

From industrial heartland to urban tourism destination: Balancing growth and community well-being in Amsterdam Noord

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the dynamics of urban tourism development in Amsterdam Noord, a district undergoing a significant transformation from an overlooked area to a vibrant hub, with particular attention to how sustainability concerns and community well-being are negotiated in this process. The study aims to develop an empirically grounded theoretical framework explaining the processes through which tourism development in Amsterdam Noord influences community dynamics and sustainability outcomes. Using a Grounded Theory methodology, including desk research, interviews, and observations, the research investigates the benefits and challenges posed by the increasing tourist influx, proposing a holistic model to urban development. The findings reveal that while tourism, as a part of a broader development strategy, has stimulated economic growth and urban regeneration, it has also exacerbated gentrification and social inequalities. The study emphasizes the need for balanced tourism policies that prioritize community well-being and sustainable development. The research highlights the complexity of managing urban tourism in a way that preserves the unique character of local neighbourhoods.

1. Introduction

“Als ik één ding heb geleerd over Noord, dan is het wel dat je er nooit iets generaliserends over kunt zeggen.” [If there is one thing I learned about Noord, it's that you can never say anything generalizing about it.] (Hutak, 2020, p. 46).

A sink drain, poor relation, the Siberia of Amsterdam, would not be caught dead there... For decennia, Amsterdam Noord (or Noord, for short) suffered from a bad reputation with nicknames to match. Once an overlooked and underdeveloped part of the city, Noord is now experiencing a dramatic transformation into a vibrant hub for tourism and urban development. This rapid change has sparked a dynamic interplay of economic opportunities and community challenges, making Noord a fascinating case study for sustainable urban tourism. This study explores Amsterdam Noord through the combined lenses of NUT and sustainability in tourism development, recognizing it as a case where tourism-driven regeneration in a peripheral area raises unique challenges and opportunities for long-term community well-being.

When planned and managed inclusively, tourism can contribute to sustainable urban development by supporting economic diversification,

cultural vitality, and community wellbeing, particularly in cities aiming to regenerate peripheral areas. However, we acknowledge that urban sustainability can be achieved through a variety of pathways. Cities such as Copenhagen, Malmö, or Oslo have been internationally recognized for sustainable urban planning, transport, and social equity, often with relatively modest levels of tourism intensity compared to major global tourist destinations (OECD, 2017). While tourism is often promoted as a driver of sustainable urban development due to its potential to attract investment and revitalize underused areas, its impacts are not experienced equally. Tourism can generate positive outcomes for some groups (e.g. entrepreneurs, property developers, creatives, etc.) while producing exclusionary effects for others, particularly long-term residents facing rising living costs and social displacement.

With a growing number of destinations facing negative consequences of overtourism—such as congestion, rising living costs, and the erosion of local quality of life (Dodds & Butler, 2019; Gerritsma & Vork, 2017)—tourists increasingly move beyond overcrowded city centres and into off-the-beaten-track suburban areas. This shift is often motivated by the pursuit of “authentic” experiences, perceived as more local, original, and culturally grounded, and contrasted with mass tourism or commodified

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attractions (Wang, 1999). This phenomenon is called New Urban Tourism (NUT) (Maitland & Newman, 2014). While NUT can disperse visitors away from overcrowded tourist centres, stimulate urban regeneration and give a competitive advantage to previously marginalized areas (King et al., 2024), it also risks gentrification and socio-economic inequalities within communities (Vongvisitsin et al., 2024). While tourists originally turn to NUT-areas for their authentic feel, as these areas gain popularity, they often lose their distinctive qualities, leading to homogenization (Maitland, 2019). With the number of threats that tourism poses to urban communities, residents may become ‘tourismphobic’ (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Koens et al., 2018), leading to conflicts and xenophobia, which is undesirable. Sustainable tourism development requires stakeholder collaboration, particularly with local communities as this offers them an active role in shaping and benefiting from tourism activities (Boley et al., 2014; Lee, 2013; UNWTO, 2005; Vongvisitsin et al., 2024). However, the success of community involvement is debated, partly due to a lack of resources impeding practical implementation (Sebele, 2010), and partly due to unintended negative impacts even in cases of ‘bottom-up’ development (Maitland, 2019).

This study aims to understand the underlying processes that shape Amsterdam Noord’s tourism development, explore the socio-economic and community impacts of tourism development and to gain insight into the role of sustainable tourism in mitigating or exacerbating the negative effects. The research objectives are (i) to analyze the historical and current trajectories of tourism development in Amsterdam Noord, with particular attention to its transformation from a marginalized industrial district to an emerging urban tourism destination; (ii) to examine the underlying processes through which tourism development interacts with community dynamics, social equity, and perceptions of sustainability; (iii) to develop a grounded conceptual model that can be applied to other urban contexts.

Despite growing interest in NUT as a strategy to alleviate city center overcrowding, there remains a lack of empirical understanding of how tourism-driven regeneration processes interact with community well-being and social equity in formerly marginalized urban areas. While there is substantial research on urban destinations facing negative tourism impacts, particularly in relation to overcrowding and resident attitudes (e.g. Gerritsma & Vork, 2017; Seraphin et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2019), the nuanced interplay between rapid tourism development as a response to overcrowding in city centres and community dynamics in NUT destinations like Noord remains underexplored. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for efforts towards sustainability in tourism development strategies that benefit both tourists and local communities. This study aims to contribute to closing this research gap by answering the following research question: How do tourism-driven urban regeneration processes in Amsterdam Noord interact with community empowerment and social equity, and how can these insights inform a theoretical framework for sustainable urban tourism development in marginalized neighbourhoods?

This research question necessitates an exploratory, inductive approach to capture complex, emergent processes, which justifies the use of Grounded Theory (GT) as a methodology that allows theoretical insights to be derived directly from empirical data.

2. Literature review

2.1. Sustainable tourism: from conceptual frameworks to practical challenges

Tourism, crucial for economic growth, faced setbacks during the pandemic but is recovering (UNWTO, 2023). Early studies prioritized economic gains, overlooking environmental and sociocultural impacts (Güzeller & Celiker, 2018). Now, tourism is seen as vital for sustainable development (Farsari, 2023; Sharpley, 2023), reflecting a broader societal shift. Despite this, economic concerns often overshadow

sustainability for decision-makers (Miller & Torres-Delgado, 2023).

