

Tourism and the Metropolis

Exploring Conceptual and Geographical Frontiers

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Tourism as a Metropolitan Phenomenon: Legacies, Turning Points and Prospects

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Why This Book?

This book wants to break new ground: grasp the complex and multifaceted relationships between tourism and contemporary metropolises. Despite the remarkable increase in interest in urban tourism in recent decades, there is no body of work dealing explicitly and specifically with tourism in metropolitan environments, examining whether and to what extent it is distinctive – in terms of forms, management or the role it plays in metropolitan spatial and socio-spatial development.

This is probably due to the fact that the idea of a metropolis and the concepts associated with it are surrounded by definitional ambiguity. We often talk these days about living in a ‘metropolitan century’ (OECD 2015; Angotti 2013, 6), but explaining what exactly a metropolis is and what ‘metropolitan’ means, is challenging to say the least (Neal 2012, 110). These definitional difficulties do not, however, detract from a central paradox that has led us to embark on this book project: it is a widely acknowledged fact that the rise of metropolises in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well as the rise of tourism during the same period, have profoundly shaped the world in which we live – politically, culturally and economically. Yet despite ongoing debates in urban studies about metropolises and metropolitan areas as qualitatively ‘distinct types of human settlements’ (Angotti 1993, 1) that deserve their own separate consideration, there have been few efforts to examine the nexus and connections between the two. This is all the more perplexing when considering that there is ample evidence of fascinating interrelationships between ‘metropolitan’ development on the one hand and tourism

development on the other. Indeed, many metropolitan areas are both important recipients and producers of tourism flows, while tourism affects conditions and development patterns within metropolitan areas as well, and ‘metropolitan’ contexts are often where new tourism practices and trends emerge (Gravari-Barbas 2013; 2017; 2024). To date, these interrelationships have not been explicitly explored, nor has the question of whether it makes sense to speak of ‘metropolitan tourism’ as distinct from urban tourism and, if so, how this should be understood.

This volume aims to fill these gaps in the literature and explore these issues in greater depth. Its main objective is to highlight the specific characteristics of metropolitan tourism and to analyse its consequences for metropolises. It highlights four key differences between urban and metropolitan tourism: scale, density, diversity and complexity.

1. In terms of scale, metropolitan tourism extends far beyond the city centre, where it is usually confined to small and medium-sized tourist towns. This is not just a question of the number of tourists, as there can be very high levels of tourism in several cities, but these can be confined to a limited area – or even, in some cases, a ‘tourism bubble’ (Judd 1999). Tourism spills over into peripheral areas (García-Hernández and Gravari-Barbas 2025), which it helps to transform (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2025).
2. In terms of density, metropolitan tourism is added to other complex and even competing uses of space (business, university, commercial, residential). Although it is more scattered, occupying the urban fringes, it continues to concentrate in the city centre/metropolitan core, creating new functional densities. Sprawl towards the periphery does not prevent high concentrations of tourism in certain hyper-central locations.
3. In terms of diversity, tourism in the metropolitan area is characterised by a supply of and demand for tourist products and services that appeal to a variety of audiences and therefore motivations: while the cultural sights, often located in the centre, attract a cultural audience, the more ‘off-the-beaten-tracks’ sites (Maitland and Newman 2009; Condevaux et al. 2022) attract niche audiences. At the same time, the vast infrastructures dedicated to conferences, trade fairs and congresses meet the needs of a business audience. Specialised hospitals cater for medical tourism, a wide range of retail outlets attract shopping tourists, and major stadiums and arenas attract thousands of sports tourists.

4. In terms of complexity, metropolitan tourism is characterised by the cross-cutting nature of tourism, which potentially concerns all sectors of urban governance: planning, transport, land use, security, communications, and so on. This applies to areas that are governed by different entities (cities, conurbations, communities of cities, or even in some cases conurbations devolving into metropolises). Tourism in metropolises is therefore not just about tourism players and involves sophisticated governance that is often complex to put in place.

These four characteristics will be analysed in detail in the three parts of the book. Before providing an overview of the book's specific objectives, structure and content, we will briefly discuss the current state of debates on metropolises and metropolitan areas, their development and significance, the growing importance of tourism and its context, and the conceptual differences between urban and metropolitan tourism.

The Concept of the Metropolis and Its Derivatives: On 'Fuzzy Objects', 'Thick Spaces' and Multifarious Realities

As the term 'metropolis' and particularly its derivatives such as 'metropolitan development' are used indiscriminately and inflationarily, no discussion dealing with them can get by without a brief delimitation of what exactly we are actually talking about. The idea of a metropolis is indeed a 'fuzzy object'. The term and its associated concepts can take on a variety of different meanings in both academic and non-academic settings, depending on the context in which they are used.

A metropolis can refer to size – after all, a common dictionary definition of the term 'metropolis' is 'large city', although there is no consensus on *how* large a city needs to be in terms of population or area to be considered a metropolis. Following the original meaning of the Greek word *metrópolis* (μητρόπολη) as 'mother city', the term can also denote function; thus, many authors consider metropolises to play a particularly 'commanding role' (Angotti 1993, 1): for instance, economically, culturally and politically; and to be outstanding centres and nodes in terms of capital, power, trade, ideas and people. In addition, the terms 'metropolis', 'metropolitan areas' or 'metropolitan regions', as well as 'metropolitanisation' as a process, are used when referring to large agglomerations or metropolitan areas comprising one or more major centres and their surroundings: for example, nearby cities and

suburban and rural areas; agglomerations whose labour, service and financial markets and spatial extensions extend across jurisdictional boundaries (Gómez-Álvarez et al. 2017, 21).

These uses are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. The way they are used depends on the perspective chosen – economic, political, cultural, and so on – and the context in which they are discussed. For example, their understanding and use in academia is different from that in administrations and for statistical purposes. Besides, their understanding varies considerably across different geographical contexts.

The volume refrains from rigid definition and recognises that there is a diversity of contemporary metropolitan realities and a diversity of frames and discourses to understand them. However, it is motivated and informed by the premise that metropolises are particular and deserve specific consideration because they are indeed something *other* than (just) a ‘very large city’ (Bourdeau-Lepage and Huriot 2004) – which is a view widely held in urban studies and geography discourses. In particular, we are inspired by Brantz et al. (2012) observation that it is not only size and function, but also the ‘thickness’ in terms of their social and spatial dynamics and relationships that make metropolises and metropolitan environments special.

Referring to Doreen Massey’s argument that ‘if it is now recognised that people have multiple identities, then the same point can be made in relation to places’, and alluding to Jane Jacobs’ account of cities as irreducible systems of ‘organised complexity’, Brantz et al. (2012) suggest that the distinctiveness of metropolitan spaces can be attributed to their particularly diverse layers of co-constitutive relationships, complexities and contradictions against a backdrop of increasingly complex, multi-scalar networks with increasing global interconnectedness.

Echoing a long sociological tradition initiated by Georg Simmel (1903), which highlights the metropolis’s unique role as a social and cultural organisation, this perspective offers a valuable starting point for our exploration and aligns with a wealth of recent research in geography and neighbouring fields focused on contemporary territorial transformations. This research focuses in particular on the emergence of ‘polycentric’ spatial configurations, the increasing fragmentation of metropolitan spaces and regions into patchworks of complex cultural, social and spatial realities, and understands them as distinct from the more predictable and delimitable patterns of sociability and spatiality: for example, in terms of urban–rural dichotomies or the core–periphery relationships that have traditionally characterised cities and our thinking about them.

For Edward Soja, the territorial changes that began in the second half of the twentieth century as a result of late capitalist restructuring were so profound that he spoke of the emergence of the 'postmetropolis' (Soja 2000). While we are not adopting this term, we agree with the insights on which Soja's thesis is based: for example, in relation to the simultaneous processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation and resulting spatial configurations characterised by unprecedented levels of complexity, fragmentation and fluidity that led him to develop the notion of the 'postmetropolis'.

