Deco sells it. [R2]

Second, this resident considered the availability of affordable local food as an important dimension of community quality of life.

There is no real commitment to where the food comes from or what people do in the area. It is all geared towards money across the counter. Now to a larger extent you get the local people that have to subsidise that, having to subsidise that by paying too much money for local food. If you take the ships away and you take everything away, then the [food] prices come down. It is strictly linked economically. [R2]

And lastly, the resident considered resources for youth to be crucial for community vitality.

I met people here who run for council jobs and they pushed the idea of amenities for children. Teenagers. Keep them off the street, give them opportunities to do different things, like sports, roller skating, swimming class. There is a lot of drug abuse here, because the kids have nothing to do. "Oh, I'd rather have drugs, than be miserable", you know? Gangs all over the place. [R2]

The resident concluded that prioritising the creation of activities and amenities for youth would significantly improve the community's quality of life and mitigate negative issues like drug abuse and the presence of gangs. By offering opportunities for young people to engage in positive and fulfilling pursuits, this resident believes that the community could provide alternatives that would steer young people away from destructive behaviours, fostering a safer and more vibrant environment for all residents.

5.3.1 Disappointment, frustrations and feelings of overcrowding

Some local residents voiced their disappointment and frustration regarding the substantial rise in visitors attributed to cruise ships. They contend that the emphasis on profit has resulted in a lack of genuine interaction with tourists, with one individual describing them as 'the walking dead.' There is a prevailing sentiment that the overwhelming influx of cruise ships and tourists has adversely affected the town's image and ambiance. One resident remarked on the shift in perception over the years, recalling a time when the arrival of the Queen Victoria in 2008 was celebrated with festivities, contrasting it with the current situation where the presence of cruise ships elicits groans from locals. The last cruise ship, the Ruby Princess, was associated with COVID-19 cases, further complicating the situation. The resident expressed concern over the excessive number of cruise ships, stating that the influx diminishes the overall appeal of

Napier, leading to frustration among those who raise these issues. Additionally, some residents noted the lack of engagement among tourists, who appeared to be aimlessly wandering without purpose, rather than participating in organised activities. This phenomenon has led to a perception that the focus is on maximising visitor numbers rather than enhancing the quality of their experience, drawing parallels to Venice, which is struggling under the weight of its tourist population. These reactions highlight residents' frustrations and dissatisfaction caused by the feeling of too many visitors in Napier's CBD.

During the focus group discussion, participants were prompted to reflect on a destination they once cherished but now find unappealing due to the influx of tourists. One individual compared Napier to Honolulu, voicing apprehensions about their hometown potentially becoming similarly congested and commercialised as a consequence of tourism. The resident expressed a reluctance to return to Honolulu, despite friends expressing a desire to revisit, stating that once a place is experienced in a particular way, seeing it in a different context alters one's perception. This sentiment could apply universally, including to Napier, where visitors may form expectations that, if unmet, could lead to disappointment. The rise in tourism in Napier before the COVID-19 pandemic was influenced by several factors, including the promotion of the city's Art Deco architecture, favourable weather conditions, and a notable increase in cruise ship arrivals, alongside the active marketing efforts of local tourism operators. While the Art Deco appeal attracts visitors and enhances the ambiance, it also poses challenges for residents, such as road closures that disrupt their daily lives. One resident expressed mixed feelings about the Art Deco allure, acknowledging its ability to draw crowds while also recognising the inconveniences it creates for locals. They recounted their experience living on a hill and the difficulties faced when trying to navigate through Hastings Street, which was often closed, necessitating longer routes to work. They noted that sometimes it was more convenient to walk rather than drive, as it allowed them to bypass barriers, highlighting the frustrations associated with the increased tourist activity. These comments highlight, that while tourism revenue flows into the town, its distribution and impact on the overall standard of living for the local residents remains a point of concern.

Some residents mentioned that the influx of visitors posed some challenges including overcrowding, substandard visitor experiences and traffic congestion. The existing infrastructure, particularly the roads and parking, struggle to accommodate the increasing number of visitors and this leads to road closures. Residents also expressed frustration about dangerous traffic situations caused by visitors.

To address the negative impacts of crowding, some residents choose to go to less crowded areas. One local mentioned that they prefer to avoid the Napier CBD area

during the arrival of cruise ships, opting instead for less frequented locations in the surrounding region for their coffee. While aware of the cruise ship schedules they ensure that they are not in central Napier during those times, as it can be quite unpleasant. Although significant investments have been made in the Napier Port to accommodate larger cruise ships, this participant was uncertain about the funding sources. Nevertheless, this situation does not significantly impact their life; choosing a different café on those days. They add: 'It is a minor inconvenience, and as long as one is prepared, it is manageable. I can adapt to it without issue.'

The negative impacts of crowding can be temporary, however, residents avoiding congested areas during peak seasons or busy times of the day may have unintended consequences for local businesses that rely on consistent patronage from both residents and visitors.

Residents also use cognitive mechanisms as a way to deal with crowding, employing strategies to control their reaction to the crowded conditions. Examples of these cognitive coping mechanisms include actively justifying the temporary inconvenience caused by cruise visitors by emphasising the economic benefits they bring to Napier, or choosing to simply disregard the presence of visitors by minimising the impact on their daily routines.

5.3.2 Placing community at the heart of tourism

The residents expressed a need for more varied and engaging activities that cater not only to tourists but also prioritise the interests and preferences of the local residents. While remaining open and welcoming to visitors, the residents believe that the primary focus of tourism efforts should be on enhancing the well-being and satisfaction of the local community. This belief is evident in the following comment from one of the residents in the focus group:

The local community should be at the heart of tourism in the area. [R2]

Some of the residents in the semi-structured interviews and in the focus group sought opportunities to create meaningful experiences and attractions that resonated with them, fostering a sense of pride and connection to their own community. By shifting the focus towards the interests and desires of the local residents, they believe tourism can contribute to the overall quality of life in the community, while still providing a positive experience for visitors.

One of the residents raised concerns about shops intended for residents being moved to outer parts of town (where the cruise ship visitors don't go), as the CBD seems to have evolved into an area catering primarily towards cruise visitors. For example, the increase

in areas with footpaths in the CBD has made it difficult for residents to park in front of the local shop they intend to go to. The resident feels the increase in paved areas in the CBD has created a division between spaces designated for tourism and those designated for residents:

I also think that it doesn't help that the ... big Mitre 10, the big Kmart and stuff are taken out and into the surrounding suburbs, so a lot of people don't need to go into central Napier anymore. Now the CBD consists of paved areas [footpaths] for tourists. [R19]

This separation becomes more pronounced as distinct spaces are allocated for the specific needs and interests of tourists. Another resident is frustrated with the focus by local shop owners on catering for tourists rather than supplying the needs of local residents stating that while emphasis is on Art Deco as a means to make a lot of money (usually limited to one Art Deco weekend) there should be a stronger focus on the year-round demands of local residents. They believe shop owners should understand what the local people want and cater for those needs.

When businesses primarily focus on tourists, locals perceive that their needs and preferences are secondary, and this reduction in services and amenities catering for the local community is causing frustration among residents. As Napier's CBD evolves towards a place that caters predominantly for visitors, there has been a concomitant reduction in the sense of shared community spaces between locals and visitors and an undermining of the feeling of belonging among residents. With TPPA and local businesses focusing on visitors and an increase in pedestrianised areas in the CBD, Napier residents are feeling pushed out of the central city. This lack of consideration of the local community by TPPA and local businesses is eroding residents' sense of belonging, as they are feeling that the key tourism players are more focused on external visitors than on those who live there year-round. This reflects the broader spatial dimensions of touristification where urban spaces are increasingly restructured overtime to prioritise visitors. In Napier, this shift is not only physical – through changes in infrastructure and business locations, but also social, affecting residents' sense of place and community belonging. The spatial reconfiguration of the CBD demonstrates how tourism-driven development can reshape everyday life, reinforcing exclusionary patterns that diminish locals' access to and engagement with central spaces.

5.3.3 History of residents feeling ignored by public agencies in decision-making

Social connections and having the feeling of being valued as part of the local community are important aspects in residents' sense of belonging. However, some residents commented that there is generally a lack of genuine civic engagement and community involvement in decision-making processes. One of the residents expressed frustration

with the local council, suggesting that they often already have predetermined decisions in mind when requesting input from local residents as part of their consultation process. This sentiment was echoed by other residents. The resident's frustration and sense of powerlessness were clearly evident and have driven him to consider alternative methods of making his opinion heard, even resorting to unconventional actions like protests or graffiti. The perceived lack of responsiveness towards public submissions and the belief that traditional channels are ineffective have left him feeling compelled to explore more extreme avenues for expressing his views. The following statement captures this resident's perception of a disconnect between the community and decision-making bodies.

They will ask for opinions, but it is quite obvious that they already made the decision and they are not going to go back on it and when I am going to call for a vote or a show of hands. So basically, this is what happens, and I think Napier Council does the same thing. They have meetings and discussions for ideas, but they have already made their minds up. You know, it is quite obvious if you go online onto Facebook Napier News and community things on Facebook it is obvious that people feel the same way. It is pointless to put any submission in, because by the time they read it, they have already made their minds up. "Oh, we need to ask for submissions." So, I just sort of feel you can't really get anything in there. The only way I think you can actually get an opinion through to the [Art Deco] trust or council would be to picket outside or write graffiti on the buildings. Some sort of shock. I just think going through the regular channels is pretty pointless. [R18]

Another community member expressed concern over the limited opportunities for residents to participate in development planning, stating that in terms of planning, individual voices are often overlooked. There is significant development occurring in the lower regions of Napier, which he believes is directly contributing to pollution, particularly in areas like the Ahuriri Estuary, which is still under development. He added that many residents opposed the housing projects, yet the developers, backed by their financial resources, continue to proceed regardless of public sentiment. [R19]

Numerous residents and business owners articulated their wish to engage actively and have a say in the development of tourism within their community. One resident asserts that community consultation is essential for cultivating a sense of belonging and ensuring that the prevailing decision reflects the community's best interests. The resident maintains that people seek a sense of belonging, which is why they themselves moved to Napier. However, when one observes actions they disagree with and voices their concerns as part of a minority, it can create a feeling of alienation. Conversely, one cannot simply align with the majority if they are aware that the majority is mistaken. 'I think people want to belong and I think it is probably why I came to Napier, because I wanted to belong. But when you see things you don't agree with and you speak out against it but you are a minority, [then] you feel that you are an outsider'. The same

resident said they did not feel represented by the Art Deco Trust, which has led to a feeling of exclusion and resentment:

They seem to think that the Art Deco Trust owns Art Deco. That is not true. The Art Deco heritage is owned by everyone in Napier. Not just a reserved little clique of people. ... I just sort of felt that I have become more of an outsider and I had people say, "Well, if you don't like the Art Deco Trust, if you don't like what is going on, why do you go to Art Deco Weekends?" and I say, "Well, why should I expel myself? Why should I not turn up and tell people that what they are doing is wrong?" Expelling yourself just means that you are agreeing with them; you better turn up and be annoying. That is what I feel. [R18]

The same resident provides insight into the physical locations within Napier's built environment and their importance as reminders of development initiatives and historical practices. This highlights the repercussions of inadequate collaborative decision-making processes and their effects on the community. The resident reflects on the situation beginning in 2007 when the now current Minister of Tourism briefly assumed the role of CEO of the Art Deco Trust. They criticise expenditure on trams as a substantial financial misallocation, attributing the decision to three individuals who disregarded alternative viewpoints and dismissed any dissent. This pattern of behaviour, characterised by a lack of listening to a broad range of stakeholder opinions and the prioritisation of personal agendas over community needs, has resulted in "wasting \$2 million of Council funds", which the resident views as symptomatic of broader issues over the past decade. This resident highlighted what they perceive to be a recurring pattern of a lack of community input in decision-making in Napier over the past decade. It suggests that planning decisions have often been driven by ego, or out of self-interest by public agencies. The consequences of such decision-making are seen by this resident as wasteful and detrimental to the community's interests. The frustration felt by residents regarding decision-making processes in Napier is further demonstrated in the example the same resident gave about unused wool sheds in Ahuriri:

The same happened with the museum. I told people years ago, "If you are going to have a museum, take over one of the wool sheds", which aren't being used in Ahuriri. You have huge amounts of room. As soon as the new museum was opened here a few years ago, in 2013, it wasn't big enough. Now I am driving past the Tech centre in Hyderabad Road, which is an old converted wool store, and I think to myself, "That would have had a lovely museum" – but no one listens. [R18]

The resident's deep-seated frustration stems from a sense of not being listened to. The wool sheds are now a constant physical reminder of his suggestions being disregarded and seeing the wool store when he drives past just reinforces his feeling of being overlooked. The lack of listening to and consideration of alternative perspectives from community members underscores the importance of inclusive and thoughtful

decision-making processes when shaping the built environment of a city. It serves as a reminder that physical places within a community hold the potential to embody the values, aspirations and collective identity of its residents. This relates to psychological well-being, as when individuals perceive that their input is ignored, their trust in those around them is eroded and their sense of autonomy and control undermined. This lack of responsiveness to their suggestions creates a sense of powerlessness and futility — a feeling that no change has occurred because of their input.

5.3.4 Residents' appreciation for place aligned with aspirations for tourism

When asked about the type of tourism they would like to see, residents reflected on the environmental impact of long-distance travel, a few residents expressed a desire for those who would choose to stay longer, recognising the potential benefits associated with lengthier visits. One of the residents suggests that visitors should have a richer and more meaningful experience to justify the resources expended in reaching the destination:

I reflect on the footprint of people coming. It is a long way to fly and if they are going to have a low-quality experience that is fairly generic, then I think it is a pity to burn all that fuel and not have something special ... I think making it a richer experience. That is what I say about it if they are coming this far; make it worth it. [R6]

One resident sees potential in their coastal area to promote cycling. He has a vision of a bike-friendly town similar to European cities like Nice, where he states cars are replaced by bicycles, fostering a closer connection between residents, visitors and the environment. By creating a bike-centric community, this resident believes that a slower pace of life and stronger community bonds can be cultivated, encouraging face-to-face interactions and engagement while reducing reliance on smartphones and apps.

Conversations about the future of tourism in Napier led some residents to consider the rise of technology. With the rise of technology, a few residents found themselves questioning the concept of belonging. They wondered whether their sense of belonging extends beyond a specific place and encompasses a broader connection to the world as a whole. One of the residents concluded that the notion of belonging is no longer confined to living in the same street or working in the same job for decades, as the dynamics of society are rapidly evolving.

This local resident believes that the advancement of technology significantly influences the social interactions among community members. He asserts that in today's fast-paced environment, where individuals are frequently on the go and technology often supplants personal interactions, there is still a deep-seated need for community and a sense of belonging. He suggests that if this area embraced a cycling-oriented transportation

model, it could foster a shift in mentality. Engaging with the elements while cycling encourages more personal interactions, as it necessitates direct communication rather than relying on mobile devices. He envisions Napier as a potential bike-friendly town, akin to European cities like Nice, where cycling is the primary mode of transport. The slower pace of cycling allows individuals to connect more deeply with their surroundings and each other, contrasting with the transient nature of tourists. He advocates for a community rooted in sustainability and longevity, proposing that the local council conduct a study on Nice's successful model, which could encourage more residents to engage in cycling, particularly children, thereby linking communities through bike trails. In his comments, this resident has emphasised the positive social aspects of biking, saying that biking encourages communication, fosters a sense of community, and provides opportunities for promoting local attractions and activities accessible primarily by bike. The resident suggests that a focus on biking and community-based experiences could help establish a sustainable and long-lasting tourism approach, centred around a slower pace of life and environmental consciousness. By prioritising biking and community engagement, the resident believes that visitors can be encouraged to immerse themselves in the local culture, fostering a deeper connection and appreciation for the destination beyond superficial tourist experiences.

Another resident raised the notion of collaboration in terms of tourism, and reflected on broadening the visitor experience through collaboration with neighbouring towns:

We are promoting just Napier on its own, but then you get this sort of Hastings, Napier business. Where Hastings doesn't want to work with Napier and vice versa. They do their own belly work, but we should work together when it comes to tourism. [R18]

Suggestions like these demonstrate that there is a fair number of constructive ideas around on how to develop a more socially sustainable tourism industry that has a more community-centric and local perspective.

5.4 Summary

The findings presented in this Chapter 5 have shown that the residents of Napier have diverse connections to the city, with some tracing their roots back to the 1800s and others finding a sense of belonging as newer residents. The residents' connections to Napier are deeply rooted in their sense of belonging to the community, which is fostered by their sense of pride, love for the place, connections to and feeling accepted by the community.

Tourism plays a significant role in Napier's identity, particularly in the realms of food, wine and Art Deco. Unfortunately, the data from the semi-structured individual interviews and the resident focus group show that Napier residents have concerns about the

negative impacts of tourism, including overcrowding and a perceived lack of consideration for the well-being of their local community.

The data have also shown that Napier residents do not feel that they are included in shaping how tourism affects their town. The early efforts of community groups to preserve the Art Deco buildings in the town and engage with visitors have been overshadowed in recent decades by a TPPA focus on beautifying Napier to increase growth in visitor numbers. The residents were critical of historical and current decision-making processes, alleging that decisions are driven by self-interest in public agencies and have led to wasteful outcomes for the community.

In the future, the residents want to see a more purposeful and engaging authentic tourism experience, one that aligns with the place's (cultural) identity, and that prioritises sustainability, longer stays and quality over mere visitor numbers.

Chapter 6. The Impact of Touristification on Residents' Place Attachment and Well-being

This chapter brings the theoretical and empirical components of the research together to strengthen understandings of the way touristification affects residents' subjective well-being. The purpose of the following discussion is to provide a richer and broader understanding of the construct of place attachment from the community perspective and how the process of transformation of space/place through tourism influences residents' subjective well-being, drawing on the case of Napier, New Zealand.