Unchecked tourism growth can harm the environment, disrupt communities, and commodify culture (UNWTO, 2005; Zolfani et al., 2015). In Western cities, tourism-driven gentrification improves amenities but displaces locals (van der Land et al., 2012). Well-documented examples of this include Venice (Seraphin et al., 2018), Barcelona (Goodwin, 2021) and Amsterdam (Dodds & Butler, 2019; Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). The term ‘overtourism’ is generally used to describe these negative tourism impacts, though there is some discourse about the term being overly simplistic and overused to explain broader, systemic issues (Koens et al., 2018). Recognizing these challenges, the concept of sustainable tourism has emerged as a framework to balance the economic benefits of tourism with the preservation of natural resources and the well-being of host communities (Butler, 1999). As a resource-dependent industry, tourism must prioritize sustainability for long-term success (Sharpley, 2023; Zolfani et al., 2015). This requires considering economic, social, and environmental impacts, with informed participation and strong leadership (UNWTO, 2005, 2024). Sustainable practices can lead to positive outcomes, including increased loyalty, equitable benefits, and heritage preservation (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

Interestingly, most definitions of sustainable tourism focus on *sustaining* the situation as it is. To illustrate, Sharpley (2023) defines sustainable tourism as “tourism that does not degrade the global ecosystem”. Defining sustainable tourism solely in terms of ecosystem preservation is overly simplistic, as it is inherently interdisciplinary, spanning economic, environmental, cultural, and societal considerations. Consequently, more attention has been given recently to viewing tourism from a regeneration perspective (Bellato et al., 2023). Regenerative tourism is a more novel approach that not only serves to reduce harm but actively restores and regenerates the social, cultural, and environmental systems impacted by tourism (Bellato et al., 2022). While this is an optimistic premise, the current literature concerning regenerative tourism is limited to mainly its definition and conceptual models. Thus, one might suggest that the efficacy of regenerative tourism remains speculative as its emergence in literature and media is relatively recent, resulting in a lack of empirical evidence regarding its practical application. Yet, as highlighted by Butler (1999), the definition of ‘sustainable tourism’ in general is often vague and ambiguous. Any small-scale tourism enterprise may call itself sustainable, despite a lack of a clear definition or indicators to assess and monitor its actual level of sustainability. This has long been known to pose challenges in the tourism industry (Miller & Torres-Delgado, 2023). Systemic change is incredibly complex, especially regarding the tourism industry, which is inherently interconnected with many other aspects of society (Koens et al., 2021). Consequently, it becomes imperative to understand how tourism can impact the systems and communities in which it operates, to establish measurable criteria for evaluating these impacts and eventually enacting positive, sustainable change.

While these frameworks offer an important theoretical guidance, there is a limited empirical understanding of how sustainable or regenerative tourism strategies operate within complex urban community contexts, especially regarding social dynamics.

2.2. New Urban Tourism: dispersal strategies and unintended consequences

With many popular tourist destinations facing overtourism-related issues such as congestion and touristification, NUT emerges as an alternative approach to mass-tourism (Maitland & Newman, 2014). NUT entails tourism becoming an integral part of the urban environment, with tourists increasingly behaving like residents, utilizing local infrastructures, seeking ‘off-the-beaten-track’ and ‘authentic’ destinations (King et al., 2024; Koens et al., 2021). Authentic destination refers to a place that maintains a distinct local identity, heritage, and everyday life outside of mainstream tourism circuits (MacCannell, 1973). Tourists are thus turning away from the touristic city centres, and instead, visiting

former working-class neighbourhoods that have little touristic offer besides the quotidian, ‘everyday life’ of the locals (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht, 2015). Maitland (2019) further argues that the shifting views on what a tourist is, complicate the idea of the authentic or ‘real city’ that can be ‘discovered’ by visitors. In this perspective, tourists will venture increasingly outward into the suburbs, in search of off-the-beaten-track destinations. NUT is particularly prevalent in previously unfashionable or marginalized urban neighbourhoods: places that have a ‘raw edge’ yet are also trendy and upcoming, such as Kreuzberg, Berlin, and Brooklyn, New York City (King et al., 2024). It should be noted that NUT is not merely a demand-led trend, as the local government and DMOs play a role in the placemaking and marketing process as well. The appeal of NUT is clear, allowing destinations to disperse visitors away from the primary tourist attractions, in pursuit of competitive advantage (King et al., 2024), while fuelling urban regeneration in dilapidated neighbourhoods (Stors, 2022).

There are notable benefits to tourism development for urban communities. The improvement of recreation facilities, increased demand for cultural events, and the preservation of heritage and traditions can contribute positively to the fabric of local communities. Furthermore, tourism has the potential to instil a sense of increased community pride and value, fostering cultural exchanges and the sharing of cultural knowledge (Joo et al., 2019). Moreover, tourism has the potential to bring substantial economic benefits to urban areas, often serving as a catalyst for job creation, boosting tax revenue for local governments, and fuelling investment in infrastructure projects (UNWTO, 2021; WTTC, 2023). Nevertheless, the traditional evaluation of tourism’s economic impacts tends to prioritize national or macroeconomic perspectives, often sidelining the effects on local communities. While tourism does lead to increased spending, economic leakage frequently hampers its benefits to these communities (Hall & Lew, 2009). Additionally, the distribution of these economic gains is not always equitable, potentially exacerbating socio-economic disparities within a community (Nguyen & Funck, 2019; UNWTO & SNV, 2010). Increased tourist activities can furthermore drive up the cost of living, affecting housing, transportation, and the prices of goods and services, eventually displacing the original residents in the process of gentrification (Atkinson, 2004; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). This is usually accompanied by a changing leisure offer that is better suited to the new residents, while the original resident may not be able to afford participating anymore and feel unwelcome in their changing neighbourhood, leading to social exclusion (Atkinson, 2004). The changing neighbourhood – now trendy – becomes more attractive to New Urban Tourists, which further exacerbates the process of gentrification and income inequality within the community (Hall & Lew, 2009; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Even without physical displacement, transformations in the physical environment, social structures and government interventions can cause a loss of sense of belonging among residents (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Moreover, tourism-driven development can lead to urban communities becoming an object of consumption, commodification and commercialization (Vongvisitsin et al., 2024). While tourists originally turn to NUT-areas for their authentic feel, as these places become increasingly popular among tourists, they tend to lose their distinctive qualities, and end up ‘touristified’ and homogenized (Maitland, 2019).

Against this background, the benefits and challenges of NUT have been documented, however, there remains a need for in-depth empirical research on how these dynamics unfold within specific local community contexts and how they intersect with resident empowerment and social equity.

2.3. Community dynamics and social equity: gaps in understanding resident perspectives

With the number of potential threats that tourism poses to urban communities, residents may become opposed to tourism development, or ‘tourismophobic’ (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Koens et al., 2018).

Tourismophobia can lead to conflicts between residents and tourists, public protests and xenophobia (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). This is not a new phenomenon, seeing as England has dealt with resident-tourist conflicts since the rise of seaside-tourism in the mid-nineteenth century, and the New York Times reported about similar issues in Spain in the 1970s (Novy & Colomb, 2019). Some research has highlighted the role of the media and its negative impact on resident attitudes towards tourism. Media allows the growing discontent of residents to become more visible, as well as giving voice to the complaints of grassroots organizations regarding negative tourism impacts such as cost of living and mobility (Koens et al., 2018; Milano et al., 2024). As summarized by Novy and Colomb (2019), tourism has become a focal point for mobilization and activism due to its overall growth, its expansion into previously “untouched” neighbourhoods, its evolving forms, and a lack of sufficient governance or regulation – or governance that primarily serves a narrow range of actors. While tourism can exacerbate socioeconomic inequalities, it is important to consider that it is often one component of broader urban development strategies and policies that favour residents with greater social and/or economic capital (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Smith et al., 2019). Thus, tourism-related issues should always be examined within a broader context of urban development and socioeconomic issues (Novy & Colomb, 2019). An example of this is the SMARTDEST project, an EU-funded research project that organized various city labs across Europe to research exactly these issues within the context of urban tourism development and policymaking (Servillo et al., 2024).