In this book, the metropolis is understood through its contextual characteristics: 'the concentration and multiplicity of opportunities and resources offered, openness, accessibility to the rest of the world, the capacity to accept and integrate diversity' (Bourdin 2005, 8). Metropolisation is the contemporary form of the urbanisation process, characterised by an increasing concentration of people, economic activities and wealth, and the formation of cities consisting of several hundred thousand inhabitants, multifunctional and highly integrated into the international economy (Ascher 2003).

The process of metropolisation is having an impact on these increasingly vast, heterogeneous and discontinuous urban areas. It is transforming the cultural, economic and spatial realities of these areas, both in the central cities (which are becoming increasingly denser and more globalised) and on the outskirts. Metropolisation is thus shaping larger parts of the territory, well beyond the city centre, integrated into a complex, multinucleated and extended space, incorporating the dense city and neo-rural areas.

Focusing on the metropolises does not mean that we are ignoring the fact that the majority of the world's population still lives in smaller urban centres and non-urban areas. The growth and speed at which metropolises are expanding is sometimes exaggerated (UNPD 2019). Some, in fact, have experienced little or no growth in recent decades, underscoring the need for differentiated analyses. This does not change the fact, however, that the world today is home to an unprecedented number of metropolises, each with a significant size and influence. These urban centres wield substantial power in economic and other domains, and they are commonly recognised as crucial catalysts for social change. What further accentuates their importance is the prevailing belief that metropolises play a dual role – not only as major contributors to contemporary economic, environmental and social challenges (Scott et al. 2019) but also as places where new ways of dealing with these issues are invented. This widespread notion underscores why metropolises are at the forefront of urban and global development discussions, garnering both admiration and scepticism, whether in academic circles or public discourse.

Without wishing to discount the importance of (secondary) cities, we agree with the frequently expressed idea that our planet has indeed entered a 'metropolitan age'. Recent urbanisation trends, and in particular the expansion of the metropolitan dimension, are accompanied by a number of challenges, not only for the regions concerned, but for the planet as a whole – be they economic, social or environmental. Urbanisation is now widely seen as a 'global challenge', as evidenced by the fact that one of the UN Sustainable Development Goals explicitly addresses it (SDG 11). At the same time, however, urban spaces are also regularly referred to as places that hold the solutions to pressing societal challenges. Metropolises in particular are routinely seen as hubs of immense potential, acting as engines for economic growth, innovation, and social and cultural development (MacLeod 2021).

Tourism plays an important but underappreciated role in many of these processes, and to explore with more detail what this role is, is one of the aims of this book. The same applies to the remarkable momentum that has characterised metropolises in recent decades and their consequent importance for the world we live in.

The Urban–Tourism Nexus

That tourism is now considered one of the strongest economic sectors in the world and a powerful driver of change has been repeated so often that it has almost become a truism. This must be seen in the context of general and profound changes. Tourism is part of globalisation and the general increase in mobility that characterises modern societies. It represents an almost global and ubiquitous system. It also needs to be understood in the context of increasing wealth and the growing importance of leisure and consumption. This global trend, which first manifested itself in advanced industrial societies but is now actively embraced by emerging economies, encompasses a wide range of nations and economic landscapes.

This applies more to some contexts than others; of course, by no means 'all' of us are, to paraphrase what John Urry (1995) once claimed, 'tourists all the time' – to suggest this would be to fail to recognise the realities of billions of people on this planet (Jamal and Robinson 2009, 1). However, this does not change the fact that countless people today not only participate in tourism as tourists, but that the practices and structures of tourism also shape their relationship with the world they inhabit and travel through – not to mention the many more who come into contact with tourism as 'hosts'.

For the time being, tourism remains a pervasive and highly consequential facet of the world we live in. This is not just because of the sheer number of people who participate in it and the immediate impact it has on the places where it happens, affecting neighbourhoods, cities, landscapes and regions across much of the globe. The pervasive power of tourism is also rooted in the fact that it shapes the way we ‘perceive the world around us, wherever we are and whatever we are doing’ (Franklin and Crang 2001, 8) – in other words, whether we are actually travelling or not – and that it similarly influences the way stakeholders involved in the design and management of places perceive and approach the latter.

Tourism as a phenomenon is older than the term used to describe it, and cities, especially the largest and most illustrious among them – Paris, Madrid, Rome, Vienna and Prague – were already favourite stops of young nobles on their grand tours in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: ‘[p]eople with the means and inclination to do so have been drawn to towns and cities’ (Karski 1990, 15). Cities have been hubs of travel and tourism as destinations, but also as points of departure, transit and return. From the first third of the nineteenth century onwards tourism emerged as a distinct and transformative force, with profound implications for metropolises around the world.

A range of changes in economic and social conditions led to tourist mobility reaching unprecedented levels and the emergence of commercialised mass tourism as we know it today (UNTWO 2021). These include revolutions in transport, increased disposable income and free time, followed by groundbreaking developments on the supply side, spearheaded by pioneers such as Thomas Cook (1808–1892).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly prominent urban centres of modernity such as Paris, London, Berlin and New York began to be routinely referred to as metropolises (Sutcliffe 1984; Gilbert and Hancock 2006); there is an extensive literature that explores the specifically metropolitan character of these and other cities from a variety of perspectives and disciplines. Even if not always explicitly, this literature often also touches upon tourism and its role in the ‘metropolisation’ of the period. The metropolises of the nineteenth century were not only attracting increasing numbers of tourists at the time, they were also home to a booming tourist industry and were the focus of increasingly professional tourist marketing. In other words, not only was tourism present, but metropolises were adapting to it. Moreover, tourism helped to redefine their identity as social, material, lived and represented spaces in the wake of the emergence of urban modernity and the growing importance of consumption in shaping modern (urban) life

(Jayne 2005, 23). Strolling, shopping and sightseeing, for example, have become integral aspects of the urban experience, and cities have adapted and evolved in response to these trends.

Paris, already a grand tour destination in the eighteenth century, consolidated its place as a tourist metropolis in the nineteenth century in the context of the Industrial Revolution. The landscape changed in a way that favoured tourist activities: new railway stations were built, large urban boulevards were laid out, and Baron Haussmann's works endowed the area with urban forests, parks and fancy gardens. Universal and international exhibitions in the nineteenth century attracted several million visitors, many of them tourists: the 1889 exhibition attracted more than thirty-two million visitors in six months, two million of whom visited the newly built Eiffel Tower. The 1900 Universal Exhibition attracted 50.8 million visitors. Tourism had a lasting impact on the urban landscape, helping to stretch the city beyond its centre, with centres of attraction on the outskirts of the emerging metropolis.

Obviously, during this 'foundational phase' of modern tourism, it was not just the urban destinations that were moving into the spotlight but also places like spa retreats and coastal resorts. Urbanisation and industrialisation simultaneously enticed travellers to visit cities but also prompted a growing desire to seek respite from their crowded and hectic life. However, despite the expanding horizons of tourist destinations, cities remained central to tourism just as tourism remained vital to the growth and evolution of cities. While cities have been equipped with major tourist infrastructures (large hotels, entertainment areas, casinos, and so on), the fact that tourism has increasingly become part of urban life, and that it has generally been seamlessly integrated into it, has meant that it has received little attention, at least in comparison with tourism in other contexts (seaside or mountain resorts, for example, which have been purpose-built for tourism, often on land that has not yet been built on). This is particularly true of large, diverse urban centres that see large numbers of visitors, but where the impact of these is overshadowed by a whole range of other dynamics taking place within them. Generally speaking, however, tourism has had a lasting impact on the urban landscape, right from its beginnings in the nineteenth century. What was the case in the past is also the case today, even if the circumstances are amplified and even different. Today's metropolises not only host tourism but are also shaped by it in many ways: for example, in terms of their character and identity, their development and the way they are experienced and perceived, including by their own residents.

The importance of urban tourism phenomena leads us to wonder how little attention they have received, for a long time, from researchers. For a long time, only a few 'serious' urban researchers considered tourism a 'serious' object of study, and most of them attached rather little importance to the influence of tourism on processes of spatial development and change (Hoffman et al. 2003, 3). Indeed, academics paid little attention to tourism in urban contexts until well into the second half of the twentieth century, a fact that prompted Ashworth (1989) to lament:

a double neglect [... whereby ...] those interested in the study of tourism have tended to neglect the urban context in which much of it is set, while those interested in urban studies [...] have been equally neglectful of the importance of the tourist function of cities.

