Tourism and the Metropolis

Tourism and the Metropolis

Exploring Conceptual and Geographical Frontiers

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy (eds)

University of Westminster Press
www.uwestminsterpress.co.uk

Published by
University of Westminster Press
32-38 Wells Street
London W1T 3UW
www.uwestminsterpress.co.uk
Editorial selection © the editors and
individual chapters © their respective authors 2026

First published 2026

Cover design: Newgen North America
Print and digital versions typeset by Newgen North America

ISBN (Paperback): 978-1-915445-26-1
ISBN (Open Access): 978-1-915445-27-8
DOI: https://doi.org/10.16997/mpub.13085013

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
To view a copy of this license, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
or send a letter to Creative Commons, 444 Castro Street, Suite 900, Mountain View,
California, 94041, USA. This license allows for copying and distributing the work,
providing author attribution is clearly stated, that you are not using the material for
commercial purposes, and that modified versions are not distributed.
The full text of this book has been peer-reviewed to ensure
high academic standards. For full review policies,
see: http://www.uwestminsterpress.co.uk/site/publish.

Suggested citation: Gravari-Barbas, Maria, Jacquot, Sébastien, Jović, Maja, and Novy,
Johannes (eds.) 2026.
Tourism and the Metropolis: Exploring Conceptual and Geographical Frontiers.
London: University of Westminster Press.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.16997/mpub.13085013
License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0

To read the free, open access version of this book online,
visit [DOI https://doi.org/10.16997/mpub.13085013]
or scan this QR code with your mobile device.

CONTENTS

Tourism as a Metropolitan Phenomenon: Legacies, Turning Points and Prospects 1
Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

Part 1: The Spatiality of Metropolitan Tourism

Introduction to Part 1 41
Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

CHAPTER 1: MADRID: REGION OF METROPOLITAN TOURISM IN TRANSFORMATION 50
María García-Hernández and Manuel de la Calle-Vaquero

CHAPTER 2: LOS ANGELES: INHABITING THE TOURIST METAPOLIS 79
Léopold Lucas

CHAPTER 3: THE PHENOMENON OF THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF METROPOLITAN TOURISM: THE CASE OF ST. PETERSBURG 100
Valery Gordin, Anastasiia Polomarchuk and Anastasiia Korman

CHAPTER 4: METROPOLITAN TOURISM AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: CREATING UNEVEN GEOGRAPHIES? 118
Gustav Visser

CHAPTER 5: THE GLOBAL METROPOLIS AS A TOURISM AND LEISURE PLAYGROUND: MEGAPROJECTS IN KUALA LUMPUR METROPOLITAN SPACE 137
Frédéric Bouchon

CHAPTER 6: PALERMO SOHO: URBAN TRANSFORMATION, METROPOLITAN LIFESTYLES AND TOURISM IN THE CREATION OF A TRENDY NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES 158
Mercedes González Bracco

CHAPTER 7: THANATOURISM IN LONDON AND THE METROPOLITAN IMAGINARY 180
Pippa Catterall

Part 2: Politics and Governance of Metropolitan Tourism

Introduction to Part 2 205
Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

CHAPTER 8: FRAGMENTED DYNAMICS OF TOURISTIFICATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE METROPOLIS OF PARIS 214
Tim Freytag, Florian Weber and Nora Winsky

CHAPTER 9: TOURISM AND THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION: CHAOS, COMPROMISE AND COLLABORATION 234
Jill Simone Gross

CHAPTER 10: TOURISM, PLANIFICATION AND METROPOLISES IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY CHINA: JING-JIN-JI AND YANGTZE DELTA RIVER CASES 262
Françoise Ged, Lian Hu, Chensi Shen and Chunyan Zhang

CHAPTER 11: CONSTRUCTING METROPOLITAN SCALES AND METROPOLITAN CULTURAL TOURISM IN CHINA'S GREATER BAY AREA 287
Jie Li and Honggang Xu

CHAPTER 12: LABORATORY OF CONSUMPTION: MACAU'S METROPOLITAN TOURISM 311
Tim Simpson

CHAPTER 13: THE IMPOSSIBLE JOINT GOVERNANCE? TOURISM AND METROPOLISES IN THE SHANGHAI MEGALOPOLIS 331
Benjamin Taunay

Part 3: Practices and Representations of Metropolitan Tourism

Introduction to Part 3 353
Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

CHAPTER 14: FROM FORGOTTEN BORDERS TO NEW CENTRALITIES: EMERGING TOURISM PRACTICES AND CONCEPTS IN SÃO PAULO (BRAZIL) 361
Camila Cardoso Ribeiro, Paulo Tácio Aires Ferreira, Thiago Allis and Reinaldo Tadeu Boscolo Pacheco

CHAPTER 15: TOKYO AS A TOURISM METROPOLIS 387
Eranga Ranaweerage, Taiyo Yagasaki and Toshio Kikuchi

CHAPTER 16: BEYOND THE GATEWAY OF INDIA: PERTINENT AND MISPLACED NARRATIVES OF TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY MUMBAI'S TOURISM 412
Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna and Shruthi Ramesh

CHAPTER 17: TOURISTS IN THE MANY-SIDED METROPOLIS 441
Robert Pascoe and Chris McConville

CHAPTER 18: TOURISTS OF THE METROPOLIS: VERTICAL RECREATION BETWEEN WEST AND EAST 457

Desmond Wee

CHAPTER 19: DESTINATION METROPOLIS: FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES 480

Ulrike Zitzlsperger

CONCLUSION 506

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

Author Affiliations 515

Index 518

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

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

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 sociality 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 Knafou (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' (Knafou 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 (Horng 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 overtourism 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 interconnection 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 megapolitan 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 Ranaweerage, 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 interconnectedness 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.

Bibliography

Andrade, M. J. and J. P. Costa. 2020. 'Touristification of European Port-Cities: Impacts on Local Populations and Cultural Heritage'. In *European Port Cities in Transition: Moving Towards More Sustainable Sea Transport*

Hubs, edited by Angela Carpenter and Rodrigo Lozano. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-36464-9_11

Angotti, Tom. 1993. *Metropolis 2000: Planning, Poverty and Politics*. Routledge.

Angotti, Tom. 2013. *The New Century of the Metropolis: Urban Enclaves and Orientalism*. Routledge.

Ascher, François. 2003. 'Urban Homogenisation and Diversification in West Europe'. In *Globalism and Local Democracy: Challenge and Change in Europe and North America*, edited by Robin Hambleton, Hank V. Savitch and Murray Stewart, 52–66. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230502741_4

Ashworth, G. J. 1989. 'Urban Tourism: An Imbalance in Attention'. In *Progress in Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management, volume 1*, edited by C. P. Cooper. Belhaven Press.

Ashworth, G. J. and S. J. Page. 2011. 'Urban Tourism Research: Recent Progress and Current Paradoxes'. *Tourism Management* 32(1): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.02.002

Ashworth, G. J. and J. E. Tunbridge. 2000. *The Tourist-Historic City*. Routledge.

Bell, Martin and Gary Ward. 2000. 'Comparing Permanent Migration with Temporary Mobility'. *Tourism Geographies* 2(1): 87–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680063466

Bellini, Nicola and Cecilia Pasquinelli (eds). 2017. *Tourism in the City: Towards an Integrative Agenda on Urban Tourism*. Springer.

Benjamin, Stefanie, Alana Dillette and Derek H. Alderman. 2020. '"We Can't Return to Normal": Committing to Tourism Equity in the Post-Pandemic Age'. *Tourism Geographies* 22(3): 476–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1759130

Benko, Georges. 2007. 'Économie urbaine et régionale au tournant du siècle'. *Métropoles* 2007(1). https://doi.org/10.4000/metropoles.139

Bourdeau-Lepage, Lise and Jean-Marie Huriot. 2004. 'The Metropolis in Retrospect: Permanence and Change'. *GAWC Research Bulletin* 140.

Bourdin, Alain. 2005. *La métropole des individus*. L'Aube.

Brantz, Dorothee, Sasha Disko and Georg Wagner-Kyora. 2012. *Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism*. transcript Verlag.

Brenner, Neil and Christian Schmid. 2015. 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?' *City* 19(2–3): 151–82. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2015.1014712

Brosius, Christiane. 2012. *India's Middle Class: New Forms of Urban Leisure, Consumption and Prosperity*. Routledge India.

Burdett, Ricky, Deyan Sudjic and Ömer Çavuşoğlu (eds). 2011. *Living in the Endless City*. Phaidon.

Cheer, Joseph M., Dominic Lapointe, Mary Mostafanezhad and Tazim Jamal. 2021. 'Global Tourism in Crisis: Conceptual Frameworks for Research and Practice'. *Journal of Tourism Futures* 7(3): 278–94. https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-09-2021-227

Clark, Terry Nichols (ed). 2003. *The City as an Entertainment Machine*. Emerald.

Cochrane, A. 2011. 'Making Up Global Urban Policies'. In *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 738–46. Wiley-Blackwell.

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2017. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Routledge.

Condevaux, Aurélie, Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand. 2022. *Tourism Dynamics in Everyday Places: Before and After Tourism*. Routledge.

Dagorn, René. 2003. 'Métropole-Mégalopole'. In *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*, edited by Jacques Lévy and Michel Lussault, 609–11. Belin.

Davezies, Laurent. 2009. 'L'économie locale « *résidentielle* »'. *Géographie, économie, société* 11(1): 47–53.

Denby, Elaine. 2002. *Grand Hotels: Reality and Illusion*. Reaktion Books.

Di Méo, Guy. 2010. 'La métropolisation. Une clé de lecture de l'organisation contemporaine des espaces géographiques'. *L'information géographique* 74(3): 23–38. https://doi.org/10.3917/lig.743.0023

Dyson, Peter. 2012. 'Slum Tourism: Representing and Interpreting "Reality" in Dharavi, Mumbai'. *Tourism Geographies* 14(2): 254–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2011.609900

Dürr, Eveline. 2012. 'Urban Poverty, Spatial Representation and Mobility: Touring a Slum in Mexico'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(4): 706–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01123.x

Ewers, Hans-Jürgen, John B. Goddard and Horst Matzerath (eds). 1986. *The Future of the Metropolis (Berlin. London, Paris, New York): Economic Aspects*. De Gruyter.

Franklin, Adrian and Mike Crang. 2001. 'The Trouble with Tourism and Travel Theory?' *Tourist Studies* 1(1): 5–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879760100100101

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. 2009. 'The Favela and its Touristic Transits'. *Geoforum* 40(4): 580–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.10.007

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. 2011. '"I Went to the City of God": Gringos, Guns and the Touristic Favela'. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 20(1): 21–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2011.562631

Frenzel Fabian, Ko Koens, Malte Steinbrick and Christian M. Rogerson. 2015. 'Slum Tourism: State of the Art'. *Tourism Review International* 18(4): 237–52. https://doi.org/10.3727/154427215X14230549904017

García-Hernández, María and Maria Gravari-Barbas. 2025. *Cultural Heritage on the Urban Peripheries: Towards New Research Paradigms*. Routledge.

Gilbert, David and Claire Hancock. 2006. 'New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893–1939'. *Journal of Urban History* 33(1): 77–107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144206290385

Gómez-Álvarez, David, Robin Michael Rajack, Eduardo López-Moreno and Gabriel Lanfranchi (eds). 2017. *Steering the Metropolis: Metropolitan Governance for Sustainable Urban Development*. Inter-American Development Bank.

Gössling, Stefan and Nadja Schweiggart. 2022. 'Two Years of COVID-19 and Tourism: What We Learned, and What We Should Have Learned'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 30(4): 915–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2022.2029872

Gravari-Barbas, Maria. 2013. *Aménager la ville par la culture et le tourisme*. Le Moniteur.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria. 2017. 'Super-Gentrification and Hyper-Tourismification in Le Marais, Paris'. In *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises*, edited by Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand. Routledge.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria. 2024. 'When Tourism Transforms the Metropolitan Space and Society: The Case of the Île-de-France Region'. In *Major French Cities Facing Metropolization*, edited by Alain Bourdin, 131–55. Springer.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Édith Fagnoni (eds). 2013. *Métropolisation et tourisme: comment le tourisme redessine Paris*. Belin.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2017. *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*. Routledge.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2025. *Handbook on Tourism Gentrification. Concepts, Spaces, Features*. Edward Elgar.

Grodach, Carl. 2012. 'Before and After the Creative City: The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy in Austin, Texas'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34(1): 81–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00574.x

Harrison, John and Michael Hoyler. 2014. 'Governing the New Metropolis'. *Urban Studies* 51(11): 2249–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013500699

Hassan, Oz. 2020. 'Artificial Intelligence, Neom and Saudi Arabia's Economic Diversification from Oil and Gas'. *The Political Quarterly* 91(1): 222–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12794

Henderson Joan C. 2014. 'Global Gulf Cities and Tourism: A Review of Abu Dhabi, Doha and Dubai'. *Tourism Recreation Research* 39(1): 107–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2014.11081329

Hidalgo-Giralt, Carmen, Antonio Palacios-García, Diego Barrado-Timón and José Antonio Rodríguez-Esteban. 2021. 'Urban Industrial Tourism: Cultural Sustainability as a Tool for Confronting Overtourism: Cases of Madrid, Brussels, and Copenhagen'. *Sustainability* 13(9): 4694. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13094694

Indovina, Francesco. 2016. 'New Urban Forms. The Distinctive Character of the European Metropolis'. In *Cities in the 21st Century*, edited by Oriol Nel·lo and Renata Mele, 60–66. Routledge.

Hoffman, Lily M., Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd (eds). 2003. *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*. Blackwell.

Horng, Jeou-Shyan and Chen-Tsang (Simon) Tsai. 2012. 'Exploring Marketing Strategies for Culinary Tourism in Hong Kong and Singapore'. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 17(3): 277–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2011.625432

Jamal, Tazim and Mike Robinson (eds). 2009. *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies*. Sage.

Jayne, Mark. 2005. *Cities and Consumption*. Routledge.

Judd, Dennis R. 1999. 'Constructing the Tourist Bubble'. In *The Tourist City*, edited by Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, 35–53. Yale University Press.

Karski, Andy. 1990. 'Urban Tourism: A Key to Urban Regeneration?' *The Planner* 76: 15–17.

Knafou, Rémy. 2007. 'Introduction. L'urbain et le tourisme: une construction laborieuse'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 9–21. Belin.

Knott, B., A. Fyall and I. Jones. 2015. 'The Nation Branding Opportunities Provided by a Sport Mega-Event: South Africa and the 2010 FIFA World Cup'. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management* 4(1): 46–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2014.09.001

Lazzarotti, Olivier. 2007. '"L'habiter touristique" et la ville'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 323–32. Belin.
Lévy, Jacques. 1996. 'La ville, concept géographique, objet politique'. *Le Débat* 1996/5(92): 111–25.
Lloyd, Richard and Terry Nichols Clark. 2001. 'The City as an Entertainment Machine'. In *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment, volume 6*, edited by K. Fox Gotham, 357–78. Emerald.
Lorrain, Dominique (ed). 2011. *Governing Megacities in Emerging Countries*. Ashgate.
MacLeod, Gordon. 2001. 'New Regionalism Reconsidered: Globalization, Regulation and the Recasting of Political Economic Space'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25(4): 804–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00345
Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman (eds). 2009. *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge.
Morrison, Alastair M. and J. Andres Coca-Stefaniak (eds). 2021. *Routledge Handbook of Tourism Cities*. Routledge.
Morrison, Alastair M. and Cristina Maxim. 2021. *World Tourism Cities: A Systematic Approach to Urban Tourism*. Routledge.
Neal, Zachary P. 2012. *The Connected City: How Networks Are Shaping the Modern Metropolis*. Routledge.
Nelles, Jen. 2012. *Comparative Metropolitan Policy: Governing Beyond Local Boundaries in the Imagined Metropolis*. Routledge.
Nelson, Velvet. 2015. 'Place Reputation: Representing Houston, Texas as a Creative Destination through Culinary Culture'. *Tourism Geographies* 17(2): 192–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2014.986751
Newman, Harvey K. 1999. *Southern Hospitality: Tourism and the Growth of Atlanta*. University of Alabama Press.
Novy, Johannes and Claire Colomb. 2016. 'Urban Tourism and Its Discontents: An Introduction'. In *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*, edited by Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy. Routledge.
OECD. 2015. 'The Metropolitan Century: Understanding Urbanisation and its Consequences'. OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264228733-en
Orellana, Arturo and Luis Fuentes. 2019. 'Metropolitan Area'. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, edited by Anthony M. Orum. Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118568446.eurso198
Oxford Economics. 2017. 'Global Cities 2030'. Oxford Economics.

Robinson, Jennifer. 2014. 'New Geographies of Theorizing the Urban: Putting Comparison to Work for Global Urban Studies'. In *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, edited by Susan Parnell and Sophie Oldfield, 57–70. Routledge.

Rogerson, Christian M. and Jayne M. Rogerson. 2021. *Urban Tourism in the Global South: South African Perspectives*. Springer.

Roy, Ananya. 2013. 'The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory'. In *The Futures of the City Region*, edited by Michael Neumann and Angela Hull, 59–70. Routledge.

Scott, Daniel, C. Michael Hall, and Stefan Gössling. 2019. 'Global Tourism Vulnerability to Climate Change'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 77: 49–61. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2019.05.007

Selby, Martin. 2004. *Understanding Urban Tourism: Image, Culture and Experience*. I. B. Tauris.

Sharpley, Richard. 2008. 'Planning for Tourism: The Case of Dubai'. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 5(1): 13–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790530801936429

Shatkin, Gavin. 2007. 'Global Cities of the South: Emerging Perspectives on Growth and Inequality'. *Cities* 24(1): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2006.10.002

Simmel, Georg. 1903. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, edited and translated by Kurt H. Wolff. Free Press (published 1950).

Spirou, Costas. 2011. *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. Routledge.

Shoval, Noam (ed). 2020. *Tourism and Urban Planning in European Cities*. Routledge.

Soja, Edward. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Blackwell.

Storper, Michael. 2014. 'Governing the Large Metropolis'. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 2(2): 115–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2014.919874

Sutcliffe, Anthony (ed). 1984. *Metropolis 1890–1940*. University of Chicago Press.

Steinbrink, Malte. 2012. '"We Did the Slum!" – Urban Poverty Tourism in Historical Perspective'. *Tourism Geographies* 14(2): 213–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2012.633216

Stock, Mathis. 2007. 'Habiter touristiquement la ville'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 25–29. Belin.

UNPD (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division). 2019. 'World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision'. United Nations. https://population.un.org/wup/assets/WUP2018-Report.pdf

UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organization). 2021. 'International Tourism Highlights: 2020 edition'. UNWTO. https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/epdf/10.18111/9789284422456

Urry, John. 1995. *Consuming Places*. Routledge.

Williams, Allan M. and C. Michael Hall. 2002. 'Tourism, Migration, Circulation and Mobility'. In *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*, edited by C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams, 1–52. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-3554-4_1

WTTC (World Travel and Tourism Council). 2022. 'Cities Economic Impact 2022'. https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact/Cities

Part 1

The Spatiality of Metropolitan Tourism

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

Introduction

Metropolis, an epitome of dynamism, complexity, innovation and change, is understood as a platform for intricate play of factors, spanning from historical development, economic forces, population, cultural and social dynamics, over infrastructure and environment, to governance and planning policies. Metropolisation – and the rise of metropolitan areas – (OECD 2015) has become an important point of contemporary geographical discourse, and it is the focal point of this opening section as the contours of metropolitan geography continue to undergo constant reconfiguration.