The opposition to tourism development is understandable but, of course, not desirable from a sustainability perspective. There is a consensus that sustainable tourism development requires stakeholder collaboration, particularly with the local community as this offers them an active role in shaping and benefiting from tourism activities (Boley et al., 2014; UNWTO, 2005). Specifically in the case of NUT, where the host community shares its place with tourists, the role of community participation in tourism cannot be denied. Understanding the residents’ perspective can minimize the potential negative impacts of tourism development and maximize its benefits, leading to community development and greater support for tourism. While the theoretical benefits sound promising, it must be noted that not all research agrees on the success of community involvement in tourism. Practical challenges often impede implementation of resident participation. For example, grassroots initiatives often lack economic and social capital needed for sustainable development (Sebele, 2010). This is especially evident in mature mass-tourism destinations grappling with longstanding issues of overtourism and resident negativity towards tourism (Martínez-García et al., 2017). Furthermore, Maitland (2019) noted that in London, even in cases where the tourism development was ‘bottom-up’, there was an acceleration of gentrification and homogenization in the urban communities.

There are various studies and theories that investigate resident support and attitude towards tourism development, the most common of which is Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Stylidis et al., 2014). SET explains that for residents to maintain a positive attitude towards tourism, the perceived benefits must outweigh the perceived costs. Butler (1999) reinforces this perspective, emphasizing that residents must perceive both the short-term and long-term effects of sustainable tourism policies; otherwise, there is a risk they may ignore or subvert them. However, the application of this theory faces limitations as residents may not uniformly perceive costs and benefits, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding. For example, residents employed in the tourism sector can clearly see the personal economic benefits from tourism, but that those not employed in tourism have a harder time seeing how they might benefit (Boley et al., 2014). Another framework that underscores the importance of perceived costs and benefits is the Level of Acceptable Change framework (Koens et al., 2018). Several other models, such as Irridex (Doxey, 1975), Tourism Area Lifecycle (Butler, 1980), Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (Lankford & Howard, 1994), Tourism Impact

Scale (Ap & Crompton, 1998), and the more recent Sustainable Tourism Attitude Scale (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005) have been developed to explain the complex relationship between tourism development and host community attitudes. These models delve into the interconnectedness of various stakeholders and variables, offering a more comprehensive framework for understanding the dynamics at play, and thus help create more sustainable and inclusive strategies for development.

It has been suggested that community attachment (Lee, 2013) and resident empowerment positively impact residents' support for tourism (Boley et al., 2014). This includes social, political and psychological empowerment. Uslu et al. (2020) reports similar findings, specifically highlighting the importance of including the local community in the tourism planning process to boost empowerment and attitudes towards tourism. The SMARTDEST project incorporated bottom-up "co-design" with the respective local communities in City Labs, which proved to be successful for the development of inclusive policymaking (Servillo et al., 2024). As mentioned, a top-down approach is often met with disdain from the community, while grassroots initiatives often fail due to a lack of resources. Some research has highlighted the need for a hybrid "bottom-linked" approach, where community-led initiatives are supported through top-down policies, although this approach still raises questions of inclusivity and equity (Hoekstra & Dahlvik, 2018). This aligns with the concept of "social innovation" which consists of new forms of collaboration to provide sustainable solutions to societal challenges (Wirth et al., 2023).

However, there is still limited empirical understanding of the processes through which tourism-driven urban regeneration shapes community dynamics, social equity, and residents' sense of belonging, especially in rapidly transforming urban neighbourhoods.

3. Methodology

This study utilizes GT as its principal methodology to explore the efforts towards sustainability in tourism development in Amsterdam Noord. The choice of GT is deliberate as it facilitates the development of theory-based explanations that emerge directly from the data, rather than relying on pre-existing theories or hypotheses that may constrain the research. Furthermore, this research adopts a constructivist ontology, recognizing that social realities and community experiences are co-constructed and context-dependent, which aligns with the inductive and interpretive nature of GT. This methodology ensures that the resulting theory is firmly rooted in the empirical data collected during the research process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). GT's inductive approach allows for the discovery of novel insights and processes, essential for a comprehensive understanding of the complex social dynamics inherent in sustainable tourism (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

To avoid any potential confusion, it is important to clarify that this study does not aim to quantify tourism impacts or measure variables in a positivist sense. While certain terms in the text may resemble quantitative phrasing, our approach remains firmly qualitative and interpretive. In line with Grounded Theory, the purpose of data collection and analysis was to generate inductive, theory-driven insights into how stakeholders perceive and negotiate the processes of tourism-driven urban regeneration. The emphasis is therefore on understanding meanings, relationships, and lived experiences, rather than producing numerical generalizations.

3.1. Study area: Amsterdam Noord

Amsterdam Noord was selected as a case study due to its rapid transformation from a marginalized industrial area to a dynamic urban district, illustrating the tensions between tourism-driven regeneration and community wellbeing. Its proximity to Amsterdam's overcrowded centre and recent urban policy shifts makes it a compelling site for exploring the efforts towards sustainability in tourism development strategies and community dynamics. Further contextual details are

provided in the supplementary materials.

3.2. Data collection

The data collection process involved desk research, semi structured in-depth interviews, and observations. Data collection was conducted iteratively, allowing for constant comparison and theoretical sampling to refine emerging concepts and theories, according to the GT methodology.

Given the study's aim to explore sustainability trajectories in a contested urban setting, the research design was structured to capture developmental aspects in both temporal and experiential terms. Interview questions and desk research focused on how tourism-related transformations were perceived over time, which allowed us to trace perceived trajectories of change—particularly in relation to infrastructure, community composition, and policy narratives. Rather than measuring sustainability outcomes directly, our approach was to understand how local actors interpret tourism's developmental implications, and how these perceptions relate to broader sustainability ideals such as equity, identity, and social cohesion.

3.2.1. Desk research

Prior to conducting field research, desk research was carried out to craft a base-level understanding of the changes and processes happening in Amsterdam Noord. The desk research was guided by initial sensitizing concepts from the literature on sustainable tourism, New Urban Tourism, and community dynamics. Specifically, it sought to map socio-economic trends, demographic shifts, housing data, and policy frameworks in Amsterdam Noord. This involved consulting a wide range of documents, newspaper articles and statistical reports related to Amsterdam Noord, focusing on its demographics and socio-economic statistics throughout the past decades. The desk research data provided a foundational contextual understanding of Amsterdam Noord's socio-economic transformations, policy environment, and public narratives about tourism and urban development. This contextual backdrop was essential in shaping the interview guide, informing the theoretical sampling strategy, and identifying key tensions related to community dynamics and tourism-driven regeneration.

The desk research encompassed analysing demographic trends, such as population growth and ethnic composition, as well as socio-economic indicators like income levels, employment rates, and educational attainment within the Amsterdam Noord area. The findings from the desk research provided valuable context and background information, helping to inform the interpretation of the interview data.