The chapter begins with a discussion of what the process of touristification in Napier entailed. A detailed discussion follows of the effects of this process as drivers of residents' perceptions and outcomes in terms of their well-being. This is followed by an explanation of how these outcomes relate to residents' place attachment and sense of belonging. The chapter concludes by emphasising the importance of tourism planning and destination management in terms of governance, capacity building and inclusive decision-making, affecting not only local residents but also the visitor experience.

6.1 Touristification and effective governance for tourism

Touristification is defined as the process of transformation that takes place in host communities, as it becomes increasingly oriented towards tourism (Faye, 2024; Cocola-Gant, 2023). As touristification is a process of transforming space, it is essential to contextualise the historical process of the evolution of tourism development, the subsequent changes to place, the roles and interests of those involved, and the impact of the process on community dynamics (Saarinen et al., 2019). The findings of the current research reveal that the process of touristification not only includes the transformation of places to become more tourism-oriented but also elucidates how this transformation occurs (Cocola-Gant & Lopez-Gay, 2020; Romero Renau, 2018). This aligns with the definition used by (Cheung & Yiu, 2022, p.1), who describe touristification "as a process through which relatively spontaneous, unplanned tourism development transforms a designated space into a tourism commodity".

This research has revealed that place is indeed utilised as a resource for tourism in Napier but there is not, nor has there ever been, a focus on all aspects of sustainable destination management with an effective governance structure in place to plan for and manage tourism and its impact on the host community. Tourism in Napier has evolved in a largely unplanned, ad hoc and reactive manner, with one TPPA pointing out that it has "happened sort of organically" (see Chapter 4, section 4.2), indicating that there was no clear responsibility or belief by the core group in the necessity of creating a

sustainable tourism strategy or the notion of destination management. This sentiment was echoed by another TPPA, who did not see merit in strategic planning for tourism (beyond marketing) and did not believe in the ability to manage a destination.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Napier City Council focused on improving residents' quality of life in an effort to attract newcomers and promote business development (see Section 5.2.1), and by doing so, expanded the rate payer base. This effort to attract new residents extended into the following years with an increased focus on tourism and on attracting visitors who would contribute to the local economy through their spending at local businesses. Tourism can serve as a tool to stimulate local economies by attracting new talent, skills and visitors. This influx in visitors can boost the local economy through increased spending in various sectors, fostering economic growth and community development (Ashley et al., 2007; Binns & Nel, 2002). Thus, these efforts were part of a broader goal of fostering local economic development by increasing revenue streams and strengthening the local workforce. Research participants largely agreed these initiatives had been successful.

By the 1980s Napier had become known as a family destination. In the early 1980s, visitors were largely reliant on bus transportation and guided bus tours, but by the late 1980s, tourism in Napier had seen a gradual evolution from basic bus tours to a more community-driven approach focused on preserving and showcasing the Art Deco architectural heritage. By the late 1980s and into the 1990s, this grassroots initiative had transformed into a valuable community resource, acknowledged by TPPA, and became a key driver of the local economy through tourism. However, this gradual development of tourism led to accelerated growth during the 1990s, as the number of visitors to Napier rapidly increased with the first cruise ship arrivals in 1994. The number of cruise ships arriving – and hence the number of cruise ship visitors – intensified over the following two decades. Each phase of this evolution has had an increasingly strong transformational effect on Napier and was brought about by a strong focus on attracting newcomers (residents and businesses), and visitors to Napier to grow the city economically. At the time of data collection in 2022 interviews with TPPA participants in Napier's tourism system reinforced that this remains their focus.

In Napier, the process of touristification began with the identification of local resources and assets that could be leveraged for tourism growth and led to the emergence of an informal exclusive tourism network. Development of the visitor industry was, and still is, characterised by limited vision and goal setting, and a heavy focus on marketing. Consequently, there has been a lack of inclusive approaches and strategic planning for sustainable tourism development, limited capability building (beyond marketing), a distinct lack of community input into the direction of tourism and insufficient place-based

tourism data to inform decision-making. The findings of this thesis highlight the overlapping concerns with the regional visitor strategy published in early 2023 (Hawke's Bay Tourism, 2023), particularly regarding the negative impacts of tourism on local communities and emphasises the need for a more localised, context-dependent approach to tourism management in Napier. The regional strategy places significant emphasis on building the capabilities of tourism businesses and those already working in the sector, however it does not address the need for capacity building across the sector including workforce skills and capabilities training for youth to prepare them to join the tourism workforce. This research underscores that effective governance at the local level requires not only fostering business capabilities, but also developing local policy frameworks and expertise in managing the complexities of tourism in a socially sustainable manner. This gap reinforces the argument for a more localised destination management plan for Napier to address the unique tourism challenges and align with community values. Table 6.1 shows the four key events that catalysed transformation in the touristification process of Napier, and their effects, followed by relevant discussion.

Table 6.1: Catalysts in the process of touristification in Napier

Touristification catalysts	Effects
Identification of community assets for tourism	A focus on product and experience development
Informal leadership structure and decision-making	Lack of workforce development and capability building
Limited vision and goal setting, strategic planning and destination management and a heavy focus on marketing and promotion	Limited place-based tourism data, research, and insights to inform decision-making
Exclusive network development and limited collaboration with a focus on paid memberships	Lack of community input into the direction of tourism and decision-making

An informal leadership structure consisting of an *exclusive core group* of participants in the local tourism system has emerged in tourism management in Napier. However, this has never fully developed into a collective governance structure, which involves a well-organised system that fairly represents stakeholders' interests and needs, ensuring sustainable development (Bichler, 2021; Farmaki, 2020). This can be explained by the transformation of tourism in small urban areas that were previously rural. Over time, these locales have developed into settlements and towns, eventually evolving into cities as their populations increased. In this context, passionate locals and third-sector groups are often in control over the way tourism is developed (Jamal & Dredge, 2014). These groups, while well-meaning, typically possess limited expertise and comprehensive skills

necessary for effective governance (Albrecht, 2008). As tourism grows, the attention (and involvement) of local government and destination management organisations (in this case, regional tourism organisations) increases. However, if leadership structures and capacity (beyond that needed for promotion and marketing activities) remain unaddressed, this gap in capability can lead to a governance structure that fails to address broader community needs and sustainable tourism development effectively. This reflects a broader concern about the limitations of informal leadership and the challenges faced by smaller urban areas in achieving collective – and effective – tourism governance.

The core group is largely at the centre of influence, power and control over the way tourism is developed in Napier. The findings revealed that informal leadership structures (but the lack of true *governance*) play a crucial role in leveraging community assets for economic benefits. Over time, Napier has increasingly been regarded by this core group as a valuable resource for tourism. In the late 1980s and 1990s, community cultural and heritage assets, such as Art Deco, that enhance the appeal of Napier as a place to live and/or visit were *identified as resources for tourism development* and have been acknowledged as essential resources for boosting tourism in the area. These identified tourism assets were subsequently utilised – and still are – to market Napier and the surrounding region to visitors. The creation of tourism is influenced by various factors that can be utilised to establish a thriving tourism industry. Nevertheless, it is evident that residents feel a lack of representation, which leads to feelings of exclusion and resentment. One resident complained, “They seem to think that the Art Deco Trust owns Art Deco. That is not true. The Art Deco heritage is owned by everyone in Napier. Not just a reserved little clique of people” (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3) – a comment that sheds light on the impact of a lack of joint decision-making processes and the consequences this can have on the community. Residents' sense of exclusion suggests that the social license to operate – may be fragile or even absent in this context. Community initiatives were taken over or somewhat marginalised to attract more visitors, resulting in decreased involvement from local residents and community groups over time. Without meaningful participation and shared ownership of cultural heritage, the foundation for a sustainable and accepted form of tourism remains weak. The core themes associated with these findings include the loss of authenticity, the diminishing sense of community, and the increasing focus on economic benefits gained from tourism.

The core group has not sought input from the broader community in terms of the inclusion of Māori or other local residents in tourism development in Napier. Furthermore, there is little evidence of strategic planning for sustainable tourism, or evidence of true *partnerships* with Māori (especially *mana whenua*) in tourism processes. The group has

a heavy focus on promotion and marketing of Napier without input from the broader community. Residents have not been involved in creating a vision for tourism, or goal setting, planning and implementation, and their absence did not seem to concern some of the core group. Participants in the core group asked why the residents should be included, as they prioritised collaboration or consultation with tourism stakeholders and partners who have a direct influence on their own business or organisation. They argued that engaging the broader resident population held little relevance unless the residents had a direct link to the tourism sector. Instead, the inclusion of local residents was often seen as something that is the responsibility of the local council, as they have a direct relationship with their ratepayers.

Moreover, in this small city, the participants of the core group are closely linked to each other, often being friends and having personal connections that further consolidate their influence. Motivated by economic drivers focused on creating vibrancy (*product and experience development*) they were the drivers behind beautification projects such as the establishment of parks, pedestrian zones and cycling trails to attract more visitors. The group hold direct access to resources and have the ability to make decisions about the direction of tourism for the city. They were behind initiatives to change the paint colours on Art Deco buildings to attract newcomers to Napier and to create a sense of vibrancy in the city centre which was largely done for visitors rather than (primarily) to enhance community well-being. While aesthetically enhancing the community, this objectification of place as part of tourism consumption often neglects the broader needs and concerns of local residents. Some residents expressed concerns and feelings of frustration about the way Napier has evolved as a tourism destination. The predominant emphasis on visitor satisfaction over the needs of local residents exacerbates the risk of adverse impacts on place authenticity and community well-being. Even today, the focus remains on tourism promotion and marketing, rather than strategising for a sustainable form of tourism with focused destination management. However, the aspirations of local residents for tourism were found to be driven by community values and affection for the place they inhabit, presenting a potential resource for tourism that is currently underutilised. Disregarding the broader community in collective leadership and governance structures, as illustrated by the minimal involvement of the community in the development and planning of tourism in Napier, is a missed opportunity for successful and effective destination management in small cities in terms of the social sustainability of tourism.

While national tourism strategies provide a general framework to guide the direction of tourism at national and sub-national levels, local strategies are crucial for tailoring tourism development to meet the needs of specific local areas and communities (Dredge,

2016). This ensures that they reap the benefits of tourism while addressing any potential negative consequences. This means understanding the host community's values, needs, and resources, and integrating them into the planning process to benefit both tourists *and* residents. Essentially, a tourism strategy that overlooks the local context is likely to result in a destination that is socially unsustainable, exploitative, and potentially harmful to the community, its social fabric, and its environment. Tourism development becomes socially unsustainable when residents feel they have little or no agency or control over the way the sector evolves in 'their place' and experience their community identity as being continually eroded. This study presents evidence that such a situation has arisen in Napier. Engaging the community in the planning process and addressing their concerns would help tourism development prevent potential conflicts while ensuring that residents feel valued and respected.

The core group was formed informally through regular interactions among a small group of people, lacking formal transparency or accountability to residents, tourism operators and local businesses more broadly (e.g. those outside the limited retail corridor of the CBD), the indigenous community, and other stakeholders in Napier. The informal nature of this group and the absence of active community engagement highlight the challenges in establishing a clear vision and leadership within the local network. Over time, the core group was established in an ad hoc manner as its own informal network, which overlooks the necessity for local tourism planners to have adequate expertise and knowledge for sound decision-making to ensure sustainable development of the sector. However, this is not the fault of the group itself. Rather, the core group has emerged as a makeshift solution to the absence of governmental guidance and support regarding the local implementation of the national strategy in terms of governance structures. An effective local governance structure would be marked by strong leadership and a shared vision, driven by a collective commitment to sustainable tourism development that supports the local community and economy without compromising the environmental and socio-cultural attributes that make Napier unique. The informal core group lacks a defined structure, roles, and responsibilities, seemingly serving to legitimise the economic focus and activities of Council, the RTO and advance the interests of those involved. This approach has fostered a sense of parochialism in certain areas, where governance arrangements and resulting planning directions are viewed as favouring some interests over others. This reflects a need for national tourism planning by central government to put more focus on the way tourism is devolved to host communities and local areas in the process of implementation. More support is needed for informal tourism groups that include third sector organisations – such as the core group in Napier – to improve capacity to engage with residents, local businesses, and community groups

(such as heritage and other social and environmental organisations) in order to guide tourism planning that meets the aspirations of the local community.

If a true governance structure had been in place, it would have ensured a more balanced approach that first establishes a clear plan in *vision and collective goal setting for tourism* or at least considers tourism's relationship with the local community (Roxas et al., 2020). Effective governance includes comprehensive workforce development, strategic planning and inclusive tourism practices, backed by robust research and insights (Mandić & Kennell, 2021). True effective governance fosters transparent, efficient and accountable efforts, ensuring that all community interests and needs, including those of local residents, are fairly represented (Bichler, 2021). Capacity building within the leadership and governance structure itself, such as the core group, plays a crucial role in equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge to strategise and plan for inclusive and sustainable tourism practices. This involves ongoing training and education, allowing the group to adapt to evolving challenges and opportunities in the tourism sector.

While tourism policy is set by government in New Zealand, implementation and tourism management is largely devolved from central government to regional (sub-national) and local participants. There is a need for stronger capability building among tourism groups, such as those involved in the leadership structure in Napier (the core group), to offer guidance on the social dimension of sustainability. As touristification of small cities has often happened rapidly, local tourism planners and agencies have often been left struggling to balance economic growth with resident well-being and socially sustainable, and inclusive tourism planning. The following section explains how the lack of effective governance in tourism development has influenced residents' sense of place attachment and subjective well-being, drawing on the case of Napier.

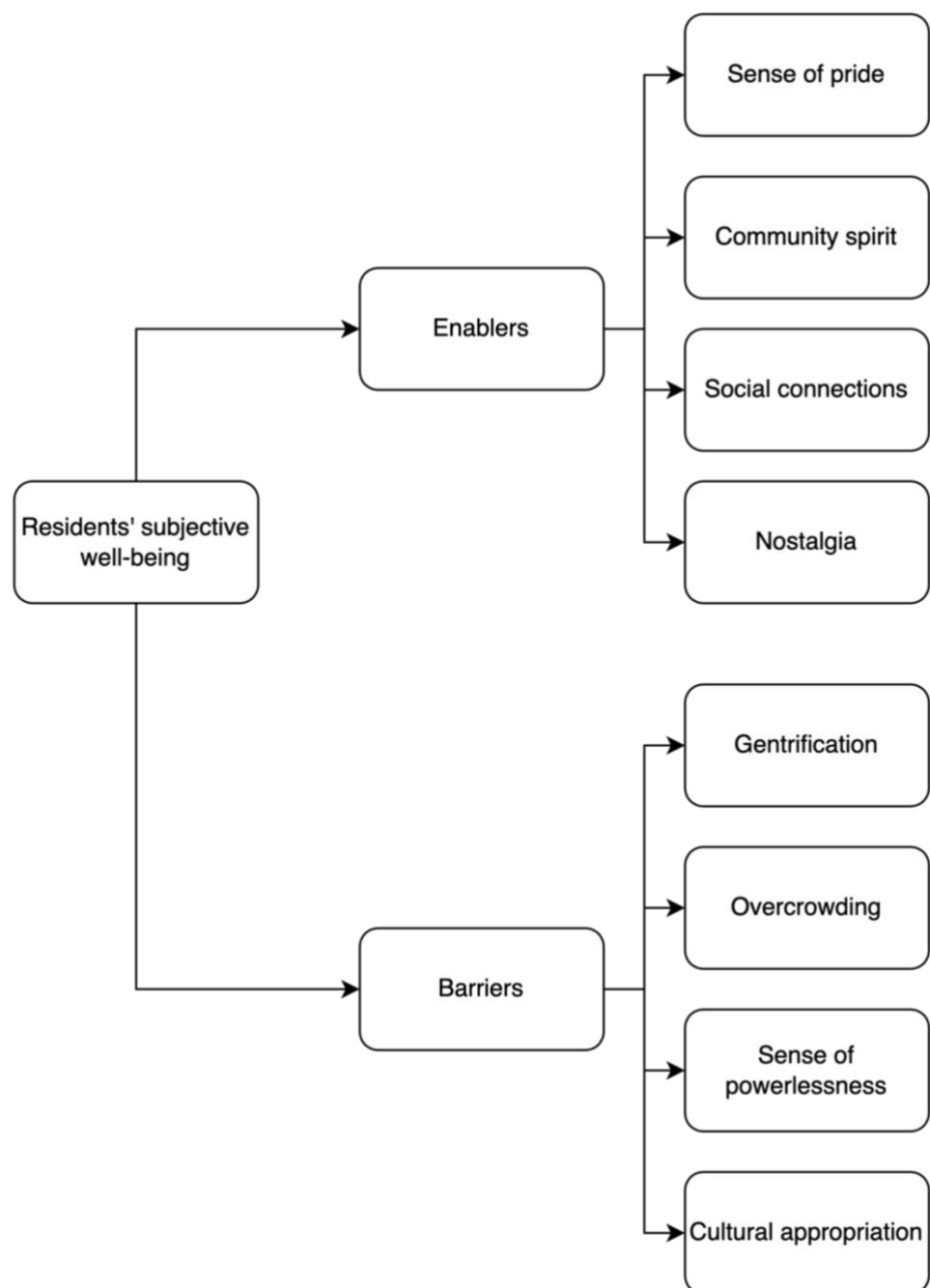
By analysing the enablers and barriers to residents' well-being, the following discussion provides a framework to understand the multifaceted impacts of touristification on residents, highlighting both the supportive elements and the challenges they face.