Ascher (1995) defines metropolisation as the contemporary form of the urbanisation process, characterised by a growing concentration of people, activities and wealth, and the formation of agglomerations of several hundred thousand inhabitants that are multifunctional and highly integrated into the international economy. The process of metropolisation is leading to significant transformations in the cultural, economic and spatial realities of these increasingly vast, heterogeneous and discontinuous urban areas. Metropolitan spaces are expanding both 'internally', by extending the traditional urbanised area, and 'externally', by absorbing increasingly distant peripheries. Metropolisation is a spatial dynamic that helps organise the territory around the metropolis. Not all peripheral outgrowths of cities are necessarily metropolised, but the process of metropolisation leads to a redefinition of spaces within the city and gives rise to a reality that does not dissolve cities. On the contrary, it shapes a territory that extends beyond the inherited

city, integrating it by surpassing its boundaries. These distended, discontinuous, heterogeneous and polynuclear urban spaces integrate the dense city and the neo-rural. The result is the multifaceted phenomenon of metropolisation. Though globally neglected (Gravari-Barbas and Fagnoni 2013), tourism plays a major role in the metropolitan dynamics and in the reshaping of the metropolitan spaces, as this section will show.

Tourism in the Metropolis, Between the Hypercentre and the Urban Peripheries

In several metropolises such as London, Paris and New York (Maitland et al. 2009), tourism tends to be concentrated in specific central areas, often occupying one or more hypercentral blocks within the city centre. This pattern mirrors the centralised spatial phenomenon observed in many tourist towns, regardless of their size or metropolitan status.

However, two factors set the geography of tourism in tourist cities and tourism metropolises apart.

1. The hypercentralised locations favoured by tourism are also sought after by other forms of mobility.

In metropolises, tourism competes with a wide range of mobilities. Areas highly attractive to tourists also appeal to various forms of mobilities, reflecting the integration of metropolises into globalisation (Sassen 1991; Chakravarty et al. 2021). Unlike non-metropolitan tourist areas, the international mobility observed in metropolises encompasses not only leisure tourists but also business travellers (a key characteristic of any tourist metropolis) and other forms of non-tourist mobility, such as students on short-term stays or seasonal workers. This competition intensifies phenomena that may be seen in non-metropolitan urban tourist areas, such as the proliferation of hotels catering to diverse clientele, short-term rentals and residential or commercial gentrification, which become exacerbated in tourism metropolises.

2. Mobility spills over from hypercentral locations

Unlike smaller scale tourism cities, tourism in tourist metropolises is not limited to a central location. It extends far beyond it in several ways: on the one hand, through the existence of several tourist poles and attractions, located either in more peripheral districts of the central city or in areas on the urban periphery. Second, a whole range of tourist facilities, such

as airports and railway stations, are located on the outskirts of the central city, sometimes several kilometres from the centre. As a result, the major 'gateways' to the tourist metropolises (airports, ports, railway stations, and so on) are always located on the increasingly remote outskirts of the city. Moreover, it is on these metropolitan fringes that new tourist attractions (such as theme parks) are being built, which are closely linked to the appeal of the central city but require available land that can only be found on more remote urban fringes.

These two trends combined are simultaneously contributing to the transformation of central metropolitan areas through tourism and pushing back the boundaries of the hypercentre ever further. The process of metropolitan tourism thus bears the seeds of both hyper-concentration and urban sprawl.

Central Metropolitan Areas: Tourism at the Heart of Globalisation

Globalisation has transformed metropolises into nodes of the global economy (Sassen 1991; Abrahamson 2004, 4; Choplin and Pliez 2015; Trujillo and Parilla 2016). Cities have become key players in global trade, finance and innovation networks. Globalisation has also led to the diversification of urban populations, with increased migration flows contributing to cultural hybridization and social diversity within metropolises. Tourism is at the centre of these phenomena, both impacted and impacting (Urry 1995). It acts as a vehicle for globalisation in metropolises by promoting cross-cultural exchange (Liu 2023), international trade and investment. Tourists bring with them not only spending power but also ideas, perspectives and cultural practices that influence local communities and businesses (Daly et al. 2020).

Metropolises often cater to the preferences and needs of international tourists, leading to the touristification of urban spaces, services and experiences (Cocola-Gant 2023; Ojeda and Kieffer 2020). While tourism and globalisation offer opportunities for metropolises to thrive economically and culturally, they also pose challenges related to sustainability, social equity (Broudehoux 2007) and identity preservation (Bianchini et al. 2013).

The influx of tourists into central metropolitan areas necessitates investment in infrastructure and services to accommodate their needs (Spirou 2011). This includes expanding public transportation systems, and enhancing amenities such as parks, museums and entertainment venues. Most of the tourism metropolises have launched in recent decades impressive cultural facilities for which the motivation was, if not exclusively, to a huge extent tourism-oriented (Taheri and Jafari 2012).

While tourism brings economic benefits to central metropolitan areas – thanks to investments in tourism infrastructure that not only improve the visitor experience but also benefit residents by enhancing mobility, accessibility and urban liveability – it can also have social and environmental impacts that need to be managed effectively. Large numbers of tourists can put pressure on local resources, infrastructure and communities, leading to issues such as overcrowding, congestion, pollution, cultural commodification or gentrification (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2025; 2017; Pinkster and Boterman 2017). Sustainable tourism practices and responsible destination management are essential to mitigate these impacts and ensure the long-term viability of central metropolitan areas as tourist destinations. In recent years, the development of tourism in the central metropolitan areas has been a key source of conflict (Novy and Colomb 2019), as tourist activities compete with other uses of space and other urban functions that have historically been located in the city centre. The disruption of the short-rental platforms has been analysed by several researchers as one of the main reasons for social conflict in contemporary metropolises (Janoschka and Haas 2013; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018).

Beyond the Hypercentre: Tourism Conquers the Urban Periphery

Unlike non-metropolitan urban areas, metropolises offer a complex multitude of tourism spaces, some of which are located on the urban periphery. These peripheral metropolitan areas are sometimes old, both in terms of their constitution and their use for tourism, such as former medieval villages or former seigneurial estates 'caught' in the urban expansion after the nineteenth century. However, they also include areas that until fairly recently had no tourism vocation whatsoever: industrial areas, ports and waterfronts, ordinary living spaces, working-class neighbourhoods or former urban wastelands.

This metropolitan tourism is developing as a result of both supply and demand.

On the one hand, tourists, who are increasingly 'mature' and equipped with tourism capital, want to go beyond the 'urban tourist bubbles' of central districts. They seek to visit urban areas that offer new possibilities for tourist experiences (Dodds and Jolliffe 2016). Metropolitan tourists are looking for new and sometimes extreme experiences: urban exploration – urbex – (Le Gallou 2021; 2018), dark tourism (Sharpley and Stone 2009) and, more generally, various forms of alternative tourism (Gravari-Barbas et al. 2019) are leading them to go beyond off-the-beaten track (Gravari-Barbas and

Delaplace 2015; Condevaux et al. 2016) and the tourist 'sights' enjoyed by first-time visitors. As experienced tourists, they are sometimes the prescribers of their own tourist explorations, helping to expand metropolitan tourist territories. Tourism development at urban peripheries fosters cultural exchange and interactions between visitors and local communities. Cultural immersion experiences, homestays and community-based tourism initiatives provide opportunities for tourists to engage with local lifestyles, enriching their travel experiences and promoting cross-cultural understanding (Ashworth and Page 2011).

On the other hand, metropolitan areas with little or no tourism in the past are seizing the opportunity to develop alternative forms of tourism to that of the centre. Many urban peripheries boast rich cultural heritage and historical sites that are increasingly being promoted as tourist attractions. Heritage tourism initiatives focus on preserving and showcasing the unique cultural identity and heritage of the periphery, including historic buildings, museums, green spaces, industrial landscapes and cultural festivals. Heritage trails and thematic tours are popular ways to explore the cultural heritage of urban peripheries. Peripheries offer something that tourist and monumental urban centres do not: the chance to discover astonishing places that have not yet been visited, to get lost and to be surprised, to meet local people and, more generally, to follow local developments and dynamics as they happen. In fact, unlike tourist city centres, which are the focus of attention from the authorities and are highly coveted by the local and global market, urban peripheries offer spaces that are still 'liquid' (McArdle 2023; Lee 2021) and in the process of being (re)defined.

Authorities in metropolitan areas beyond the central city are seizing the tourism opportunity with varying degrees of willingness and enthusiasm. The projects they are launching are helping to diversify the tourism product, to innovate, and even to change the line of communication and the brand image of the global metropolitan destination thanks to these alternative offerings. Tourism is certainly not the only reason why metropolitan authorities are redeveloping their former industrial or port areas or building new infrastructure on former urban wastelands. In any case, they have to respond to the structural problems of deindustrialisation, land vacancy or urban depollution. However, tourism serves as a pretext for the redevelopment of these areas, as a co-financier, and as a means of communicating these projects.

The development of more peripheral tourist areas is not only desired by the public and private players in these areas but also by the centrally located

urban and tourism authorities. It is now fully understood that the sustainable development of tourism will depend – to a large extent – on the synergies that the various metropolitan areas are able to put in place. Since the 2010s and the increase in nuisances and conflicts linked to overtourism (Pavelka 2024), the systemic nature of metropolitan tourism and the need for close collaboration between city centres and metropolitan areas have become even more obvious. The impossibility of increasing accommodation capacity in central urban areas, and the need to find accommodation with a more diversified and affordable price range, means that rooms have to be distributed throughout the territory. This leads tourism stakeholders to think about the issue of tourism in a more articulated way. Collaborative approaches involving public–private partnerships, community stakeholders and tourism authorities are becoming more prevalent in the planning and development of tourism at urban metropolitan peripheries. Engaging local communities in decision-making processes, fostering community ownership and ensuring equitable distribution of tourism benefits are essential considerations in sustainable tourism development (Gospodini 2020).

Tourist mobility and tourism projects help to shape the contemporary metropolis just as much as other sectors such as housing, industry or transport. However, the impact of tourism on metropolitan development is much less studied. The subsequent chapters aim to correct this and interrogate the way tourism shapes realities and spatialities of metropolises globally, particularly encompassing the Global South.

Bibliography

Abrahamson, Mark. 2004. *Global cities* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

Ascher, François. 1995. *Metapolis ou l'avénir des villes*. Odile Jacob.

Ashworth, Gregory J. and Stephen J. Page. 2011. 'Urban Tourism Research: Recent Progress and Current Paradoxes'. *Tourism Management* 32(1): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.02.002

Bianchini, Franco, Roberto Albano and Alessandro Bollo. 2013. 'The Regenerative Impacts of the European City/Capital of Culture Events'. In *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration*, edited by Michael E. Leary and John McCarthy. Routledge.

Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. 2007. 'Spectacular Beijing: The Conspicuous Construction of an Olympic Metropolis'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 29(4): 383–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2007.00352.x

Chakravarty, Dwarka, Anthony Goerzen, Martina Musteen and Mujtaba Ahsan. 2021. 'Global Cities: A Multi-Disciplinary Review and Research Agenda'. *Journal of World Business* 56(3): 101182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2020.101182

Choplin, Armelle and Olivier Pliez. 2015. 'The Inconspicuous Spaces of Globalization', *Articulo, Journal of Urban Research* 12. https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.2905

Cocola-Gant, Agustín. 2023. 'Place-Based Displacement: Touristification and Neighborhood Change', *Geoforum* 138: 103665. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2022.103665

Condevaux Aurélie, Géraldine Djament-Tran and Maria Gravari-Barbas. 2016. 'Before and After Tourism(s). The Trajectories of Tourist Destinations and the Role of Actors Involved in "Off-The-Beaten-Track" Tourism: A Literature Review'. *Via Tourism Review* 9. https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.413

Daly, Pauline, Alvaro Lopes Dias and Mafalda Patuleia. 2020. 'The Impacts of Tourism on Cultural Identity on Lisbon Historic Neighbourhoods', *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 8(1): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/516

Dodds, Rachel and Lee Jolliffe. 2016. 'Experiential Tourism: Creating and Marketing Tourism Attraction Experiences'. In *The Handbook of Managing and Marketing Tourism Experiences*, edited by Marios Sotiriadis and Dogan Gursoy, 113–129. Emerald.

Gospodini, Aspa. 2020. 'Urban Design: The Evolution of Concerns, the Increasing Power, Challenges and Perspectives'. *Journal of Urban Design* 25(1): 16–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2019.1706894

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Marie Delaplace. 2015. 'Le tourisme urbain « hors des sentiers battus » Coulisses, interstices et nouveaux territoires touristiques urbains'. *Teoros* 34(1–2). http://journals.openedition.org/teoros/2790

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Édith Fagnoni. 2013. *Métropolisation et tourisme: comment le tourisme redessine Paris*. Belin.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2017. *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*. Routledge.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2025. *Handbook on Tourism Gentrification: Concepts, Spaces, Features*. Elgar.

Gravari-Barbas Maria, Sébastien Jacquot and Francesca Cominelli. 2019. 'New Cultures of Urban Tourism'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(3): 301–306. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-09-2019-160

Janoschka, Michael and Heiko Haas (eds). 2013. *Contested Spatialities, Lifestyle Migration and Residential Tourism*. Routledge.

Le Gallou, Aude. 2021. 'Explorer les lieux abandonnés à Détroit et à Berlin: tourisme de l'abandon et trajectoires patrimoniales [Exploring abandoned places in Detroit and Berlin: abandonment tourism and heritage trajectories]', Géoconfluences, 21 June 2021. https://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/informations-scientifiques/dossiers-thematiques/patrimoine/articles/lieux-abandonnes-berlin-detroit

Le Gallou, Aude. 2018. 'From Urban Exploration to Ruin Tourism: A Geographical Analysis of Contemporary Ruins as New Frontiers for Urban Tourism'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 4(2): 245–60. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-12-2017-0085

Lee, Raymond L. M. 2021. 'Time, Space, and Power in Digital Modernity: From Liquid to Solid Control'. *Time & Society* 31(1): 69–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X211016781

Liu, Larry. 2023. 'Ethnic Architecture and Global Cities: Commentary on "Cross Cultural Urbanism: The Case of Miami" by Adib Cure and Carie Penabad'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46(11): 2529–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2023.2180766

McArdle, Rachel. 2023. 'Liquid Urbanisms: Framing the Intrinsic Fluidity of the Urban'. *Geo: Geography and Environment* 10(1): e200116. https://doi.org/10.1002/geo2.116

Maitland, Robert and Brent W. Ritchie (eds). 2009. *City Tourism: National Capital Perspectives*. CABI.

Novy, Johannes and Claire Colomb. 2019. 'Urban Tourism as a Source of Contention and Social Mobilisations: A Critical Review'. *Tourism Planning & Development* 16(4): 358–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2019.1577293

OECD. 2015. 'The Metropolitan Century: Understanding Urbanisation and its Consequences'. OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264228733-en

Ojeda, Antonia B. and Maxime Kieffer. 2020. 'Touristification. Empty Concept or Element of Analysis in Tourism Geography?' *Geoforum* 115: 143–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.06.021

Pavelka, Joe. 2024. 'How Overcrowding Impacts the World's Tourism Hotspots'. The Conversation. 1 August. https://theconversation.com/how-overcrowding-impacts-the-worlds-tourism-hotspots-235319

Pinkster, Fenne M. and Willem R. Boterman. 2017. 'When the Spell is Broken: Gentrification, Urban Tourism and Privileged Discontent in the

Amsterdam Canal District'. *Cultural Geographies* 24(3): 457–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474017706176

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton University Press.

Sharpley, Richard and Philip R. Stone (eds). 2009. *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. Channel View Publications.

Spirou, Costas. 2011. *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. Routledge.

Taheri, Babak and Aliakbar Jafari. 2012. 'Museums as Playful Venues in the Leisure Society'. In *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*, edited by Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone. Routledge.

Trujillo, Jesus Leal and Joseph Parilla. 2016. 'Redefining Global Cities: The Seven Types of Global Metro Economies'. Global Cities Initiative. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/redefining-global-cities/

Urry, John. 1995. *Consuming Places*. Routledge.

Wachsmuth, David and Alexander Weisler. 2018. 'Airbnb and the Rent Gap: Gentrification Through the Sharing Economy'. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50(6): 1147–70. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X18778038

Chapter 1

Madrid: Region of Metropolitan Tourism in Transformation

María García Hernández and Manuel de la Calle Vaquero

Introduction

Madrid is one of the global cities of Southern Europe. The municipality of Madrid has 3.3 million inhabitants, and the whole metropolitan region has 7.5 million inhabitants. Madrid is also one of the major urban tourist destinations of Europe, with figures of tourists and overnight stays only lower than those of London, Paris, Berlin, Rome and Istanbul. Like these cities, the tourism profile of the destination of Madrid is associated with two characteristics in keeping with its condition as a conurbation. First is capital city tourism (Maitland 2014; Maitland and Ritchie 2009), related to the concentration of manifestations of political power and the apparatus of the state government prevailing since the birth of the nation state at the beginning of the modern age. Second is tourism with a metropolitan scope and functioning and a radius of influence that continues to grow due to improvements in the provision of fast transport infrastructures.

Research on metropolitan tourism in Spain is scarce and, in general terms, is aligned with the principal approaches to the phenomenon observed on an international level. On the one hand, metropolitan tourism is conceived as the most sophisticated form of urban tourism (Marchena Gómez 1995), limited to the largest and most complex cities. On the other hand, the research examines the production processes of the tourism spaces in large urban regions, generally associated with the expansion of tourism activity beyond the metropolitan centre (Arias Sans 2019; Crespi-Vallbona 2021; López Palomeque and Torres-Delgado 2019). There is abundant research on the tourism of Madrid, although the studies based on a metropolitan approach are scarce. Barrado Timón (2010) adopts this approach, for which the studies of Pearce on Paris

are taken as a reference (1998 and 2001). With a broader territorial perspective, Troitiño Vinuesa et al. (2001) acknowledge the existence of a functional tourism region that surpasses the boundaries of the administrative region. Troitiño Torralba (2012) adopts this territorial perspective, although focusing on cultural heritage sites.

Based on previous studies (Calle Vaquero et al. 2015), this chapter reflects on Madrid as a metropolitan tourist destination. It is structured into two large sections: the first refers to the territorial organisation of the larger metropolitan tourist region; and the second to the recent trends of the deployment of tourism activity across the different areas of the region. The central argument is the existence of two tourist flows that partially overlap: an external tourist flow, highly concentrated in the urban centre and the ultra-peripheral historical towns; and an internal tourist flow, the boundaries of which are blurred with everyday leisure activities. Although this internal flow implies that a good part of the regional territory has a recreational use, the tourism potential of Madrid is derived from the external flow, which led to the intensification of touristification in the metropolitan centre prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. This touristification, sometimes referred to as overtourism, is a phenomenon common to all the large tourist cities of Europe and is expected to continue growing in the coming years.

The Territorial Organisation of Metropolitan Tourism in Madrid

The Administrative and Functional Organisation of the Metropolitan Region of Madrid

From the **political-administrative** point of view, the place name of 'Madrid' refers to two territorial areas. First, the Region of Madrid (Comunidad de Madrid), an autonomous region or administrative region at the NUTS 2 level, with 8,030.88 km² and 6.7 million inhabitants distributed across 179 municipalities.[1] Second, the municipality of Madrid, which is the capital of Spain and the most important municipality of the region. It has an area of 605.77 km² and more than three million inhabitants. On an internal level, it is divided into twenty-one districts.

However, from the **functional** point of view, 'Madrid' constitutes a territory that surpasses the administrative boundaries of the autonomous region and includes spaces with very different characteristics.