3.2.2. Interviews

Semi structured in-depth interviews were carried out to collect firsthand insights and perspectives on sustainability trajectories in Amsterdam Noord. Although GT traditionally employs open-ended interviews to allow theory to emerge inductively, semi-structured interviews were chosen in this study to ensure that core topics relevant to tourism development, community dynamics, and sustainability—identified during preliminary desk research—were consistently covered across participants. These interviews offer a detailed understanding of complex narratives and experiences, such as community change processes, that are not directly observable by the researcher (Charmaz, 2017). The interview scheme is in the appendix A. A purposive sampling approach was adopted to select 13 participants who were knowledgeable and actively involved in the tourism industry in Noord. These participants included tourism social entrepreneurs, local politicians and residents. Although the study included thirteen participants, these individuals were selected for their specialized knowledge and direct involvement with tourism development and community dynamics in Amsterdam Noord, aligning with theoretical sampling principles in GT and ensuring the richness and relevance of data. Furthermore, the study focused on a smaller group of residents who

actively engage in community initiatives and local debates, rather than a larger random sample, to capture in-depth perspectives on empowerment and social change. The resident participants included both long-term ('Old Noorderlingen') and newer residents ('New Noorderlingen'), reflecting different socioeconomic backgrounds and experiences with tourism impacts. The interviews were conducted in a comfortable and neutral environment, either face-to-face or via virtual platforms, depending on participants' preferences and logistical considerations. The interviews lasted 40 min on average. Each interview was audio-recorded with the participant's consent and subsequently transcribed verbatim for analysis. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and the confidentiality and anonymity were strictly maintained for those who wished to remain anonymous. Any participants that are named in this research have given their explicit written consent for the researcher to do so.

3.2.3. Observations

Qualitative non-participant observations played a crucial role in the research process by providing firsthand experiential insights into the physical environment, attractions, and tourism infrastructure in Amsterdam Noord. A tour of Amsterdam Noord was conducted to observe various aspects relevant to sustainability trajectories, including key tourist sites, cultural landmarks, transportation networks, and community spaces. The tour facilitated the observation of visitor behaviours, interactions between tourists and locals, as well as the overall atmosphere and ambience of the area. Additionally, visits to the Urban Leisure and Tourism Lab (part of InHolland University of Applied Sciences) in Amsterdam Noord and Rotterdam offered opportunities to observe innovative initiatives and community engagement efforts related to leisure and tourism. These observations were documented through reflective field notes, memos and photographs, capturing noteworthy observations, patterns, and unique features observed during the visits. The observations have been included in the grounded theory analysis described below. Qualitative observations are considered a fundamental research method in the social sciences, helping to minimize the distance between the researcher and the subject (Busetto et al.,

2020). While inherently subjective due to the interpretation and cultural background of the researcher, when triangulated with the interviews, the observational data provided valuable contextual information and insights into the tangible and intangible aspects of tourism experiences in Amsterdam Noord.

3.2.4. Data analysis

The data analysis followed a classic Grounded Theory approach, consisting of three sequential and iterative coding stages: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Charmaz, 2017; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) following the steps depicted in Fig. 1. Data from interviews, desk research, and observations were integrated through triangulation, allowing for iterative comparison and refinement of emerging categories. Desk research informed initial codes and contextual understanding; interviews provided deep insights into stakeholder perceptions; and observations enriched the analysis by capturing real-time interactions and environmental cues. During open coding, all transcripts, field notes, and desk research excerpts were coded line-by-line to identify key concepts, phrases, and emergent categories. Codes were assigned inductively, based on the participants' language and meanings, without imposing prior theoretical constructs. This phase generated a large set of initial codes reflecting a wide range of issues, including tourism-related transformations, community responses, socio-economic shifts, and perceptions of belonging.

In the axial coding phase, these initial codes were reviewed and grouped into higher-order categories based on conceptual similarity and interrelationships. This process involved identifying conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences associated with tourism development and community change. Themes such as "tourism-driven regeneration," "community empowerment," "identity tension," and "policy mismatch" emerged as core dimensions linking data segments across cases.

The final stage, selective coding, focused on refining and integrating the central categories around a core explanatory framework. A central theoretical category — the dynamic negotiation between tourism development and community well-being — was developed, and other categories were systematically related to it. This phase resulted in the

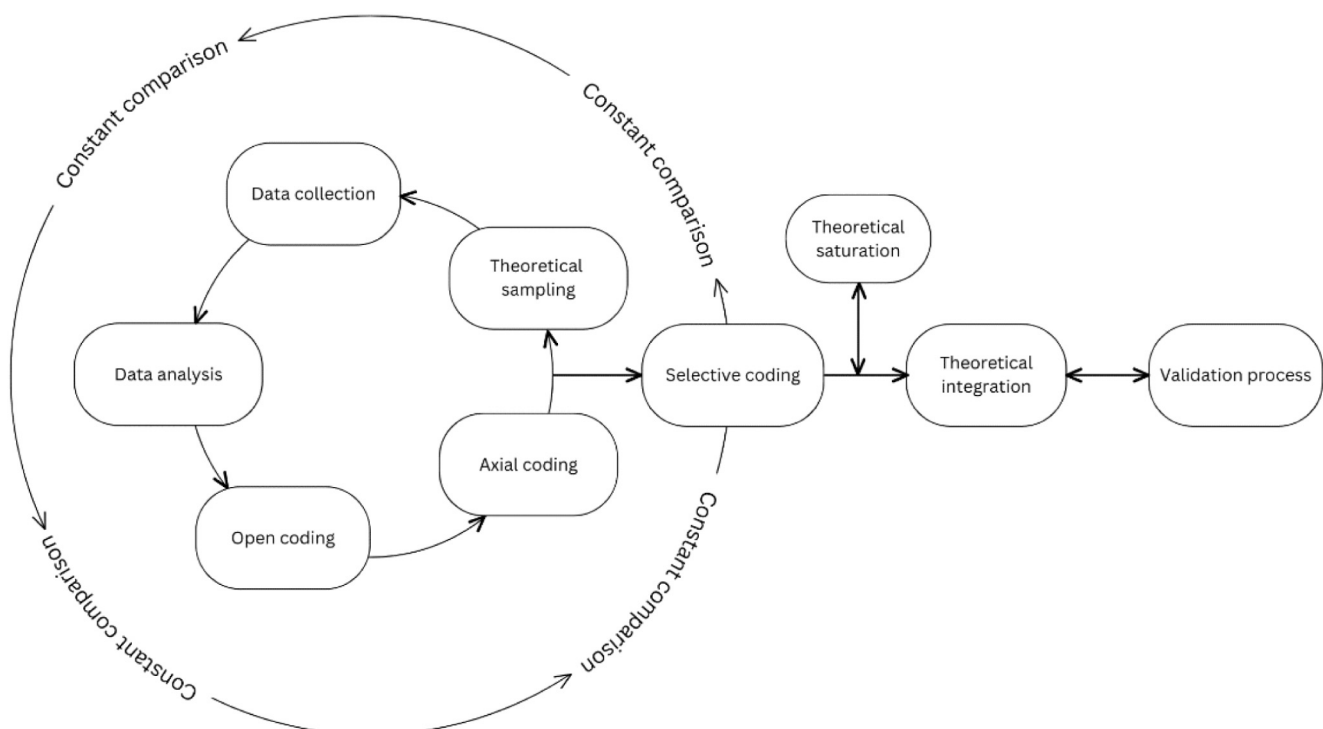


Fig. 1. Steps of the Grounded Theory approach, adapted from (Roman et al., 2017).

formulation of the grounded conceptual model presented in Section 4 (Fig. 2), synthesizing how community dynamics, governance structures, and socio-economic change interact in the case of Amsterdam Noord.

Further data collection no longer yielded new insights or emergent codes, indicating that the main theoretical categories were well-developed and robust. Triangulation across data sources (interviews, desk research, and observations) further enhanced saturation and theoretical validity.