6.1.1 Touristification and the enablers and barriers of residents' well-being

The research findings highlight four enabling dimensions that contribute to residents' subjective well-being in relation to touristification: sense of pride, community spirit, social connections, and nostalgia. Each of these dimensions plays a critical role in fostering a strong sense of place attachment and belonging among local residents. By unpacking the enabling dimensions, this chapter aims to shed light on the positive aspects that contribute to a strong sense of place attachment. The findings also highlight four dimensions that create barriers to residents' subjective well-being: gentrification,

overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness, and cultural appropriation. By examining these barrier dimensions, the chapter aims to shed light on the negative aspects of touristification that undermine a strong sense of place attachment and well-being among resident participants. Figure 6.1 illustrates the enablers and barriers of residents' subjective well-being that are influenced by the processes of touristification.

Figure 6.1: Enablers and barriers of residents' subjective well-being in the touristification process in Napier



The four enabling dimensions are elucidated by combining the literature from Chapter 2 with the emerging themes from the findings of this study and are discussed in detail in Section 6.2. *Sense of pride* is part of the affective domain of subjective well-being in the process of place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). It refers to a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction that residents experience from showcasing and sharing their beloved place with visitors. *Community spirit* refers to the sense of belonging, solidarity and shared values within the community. The *social connections* dimension refers to the social ties that are formed through the social interactions that arise from tourism. These social interactions foster connections and allow locals to exchange stories, experiences and knowledge of the area, ultimately enhancing their sense of purpose and belonging. *Nostalgia* relates to personal memories and meanings of long-term residents tied to place dependence and relates to residents' sense of place and identity. Findings from this current study show that notions of nostalgia are often linked to residents' concerns about place authenticity. Authenticity is associated with residents' past experiences and a sense of nostalgia towards their historical and cultural roots. This connection fosters a desire to preserve the unique characteristics and traditions that define their sense of place.

In a similar vein, this study identifies four barriers to residents' subjective well-being that are shaped by the processes of touristification, integrating insights from the literature presented in Chapter 2 with the emerging themes derived from the findings of this research: gentrification, overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness, and cultural appropriation (see Figure 6.1)

During their interviews, TPPA and representatives from community groups and associations stated that there had been an aim to create vibrancy in Napier's CBD to boost local business and retail sales through the promotion of Art Deco, which helped put Napier on the map as a prominent visitor destination. This newfound visibility sparked interest from cruise lines, as well as their New Zealand inbound tourism operators, who began to include Napier as a port of call. This led to a significant rise in the number of cruise ship visitor arrivals over the past two decades.

Promoting Napier as a tourism destination has undoubtedly brought economic benefits to the city, which is evidenced by the increase in facilities and infrastructure since the 1980s. However, the promotion of Napier as a tourism destination has also resulted in other not-so-positive impacts on the local community, such as intensified foot traffic and vehicle congestion. This raises concerns about whose interests are truly being served. Thus, the question must be asked: Are tourism initiatives (e.g. the increase in cruise ship arrivals, extension of the Art Deco Festival) undertaken in the interests of local residents, or are they forced upon residents to cater to tourism? This consideration is particularly

important given that some of the key TPPA and representatives from community groups and associations do not live in Napier, and others may have only recently relocated there. Consequently, their perspectives and priorities differ from those of long-term residents, given their varying levels of connection to the place. Long-term residents often hold an authentic sense of place formed by nostalgic experiences and memories. However, newcomers to the area often identify with a romanticised place identity based on the tourism message promoted by the core group.

The research findings thus reveal the touristification process encompasses four barriers to residents' subjective well-being in Napier. *Gentrification* refers to the process in which various stakeholders interfere, transforming place through tourism activity; while *overcrowding* relates to residents feeling alienated, displaced, a loss of their sense of belonging or privacy, or experiencing unwanted interactions with visitors. Both gentrification and overcrowding encompass the place-based displacement of local residents, as highlighted later in this chapter. A *sense of powerlessness* refers to residents feeling that they lack a sense of control in development planning and their provided input on development plans as part of the consultation process go unheard, which results in perceptions of disconnect between the community and decision-making bodies. Finally, *cultural appropriation* relates to the (un)authentic (mis)representation and commercialisation of aspects in place, undermining the cultural identity (and heritage) of the community.

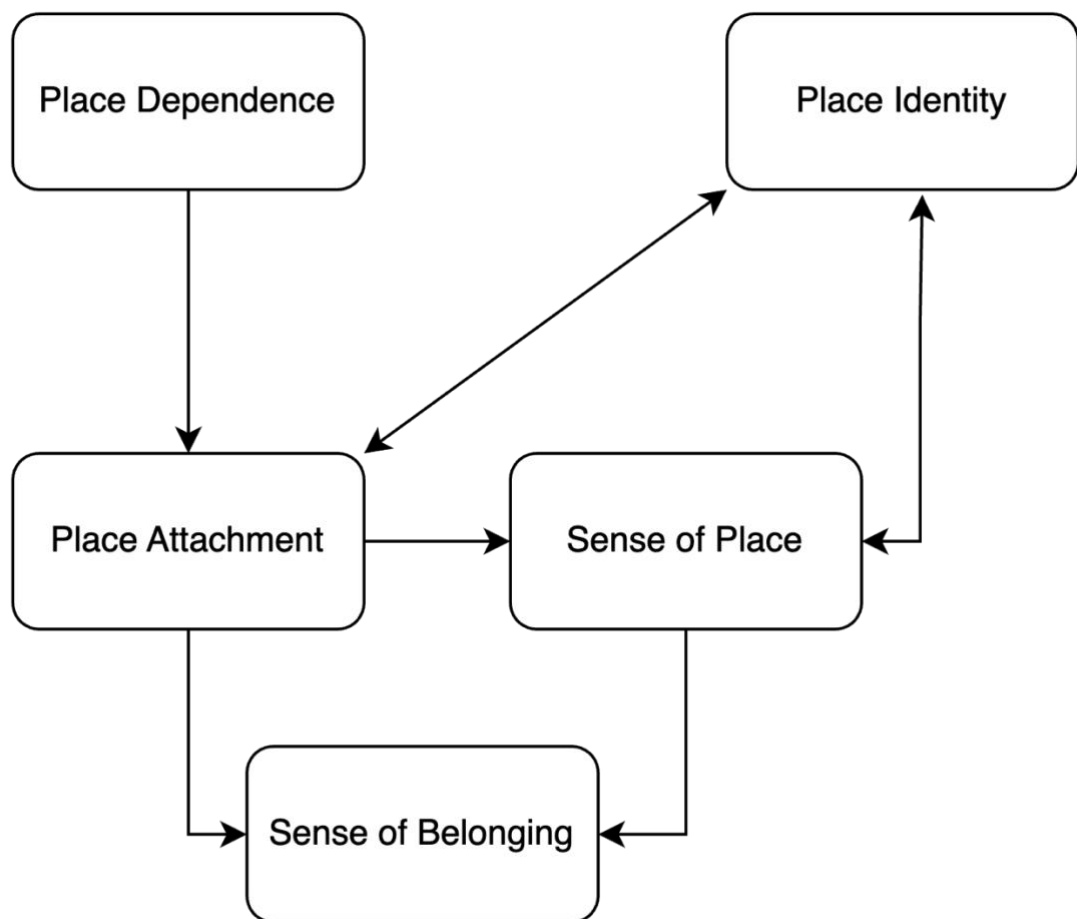
However, enablers and barriers affecting the well-being of residents are not binary. Emphasis must be placed on the *interplay* between enablers and barriers to understand and respond to complexity in the challenges faced by residents and tourism planners (Haynes & Loblay, 2024). The following discussion explores these dynamics in detail, highlighting the specific enablers and barriers that shape the residents' experiences and perceptions. By examining these elements together, the research provides a deeper understanding of how residents connect to their place, community and the factors that contribute to or detract from their subjective well-being.

6.1.2 The notion of residents' sense of belonging and the touristification process

The notion of sense of place emerged in research findings as residents spend more time in a particular place, often through family ties, place of birth, or job reliance, a concept known as place dependence. Place dependence blurs the line between space and place by creating a connection with the place, leading to what is referred to as place attachment. Residents' sense of belonging is found to be intertwined with their personal experiences, including beliefs, emotions, thoughts, and reactions associated with the place. This belonging is shaped by participation in local community activities, the sense

of feeling part of the community and is influenced by a sense of pride for what the place represents. Residents' sense of belonging is influenced by residents' sense of place through feelings of autonomy and control, reflecting the area's social structures. Lived experiences shape residents' understanding of the place, contributing to the place identity. In turn, residents' sense of place determines whether or not the place identity correlates with — how residents define place through the notion of their sense of place and relate to the place on a personal level through its place identity determines their connection with the place (place attachment). The notion of residents' sense of belonging is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Touristification, place identity and residents' sense of belonging in Napier



Residents' nostalgic experiences enhance their emotional bond (place attachment), manifesting in feelings of happiness, pride and love for Napier, which in turn strengthens their sense of belonging. Place identity is closely associated with "sense of place". When residents perceive that the representation of Napier in the tourism marketing messages of TPPA is authentic – that is, the marketing image reflects their own sense of place – then that enhances the residents' sense of belonging through place identity. Conversely,

however, inauthentic representations can hinder residents' emotional connections to place – that is, their place attachment – thereby affecting their sense of belonging. Furthermore, the continued focus on the built environment – particularly the use of Art Deco buildings to promote Napier – is causing residents to feel that the city has been cheapened and exploited for tourism purposes. Residents seek to expand tourism experiences in Napier that resonate with and embody local culture, aiming to safeguard the identity of their community and strengthen their own connection to the area (place attachment).

In this research, a variety of behavioural responses reflecting this connection to place were identified:

- Maintaining proximity – influenced by length of residence and place dependence.
- Willingness to share place – to reaffirm and strengthen residents' own sense of place identity.
- Welcoming visitors – through volunteering or hosting, contributing to a tourism culture.
- Advocating for authentic representation – to protect and preserve place identity.
- Expressing a willingness to participate in tourism development – including ideas incorporating sustainable strategies aligned with local values.
- Voicing concerns and frustrations – often stemming from a perceived lack of control over the influence that tourism is having on their community and local residents' perceptions that they are unable to effect change.

These behavioural responses illustrate the complex relationship between residents and their sense of place, revealing how their connection influences both positive actions, such as sharing and welcoming, and more critical expressions of concern in the touristification process. Together, these reactions highlight the ongoing interplay between tourism development and community well-being. In the following section, these responses are made apparent through the enablers and barriers to residents' subjective well-being.

6.2 The enablers of residents' subjective well-being in the touristification process in Napier

The process of transformation in place has brought both opportunities and challenges, reshaping the physical, social and cultural landscape of Napier. The following section addresses the influence of tourism on residents' well-being, highlighting the importance of a sense of pride, community spirit and inclusive tourism development.

6.2.1 Well-being: A sense of pride, community spirit and inclusive tourism development

The residents interviewed for this research expressed pride in their community and were eager to welcome visitors. Several residents participate in tourism-related activities, such as volunteering or hosting visitors through accommodation sharing platforms. The residents' affection for place and sense of pride fuels their desire to showcase Napier to tourists and visiting friends and family, which reaffirms their place identity. Residents of Napier, deeply rooted in their affection for the town, are driven by their nostalgic memories to enthusiastically showcase their community to others. Residents' perspectives are strongly influenced by their sense of pride of and connection to the place and this drives their desire to share their community in ways that reflect its true essence. Positive feedback from tourists further enhances residents' pride and deepens their attachment to the place. This research is aligned with previous studies that found that tourism plays a role in shaping place identity and relates to the process of identification with that image by residents, influencing their connection with place (Canaan, 2020; Canavan, 2016; Zandieh & Seifpour, 2020). The tourism message and host-guest interactions contribute to a "tourism culture", which can integrate into daily life and become part of the place's identity.

The residents seek to provide visitors with an authentic experience that truly reflects who they are as a community, thus ensuring that tourism development fosters genuine connections and preserves the integrity of their place. The residents had the desire to broaden the tourism experience and to align the experience more with their values, local culture and identity. The residents were dismissive of the significance of Art Deco buildings, whispering phrases like "just old buildings" as they passed by, as they had a strong desire to reflect the authentic local identity of Napier to visitors and held concerns about the town being cheapened and exploited for tourism. An example of this is the resident who felt Napier was being "prostituted" as the people in charge were trying "to squeeze the last dollar out of tourism" (for the full quote, see Chapter 5, section 5.2.2). When residents feel that their town is being exploited or cheapened for tourism, it can deeply affect their sense of place and identity. When residents' place attachment is threatened — such as when tourism commodifies or distorts the authentic character of a town — residents may experience a loss of pride and satisfaction in their community, as residents may feel that the place they once valued no longer aligns with their identity or values. The degradation of residents' community due to tourism can result in decreased overall life satisfaction. This aligns with Bottom-Up Spillover Theory which provides a framework to understand how residents' attachment to place, when disrupted by tourism, can have broader implications on various life domains affecting residents'

subjective well-being. When tourism commodifies or alters the authentic character of a place, it negatively impacts residents' pride and connection to their community, spilling over into their subjective well-being. This theory has informed the interpretation of the findings by highlighting the interconnectedness between residents' experiences and their subjective well-being. This misalignment can lead to feelings of frustration, unhappiness, disconnect between the resident and their own community and even a sense of alienation, as the town's image no longer reflects local residents or how they want to be perceived by others. This also aligns with the behavioural process dimension in Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite model of place attachment (see Figure 2.3) in which place reflects the cognitive values (meanings) that deepen individual place attachment. This current study found that residents' sense of belonging is closely related to place identity and the ability to protect, reflect and cultivate local culture, in terms of an authentic representation of place, in line with the New Zealand's Living Standards Framework (The Treasury, 2021). However, this research adds to this dimension by demonstrating the drivers affecting residents' experience and sense of belonging once the tourism message does not align with their sense of place and how this can lead to feelings of being left out among the local residents.

Residents' affection for place as part of the attachment process drives their vision for tourism. In other words, residents' approach to tourism and tourism development is directly influenced by their genuine affection for the place they call home. When residents contemplate the future of tourism and its future implications, they focus on the impact that tourism might have on their place. An example of this is the local resident who reflected on the carbon footprint of visitors who come a long way to visit Napier, and the importance of ensuring their trip is worth it (for the full quote, see Chapter 5, section 5.3.4), and another local resident who emphasised the positive social aspects of promoting visitors to use bikes, as it encourages communication, fosters a sense of community, and provides opportunities for promoting local attractions and activities accessible primarily by bike. Thus, the local residents think holistically about their community and its future, envisioning forms of tourism where there is an equal balance of the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability. This illustrates that residents reason from a place of deep affection for their community, an affection that drives their vision for tourism and which includes extended visitor stays, experiences in neighbouring communities, slow tourism initiatives, and opportunities for genuine interactions, such as biking and engaging with locals. In contrast, the approach of TPPA is primarily driven by the objectives of attracting visitors and maximising economic benefits. The TPPA's focus is on what can be extracted or marketed from the place, often lacking the depth of connection that residents possess. While TPPA's marketing strategies resemble those used for consumer products/goods, residents are more

concerned with community well-being and sustainable development. This current study found length of residency and place attachment are determinants for sustainable tourism development (see Section 5.3.4). The residents' approach to tourism development deeply resonates with the principles of place attachment. Long-term residents, who are more attached to the community and its cultural heritage, prioritise preserving Napier's authentic character and ensuring that tourism development aligns with their values and the protection of their sense of place. In contrast, newcomers, who may not share the same level of attachment to the city's past, often tend to focus more on the immediate economic opportunities and benefits that tourism can bring, rather than the long-term cultural and community impacts. This divergence in priorities creates different perspectives on what sustainable tourism development should look like.

Residents' strong emotional bond to place fosters a solidarity in the community among residents. Residents' affective, cognitive and behavioural interactions with place contribute to their willingness to be involved in tourism development and creative strategies that are sustainable and reflective of local values. Reasoning from the emotional bonds residents feel – shaping their place attachment - ensures that tourism development strategies would align with residents' values and community spirit. Thus, the deep attachment residents feel towards Napier not only strengthens community spirit, but also plays an important role in shaping tourism strategies that support long-term sustainability and community well-being. This research found that the enhanced positive emotions residents feel such as pride, happiness, nostalgia and, ultimately, a sense of belonging – can diminish by worries about the influence of tourism by for example price increases, overcrowding, and a lack of authentic representation of place, which affects residents' subjective well-being, which aligns with previous studies in larger urban areas (Lalicic & Garaus, 2022; Melubo & Lovelock, 2019). It is important to note that residents of Napier are actively considering sustainable forms of tourism. Ignoring these sustainable practices has the potential to be detrimental to their psychological well-being, as it would undermine the perceived capacity of residents to influence and have a sense of control over the effects of tourism on their environment. Consequently, it can be said that disregarding the aspirations of residents, can adversely affect the collective well-being of the Napier community.