(Ashworth 1989, 33)

Since Ashworth wrote this, the situation has changed dramatically, for urban tourism today constitutes a central concern and research focus for scholars from a wide range of disciplines and issues, from tourist historic cities (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) to port (Andrade and Costa 2020) or industrial cities (Hidalgo-Giralt et al. 2021). The main reason for this is the considerable growth of urban tourism in recent decades, which has outpaced the overall increase in tourism. Today, research recognises that tourism is a major agent of change in cities – and metropolises – meaning that tourism flows and their associated infrastructures, such as ports and airports, theme and leisure parks, hotels and international trade fair zones, major events and so on, do indeed have relevant impacts: spatially, economically and socially, as well as culturally and symbolically. The fact that tourism is increasingly used as a strategic development tool by policymakers and other relevant stakeholders, as well as the observation by tourism scholars that tourism has not only increased significantly in terms of visitor numbers in many places but has also spread geographically across urban space, leading to the emergence of new 'micro-geographies' of (tourism) consumption or, as they are called, 'new urban tourism areas' (Maitland and Newman 2009), underlines the importance of addressing this.

Nowadays, academic works approach the urban–tourism nexus from a variety of perspectives and reflect an understanding of urban tourism that is in many ways much more nuanced and comprehensive than a few years ago. However, there are still notable gaps. If the literature now recognises the diversity of different types of tourism mobility in cities and the need to take them into account, there has been little explicit, let alone systematic, engagement

with the ways in which these unfold and manifest themselves in *different types of cities* or urban agglomerations, among which are the metropolises.

From Urban to Metropolitan Tourism

The growth and increasing importance of tourism in the recent decades, persisting after the COVID-19 pandemic, which has proven to be only a temporary disruption, alongside broader shifts such as the general increase in mobility or the profound processes of urban economic restructuring and resulting changes in the context in which urban and metropolitan development takes place, accentuate and complicate the interconnection between tourism and metropolises (Benjamin et al. 2020; Gössling and Schweiggart 2022).

Given the complexity and diversity of metropolitan contexts, the conceptual difficulties surrounding them and the multifaceted nature of tourism in these contexts, speaking of ‘metropolitan tourism’ in the singular is fraught with potential pitfalls. However, whether or not we define it as metropolitan tourism, one thing is clear: tourism in metropolises is an example of the diverse and multiple nature of human mobility in the world today.

It is not only the political nature of tourism and its manifold effects in metropolises and metropolitan spaces that raise intriguing questions, but also the particular manifestations of tourism within these environments. Tourism not only shapes the places where it takes place, but is also shaped by them (Gravari-Barbas 2013; 2024). Equally well established is that urban tourism in general is characterised by great diversity and complexity in terms of the composition of visitor flows, the activities tourists engage in and the offerings available to them (Ashworth and Page 2011). This diversity and complexity derives naturally from the diversity and complexity that characterises cities in general, and more specifically the metropolis. Following the previously introduced notion of metropolitan spaces as particularly ‘thick spaces’, and assuming that this diversity and complexity is particularly pronounced in metropolitan areas, we can suggest that tourism in these places is also characterised by particular diversity and complexity.

There is, however, an issue of terminology. Our approach may be close to what Maitland and Newman (2009, 2) call ‘world tourism cities’: established ‘world cities’ located in the global circuits of tourism that offer a ‘range of experiences’ and are characterised by ‘seamless opportunities for adding new desirable places to explore to already crowded and diverse tourism possibilities’. Needless to say, there are many parallels between their work and this

book – after all, many metropolises could well pass for ‘world tourism cities’ according to Maitland and Newman’s definition.

However, although their book inspired this volume, there are also differences in terms of conceptual approach of the tourism–metropolis relationship. Maitland and Newman’s book was mainly about the emergence of ‘new urban experiences off the beaten track’, which is also of interest to us, but is not the main, let alone only, concern. Our goal is to explore the relationship between the state of metropolises and their development today on the one hand, and tourism on the other, and to bring research on both into dialogue with each other. In doing so, our understanding of the places we are interested in is not based on the premise that they are necessarily ‘established’ world cities or destinations.

In this context, tourism in metropolitan settings emerges as a pivotal aspect with regards to both exacerbating challenges, such as environmental strain, economic vulnerabilities and inequalities or cultural commodification, and offering opportunities for sustainable development.

The multifaceted nature of metropolises gives rise to a myriad of tourism mobilities, involving various different types of leisure and business tourists, as well as numerous other types of tourist or tourist-related activities. However, it is essential to recognise that metropolitan settings not only, by definition, tend to be characterised by internal diversity, but today’s metropolitan realities are also inherently multifaceted due to the significant variation that exists across different metropolitan areas, leading to different tourism dynamics. The same applies to the way tourism contributes to the spatial and functional characteristics, changes and dynamics associated with metropolitan areas, such as the expansion of peripheral areas, the redefinition of suburbs, the emergence of new centres, and their territorial, functional and social fragmentation or cohesion.

Tourism and the Metropolis: An Amphidromic and Consubstantial Spatial and Social Relationship

A central premise of this book is that the metropolises of the past and the present not only host tourism but are also shaped by it in many ways: for example, in terms of their character and identity, their development and the way they are experienced and perceived.

It is probably easier to grasp the first aspect of this relationship: tourism as a *product* of metropolisation (Gravari-Barbas 2024). It has been more or

less directly addressed in several research projects: the growing concentration of people, economic activities and wealth that characterises metropolisation as part of the urban environment, buildings and facilities, as well as part of human relations. It prompts the creation of material and immaterial assets and is a critical mass that calls on and supports tourism (Gravari-Barbas and Fagnoni 2013).

According to René Dagorn (2003), the term metropolis refers to ‘an urban system whose configuration makes it possible to access world-class status’. The fundamental questions to ask here relate just as much to the importance of levers and how to develop them, as to the means for achieving a world-class status. The author suggests we dissect this into four factors: absolute urbanity (concentration of population, jobs, income); relative urbanity (the potential for relationships offered by the combination of diversity and density); potentialities (increasing yields enabling economies of scale); and metrics (metropolises functioning as territories and networks). We believe that these four factors have a dialectic relationship with the increasingly present tourism in metropolises.

We can infer that metropolises, by the very essence of their metropolitan attributes, are naturally touristic to a certain extent. In this sense, it is worth analysing tourism development in metropolises that have experienced economic and demographic growth in recent years. For example, the recent emergence of tourism in the US Sunbelt metropolises such as Atlanta (Newman 1999), Houston (Nelson 2015) or Austin (Grodach 2012) came as these urban entities firmly asserted their metropolitan functions. Not only did these efforts strengthen those functions, but they created a metropolitan tourist product (barely or not at all existing previously), which benefits from the function of business centres, but also gradually diversifies through a cultural and recreational offering.

According to Knafo (2007), world-class metropolises are ‘by definition touristic’: ‘they’ve got all the bases covered with an endless selection of rentals, an effervescent urban life and a constant renewal of their attractiveness’ (Knafo 2007, 17). The ways in which metropolisation lends to tourism are indeed numerous and interconnected: absolute urbanity, an enhanced, denser, well-developed transportation system, a plethora of cultural choices, which are intended first and foremost for permanent residents, diverse and sophisticated products and services, sporting and business facilities, and so on. Considering these many factors should be done systemically, because efforts to assert one of them (that is, absolute urbanity: population concentration and enhanced cultural offering) can

compensate for the lack or insufficiency of the other factors (such as metrics: distance or dispersion).