Throughout the process, memo writing and constant comparison were employed to capture analytic insights and refine category boundaries. This iterative approach ensured that the final theoretical model was grounded in empirical evidence while offering conceptual contributions to the literature on sustainable urban tourism and New Urban

Tourism dynamics.

3.2.5. Validity and reliability

Ensuring validity and reliability is paramount in this research to uphold the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, particularly given the utilization of an inductive, qualitative approach. Grounded Theory's systematic approach, characterized by constant comparison and theoretical sampling, facilitated a rigorous and iterative analysis process, contributing to the validity of the interpretations. Methodological triangulation through multiple data collection methods such as interviews, desk research, and observations further enhanced validity by allowing for the convergence of different sources of evidence. Additionally, procedures such as maintaining a detailed audit trail bolstered

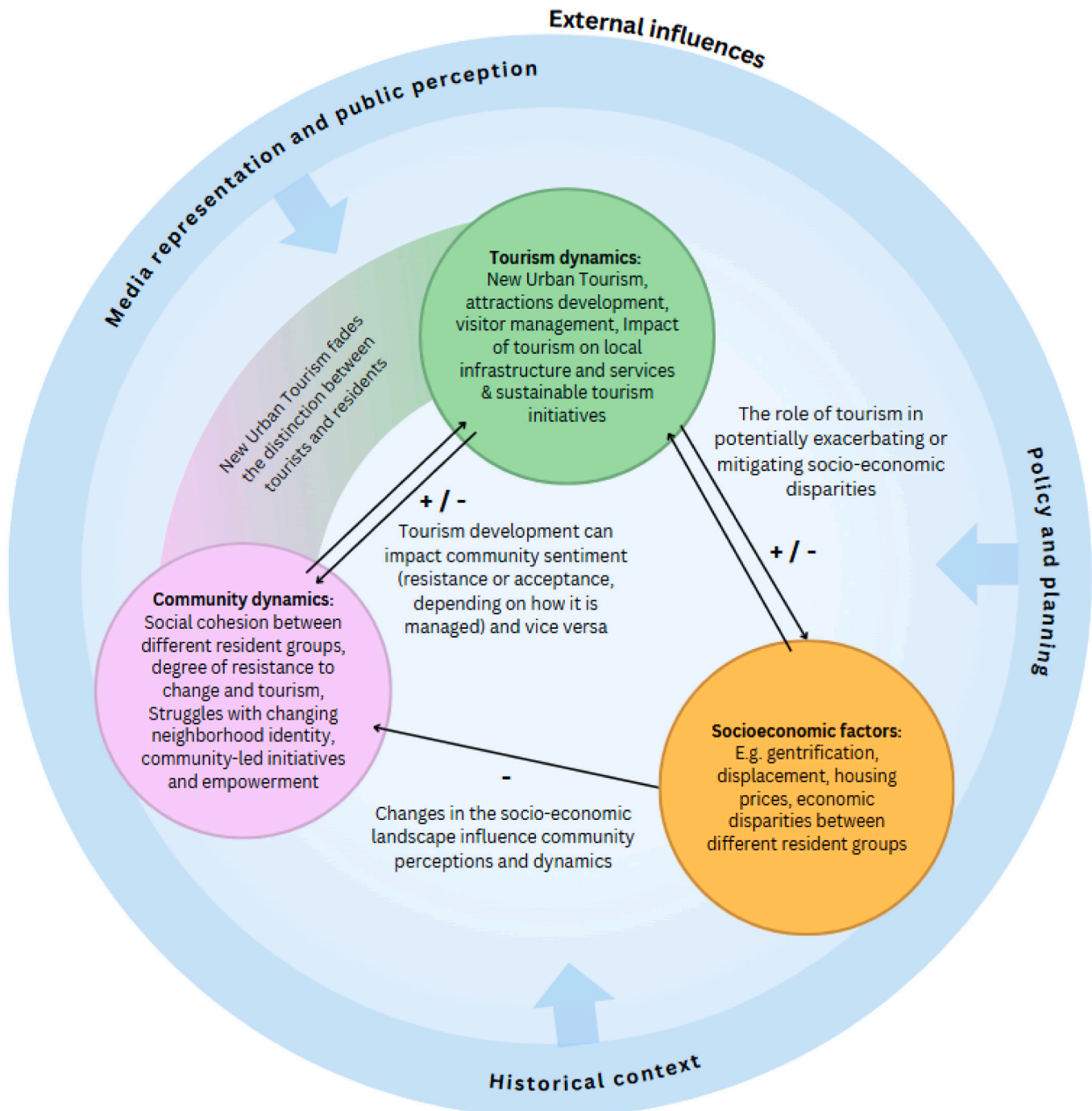


Fig. 2. A model of the dynamics shaping tourism development in Amsterdam Noord.

the reliability of the research findings.

In the context of qualitative GT research, “reliability” is not understood in terms of statistical replicability, but rather as *dependability*—the extent to which the research process is consistent, transparent, and well-documented (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To ensure dependability, we maintained a detailed audit trail of decisions taken during coding and category development, enabling transparency in how theoretical insights were constructed. Reliability in this sense also derives from the systematic use of GT procedures, such as constant comparison and memo writing, which allow for iterative refinement of emerging concepts.

4. Results and Discussion

This section presents the findings from the qualitative research conducted to understand what processes influence sustainability trajectories in Amsterdam Noord and how this can mitigate socioeconomic issues on the community, as perceived by experts in the field and from the area. The analysis is rooted in GT and is summarized in the model in fig. 2.

The model should be understood as a grounded conceptual model rather than a predictive or statistical one. Its purpose is to explain how different processes—tourism dynamics, community dynamics, and socioeconomic factors—interact in shaping sustainable tourism approaches in Amsterdam Noord. The three central categories derive directly from interview data, where participants repeatedly described tensions around tourism growth, changing community identity, and socio-economic inequalities. The surrounding contextual factors (media representation, policy and planning, historical context) were identified through triangulation with desk research and field observations, as well as through residents’ and stakeholders’ own references to these broader influences in their narratives (e.g., rising housing prices, media portrayal of Noord, government policies). Thus, while the interviews foreground lived experiences, these experiences are embedded within and interpreted against wider socio-political and economic processes.

4.1. Tourism dynamics

One of the main processes towards sustainability in tourism development in Noord is the growing tourism industry. Interviewees unanimously mentioned that Noord was unknown to tourists for many years, with a persisting sentiment of “why would anyone even want to go to Noord?”. This aligns with previous literature on Noord, which highlights its historical unattractiveness and stigmas due to longstanding socioeconomic issues (van de Kamp & Welschen, 2019). In the recent years, the repurposing of industrial areas along the IJ-riverbanks and the growth of the hospitality industry have made Noord a more attractive destination for visitors, a trend observed in other peripheral urban destinations due to the emergence of NUT (Koens et al., 2021). Most interviewees identified the EYE Museum, the Adam Tower, and the NDSM Wharf as key tourist attractions, noting that tourists generally stay within these areas and do not venture out to explore the rest of the region, except for the natural surroundings of Noord (*Landelijk Noord*). While Noord’s image has been shifting in the public eye and in the media over the past years, interviewees mentioned that it is still relatively unknown as a tourism destination and that its development is in progress. Unlike more conventional early-stage gentrification driven by tourism, Amsterdam Noord’s transformation is marked by intentional urban policy, cultural repositioning, and local resistance, making it a hybrid case where both bottom-up community efforts and top-down planning intersect with NUT and sustainability principles.