6.2.2 Social connections as an antecedent of residents' sense of belonging

Welcoming visitors aroused a sense of purpose and ultimately belonging in the community. Several residents expressed positive feelings about hosting visitors including through accommodation sharing platforms. Residents were initially often motivated to offer accommodation as a means to generate revenue to cope with price increases and the cost of living, which aligns with the growing trend of seeking alternative

income through the sharing economy. The motivations for hosting visitors highlight the complex nature of this activity, combining economic and social factors. Notably, all the interview participants who hosted through accommodation sharing platforms were actively involved, welcoming guests into their homes and showing them around. This hands-on approach differs from simply renting out properties and reflects a more personalised hosting experience that encompasses residents' sense of pride. The residents appreciated the chance to share their favourite places and/or daily routines with travellers, feeling proud to showcase their place and valuing the act of being hospitable. The residents actively involved in tourism through volunteering positions or hosting visitors in their homes through accommodation sharing platforms see themselves as ambassadors for their community. This is also the case with the Art Deco tours. The tours initially started as a community initiative, and although they have evolved significantly over the years, still heavily rely on volunteers to guide visitors. The willingness of some residents to volunteer as tour guides illustrates residents' sense of pride and willingness to be involved in community-based tourism approaches. The residents who volunteer on the Art Deco walking tours said they were often motivated to be involved through their social connections. Interacting with visitors allowed them to engage with people from diverse backgrounds, enriching their experiences and expanding their social networks. This study found that being involved in tourism through volunteering positions or welcoming visitors through sharing accommodation services positively influences hedonic (pleasure derived from the activity) and eudaemonic (sense of purpose and meaning) dimensions of residents' well-being, which aligns with the study of Lee (2021). Interacting personally with visitors, sharing stories, cultural exchange and offering local insights fosters and contributes to meaningful connections and contributed to residents' sense of purpose and belonging in the community. Consistent with previous studies (Nilsson, 2020, p. 666; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017, p. 469), this current study found some local residents and representatives from local businesses become co-producers of the touristification process they despise. An example of this is the business manager that admitted that if he weren't employed in the tourism industry and immersed in the Art Deco culture and events, he would personally choose to stay away from Napier CBD during the Art Deco Festival as it does not align with his personal interests (for the full quote, see Chapter 4, section 4.1.2).

6.2.3 Cognitive attachment: feelings of nostalgia influencing place identity

Residents identify with their surroundings and form place identity through nostalgia and place meanings, and this sense of place identity, in turn, influences their sense of belonging. This was illustrated by the personal attachment to Napier a local resident shared in an interview, drawing upon memories and experiences from his childhood

years spent growing up abroad. Reflecting on the development in his home country over the years, observing changes, and feeling displaced, he found parallels in Napier that evoke nostalgia for the way things “used to be” in his homeland during his upbringing. Through his memories, he recognises in Napier a resemblance of the place he once knew, fostering a profound sense of attachment and recognition based on the familiarity of experiences and cherished memories. These memories are thus not solely tied to Napier, but are also rooted in deeply personal experiences and connections. They serve as a lens through which place is interpreted, instilling Napier with layers of meaning and significance drawn from previous memories and experiences. This participant’s comment illustrates that residents’ memories are intertwined with their sense-making of place, revealing the importance of emotional and functional connection between people and place in the concept of place attachment.

Nostalgia based on personal lived experiences differs significantly from a romanticised sense of place. This distinction is evident in the findings, where a relative newcomer to the region, influenced by promotional tourism narratives, associated her fond memories with a positive view of Napier. Unlike long-term residents, she didn’t mind tourists standing in her front yard to take pictures of her house. This example illustrates that newcomers who are drawn to the region by the promoted place image often do not share the same sense of loss or discontent as their identification with place is not based on nostalgic memories in place. The touristification process can lead to a divergence in perspectives between long-term residents and newcomers to an area. Length of residency and attachment to place are significant factors in shaping individual experiences within the community. Long-term residents tend to be more influenced by their emotional connections and history with the place and, therefore, more often perceive an impact on their sense of belonging and self-identity from the touristification process. This impact is particularly noticeable as long-term residents exhibit a deep attachment to the genuine essence of their community. With profound ties and memories associated with the authentic elements of their locale, long-term residents often view the process of touristification through a critical lens, highlighting the interplay between nostalgia and concerns regarding the preservation of place authenticity.

Residents’ nostalgia in the context of place transformations by tourism reflects not only a longing for the past but also relates to place authenticity, representation of place and how residents are identifying with place to feel a sense of belonging. Wang (2023) states that people with a higher need to belong experience higher levels of nostalgia. Feelings of nostalgia are linked to this type of attachment to place, often stemming from personal memories and meanings tied to place dependence – thus, helping maintain a connection to a place. This study found that aspects related to nostalgia, such as residents’ place of

birth, family and memories in place, are of significance in terms of place dependence and attachment to place, which aligns with Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite model of place attachment (see Figure 2.3). Feelings of nostalgia were found to relate to feelings of discontinuity of place identity and/or feelings of being displaced, which is consistent with Earl and Hall (2023). The residents' experiences of touristification and an inauthentic place representation do not match with their feelings of nostalgia, as they detract from the residents' personal memories in place, undermining their emotional connection to the past and leading to a sense of loss. Meng et al. (2021) concluded that preserving authenticity in place can significantly enhance the social and cultural well-being of host communities, underscoring the importance of integrating genuine local experiences in tourism development. Feelings of nostalgia and a sentimental longing for the past fosters a desire to both relive and preserve an authentic sense of place and identity.

6.3 The barriers to residents' subjective well-being in Napier

Although tourism has brought some positive economic changes and benefits to Napier which are enjoyed by local businesses, it has also exposed underlying tensions within the community regarding the balance between catering to visitors and meeting the needs of locals. Findings from interviews with members of the core group reflect a common belief that there is a resistance to change among community members and that it is hard to please all community members. However, this research demonstrates the underlying reasons for residents' feelings of discontent and disconnect and highlights why it is insufficient to dismiss residents' concerns as mere complaints. Residents face significant challenges due to gentrification, such as the inability to find affordable housing. They also feel the impacts of overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness from being marginalised in their own city, and frustration with the inauthentic representation of their community in promotion and marketing efforts aimed at attracting visitors. Understanding these barriers is crucial to addressing the concerns of the local residents.

6.3.1 Gentrification and feeling displaced: A divide between insiders and outsiders

The arrival of new people and the cultural and economic changes they bring fuels a disconnect and tension within the community. Local residents expressed concerns about newcomers moving to the region, fearing this influx might drive up housing prices and make the local real estate market less accessible to current residents. Some of these newcomers are people who initially visited Napier as tourists — particularly from cities like Auckland — and later decided to relocate permanently, drawn by the lifestyle and amenities they experienced as visitors, illustrating the concept of gentrification by

tourism. For example, a local business operator reflected on the transformation of apartments in town from student housing to modernised dwellings – a shift in occupancy that highlights the phenomenon of gentrification, namely the upgrading of homes and subsequent changes in pricing. These once affordable student apartments now have middle-aged individuals living in them, and this changing resident demographic contributes to the changes in Napier’s social fabric. The business owner’s insight that this transformation may stem from a combination of both normal gentrification trends and the influence of tourism further emphasises the intricate relationship between economic shifts and the tourism industry within the community. The unease of newcomers to the region exacerbated when discussions about housing affordability and immigration arose, leading to the unfair targeting of specific groups, including those from different ethnic backgrounds (see, for example, the derogatory reference to Chinese immigrants in the quote in Chapter 5, section 5.2.3). Such sentiments not only perpetuate harmful stereotypes and contribute to an atmosphere of division and exclusion within the community, but also underscore deeper socio-economic tensions and prejudices.

The residents actively defined what their place represents beyond the promotional rhetoric of tourism planners and providers, and in doing so, residents play a significant role in shaping the narrative of their community. When exploring the concept of place and the notions of attachment, individuals often develop a strong emotional connection to their environment, leading to a desire to preserve and protect its current state. This protective sentiment becomes evident when changes in place occur that threaten residents’ sense of place, which is related to their perceived place identity. This is shown in Chapter 5 through the phenomenon of “othering”, where local residents focus on perceived differences to express the emotions that result from changes that threaten their established local culture and identity, and ultimately sense of belonging.

The way Napier is promoted by TPPA plays an important role in shaping newcomers’ perceptions of the area. When newcomers arrive with expectations shaped by promotional narratives, a disconnect and divide occur if these narratives do not fully align with the lived reality of long-term residents. This misalignment led to feelings of othering, where residents perceive newcomers as not fully understanding or integrating into the local culture and social practices, which in turn may result in tension that affects the community’s cohesion and sense of belonging. Consistent with the Living Standards Framework (The Treasury, 2021) and previous studies (Bentley Brymer et al., 2020; Mead et al., 2021), this study found that the social cohesion within the community (values and norms of tolerance) and social interactions between people influences residents’ subjective well-being.

Moreover, the influx of newcomers and visitors driven by promotional efforts can lead to a perceived dilution of the local identity. Long-term residents sometimes feel their social norms are being overshadowed or undervalued. The social disruption of touristification can manifest in various ways. Long-term residents, feeling connected to their place and fuelled with a sense of pride, in some cases view newcomers and visitors as potential threats to their established way of life. An example of this was the comment by a local business owner who expressed frustration with Chinese visitors who attempt to bargain on clearly marked prices in their shop, feeling uncomfortable as this practice undermines the standard business norms where prices are set and rarely negotiable. It is not common practice among locals to bargain with retailers and contributes to a sense of cultural dissonance. This can lead to a further divide between “insiders” and “outsiders”.

The TPPA’s efforts to promote Napier’s image has successfully led to a significant increase in visitor numbers. But the influx of tourists has stretched Napier’s infrastructure to its limits, causing feelings of frustration among the local residents as their daily lives are disrupted by traffic congestion, crowded footpaths and a lack of car parking spaces. This has left some local residents choosing to avoid the CBD, particularly during peak seasons and major events. Thus, the surge in tourist numbers has led to some local residents experiencing increased feelings of spatial displacement, particularly during events such as the Art Deco Festival or when cruise ships arrive in Napier. This current study found changes in lifestyle, such as traffic congestion and an increase in house prices and the costs of recreational activities, has led to feelings of frustration among local residents, which aligns with previous studies in major cities (Koens & Postma, 2018; Chong, 2016).

Residents’ attachment to their place is deeply rooted in their daily experiences, local culture and long-standing community practices. An example of this attachment to community practices is reflected in a resident’s concern about local stores prioritising tourists over locals. The participant noted the inconvenience of having to travel to neighbouring towns to purchase men’s clothing, as local shops increasingly cater to visitors’ needs rather than those of the community. This illustrates the broader issue of how tourism can sometimes alienate long-term residents by shifting the focus of local businesses away from serving the local population. The predominant emphasis on visitor satisfaction over local residents’ needs exacerbates the risk of adverse impacts on place authenticity and community well-being. As a result, residents reevaluate their sense of belonging, as place identity for tourism purposes no longer aligns with their values and the social values of feeling regarded.

Access to resources is a crucial aspect of residents’ well-being, as it has a direct impact on their ability to fully engage in and benefit from the amenities and opportunities

available within their community. The need for a delicate balance becomes evident as the influx of visitors prompts some residents to avoid certain areas to cope with crowding and a lack of access to resources. These sentiments align with previous research highlighting the impacts of visitor congestion on residents' well-being and behaviour (Jurado et al., 2013; Marušić et al., 2008; Rathnayake, 2015; Vaske & Shelby, 2008). In their interviews, some TPPA portrayed local residents as "parochial" and resistant to embracing new ideas or accommodating the needs of visitors. This resistance is manifested in frustrations over parking and a perceived disruption to residents' daily routines caused by the influx of visitors. Overcrowding has not only strained public spaces and amenities for local residents, but has also highlighted the tension between the need for tourism growth and the preservation of community well-being. This current study underscores the complexity of managing tourism impacts and the importance of considering residents' experiences in destination planning and management strategies. The tensions uncovered in the interviews and focus group discussion highlight the need for sustainable tourism strategies that focus on maximising the benefits for the host community, including local residents and businesses, and that attract visitors who are aligned to community values.

Touristification has led to social tensions and a sense of displacement among some locals in Napier. Furthermore, the impact of the increased visitor numbers extends beyond just temporary tourists. The development of marketing and promoting the region has not only attracted visitors, but also newcomers moving into the area. This influx of new people, whether visitors or new residents, has further diversified the social dynamics within the community. This dynamic relates to the concept of *social carrying capacity*, which describes the level at which a community can absorb tourism without experiencing significant social disruption (Andersson, 2019; Sheldon, 2022). Managing carrying capacity in tourism destinations is a tough task, as unlike theme parks with gates, places often lack clear entry points. Instead, managing carrying capacity involves tourism planning, vision and goal setting that embraces the host community's expectations, improving infrastructure, and setting regulations for accommodations, attractions and cruise ship docking. The distinction between visitors, temporary residents and new permanent residents highlights the multifaceted impact of tourism promotion on the local community, as it affects not only the economy but also the social fabric and identity of the region. A noteworthy observation is that relatively recent local residents in Napier, who could be viewed as gentrifiers, had fewer negative perceptions towards visitors, in some cases expressing a sense of pride in identifying Napier as their home, which indicates their attachment to Napier (see Chapter 5, section 5.1.1). The way place is promoted needs to be more reflective of the authentic experiences and values of the local community to foster a more inclusive and harmonious integration of newcomers.

6.3.2 Tensions: Promoting vibrancy, “the walking dead” and the effect on place image and residents’ sense of pride

The substantial increase in visitors to Napier over the last two decades, spurred by the rise in cruise ship arrivals and the enhancement of the Art Deco Festival, has led to mixed experiences among the residents. Some residents said they enjoy participating in the Art Deco Festival and see it as a way to bring energy to the community, while others reported feelings of overcrowding and concerns about the disruptions and inconveniences of large-scale events. However, for those who embrace the expansion of the Art Deco Festival and the increase in visitors from cruise ships, tourism provides recreational opportunities and a chance for them to showcase their community, fostering a sense of pride. Some residents embrace the added vibrancy and energy that visitors bring, echoing findings from earlier studies on positive visitor experiences (for example, Popp, 2012). Huang et al. (2018) found tolerance for crowdedness, friends and familiar people to have a positive influence on the crowding experience. Kim et al. (2016) make a distinction between *human crowding* relating to a place full of people, and *spatial crowding* referring to perceived restricted movement.

Disengaged visitors led to a diminished sense of pride among long residents. Residents reflected on the increase in visitors with mixed emotions. While there is a strong sense of pride and connection to their place, residents were notably bothered by the lack of engagement from visitors, who often appeared to have little to do. One resident referred to cruise ship visitors as the “walking dead”, highlighting their aimless wandering. This scenario affects the residents’ sense of pride in two ways: on one hand, residents want to share their beloved place with visitors, but on the other, they feel embarrassed when visitors seem disconnected and disengaged. This disconnect illustrates the complex relationship between the residents’ sense of pride and their place identity. When visitors fail to merge into the everyday life and culture of the place, it can undermine local residents’ sense of pride and fuel a sense of disconnection in social practices. Residents wish to showcase their place and have visitors enjoy it as they do, but when visitors disrupt the social fabric or fail to integrate, residents’ sense of place identity is negatively affected (Palmer et al., 2013). This dynamic underscores the importance of meaningful visitor engagement to maintain and enhance the residents’ pride of the place and sense of belonging, which was illustrated in Chapter 5 by residents being proud to call Napier home. These residents leverage this by endearing themselves to others by saying they come from Napier when visiting other places in New Zealand.

During the focus group discussion, local Napier residents expressed that they value the establishment of additional recreational facilities and tourism activities, as they provide opportunities for local residents to take part in activities, which contributes to an

enhanced quality of life within the community. The reflection on bigger events, such as the Art Deco Festival in February and the Winter Deco Festival in July, unveils a nuanced perspective on the impact of such events within the host community. Earlier research, as noted by Misener and Mason (2006), highlights the potential for such events to foster a sense of identity and connection among residents, particularly when rooted in local history and heritage. However, as these events expand in scale and organisation, there is a risk of disconnect between the events' essence and the community's identity. Research indicates that smaller, non-mega events create more positive and fewer negative social effects in the host community (Gibson et al., 2012; Taks & Rocha, 2022; Zawadzki, 2022). Smaller events are generally seen as more sustainable than larger ones (Smith, 2009). Furthermore, smaller-scale events often allow for greater local participation and are less likely to be overcrowded. This enhances community engagement and fosters a sense of ownership and pride, contributing to overall sustainability and having a positive impact on the host community. However, consistent with the previous study of Smith (2009), this research found that even smaller events can present challenges, particularly with congestion from the influx of visitors, and thus have a negative effect on place identity, authenticity and feelings of nostalgia among local residents.

6.3.3 Box-tick consultation processes and residents' sense of powerlessness

Power in the context of this study can be defined as the ability to transform ideas into actions and encompasses the relationship between the "capacity to act or to be acted upon, a capacity to affect and be affected" (Patton, 1989, p. 274; see also Dong & Nguyen, 2023). This current study found that a sense of powerlessness influences the psychological well-being of residents in terms of feeling a lack of autonomy (sense of control and decision-making ability), which aligns with Jiang and Zhen's (2022) study. This research extends on this by building an understanding on the complex drivers of residents' attitudes and perceptions on the rapid tourism intensification that affects the quality of leadership and collective governance structures.

A governance structure that excludes local community participation, less than optimal governance practices, and leadership structures that do not seek to involve the broader community in decisions for a more sustainable form of tourism has left some residents in Napier feeling powerless to exert any influence or control over the process of transformation to their place brought about by tourism. The theme of powerlessness is closely tied to the heavy focus of TPPA on promotion and marketing of tourism in Napier, rather than a focus on all pillars of sustainability (economic, social and environmental), strategic planning and destination management, which has led to residents feeling that they lack a sense of control. An example of this is the resident who felt frustrated by the

decision-making process regarding the unused wool sheds in Ahuriri. Now their presence is a constant physical reminder of his suggestions being overlooked, leaving him with an ongoing sense of being unheard and disregarded every time he drives past them (for the full quote, see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3).

Autonomy is defined as self-regulation and integration in acting, and is central to healthy psychological development and functioning (Ryan et al., 2016). It involves individuals having the capacity and freedom to make their own choices, govern their actions and manage their lives in a way that is coherent with their values and desires. Autonomy is closely related to having a sense of agency. This sense of agency – or the ability to effect change – contributes significantly to an individual's overall well-being, which in the context of this study is defined as a feeling of control and ownership over their personal and communal decisions. Thus, there is a need for local residents to be actively engaged in decision-making processes that affect them, in the face of powerful economic interests.