The relation between tourism and the metropolis is more complex: Tourism can also *produce* metropolisation. In this case, those same four factors suggested by Dagorn (2003) (absolute urbanity, relative urbanity, potentialities and metrics) can be used as analytical factors (Gravari-Barbas and Fagnoni 2013):

1. Tourism contributes to developing absolute urbanity (concentration of population, jobs, income). This implies that tourists are not simply considered as passing populations. That's because they forge a wide variety of relationships with the environments they live in during their stay. As the spaces affected by metropolisation spread outward, the various aftershocks of the process can have many repercussions of different magnitudes, especially from an economic and social standpoint (Di Méo 2010). Laurent Davezies (2009) studied the in-place economy, which is an economy based on the rapidly varying population actually present in the territory. His work confirms the structuring role of 'in-place' populations, even if temporary, in metropolitan areas.
2. Tourism impacts relative urbanity (diversity and density): mixed, diverse tourist populations contribute to the diversity of facilities, cultural life and creativity, and they help orchestrate a cosmopolitanism that celebrates a specific urban culture. By using the term 'live', Lazzarotti (2007) and Stock (2007) emphasise the idea that tourists can be considered as individuals that temporarily inhabit an urban place. Since many residents also often live temporarily in their own cities, it is not relevant to consider tourists and residents as strictly distinct categories. If we cease to consider residents and tourists as opposing entities, but rather as a *continuum* of attitudes and practices between the two, with a flexible notion of the word 'temporary', then the reality of the metropolis changes substantially in terms of everything a mobile population can offer.
3. The question of potentialities invokes Georges Benko's argument (2007), which analyses cities as systems that operate according to increasing returns whereby economies of scale, effects of centrality and representations of actors catalyse each other. Tourists contribute to the metropolitan system. They take public transport (buses, tramways, metro), they go to shows (theatre, opera) and movies, they

visit sites (museums, exhibits, monuments), they dine out, use public roadways, and so on. They also contribute to the diversity of people and activities, to the development of innovative environments, to increases in the unforeseeable and diversity, to the ties between density and diversity.

4. And finally, metrics. This explains the ways tourism contributes to how distance is covered in a city. Tourists introduce different speed-based criteria based on choosing how they travel between places (sometimes preferring quick connections, and other times more scenic or culturally interesting routes). But more generally, they often introduce choices that are different from those of residents or permanent workers in terms of comfort, safety and reliability. Moreover, tourists introduce factors of movement: frequency, rhythms, flow, connections. According to Jacques Lévy (1996), in a contemporary metropolis the notion of metrics refers to a *management model*. As he sees it, choosing one metric over another involves decision-making in technical, political and planning dimensions. Therefore, tourists are key stakeholders in the system composed of those dimensions, which makes up the process of metropolisation.

In this way, tourism, through the realities it introduces (that is, facilities, specific places, infrastructure, commerce and services, ideologies and views, governance models, types of individual and social groups, and interactions or physical behaviours), can transform places and spaces by inspiring the emergence of new touristic places, new hotspots (such as amusement or theme parks), exurbanisation and reconquered territories (dilapidated districts, brownfields). In this sense, metropolitan tourism is not only a factor in redeveloping 'a city on top of the city' (urban densification), but it is also a factor in how we occupy, redefine and create new peripheral spaces (interstitial spaces) and centralities (clusters, hubs, shopping centres, urbanisation around enclaves and tourist complexes, and so on). It *makes* the metropolis, by giving purpose to many urban renewal or regeneration projects and by generating new mobilities.

Governing the Tourist Metropolis

The challenges associated with 'governing the metropolis', and, in particular, large metropolitan areas or regions that cross jurisdictional boundaries, form one of the research areas that have received particular attention in

the broader debate outlined here (see, among others, Gómez-Álvarez et al. 2017; Storper 2014; Nelles 2012; Harrison and Hoyler 2014). Unlike other policy areas, however, tourism has received rather little attention in this context, although there are interesting questions associated with it and, as many of the following chapters show, its analysis also offers interesting insights into the state of governance and policy in metropolitan spaces in general.

Metropolises have long recognised the economic potential of tourism as a source of revenue; however, until well into the second half of the twentieth century, tourism was still, in many contexts, relatively speaking a secondary consideration in policy circles. It played a supplementary role to other industries, and urban development primarily focused on traditional economic sectors like manufacturing and established services industries. Typically, tourism was seen as an afterthought, limited to specific attractions or historical sites rather than a comprehensive economic development strategy.

Today, it plays a central part of the standard repertoire of a 'global urban policy' (Cochrane 2011) focused on growth and competitiveness, not only because of its inherent economic potential, but also because it constitutes a means to an end to enhance the reputation and attractiveness of metropolitan areas more generally and to achieve other policy objectives, such as promoting regeneration. The fact that investments in tourism – unsurprisingly, given the above – align well with other strategies and priorities of 'entrepreneurial' urban policy, to the extent that they can at all be distinguished from them, such as the desire to attract or retain talented workers and wealthy residents, gives them even more traction in political circles. As does the fact that in many places there is a sizeable and often quite professional and vocal industry that knows how to promote its interests.

Similarly, there is evidence that there are also growing similarities in the way tourism is viewed and approached by policymakers and other actors in metropolitan political arenas. Of course, it is also important here to keep things in perspective and not to overlook crucial differences for the sake of argument. However, even though Baghdad is not Berlin, for example, and there are still countless metropolises in which tourism plays a rather marginal role in local governance and development, if any, it is also true that in an ever-growing number of metropolises around the world a lot of attention is paid to tourism and that similar strategies and measures are used to develop it.

The transformation of tourism into a pivotal engine of urban and metropolitan development is pronounced, even if the manifestations of this shift vary significantly across the world.

The governance of metropolitan tourism also intersects with wider metropolitan issues. The promise of cities and especially metropolitan settings as harbingers of progress and solutions to pressing challenges, meanwhile, is often hindered by the considerable difficulties associated with the governance and management of large, complex (metropolitan) spatial formations. The sheer scale and intricacy of these urban agglomerations pose substantial challenges in terms of coordinating public services, infrastructure development and social inclusion. Urban sprawl, housing affordability, traffic congestion, environmental sustainability, and social disparities are among the myriad issues that demand effective, integrated solutions, and that concern both permanent residents and other temporary city users. Rapid growth of urban tourism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries brought on the growing awareness of its many contributions to the development and transformation of cities, and recently also more evident problems and conflicts associated with it. Many of these are subsumed under the term ‘overtourism’, which saw a boom in academic contributions particularly in the last ten to twenty years, attempting to establish policies dealing with the overtourism phenomena (for example, Hoffman et al. 2003; Selby 2004; Spirou 2011; Colomb and Novy 2017; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017; Bellini and Pasquinelli 2017; Morrison and Coca-Stefaniak 2021; Shoval 2020; Morrison and Maxim 2021).

Moreover, the governance of metropolises involves navigating intricate webs of political interests, multiple administrative layers and competing stakeholders. Coordination and cooperation among local governments, regional authorities and national bodies are crucial but often challenging to achieve, as different agendas and priorities may come into conflict. In this context, one recurring theme is the governability – or lack thereof – of megacities and megacity regions in emerging economies. This specific issue has two dimensions in the governance of metropolitan tourism. First, to what extent is the whole metropolis a destination? Or is it a myriad of local destinations, from the points of view of the stakeholders that try to put a specific municipality or neighbourhood on the metropolitan tourist map. This raises the issue of local/metropolitan tourism, as a scale of management and regulation.

Some scholars argue that their often explosive spatial and demographic growth, the inequalities and divisions that characterise them, and the often difficult state of formal state institutions make them virtually touristically ‘ungovernable’ (see Lorrain 2011), while others reject this and see the realities that characterise them as a call to rethink common notions of governability

and governance. This issue concerns the capacity of metropolitan tourism to reinforce social inequalities or, on the contrary, to enable local development in specific neighbourhoods (in terms of activities, jobs and narratives).

The political dimension of tourism becomes, therefore, evident as decision-making power over tourism development often rests with powerful stakeholders, leading to a contentious distribution of benefits and burdens. For instance, land-grabbing and gentrification can displace local communities, altering the socio-economic fabric of neighbourhoods. Moreover, the commodification of heritage and culture for tourism consumption can lead to conflicts over representation and ownership, causing feelings of alienation among residents. These are just a few of the complex and interrelated issues that underscore the importance of addressing the deeply political nature of tourism in metropolitan areas (Novy and Colomb 2016).