- **The city centre of Madrid.** The city has one of the most extensive historical quarters of Spain due to the fact that it has been the capital since the sixteenth century. The central areas (basically the historical neighbourhoods of the modern age and the bourgeoisie extensions of the nineteenth century) still have important functions of centrality on an economic, institutional and symbolic-representative level. However, economic dynamism has dispersed economic activities towards the outer urban districts and also the urban agglomeration municipalities bordering Madrid. This makes the pattern of classical centripetal flows associated with the pendular movements of workers travelling from the periphery to the city centre more complex.
- **The urban peripheries.** The spaces on the edge of the municipality of Madrid correspond to thirteen municipalities that were annexed between 1948 and 1954. They are old rural nuclei that became consolidated throughout the second half of the twentieth century as residential or industrial peripheries that accommodated the immigrant population arriving in the capital in search of work. Although industrialisation processes have expelled many of these activities from these urban districts, in some of them logistics and service activities are growing.
- **The metropolitan area (also called the 'metropolitan crown').** An urban space constituting an almost continuous constructed area that includes the peripheries constructed in the second half of the twentieth century: first the municipalities adjacent to the capital; and then those adjacent to these, following the principal road links. Since the 1960s, the so-called first and second metropolitan crowns have been taking shape. The 'Atlas de la Comunidad de Madrid en el umbral del siglo XXI' assimilates the functional metropolitan area to these two crowns covering twenty-seven municipalities and a circular area of around 40 km in radius (1,935.97 km^2) with 5.6 million inhabitants (Comunidad de Madrid 2002).
- **The medium-sized historical towns in the metropolitan ultra-periphery.** These are a group of towns located between 50 and 100 km from the central city, with populations of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. In some cases, they are located inside the Region of Madrid, such as Aranjuez. Others are the capitals of neighbouring provinces, such as Ávila, Segovia, Guadalajara and Toledo. They have an extensive urban trajectory and stand out for their rich historical heritage. They have close functional relations

with the metropolitan centre based on a dense rail and road network. The urbanisation process expands outwards from the principal lines of this network in a radial form.

- **The interstitial territory.** The rest of the territory has much weaker levels of urbanisation. Therefore, natural and agricultural landscapes of notable value still remain. They form a large group of small municipalities (with less than 20,000 inhabitants) among which certain historical villages of historical value stand out (Navalcarnero, Chinchón, Buitrago de Lozoya, Torrelaguna, among others). Although some agricultural activities still persist, the current dynamics of these towns are marked by their progressive functional integration into the metropolitan region. They act as residential spaces for workers whose jobs are located in the more urbanised areas.

All of these areas make up a metropolitan functional region with blurred boundaries, defined based on the mobility for work, leisure and study of the population. Given that they do not correspond to an administrative entity, the extension and internal structure is subject to different interpretations. According to the City Council of Madrid (Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2014), this metropolitan region would have a population of 7.3 million inhabitants (data for 2012) distributed across 330 municipalities (all belonging to the Region of Madrid and another 179 of the other five bordering provinces). Solís Trapero (2008; Solís Trapero et al. 2012) defends the existence of a functional urban region of 6.2 million inhabitants (data of 2001) and 23,048 km^2, with a progressive polycentric nature. Although there is no consensus with respect to the dimensions and internal structure, there is agreement on two aspects: first, the absence of unitary territorial planning and management; and second, the importance of the transport system to guarantee the internal cohesion and progressive extension of the functional region.

The Metropolitan Tourism Region

Tourist Flows

The 'metropolitan Madrid' tourist destination operates in accordance with the different scale configurations of a complex operating area, although, as indicated, with no current legal planning. In fact, there is a large metropolitan tourism region that is shaped according to two tourism logics with differentiated spatial consumption patterns: that of inbound tourism, and that of internal tourism (Calle Vaquero et al. 2015).

Inbound tourism is particularly dynamic. Taking as a reference the political and administrative boundaries of the autonomous region (the territorial unit for which there are data), the Region of Madrid is an important node for attracting visitors. The figures prior to the pandemic were particularly significant. In 2019, the Region of Madrid received a total of 7.6 million foreign visitors (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE n.d.), with an average inter-annual growth rate of 11% from 2016. Also for 2019, the data of the *Encuesta de Turismo de Residentes* (INE n.d.) generated figures of inbound national tourism at 9.7 million trips, with a lower inter-annual growth rate of 3.1%. In short, and with a high degree of uncertainty in the estimate, it may be confirmed that the Region of Madrid receives a minimum of 12–14 million external visitors each year. On a spatial level, the principal destinations of the inbound tourist flows are the central area of the city of Madrid and the historical towns on the periphery and metropolitan ultra-periphery (all World Heritage Sites). However, the tourism potential of the central area is undeniable. In 2019, tourists staying in hotels in the city of Madrid represented 79% of the total tourists visiting the region. The growth dynamics of the city's urban tourism were stronger than the rest of the municipalities (+859,157 tourists between 2016 and 2019 in the city of Madrid, +299,844 tourists in the rest of the municipalities of the region).

The data for **domestic tourism** (that is, the data referring to the residents of the metropolitan region who travel within this territory) are much more difficult to obtain. According to the Residents Tourism Survey (INE n.d.), in 2019 the residents of the Region of Madrid made a total of 3,904,331 trips within the region. However, these data are limited and do not allow a realistic analysis to be conducted of the scope of the mobility for leisure tourism reasons of the population of Madrid. Therefore, in previous studies (Calle Vaquero et al. 2015), ad hoc field studies were designed (household surveys were carried out in 2008 and 2009) and mobility surveys (MOVILA) were used. The results of the household surveys carried out among the inhabitants of the Region of Madrid revealed that in 2008 the displacements related to metropolitan tourism accounted for 38% (13.81% within the region and 23.84% to the bordering provinces of Ávila, Segovia, Guadalajara, Cuenca and Toledo), and in 2009 they accounted for 37% (12.36% within the region and 25.18% to the bordering provinces). In both cases, within the Region of Madrid the internal displacements were distributed between the Sierra, where a good part of the second homes of the region are located (municipalities of Cercedilla, Navacerrada, Rascafría), the historical World Heritage towns (Aranjuez, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Alcalá de Henares) and the city of Madrid, which

constituted a major excursion destination for the population residing in the rest of the regional territory.

This group of data reveals a complex internal tourism with blurred boundaries between non-forced everyday mobility and proximity tourism displacements (Calle Vaquero et al. 2015). Quantitatively, the largest flow corresponds to excursions. The second largest component of the internal flow corresponds to the displacements associated with second homes, which include overnight stays. The third component refers to those displacements with overnight stays away from the place of residence in commercial tourism establishments (hotels, rural houses and so on). This is the minority flow and also the least known, but probably the business nucleus of accommodation located outside of the city of Madrid. This represents another way of consuming the territory of the region, in terms of leisure activities framed within a proximity tourism that extends across the provinces of the area, although it is not comparable in quantitative terms with the travel preferences of the population of Madrid, who mostly prefer to visit territories outside of their region (+60%) (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Spatial Configuration

The distribution of foreign visitors (inbound tourism) and citizens of Madrid (domestic tourism) across the territory enables us to differentiate a series of tourism leisure spaces that function in a metropolitan sense. The resulting spatial model adjusts, partially, to the distribution models of those leisure

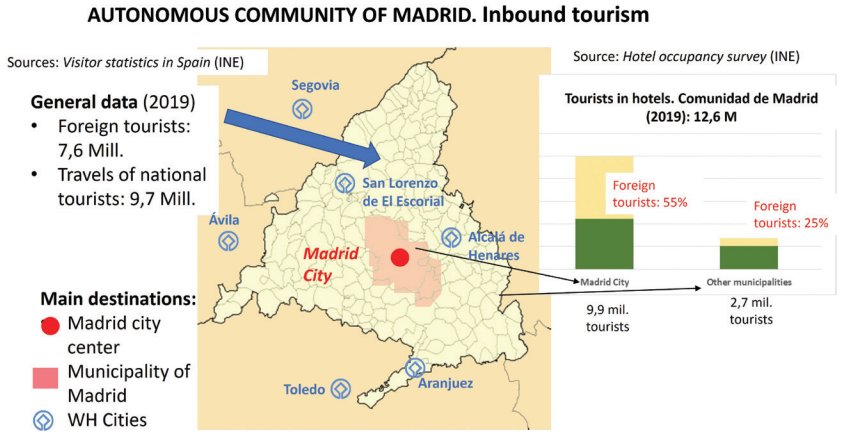


Figure 1.1 Tourist flows in the Community of Madrid.

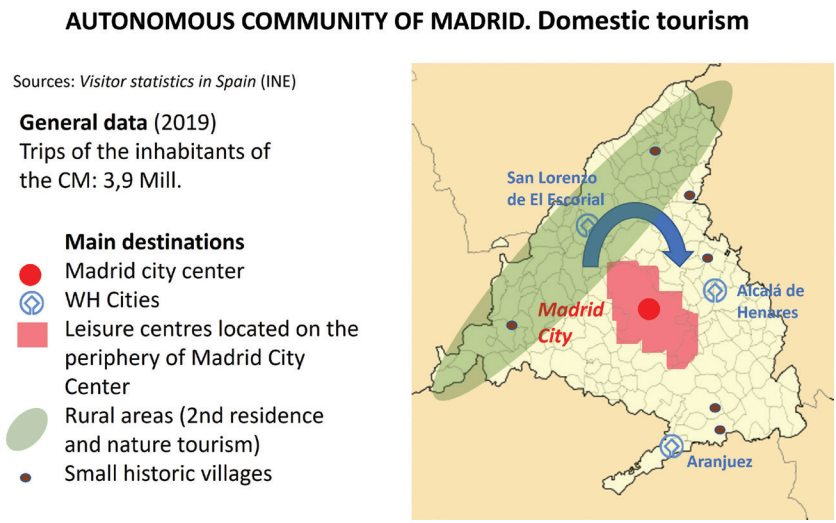


Figure 1.2 Tourist flows in the Community of Madrid.
(*Source:* Authors' own)

travels performed in urban spaces and its influence areas, already theorised by authors such as Hall (2005). On the map of the tourism region (Figure 1.3), it is possible to differentiate four types of tourism territories in accordance with their greater or lesser connection with inbound tourism, foreign tourism or internal tourism, but also according to their level of tourism development (Calle Vaquero et al. 2015).

1. *The city centre of Madrid*

The attractiveness of the centre projects the capital as one of the principal urban tourist destinations in Europe (Troitiño Vinuesa and Troitiño Torralba 2018). It is a place that can be enjoyed on a short trip and is favoured by a growing accessibility on both a national and international level. As well as external tourists, the city also functions as a privileged leisure space for the resident and non-resident populations of the municipality, within a 'continuum' between everyday leisure and tourism leisure. Within the city, the tourism footprint is concentrated around Gran Vía–Puerta del Sol–Plaza Mayor–Palacio Real, and Paseo del Prado–Retiro–Santiago Bernabéu Stadium, with extensions associated with specific segments, such as Chueca in relation to LGBT tourism or calle de Serrano for shopping. In certain sectors of these spaces, the affluence due to leisure is so large that its functional balance is placed in danger, as

is the safeguarding of heritage elements (Valenzuela Rubio 1999; Valenzuela and Hidalgo 2010) as living historical landscapes (Calle 2020).

2. Leisure-tourism centres in urban peripheries

As the city has grown in size, a broad group of peripheries with diverse profiles has emerged that have recently incorporated areas specialising in leisure and tourism. On an administrative level, these peripheries are integrated both within the municipality of Madrid (in the most external districts) and the surrounding municipalities, expanding along the radial network of high-capacity roads (A-1 to A-6) and, more recently, along the orbital roads (M-45, M-50). Large complexes with a unitary design have been built along these roads that combine retail and leisure establishments in different measures (Barrado Timón 2006). Their radius of action far exceeds the municipality where they are located, although their degree of penetration in the foreign market depends on the uniqueness of the product that they offer. However, in general, and despite the initial intention of their promoters, their incorporation into the external tourism market is limited. The tourism activation of the periphery of Madrid also includes spaces for developing business tourism (the IFEMA exhibition centres, for example) and the hotels that have been built around the large centres of activity (Ciudad de la Imagen, and so on). Municipalities of the metropolitan periphery such as Getafe, Alcobendas, Las Rozas and San Sebastián de los Reyes exceed the regulated one thousand accommodation places that are used mainly by business tourists, one of the central components of a post-industrial metropolis (Valenzuela Rubio 1992).

3. Monumental towns that have become nuclei for day trips

At a greater distance from the centre of the metropolitan agglomeration, we can find a series of towns with a strong heritage hallmark. In terms of leisure tourism, they operate as secondary nodes, excursion destinations both for the resident population in the metropolitan areas and for the tourists staying in the city of Madrid and surrounding areas. Within the urban hierarchy, the most important towns combine overnight tourism with day trippers from Madrid, either national or foreign. They are classic heritage tourism destinations, such as Alcalá de Henares, Ávila, Cuenca, Segovia and, most of all, Toledo, the object of many specific studies (Escudero Gómez 2018; Troitiño Vinuesa et al. 1998; Troitiño Vinuesa and Troitiño Torralba 2009; Zárate Martín 2007) and included in the World Heritage List. On a second level are the Reales Sitios de Aranjuez and San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Martín et al. 2021; Mínguez García 2007; Troitiño Vinuesa 2002), also World

Heritage Sites. And on a third level, we can find a broad group of small, monumental villages, such as Buitrago de Lozoya, Chinchón, Colmenar de Oreja, Navalcarnero, Nuevo Baztán and Torrelaguna, almost exclusively related to flows of internal tourism.

4. The rural territory and the ENPs

One of the first forms of tourist colonisation of the less urbanised territory was the building of second homes by the inhabitants of the city centre (Brandis García 2012; Valenzuela Rubio 2003). Although many of these homes have been transformed into principal residences, it is still possible to clearly identify certain areas where this form of tourism urbanisation is prevalent. According to the data of the 2011 census, there are seventeen municipalities in the Region of Madrid that have more than one thousand second homes, and these represent more than 25% of the housing stock. In addition to second homes, this part of the territory functions as a space for receiving alternative types of leisure for the population of the urban areas (Barrado Timón 1997; 1999): ski resorts (Valdesquí, La Pinilla), horse riding centres, adventure parks, farm schools and many more. The countryside, understood as non-urbanised areas whether natural or rural, is the object of highly intensive recreational use, based on activities with a long tradition, such as hunting, fishing or hiking, and others that are much more recent, such as popular races and mountain bike routes (Mínguez et al. 2016). Secondary residences and periurban leisure activities are present in the least urbanised spaces. However, they are more prominent in mountainous areas, particularly in the Sierra de Guadarrama. The small municipalities in the Sierra Norte display the highest levels of specialisation in leisure and tourism, given the weakness of their production structure.

Dynamics and Recent Changes in the Functioning of the Metropolitan Tourism Region

In recent years, there has been a series of changes that have a bearing on the functioning of the metropolitan tourism region at different levels. In general terms, it is possible to identify two situations with tourism dynamics that have a different rhythm and scope:

1. A tourism dynamics of accelerated change related to external tourism flows that fundamentally affects the city of Madrid.

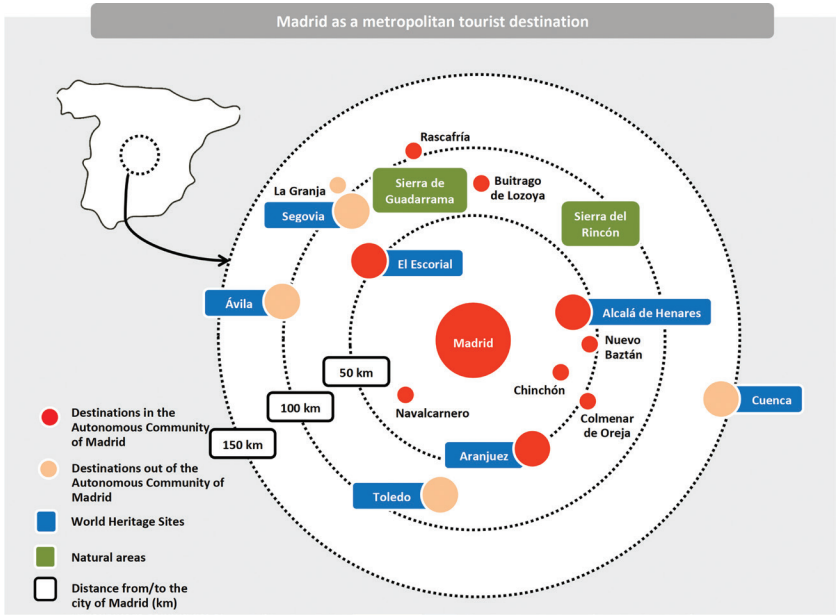


Figure 1.3 The metropolitan tourist region of Madrid.
(*Source:* Authors' own)

2. A situation of sluggishness or inertia that maintains the classic tourism profile of the heritage destinations of the region and the territories related to the consumption of internal tourism leisure (natural spaces, monumental villages, the rural world and municipalities with second homes).

Inbound Tourism: A Vector of Dynamic Change in the City Centre

In the city of Madrid, the focal point of the metropolitan tourism region, recent tourism dynamics have led to significant changes on morphological and functional levels. These changes are basically related to the phase of overtourism (2016–2019) and are explained by the succession of several tourism cycles defined not only in accordance with the economic situation and global dynamics of tourism, but also by the orientation of local policy and the responses to the evolution of the economy and tourism in the city (Figure 1.4). During the years prior to the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, the external tourism flows (particularly those related to foreign tourism) experienced dizzying

growth in the city of Madrid: +1,547,204 visitors staying in hotels in 2019 with respect to 2013, which represents a relative growth of +20% and +25% in the case of foreign visitors (INE n.d.). This was the result of an expansive international tourism cycle (global trends) driven by a local policy that favoured growth and that was still marked by the search for responses to the effects of the Great Recession under the mayoral terms of A. Ruiz Gallardón and Ana Botella. Tourism was a thriving economic sector that had to be supported within the overall context of economic crisis that was affecting the city (2008–2014). From 2015, as well as the quantitative growth of the external visitor flows, important qualitative changes could be observed related to the generalisation of the platform economy that favoured, among other new phenomena, the emergence of housing for tourism use and its rapid expansion, but also the emergence of new business formats that affected the nature of tourism activity in the city (free tours, Segway visits, guided tours on bicycles, hostels and so on).

Somewhat later than in other large urban tourism destinations, such as Amsterdam, Venice or the city of Barcelona, in Madrid the first voices critical of phenomena such as the increase in rent prices and the touristification and gentrification processes from the centre of the city began to be heard (Calle and García 2020; Gil and Sequera 2018). These phenomena were accompanied by an incipient feeling of 'tourismphobia' channelled by neighbourhood associations and reported by social media (Velasco González and Ruano 2021; Velasco González and Carrillo Barroso 2021) and the academic world (Calle 2019; Milano 2018; Huete Nieves and Mantecón Terán 2018; Cabrerizo 2016). Between 2015 and 2019, the municipal government of Manuela Carmena, which formed part of the so-called 'governments of change' in Spain, opened a line of study on the impact of tourism on the central spaces, highly focused on the need to regulate accommodation in the city, particularly housing for tourism use. Tourism was no longer an opportunity for Madrid and appeared on the political agenda as a problem that had to be managed (Velasco González et al. 2019). However, in 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic paralysed tourism activity and a new cycle began, marked by a political discourse that encouraged the recovery of the activity and aggressive strategies to promote Madrid as a 'safe-health destination'.

In relation to this recent tourism evolution, a series of dynamics have flourished that, before the COVID-19 health crisis, gave rise to interesting research questions that are pending modification, or not, depending on the evolution of the pandemic and subsequent tourism activity.