A sense of control and inclusive decision-making are crucial in the context of place attachment, as they have a direct impact on the social dimensions of a community and place. When residents feel disregarded and lack a sense of control or involvement in tourism planning and decision-making processes, their cognitive sense-making and personal experience in place are negatively affected. The social arena of feeling considered reflects a community's values, needs and aspirations. Thus when a resident feels disregarded and that they lack control, they experience a disconnect and a sense of loss, which in turn influences place identity affection dimensions, such as their happiness, and a sense of pride. Kondja et al. (2024, p. 8) revealed that “having a sense of personal volition in daily life ... without too many external influences infringing on local's daily activities and choices” was associated with the satisfaction of one's basic psychological needs and supported well-being.

Having a sense of powerlessness to effect change and lacking a sense of control affects residents' sense of belonging. Local residents are affected by the decision-making processes of a core group of people involved in Napier's tourism system. For example, one resident said he felt like an outsider because he often disagreed with the majority of TPPA and community groups and associations. He came to Napier wanting to belong and questioned if he is able to belong anywhere when he cannot join the majority in the decision-making process.

When the connection between decision-makers and the host community is broken, local residents' ability to engage is compromised and their subjective well-being diminishes. This study found social inclusion to be an important influencer of residents' feeling of acceptance, which aligns with Andereck and Nyaupane's (2011) quantitative study to

measure perceived quality of life impacts of tourism. Residents' feeling of acceptance in turn relates to one's subjective well-being. As tourism planners and providers are using place as a resource to gain (mostly economic) benefits from tourism, it is important to shift towards a more community-centred approach, where the needs and desires of the local community are considered and integrated into tourism planning and development. There is a need for more intentional efforts to engage residents in the decision-making processes that affect their community. A participatory approach goes beyond simply soliciting feedback in which participation is treated as a formality, focusing on checking off required tasks or steps to meet administrative standards, rather than meaningfully evaluating and involving residents in the value of the process (as in the "Say it Napier" box-tick consultation feature for submissions); it involves actively involving community members in the decision-making process from the outset. This could include co-designing initiatives, involving residents in the planning and implementation of projects, and empowering the local community to take ownership of the outcomes. By actively seeking out and valuing the input and opinions of residents, as opposed to the current practice of 'allowing' comments on occasion, organisations and businesses can foster a sense of ownership and investment in the community and work towards creating a more collaborative and sustainable future.

6.3.4 A sense of loss and frustrations in a "Tinseltown": The effect of cultural appropriation and inauthentic representations on place

The transformative process of place in touristification, where the character and dynamics of a place are altered to cater to visitors/tourism, brings about a sense of loss. Touristification has had an increasingly strong transformational effect on the social fabric of Napier and residents' affection for place. Tourism in Napier has evolved significantly, progressing from bus tours to Art Deco attractions to wineries visits, and in the last 20 years, there has been a significant increase in the arrival of cruise ships. Marketing strategies to attract visitors and new residents foster a sense of a fabricated version of place identity. This externally crafted image is sometimes at odds with the existing residents' sense of place and identity. Some residents expressed concerns and feelings of frustration about the way Napier has evolved as a tourism destination, with one resident even referring to Napier disparagingly as "Tinseltown" (for the full quote, see Chapter 5, section 5.2.2).

Social representations of place identity are shaped and can be influenced by individuals within the tourism system. The evolution of Napier as a tourist destination has had a negative effect on many of the local residents' sense of place and place attachment, as they perceive the aspects they value in place are being overshadowed by a simplistic/false narrative designed to attract visitors. Other local residents, however, have

embraced the promotional narratives and tourism slogans endorsed by TPPA. During data collection, the first half hour of conversation with residents was often dominated by tourism-driven themes. Often, the residents initially described their place in terms of tourism-promotional messages, such as wine and Art Deco. In other words, the residents often simply 'parroted' tourism slogans and messaging. However, in some cases these repetitions were casually mentioned to describe their place and later deemed inconclusive by the participants themselves later in their interview, as these tourism slogans did not capture their personal sense of place.

As the discussion progressed, many of the residents expressed their personal experiences and attachments by highlighting what they truly love about their place. Therefore, there is a subtle undercurrent that the rhetoric of TPPA influences the local narrative. This finding underscores the significant influence and power of TPPA on the community's social fabric, as the rhetoric of TPPA is shaping individuals' sense of place narratives and place identity. This conclusion is particularly pertinent given that the daily lives of residents and the local culture is hidden beneath these tourism narratives. Thus, tourism slogans and narratives used by TPPA to promote Napier have a flow-on effect in that they undermine residents' own sense of local identity.

Tourism has a role in shaping a place image by highlighting certain local aspects, but in the case of Napier, the TPPA's branding and promotional marketing of the city to tourists has, many residents believe, created a non-authentic representation of their place. Choosing which aspects of place is marketed to reflect Napier's sense of place in terms of representation of local culture and heritage is a statement on place identity (Bossen, 2000, p. 128; Scherf, 2021). The promotion of Napier by TPPA reflects the values, narratives and historical elements that *they* wish to project to local residents and visitors.

Place identity is affected by a non-authentic representation of place through targeted promotion and marketing strategies that emphasise a curated image designed to attract visitors, often prioritising the desires and expectations of these visitors over the lived experiences and values of local residents. This process inherently involves decisions about what to include and what to disregard, thereby shaping community understanding of the place's heritage and cultural significance. An example of this is the evolution of the Art Deco Festival into a larger, more formally organised affair, which has led to a perceived loss of ownership for some local residents. While the event commemorates a significant local historic event (rebuilding Napier after the 1931 earthquake), the increasing prominence of promotion and the corresponding lack of destination management raises questions about the alignment of the focus on Art Deco by TPPA with the broader cultural fabric of the community.

It is crucial to recognise that Napier's identity extends beyond the Art Deco era and encompasses a diverse array of cultural influences that existed before and after the earthquake of 1931. Marketing choices creating the local tourism narrative influence how Napier is perceived by outsiders as well as how local residents connect with their own place identity and cultural heritage. Focusing too closely on specific place aspects can overshadow or diminish the community's broader, diverse and authentic identity. Just as Höijer (2017) found in her study, this current study found that local residents build their opinions about tourism based on their personal experiences, interactions with visitors, and what they hear from others. For example, a resident's view of tourism may be influenced by positive encounters with visitors, or negatively by hearing complaints from neighbours about overcrowding in Napier CBD. Everyday interactions and shared narratives contribute to the continuous creation and re-creation of social representations and place identity within the community. This confirms that social representations and place identity are created and recreated in everyday interactions. TPPA must consider how commodifying history and cultural heritage affects local communities.

Promoting a nostalgic version of the past creates a romanticised image that does not necessarily align with residents' actual everyday life experiences. When the representation of place does not reflect residents' lived experiences, thus sense of authenticity, there is a disconnect between the promoted place image and residents' place identity. In turn, this disconnect can lead to residents feeling a diminished sense of belonging and pride in their city, and ultimately, affect their connection to place and overall subjective well-being (Haim-Litevsky et al, 2023).

Residents have a desire for a broader range of tourism offerings that reflect their values and beliefs, celebrating the place they love beyond the wineries and Art Deco. By embracing a more inclusive approach to tourism development, Napier can foster a sense of pride and belonging among residents, while offering visitors a more authentic and diverse experience. Incorporating the residents' perspectives into promotional narratives is essential to create a sense of place that genuinely reflects the host community's identity. It is important to incorporate local stories and perspectives into the sustainability narrative of a region, especially from Indigenous communities.

As evidenced by the quotes in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, historic "pillaging" of Māori designs for decorative purposes and/or commercial gain has undoubtedly left a lasting imprint on Māori, especially mana whenua. While this appropriation may have been more common in previous decades, under today's mores, it is considered inappropriate and disrespectful to use Māori designs without proper consultation and permission. Yet, community members, especially the Māori interviewees, still have concerns about cultural appropriation and the lack of permission to incorporate Māori designs into the

built environment and tourism activities. Historically, there has been a lack of inclusion of mana whenua and few efforts by the tourism sector to encompass a true partnership with local Māori communities. While this has improved in recent times – where, for example, a business has worked closely with local iwi to ensure their tourism product is authentic and they have the support of the Māori community – concerns remain in Māori communities that the current level of collaboration and engagement occurring between TPPA, community groups and associations, and local businesses is not fully inclusive of mana whenua and does not allow for genuine partnership, engagement and/or consultation. For example, there is the perception that while there is some acknowledgement of the importance of Māori culture, this is primarily seen by TPPA as a means of enhancing the tourism product rather than as a genuine fundamental partnership [Treaty of Waitangi] and essential component of Napier's place identity. As a result, some of the interviewees who identify as Māori feel that Indigenous perspectives are not being adequately considered, or that their voices are not being heard. Riki Tuakiritetangata & Ibarra-Lemay (2021, p.3) state there is a “need for Indigenous communities to decolonise their historical narratives with the aim of alleviating inter-generational soul-wounding, through pūrākau [story-telling] and mātauranga [Indigenous wisdom]”. This raises important questions about the historical context of cultural appropriation and its enduring impact on contemporary relationships between mana whenua and those making decisions about tourism in their rohe [tribal area]. As noted earlier, when governance, leadership structures and decision-making in tourism are non-inclusive, leaving local Māori feeling powerless to exert any influence or control over the process of transformation to their place brought about by tourism, this will have an impact on individuals' ability to exercise their role as mana whenua and emotional attachment to place and cultural identity, as well as their well-being.

This study found that the sense of place includes not only the physical environment and human activities, but also human social and psychological processes that describe place attachment and is consistent with Scherf (2021). The Art Deco buildings with Māori motifs are a reminder of the past, highlighting how colonial influences still impact the sense of place in Napier, which in turn can affect the feeling of belonging for Māori. It is important to consider the cultural appropriateness of using Indigenous motifs and designs in building design without the relevant permissions from Māori, and to engage in proper consultation with local iwi in order to ensure that these designs are used in a respectful and appropriate manner.

The Māori motifs on the Art Deco buildings reflects a legacy of exploitation and disrespect towards Indigenous cultures, which continues to reverberate through modern interactions (Amoamo, 2008; Ryan, 1997). Such actions not only erode trust but also

perpetuate power imbalances and marginalisation (Scherf, 2021, p. 171), as autonomy and cultural integrity of Indigenous communities is undermined, perpetuating a cycle of disenfranchisement and alienation. This study found that when residents feel disregarded and lack the ability to participate in decision-making processes (autonomy), residents' sense of pride and feeling of belonging is diminished. Engaging in genuine partnership with local Māori ensures that the concerns and aspirations of mana whenua are embraced, fostering a sense of ownership in the tourism development process.

Addressing these concerns requires a commitment to fostering genuine partnerships based on mutual respect, reciprocity and equitable representation. *Inclusive engagement* means actively seeking out and valuing the input of all members of the community, regardless of their knowledge of or involvement in tourism. It involves creating opportunities for open dialogue, where diverse perspectives are not only welcomed but actively sought. Inclusive engagement ensures that tourism stems from genuine local engagement, holding greater value in enhancing community well-being and sense of belonging for local residents. It entails recognising the value of Indigenous knowledge and perspectives, and actively involving Māori communities in decision-making processes related to the use of their cultural heritage (Walker et al., 2024; Riki Tuakiritetangata & Ibarra-Lemay, 2021). By acknowledging the historical injustices and working towards reconciliation, individuals in the tourism system can build stronger, more inclusive relationships with Māori communities. More specifically, incorporating the voices and perspectives of Māori communities is essential for developing culturally sensitive and sustainable tourism practices. By incorporating a wide range of viewpoints and addressing the needs and concerns of all community members, tourism development can serve as a vehicle for enrichment rather than overshadowing or diluting the essence of the local identity to benefit only a small group of (community) members. Thus, inclusive engagement with the wider community, prioritising mana whenua, will not only promote social acceptance but also enrich the tourism experience by honouring and preserving the cultural heritage that is present in Napier and elsewhere.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

This research advances understandings of the effects of touristification on the subjective well-being of resident in terms of place attachment and their sense of belonging.

This chapter outlines the conclusions derived from the analysis of the case study conducted in Napier, and examines the consequences of residents experiencing a lack of agency in decision-making processes related to tourism development, as well as their frustrations regarding cultural appropriation manifested through inauthentic representations of the locale. The chapter begins by presenting a summary and synthesis of the research and answers to the research questions. The chapter also details the research's contributions to broader research methodology and wider theory, as well as discussing the practical implications of the research. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the research and recommendations for future research.

7.1 Summary of key research findings

This section summarises the key findings relating to the three research objectives:

1. To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests.
2. To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being.
3. To investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being.

The next three subsections cover the evolution of the local tourism system, place attachment and its impact on residents' sense of belonging and subsequently their overall well-being.

7.1.1 To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests

The first research objective was: To inform an understanding of the evolution of the local tourism system by analysing the different participants involved, and their roles and interests. To meet this objective, three research questions were posed:

- How has tourism evolved in Napier?
- Who was involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier and what were their roles?
- How were local residents involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier?

The tourism system in Napier is shaped by diverse participants, perspectives and objectives. Participants who either were involved in the touristification process or are currently involved in the tourism system include TPPA, community groups and associations, tourism businesses and local residents. Notably, third sector and informal community groups play a visible role in shaping tourism development in Napier. This involvement can have both positive and negative implications for resident well-being, particularly when residents' voices are amplified, or marginalised in decision-making processes.

Napier has evolved gradually over the years from a small settlement into a borough, provincial town, and eventually into a small city encompassing a large urban area. In the early 1900s, Napier had comparatively few industries and lacked a distinct driver of its economy. This led to a decision by a local events committee (chaired by the Mayor at the time) to advertise itself more aggressively as a tourist centre. To do this, the focus was on advertising the city in a printed brochure, emphasising Napier's appeal despite the challenging journey to reach it (Napier City Council, n.d.(b)). Napier has a long history of drawing on community assets for tourism and promoting itself as a destination.

Tourism in Napier evolved from the bus tours and rail transport of the early/mid-twentieth century to, in the 1980s, a focus on wineries and Art Deco. This development was driven by the third sector and community-based groups, established by individuals deeply committed to their local communities, with the preservation of heritage being their primary focus. Over time, an informal leadership structure developed, leading these originally community-based groups to shift their attention towards utilising Art Deco for tourism benefits, as these initiatives were valued as assets and valuable resources to grow tourism around and attract visitors. Thus, tourism in Napier developed through the identification of community assets that were utilised/leveraged by tourism planners and representatives from public agencies (TPPA). Consequently, these community groups started collaborating with local government and regional tourism organisations, eventually forming a core group of participants in the local tourism system. This core group comprises people involved in TPPA, businesses, and include representatives from various community groups that became increasingly focused on tourism-related activities. Many of these organisations have been involved in tourism since the late 1980s, while their representatives are mostly relatively new to the city and, or are non-residents living in neighbouring communities.

More recently, since the first cruise ship arrived in Napier in 1994, tourism has significantly increased in scale with an exponential rise in visitor numbers from cruise ships. Specifically, the number of cruise ship passengers increased by more than 500% between 2000 and 2020, whereas in comparison, Napier's resident population increased by just 20% over that same 20-year period. Although tourism in Napier has rapidly intensified over the past 20 years, the governance structure to manage tourism in Napier has not similarly evolved into a fully effective governance mechanism for tourism that ensures the representation of broader community interests and needs.

One respondent from the core group referred to tourism development as something that has "happened sort of organically" (see Chapter 4, section 4.2). This ad hoc approach by the core group and a lack of inclusive strategic planning has left the residents feeling powerless to exert any influence or control over the direction of tourism development in Napier. While the core group, which includes what can be deemed community champions for tourism in Napier, initially had good intentions and were well-meaning, over time their approach became restrictive. The broader community was largely excluded from these efforts over time, apart from a select few individuals. For example, collaboration has sometimes been restricted via paid membership to an association that only businesses in a specific business corridor in the CBD can belong to – a restriction that has limited input from smaller businesses and businesses in other areas of Napier who wish to also be involved in tourism planning and management. By not inviting input from the wider Napier community, the introduction of new perspectives or expertise is limited, relying instead on the areas of knowledge within the leadership group. Thus the focus remains on their areas of expertise of marketing, promotion and enhancing the appeal of Napier to drive tourism-related revenue in Napier CBD. This has come at the cost of a stronger focus on all three pillars of sustainability (economic, social, environmental) equally; one that would result in effective destination management, fostering an inclusive approach that places community (residents and local businesses) at the heart of efforts to ensure sustainable tourism development. Excluding local residents from tourism governance structures can lead to informal leadership structures within a limited group of tourism decision-makers and result in a power imbalance, which leaves residents feeling overlooked and excluded despite their desire to be involved. There is a historical pattern of residents feeling disregarded and lacking a sense of agency when it comes to tourism development and management in Napier. Local residents are affected by the decisions made by the core group – but are not being included in the decision-making process or giving consent to the decisions made.

The residents' early initiatives designed to strengthen Napier's social cohesion and preserve the city's cultural heritage for the benefit of community have been co-opted for

tourism purposes. An example of this is Art Deco, which was a symbol of the community's resilience after the 1931 Napier earthquake but has now been co-opted for tourism. Similarly, the early appropriation of Māori symbols and elements in the built environment without consultation or seeking approval from mana whenua has turned symbols and elements of deep cultural significance into seemingly pleasant design features on buildings which – to this day – remind residents of feeling disregarded and excluded in terms of a lack of autonomy in the decision-making process around tourism in the city.