Contrasting Realities of Metropolitan Tourism

Tourism-metropolitan phenomena are obviously not isotropic. Most of the literature focuses on Europe and North America, though the twin revolutions of urbanisation and industrialisation did not have an equal impact on all regions, nor did tourism in its foundational phase. The growth and evolution of urbanisation, industrialisation and tourism followed diverse trajectories across the globe. Europe and North America experienced these processes earlier and to a greater extent; other regions witnessed different paces and patterns of development.

This raises the question of the differences between metropolises, particularly according to various divisions of the world (especially Global North and Global South) (Oxford Economics 2017). Research on tourism in metropolises has focused on Global North cities. On the other side, the study on tourism in the metropolises of the South often focuses on the most specific aspects of this tourism, such as favela tourism in Brazil (Freire-Medeiros 2009) or slum tourism (Frenzel et al. 2015) from Mexico City (Dürr 2012) to Mumbai (Dyson 2012), running the risk of reducing metropolitan space to the global images conveyed by the mass media (Freire-Medeiros 2011). Can we then apply the same concepts and analyses, developed from the metropolises of the North, to other metropolises? In urban studies, the idea of a universalising body of knowledge built up from the North can be challenged (Roy 2013), revealing the value of theoretical research from cities in the South (Robinson 2014), which does not postulate a convergence towards a single model of

urban development but studies the specific processes in relation to the types of public–private relations and the planning models – in short: the particular forms of construction of inequalities (Shatkin 2007).

These thoughts can be applied to the analysis of metropolitan tourism, as seen from a multiplicity of metropolises and not just those in the Global North. In fact, in the international metropolitan tourism rankings provided by Euromonitor or the Mastercard Global Index, Paris, London and New York appear to be competing with Tokyo, Dubai, Bangkok, Singapore and Istanbul. The appeal of major events and international conferences is now global, from major sporting events to international conferences. They are part of territorial marketing dynamics, as in the case of South Africa (Knott et al. 2015). The reasoning is not only quantitative, questioning the forms and specificities of this metropolitan tourism outside Europe and North America. It may concern specific tourism development processes, highlighting, for example, the importance of informal tourism economies (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021), or tourism positioning strategies, for example, culinary tourism in Singapore or Hong Kong (Hornig and Tsai 2012).

However, despite the significant variations across different places, we must acknowledge the circulation of models, ways of developing tourism, and practices. Patterns observed in Europe and North America were not exclusive to these regions. The existing connections and relations between places, such as those forged through colonialism and capitalism, played a role in disseminating certain trends and practices worldwide.

As a result, similar developments that occurred in modern metropolises like Paris or London could also be found to varying extents in cities in other parts of the world. Even slum tourism can be analysed as a practice in circulation, transcending the North–South dichotomy, also finding its origins in visits to poor districts in London or migrant neighbourhoods in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century (Steinbrink 2012). One other example is the emergence of *grand hotels* and similar infrastructures. The opulent hotels that dotted the urban landscapes of European and, somewhat later, North American cities were not only a response to the growing influx of tourists but also served as symbols of progress and modernity (Denby 2002). As these cities became hubs of industrial and economic activity, the demand for upscale accommodations rose, catering to both business travellers and affluent tourists. Likewise, in cities like Buenos Aires, Cairo or Shanghai for instance, the transformation of their urban environments during the same period led to the establishment of grand hotels that mirrored the ones in Europe and North America. These establishments not only provided

luxurious lodging for travellers but also served as symbols of cities' – or rather their rulers' – aspirations for global recognition and status. This movement is amphidromous: forms of tourism invented in metropolitan areas in the South (favela tourism, ethnic tourism) inspire forms of tourism proposed and practised in the North.

We are therefore interested in both 'established' and 'emerging' metropolises that have only recently, if at all, become more integrated into global tourism flows. But it is a trend that is certainly not limited to advanced capitalist countries: that is, the context within which it was first identified. Rising affluence and disposable incomes have led to the emergence of a rampant consumer culture and increased mobility in many countries, especially in metropolitan areas. It has become increasingly well established that in the booming metropolises of India, for example, elites and middle classes exhibit patterns of consumption and mobility that have parallels with those of their counterparts in the Global North (Brosius 2012). They have also become extensive travellers and increasingly 'consume' urban spaces and resources in their own cities in ways similar to tourists.

In some of the most visited metropolises in the world, such as Paris, London, Shanghai, Rio de Janeiro and New York, tourism undoubtedly plays a significant role in driving economic activity and shaping the urban fabric. However, despite the high influx of tourists, the share of tourism to the GDP remains negligible to other sectors that form the backbone of the economy. In several metropolises in the Global South, tourism meanwhile assumes a more central role in shaping their economic landscapes, cases in point being Bangkok, Capetown and Dubai (WTTC 2022). The latter meanwhile demonstrates that tourism today not only complements but is also at the forefront of efforts to build and redefine metropolises.

Indeed, tourism has played a central role in diversifying Dubai's economy away from oil dependence, and the sector has become a significant driver not only of GDP growth and employment opportunities but also of the city's remarkable transformation from a humble fishing village into a global city of immense architectural and cultural significance (Sharpley 2008). Dubai's experience, though in many ways exceptional, is far from an isolated case (Henderson 2014). It stands as an emblem of a broader trend where cities across the globe are embracing tourist-centric urban developments as catalysts for urban transformation, economic growth and international prominence. Saudi Arabia's Neom project (Hassan 2020) represents a particularly interesting example in this context, as it involves an attempt to build a metropolis from scratch with tourism playing a foundational role.

The End of Metropolitan Tourism? The Blurring of Metropolitan Spaces and Tourism Mobilities

A number of studies are examining the very future of the metropolis, while at the same time questioning the boundaries of tourism. Thus, on both sides, metropolitan tourism appears to be a complex phenomenon, interwoven as it is with other spatial forms and plural mobilities.

The growing numbers of the latter and dynamic growth in terms of size and population in recent decades have contributed significantly to making urbanisation a central issue in global development discourses and revitalising academic debates on the analysis of cities and metropolises and its theoretical and epistemological foundations. These debates are characterised, on the one hand, by talk of a (new) 'century of the metropolis' (Angotti 2013), a discourse based not only on the spatial and demographic growth of cities but also on the concentration of activities, capital, people and power that characterises them, and on the emergence of so-called 'global cities', 'world cities' or 'superstar cities' as spatial centres of the world economy and political actors on the world stage. However, on the other hand, there are also musings about a 'possible end of the era of the modern metropolis' (Orellana and Fuentes 2019), based on the idea that the way recent urbanisation processes are taking place is challenging traditional notions of metropolises and metropolitan areas – and cities in general.

These are ideas that have gained considerable traction in recent decades, as is evident from a burgeoning interest in city, metropolitan or megaregions, a host of new concepts to make sense of emerging spatial formations and developments, including 'diffuse cities' (Indovina 2016), the 'meta' or 'endless city' (Burdett et al. 2011) as well as most recently the spirited debates surrounding Brenner and Schmid's work around the idea of 'planetary urbanisation', highlighting the interconnectedness of cities and the increasingly global scale at which urbanisation occurs. Whether and to what extent it is necessary, as postulated by Brenner and Schmid, to fundamentally revise previous epistemological assumptions about the urban and urbanisation, and whether and to what extent their 'new epistemology of the urban' (Brenner and Schmid 2015) indeed assists in coming to grips with the current global metropolitan reality, continues to be controversially discussed in relation to tourism.

This end of the metropolis is related to the pervasiveness of its manifestations, and the same argument can be applied to tourism. What makes it difficult to grasp the pervasiveness of tourism is that it is a phenomenon

that is not easily separable and, moreover, very unwieldy. Looking only at the manifestations of tourism that can be more or less clearly identified as such means capturing only a fraction of what tourism is and constitutes. This has always been the case, but is even more true today as tourism has become ever more diverse and multifaceted, and boundaries between tourism and non-tourism practices, which were never straightforward anyway, are becoming ever more blurred. The traditional binary relationships between tourism on the one hand and everyday life on the other, or between 'home' and 'away', on which many classical theories of tourism were based, are becoming increasingly difficult to maintain today, especially in advanced industrial societies. In these societies, many people's everyday lives and consumption habits are becoming more and more touristy, so to speak, while travelling is becoming more and more part of everyday life, making it increasingly difficult to distinguish between the two. Some of the main reasons for this are that not only tourism but also consumption and leisure in general have undergone immense development and have become defining elements of these societies, the crumbling gap between the spheres of work and life as well as the spectacular growth of mobility in general, along with the realisation that tourism cannot be seen in isolation but as part of a continuum with other forms of mobility that overlap, influence and intertwine (see Bell and Ward 2000; Williams and Hall 2002).