Noord has felt isolated from the rest of Amsterdam, with the IJ river acting as a barrier. The Noord-Zuid metro line improved accessibility, contributing to increased tourism. The district commissioner of Noord said: “The Noord-Zuid line has provided the biggest impulse and boost for the accessibility of Noord, but also for its approachability. Thus,

many more people have discovered Noord.” However, while these developments may improve economic prospects through increased visitor traffic, they also potentially attract more affluent residents and businesses, raising concerns about sustainable growth, the potential for overtourism and gentrification. One interviewee mentioned that Noorderlingen feel apprehensive about the improved infrastructure: “then they [tourists] can come here even faster and easier. We already had those ferries, and now we have a metro as well.” The disparity between the local government’s vision for development and the residents’ perspective is striking. While the government prioritizes economic growth and tourism development in its plans, residents often express concerns about potential negative impacts on their community, such as overcrowding, rising living costs, and the loss of local character. Policymakers interviewed also expressed concern for sustainable growth, but their outlook tends to be more positive than that of the residents.

Interviewees noted the importance of focusing on creating ‘places for life’ rather than merely developing tourism sites to foster a balanced approach to development, which aligns with the concept of regenerative tourism (Bellato et al., 2023). This is also crucial when considering the impact of NUT and how the distinction between tourists and residents is becoming increasingly blurred (Novy & Colomb, 2019). An initiative that embodies regenerative placemaking in Noord, is the Urban Leisure and Tourism (ULT) Lab of InHolland UAS. This living lab works together with students and residents to come up with initiatives that attract both residents and visitors, to make Buikslotermeerplein, a neighbourhood in Noord, an appealing destination. One interviewee of ULT explained: “In terms of tourism, we are initially trying to create “places for life.” This is also referred to as regenerative design, which aims to make it a pleasant place. We often talk about regenerative placemaking.”

4.2. Community dynamics

Interviewees noted that with Noord becoming more known to the public, a new type of resident emerged, generally referred to as “New” Noorderlingen. Though not all interviewees spoke of this dichotomy between “old” and “new” residents, noting that these distinctions are often based on stereotypes related to socioeconomic factors and perceived behaviour within the community. Resident perceptions of tourism and urban transformation have not remained static over time. Initially, long-term residents were primarily skeptical and resistant, viewing tourism as an external imposition threatening their sense of belonging. Over time, some residents began to acknowledge potential benefits, such as improved infrastructure and cultural amenities, while still expressing concerns about rising living costs and cultural commodification. These evolving perceptions, as documented in our supplementary material, illustrate the complex and dynamic relationship between community identity and tourism-driven regeneration. Literature and governmental reports also note a more nuanced view of the different groups of residents based on when they moved to Noord. Nevertheless, participants frequently brought up this stereotyping, particularly when discussing polarization within the community. While the distinction between “old” and “new” residents isn’t entirely accurate, it’s used locally to frame current issues. This study includes these classifications to reflect local perspectives and understand community dynamics in Noord.

New Noorderlingen typically moved to Noord attracted by lower housing costs, often have a better socioeconomic status, aligning with official reports on real estate and demographics. One interviewee noted that New Noorderlingen generally do not integrate very well into their new neighbourhoods because they tend to keep their jobs, social lives and even their kids’ schools on the other side of the IJ river. On the other hand, Old Noorderlingen tend to be characterized by lower socioeconomic status, more social cohesion due to the historical communities, an aversion to change and negative feelings towards New Noorderlingen. As mentioned, these classifications are largely based on stereotypes and tend to be influenced by media representation. Some

interviewees therefore underscored that the reality is far more nuanced: “It has become a stereotype of what makes an Old Noorderling and what a New one is, but there is a lot in between.” Regardless, the influx of new residents has impacted social cohesion, with mixed feelings about the integration of different resident groups within the existing community fabric. Other factors that impact social cohesion include temporary residents such as students. Interestingly, temporary residents were often named to be students, rather than digital nomads or people with second homes for instance, somewhat contradicting some of the previous literature (Novy & Colomb, 2019). A possible explanation for this is that students are simply more easily identifiable, or that digital nomadism and second homeownership are not (yet) prevalent in Amsterdam Noord.

The findings further note that residents struggle with the changing identity of Noord, they face a loss of sense of belonging and social exclusion due to rising cost of living. Furthermore, they have seen how overtourism has impacted the city centre and fear the same happening to Noord. Interviewees reported that, therefore, Noorderlingen generally resist tourism. This resistance varies from confusion regarding Noord’s touristic appeal to outright public protests. One interviewee said: “For them, for the Noorderling, tourism is still very much about ‘oh, you need to be in the city for that’. They mean the city centre.” Another respondent shared the story that the ‘I Amsterdam’ sign, a famous photo spot for tourists, was placed in de Van Der Pekbuurt in Noord to alleviate the overtourism in the city centre. This was met with various protests by Verdedig Noord, and the letters eventually burned down, presumed to be arson (Damen, 2019). The community perceptions of tourism and the lack of social cohesion can inhibit the development of tourism. Tourismphobia can lead to worse issues such as conflicts between residents and tourists, or xenophobia (Almeida-García et al., 2021; Gerritsma & Vork, 2017). Managing the community’s attitude towards tourism is thus important not just for tourism development, but also to mitigate tensions.

Most of the interviewees agreed that a top-down approach to tourism will cause backlash among residents, while community-based initiatives tend to be more successful. Community attachment (Lee, 2013) and resident empowerment positively impact residents’ support for tourism (Boley et al., 2014), underscoring the need for tourism development driven by the community. Residents further expressed concerns about avoiding the pitfalls of overtourism and preserving the authentic character of their neighbourhoods. There is a strong preference for sustainable, small-scale tourism projects that prioritize the well-being of the local community over commercial gains. This tension between top-down tourism strategies and grassroots resistance aligns with longstanding critiques in urban planning theory regarding the exclusion of marginalized voices in city-making processes (Arnstein, 2019). Traditional planning frameworks often privilege institutional efficiency and economic growth, sidelining deliberative and inclusive approaches. Participatory planning theory calls for deeper resident engagement not only in consultation but also in co-decision-making processes, particularly in areas experiencing rapid change (Innes & Booher, 2004). In the context of Amsterdam Noord, the failure to fully integrate resident perspectives into planning and tourism policy highlights a democratic deficit that risks exacerbating distrust and social fragmentation. Positive examples of community-driven initiatives were noted, where both old and new residents collaborated on projects aimed at sustainable community development. Examples include de VerbroederIJ, de Ceugel, Pllek and community vegetable gardens.

While the community-driven initiatives discussed in this study are not tourism projects per se, they often emerge in direct response to tourism-driven change and, in some cases, strategically incorporate tourism elements. Local actors—such as artists, social entrepreneurs, or cultural organizers—sometimes reframe tourism as an opportunity to promote neighbourhood narratives, create place-based experiences on their own terms, or assert cultural identities that are under threat. These initiatives reflect what scholars have described as “tactical urbanism” or

“counter-tourism,” where local groups appropriate tourism tools (e.g., guided walks, storytelling, creative signage) for community empowerment rather than commercial gain. Thus, while tourism is not the origin of these initiatives, it becomes entangled in their logic, either as a force to be resisted or reinterpreted. This illustrates a complex and dynamic relationship between tourism and community agency, where resistance and co-optation coexist.