Several local business operators and residents said they feel frustrated, excluded and lacking a sense of agency and ability to inform the direction of the tourism industry. Likewise, they reported feeling they have no power in terms of influencing the decision-making process around the development of tourism in Napier. These business operators and residents expressed a desire for tourism narratives that encompass a broader range of local values beyond the prominent themes of wine and Art Deco. They feel that the current promotional rhetoric does not fully capture the authentic character and diversity of Napier and the surrounding region. This discrepancy between the promoted image and residents' lived experiences diminishes residents' sense of place authenticity and connection.

The decision-making process in tourism development by the core group lacks community involvement, which has led to the long-held focus on destination promotion and marketing, prioritisation of economic gain – resulting in residents feeling disregarded. This has been enabled, in part, by the broader policy environment in which tourism management has been devolved from central government to local tourism participants in New Zealand. The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) (n.d.(a)) remains focused on tourism expenditure as measure of success of the visitor industry in New Zealand and has largely appointed the national destination management organisation (Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) to oversee tourism-related initiatives (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, n.d.(c)). Within New Zealand's key indicators of tourism performance and subsequent reporting, there is little to signal a significant shift away from prioritising financial gains and visitor numbers towards local destination management or community engagement (Tourism New Zealand, 2023a, 2023b). As a result, local tourism planners, public agencies and businesses have been left with little guidance or support on how to develop a more balanced approach to tourism that integrates community interests. Thus, the emphasis on promotion over management has contributed to a tourism system that prioritises visitor numbers and economic benefits, often at the expense of resident well-being and sustainable tourism planning.

This has not only a significant impact on residents' subjective well-being, but also the potential to affect the experience for visitors (Li et al., 2021). The following section

demonstrates the underlying reasons why local residents feel the way they do about the touristification process and highlights why it is unwise to disregard residents' concerns.

7.1.2 To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and the influence of touristification on residents' subjective well-being

The second research objective was: To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and its influence on residents' subjective well-being. To meet this objective, three research questions were posed:

- How do residents give meaning and attach to Napier?
- How has residents' place attachment been affected by tourism?
- How is touristification supporting and/or threatening residents' subjective well-being?

Participants' personal connections, sense of belonging and pride in calling Napier 'home' are deeply rooted in their long standing relationships with their communities. Residents' attachment to Napier is strongly tied to historical, familial, and emotional connections. Some residents traced their attachment back to the area's Māori heritage, recognising the region's original name, Ahuriri, and its historical significance. For long-term residents, Napier is not just a physical place, but symbol of "home", a place where they have built their lives, raised families and created lasting memories. Community participation and social networks play an important role in fostering this attachment, as residents often find belonging through shared activities and support systems. Many residents feel connected in Napier due to their desire to offer and receive support from others. Participation in community activities, feeling welcomed and accepted by their communities, enhance their sense of belonging, making Napier not just a place to live in but a true home. Participants' strong attachment to Napier also manifests in their pride of their hometown, especially when comparing it with neighbouring towns like Hastings. Residents often express a preference for Napier's unique identity and social conscience, which they believe sets it apart from other areas.

Touristification has had a noticeable impact on residents' attachment to Napier. Residents take great pride in their place and tourism has provided the opportunity to showcase their community. However, participant residents are willing to share more than just the well-known Art Deco architecture. Some participant residents feel TPPA and local businesses are too focused on catering towards visitors and beautification projects that do not align with the real character of Napier. One resident even referred to these efforts as turning the city into a "Tinseltown", highlighting their dissatisfaction with how the city is presented to visitors.

Touristification in Napier has contributed to a sense of loss for some residents, as the strong focus on marketing and promotion by the core group prioritises the desires and expectations of visitors over the lived experiences and values of local residents. The concepts of place and residents' *sense of place* have, over time, evolved as a resource for tourism to stimulate the local economy. Tourism plays a pivotal role in shaping Napier's place image and identity, which is deemed by many residents to be a non-authentic representation of place that is at odds with their sense of place and identity. Nostalgia plays a significant role in residents' attachment to place, particularly among long-term residents who have deep-rooted connections and memories tied to Napier's authentic aspects. This contrasts with newcomers, whose identification with place may be influenced more by promotional narratives than personal nostalgic ties. This division illustrates how tourism can both enhance and erode place attachment, depending on how it aligns with or challenges residents' sense of place.

The impacts of touristification on residents' subjective well-being are mixed. On one hand, tourism has contributed to a sense of pride, community spirit, and social connections, all of which enhance residents' subjective well-being. The presence of visitors and the vibrancy that tourism brings can foster a feeling of pride in sharing Napier with the world. Nostalgia for Napier's history and heritage also strengthens this place attachment, particularly for long-term residents who value the city's past.

On the other hand, there are several negative impacts associated with touristification. Gentrification has increased housing costs and altered the socio-economic landscape, making it harder for some residents to maintain their place in the community. Overcrowding during peak tourist seasons detracts from the quality of life for locals, as they must navigate busier streets and public spaces that are often focused on serving visitors. Additionally, many residents feel a sense of powerlessness as decisions regarding tourism development are made by a small core group, often without input from the broader community. This top-down governance structure leads to a feeling of exclusion, where residents feel their voices are not being heard, and their suggestions overlooked in favour of promoting Napier as a tourism destination. Some residents feel that they lack control around what is happening in their city and are frustrated by the decision-making processes around tourism promotion and development.

Besides this, there are constant physical reminders of residents feeling excluded and their suggestions being overlooked in the built environment, leaving residents with an ongoing sense of being unheard and disregarded every time they walk or drive past, for example, the tram that showed visitors around in Napier and the undeveloped local wool sheds in Ahuriri serve as constant reminders of feeling powerless to exert any influence

or control over the process of transformation to their place brought about by tourism (for further examples, see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3).

Residents' subjective well-being is shaped by both enabling and barrier dimensions as a result of the touristification process. The enabling dimensions — pride in local history and heritage, vibrant community interactions, strong social connections, and nostalgia — support residents' well-being and help them maintain a positive attachment and sense of belonging to their place. In contrast, the barrier dimensions — gentrification, overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness, and cultural appropriation — erode well-being and weaken place attachment. Residents' frustration with the tourism-centric decision-making process is particularly pronounced, as they feel that their concerns about the future of their city are not adequately addressed.

The tourism message shaped by the core group heavily influences not only how visitors perceive Napier but also how residents come to see their own city (place identity). The alignment of residents with the established slogans and promotional themes set by this core group suggests that these marketing efforts are not only shaping the perceptions of visitors but are also influencing how residents see their own city, highlighting the importance of inclusive tourism development. Non-inclusive governance has led to a prioritisation of certain places and visitor experiences at the expense of the broader cultural representation of Napier's identity. The disconnect between how Napier is marketed and how residents experience it daily threatens their sense of place identity and belonging. While *mana whenua* [local iwi] and long-term residents are inherently connected to, formed by and belong to the place, the subjective well-being of residents is intricately interwoven with the place itself. Residents' affection and place attachment foster a strong sense of place identity among residents, influencing their vision for tourism activities that align with community values. While TPPA's marketing strategies are similar to promoting a commercial product, residents are more concerned with community well-being and sustainable development. Tourism strategies, which take into account residents' aspirations, values and well-being, could help mitigate these negative effects and ensure that tourism development aligns with both community needs and a more sustainable form of tourism.

7.1.3 To investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being

The third research objective was: To investigate how tourism influences residents' sense of belonging and its impact on their subjective well-being. To meet this objective, two research questions were posed:

- How can community involvement in tourism mitigate the negative effects of touristification and strengthen residents' sense of belonging?
- What are the lessons to be learnt from the past in terms of residents' subjective well-being and what actions need to be taken, and by whom?

This research emphasises the multifaceted relationship between touristification and the well-being of host communities, particularly focusing on the impact of place transformation on residents' well-being dimensions as influencers of residents' sense of belonging, such as sense of pride, community spirit, social connections and nostalgia. These dimensions aid in creating a sense of place identity and attachment to establish belonging. The research stresses the importance of contextualising touristification within historical processes, governance structures and local characteristics, such as gentrification, overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness among residents and cultural appropriation. It is important for communities to know their past in order to build an understanding on the impacts of tourism in smaller urban areas.

Tourism has the potential to boost community sense of pride by promoting an authentic representation of Napier that reflects the diverse values and cultural heritage of local residents. Showcasing genuine local culture and history aspects contributes to and strengthens place identity by residents' identification with place, which further enhances residents' connection to their surroundings and fosters a greater sense of belonging.

The notion of belonging encompasses a range of experiences, from familiarity with the physical surroundings and accumulation of cherished memories over time to feeling the opinions, concerns and contributions one makes are valued and respected. When individuals feel heard and acknowledged within their community, it strengthens their sense of feeling accepted and fosters a deeper connection to the people and the place they call home.

Long-term residents often have deep-rooted connections to Napier, valuing the preservation of the authentic character and cultural heritage of their community, and want tourism development to align with their values and preserve their sense of place. But residents who have more recently moved to the city often do not have the same sense of nostalgia for the Napier of the past, and so their sense of place is different. Instead, these relative newcomers to the area bring fresh perspectives, and their focus is often more on the immediate economic benefits and opportunities that tourism brings. Long-term residents and newcomers both want to belong and build a vibrant community, but differing views on how tourism should be integrated can create challenges in finding common ground. Welcoming newcomers could benefit the community, but fear of change often drives division (Ham & Woolcock, 2022).

The way Napier is promoted by the core group has an impact on residents' place attachment, as an inauthentic representation and distorted image conflicts with residents' connection to their surroundings and community. When the promotion of Napier by a core group defines what a place is about and prioritises a commodified and visitor-focused identity, rather than the lived experiences of residents, it disrupts place authenticity. This illustrates the importance of authentic place representation based on residents' lived experiences. In order to mitigate the effects of touristification, it is essential to include local residents in the tourism development and decision-making process, as local residents possess a deep understanding of the true authenticity of their place, which they call home and are willing to share with visitors.

This research argues that the historical and current exclusive ad hoc approach in the process of touristification, in which the interests of visitors and a core group overshadow the interests of local residents, has resulted in residents feeling a lacking sense of control (autonomy). The constant physical reminders of residents feeling excluded and their suggestions being overlooked in the built environment leave residents with an ongoing sense of being unheard and disregarded, which threatens residents' subjective well-being in terms of their attachment through their sense of place and belonging. Without the opportunity to participate in decision-making, residents feel left out and disregarded, which undermines their psychological well-being and leads to diminished sense of pride in their place. A lack of feeling heard or considered in the community and an inability to effect change can make residents feel unimportant, further eroding their sense of belonging. Therefore, fostering a sense of belonging among residents is closely tied to ensuring they have a meaningful role in shaping the tourism narrative of their community. Fostering a sense of belonging is crucial in enriching the social fabric of the residents and contributing to a more inclusive and resilient community.

Collaboration, partnership and inclusion are found to be integral components of residents' subjective well-being, with the need for participants in the tourism system to further recognise the value of partnership and community engagement. Inclusive tourism development and genuine partnership with the local community, including local hapū, is crucial in terms of residents' sense of agency, fostering a sense of ownership and well-being, and ultimately leading to more equitable and sustainable tourism practices.

While the aim to bring in more of Napier's cultural heritage aspects into the tourism message are positive steps towards an authentic representation of place and a more sustainable form of tourism, it is essential to recognise that local Māori stories and culture may be seen as another resource that can be tapped into and is motivated by the goal of enhancing the tourism product.

Therefore, it is imperative for the core group of participants in the tourism system to develop a genuine fundamental partnership with local Māori and prioritise sustainable development and responsible tourism practices. It is important to incorporate local stories and perspectives into the sustainability narrative of the region, especially when there is a true partnership with Indigenous communities to do so. This would create a more inclusive, authentic and sustainable form of tourism that reflects the unique cultural heritage of the area and strengthens the social sustainability of tourism.

By ensuring that future tourism development efforts are rooted in genuine partnership, and community engagement, rather than superficial marketing strategies, negative effects of touristification can be mitigated through long-term resilience, preservation of an authentic representation of place identity and community resources for future generations to enjoy.

7.2 The contribution of the research

The focus of this doctoral research is to advance understanding of the effects of touristification on the subjective well-being of residents in terms of place attachment and their sense of belonging. This research addresses the impacts of touristification in small cities drawing on the case of Napier, New Zealand. In studies of urban tourism, small cities have historically received less attention compared with studies focused on mega cities and major urban areas in Europe (Neuts & Nijkamp, 2012; Steen Jacobsen et al., 2019). While research on how tourism impacts the places people belong to and how this affects local residents has been dominated by quantitative studies predominantly focusing on large cities and major urban areas in Europe, this doctoral research adopts a qualitative approach to examine the impact of touristification on the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and how residents' sense of place identity and belonging are shaped by their connection and experiences in place in a small city. This research contributes to the body of tourism literature on place attachment by shifting focus from visitors' connections to place to those of the host community, which has received less attention in existing studies. The research highlights a diversity of perspectives among the local residents regarding the transformation of place through tourism. The research also extends current tourism literature emphasising the need for inclusive tourism development by providing valuable insights into the various aspects of residents' subjective well-being that need to be considered in tourism planning. The lens of the COVID-19 pandemic provided a unique opportunity to understand the tourism impacts on residents and the factors that are pivotal to their place attachment and subjective well-being.

My thesis argues that residents' subjective well-being is undermined when they do not feel they have autonomy and agency in decision-making around the development, promotion and management of tourism in their city. This can be summarised by three assertions:

1. Residents' feelings of powerlessness, the inability to effect change, and the physical reminders in the built environment of when they felt excluded and/or not heard in the development process diminishes residents' sense of control and negatively affects their emotional attachment to place and psychological well-being.
2. By embracing a more inclusive approach to tourism development that incorporates residents' perspectives into promotional narratives, Napier can foster a deeper sense of pride and belonging among its community while also offering visitors a more authentic and diverse experience. It is crucial to integrate local stories and perspectives, particularly those from Indigenous communities, into the sustainability narrative of the region to create a genuine sense of place that truly reflects the host community's identity.
3. If tourism development fails to authentically represent the place and aligns poorly with residents' values, it undermines the affection and attachment residents have for the place they call home and their community. Protecting these aspects and prioritising inclusive tourism development is essential to maintaining place identity and the subjective well-being of residents.

7.2.1 Theoretical implications

The findings from the research make several contributions to the existing literature by offering a nuanced understanding of the role place attachment and residents' emotional connections play in shaping subjective well-being within the process of touristification. The research provides empirical evidence to strengthen the body of knowledge on residents' place attachment and the nuanced distinctions and interrelations among concepts such as place identity, attachment, belongingness and sense of place. Place attachment, refers to residents' emotional bonds to their community and plays a crucial role in influencing residents' subjective well-being. When tourism development aligns with residents' values and enhances their sense of belonging and place identity, it can generate a positive spillover effect on residents' subjective well-being. If the tourism message emphasises local culture and promotes authentic representations of the community, residents may feel an increased sense of pride. Residents' sense of pride fosters positive emotions, leading to increased place attachment and subjective well-being. Negative spillover effects can arise in the touristification process if residents perceive that tourism development favours visitors over local residents, commodifying

community resources, or a misrepresented place identity that can lead to diminished place attachment and residents to feel frustrated, left out, and disconnected from their sense of place. An inauthentic representation in the tourism message can erode the emotional bonds residents have with their community, leading to a weakened sense of place and identity. As residents' attachment to their place declines, dissatisfaction in this domain spills over into other areas of life, negatively affecting their subjective well-being. Subjective well-being is often interchanged with terms like mental well-being, psychological well-being, and happiness (van Agteren et al., 2021), and is influenced by emotions such as joy, acceptance, fear, and sadness, which predict life satisfaction (Armbrecht & Andersson, 2020). This research highlights the importance of incorporating the drivers of residents' perception to build an understanding of impact of touristification on residents' subjective well-being. This research provides an understanding on the positive and negative effects of touristification in Napier, in the form of enablers and barriers of residents' subjective well-being offering insight into the drivers of residents' perceptions of the touristification process. Residents' sense of pride, community spirit, social connections and sense of nostalgia are crucial elements that must be considered to mitigate the potential negative impacts of touristification, such as gentrification, overcrowding, the sense of powerlessness felt by residents due to the lack of inclusive tourism development, and an inauthentic representation of place in the tourism message. These enablers and barriers could be used to inform the further development of place-based indicators of the impact of tourism having a spillover effect on residents' subjective well-being.

Most studies about the effects of tourism on urban communities are spatially bound in large metropolitan areas, or tourism 'mega' cities such as Amsterdam, Barcelona and Venice. However, less attention has been paid to the process of touristification, its subsequent transformation of space and place, and the impact of this process and transformation on residents' place attachment and subjective well-being in small cities. Small cities may not have the infrastructure and *governance mechanisms* in place to effectively manage the balance between tourism development and community well-being, which results in a loss of authenticity and a diminished sense of place for residents, ultimately impacting their attachment to place and subjective well-being. As tourism intensifies, local resources, spaces, and even place identity is at risk of being commodified to cater to the tourist gaze, leaving residents feeling overlooked or alienated. Instances of temporary displacement were observed in the research, as local residents alter their daily routines, customs and behaviours to avoid the overcrowding in the Napier CBD when cruise ship visitors are in town. This imbalance creates tension between the positive aspects of sharing one's place and the potential negative impacts

on residents' well-being, providing valuable insights into how the touristification process uniquely affects smaller cities. Small cities may face greater challenges in balancing the economic benefits of tourism with the preservation of local culture and identity. These dimensions provide new insights into how tourism-driven changes uniquely affect smaller communities, informing future planning and policy development for sustainable tourism in similar contexts.