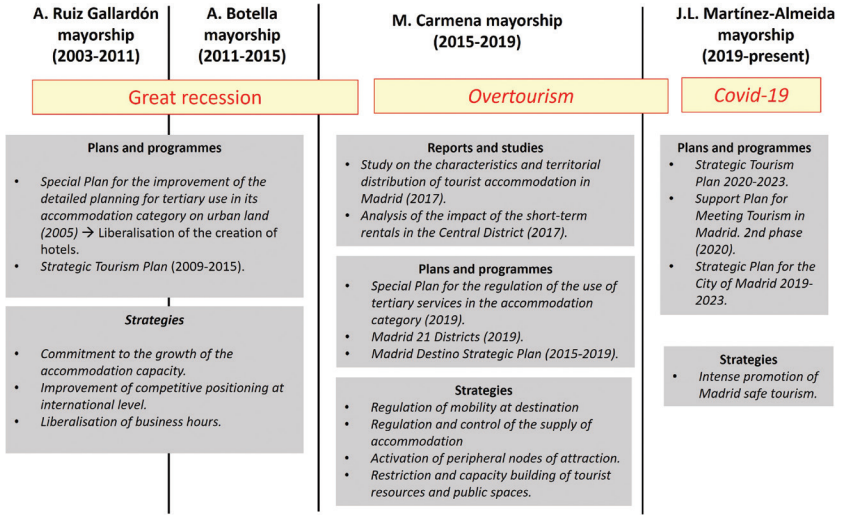


Figure 1.4 Madrid: tourism cycles and local tourism policy (twenty-first century). (*Source:* Authors' own)

One of the processes with the greatest impact on morphological and functional levels in the city has been the **growth of accommodation supply**, both of the regulated supply and the supply of tourist rental housing marketed through platforms. For 2015, the City Council of Madrid (Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2016) estimated a regulated supply formed by 1,147 establishments, 54,134 rooms and 81,765 beds. With respect to the year 2000, these figures had increased by 45% in terms of the number of establishments and 82% in rooms, with a notable growth in the average size of the establishments. In fact, over the last few years, the accommodation sector has been one of the main players in the real estate dynamics of the historical centre of the city where changes in the use of plots (from residential to hotel) have been frequent, which has even affected buildings provided with some degree of protection. High-class hotels have been established as part of emblematic operations, such as the case of the Canalejas block and the reform of the Plaza de España. However, there has also been intense growth in other accommodation types which, until recent years, were in the minority in Madrid, such as 'boutique hotels', apartment buildings for tourist rental, hostels taking up one or more floors in each building and properties for tourism use.

The properties for tourism use, whose growth is due to the direct action of peer-to-peer platforms such as Airbnb, have undoubtedly triggered the

greatest impact on economic, social and functional levels. As in other cities, they constitute a cause of conflict between the opposing interests of hotels, local government and neighbours (Gil and Sequera 2018; Ardura Urquiaga et al. 2019; Martínez-Caldentey et al. 2020). This kind of accommodation is fluid, it easily adapts to fluctuations in demand and is highly irregular in its functioning, which makes it extremely difficult to quantify and characterise. Inside Airbnb estimates that there were 16,313 VUTs (vivienda uso turístico [housing for tourist use]) in Madrid (data for 2018), of which approximately half (8,474) were located in the central district. In addition to this concentration in the central space of the city, their dynamism is particularly noteworthy. Studies carried out by the Municipal Board of the Central District (Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2017) estimate that the 1,539 people who stayed in this type of accommodation in 2011 had risen to 216,391 in 2016, and this was only considering reservations made through Airbnb.

This overall growth in the accommodation sector has given rise to a phenomenon of the 'hotelisation' of the central spaces of Madrid, converting it into the spearhead of the tourism tertiarisation or touristification processes that affect particularly intensely the residential function (Gago García et al. 2017). Although the data for the evolution of the resident population are still not conclusive, a growth in sale and rental prices has been recorded that favours the displacement of residents towards more peripheral areas. This situation mostly affects rented properties, which are changing from conventional renting to faster tourist renting. In addition, the expansion of this type of accommodation generates cohabitation problems in neighbourhood communities, which reinforces the residential displacement trend (Cabrerizo 2016) and intensifies the gentrification processes observed in neighbourhoods such as Malasaña, Chueca and the Letras district (Sequera and Janoschka 2015). However, on a tourism level, the emergence of housing for tourist use and its marketing on peer-to-peer platforms raises an interesting question that has not been studied in depth; are the properties for tourist use a factor that leads to the concentration of tourism in the city centre, or do they allow a better territorial distribution of the tourist flows? Although it is true that the majority of the supply has been concentrated in the urban centre (Figure 1.5), the emergence of supply in neighbourhoods far removed from tourism activity contributes to the extension of the tourism footprint.

In Madrid, the extension of the tourism footprint beyond the beaten track is taking two directions. First, it has led to tourism tertiarisation of the residential neighbourhoods of the historical centre unrelated to tourism to date.

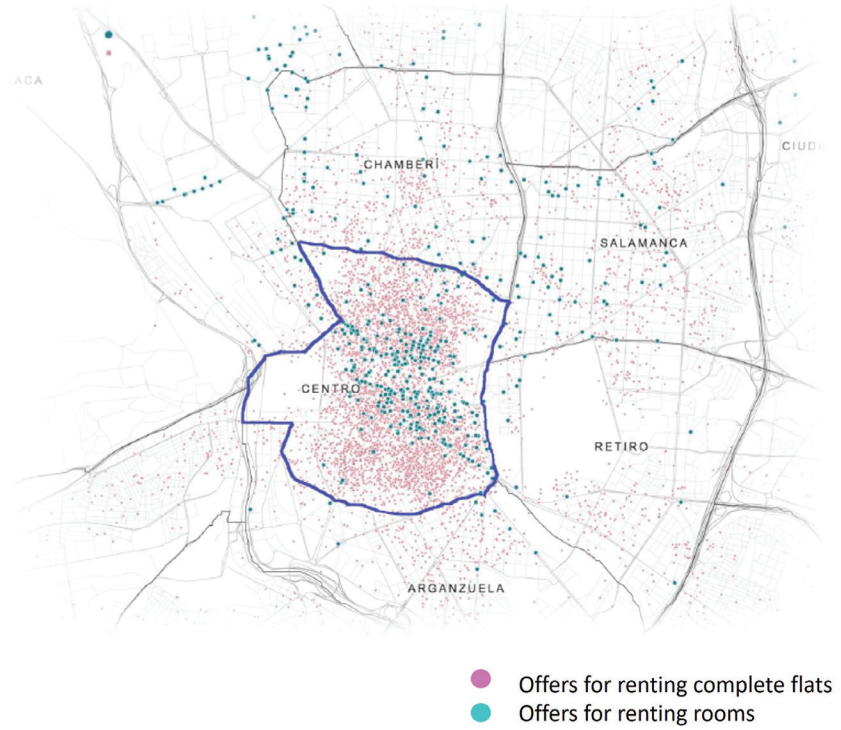


Figure 1.5 Spatial distribution of the Airbnb supply in the city of Madrid (data for 2015).
(*Source:* Ayuntamiento de Madrid (2017). Elaborated based on the data of Inside Airbnb.)
Note: The perimeter of the central district is marked with a blue line.

Malasaña, Lavapiés and the Letras district are representative examples. In these neighbourhoods we can observe intense touristification processes triggered by the convergence of at least four factors:

a. The dynamics of the tourism sector, with the purchase of real estate, particularly to open tourist apartments.
b. The interests of some private owners in favour of tourist rentals (due to the income differential with respect to conventional renting).
c. The gentrification induced by new residents (hipsters, contemporaries) who open 'cool' businesses (shops, bars and restaurants, but also art galleries, co-working spaces or artistic

co-creation spaces), which attract users from outside the neighbourhood.

d. The penetration of a type of 'untouristy' tourist who wishes to come into contact with local reality and not use the most frequented and conventional tourism spaces. In fact, these neighbourhoods appear in websites, blogs, social networks and even institutional tourism promotion as the 'real' city with genuine life, ideal for these new visitors: the tourists who do not want to be tourists.

The scope of the processes caused by the extension of the tourism footprint into these neighbourhoods (touristification, gentrification, tourism tertiarisation) was the object of a heated debate on social and academic levels in the years preceding the pandemic (Crespi-Vallbona and Domínguez-Pérez 2021).

Second, the extension of the tourism footprint is also related to a municipal tourism policy that was particularly active during the mandate of the left-wing government (2015–2019), which contemplated the need to diversify tourism use of the city. During this period, different actions were carried out to dignify the peripheral neighbourhoods, giving continuity to some prior but stalled projects. 'Madrid 21 distritos' was the most emblematic project in this respect: a series of communication actions and a cultural programme that sought to extend leisure and tourism beyond the central spaces. As a whole, it was an institutional strategy (top-down) with the objective of creating cultural life and tourism activity in all districts of the city. Although the extension of the tourism footprint to these spaces is in the early stages, there are projects that have had a certain level of projection, such as the cultural space of the Matadero (in the district of Arganzuela, beside the southernmost point of the central neighbourhoods) or the projection of Usera as Madrid's Chinatown based on the programming of events related to Chinese culture (an ethnic group established in the neighbourhood for twenty years).

Finally, it is worth pointing out the offsetting effects of the improvement in transport systems (high-capacity roads, high-speed trains, metropolitan public transport connections, for example) in the shaping of the urban/metropolitan destination. Road and public transport connections have disseminated the establishment of hotels and large business centres, trade fairs and conventions around high-accessibility nodes (such as the area of Barajas international airport, and the railway stations of Atocha and Chamartin) and in some of the nuclei of industrial activity and services of the metropolitan periphery. Around the road axes and head offices of the large business corporations displaced to the municipalities of the metropolitan area (Alcobendas,

San Sebastián de Los Reyes, Las Rozas, municipalities of the Henares corridor) a hotel supply has formed, which serves business tourism and MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions) tourism. This has resulted in a spatial dispersion of activity related to these tourism segments formerly concentrated in the traditional business district of Madrid located around the Castellana.

However, at the same time, the radial layout of the network has reinforced the tourism-recreational centrality of the city of Madrid, increasing displacements for leisure and shopping from the periphery to the centre. The principal shopping streets of the historical centre and its extension (*ensanche*) reinforce its position despite the change in the commercial paradigm related to the increase in online shopping.[2] In the city centre we can find the flagship stores of global brands and also clearly tourist-oriented establishments occupying a good part of the premises in the historical centre, replacing traditional retailers. Also striking is the overwhelming offer of eating establishments. In the neighbourhoods of the Almendra Central, there has been an increase in the number of bars and restaurants, establishments of supposedly typical food and global brand chains, easily recognised by the visitors (Starbucks, for example); terraces occupy a significant part of the public space in the most popular tourist spots; bars and food shops offer 'takeaway' services. These processes affect a sector that is undergoing a profound mutation, in which the function of daily supply is being lost to a greater sophistication in the establishments and products. The municipal food markets reflect this change well (Crespi-Vallbona and Domínguez-Pérez 2021; García Henche 2017) within an overall process of 'gourmetisation' in which tourism is always present. As a consequence of all of this, a re-centralisation process is taking place, which increases the pressure on the spaces of the urban centre, the symbolic reference of the city that attracts tourists and residents of the metropolitan area.

Within this context, the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic led to the almost absolute paralysis of tourism activity, shifting immediately from a situation of overtourism to one of undertourism. The restrictive measures on international mobility, the feeling of a lack of health safety and the fear of contagion significantly affected inbound tourism (particularly from abroad). Despite the efforts of the regional and municipal governments to keep open leisure establishments and cultural activities, although with restrictions and capacity limits, the collapse of tourism activity directly affected the city centre. The activity of business and MICE tourism was the most restricted. In fact, both of these segments seem to be displaying the most uncertain reactivation due to reduction in mobility and the generalisation of remote working

and meetings through video calls. Hotels and housing for tourist use suffered the consequences of this period of under tourism the most, while for the restaurant sector the internal demand of residents of the metropolitan area partly compensated for the lack of external customers (Hosteltur 2020). For now, and despite the low levels of activity, the voracity of transnational capital (global) still sees an important business niche in the hotel sector. Some investors, not always related to accommodation activity, became the owners of large hotels in Madrid in the year 2021. They include international investment funds, financial entities and business management corporations unconnected to tourism who see in hotels a model of recurrent income, although they will have to wait until after the pandemic in order to receive it. Luxury hotels in Madrid, such as the Madrid Edition hotel, the Four Seasons hotel, the Palace hotel and the Mandarin Oriental Ritz are already in the hands of this type of new owner (Bolinches 2022).

Domestic Tourism and Regional Periphery

Unlike the dynamism of tourism in the city of Madrid, the tourist destinations of the metropolitan periphery, mainly related to internal tourism, display a more pronounced sluggishness or inertia. In general, the classic tourism profile of the large heritage destinations of the region and the territories related to internal leisure-tourism consumption (natural spaces, monumental villages, the rural world and municipalities with second homes) has been maintained, although during the years prior to the pandemic, tourist flows also increased within the metropolitan tourist region.

The flows of day trippers predominate this context, as it is mainly based on leisure activities in nature or visits to the monumental villages and historical towns of bordering provinces. Although no precise visitor data are available, the Regional Government of Madrid estimated a total volume of 6.7 million visits to the protected natural spaces of the region in 2019 (4.2 million in the three regional parks and 2.5 million to Guadarrama national park, which is the second most visited park in Spain after the Teide national park in the Canary Islands [Comunidad de Madrid 2020]). The information available on tourist visits to monumental villages in the region is even less precise; there is hardly any data regarding the evolution of their tourist demand. Overall, they are destinations that attract purely day trippers, receiving a moderate volume of visits, although they experience occasional problems of tourist saturation due to the concentration of visitors on certain public holidays throughout the year. Meanwhile, Aranjuez, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

and Alcalá de Henares (the world heritage sites of the Region of Madrid) attract large flows of internal tourism but also international visitors (particularly El Escorial). The available pre-pandemic data (2019) records 471,800 annual visitors to the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 213,000 to the royal palace of Aranjuez and 158,300 to the Cervantes Birthplace Museum in Alcalá de Henares. Finally, the World Heritage cities of Ávila, Toledo and Segovia, located outside the Region of Madrid but within a radius of 100 km, are destinations related to tourist flows originating in the city of Madrid and its immediate urban area of influence. In 2019, Toledo estimated annual tourist numbers of two million visitors, half from abroad and with a high percentage (70%) of day trippers (García Villota 2021). In Segovia, the local press also referred to two million annual visitors in 2019, although in this city the figures of day trippers are overwhelming (95%) with barely one hundred thousand overnight visits in the hotels of the city during this year.[3] In Ávila, the overall visitor figures are more modest, although the town is also an important heritage tourism destination, which triples the number of overnight visitors of Segovia. In 2019, this city received around 800,000 visits (of which approximately 63% were day trippers), and the majority were Spanish (only 15% were foreign). In general, the pre-pandemic tourism dynamics were positive in terms of the growth in the number of visitors, both in natural spaces and heritage tourism destinations. The local press echoed the record figures of 2019 within a context of overall growth of tourist mobility related to inbound tourism and internal tourism within the metropolitan region (Prodestur Segovia Turismo n.d.).

However, this context has been the object of a tourism policy that has been a short-term strategy compared to the public action of the municipality of Madrid in the field. This policy is marked by the tourism strategy of the regional government (Region of Madrid), the capacity for action of the local governments, and the activities of the local action groups that lead the local development strategies in the rural world. The regional government has been contemplating different plans and programmes, such as the 'Estrategia de Turismo de la Comunidad Madrid 2016–2019' (Comunidad de Madrid 2016). They contemplate a tourism activation strategy for the periphery of the region, basically focusing on communication, promotion and creation actions, and those for promoting products and destinations. The communication strategies are fundamentally focused on internal tourism with campaigns with slogans such as 'Leave and stay', clearly alluding to the promotion of internal tourism consumption in the region. Product creation is centred on the segments of cultural and heritage tourism, nature tourism, active tourism,

cycle tourism, gastronomic tourism and enotourism. In this respect, the most emblematic recent actions have been the following:

1. The programme 'Turismo en las Villas de Madrid', involving the design and development of an app to promote visits to small towns (fewer than twenty thousand inhabitants) with a historical/cultural heritage.[4]
2. The programme 'Ciclamadrid', directed at promoting the tourism-recreational use of cycle lanes throughout the region of Madrid. The programme proposes plans for taking 'cycling holidays', 'cyclist routes during the holidays in Madrid' and 'cycle trips for the resident population'.
3. The promotion of the Plan de Yacimientos Visitables [plan of visitable archaeological sites] of the Region of Madrid. This plan was implemented in 2003 by the Directorate General of Historical Heritage of the regional government so as to prepare for tourist visits to some of the most important archaeological sites of the region, until now unknown by residents and visitors.

In parallel with the regional government initiative, the actions of the local governments of the rural world also undertake very traditional tasks. Local governments and action groups on a county level make considerable efforts to organise basic tourist information services in their territories and to create tourist products: opening small museums and interpretation centres, the preparation of archaeological sites, signage for hiking and cycle routes, the promotion of gastronomic tourism and the wines of the region. However, and despite the efforts made, they hardly capture the attention of inbound tourism. The destinations on the metropolitan periphery, particularly those connected to the rural and natural environment, are not competitive with respect to other territories with greater potential.

Within this context, the pandemic has had a favourable impact. In fact, after the early stages when the population was locked down, it favoured internal tourism in the metropolitan region. Within a context of very tight mobility restrictions and a widespread fear of crowded places, noteworthy growth was experienced by tourism within the region in 2020 and 2021. In some sense, COVID-19 has broken the sluggishness and has triggered an 'overtourism cycle' in the periphery of the metropolitan tourism region. It has been a period of splendour for proximity tourism with fuzzy boundaries with everyday leisure, with problems of saturation in certain rural and natural spaces indicated in the media and through the opinions of local managers. Overflowing

car parks in the protected natural spaces of the Sierra and traffic jams in the access to small, monumental rural municipalities have been a constant feature at weekends and during short festive periods over the last two years.

Final Reflections: Permanencies and Changes in the Operations of Metropolitan Tourism

The spatial structure of Madrid's tourism region has adapted, at least partly, to the distribution models of leisure trips in urban areas and their areas of influence theorised by authors such as Hall (2005). These models refer to different areas with a radial-concentric layout:

1. A leisure area in the centre of the city, with an abundant supply of all types of establishments.
2. Recreational centres located on the outskirts; also hotels and other spaces for business tourism.
3. A periurban area for day trips, with restaurants, horseriding facilities and so on.
4. An area for overnight stays in second homes, weekend breaks to heritage spaces or natural areas, and so on.

In accordance with these models, as the distance from the urban centre increases, the number of pleasure trips decreases together with the overnight stays associated with external tourism. On the other hand, the majority of overnight stays of residents of the urban area are recorded in a series of locations at a certain distance. As indicated throughout the text, in Madrid this spatial structure is derived from the uneven overlapping between the external tourism flows and those of internal tourism, the former more concentrated in a series of large tourist nodes and the latter more distributed across the whole of the regional territory.

The basic operational scheme of the metropolitan tourism region has hardly been modified. However, within an overall context of permanence, a series of changes can be observed, caused by both the territorial dynamics of the region and the transformations that are taking place in the leisure and tourism conglomerate. Sometimes, these transformations have a wide scope; at other times they are more related to circumstantial situations, such as the COVID-19 crisis, the impact of which has still not been sufficiently measured.