These developments, which by themselves would be unimaginable were it not for still broader societal changes, for example in the field of transport and communication, make the reality of tourism increasingly complex, which is evident especially in metropolitan areas. Here we are confronted with a particularly diverse range of different tourism or tourism-related practices and mobility patterns that are almost impossible to separate. These include not only tourists in the traditional sense, such as classic leisure and business tourists or those visiting friends and relatives. Rather, they also include significant numbers of expatriate workers, exchange students, so-called digital nomads and semi-migrants commuting between two or more countries, to name but a few examples, while city dwellers are increasingly found to behave 'like tourists', as mentioned above (Lloyd and Clark 2001, 357; see also Clark 2003). This phenomenon is typically particularly pronounced in metropolitan settings as a result of both their diverse and cosmopolitan populations, involving sizeable numbers of individuals with a higher level of disposable income and a strong inclination for exploration and leisure-seeking activities; and their size and abundance of resources encouraging residents to engage in tourist-like behaviours.

Getting to Grips with *Tourism and the Metropolis*: The Book's Itinerary

The chapters in this book address the diversity and complexity of the relationship between contemporary metropolises and tourism in a variety of ways and from a variety of perspectives. In essence, *Tourism and/in the Metropolis* aims to broaden our understanding of how tourism manifests itself in metropolises and the implications this has for contemporary tourism by systematically crossing two study objects (tourism and the metropolis) that have remained largely separate until now. It is based on the observation that no two metropolises or metropolitan areas are identical and that, particularly at global level, we are faced with a multitude of very different realities (see Roy 2013, among others) that cannot easily be categorised, let alone generalised. One of the main purposes of the book is to capture at least some of these very different realities, thus enabling the reader to recognise this diversity and discover both differences and commonalities in relation to the themes of the book. To this end, we have invited colleagues from different regions of the world to contribute to this book. In their chapters, they address the core concerns of our book from different disciplinary perspectives and with different questions in mind, thus offering a range of insights that are relevant to scholarship and practice alike.

Part 1: The Spatiality of Metropolitan Tourism

The first section of the book, devoted to the geography or spatiality of metropolitan tourism, examines the emergence of novel geographies and centralities of tourism, primarily in formerly peripheral areas of metropolises and metropolitan regions. It discusses both the evolving tourist preferences and the multifaceted supply-side dimensions that shape this phenomenon as well as their interplay and, crucially, delves into the effects these dynamics have on the socio-economic fabric of metropolitan places and their communities.

In the first chapter, García-Hernández and de la Calle-Vaquero interrogate the way tourism develops today in the metropolitan region of Madrid and reflect on this city's physical characteristics and changes, and the role of policies in shaping the region. They consider the inbound tourism, made of foreign and non-regional tourist flow, as well as domestic tourism. The text scrutinises the territorial configuration, particularly in light of the influence of Airbnb and the growth of large corporate headquarters in the urban

periphery. It also reflects on the contrasting effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, but focuses on observing what mobility restrictions and a surge of regional tourism mean for rural and natural areas and their ability to deal with over tourism. The chapter helps us navigate Madrid's complex political and institutional framework, questioning how it influences or hinders tourism functioning, as well as the spatial distribution – particularly when it comes to emerging and business tourism diffusing the flow from traditional centres. With some benefit to these developments, the authors conclude by emphasising the necessity to analyse both continuous trends and unexpected crises in metropolitan tourism on a comparative basis to prepare our cities and regions for the future (Ewers et al. 1986).

On the West Coast of the USA, Lucas tries to understand how tourism drives polycentric metropolitan development through the case of Los Angeles, arguing that postmetropolis, of which we actually speak today, is not a classic tourist metropolis. Lucas argues Los Angeles needs to be understood as a metapolis, a concept introduced to qualify urban areas characterised by sprawl, discontinuity, heterogeneity and multipolarity. The central idea of Chapter 2 is that, unlike other tourist cities where tourism builds on existing urban structures, tourism here is integral to the city's growth and at the heart of its polycentric urban structure, through its historical dynamic, current spatial configuration and its governance. The tourist experience in Los Angeles, Lucas explains, extends beyond the city itself and encompasses multiple dispersed centralities. With this, it embodies a new urban form that transcends conventional definitions.

The third chapter features the metropolitan past, present and future of St Petersburg, presented by Gordin, Polomarchuk and Korman. Examining the spatial organisation influenced by cultural, historical and social aspects, the chapter focuses on more recent developments of cultural clusters in an attempt to balance the visitation numbers to historical and cultural sites in both central and suburban imperial areas, as well as the overall tourism development. The chapter explores the clustering of cultural spaces and anticipates their active involvement in tourism activities, fostering new formats of cultural tourism that allows tourists to be immersed in an authentic cultural environment that promotes interaction with the residents. Both challenges of over-tourism as well as under tourism brought on by different crises are addressed, emphasising the importance of spatial regulation to prevent negative consequences. The text suggests some of the power of future developments lies in focusing St Petersburg's brand on being the 'diverse metropolitan'.

Keeping with the theme of uneven geographies, Visser presents the case of metropolitan tourism and urban redevelopment in South Africa. The investigation examined tourism-led development in three major South African metropolitan regions: the Johannesburg-centred conurbation of Gauteng, Cape Town and Durban. Visser notes the complexity of 'metropolitan tourism' is an underexplored concept in Africa. His analysis highlights the need for: understanding market segments and urban change; further analysis of tourism's variations across South Africa's metropolitan areas; and exploring tourism within specific locations. Challenges arise from the unstable definitions of 'metropolitan' and 'tourism' across Africa and within South Africa itself, questioning the applicability of comparative studies. Despite this, Chapter 4 shows evidence of intra- and inter-metropolitan tourism, influenced by the vast spatial extent of South African metropolitan areas. Different types of tourism activities in these regions have varying impacts on their hinterlands, with cities like Cape Town and Johannesburg experiencing a rise in residential tourism. However, there is a disconnect between tourism development and local communities, potentially exacerbating exclusion, particularly in poorer areas lacking tourism infrastructure.

Bouchon looks at the global metropolis as a tourism and leisure playground, particularly focusing on the role of the megaprojects in metropolitan space production in Southeast Asia. Bouchon argues cities now serve as pivotal points in the global network owing to advancements in transportation and communication. They compete for economic growth and are crucial in achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals, fostering creativity and improving quality of life. Established world cities like London and Singapore, alongside newer ones like Dubai, strive to remain relevant by attracting investments, talent and tourists. Urban areas worldwide are becoming tourism hotspots, driving regional economies and prompting changes in governance. Policymakers in various countries, such as Spain, Italy and Malaysia, prioritise the development of metropolitan areas, recognising their role as engines of growth. However, the symbiotic relationship between urbanisation and tourism often goes unacknowledged, particularly in Southeast Asia, where unique metropolitan and tourism patterns diverge from Western models. This chapter examines the specifics of tourism and urban development in Greater Kuala Lumpur, analysing its morphologies, governance and impacts. It highlights how tourism shapes and is shaped by the metropolitan landscape, contributing to a deeper understanding of urban tourism dynamics in Southeast Asia, particularly looking at the way it is distributed in the metropolitan area, its patterns and characteristics. Bouchon argues that the

implications at the metropolitan scale are numerous, with the megaproject becoming an epitome of tourism development in economies focusing on growth. As a by-product of globalisation, metropolitan tourism and metropolises themselves are subject to global trends and crises, contributing to redefinition of leisure practices in metropolises.