7.2.2 Contribution to broader research methodology

Previous research has predominantly relied on quantitative analyses to assess the impacts of tourism and understand residents' attitudes (Erul & Woosnam, 2022; Nunkoo et al., 2013). In contrast, this research has integrated qualitative methodologies to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the multi-dimensional transformation of an area due to rapid tourism intensification and the complex drivers of residents' attitudes and perceptions of the way this rapid intensification has affected their subjective well-being. This research highlights how rapid tourism intensification can exacerbate feelings of frustration, displacement, a loss of ownership and pride of place for some local residents, as they feel that the place they once valued no longer aligns with their identity or values.

This research extends beyond simple numerical assessments of tourism impacts by capturing the qualitative dimensions of residents' attitudes and perceptions of change, as well as the socio-cultural implications of tourism development. By incorporating qualitative techniques such as semi-structured in-depth interviews, a focus group and qualitative data analysis, this research offers a nuanced perspective that complements and enriches the predominantly quantitative findings in the existing literature. This integration allows for a deeper exploration of the underlying drivers of perceptions and experiences of residents living in host communities, shedding light on the interplay between tourism development, leadership structures, residents' sense of agency and their ability to be involved in decision-making processes for tourism, and community well-being. Through residents' lived experiences, this research shows the domains of residents' well-being that shape the impacts of the transformation process of place on residents. This research contributes to the existing body of literature by offering a nuanced understanding of the touristification process.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews with TPPA, business operators, and community groups and associations prompted some participants to reflect on their own actions and recognise the indirect connection between their decisions and the community's experience of tourism. In the reaction and conversations with some participants identified as part of the core group, it was evident that in some instances, these key players had

not considered collaborations or consultation processes, highlighting the need for greater awareness and emphasis on inclusive decision-making and community engagement in the development of tourism initiatives. Through the interview questions and prompts, the core group participants were encouraged to consider how their strategies, policies and offerings might affect the lives of local residents. By facilitating this realisation, the core group may become more aware of the ripple effects of their decisions, leading to a greater sense of responsibility in shaping a positive experience for the broader community, which may lead to more inclusive and sustainable tourism practices.

Objectives 2 and 3 of the research were focused on the influence of touristification on residents' sense of belonging and subjective well-being. The methodological approach adopted to explore these two objectives was to create a focus group for residents in which they could freely express their perspectives without influence from the identified core group. This method aimed to mitigate the influence of the core group in the research process and provide residents with the ability to share their views more openly. This approach proved to be necessary, as one participant initiated a discussion by inquiring about the presence of individuals associated with the core group, specifically listing their names and organisations during the focus group session. The approach taken here contributes to research practices by demonstrating the importance of context-sensitive methodologies that take into account social hierarchies and power structures within a community, and was proven to be valuable in providing a comprehensive understanding of the local impacts of tourism from a resident-centric perspective, thus contributing to a nuanced understanding of the local tourism system and its implications for the community.

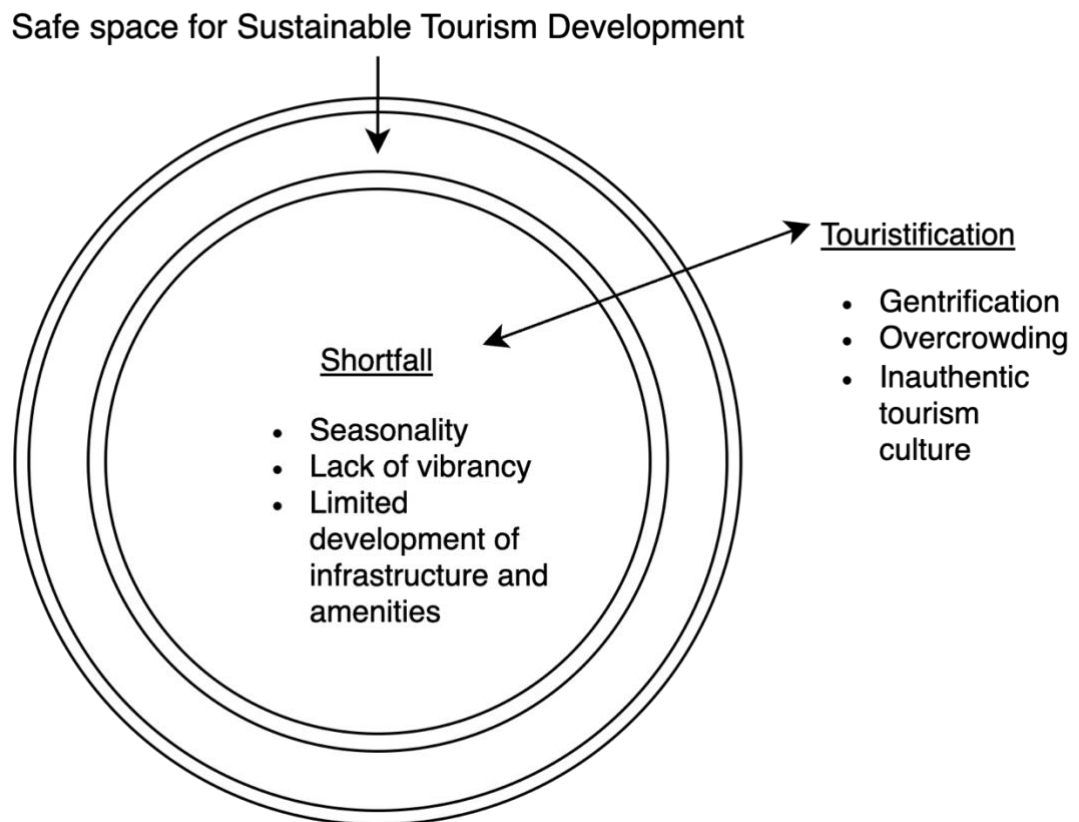
7.2.3 Practical implications

Tourism leadership structures in smaller regions often rely on well-meaning community leaders with limited capacity to lead sustainable development. There is a need to ensure that local leadership is equipped with the expertise needed to develop towards a more inclusive and sustainable form of tourism that prioritises the long-term well-being of residents while fostering meaningful visitor experiences. Strengthening capacity in local governance and planning for tourism at sub-regional levels is crucial to avoid commodifying local culture and to preserve the authentic representation, experiences and place identity of residents. Mismanaging this balance risks undermining both the economic and sociocultural benefits of tourism for the community.

There is an ongoing discourse among policymakers, destination management organisations, and academics regarding the most effective approach to tourism development. Some advocate a pro-growth stance, emphasising the economic benefits,

as discussed by Raworth (2017) and Butcher (2021), while others advocate a more nuanced approach, considering social and environmental impacts, as highlighted by Higgins-Desbiolles (2020a) and Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2022). By applying the principles of Doughnut Economics by Raworth (2017), the community could thrive while minimising sociocultural impacts such as gentrification, overcrowding, and an inauthentic tourism culture — that arise when the limits of sustainable tourism development are overshoot due to the touristification process. The model's concept of a "safe space" represents a balanced area where tourism supports the well-being of local communities without harming their cultural identity or overusing environmental resources. This space allows tourism to thrive while respecting social and ecological limits (see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Sociocultural Tourism Doughnut Economics in Napier



The foundation of New Zealand's current indicators of subjective well-being – the ability to be yourself, experienced well-being, family well-being, hope for the future, life satisfaction, and having a sense of control and a sense of purpose – are crucial. However, while these self-rated indicators are relevant, they provide limited insight into the deeper aspects of well-being and community belonging. The research highlights the significance of the consideration of place and residents' connections as an influencer of well-being in tourism planning. This research provides place-based subjective well-being indicators in the form of enablers and barriers that are important to consider in terms of

residents' sense of belonging in inclusive tourism development in host communities (see Figure 6.1). The enablers to residents' subjective well-being are sense of pride, community spirit, social connections and nostalgia, and the barriers to well-being, in terms of residents' sense of belonging, are gentrification processes, overcrowding, a sense of powerlessness and cultural appropriation. The enablers are particularly valuable as they offer practical insights into what matters most to residents, highlighting specific aspects of well-being that can be directly influenced by tourism planning. Tourism planners do not necessarily need significant funding to achieve this; rather, by asking more focused questions that explore the link between individual well-being and tourism, they can better align their initiatives with community aspirations. The enablers thus serve as a bridge, guiding inclusive tourism development that genuinely reflects local values and priorities. As an example, in its regional destination management plan, Hawke's Bay Tourism has made it clear that as an RTO the extent of their "aspirations and activities are dictated to a large degree by the funding that is made available from local government and specific central government initiatives" (Hawke's Bay Tourism, 2023, p.2). Hawke's Bay Tourism asserts that a dedicated national fund is essential to support activities and initiatives pertaining to the visitor economy, extending beyond the primary marketing and promotional functions of RTOs, particularly in areas where local funding for these initiatives is challenging. Consequently, the RTO clearly articulates its focus on its fundamental role and responsibilities as a marketing and promotional entity. This acknowledges the realities that DMOs face and aligns with the call for central government guidance and assistance in executing national tourism strategies as outlined in Chapters 2 and 6. However, it is a contention of this thesis that more than just funding is needed to improve the social sustainability of tourism in terms of resident well-being during strategic planning activities. First, there needs to be a sincere willingness on the part of Councils, DMOs and informal tourism groups (including third sector organisations) to engage with residents and local businesses in host communities and opportunities provided for locals to provide input and be listened to. Second, is strengthening the capacity to do so. Community consultation processes to develop a visitor experience strategy had in the past focused on fictional personas rather than real members of the community. Something a research participant described as 'comical' (see section 4.3). The enablers provided in this study allow for better insights into resident well-being aligned with touristification processes. Factors that contribute to residents' subjective well-being include a sense of pride, community spirit, social connections, and nostalgia. Conversely, barriers to well-being related to residents' sense of belonging encompass gentrification, overcrowding, feelings of powerlessness, and cultural appropriation. Surveys or engagement tools designed to gauge community attitudes towards tourists and the tourism industry typically aim to assess local support

for tourism as well as the perceived advantages and challenges it presents. The enablers identified in this research can serve as specific themes for further investigation into well-being factors linked to touristification and place transformation, extending beyond those currently addressed in community engagement efforts like surveys. Potential questions in resident surveys could explore whether tourism instils a sense of pride in their locality, fosters a sense of belonging and leads to stronger community connections. They may also address concerns about overcrowding, feelings of displacement during peak tourist seasons, erosion of local identity, instances of cultural appropriation within the tourism sector, and whether residents feel empowered to participate in tourism planning and believe their opinions will be acknowledged and can effect change.

The negative effects of touristification on local residents are closely tied to the notion of authenticity. An authentic representation of place, particularly in tourism messaging and marketing, is crucial for residents' subjective well-being. Local authentic experiences are highly sought after by visitors. However, the notion of authenticity must go beyond superficial representations, as visitors often bring their own gaze — what Urry (1990) refers to as the "tourist gaze" — which can intrude on residents' everyday lives, as visitors perceive local residents as objects to be looked at. In such cases, locals may feel objectified and intruded upon, increasing feelings of alienation. This gaze shapes tourism consumption, often placing locals in the role of passive subjects rather than active participants in their own culture. When visitors take photographs of local residents, the building or house they live in, the experience becomes one of commodification rather than genuine engagement.

Achieving this authenticity requires those who hold positions of leadership and who are involved in tourism development, promotion and marketing, to make strong connections with local residents to ensure that tourism not only promotes economic growth and caters to visitors, but also aligns with local place identity and reflects residents' aspirations for tourism. Understanding what local residents consider to be an authentic representation of the place they live in and how they wish to portray their place can only be accomplished by engaging with them. This is the concept and practice of inclusive tourism development.

Balancing tourism development with authentic local engagement is key to ensuring that residents maintain their sense of pride and belonging in their community. The focus should not solely be on catering to visitors' expectations but also on preserving and promoting the community's own identity. Ensuring that tourism policies address these dynamics can mitigate the risk of locals feeling that their culture is being commodified, while also offering visitors meaningful, enriching experiences that foster real connections with the destination.

7.3 Limitations and future research

The research found that a core group of prominent participants in the Napier tourism system formed an informal leadership structure. This raises important questions about how networks develop in small cities, particularly regarding their formation, the individuals involved and their capacity to plan for and implement sustainable tourism. While the research did not initially aim to explore governance structures, it surfaced as a crucial theme related to the process of touristification and residents' subjective well-being in Napier, indicating that governance, although not the primary focus, has become an essential aspect that requires further and more in-depth examination.

Future research could build on this by investigating how governance structures and leadership networks influence the trajectory of tourism development in other small cities and regions. Given that the informal nature of leadership can shape decisions in subtle but significant ways, it would be beneficial to explore the dynamics of leadership and governance in similar communities globally, to compare how these structures contribute to, or mitigate, the impacts of touristification. A comparative study could offer insights into best practices for managing urban tourism in smaller regions while preserving residents' subjective well-being and maintaining authentic cultural experiences.

Another priority for future research relates to the generalisability of the research findings. Other small cities in different parts of the world, particularly those in varied cultural, social, and economic contexts, may have distinct drivers shaping residents' perceptions of touristification. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore how these factors might influence residents' subjective well-being in other places.

Lastly, it is important to acknowledge that the interviews were conducted during a time of great uncertainty and disruption in the tourism industry due to the COVID-19 global pandemic. However, given the unprecedented effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism worldwide, it would be valuable to conduct longitudinal studies to observe how perceptions of touristification evolve as the industry recovers. Such studies could provide deeper insights into how shocks to the tourism system, like pandemics, reshape both the tourism landscape and residents' relationship with tourism in the long term.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: AUT Ethics approval 26 July 2021

26 July 2021

Carolyn Deuchar
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Carolyn

Re Ethics Application: **21/248 Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved in stages for three years until 26 July 2024.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research and as approved by AUTEC in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard and that all the dates on the documents are updated.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted and you need to meet all ethical, legal, public health, and locality obligations or requirements for the jurisdictions in which the research is being undertaken.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>

Appendix 2: AUT Ethics approval 14 July 2022

13 July 2022

Carolyn Deuchar
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Carolyn

Re: Ethics Application: **21/248 Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand**

Thank you for your request for approval of amendments to your ethics application.
The amendment to the data collection protocol (addition of focus groups) has been approved.

Non-Standard Condition

1. On the Information Sheet amend 'How was I identified...' to 'you have been contacted/invited to take part in the focus group as you indicated on your interview Consent Form

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEK before commencing your study.

Standard Conditions of Approval.

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research and as approved by AUTEK in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEK prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEK Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEK Secretariat as a matter of priority.
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.
8. AUTEK grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted. When the research is undertaken outside New Zealand, you need to meet all ethical, legal, and locality obligations or requirements for those jurisdictions.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>

Appendix 3: Interview discussion guide – Phase 1

The discussion *themes* are highlighted in bold in this interview discussion guide. The interviewer will guide the conversation around these themes. The questions (highlighted by bullets points) below each theme are there to guide the interviewer on the *type* of data/information to collect under each theme.

Interview purpose: To identify participants in the local tourism system; their roles and interests to develop an understanding of the influence of tourism on the development of Napier and the impact on local residents.

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me today, and for returning the signed consent form which included your permission to record this interview. I am undertaking research on how tourism development in Napier links to residents' well-being to explore how tourism can strengthen a sense of community, belonging and place. The aim of the project is to inform the development of indicators towards social sustainable tourism in Napier. This interview will take about 45 minutes to 60 minutes.

Interview structure	Indicative question areas	Time
Introduction <i>Warm up.</i>	Please tell me a little about yourself and your background. • What is your position and role? • How long have you been with this organisation? • Did you have experience in tourism before taking this role?	5 mins
Context setting and impact of COVID-19 <i>Context setting to develop an understanding of their role and interests.</i>	Now let's focus on the background of your organisation/business. • Background organisation/business in the tourism industry in Napier. • Prior to the outbreak of COVID-19, what were the challenges/opportunities for your organisation/business? • COVID-19 Influence on challenges/opportunities	5–10 mins
The evolution of tourism over time <i>Develop an understanding of how tourism has evolved in Napier and the role it has played in the development of Napier.</i>	I'd like to know more about how the visitor industry in Napier has evolved over time. • What were the changes to the visitor industry over time? What influenced these? (Drivers for development of tourism in Napier) • How would you describe the current visitor industry in Napier?	10 mins

The tourism network <i>Develop an understanding of who was involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier. Were local residents involved in the evolution of tourism in Napier?</i>	Could you tell me about the different people [roles/organisations] that are/were involved in the development of tourism in Napier? Could you tell me more about: • How were/are these other organisations involved in tourism development? • What role did your organisation play in the development of tourism in Napier? • Do these organisations work well together? • How does your organisation collaborate with others [prompt: government/ public agencies/ private enterprises, community] • Tourism development strategy plans (Napier/Hawke's Bay region)- who was involved and how? (if needed: prompt – were local residents involved in the development of visitor strategies?)	5–10 mins
The impact of tourism <i>Develop an understanding of perceptions of the impact of tourism on residents of Napier.</i>	Let's now discuss your thoughts on the influence of the visitor industry on local residents. We'll focus on the following: • The benefits and costs of tourism for local residents. • Any plans and/or activities [organisation] to support local residents to engage with tourism.	10 mins
Aspirations for the future <i>Develop an understanding of the vision and future goals for the organisation and tourism in Napier at large.</i>	Let's consider the future of your organisation/business. • Going forward, what are the opportunities for your/this organisation/business? • Strategic goals for the organisation/business. • Organisation/business' role in supporting sustainable (tourism) development. Looking ahead: what are your thoughts on/vision for the visitor industry in Napier? • How would you like to see tourism develop in Napier over the next five years? • What are your hopes/ aspirations for tourism in Napier in the future?	10–15 mins

**Thank you for taking part in this interview
and for the valuable insights you have shared.**

Do you have any questions, or is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 4: Interview discussion guide – Phase 2

The discussion *themes* are highlighted in bold in this interview discussion guide. The interviewer will guide the conversation around these themes. The questions (highlighted by bullets points) below each theme are there to guide the interviewer on the *type* of data/information to collect under each theme.