During the years prior to the outbreak of the pandemic, the urban centre was particularly reinforced as the heart of the tourist metropolis. The growth

in the external flows was concentrated in this space but also the leisure trips of the population of an urban region that was gradually extending its boundaries. The city is an entertainment machine (Clark 2011), and in Spanish cities the centre is its heart. And its importance has increased over the last two decades. As in the case of other European cities, these central spaces have been subject to a series of problems classified under the term 'overtourism', although often the tourism pressure is joined with the pressure of the metropolitan population who visit these areas for leisure reasons. In any event, the processes of overcrowding and the expansion of off-the-beaten-track tourist and leisure activities led to the increase in tourism conflict in some of these areas, giving rise to the incorporation of tourism in the political agenda in negative terms.

Within the urban continuum that forms part of the nucleus of the metropolitan region, the monocentric structure has become blurred by the development of secondary nodes where activities and functions previously restricted to the city centre have been established. The leisure and tourism supply of these emerging centres is noteworthy, although uneven. On the one hand, the large leisure and commercial centres account for a large part of the leisure offer for the population of Madrid, with ranks of attraction for certain very unique establishments that can even surpass the boundaries of the administrative region. Therefore, the former centre–periphery relations have become more complex, with the emergence of movements for leisure reasons from the centre to the periphery and between different sectors of the periphery. On the other hand, business tourism has followed the trajectory of the diffusion of the business centres, basically office parks within the urban continuum. Many of the congress and trade fair centres are located some way from the traditional centre. In parallel, hotels have been constructed in the business parks and areas around Barajas airport and the main roads. The interest of tourists, particularly foreign tourists, in the former peripheries of the city centre is still very limited, basically restricted to unique centres such as Las Rozas Village (a luxury outlet shopping centre) or the hotels that take advantage of the absence of their usual business clients at weekends to capture, through pricing, tourists who are travelling for pleasure. This group of nodes connected to leisure and tourism have become spaces for the concentration of employment and activity, new centres in the urban continuum that favour the growth of mobility in private vehicles, leading to the development of new residential areas.

The third significant process before the pandemic was the progressive expansion of the boundaries of the metropolitan tourism region. This extension was the result of the improvement in internal transport infrastructure

and services, reducing travel times. This favours the mobility of tourists associated with the external flow but also of residents in their leisure trips. The fewer restrictions in terms of movement for this reason have led to the expansion of the region, in the sense of a widening of its borders, in non-working periods, in such a way that a series of spaces have been incorporated into the area of daily mobility. Therefore, second residences have become first homes. On another level, the nodes that have traditionally had a greater external tourism projection have also been affected by the changes in the functioning of the region. Mature tourist destinations such as Aranjuez and San Lorenzo de El Escorial compete with newly emerging leisure spaces, such as large retail parks. Furthermore, the improvement in transport systems means that a good part of the population of these municipalities and others within and outside the Region of Madrid is using the central area of the region as a leisure space. However, the extent to which tourists opt to stay in cities such as Ávila, Segovia or Toledo and, from there, visit the city of Madrid in a day trip has yet to be seen. This would represent a step forward in the shaping of a much more complex and balanced metropolitan tourist region.

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in the spring of 2020 represented a radical alteration of the fundamental tourism model. After a few months of 'zero tourism', a situation arose that contradicted the processes that were being implemented. The tourism crisis particularly affected the urban centre and overtourism became undertourism in a very short space of time. It was an unprecedented situation, as there was a lack of both tourists and residents in the urban region, who associated the centre with overcrowding, massification and, therefore, greater possibilities of infection. On the other hand, these residents visited en masse the peripheral spaces of the Region of Madrid (natural areas, small heritage towns and so on), which suffered considerable problems of overtourism and even the rejection by the local population of visitors, also due to the fear of contagion.

Since the most severe months of the pandemic, the situation has gradually improved. In 2023, visitor numbers have already exceeded those of 2019, even among foreign visitors. The evidence indicates that the pre-COVID urban and tourism processes will resume, particularly the intensification of the pressure on the centre, the increase in touristification and a greater expansion of housing for tourist use. However, the COVID-19 crisis has shown the vulnerability of the urban tourism project to unpredictable events. Therefore, the research agenda in metropolitan tourism or on tourist metropolises will have to analyse permanencies and profound changes but also unexpected crisis situations in a comparative research context.

Notes

1. NUTS is the abbreviation for *Nomenclature des unités territoriales statistiques* [Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics]. It is a hierarchical system for dividing the territory of the European Union for statistical purposes and the distribution of cohesion funds. There are three levels: NUTS 1, 2 and 3. In Spain, level 2 corresponds to the autonomous regions: a geographical region with an established administrative authority.
2. *Ensanche* [expansion] refers to the nineteenth-century bourgeois neighbourhood.
3. Segovia received two million visitors in 2009 (Martín 2020).
4. http://www.villasdemadrid.com/villasdemadrid/

Bibliography

Ardura Urquiaga, Álvaro, Iñigo Lorente Riverola, Immaculada Mohíno Sanz and Javier Ruiz Sánchez. 2019. '"No estamos tan mal como Barcelona": análisis de la proliferación y regulación de las viviendas de uso turístico en Madrid y Barcelona'. *BAGE: Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 83: 2828. https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2828

Arias Sans, Albert. 2019. 'Turisme i metròpoli. Reflexions per a una agenda integrada'. *Papers: Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona* 62: 10–19.

Ayuntamiento de Madrid. 2014. 'Dimensión territorial y socioeconómica de la región metropolitana de Madrid'. In 'Barómetro de Economía de la ciudad de Madrid' 39, primer trimestre 2014, 105–30. https://www.madrid.es/UnidadesDescentralizadas/UDCObservEconomico/BarometroEconomia/2014/Primer%20trimestre/Ficheros/b39%20monografico%20region%20metropolitana.pdf

Ayuntamiento de Madrid. 2016. 'La Oferta de Alojamiento Turístico en Madrid. Características y Distribución Territorial'. Área de Gobierno de Desarrollo Urbano Sostenible, Ayuntamiento de Madrid.

Ayuntamiento de Madrid. 2017. 'Análisis del impacto de las viviendas de uso turístico en el Distrito Centro'. RED2RED Consultores.

Barrado Timón, Diego A. 1997. 'Los espacios naturales de Madrid: potencialidades y riesgos para los usos recreativos de cercanías'. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 17: 195–208.

Barrado Timón, Diego A. 1999. *Actividades de ocio y recreativas en el medio natural de la Comunidad de Madrid: la ciudad a la búsqueda de la naturaleza*. Comunidad de Madrid.

Barrado Timón, Diego A. 2006. 'Nuevas centralidades terciarias periféricas y grandes equipamientos turísticos: el caso del área metropolitana de Madrid'. In *Actas Turismo y Ciudad*, edited by Guillermo Morales Matos, 240–47. Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles.

Barrado Timón, Diego A. 2010. 'Gran ciudad y turismo en la transición postindustrial: nuevos y viejos procesos, nuevas y viejas teorías. El ejemplo del área metropolitana de Madrid'. *Scripta Nova* 14.

Bolinches, Cristina G. 2022. 'Los hoteles cambian de manos: fondos, bancos y algún clásico de la élite empresarial'. El Diario. 12 January. https://www.eldiario.es/economia/hoteles-cambian-manos-fondos-bancos-clasico-elite-empresarial_1_8649134.html

Brandis, Dolores. 2012. 'La vivienda secundaria como forma de alojamiento turístico en la Comunidad de Madrid (1970–2010): una aproximación'. *Polígonos* 23: 147–49. https://doi.org/10.18002/pol.voi23.554

Cabrerizo, China C. 2016. *La ciudad negocio: Turismo y movilización social en pugna*. Cisma.

Calle Vaquero, Manuel de la. 2019. 'Turistificación de centros urbanos: clarificando el debate'. *BAGE: Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 83: 2829. http://dx.doi.org/10.21138/bage.2829

Calle Vaquero, Manuel de la. 2020. 'El impacto del turismo sobre los centros urbanos. Consideraciones sobre el caso de Madrid'. In *La ciudad del turismo. Arquitectura, patrimonio urbano y espacio público*, edited by Ángeles Layuno Rosas, 53–87. Universidad de Alcalá de Henares.

Calle Vaquero, Manuel de la and María García Hernández. 2020. 'Centro histórico y turismo urbano. Reflexiones sobre la turistificación del Centro Histórico de Madrid'. In *Un futuro per i centri storici. Scenari possibili nell'era post COVID*, edited by Mario Cerasoli and Gianluca Mattarocci, 65–74. Aracne.

Calle Vaquero, Manuel de la, María García Hernández and María del Carmen Mínguez García. 2015. 'El despliegue del ocio turístico en el territorio de la Comunidad de Madrid'. *Ciudad y Territorio Estudios Territoriales* 47(184): 293–308.

Clark, Terry Nichols (ed). 2003. *The City as an Entertainment Machine*. Emerald.

Crespi-Vallbona, Montserrat. 2021. 'La "metropolitanización" del turismo: el caso del Área Metropolitana de Barcelona'. *Ciudad y Territorio Estudios Territoriales* 53(209): 685–700. https://doi.org/10.37230/CyTET.2021.209.05

Crespi-Vallbona, Montserrat and Marta Domínguez-Pérez. 2021. 'Las consecuencias de la turistificación en el centro de las grandes ciudades: el caso de Madrid y Barcelona'. *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales,* 53: 61–82. https://doi.org/10.37230/CyTET.2021.M21.04

Comunidad de Madrid. 2002. 'Atlas de la Comunidad de Madrid en el umbral del siglo XXI'. Dirección General de Economía e Innovación Tecnológica, Comunidad de Madrid. http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM005615.pdf

Comunidad de Madrid. 2016. 'Estrategia de Turismo 2016–2019'. Comunidad de Madrid. https://www.comunidad.madrid/file/118507/download

Comunidad de Madrid. 2020. 'La Comunidad registra 4,2 millones de visitas a sus tres Parques Regionales en 2019'. 1 January. Comunidad de Madrid. https://www.comunidad.madrid/noticias/2020/01/01/comunidad-registra-42-millones-visitas-tres-parques-regionales-2019

Escudero Gómez, Luis Alfonso. 2018. 'Realities and Problems of a Major Cultural Tourist Destination in Spain, Toledo'. *Pasos* 16(3): 617–36. https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2018.16.045

Gago García, Cándida, Roberto Díaz-Pisonero and Juan A. Córdoba Ordóñez. 2017. 'Relaciones entre ocio-consumo, turismo y gentrificación en los barrios de Madrid. Los casos de Malasaña y Lavapiés'. In *Naturaleza, territorio y ciudad en un mundo global*, edited by Allende Álvarez et al., 1055–64. Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles and Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

García Henche, Blanca. 2017. 'Los mercados de abastos y su comercialización como producto de turismo de experiencias. El caso de Madrid'. *Cuadernos de Turismo* 39: 167–89. https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.39.290491

García Villota, Isabel. 2021. 'Toledo, ciudad fantasma: el covid se llevó a 2 milliones de turistas y ha dejado un erial'. El Confidencial. 1 May. https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2021-05-01/toledo-ciudad-fantasma-covid-turismo-centro-historico_3058956/

Gil, Javier and Jorge Sequera. 2018. 'Expansión de la ciudad turística y nuevas resistencias. El caso de Airbnb en Madrid'. *Empiria* 41: 15–32. https://doi.org/10.5944/empiria.41.2018.22602

Hall, C. Michael. 2005. *Tourism: Rethinking the Social Science of Mobility*. Pearson Education.

Hosteltur. 2020. 'Los dueños de pisos turísticos pasan al alquiler residencial por la COVID'. Hosteltur. 22 October. https://www.hosteltur.com/140044_los-duenos-de-pisos-turisticos-pasan-al-alquiler-residencial-por-la-covid.html

Huete Nieves, Raquel and Alejandro Mantecón Terán. 2018. 'El auge de la turismofobia ¿hipótesis de investigación o ruido ideológico?' *Pasos* 16(1): 9–19. https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2018.16.001

INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística). n.d. 'Encuesta de turismo de residentes'. INEbase. https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Tabla.htm?t=10823&L=0

INE. n.d. 'Estadística de movimientos turísticos en fronteras'. INEbase. https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Tabla.htm?t=10823&L=0

INE. n.d. 'Encuesta de ocupación hotelera (EOH)'. INEbase. https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Tabla.htm?t=10823&L=0

López Palomeque, Francesc and Anna Torres-Delgado. 2019. 'El turisme a l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona'. *Papers: Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona* 62: 20–35.

Maitland, Robert (ed). 2014. *Tourism in National Capitals and Global Change*. Routledge.

Maitland, Robert and Brent W. Ritchie (eds). 2009. *City Tourism: National Capital Perspectives*. CABI.

Marchena Gómez, Manuel. 1995. 'El turismo metropolitano: una aproximación conceptual'. *Estudios Turísticos* 126: 7–21. https://doi.org/10.61520/et.1261995.687

Martín, Juan Ángel, Marta Domínguez Pérez and Alicia Castillo Mena. 2021. 'La activación de la ciudadanía como estrategia para la sostenibilidad turística en lugares patrimoniales cercanos a la gran ciudad. El caso de la región madrileña'. *Pasos* 19(4): 695–711. https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2021.19.045

Martín, Patricia. 2020. 'Segovia recibe dos millones de visitantes en 2019'. El Día de Segovia. 9 January. https://www.eldiasegovia.es/noticia/z749f694c-c18a-f036-7f5a5205f1db3e5e/202001/segovia-recibe-dos-millones-de-visitantes-en-2019

Martínez-Caldentey, María Antonia, Ivan Murray and Macià Blázquez-Salom. 2020. 'En la ciudad de Madrid todos los caminos conducen a Airbnb'. *Investigaciones Turísticas* 19: 1–27. https://doi.org/10.14198/INTURI2020.19.01

Milano, Claudio. 2018. '*Overtourism*, malestar social y turismofobia. Un debate controvertido'. *Pasos* 16(3): 511–64. https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2018.16.041

Mínguez García, María del Carmen. 2007. 'Planificación y Gestión Turística en destinos patrimoniales: el caso del Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Comunidad de Madrid)'. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 27(1): 83–102.

Mínguez García, María del Carmen, Manuel de la Calle Vaquero and María García Hernández. 2016. 'Actividades turístico-recreativas y huella digital. Aproximaciones con referencia Aranjuez (España), Paisaje Cultural Patrimonio Mundial'. In *Leituras Geográficas: ensaios teóricos sobre temas da contemporaneidade* edited by Anderson Pereira Portuguez, Patrícia Francisca Matos and Roberto Barboza Castanho, 349–86. Barlavento.

Observatorio Metropolitano de Madrid. n.d. 'Acerca del Observatorio Metropolitano'. https://www.observatoriometropolitano.org/que-es-el-observatorio-metropolitano/

Pearce, Douglas G. 1998. 'Tourist Districts in Paris: Structure and Functions'. *Tourism Management* 19(1): 49–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(97)00095-2

Pearce, Douglas G. 2001. 'An Integrative Framework for Urban Tourism Research'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(4): 926–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(00)00082-7

Prodestur Segovia Turismo. n.d. 'Turismo Segovia presume de un 2019 de récord para el sector'. Prodestur Segovia Turismo. https://www.segoviaturismo.es/ven-a-segovia/noticias/noticias-destacadas/4609-turismo-segovia-presume-de-un-2019-de-record-para-el-sector

Sequera, Jorge and Michael Janoschka. 2015. 'Gentrification Dispositifs in the Historic Centre of Madrid: A Reconsideration of Urban Governmentality and State-Led Urban Reconfiguration'. In *Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement*, edited by Loretta Lees, Hyun Bang Shin and Ernesto López-Morales, 375–94. Policy Press.

Solís Trapero, Eloy. 2008. 'El horizonte urbano madrileño: más allá de la región político-administrativa'. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 28(1): 133–62.

Solís Trapero, Eloy, José María Ureña Francés and Borja Ruiz-Apilánez Corrochano. 2012. 'Transformación del sistema urbano-territorial en la región central de la España peninsular: la emergencia de la Región Metropolitana Policéntrica Madrileña'. *Scripta Nova* 16(420). http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-420.htm

Troitiño Torralba, Libertad. 2012. 'Las ciudades patrimonio de la humanidad de la región turística de Madrid: niveles medios de funcionalidad turística y adecuación turística del patrimonio cultural'. *Papers de Turisme* 51: 109–31.

Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel. 2002. 'Aranjuez: Patrimonio Cultural, recuperación urbana y turismo'. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* Extra 1: 495–518.

Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel and Libertad Troitiño Torralba. 2009. 'Turismo y patrimonio en Castilla y León: Las ciudades Patrimonio de la Humanidad (Ávila, Salamanca y Segovia) como destinos turísticos de referencia'. *Polígonos* 19: 145–78. https://doi.org/10.18002/pol.voi19.74

Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel and Libertad Troitiño Torralba. 2018. 'Turismo y dinámicas urbanas: el área central de Madrid'. *Ábaco* 98: 29–45. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26869069

Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel, Manuel de la Calle Vaquero and María García Hernández. 2001. 'Los destinos patrimoniales de la región turística madrileña. Un enfoque funcional a partir de los visitantes'. In *La actividad turística española en 2000*, edited by Luis Valdés Peláez, 579–96. AECIT.

Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel, Dolores Brandis García, María Isabel del Río Lafuente, Manuel de la Calle Vaquero, Javier Gutiérrez Puebla, Pilar Lobo Montero and Fernando Martín Gil. 1998. 'Toledo: problemática e implicaciones urbanas del turismo'. *Ería* 47: 299–325. https://doi.org/10.17811/er.0.1998.299-325

Valenzuela Rubio, Manuel. 1992. 'Turismo y gran ciudad: una opción de futuro para las metrópolis postindustriales'. *Revista valenciana d'estudis autonòmics*, 13: 103–38.

Valenzuela Rubio, Manuel. 1999. 'Turismo cultural y políticas urbanas sostenibles en el casco histórico de Madrid'. *Madrid: Revista de arte, geografía e historia*, 2: 387–419.

Valenzuela Rubio, Manuel. 2003. 'La residencia secundaria en ámbitos metropolitanos: la Comunidad de Madrid'. *Estudios Turísticos* 155–156: 112–57. https://doi.org/10.61520/et.155-1562003.912

Valenzuela, Manuel and Carmen Hidalgo. 2010. 'Tourism in historic cores, conflict or opportunity? The stakeholders point of view in Madrid's case'. *Rivista di Scienze del Turismo* 1(2): 281–300.

Velasco González, María and José M. Ruano. 2021. 'The Crossfire Rhetoric. *Success in Danger* vs. *Unsustainable Growth*. Analysis of Tourism Stakeholders' Narratives in the Spanish Press (2008–2019)'. *Sustainability*, 13(16): 9127. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13169127

Velasco González, María and Ernesto Carrillo Barroso. 2021. 'La corta vida de un concepto: turismofobia en los medios españoles. Narrativas, actores y agendas [The short life of a concept: tourismphobia in the Spanish media. Narratives, actors and agendas]'. *Investigaciones Turísticas* 22: 1–23. https://doi.org/10.14198/INTURI2021.22.1

Velasco González, María, Reyes Herrero López and Eliseo López Sánchez. 2019. 'El orden del caos: la decisión del gobierno ante el problema del

impacto del turismo en el centro urbano de Madrid'. *BAGE: Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 83: 2832. https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2832

Zárate Martín, M. Antonio. 2007. 'Estrategias y prácticas turísticas en una ciudad patrimonio de la humanidad, Toledo'. *Geographicalia* 51: 81–106. https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_geoph/geoph.2007511115

Chapter 2

Los Angeles: Inhabiting the Tourist Metapolis

Léopold Lucas

Introduction

Los Angeles is paradigmatic within urban studies (Curry and Kenney 1999; Nijman 2000). Defined as the 'first American city' to underline its radical separation from the European urban pattern (Weinstein 1996), it was also considered as a postmetropolis (Soja 2000): that is, the most emblematic example of postmodern urbanism (Davis 1990; Dear et al. 1996; Scott and Soja 1996; Dear 2002). Rather than a coherent whole, Los Angeles has been described as a juxtaposition of heterogeneous elements, a true fragmented metropolis (Fogelson 1993) with polycentricity as one of its major features (Gordon and Richardson 1996). As much as Los Angeles has been extensively studied in urban studies, it has not been addressed in tourism studies in the same way. What kind of tourist place is Los Angeles as a specific urban place? How does the tourist dimension fit into its particular spatial configuration? Does tourism tend to increase or reduce the polycentricity of this agglomeration? Should we consider this place as a tourist metropolis? How can Los Angeles help us rethink this concept?