Having explored some of our understanding of geographies at the whole metropolis scale and in different global contexts, the section turns to González Bracco's interrogation of Palermo Soho, a trendy neighbourhood. Her chapter is looking at urban transformation, metropolitan lifestyles and tourism in the creation of this area of Buenos Aires, delving into the intricate evolution, dissecting its historical transformations and the narratives woven by those who have been part of its unfolding story. It explores how these changes have not only reshaped the physical landscape but have also imbued the neighbourhood with new forms, functions and significances. Over time, Palermo Soho has emerged as a distinct and identifiable locale, almost akin to a brand, both for its inhabitants and for visitors alike, setting it apart from its previous incarnation as Palermo Viejo, but this narrative of evolution is far from linear – it is made of threads of contradiction and porousness, where the boundaries between past and present blur. The characterisation of Palermo as a 'hip neighbourhood' is neither fixed nor singular but a dynamic construct shaped by the interplay of interests – those of residents, the tourism industry and governmental bodies: a struggle of ownership, identity and preservation. In navigating tensions, the residents of Palermo seek to reclaim agency over their neighbourhood's narrative and safeguard the spaces that hold cultural significance to them. Tourism's role is seen as multifaceted in shaping Palermo's identity and physical landscape, and highlights the need for a nuanced understanding of contemporary urban development – one that takes into account the diverse perspectives and voices that contribute to the metropolitan neighbourhood life.

Finally, the section turns to London and the darker side of metropolitan imaginary in Catterall's chapter. She argues thanatourism, once a significant theme in London's representation, has taken a backseat to more profitable ventures like restaurants and retail. This shift has been evident over centuries, with eighteenth-century guides prominently featuring royal tombs and sites of judicial executions. However, by the nineteenth century, popular culture began shaping these narratives, notably with the Chamber of Horrors and Tower Hill gaining attention. Tower Hill became a focal point of thanatourism, blending historic allure with a sense of horror. Similarly, Jack the Ripper's victims' sites saw commercial exploitation, primarily at Madame

Tussauds, focusing on suspects rather than victims, sparking local outrage. The Jack the Ripper Museum, opened in 2015, faced criticism for its commercialisation and disregard for the victims. Thanatourism in London has thus evolved, with mediated representations shaping visitors' perceptions long before these sites became part of the thanatouristic experience.

Part 2: Politics and Governance of Metropolitan Tourism

In the second section of the book, we embark on an exploration of the multifaceted interactions between politics, planning and policy that shape the development of tourism in metropolitan contexts – in short, 'politics and governance of metropolitan tourism'. It discusses how urban governance and policy decisions influence the trajectory of tourism in metropolitan settings; elaborates on how these dynamics can have profound implications for both the tourism industry and the communities tourism impacts; and discusses some of the conflicts, disputes and struggles that can arise as a result of competing interests and power dynamics surrounding metropolitan tourism.

Six chapters are brought together in this section, representing a vast range of metropolises: Paris (France), New York (USA), Macau (Chinese special administrative region), the Greater Bay Area (China) and Shanghai (China).

In Chapter 8 Freytag, Weber and Winsky focus on the metropolis of Paris, a metropolis where tourism has historically played important economic, cultural, social and political roles. Drawing on the examples of Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune, located in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis at the north of Paris's *intramuros*, they have shed light on the emergence of 'polycentric' spatial (re)configurations and fragmented dynamics of touristification and urban development in the Paris metropolis. Far from concluding on a coherent line of development at the metropolitan scale, rather they have unveiled a patchwork of institutions and actors with their territorial governance strategies involved across separate sectors at different geographical scales. This results in multifaceted dynamics shaping the field of tourism policy. While touristification and urban development have the potential to generate positive effects, they often have a negative effect on the social composition and economic profile of a neighbourhood. The authors consider that it is important (though challenging) to balance the power geometries and to provide opportunities for local residents to debate and actively take part in tourism processes in the metropolis.

Consequently, touristification and urban development have the potential to generate positive effects (for example, improve transport infrastructure and facilitate mobilities), but at the same time they may have a negative effect on the social composition and economic profile of a neighbourhood. Finally, the ongoing transformations have to be regarded as an open process. A particular challenge consists in balancing the power geometries and providing opportunities for local residents to debate and actively take part in these processes. In case this approach proves to be feasible and successful, it has the potential to harmonise tourism and urban development and to become increasingly influential being taken up in other parts of the Parisian metropolis in the years to come.

Gross analyses the case of New York, a particularly complex and interesting case study when it comes to discussing the interrelationship between tourism and the metropolis. The New York tourism sector's regional tentacles extend outward from the core, over a vast multistate region encompassing parts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. As the author stresses, given the very lucrative nature of the tourism economy for the area, one should expect that it is the subject of powerful political competition. She shows, however, that there have also been spaces and moments of collaboration in terms of regional tourism governance, in particular at moments of crisis (fiscal crisis, terrorism, environmental and public health), with more enduring impacts on the practice of tourism governance (Cheer et al. 2021). A very interesting conclusion appears: the shared experience of environmental and health crises could serve to pave the way towards a more expansive understanding of regional tourism governance.

The regional scale of enquiry is explored in Chapter 10, where Ged, Shen, Hu and Zhang explore the effect of tourism and planification on the metropolises in twenty-first century Jing-Jin-Ji and Yangtze River Delta regions. Over the past decades, China has undergone rapid tourism development, and urbanisation played a crucial role in supporting the country's economic growth. Major metropolises like Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen see tourism as a strategic pillar for the economy. While the development has been predominantly top-down within China's centralised political structure, the twenty-first century's initiatives advocate for comprehensive and sustainable growth, shifting the focus from GDP-centric policies to people-centred urban development. The chapter explores the impact of these national tourism policies and a focus on cultural heritage; questions the changes in tourists' perceptions of metropolises as well as their consumption trends; and considers the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic. Quality and experience become key in

the tourism landscape, with ecology emerging as a priority, reflecting a shift towards quality-oriented growth. The decentralisation of tourism processes, brought on also through the influence of new media, leads to a rethinking of growth in terms of urban fringe areas and satellite towns, as well as the inter-connection of tourism and metropolitan areas and the mutual reinforcement of their development.

In the case of the Greater Bay Area (GBA), Li and Xu investigate to what extent and how metropolitan scales have been constructed through the lens of metropolitan cultural tourism. The case study area is obviously particularly interesting to discuss megaregional planning in general and as related to tourism mobilities. The authors focus on the processes of construction of economic, spatial and political metropolitan scales; they argue that sharing of cultural facilities is both enabled by metropolitan tourism and leads to a reconfiguration of the metropolitan spatiality of cultural activities. They consider, however, that the co-development and co-governance of cultural facilities and activities in the GBA remains challenging and dependent on the effective building of a metropolitan political governance.

In Chapter 12, Simpson deals also with the GBA, and more particularly the former Portuguese trading post in China, currently a special administrative region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China and a popular contemporary tourist and gambling destination. Taking into consideration Macau's 'exacerbated difference' from Hong Kong and the other cities of the GBA – its casino gaming industry – the chapter explores the transformation of Macau into an experimental laboratory of consumption, with gambling and shopping attractions that cultivate calculating Chinese consumers for the country's reform-era regime. According to the author, the SAR of Macau plays a major political role in contemporary China, since China's reform regime aims to remake the global economy for an emergent era of Sino-capitalism with origins reaching back to the Portuguese city-state of Macau.

The final chapter of this second part analyses the case of the Shanghai megalopolis. Taunay asks whether tourism governance between the metropolises of the Shanghai megalopolis is possible and explores the way in which the megaregions are governed in China in relation with the development of tourism. Focusing on the Shanghai megalopolis, he explores the disparities between the metropolises there, based in particular on the most important visited tourist sites (4A and 5A), generating the main revenue and also most of the competition. Based on this analysis, he suggests a typology of four profiles of metropolises according to their tourism governance and their place in the Shanghai megalopolis. Despite some initiatives, he confirms the fact

that governance is particularly challenging, if even possible, at this metropolitan scale.