These findings raise an important tension regarding the sustainability of tourism-led urban development. While policy frameworks may label peripheral regeneration through tourism as a sustainable strategy, the lived experiences of residents—especially those expressing loss of identity, exclusion, or alienation—highlight unresolved contradictions between economic revitalization and social sustainability. Rather than dismissing the case as “unsustainable,” we argue that these tensions reflect the fragility and contestation at the heart of sustainable urban tourism. Sustainability is not a fixed outcome, but an ongoing negotiation between different stakeholder interests, social justice claims, and long-term community well-being. As such, Amsterdam Noord should not be viewed as a fully realized example of sustainable tourism, but as a site where the limits and potential of that ambition are visibly playing out.

4.3. Socioeconomic factors

The changing community dynamics, fuelled by a loss of sense of belonging and socioeconomic inequality, lead to friction and polarization among Noorderlingen. Although these issues are not necessarily caused by tourism development, there is a recognition of its potential to exacerbate existing socioeconomic disparities if not managed carefully. This observation aligns with previous literature on urban destinations, which highlights tourism’s role in amplifying social challenges (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Smith et al., 2019). Interviewees expressed concern about the potential negative impacts of tourism development, which are well-researched (Hall & Lew, 2009; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2023).

Interviewees specifically mentioned the rising cost of living, the perceived disparity in socioeconomic status between “Old” and “New” Noorderlingen, and the pace of gentrification, which they felt was displacing the original community and altering the neighbourhood’s character, causing a loss of sense of belonging. Multiple interviewees mentioned that tourism inevitably causes things to become more expensive, which may result in residents being excluded from participating in society. To address these socioeconomic risks, urban planning can draw on a range of policy tools that explicitly aim to mitigate displacement and promote social equity in regeneration contexts. Inclusionary zoning policies, which require or incentivize the integration of affordable housing in new developments, can be used to preserve social mix and counterbalance rising housing costs (Marcuse, 2015). Community Land Trusts offer another model that protects land from speculative pressures by placing it under community stewardship (Angotti & Jagu, 2007). Moreover, planning frameworks can mandate Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) to evaluate how tourism or regeneration projects might affect vulnerable groups, an approach increasingly applied in cities pursuing just and sustainable transitions (Fainstein, 2014). Such tools can help ensure that regeneration initiatives not only attract investment but also safeguard the rights and needs of long-term residents.

While some interviewees explicitly blamed tourism for causing these issues, some recognized that tourism was simply a part of a broader strategy leading to this inequality: “Urban renewal has to do with it, the real estate market, tourism.” One interviewee called it “gentrification by policy”, underscoring the role of policymakers and the government in this process. These findings also resonate with debates in spatial planning around spatial justice and the uneven distribution of benefits and burdens in urban regeneration processes (Fainstein, 2014). The visible shift in real estate, amenities, and symbolic landscape in Noord reflects what Lefebvre (1991) termed the production of space—where material

and symbolic transformations are shaped by dominant economic and political actors. As such, tourism-led regeneration risks producing “spaces of exclusion” if not accompanied by mechanisms to protect vulnerable communities.

One respondent who grew up in de Van Der Pekbuurt, one of the most gentrified neighbourhoods in Noord, shared a powerful anecdote about living there and witnessing the changing neighbourhood, feeling unsupported: “It’s really a working-class neighbourhood. And it was meant for the workers too. I lived there briefly as a property guardian, and I was very shocked by the condition of that house. Drafts everywhere, black mould, cold, dampness. My laundry wouldn’t even dry, you know. I remember in the past waking up in my mother’s house and it would be freezing inside. Many houses in the neighbourhood were in a similar condition. Meanwhile, those same houses were selling for half a million. Then I’d have this sort of nosy neighbours near my house... Like a family saying, ‘This is the house, it’s for sale for 500.000[euros], we could live here!’ Yeah, almost like something out of a movie, seeing that happen.” She then went on to give the example of an expensive clothing store that settled in the Van Der Pekstraat, highlighting how these establishments do not fit in with the character of the neighbourhood nor benefit the residents as they usually cannot afford to shop there. “So, it feels very much like the change is being forced down your throat. Change that you don’t benefit from yourself. While you’re still stuck in the mould-infested house.”

Some interviewees also highlighted the importance of ‘giving back’ to the community, for instance through job creation or providing spaces for community events. This approach not only helps in gaining community support but also enhances the effectiveness of regeneration projects by aligning them with the actual needs and desires of the residents, ensuring a more sustainable future, contradicting certain existing assumptions that urban renewal inevitably leads to negative outcomes for marginalized communities (Hall & Lew, 2009; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

4.4. External influences

Several external factors have been identified to play a role in tourism development in Noord. Integrating these external factors into the analysis aims to provide a holistic view of the relationships between sustainability in tourism development and the broader socioeconomic and cultural forces at play. It is important to note that this list is not exhaustive; many other direct and indirect external factors, such as climate change, war, political conflicts, and pandemics, can also impact tourism development in a destination. The factors highlighted in this model were identified as having a particularly substantial impact on the case of Amsterdam Noord.

The historical context of Amsterdam Noord, marked by its industrial past and socioeconomic challenges, has fostered a sense of neglect and a complex relationship with the city center. This historical backdrop influences community perceptions of tourism and shapes their responses to ongoing changes. The media’s portrayal of Noord as an emerging ‘cool’ area has a dual impact, attracting investment and tourists while also raising concerns about gentrification and the erosion of local identity. The media’s influence extends to shaping stereotypes about residents, potentially exacerbating social divisions within the community (Koens et al., 2018; Milano et al., 2024).

Furthermore, policies and planning decisions play a crucial role in shaping tourism development in Noord. While efforts are underway to shift from pro-growth policies to a more balanced approach that considers community well-being, challenges remain in ensuring inclusivity and addressing the concerns of all stakeholders (Gerritsma & Stompff, 2023). The complex interplay between tourism, urban development, and socioeconomic factors necessitates a holistic approach to policymaking that fosters sustainable growth while preserving the unique character of Noord.

Finally, Amsterdam’s broader image as a city where “anything goes”

can influence the type of tourism attracted to Noord. Efforts to shift this image and promote responsible tourism practices are crucial for ensuring that tourism development aligns with the community’s aspirations for a sustainable and respectful industry.

Returning to our central aim — to understand the underlying processes that shape Amsterdam Noord’s tourism development — our findings point to three interrelated sets of processes. First, *tourism dynamics* involve the growth of attractions, improved accessibility, and emerging sustainable tourism initiatives, which collectively alter the visibility and attractiveness of Noord. Second, *community dynamics* capture the negotiations between different resident groups, degrees of resistance or acceptance of tourism, and the role of community-led initiatives in shaping neighbourhood identity. Third, *socioeconomic processes* include gentrification, displacement pressures, and widening disparities between resident groups, which both influence and are influenced by tourism development. These three processes do not operate in isolation but are embedded in wider contextual influences such as policy frameworks, media representations, and the area’s historical trajectory.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Theoretical implications

This article contributes to the understanding of NUT offering a grounded conceptual model that captures the dynamic interaction between tourism, urban regeneration, and community agency in peripheral urban spaces. Specifically, it enriches existing theories on sustainable urban tourism, gentrification, and community resilience in cities pursuing just and sustainable transitions (Fainstein, 2014) by illustrating how NUT can both positively and negatively impact socioeconomic dynamics within communities. Our results highlight how sustainability in urban tourism is negotiated through everyday community dynamics (Novy & Colomb, 2019), especially in contexts where tourism intersects with community activism and symbolic place struggles, rather than being a fixed policy goal, and identifies concrete tensions between economic regeneration and social equity (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3).