While 'tourist city' is a central concept within tourist studies, with classic (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Judd and Fainstein 1999; Hoffman et al. 2003; Hayllar et al. 2008) and more recent works (Metro-Roland 2016; Colomb and Novy 2016; Frisch et al. 2019; Shoval 2020), little interest has been explicitly paid to the 'tourist metropolis' until recently (Maitland and Newman 2009; Gravari-Barbas and Fagnoni 2013; Kadri 2015; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017; Morrison and Maxim 2021). One could argue this is just a semantic issue: in all previous research, what have been mainly called 'tourist cities' are in fact 'tourist metropolises'. But the problem of defining this type of urban space as a tourist place remains unsolved. To what extent would the tourist metropolis be different from the tourist city? Is the tourist metropolis a specific type of tourist place (such as a resort) or just one feature – for example,

a higher level of international tourism – of the tourist city (as with the 'tourist historic city')? What criteria distinguish the tourist metropolis? How does the tourist dimension influence the metropolitan character of an agglomeration? As a metropolis is defined both by its role as a central place on a global scale and as a polycentric space with rare urban functions, does tourism influence it as a place (the expression of a global centrality), as a space (the construction of this urban area), or both?

The importance of metropolises as tourist places has been underlined previously:

> Large cities are arguably the most important type of tourist destination across the world. They have always attracted visitors but until recently, with the exception of capitals like London and Paris, the tourist industry has not been perceived as a significant one, nor have these cities been classified as tourist centers.
>
> (Law 1996, 1)

But this relationship was not formulated and was problematic: 'However, much of what is written in this book is applicable to smaller cities, ones that have half a million population, and perhaps some of even a quarter of a million' (Law 1996, 1). Would tourism have the same effect and dynamic in a small town and a big city? Paris is definitely not the same tourist place as any other French cities when you look at the main figures (bedrooms, number of nights spent, international visitors, and so on). Whatever the statistical sources used, London, Paris or New York stand out very clearly in comparison to other cities as tourist places. Can we still talk about 'tourist cities' (such as Manchester, Lyon and Denver)? We could then argue that it is essentially a question of threshold, but it would mean the number of millions of tourists a place needs to reach a new level would need to be defined.

The correlation between the demographic weight of an agglomeration and its tourist numbers must not be taken for granted. Indeed, among the one hundred most inhabited agglomerations in the world (Brinkhoff n.d.), less than forty are among the one hundred cities with the most international visitors (Euromonitor 2019). Not all 'very large cities' are therefore 'tourist metropolises'. Some cities or resorts can be more 'touristy' than metropolises – places like Benidorm, for example, which can accommodate more tourists than lots of large cities (this place of 68,000 residents saw more than eleven million hotel overnight stays in 2015, according to official statistics, a figure equivalent to Seoul, Tokyo or Istanbul). This raises the question as to whether the size of the place and the number of tourists are relevant variables. On the other hand,

we can argue that metropolises are among the most touristic places; because of its centrality, which is part of its essence, the metropolis is designed to welcome visitors: 'International metropolises are by definition tourist cities: they all have three types of customers (tourists, congressmen, business travelers), a large number of commercial accommodations and a vibrant urban life' (Knafou 2007, 17, own translation). The presence of international visitors is an essential criterion to distinguish between metropolises and large cities.

The difficulty in distinguishing between the concepts of 'tourist city' and 'tourist metropolis' lies in the fact that the realities they are supposed to describe have essential points in common. Indeed, there is nothing to separate a city from a metropolis if we look at the presence/absence of the three basic criteria – accommodation capacity, permanent population, and diversity of urban functions – that allow us to define four main types – site, post, resort and city – of tourist places (Knafou et al. 1997; Equipe MIT 2002; Coëffé and Stock 2021). If we focus on the development of tourism in these places, unlike the post and the resort, which are places specifically created by and for tourism, the city and the metropolis are places where tourism has been established on an already existing urban structure. Thirdly, for almost all urban agglomerations, the bulk of visits are focused on the city centre. In Paris, for instance, the monuments and many museums are located along the Seine, and the central city concentrates almost all the accommodation here (Stock 2003, 69). For small tourist historic cities as well as for metropolises, 'visiting a city for tourism purposes is mainly visiting a city center' (Knafou 2007, 13). The effective tourist space concerns a concentrated and delimited space within the urban area, which has been described as a central tourist district (Duhamel 2007). In line with and as a result of this tourist spatial concentration, there is only one organisation that manages the destination's tourism promotion.

This chapter argues that Los Angeles differs significantly from the classic model of the tourist metropolis. First, we will argue that tourism was consubstantial to the creation of the agglomeration on two levels: because the tourist success of the first urban settlements was at the origin of the urban growth; and because this space as a whole was very quickly staged for recreational purposes. Second, we will show that the tourist space is not compact and does not correspond to the city centre, but is spread out and made up of very distant places, and that the city centre is not a major tourist place. Third, we will see that tourist promotion is not unique and homogeneous, but there are multiple sources of postures and contradictory discourses from the organisations which are responsible for it.

The Tourist Origin of a Polycentric Metropolis

In this chapter I argue that, unlike other metropolises, 1) tourism has driven the urban growth of the Los Angeles metropolitan area; and 2) that the tourist space of Los Angeles was built around polycentricity very early on (from the end of the nineteenth century). At that time, the current urban area was just a large agricultural plain where the (small) city of Los Angeles and other (small) cities were connected by streetcar lines. Contrary to popular belief, it was not the use of cars but the tramway network that initially contributed to the urban sprawl and polycentric structuring of the city – the drive-in culture having considerably amplified the phenomenon (Lefèvre 1984). As a result, the growth of the conurbation of Los Angeles did not occur in a concentric way starting from one 'historic' centre but by the growth of all these localities, which ended up by forming only one agglomeration in terms of built area. Yet, even at that time, some of the main localities are tourist places and their urban growth results from their tourist success.

In 1902 the first hotel opened in Hollywood, then a small town of four hundred residents located a dozen kilometres from Los Angeles – it took two hours to travel between these places by streetcar at that time. Built by the real estate developer Hobart Whitley in order to accommodate potential land buyers, the Hollywood Hotel had a capacity of one hundred and fifty rooms with all modern amenities, ballrooms and reception rooms – it will quickly be taken over by the first movie stars (Wallach et al. 2008, 110). Testifying to an early tourism dynamic, Universal Studio offered public tours of the film studios as early as 1915. We find a similar dynamic in Pasadena, which is also about ten kilometres east of Los Angeles: hotels were built as early as 1880, providing hundreds of rooms. Wealthy clientele or tuberculosis patients from the East Coast arrived in the winter to escape the cold and snow and enjoy the climate and the mountain landscape. This practice is so important that 'the exact location of Pasadena was determined by the health factor' (Baur 2010, 55). This phenomenon concerns the whole southern California, and some talk of a health rush between 1870 and 1920, echoing the gold rush in northern California, with San Francisco as the centre: Los Angeles becomes the capital of the sanatorium belt (Baur 2010, 55).

Santa Monica is located on the Pacific coast, about thirty kilometres from downtown Los Angeles, with a train connection established in 1875 (Spitzzeri 2001). The recreational practice of the beach seems to start around 1880, and the first hotel, the Santa Monica Hotel, was built in 1885. Destroyed by a fire two years later, it was replaced the same year by the Arcadia Hotel, a 125-room

establishment built on the beach. It is estimated that between two thousand and three thousand people frequented Santa Monica on weekend days, with peaks of up to twelve thousand visitors for some events. The Southern Company, a railway company, is said to have registered two hundred thousand visitors in 1889, with thousands more certainly reaching this place on their own (Stanton 1987). In 1894, a hot saltwater pool complex also including restaurants, bowling alleys and dance halls opened, along with the building of a promenade and many piers – up to five at this time. To compete with these piers, another one was built by Abbot Kinney in Venice Beach, adjacent to Santa Monica. Thanks to its promoter, this previously empty space was radically transformed with the ambition – explicitly displayed by the toponym – to become the 'Venice of America'. To achieve this objective, Kinney built a network of canals dug around residential subdivisions, with architecture imitating the Venetian style; boats and gondolas were needed to navigate the place, reinforcing its staging. Success was immediate: in around 1900, several tens of thousands of visitors arrived every weekend by streetcar (Stanton 1987). The population of Venice increased from a few hundred people circa 1880 to ten thousand in 1910 and approximately eight thousand in Santa Monica.

We can take the importance of tourism in the early development of Los Angeles a step further by noting that it was conceived and built from the beginning as a true 'Eden by design' (Hise and Deverell 2000). Beyond the growth of all these tourist places, this city-region has been designed, developed and promoted as a whole in a recreational perspective. Indeed, the most emblematic icon of Los Angeles, the palm tree, is a non-native species and was imported from the end of the nineteenth century, with a boom in the 1930s, to contribute to a structuring and staging of the newly urban space. Based on the feeling of exoticism conveyed by these trees, this strategy was explicitly inspired by the development carried out in the French Riviera – testifying to the international circulation of a tourism pattern. But the making of this recreative urban region took another important step forwards in the mid-twentieth century with the opening of Disneyland in Orange County in 1955. As officially stated by the company, 'the search for the best spot finally ended in *rural Anaheim,* California with a purchase of a 160-acre orange grove near the junction of the Santa Ana Freeway (I-5) and Harbor Boulevard' (my emphasis, Just Disney n.d.). The installation of the park was not only part of but also a powerful contributor to the brutal urbanisation of the region at that time, with the population of the county rising from one hundred thousand in 1940 to almost half a million in 1957 (Didier 2005, 288). Located about fifty kilometres from downtown Los Angeles, Disneyland, which became a major

tourist centre very quickly (approximately five million visitors per year in the 1960s, ten million in the 1970s), clearly participated in the urban and recreational polycentric layout of the conurbation.

During the nineteenth century, the whole agglomeration was first urbanised by connecting distinct tourist places (Pasadena, Hollywood, Venice). While tourism subverted cities' traditional urban configuration (Cocks 2001), from its modern origins Los Angeles was designed to be a 'fashionable resort region' (Soane 1993). There is a tourism dynamic at the beginning and in the middle of the urban growth of Los Angeles, not only *from* the development of these tourist places, but also *by* tourist staging. The touristic success of these urban locations has contributed to the formation of the agglomeration in a polycentric way. What trace has this initial structuring left on the functioning of the current tourist space? What kind of space are tourist practices shaping in Los Angeles today?

A Tourist Polycentric Inhabitation

Despite radical changes since the early twentieth century (a forest of oil derricks replaced the Venice canals from 1930 to 1970), a large diversification of the urban economy and a relative decrease in the importance of tourism, we can observe a permanence of these places as contemporary tourist centres of the agglomeration – if Pasadena is no longer a place visited by most (international) tourists, Hollywood, Venice Beach and Santa Monica are more than ever the main polarities of the Los Angeles tourist space. Given the city's symbolic reputation as a global cultural capital, surprisingly Los Angeles seems unlikely to be considered a major international destination. Indeed, of the fifty million visitors to Los Angeles County (that is, not just the city of Los Angeles but all cities within the county) claimed by the LA Convention and Visitors Bureau (now the LA Tourism and Convention Board LATCB) for 2018, 42.5 million are domestic (with a large proportion – 29.3 million – coming from California) and 7.5 million are international. In this total, there are 32.8 million overnight visitors (25.3 million domestic, 5 million overseas, 2.5 million from Canada and Mexico) and 17.2 million day trippers. As leisure is the primary purpose for 79% of overnight trips, there were truly 25.9 million tourists in Los Angeles in 2018. As for international visitors, beyond the Chinese market, which has grown exponentially over the past fifteen years (from 90,000 in 2002 to 1.2 million in 2018), the Australian and UK markets have traditionally been the most important (with more than 400,000 visitors

each), followed by South Korea, Japan and France (with more than 300,000 visitors each) in 2019. Focusing on the other major recreational centre of the agglomeration, the annual attendance of Disneyland Park in Orange County reached 18.66 million visitors in the same year. To have a better understanding of the tourist dimension of Los Angeles, we need to first examine the geographical distribution of its hotel capacity.[1]

In 2018, 1,029 properties were counted in Los Angeles County with 103,399 rooms. Table 2.1 shows the widely dispersed spatial distribution of industry accommodation: each of the areas alone represents only a small percentage of the total. There is no single area that stands out and could be considered as the central tourist place. This also means that the weight of Downtown Los Angeles is very small, at least in this sector, in the agglomeration. The areas that make up the tourist space (together with the historic places indicated in the previous section and the airport area – in grey in the table) have 41% of the total number of hotels in the county (421) but 51% of the rooms (52,659).[2] This configuration has been highlighted previously:

Table 2.1 Distribution of the accommodation industry in Los Angeles County

Area	Properties	Rooms
Downtown LA (CBD)	25 (2.4%)	8,841 (8.5%)
Downtown LA (full region)	104 (10.1%)	13,106 (12.7%)
Pasadena	37 (3.6%)	4,254 (4.1%)
Beverly Hills/Westside LA	59 (5.7%)	6,980 (6.7%)
Santa Monica/Venice/Malibu	61 (5.9%)	6,207 (6%)
Hollywood/West Hollywood	79 (7.7%)	7,874 (7.6%)
LAX/Inglewood/Culver City	81 (7.8%)	14,238 (13.7%)
Long Beach	59 (5.7%)	6,251 (6%)
South Bay	133 (12.9%)	11,580 (11.1%)
Southeast LA (Gateway Cities)	112 (10.8%)	7,276 (7%)
East LA (San Gabriel Valley)	139 (13.5%)	10,840 (10.4%)
North LA (San Fernando Valley)	136 (13.2%)	12,736 (12.3%)

Source: Los Angeles Tourism and Convention Board 2019

> The geography of tourism in Los Angeles is highly dispersed. There is no part of the Los Angeles metropolitan area that accounts for more than 13.5% of overnight visitor stays. The ten most popular regional submarkets for overnight accommodation in Los Angeles together account for only 56.1% of total visitors. Downtown Los Angeles accounts for just 5.3% of total overnight visitors, an insignificant number when compared to the overwhelming importance of midtown Manhattan in New York City's tourism industry.
>
> (Fainstein and Gladstone 2001, 26)

Places visited by tourists are also historically geographically disparate:

> Hollywood is the most visited area within the county, but it still accounts for only 23% of all such visits. Beverly Hills is second, accounting for 17% of non-resident tourist visits. Fewer than 10% make a special trip to visit downtown Los Angeles.
>
> (Fainstein and Gladstone 2001, 26)

Let's continue our analysis now to see what the most frequented recreational places are according to official data and where they are located in the urban area (Figure 2.1).

The attendance figures for these places that led to this ranking are not given, nor is it stated how this data was compiled. This is clearly not just tourism: we can argue that the Lakers, Dodgers and the Zoo are mostly visited by Angelenos, and that the fashion/jewellery district is visited primarily for business reasons. Similarly, Chinatown is not visited by most tourists, but mainly by Chinese visitors. However, this result does correspond to the observations made during the field surveys in several respects, which we will see later, and this allows us to draw several conclusions regarding the structuring of the Los Angeles recreational space. Firstly, we realise that the main recreation places are concentrated in one part of the agglomeration, between Pasadena and Santa Monica. This concentration is only relative, because these two places are separated by forty kilometres: all these areas are thus dispersed in the heart of a very dense urban space (there are seven kilometres between Sacré Coeur and the Montparnasse Tower or between Bastille and the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, and between the British Museum and Notting Hill in London).

But how are these places determined to be the main tourist attractions? Capitalising on empirical research about how tourists are inhabiting this agglomeration (Lucas 2014), let's now focus on the way tourists are inhabiting

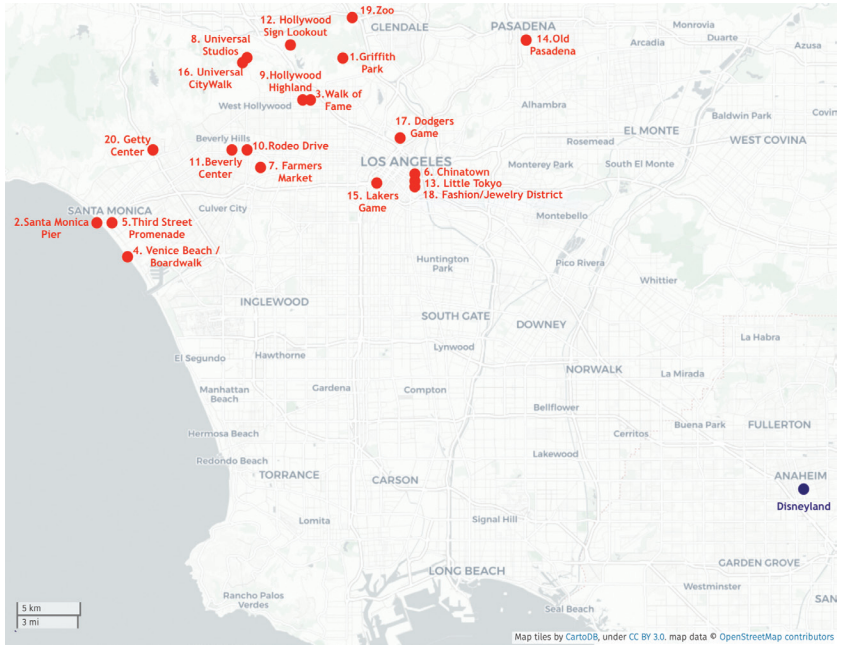


Figure 2.1 Top 20 attractions in LA County according to the LATCB.
(*Source:* Los Angeles Tourism and Convention Board 2019)

Los Angeles. If we choose two people from Australia (one of LA's most important markets), the aim of this description is obviously not to be statistically representative but to consider this place as a space inhabited by tourists. The objective here is to provide an overview of this metropolis as a destination and to provide some initial insights into the way in which tourism shapes this space and influences the polycentric nature of its urbanity.

The first tourist is Cathy (aged 27), from Brisbane, who is visiting this city-region for the first time with her sister and friend. They also plan to go to San Francisco and Las Vegas – as is the case for many tourists, Los Angeles is less a destination in itself but rather a stop on what we can call a Great Californian Tour. As a second classic characteristic of the tourist dimension of this place, these tourists spend two days out of their four-night stay enjoying theme parks, both Universal Studios and Disneyland. The beach is also a major place during their stay: in Santa Monica, they go to the pier and the shopping centre, but they did not go to Venice Beach as they 'didn't have enough time' (Figure 2.2). Maybe more than any other metropolis, time is a crucial issue for



Figure 2.2 Cathy's LA tourist path.

tourists in Los Angeles, as distances between each place can be significant, and the subway network is still relatively undeveloped (the first line was only put into service in 1990, with Santa Monica only being served from 2016). While these tourists report using public transport ('We went on the metro and buses'), in reality they are more likely to have used private transport, as they claim to have taken a shuttle that picked them up at the hotel to go to Disneyland or the airport. While she initially explained her choice not to rent a car as a matter of taste, because 'We don't wanna drive because we drive a lot in Australia', Cathy later said she 'personally wouldn't drive here myself. [...] Everything is different from Australia. You drive on the other side of the road, and we're not used to the traffic. It's huge and busy.' The problematic nature of both the urban layout of Los Angeles and the structure of its tourist space for some tourists is clear from this extract. Not using a car to get around is probably less an issue of taste but rather a lack of the skills Cathy feels she has to use this mode of transport effectively. These difficulties thus allow us to better understand her strategy of selecting a hotel on Hollywood Boulevard,

as she says 'It is conveniently located for everywhere' even if she 'doesn't love it, because it is crazy. Here it's busy, dirty and there are a lot of homeless people'. This poor perception is widely shared by tourists, as the area, despite its mythical reputation, is often not seen as a pleasant place but as convenient to access to other tourist places. But other places may be considered convenient by other tourists, as we will see with the second case.