Part 3: Practices and Representations of Metropolitan Tourism

The third section focuses on the ‘practices and representations of metropolitan tourism’. This section examines the multifaceted experiences and behaviours of visitors in metropolitan settings, uncovering the various ways tourists engage with and shape the urban environment, as well as the construction and reconfiguration of tourist imaginaries and identities. We see tourists not just as passive consumers of the city but as contributors to its transformations, in relation to public policies or proposals for alternative tourism. By exploring these pertinent issues, we gain insights into the dynamic and ever-evolving nature of metropolitan tourism, where the interplay between visitor practices and destination representations significantly shapes the cultural and economic dynamics of the urban landscape.

The contributions in this section take us to different geographical contexts from different continents: São Paulo, Berlin, Rome, Dublin, London, Mumbai, Tokyo, and they also vary in their urban contexts: central historic areas, metropolitan peripheries, areas on the rural fringes of the metropolis, and so on.

The section starts with the emerging tourism practices and concepts in São Paulo, where Cardoso Ribeiro, Aires Ferreira, Allis and Boscolo Pacheco explore the transformation of collective everyday practices into valuable components of tourist experiences, redirecting the ‘tourist gaze’ towards spaces typically overlooked in mainstream tourism. It examines a case study of the Queixadas Agency, a tourism initiative in São Paulo’s periphery, showcasing its organisation, discourses and imagery as a collective endeavour shaping tourism practices. This exploration shows the emergence of fresh urban discourses when tourism ventures into unconventional urban spaces, sparking renewed debates on urban tourism and social innovation. In sprawling cities like São Paulo, a shift in perspective becomes necessary. Linear distance no longer defines boundaries; instead, entering and exiting different areas evokes diverse experiences, with curiosity helping negotiate any reluctance towards exploring them. The concept of circuits helps us understand the interconnectedness of peripheral communities, not merely in opposition to the city centre but in forging alternative networks that defy conventional power structures. These initiatives offer visitors new interactions beyond stereotypes, challenging perceptions of poverty and danger associated with the periphery.

Ultimately, these emerging circuits of metropolitan tourism empower marginalised spaces, reshaping urban narratives and redefining city spaces themselves. Through the lens of the Queixadas Agency, the chapter reflects on how collective discourses intersect with tourism, emphasising the intricate connections with local actors and the incorporation of anthropological concepts like 'quebrada' and 'circuit'. It underscores tourism's role as a mediator in urban transformations, particularly in the emergence of resistance tourism, which embraces the unique cultural fabric of peripheral territories. This form of tourism, rooted in local knowledge and practices, represents a form of resistance and innovation, challenging conventional tourism paradigms.

The section then moves on to Tokyo, where in Chapter 15 Ranaweera, Yagasaki and Kikuchi interrogate the way Tokyo's rich history and vulnerability to natural disasters have shaped its urban landscape, necessitating continuous renewal. Tokyo has emerged as a leading tourism destination, emphasising the significance of tourism resources in defining its regional characteristics. The spatial structure of tourism in Tokyo spans the urban core, suburbs, islands and periphery, each offering distinct attractions. Two main forms of metropolitan tourism are identified: culture-based and nature-based. Culture-based tourism, popular among foreign visitors, is centred in Tokyo's urban core, but efforts to decentralise tourism attractions through improved transportation infrastructure aim to reduce overcrowding in the urban core. The urban core, a hub of cultural and historical landmarks, draws tourists with its diverse offerings, including shopping and entertainment. Concerning nature-based tourism, Tokyo's extended spatial structure encompasses varied landscapes, from mountains to coastal areas, fostering nature-based tourism. Islands like Ogasawara boast unique biodiversity and cultural heritage. Post-pandemic, Tokyo's tourism is expected to prioritise nature-based experiences, emphasising sustainability in natural areas. Understanding these shifts is crucial for the effective management of Tokyo's tourism resources in the future.

Further in the section, we move to Mumbai, particularly looking at the misplaced narratives of its twenty-first century tourism. Ramakrishna and Ramesh explore the landscape and dynamics of tourism in Mumbai's metropolis, focusing on the concept of 'tourism resilience' amid contested development trends. Chapter 16 highlights how the multiplicity of urban identities contributes to the resilience of tourism production in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, despite challenges such as lost identities and revanchist agendas. The study examines three processes of metropolitan urban development to understand changing ideas of tourism resilience

in twenty-first-century Mumbai. First, it delves into the impact of 'reality tourism' on community and cultural identity, analysing emerging tourism destinations in subaltern sites like Dhobi Ghat amid real estate pressures and urban transformations. Second, it discusses coastal manipulations and changing built environments along Mumbai's water edges, exploring the city's historical narratives and evolving coastal landmarks. Finally, it examines the socio-political drivers shaping Mumbai's tourist landscape, which projects diverse imagery reflecting global, modern, colonial and regional influences. Using qualitative research methods including ethnographic research and spatial mapping analysis, the study analyses the impact of socio-economic and political decisions on tourism, questioning the relationship between tourist sites and larger urban planning visions. It raises questions about creating sustainable and resilient tourist networks, conserving informal systems in subaltern narratives, and envisioning the future of metropolitan tourism in Mumbai.

The debates in this section here detach from one locale and move into the shared characteristics and practices of tourism in a metropolis. In Chapter 17 Pascoe and McConville, as international urban historians, lead us through real and virtual walking tours through urban neighbourhoods, drawing on Kevin Lynch's 'imageability' model to provide a framework for exploration, using examples from Rome, Berlin and Dublin. By applying Lynch's principles, these tours reveal the evolution of neighbourhoods, their social dynamics and historical narratives. In contrast to thematic or shopping-oriented tours, which often isolate iconic sites, these walks integrate landmarks into the fabric of daily life, fostering a deeper understanding of the urban environment. Lynch's scheme has gained traction in planning circles worldwide, emphasising the importance of 'walkability' in cities. By grounding tours in local history and Lynch's typology, tourists develop a nuanced cognitive map of the metropolis. Despite technological advancements, urban walking retains its transgressive nature, offering a tactile engagement with the city's complexities. Through guided walks, participants navigate the metropolis, constructing their own understanding of its spatial and historical dimensions, fostering a sense of confidence and enrichment in the urban environment.

The penultimate chapter asks what a metropolitan city is and, often more importantly, what it is not. Wee does not tie his study to one geographic location but offers an investigation of what this intricate and evolving concept of the metropolis is, particularly examining its representation in modernist utopian and dystopian imagination. He argues that contemporary touristic places have reshaped the perception of metropolis, with pop culture playing a crucial

role in this transformation. The chapter focuses on the tourist gaze and the act of seeing, intertwined with spatial practices and ambulatory experiences, highlighting the emergence of new forms and spaces of tourism consumption that shift towards the everyday, the ordinary. It explores the interconnect-edness of global metropolises, examining how implicit connections between them shape tourists' experiences and behaviours and are, in turn, shaped by the tourist encounters within and between metropolises. Vertical recreation – symbolised by stairs and reflecting modernity and mobility – takes centre stage, and the chapter calls for new ways of looking to reconfigure the metropolis, 'using' everyday spaces to create meaningful intersections across cultures and contradictions.

We end this section – and indeed the book – with a glance towards the past and understanding of the present metropolis as a destination. Zitzlsperger examines the evolution of metropolitan tourism over centuries, tracing its growth alongside political and cultural developments. The chapter contends that cities thrive as tourist destinations during periods of significant historical and societal change, such as world exhibitions and the emergence of nation states. Metropolitan tourism is heavily influenced by media, including maps, travel guides, film and literature. Drawing on John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*, the concept of the 'tourist gaze' is explored by John Urry and Jonas Larsen, who argue that tourists view cities through socio-culturally framed perspectives. Cities like Paris become tourist hotspots when they are associated with anticipation, performance and memory. Over time, there has been a shift towards individualised experiences of modernity, with tourists seeking authentic encounters rather than picturesque scenes. That said, recognisable landmarks and symbols, such as the Eiffel Tower or the Brandenburg Gate, contribute to the sense of familiarity and navigation within the urban landscape. London's appeal is often defined through its vibrant cultural scene, rich history and diverse shopping and nightlife options. It can be concluded that metropolitan tourism thrives on multisensory experiences and specific ways of perceiving the past and present. Learning to be a tourist involves navigating between timeless attractions and contemporary pathways through the cityscape, creating a dynamic and resilient tourism industry.

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