One key theoretical contribution is the understanding of NUT’s role in marginalized areas. This study reveals that while NUT can lead to gentrification and displacement, it can also foster community resilience and economic upliftment if managed correctly. It builds on the SET, which posits that residents’ support for tourism hinges on the perceived balance of benefits over costs. The study suggests that in some cases, perceived socioeconomic benefits of NUT, such as improved amenities and increased cultural activity, may partially offset resident concerns about displacement or symbolic erosion.

The research expands on the theory of gentrification by integrating the concept of ‘dedifferentiation’ between residents and tourists. The concept of differentiation emerges in our findings as residents and stakeholders distinguish Amsterdam Noord from central Amsterdam, adding a new interpretation regarding tourism-gentrification processes in contemporary metropolises (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017) both in terms of cultural identity and development trajectory, thereby shaping perceptions of legitimacy, authenticity, and community representation (see Section 4.1 and 4.2). Traditionally, gentrification theory emphasizes the economic and social displacement of lower-income residents by wealthier newcomers. However, this study highlights how the blurring lines between residents and tourists can both mitigate and exacerbate gentrification effects. Furthermore, this study contributes to sustainable urban tourism theories by presenting a comprehensive framework that emphasizes stakeholder collaboration and resource allocation. It underscores that tourism-related issues are often symptomatic of broader urban development strategies favouring higher socioeconomic status residents, rather than tourism itself being the root cause of societal issues.

5.2. Practical implications

The insights gathered from this research offer practical insights for policymakers, urban planners, and tourism managers aiming to foster sustainable tourism development in upcoming urban tourism areas like Amsterdam Noord. Key implications include the necessity of truly inclusive planning processes that actively empower and engage local stakeholders to ensure that tourism development aligns with community needs and values. Moreover, policymakers and tourism entrepreneurs should be aware of the changing behaviours of tourists who are increasingly behaving like ‘locals’, now leading to a dedifferentiation between tourists and residents. The study underscores the importance of creating and maintaining balanced tourism infrastructures that benefit both visitors and residents, creating resilient urban environments that can sustain both tourism and community wellbeing: places for life. Furthermore, it is essential for policymakers to recognize that tourism, while a visible element, is often intertwined with broader urban development strategies. While tourism can indeed exacerbate social problems, policymakers and legislators should adopt a holistic view, recognizing the multifaceted nature of urban development and addressing underlying structural issues. By identifying the potential risks of gentrification and socioeconomic inequalities in relation to tourism development, the study provides a framework for implementing measures that prevent the loss of sense of place in NUT destinations. Our conceptual model provides guidelines for urban planners and tourism organizations to balance tourism growth with sustainable development.

In practice, achieving this balance requires the application of planning tools tailored to tourism-heavy contexts. Destination management plans can be designed with community participation to proactively identify thresholds of acceptable change and establish zoning restrictions that prevent tourism oversaturation in vulnerable neighbourhoods. Regulatory tools such as tourist accommodation caps, commercial rent controls, or licensing schemes for short-term rentals—as already trialed in parts of Amsterdam—can also reduce the speculative impact of tourism on housing and retail sectors. Critically, these instruments must be embedded within broader equity-oriented planning frameworks to prevent the reproduction of spatial inequalities under the guise of sustainable tourism.

5.3. Limitations and suggestions for future research

While this study offers valuable insights into sustainable urban

tourism development, it has certain limitations. The scope is limited to Amsterdam Noord, which may limit the generalizability of the findings to other urban areas with different socio-economic and cultural contexts. Future research could extend this study by examining other urban areas experiencing similar transformations to validate and refine the conceptual model. Additionally, this study relies heavily on qualitative data from interviews and observations, which, while rich and detailed, may be subject to researcher bias and interpretation.

While this study focuses on a single case and is cross-sectional in design, these characteristics are not shortcomings per se but reflect the methodological purpose of Grounded Theory research: to provide deep, contextually embedded insights into lived experiences and emergent processes (Charmaz, 2017). The single-case design enables an in-depth exploration of Amsterdam Noord as a critical site of tourism-driven regeneration, while the cross-sectional perspective captures a rich snapshot of dynamics during a transformative period. Rather than aiming for statistical generalizability, the value of this study lies in its analytical generalization, i.e., the development of concepts and theoretical insights that may be transferable to other urban contexts. Future research could expand on these insights by conducting longitudinal or comparative multi-case studies to examine how such dynamics evolve over time and across different socio-cultural settings.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Eva Nieuwkoop: Writing – original draft, Validation, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation. **Álvaro Dias:** Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Methodology, Conceptualization.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Nothing to declare.

Appendix A. Interview scheme

Subjects/questions	Research objective	Literature
Can you briefly describe your role and involvement in the tourism industry in Amsterdam Noord?	/	/
Perceptions of tourism impacts		
What do you believe are the most significant benefits of tourism in Amsterdam Noord?	Exploring the socio-economic and community impacts of tourism development	(Miller & Torres-Delgado, 2023)
In your view, what are the main challenges or negative impacts associated with tourism in this area?	Exploring the socio-economic and community impacts of tourism development	(Atkinson, 2004; Goodwin, 2021; Novy & Colomb, 2019)
What social changes have you noticed in the community as a result of tourism development?	Exploring the socio-economic and community impacts of tourism development	(Almeida-García et al., 2021; Koens et al., 2018)
Tourism development		
How has tourism in Amsterdam Noord evolved over the past few years?	Understanding the underlying processes that shape Noord’s tourism development	(Gerritsma & Vork, 2017; Vongvisitsin et al., 2024)
What sustainable tourism practices have you observed/implemented in Amsterdam Noord?	Understanding the underlying processes that shape Noord’s tourism development	(Lee & Xue, 2020; Zolfani et al., 2015)
Stakeholders and community involvement		
How would you describe the role of local government and policymakers in shaping tourism in Amsterdam Noord?	Understanding the underlying processes that shape Noord’s tourism development	(Roxas et al., 2020; Sharpley, 2023; UNWTO, 2005)
How do you feel the local community is involved in tourism planning and development in Amsterdam Noord?	Understanding the underlying processes that shape Noord’s tourism development	(Farsari, 2023; Lee, 2013; Uslu et al., 2020)

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(continued)

Subjects/questions	Research objective	Literature
Do you think the local community feels empowered to influence tourism policies and practices? Why or why not?	Understanding the underlying processes that shape Noord's tourism development	(Boley et al., 2014; Farsari, 2023)
Future of tourism in Noord		
What do you envision for the future of tourism in Amsterdam Noord?	Evaluating the role of sustainable tourism in mitigating or exacerbating negative impacts	(Bellato et al., 2022)
What steps do you think are necessary to transition to sustainable or regenerative tourism in this area?	Evaluating the role of sustainable tourism in mitigating or exacerbating negative impacts	(Bellato et al., 2023; Zolfani et al., 2015)
Is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences or views on tourism in Amsterdam Noord?	/	/

Appendix B. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2025.106680>.

Data availability

No data was used for the research described in the article.

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