The second tourist is Scott (30), another Australian tourist from Brisbane, travelling by himself and staying for a week to visit some acquaintances. Even if it is his second time in Los Angeles, he also goes to all the classic tourist places: Venice Beach, Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Universal Studios and Disneyland (Figure 2.3). Coming from San Diego, where he rented a car, his itinerary is very large, driving several hundreds of kilometres in the urban space to discover the city and do the activities he wanted to do. While he believes he does not 'know LA that well, [...] the second time is much easier because I know what to expect. It's more familiar.' Yet distances in LA remain an issue for him too: 'On the map it looks close but it's very far away [...] The



Figure 2.3 Scott's LA tourist path.

traffic is crazy. Back home we have three lines of freeway at the most [...] It's a bit challenging to drive in LA.' Because of these spatial stakes, it is important for him to be 'within walking distance' from the place he's visiting: that's why he booked several hotels (H) in different places during his stay. Even for this tourist, who has a greater mastery of the environment as he already knows it, and also because he has a higher level of skills than previous tourists (resulting from his extensive travel experiences), we observe placement strategies that must respond to the distance between the different areas he wants to visit.

Through these two examples – other analyses can confirm these elements (Lucas 2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2021; 2022) – regular patterns of practices, spaces and issues emerge. Los Angeles is a city with a spatial configuration, both urban and touristic, which reveals and tests the skills of people who are not used to it. Unlike other metropolises, the tourist space of Los Angeles does not correspond to the city centre: first, because downtown Los Angeles has not historically been a major tourist attraction; and nor has it been the only place the agglomeration has developed and articulated from. Despite major efforts in recent years to renew Downtown LA – with the construction of entertainment facilities (LA Live), the opening of museums (the Broad), the rehabilitation of the park at the foot of City Hall (New Grand Park), and economic and real estate development – this place does not seem to have become more attractive to tourists for the time being, and it is not possible to speak of a real centripetal dynamic. More broadly, the discovery of the city, its heritage, its historic buildings, and its museums, which is traditionally a major tourist purpose in cities/metropolises, is not a central reason for a large proportion of tourists in Los Angeles.

On this second indicator too, Los Angeles differs from the classic tourist metropolis model. Most tourists are inhabiting this city through a very selective practice of urban space. Not only is Downtown not seen by visitors as a central tourist place, but there is not just one central place for tourists in Los Angeles. The tourist space of Los Angeles is not limited to a single area where it would be possible to wander around randomly. Tourists organise their stay in an extensive way to deal with the problem of distance and to connect very specific places that are tens of kilometres apart. Tourism centrality is relative, depending on the things they want to do, and even places on the edges of the city (on the seaside, for example) can be perceived as central. The way in which Los Angeles is inhabited by tourists reinforces the polycentricity of the agglomeration. This characteristic, which is the result of historical urbanisation and still updated today by people's ways of coping with space, is also found in the institutional tourism organisation dimension.

A Heterogeneous Tourism Governance

In line with this spatial fragmentation, the main places in the Los Angeles tourist space do not belong to the same municipality: Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, West Hollywood and Pasadena are distinct and autonomous political identities. When we refer to the toponym Los Angeles, it actually refers to spaces on three levels of scale: first, the municipality – that is, a **city** in the legal sense of the term – with nearly four million residents; second, a **county** made up of approximately ten million residents spread over eighty-eight municipalities, including Los Angeles; and finally, the **metropolitan area**, a conurbation that extends over one hundred and fifty kilometres and includes about eighteen million residents in one hundred and sixty municipalities. Thus, both the configuration of the tourist space and the administrative divisions mean that the multiplicity of promotion agency must be considered, and therefore tourism must be considered *at the scale* of the metropolis.

Just a dozen of the eighty-eight municipalities in Los Angeles County have a Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB) (Figure 2.4). This distribution is consistent with the places where tourists are the most visible: the presence of such an institution is a significant indicator of a place's tourist dimension by revealing which municipalities are providing the resources to develop and organise tourism. The institutions in charge of tourism promotion and development are not of the same scale: the Los Angeles CVB has about one

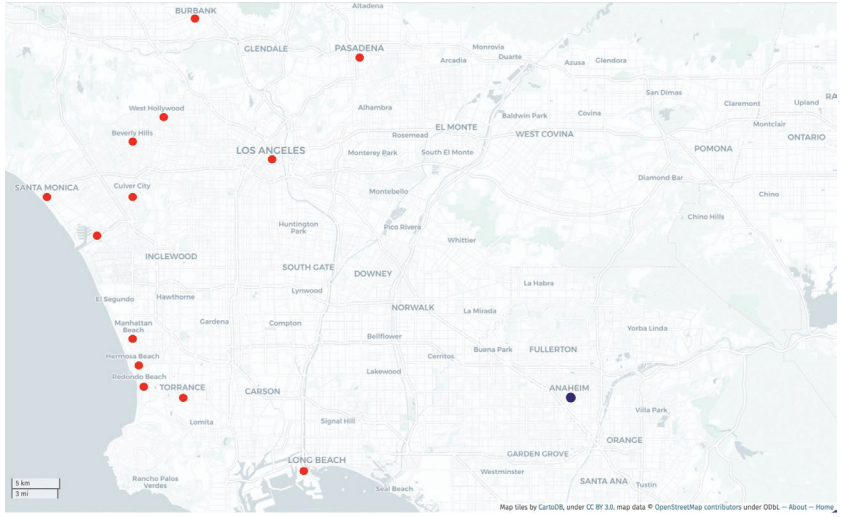


Figure 2.4 Location of CVBs in Los Angeles.

hundred employees, while those in the smaller Westside municipalities have about ten. Compared to the multiplicity of actors, how are their relationships structured? The hypothesis put forward is that there are three types of relationship between the different tourist offices in the urban area: assimilation, distinction and dependence.

In order to get a general overview of how this tourism dimension was organised, I conducted interviews with the executive managers of the main CVBs in Los Angeles County (LA, Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, West Hollywood and Pasadena). A more exhaustive analysis of the concrete actions carried out by these organisations would be necessary to understand the actual functioning of this tourism governance. However, discourses are always performative, and the elements reported – which correspond to official statements by individuals representing their respective institutions – give us an idea of certain stakes, the power relationships, the postures and positions taken by some and others, and the relationships between these institutions.

We can speak of a logic of *integration* from the perspective of the LATCB. Indeed, in his statement, the spokesperson defends the idea that his agency's reach is the entire county:

> We don't just focus on our city; we focus on the destination. When you come to our website, you're looking at everything, you're not just looking at what's inside our city wall. [...] So, we market all of this. If you see a video that comes from us, you're gonna see the Santa Monica Pier, you're gonna see the Beverly Hills' Rodeo Drive, you're gonna see Santa Monica Boulevard on West Hollywood, and the Rose Bowl in Pasadena.

According to them, they are the only organisation which ensures and assumes the promotion of Los Angeles at an international level:

> Our job is to get foreign visitors to LAX, and frankly if they go in Anaheim or to Beverly Hills, we don't care because, the thing is, you can't control it all. [...] You can be staying in the Beverly Hills hotel but eating in LA and shopping in West Hollywood. At some point they cross borders and spend money.

Consistent with this position, it has an encompassing view of the relationships it has with other CVBs in the region:

> Beverly is a sub-brand of Los Angeles, that's part of our brand [...] They're so small, they advertise themselves in an odd way, they call themselves sometimes West LA, even though they are not in LA.

According to the spokesperson, competition is not with the other CVBs in Los Angeles County but against other big municipalities:

> Our group is more competitive with San Diego's group and San Francisco's group. [...] We are very friendly with Disneyland, but... a little bit more competitive with them because they have a convention center. Convention center cities are more competitive. Because San Diego, Anaheim, LA, San Francisco have big convention centers, they all have million square convention space, they all have hotels attached to them [...] Those cities are very competitive when it comes to business travel.

We can speak of a logic of distinction from the perspective of the Westside CVBs (Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, West Hollywood). First, these organisations have developed strong relationships and work closely together. A common idea emerged in each of the three interviews:

> We have a Westside coalition, we work closely with CVB, Marina Del Rey CVB, West Hollywood, Beverly Hills and Santa Monica – the four of us work together. [...] We want the business here in Santa Monica first. If we don't get the business here, we want to give it to our Westside partners, which are West Hollywood, Beverly Hills and Marina Del Rey.

It is not just a question of language effects, since there are strong links between the tourist offices of the independent municipalities of the Westside, through a common platform:

> We have a separate website called westLA.com [now obsolete]. You're gonna find the itineraries, what to do for three days in West Hollywood, what to do for three days in Beverly Hills, what to do for three days in Santa Monica.

Their discourses are based on a strategy of differentiation from Los Angeles. They emphasise the compact configuration and the pedestrian nature of their municipality to position themselves in opposition to Los Angeles, where there would only be cars:

> One of the things that happens is, when people come to LA, they get a car to go from point A to point B, and when they arrive in Santa Monica, they park their car and realize they can walk to do everything, and then say 'Why don't we stay here all the entire time?' [...] If you're in Santa Monica, you can absolutely walk around. If

> you're in B. Hills, you can absolutely walk around. If you're in West Hollywood, it's the same thing. If you wanna get from West Hollywood to Santa Monica – not so easy. So, I think for a lot of us, we are all about walkability in our communities, because you can have a very positive experience without being overwhelmed and find everything at your fingertips.

Santa Monica even put forward a cultural difference between their municipality and Los Angeles:

> We know what we have is very different than LA. It's the beach culture versus LA culture. [...] We definitely differentiate our community from the rest of LA. Everybody has got a very specific identity: Beverly Hills has one way of being, West Hollywood is completely different, as is Marina Del Rey.

Finally, we can speak of a logic of *isolation* from the perspective of Pasadena. While the city was historically one of the first tourist places in the agglomeration, it is no longer a major recreational attraction – the place mainly focuses on hosting conferences and business trips. In the discourse of the tourist Convention and Visitors Bureau, they were explicitly looking for a stronger partnership:

> That's been a little bit challenging. LA, they don't wanna need anybody's help because they do so well by themselves, whereas in West Hollywood, Beverly Hills and Santa Monica, we probably would like to work a little bit more with them. But they don't really need our participation.

The discourse of these operators reveals a true polycentric touristic institutional landscape with what can be considered a common destination at first glance. The discordant positions thus expressed by these organisations refer to issues and objectives that are specific to them but also to questions of financing – this being carried out within the limits of the municipality. The administrative boundaries, which are not really performative in the practices of the tourists (even if it is clear that a section of tourists go to 'Santa Monica' or 'West Hollywood' and not 'Los Angeles'), are prevalent in terms of governance. We can put forward the hypothesis that the institutional fragmentation and the multiplicity of actors produce a weak and conflicting coordination of the strategies in promoting tourism in Los Angeles.

Conclusion

Looking at the three indicators discussed in this paper, Los Angeles is clearly different from other tourist metropolises. While in places that can be classified as 'tourist metropolises', like those called 'tourist cities', tourism has developed on an already existing urban structure, in Los Angeles, tourism is consubstantial to the development of the agglomeration. Tourism has created places that were once isolated and are now totally integrated into the urban space, and it is the tourist success of these places that has contributed to the urban growth of the agglomeration. On a deeper level, we can argue that this metropolis as a whole has been designed and planned for recreational purposes from the outset. The historical tourist places are still, for the most part, those used by tourists today. The space of contemporary tourist activities is in line with the very spread-out urban structure. In Los Angeles, the tourist dimension goes far beyond the city itself. It does not correspond to a single place but to a multitude of centralities which are linked, or not, by tourists through their activities. The spatial stake of distance is a crucial issue in understanding the ways in which Los Angeles is inhabited by tourists. This city is a situation that emphasises the fact that living in an unfamiliar place, where one has no routine, is not obvious and must not be taken for granted but requires the use of knowledge and skills. This is reinforced by the fact that the services normally found in metropolises (such as subways) are less present there. In a way, Los Angeles can be considered exotic. The question of governance is a third important distinguishing point. In the case of other metropolises, as the tourist space corresponds to only one area (the city centre), there is only one promotion agency concerned. In Los Angeles, the tourist space is, therefore, not only composed of places separated by a long distance but spaces that are not part of the same municipality. There are therefore a multitude of entities to take into account in order to understand how the tourist dimension is regulated and organised. Whether in its historical dynamics, in the ways in which people deal with space or in its governance, the tourist dimension of Los Angeles contributes to the true polycentricity of the agglomeration.

Finally, should Los Angeles be classified as a 'tourist metropolis'? We could argue that because of its polycentric organisation, Los Angeles is the quintessential tourist metropolis. But then how do we classify the other metropolises? Another might argue that, as Los Angeles was built by and for tourism, it should be designated as a mega resort-city. Drawing on the neologism of *metapolis* (Ascher 1995), I have proposed to qualify Los Angeles as

a 'tourist metapolis' (Lucas 2011). The notion of metapolis was introduced because the notion of metropolis seemed unsuitable to qualify the new types of agglomerations, as it does not translate the idea of a new structuration of urban spaces, nor that of the transformation of economic and social spaces (Ascher 1995, 33). From its etymological root, this concept implies the overcoming (*meta-*) of the city (*polis*). More specifically, this term is used to define urban spaces that present the morphological and functional characteristics of sprawl, discontinuity, heterogeneity and multipolarity (Ascher 2003, 614). As we have shown above, these four characteristics precisely define the tourist space of Los Angeles, which is definitely beyond the 'tourist city'.

Notes

1. Of course, an important part of the accommodation is done on the one hand through family or friends, and on the other hand more and more through platforms.
2. Moreover, the importance of the other zones (Southeast, East, North) must be greatly weighed by the fact that they are very large areas with vague contours. This is not the case for the six historical zones: the concentration of hotels is therefore much more important and visible.

Bibliography

Ascher, François. 1995. *Metapolis ou l'avénir des villes*. Odile Jacob.

Ascher, François. 2003. 'Métropolisation'. In *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*, edited by Jacques Lévy and Michel Lussault, 612–15. Belin.

Ashworth, G. J. and J. E. Tunbridge. 1990. *The Tourist-Historic City*. Belhaven Press.

Baur, John E. (1959) 2010. *The Health Seekers of Southern California 1870–1900*. Huntington Library.

Brinkhoff, Thomas. n.d. 'Major Agglomerations of the World'. City Population. http://www.citypopulation.de/en/world/agglomerations/

Cocks, Catherine. 2001. *Doing the Town. The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1859–1915*. University of California Press.

Coëffé, Vincent and Mathis Stock. 2021. 'Tourism as Urban Phenomenon and the Crux of "Urban Tourism"'. In *Progress in French Tourism*

Geographies: Inhabiting Touristic Worlds, edited by Mathis Stock, 185–202. Springer.

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2016. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Routledge.

Curry, James and Martin Kenney. 1999. 'The Paradigmatic City: Postindustrial Illusion and the Los Angeles School'. *Antipode* 31(1): 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00089

Davis, Mike. 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. Verso.

Dear, Michael J. (ed). 2002. *From Chicago to L.A.: Making Sense of Urban Theory*. Sage.

Dear, Michael J., H. Eric Schockman and Greg Hise (eds). 1996. *Rethinking Los Angeles*. Sage.

Didier, S. 2005. 'Disneyland, entre parc de loisir et modèle de ville pour la *suburbia* nord-américaine'. In *Divertissements et loisirs dans les sociétés urbaines à l'époque moderne et contemporaine*, edited by Robert Beck and Anna Madœuf, 285–94. Presses Universitaires François Rabelais.

Duhamel, Philippe. 2007. 'Patrimoine et modernité: double logique de la production et du renouvellement des villes touristiques'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 297–307. Belin.

Equipe MIT. 2002. *Tourismes 1. Lieux communs*. Belin.

Euromonitor. 2019. 'Top 100 City Destinations: 2019 Edition'. Euromonitor International. https://go.euromonitor.com/white-paper-travel-2019-100-cities.html

Fainstein, Susan S. and David L. Gladstone. 2001. 'Tourism in US Global Cities: A Comparison of New York and Los Angeles'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23(1): 23–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2166.00073

Fogelson, Robert M. (1967) 1993. *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930*. University of California Press.

Frisch, Thomas, Christoph Sommer, Luise Stoltenberg and Natalie Stors (eds). 2019. *Tourism and Everyday Life in the Contemporary City*. Routledge.

Gordon, Peter and Harry W. Richardson. 1996. 'Beyond Polycentricity: The Dispersed Metropolis, Los Angeles, 1970–1990'. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62(3): 289–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369608975695

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Édith Fagnoni (eds). 2013. *Métropolisation et tourisme: comment le tourisme redessine Paris*. Belin.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2017. *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*. Routledge.

Hayllar, Bruce, Tony Griffin and Deborah Edwards (eds). 2008. *City Spaces–Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts*. Elsevier.

Hise, Greg and William F. Deverell. 2000. *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region*. University of California Press.

Hoffman, Lily M., Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd (eds). 2003. *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*. Blackwell.

Judd, Dennis R. and Susan S. Fainstein (eds). 1999. *The Tourist City*. Yale University Press.

Just Disney. n.d. 'Disneyland's History'. Just Disney. http://www.justdisney.com/disneyland/history.html

Kadri, Boualem. 2015. *Dynamiques métropolitaines et développement touristique*. Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Knafou, Rémy. 2007. 'Introduction: L'urbain et le tourisme: une construction laborieuse'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 9–21. Belin.

Knafou, Rémy, Mireille Bruston, Florence Deprest, Philippe Duhamel, Jean-Christophe Gay and Isabelle Sacareau. 1997. 'Une approche géographique du tourisme'. *L'Espace géographique* 26(3): 193–204. http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/spge0.1997.1071

Law, Christopher M. (ed). 1996. *Tourism in Major Cities*. Thomson Intl Business Press.

Lefèvre, Christian. 1984. 'Ou les tramways font la ville: Los Angeles'. *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine* 21: 85–105.

Los Angeles Tourism and Convention Board. 2019. 'Marketing and Planning Resource'. Discover Los Angeles. 14 March. https://www.discoverlosangeles.com/download-the-2018-2019-marketing-and-planning-resource-guide

Lucas, Léopold. 2011. 'Los Angeles ou l'hypothèse de la métapole touristique'. *Mondes du tourisme*, special issue 'Tourisme et mondialisation' (2011): 244–53.

Lucas, Léopold. 2014. 'Habiter touristique et agencement de l'espace urbain: le cas de Los Angeles'. *Mondes du tourisme* 9: 93–6. https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.149

Lucas, Léopold. 2018. 'Les bus touristiques, une technologie spatiale pour habiter les métropoles. Le cas de Los Angeles'. *Mondes du tourisme* 14. https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.1671

Lucas, Léopold. 2019a. '"I Was Not Able to Go There": Introducing a Skills Perspective About How Tourists Navigate in Los Angeles'. *Tourist Studies* 19(3): 357–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797619832309

Lucas, Léopold. 2019b. 'The Ordinary–Extraordinary Dialectics in Tourist Metropolises'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, 5(1): 17–34. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-12-2017-0082

Lucas, Léopold. 2021. 'Tourists and the City. Knowledge as an Inhabiting Challenge'. In *Progress in French Tourism Geographies: Inhabiting Touristic Worlds*, edited by Mathis Stock, 45–64. Springer.