Interview purpose: To explore the construct of place attachment from the community perspective, and to understand how tourism influences residents' subjective well-being by developing an understanding of how residents attach and give meaning to local places/ surroundings.

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me today, and for returning the signed consent form which included your permission to record this interview. I am undertaking research on how tourism development in Napier links to residents' well-being to explore how tourism can strengthen a sense of community, belonging and place. The aim of the project is to inform the development of indicators towards social sustainable tourism in Napier. This interview will take about 45 minutes to 60 minutes.

Interview structure	Indicative question areas	Time
Introduction and relationship with Napier <i>Warm up.</i> <i>Develop an understanding of resident's attachment to Napier and sense of place.</i> [Participants are encouraged to bring a photograph along]	I'd like to talk to you about living in Napier. • How long have you lived in Napier? • What attracts you to Napier as a place to live? You have brought a photograph (of a place in Napier that is meaningful to you/ favourite place/place that fuel a sense of pride/a place you feel attached to or is changed due to tourism) can you tell me about it? • What do you love about the place? • If you were talking to someone who hadn't been to • Napier – how would you describe this place?	5 mins
Changes due to the evolution of tourism in Napier <i>Develop an understanding of how tourism has evolved and how it has affected Napier over time from the local resident perspective.</i>	Let's talk about tourism in Napier. Please tell me: • How has tourism in Napier developed over time? • How you would describe tourism in Napier today? • Has tourism changed Napier? If so, in what way(s)?	5–15 mins

The visitor industry and residents' well-being <i>Explore residents' perceptions of how tourism has affected residents' quality of life.</i>	Now I am going to talk to you about the influence of tourism on your everyday life. • Have you noticed any changes in Napier as a place to live that you feel were brought about by tourism? • How has this affected you? (probe: effects of COVID-19, benefits and disadvantages of tourism) • Tourism influence on well-being [prompts if needed] • health/work/material well-being/feeling part of local community/safety/quality of environment/relation family and friend]	15 mins
Aspirations for the future <i>Explore ways that tourism could be used to enhance residents' well-being and place attachment.</i>	Looking ahead – for example, 5 years from now. Please tell me about: • Your aspirations (hopes/dreams) for the future as a resident of Napier. • The role of the visitor industry in this vision. How could tourism enhance your quality of life as a resident of Napier? • What could be done to support sustainable tourism development in Napier? (What/ Why/ Who)	10–15 mins

Thank you for taking part in this interview and for the valuable insights you have shared.

Do you have any questions, or is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 5: Focus group discussion guide

Welcome – 5 min

- Welcome, thank you all for taking the time to join
 - Statement regarding the purpose of the study
 - Explaining focus group procedures and expected timeframe
 - Guidelines (no wrong answers but rather differing points of view)
 - Sign consent forms
 - Explain recording
 - Housekeeping, COVID protocols e.g., masks.
-
- Are there any questions before we begin?

Warm-up stakeholder theory and touristification – 5 to 10 mins

Discussion question:

If you feel more comfortable listening at first, that is fine. I would like to start off with the question:

- Can you think of a place (*a destination in New Zealand or overseas*) that you loved to visit years ago, but because of the impact of tourism you don't visit so often anymore? (besides COVID travel restrictions)?

[prompt if necessary: Waiheke Island, Paris, Venice]

Probe if needed:

- *Do you think Napier has changed because of tourism?*
- *What changed?*
- *How did this affect you?*

Resident affection, well-being and bottom-up spillover theory – 15 to 20 mins

I am really interested in how you feel about Napier, what you feel about living in Napier and that is what my research is doing and it is also looking at understanding if those feelings change or are affected by the tourism industry in any way. Positively and negatively.

I am going to step back a bit and I am really interested in how you feel tourism contributes to your life, or contributes to the way you live in this city. How you feel about Napier. So, I want to start off with a couple of things, which is a bit of a leading question, but many of you told me that you were proud to be residents of Napier.. and I am not looking for a consensus in thought, I am not looking for one single thought, but what is that based on? Why are you proud to be a resident of Napier, or

if you are not.. why not? I will start by making a statement and asking you to finish the sentence.

- I am proud to be a resident of Napier, because (fill in the blank)
- For me, as a resident, tourism brings (fill in the blank)

We hear a lot about tourism and a lot about how it creates value for our economy. I am really interested in how it creates value for you and what sort of value it creates for you. Before the lockdown, not only in New Zealand, but all over the world people were feeling pressures of tourism. So, I am looking to explore if that happened in any way, so my next statement is..

- When there are large numbers of visitors in town, I feel (fill in the blank)
- Not having international visitors in Napier since the start of the pandemic has been (fill in the blank)

[exploring the connection with themes of subjective well-being, such as: health, work, material well-being, feeling part of one's local community, personal safety, quality of environment, emotional well-being and relationships with family and friends]

- How has tourism affected the way you feel about Napier?

[What does it do to you? How does it make you feel? Exploring the link with themes such as; social connections, sense of pride/joy or feeling displaced].

Social representation theory and future aspirations – 15 to 20 mins

Then looking to the future and how you would like to see tourism develop in a way that brings benefit to you and to your community and to people. Some people didn't feel that they have a voice, or are being heard.. That they weren't considered or involved in tourism planning and some of them wanted to, however none have been asked for their input. However, when we think about tourism we need to consider residents as important stakeholders. We discussed how tourism affects you, before and maybe during covid. Now we switch it around to the future..

- How could tourism bring value to you?

We have come to the end of the focus group session and had the chance to reflect on tourism in Napier and what it means for your everyday life. Looking ahead, the last question will express and explore your wish for where to go from here:

- Suppose that you, as a member of this community, had one minute to speak to tourism planners in Napier about recovery of the sector – or suppose that you were in charge of making (tourism) decisions for Napier and could make one change that would make everyday life for you as a resident better. What would you do? What would you say?

[prompt if necessary: canal clean ups in Amsterdam, food waste donation programs]

on cruise ships, conservation projects, or climate change exhibitions, a program encouraging visitors to share their language or culture with locals]

Probe if needed:

- *How you think tourism in Napier should 'build back better' in terms of the benefits to residents. Speak for yourself and what you would like to see.*
- *What are barriers to achieving that vision?*

Wrapping up Focus Group – 5 mins

Thank you for taking part in this focus group and for the valuable insights you have all shared.

Are there any questions, or anything else you would like to share or mention? Are there topics that I haven't

discussed that would be really good that you would like to discuss?

Appendix 6: Participant information sheet – Phase 1

For: Government, public agencies, Regional Tourism Organisations, NGO's and tourism businesses

Date information sheet produced: 1 July 2021

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

My name is Birthe Bakker, and I am a student at the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI) at Auckland University of Technology. I am undertaking a PhD degree in Tourism and this research will form a part of my thesis.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by sharing your knowledge about tourism in Napier. Your input will contribute to my understanding of how tourism evolved in Napier and the networks and relationships among those involved in the local visitor industry. The insights you provide will help to inform the development of indicators of socially sustainable tourism development as an expected outcome of this research.

What is the purpose of this research?

This PhD research focuses on the impacts of the visitor industry on residents' well-being. By using a case study in Napier, I will explore how tourism development in Napier links to residents' place attachment to better understand how tourism can strengthen a sense of community, belonging and place. The research will contribute to the growing focus on prioritising residents and host communities in moves towards more sustainable tourism.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are being invited to participate in the interviews due to your experience and/or role in tourism in Napier. Your contact details were acquired from publicly available on your organisation's website. Please know that your participation in this research is confidential, and the data you provide will be aggregated and presented without revealing your identity.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are willing to participate in this research, please contact me by e-mail (birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz) or call me on +64 2040 169 729 to arrange a date and time for the interview that suits you. Before the interview, you will be asked to fill and sign a Consent Form (attached to this email).

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You can withdraw from the interview at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data you contribute removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

As a participant in this research, you will be asked to join me for an interview that will take approximately 45-60 minutes of your time. The interview can be held face-to-face in Napier, by phone, via Zoom or via any other online platform that you prefer. The interview will focus on your perceptions of how tourism evolved in Napier and the networks and relationships among those involved in the local tourism system.

The interview will be recorded but only with your permission as mentioned in the attached Consent Form. The interview will be undertaken only when the Consent Form is thoroughly understood and completed. The recording or the information from your interview will only be used for the purpose of this research.

You will be asked if you would be willing to participate in the focus group session that will take place in June 2022, after the analysis of the interviews. The purpose is to stimulate a conversation on aspirations for future community development.

What are the discomforts and risks?

It is not anticipated that you will experience discomforts or risks when taking part in this research. The researcher will give participants pseudonyms and will not name their organisations.

How will discomforts and risks be alleviated?

All questions are optional so you can choose not to answer any question if you wish. You can withdraw from the interview at any point in time. The information you provide will be treated in confidence and your anonymity will be protected.

What are the benefits?

Your participation in this research, and the information you share with me, will provide local authorities, community and tourism practitioners with empirical evidence that can support the development of policies, regulations and strategies to facilitate the development of a more sustainable form of tourism for Napier. The research will help the PhD researcher to complete and acquire an academic qualification (PhD).

How will my privacy be protected?

The data you provide will be stored in a secure location and is accessible only to me (the researcher) and my supervisors. The information provided will be used in a careful manner for research purpose without revealing your identity

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no monetary costs associated with participation. The interview will take approximately 45 to 60 minutes of your time and will be conveniently scheduled around your availability.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would ask you to get back to me within two weeks of receiving this request for an interview with you.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you wish to, I will send you a summary of the research findings after the thesis defence.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTECH, ethics@aut.ac.nz , (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Birthe Bakker, birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
26 July 2021, AUTECH reference number 21/248.**

Appendix 7: Participant information sheet – Phase 2

For: Residents

Date information sheet produced: 1 July 2021

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

My name is Birthe Bakker, and I am a student at the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI) at Auckland University of Technology. I am undertaking a PhD degree in Tourism that focuses on the impacts of tourism on residents' well-being and this research will form a part of my thesis.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by sharing your story of what Napier means to you and how tourism has influenced your quality of life as a resident of Napier. Your input will help me understand the impact of the visitor industry on your everyday life. The insights you provide will help to inform indicators towards sustainable tourism development in Napier, as an expected outcome of this research.

What is the purpose of this research?

This PhD research focuses on how tourism development in Napier links to residents' place attachment and their well-being to explore how tourism can strengthen a sense of community, belonging and place. The research will contribute to the growing focus on prioritising residents and host communities in moves towards more sustainable tourism.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are willing to participate in this research, please contact me by e-mail (birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz) or call me on +64 2040 169 729 to arrange a date and time for the interview that suits you. Before the interview, you will be asked to fill and sign a Consent Form (attached to this email).

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You can withdraw from the interview at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data you contribute removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

As a participant in this research, you will be asked to join me for an interview that will take approximately 45-60 minutes of your time. The interview can be held face-to-face

in Napier, by phone, via Zoom or via any other online platform that you prefer. The interview questions explore what Napier means to you, while we draw and make notes on a physical map of Napier. You are encouraged to bring photographs of places in Napier that are meaningful to you – these may include photos of your favourite places, places that fuel a sense of pride, places you feel are affected or are changed due to tourism. The photographs will be used as a conversation starter and will not be retained for the thesis or any publications.

The interview will be recorded but only with your written permission as mentioned in the attached Consent Form. The interview will be undertaken only when the Consent Form is thoroughly understood and completed. The recording or the information from your interview will only be used for the purpose of this research.

You will be asked if you would be willing to participate in the focus group session that will take place in June 2022, after the analysis of the interviews. The purpose is to stimulate a conversation on aspirations for future community development.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There are no discomforts and risks for you when taking part in this research.

How will discomforts and risks be alleviated?

All questions are optional so you can choose not to answer any question if you wish. You can withdraw from the interview at any point in time. The information you provide will be treated in confidence and your anonymity will be protected.

What are the benefits?

Your participation in this research, and the information you share with me, will provide local authorities, community and tourism practitioners with empirical evidence that can support the development of policies, regulations and strategies to strengthen the development of socially sustainable forms of tourism for Napier. The research will help the PhD researcher to complete and acquire an academic qualification (PhD).

How will my privacy be protected?

The data you provide will be stored in a secure location and is accessible only to me (the researcher) and my supervisors. The information provided will be used in a careful manner for research purpose without revealing your identity

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no monetary costs associated with participation. The interview will take approximately 45 to 60 minutes of your time and will be conveniently scheduled around your availability.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would ask you to get back to me within two weeks of receiving this request for an interview with you..

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you wish to, I will send you a summary of the research findings after the thesis defence.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTECH, ethics@aut.ac.nz , (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Birthe Bakker, birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
26 July 2021, AUTECH reference number 21/248.**

Appendix 8: Participant information sheet – Focus group

For: Focus group

Date information sheet produced: 1 July 2021

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

My name is Birthe Bakker, and I am a student at the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI) at Auckland University of Technology. I am undertaking a PhD degree in Tourism and this research will form a part of my thesis.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by attending a focus group to discuss tourism in Napier. Your input will contribute to my understanding of how tourism affects residents' sense of belonging to the place they call home. The insights you provide will help to inform the development of indicators of socially sustainable tourism development as an expected outcome of this research.

What is the purpose of this research?

This PhD research focuses on the impacts of the visitor industry on residents' well-being. By using Napier as a case study, I will explore how tourism development in Napier links to residents' place attachment, and how tourism can strengthen a sense of community, belonging and place. The research will contribute to the growing focus on prioritising residents and host communities in moves towards more sustainable tourism.

The findings of this research may be used for academic publications and presentations.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are being invited to participate in the focus group due to your experience and/or role (in tourism) in Napier and your earlier contribution to the research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you are willing to participate in the focus group, please confirm by e-mail (birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz) or call me on +64 2040 169 729. I will reconfirm your participation via email or phone 3 days before the focus group. Prior to the focus group, you will be asked to complete and sign a Consent Form (attached to this email).

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You can withdraw from the focus group at any time. Please be aware that any contribution you have made up to the point where you withdraw, can't be deleted from the focus group

recording and will be included in the research analysis. The information you provide will be treated in confidence and your anonymity will be protected.

What will happen in this research?

A focus group is an informal discussion between 5–10 people, with me as the facilitator. I will ask a question or raise a topic and you will be encouraged to discuss with others in the group. The focus group will be held in Napier on [date/time] at [place] and will take approximately 60-90 minutes of your time.

The focus group will be recorded but only with your permission as mentioned in the attached Consent Form. This recording and information from the focus group will only be used for the purpose of this research.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may feel hesitant about talking in a group environment and being recorded (subject to permission) otherwise it is not anticipated that you will experience any other discomforts or risks when taking part in this research. In the final report, the researcher will give participants pseudonyms and will not name their organisations.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You can withdraw from the focus group at any point in time. Please be aware that any contribution you have made up to the point where you withdraw, can't be deleted from the focus group recording and will be included in the research analysis. The information you provide will be treated in confidence and your anonymity will be protected.

What are the benefits?

Your participation in this research, and the information you share with me, will provide local authorities, community and tourism practitioners with empirical evidence that can support the development of policies, regulations and strategies and inform the development of sustainable tourism for Napier. The research will help the PhD researcher to complete and acquire an academic qualification (PhD).

How will my privacy be protected?

I will only use first names in the discussions. Please know that your participation in this research is confidential, the data you provide will be aggregated when presented and your anonymity will be protected. All participants will have to sign a Consent Form which includes agreeing to treat the identity of other participants in the focus group as confidential.

The data you provide will be stored in a secure location and only accessible to me (the researcher) and my supervisors and will be treated confidentially.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no monetary costs associated with participation. The focus group will take approximately 45 to 60 minutes of your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would ask you to get back to me within two weeks of receiving this request to participate in the focus group.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you wish to, I will send you a summary of the research findings after the thesis defence.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, ethics@aut.ac.nz , (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Birthe Bakker, birthe.bakker@aut.ac.nz, +64 2040 169 729.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Carolyn Deuchar, carolyn.deuchar@aut.ac.nz

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
14 July 2022, AUTC reference number 21/248.**

Appendix 9: Consent form – Phase 1

For: Government, public agencies, Regional Tourism Organisations, NGOs and tourism businesses

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

Project Supervisor: Dr Carolyn Deuchar

Researcher: Birthe Bakker

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 1 July 2021.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interview and that the interview may be recorded with my permission.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

☐ Yes ☐ No

- I am willing to be contacted and invited to take part in the focus group session in June 2022 (please tick one):

☐ Yes ☐ No

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
26 July 2021, AUTEK reference number 21/248.**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 10: Consent form – Phase 2

For: Residents

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

Project Supervisor: Dr Carolyn Deuchar

Researcher: Birthe Bakker

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 1 July 2021.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interview and that the interview may be recorded with my permission.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

☐ Yes ☐ No

- I am willing to be contacted and invited to take part in the focus group session in June 2022 (please tick one):

☐ Yes ☐ No

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
26 July 2021, AUTC reference number 21/248.**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 11: Consent form – Focus group

For: Focus group

Project title: *Touristification and residents' well-being: the case of Napier, New Zealand*

Project Supervisor: Dr Carolyn Deuchar

Researcher: Birthe Bakker

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 7 July 2022.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that identity of my fellow participants and our discussions in the focus group is confidential to the group and I agree to keep this information confidential.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interview and that the interview may be recorded with my permission.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one):

☐ Yes

☐ No

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
14 July 2022, AUTEK reference number 21/248.**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.