Lucas, Léopold. 2022. 'The Skills Behind the Spatial Practices'. *Space and Culture* 25(1): 77–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331219881359

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman (eds). 2009. *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge.

Metro-Roland, Michelle M. 2016. *Tourists, Signs and the City: The Semiotics of Culture in an Urban Landscape*. Routledge.

Morrison, Alastair M. and Cristina Maxim. 2021. *World Tourism Cities: A Systematic Approach to Urban Tourism*. Routledge.

Nijman, Jan. 2000. 'The Paradigmatic City'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 135–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/0004-5608.00189

Scott, Allen J. and Edward W. Soja (eds). 1996. *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. University of California Press.

Shoval, Noam (ed). 2020. *Tourism and Urban Planning in European Cities*. Routledge.

Soane, John V. N. 1993. *Fashionable Resort Regions: Their Evolution and Transformation with Particular Reference to Bournemouth, Nice, Los Angeles and Wiesbaden*. CABI.

Soja, Edward. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Blackwell.

Spitzzeri, Paul R. 2001. 'The Road to Independence: The Los Angeles and Independence Railroad and the Conception of a City'. *Southern California Quarterly* 83(1): 23–58. https://doi.org/10.2307/41172051

Stanton, Jeffrey. 1987. *Venice of America: Coney Island of the Pacific*. Donahue.

Stock, Mathis (ed). 2003. *Le tourisme: Acteurs, lieux et enjeux*. Belin.

Wallach, Ruth, Linda McCann, Dace Taube, Claude Zachary and Curtis C. Roseman. 2008. *Historic Hotels of Los Angeles and Hollywood*. Arcadia.

Weinstein, Richard S. 1996. 'The First American City'. In *The City. Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, 22–46. University of California Press.

Chapter 3

The Phenomenon of the Spatial Organisation of Metropolitan Tourism: The Case of St. Petersburg

Valery Gordin, Anastasiia Polomarchuk and Anastasiia Korman

Introduction

Where we are and where we should go are philosophical and, at the same time, applied questions for metropolises that arise at a new turning point of development every time. Awareness and reflection of the emerging phenomenon of urban space is an important stage in the development of any metropolis. We will focus on St. Petersburg. For leading tourist destinations, the connection to historical heritage remains an anchor that allows them to preserve the uniqueness of their phenomenon while organically connecting with new trends. St. Petersburg is one of the most dynamic cities in Russia and occupies a leading position among Russian and European cities in terms of tourist attractiveness. The city is known for its rich cultural and historical heritage, which ensures the intensive development of metropolitan tourism.

Researchers define the essence of a metropolis through the concept of a tourist destination. In this chapter, we will consider the metropolis and metropolitan tourism from the cluster approach. Traditionally, a tourism cluster is defined as a geographical combination of interconnected and complementary organisations, which may represent different organisational forms and performance sectors (Yalçınkaya and Güzel 2019). The cluster approach is actively applied to tourism development in cities where it is important to provide comprehensive tourist services. At the same time, cluster practices can be implemented at both macro and micro levels. Therefore, the metropolitan tourism phenomenon will be considered from two points of view. On the one hand, the metropolitan character of the city is expressed through the organisational and administrative connection between the centre and

the agglomeration (suburbs, periphery), which is confirmed by the presence of pendular migration of residents and the circulation of tourist flows. On the other hand, a major tourist city can be considered a tourist metropolis if it demonstrates a high level of diversity in its tourism offer, which helps to attract different types of tourists (Lucas 2011).

The case of St. Petersburg as a tourist metropolis will be considered through its historically established and emerging cluster practices, which determine the modern model of the metropolis and urban geography. Particular attention will be paid to the peculiarities of the management of the tourism industry, which distinguishes St. Petersburg from other metropolitan areas. In conclusion, further possible ways for the development of metropolitan tourism will be considered.

Tourist Clusters as a Promising Form of Tourism Organisation in St. Petersburg

A promising direction for the development of the spatial organisation of metropolitan tourism in St. Petersburg is the purposeful formation of tourist clusters.

Over the past twenty years, the mission of the cultural and tourist cluster has been transformed in the context of the development of the metropolis. To date, the main function of the cluster in the urban environment, according to many researchers, remains to support the development of the city (Abfalter and Piber 2016) and, in some cases, the revitalisation of certain areas of the city (Tien 2008; Lefevre 2017). According to Mottiar et al. (2013, 2), 'there is added value for communities and society in general, as generating synergies between arts, culture and tourism can positively contribute to civic, community and social realms as well as to local economic development'. The cluster approach to the development of the metropolis is perceived by researchers to be a strategic tool that can unlock and strengthen the potential of individual cluster components (Pirnar et al. 2017; Tien 2008). The main economic effects of the clustering process can be considered to be the following: the infrastructural transformation of the urban environment; the formation of additional jobs; the development of a creative and innovative environment; the development of human capital, attracting highly qualified and competitive employees; increasing the value of real estate; the development of collaborative activities; and interprofile production (Tien 2008; Danko et al. 2017; Yang and Černevičiūtė 2017).

However, in the context of changing the behaviour of tourists and the transition from visiting leading attractions to immersion in the cultural and event life of the city, it is important to emphasise the authenticity of the destination (Seyfi et al. 2020). The intensive development of tourism has led to an oversaturation of the market, which has begun to negatively affect the image of tourist destinations: the focus of promotion is shifting from authenticity to versatility. Such a change in the branding of tourist products can be explained by the desire of tourist destinations to take their hats off to the 'Hollywoodization' of cultural models and practices. Recently, the cluster approach has been resorted to for systematisation and 'comprehension' of urban space to increase both the understanding of the logic of the city and its tourist attractiveness. Cultural and creative clusters become points of attraction, which are easily read by tourists when getting to know the city. They accumulate tourist flows in the urban space, offering tourists various behaviours depending on their needs: visiting cultural attractions, participating in immersive shows or joining local crafts. Activities are accompanied by the consumption of services that ensure the cluster's operability.

Researchers in the field of culture and creative industries have attempted to systematise cluster forms, identifying quite a few types of clusters that differ in territorial shape and profile (Mommaas 2004; Tien 2008; Zarlenga et al. 2016; Lefèvre 2017; Pourzakarya and Bahramjerdi 2019). It is important to mention that one of the most important target audiences of these clusters are tourists interested in various genres of local culture and products of cultural institutions, which allows us to talk about them as cultural and tourist clusters. In addition, experts note the potential for the development of niche types of tourism, the resource base of which can be clusters of a certain profile (Gravari-Barbas et al. 2019). As examples of St. Petersburg practice, we can mention the ArtMuza creative space, the concept of which is more appealing to the music audience, and the loft project Floors, which is aimed at connoisseurs of hand-made products and craft shopping.

The most systematic approach to the classification of territorial cluster forms of cultural institutions in urban space was proposed by Nikolić (2011). The researcher identified three main urbanistic parameters of the museum clusters classification: location; spatial model; and landscape resources (elements of the urban environment, water resources, green spaces) (Nikolić 2011). Even though Nikolić's classification was developed for a narrow-profile group of clusters (museum clusters), the general principles of differentiation are easily scaled and confirmed by several examples.

The definition of the cluster location in the 'urban coordinate system' is set in relation to the city centre. This parameter is critically important since it has a significant impact on the integration of the cluster, not only into the public life of citizens (Mantziou 2019), but also on the tourist attendance of the destination. The location of the cluster in the urban space determines its functional significance. The task of the cluster located in the city centre is not so much to accumulate as to redistribute tourist flows, in order to level out local overtourism. The mission of grey zones clusters is primarily to revive the life of the district, increase its investment attractiveness and, therefore, tourism. Thus, the boundaries of the city's tourist zones are expanding through the development of new space (new hotels are being built, new attractions are being created). Clusters of peripheral zones become 'bridges' connecting the business part of the city with bedroom communities, where tourists often stay. Clusters located outside the city expand the tourist geography and create a 'breeding ground' for the development of tourist routes.

Considering the St. Petersburg case, we highlight three main tourist cluster areas: first, the central districts of the city (the 'golden triangle'); second, the suburbs, where the tsar residences are located (Strelnya, Peterhof, Oranienbaum, Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Gatchina); third, the 'grey belt' with rapidly emerging creative spaces (Sevkabel Port, Treugolnik).

Cluster Approach as a Way to Develop Metropolitan Tourism

The importance of the cluster approach to the formation and development of metropolitan tourism in St. Petersburg is due to several circumstances.

The first of them is the need to develop fully fledged tourist clusters in existing tourist areas, corresponding to the most important condition for the functioning of clusters, which is close interaction between its actors. According to the study conducted by the authors, to date, many St. Petersburg tourism clusters have not established cooperation between participants, based on whose activities new tourist products can be formed.

The second is to increase the attractiveness of various components of the tourism cluster based on the promotion of cluster brands. Clusters create attractiveness for their residents: for example, Peterhof for the small museums included in it, and Sevkabel Port for its creative workshops and studios.

Third, within the framework of clusters, the interaction of creative organisations during mass cultural events can be more clearly regulated. This is an urgent problem for St. Petersburg, since the vast majority of more than three

hundred cultural festivals take place in the summer months, and the issue is to organise and hold interesting festivals in the low tourist season.

Fourth, the use of clustering tools will allow eliminating the expected surge of overtourism in the post-COVID period. Based on clusters, complex tourist products can be created that allow avoiding significant masses of tourists in other parts of the city that disrupt the normal rhythm of life of residents.

Realising the potential threats of the return of the problem of overtourism on the one hand, and maintaining the desire to increase the number of tourists coming to the city on the other, the government of St. Petersburg launched the project 'New Tourist Geography of St. Petersburg'. Within the framework of this project, it is planned to build a single ecosystem of cultural and tourist attractions. The concept of 'New Tourist Geography of St. Petersburg' is designed to draw attention to the development of cluster relations between cultural organisations and other stakeholders of tourism activities. The idea underlying this concept of involving attractive cultural objects located outside the borders of the historical centre (primarily in the 'grey belt' zone and in residential areas) into the tourist turnover determines the need for the formation of cluster forms of activity of cultural organisations and their partners. It is the unique but complex nature of the tourist products provided that can allow reorienting the flow of tourists from the city centre to the outskirts. Thus, a cluster approach to the development of the tourist space of this metropolis will harmonise tourist flows, reducing the load on the historical city centre through the decentralisation of these flows.

So, defining what the phenomenon of the spatial organisation of metropolitan tourism in St. Petersburg consists of, we can state that this is the desire to use the former metropolitan status as a factor in the spatial placement of attractive objects, both in retrospect (central areas, suburban residences) and in the format of modern types of educational and interactive tourism (the Island of Forts project), business tourism in the field of information technology (ITMO Highpark project) and architectural and educational tourism (hi-tech architecture cluster in Lakhta) in the future. The lost capital city status continues to be attractive and it is looking for new forms of expression.

Historical and Cultural Excursion – Capital Background

The formation and development of St. Petersburg as a metropolitan tourism destination was significantly influenced by its status as the capital of the Russian Empire from 1712 to 1917. It was the city's fulfilment of the functions

of the capital that left an imprint on its spatial organisation, on the placement of the most remarkable historical and architectural monuments (Peter and Paul Fortress, palaces, government buildings, cathedrals), and on the location of tsar residences both in the city centre and in its suburbs.

The urban planning approach makes it possible to see that St. Petersburg, unlike many cities, developed according to a clearly developed plan, which allowed using all the achievements of urban planning of the eighteenth century. One of the main ideas of this plan for the construction of the new capital was the placement of the tsar residences, as well as the residences of members of the tsar family and the largest tsar dignitaries in the centre of the emerging city, primarily on the banks of rivers and canals flowing through its territory. It was these magnificent palaces that became the 'face' of St. Petersburg architecture, turning into museums and other cultural institutions in the twentieth century. The construction of the first tsar suburban residence, Peterhof, began almost simultaneously with the construction of St. Petersburg. It should be noted that here Peter the Great followed the European traditions of his time, when royal residences were located in the suburbs of the capital cities (Versailles, Nymphenburg, Schennbrunn, and so on). The next rulers of the Russian Empire erected many palaces in the immediate suburbs of St. Petersburg – in Pavlovsk, Pushkin (formerly Tsarskoye Selo), Gatchina, Oranienbaum, and so on – distinguished not only by magnificent architecture but also by rich museum collections. It can be stated with confidence that the suburbs of St. Petersburg occupy one of the first places in the world in terms of the diversity and richness of various cultural and historical sites. The tsar residences were located in picturesque places within diverse landscapes, which contrasted sharply with the low-lying landscape of the Neva delta, where the construction of a new city was under way. At the same time, magnificent parks, according to French and English patterns, were laid out around all the residences, which, in our time, have created additional attractiveness for these tourist attractions. This primarily concerns the Lower Park of Peterhof, in which there are about one hundred and fifty working fountains.

The former capital status of St. Petersburg also predetermined the location of the most important cultural objects from the point of view of tourism. Thus, the largest museums – the State Hermitage and the State Russian museums are located in former tsar palaces, and the most famous theatres – the Mariinsky and Alexandrinsky – are in the premises of the former imperial theatres. It should also be noted that the overwhelming number of events in Russian history during the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries are also associated with the central part of St. Petersburg – palace coups, conspiracies,

revolutions – which gives these areas additional attractiveness in the eyes of tourists. All this, together with the memorial museums of the best-known Russian writers, poets and musicians (Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Nabokov, Brodsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, among many others) allows us to present St. Petersburg as a 'cultural capital' of Russia.

At the level of ordinary citizens, a sense of 'metropolitan nostalgia' is heightened by, among other things, the development of tourism, which is based on drawing attention to the city's metropolitan past.

In order to attract tourists, the theme of the metropolitan past of St. Petersburg is widely used in various kinds of advertising and information materials, in the presentation of cultural objects and in the urban identity. In the information field, citizens of St. Petersburg are constantly faced with the names of their great compatriots who lived and worked in the city when it was the capital of the Russian Empire. This creates a sense of nostalgia based on comparing how great the city's past was compared to its current status.

At the same time, the desire to bridge the gap between the 'metropolitan past' and the everyday present has led the city authorities and business circles to focus on creating various mythologised brands, from 'cultural capital' to 'coffee capital', 'bar capital' and a number of others. One of the most successful examples of the search for a quasi-capital image is 'St. Petersburg, the capital of sports hospitality', acquired by the city after the 2018 FIFA World Cup. Within domestic tourism, such brands play a significant attractive role.

The influence of the imperial capital factor on the formation of tourist attractiveness was considered by one of the authors of this paper on the example of St. Petersburg using the digital footprint analysis method (Gorgadze et al. 2019). It was found that the halo of the capital is formed based on, among other things, the mention of several word-symbols that characterise the capital status of the city (imperial, emperor, empire; tzar, czar, tsar).

Tourism in St. Petersburg: Scale and Spatial Organisation

A large number of attractive tourist sites have made St. Petersburg the most popular tourist destination in Russia and one of the leading cultural tourism cities in Europe, which is based on the development of the sphere of culture.

The scale of cultural development in St. Petersburg is presented in Table 3.1.

In the last pre-pandemic years, there was a rapid growth in the number of tourists in St. Petersburg (more than doubling in ten years) (Table 3.2).

Table 3.1 Number of cultural institutions in St. Petersburg

Institution	Museums	Libraries	Theatres	Concert halls
Number	205	211	94	42

Source: Committee for Culture of St. Petersburg 2021.

Table 3.2 Tourist flow to St. Petersburg 2010–2020, millions of people (numbers include foreign and domestic tourists)

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Tourist flow	5.1	5.5	5.7	6.2	6.3	6.5	6.9	7.5	8.2	10.4	2.1

Source: Committee for Tourism Development of St. Petersburg 2021a.

As the COVID restrictions were being lifted, the number of Russian tourists almost reached the level that it had before COVID-19: 5.8 million people (Committee for Tourism Development of St. Petersburg 2021b). This was facilitated by the lack of opportunities for Russians to travel to most foreign countries, as well as the introduction of a cashback system in Russia, which provides for the return of part of the funds paid for the tour to tourists. However, the number of foreign tourists, due to the closure of the borders, was extremely small: 250,000 people.

In recent pre-COVID years, the problem of overtourism has become more acute in St. Petersburg. Its main manifestations were as follows. Firstly, there was a concentration of tourists in a relatively small area of the central districts of the city. Secondly, there were transport problems, first of all, with tourist buses, especially when several cruise liners arrived in the city at the same time. Thirdly, huge queues formed for the most attractive palaces and museums for tourists. Fourth, a complex and even dangerous situation was created on small rivers and canals crowded with pleasure craft.

However, the city government continued to bet on the development of tourism, planning a significant increase in the number of tourists for several years. Thus, it was planned to receive nineteen million tourists in 2022, having already achieved ten and a half million tourists in 2019, according to the Tourism Development Programme in St. Petersburg.

The main reason for the emergence of overtourism in St. Petersburg is pronounced seasonality. However, the peculiarity of the spatial organisation of tourism also contributes.

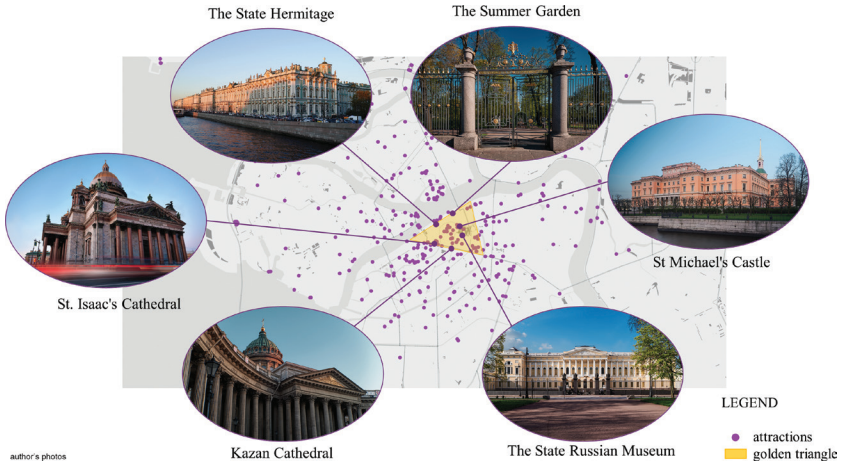


Figure 3.1 The 'golden triangle'. (*Source:* authors' own; map created using QGIS)

The most visited tourist cluster remains the so-called 'golden triangle' – the area between Nevsky Prospekt and the Neva and Fontanka rivers, so called for the ultra-high cost of real estate and prestige, and the adjacent neighbourhoods of the city (see Figure 3.1).

It is here that the largest museums, cathedrals and most of the major theatres and concert halls are located. All group tourist routes without exception include multiple visits to local attractions.

The territorial organisation of tourism in St. Petersburg is also strongly influenced by the placement of most hotels in the city centre. Thus, more than half of all hotels and hostels were located in the central regions before the pandemic period (Popova 2016). At the same time, all five-star hotels and most four-star hotels are located in the same areas. It is interesting to note that St. Petersburg is sometimes called the 'bar capital' of Russia, which makes it very attractive for some groups of tourists. But a significant part of the restaurants and bars are concentrated on several 'restaurant streets' (Rubinstein Street, Sadovaya Street, Dumskaya Street) located in the very centre of the city.

The attractiveness of the central quarters for tourists, which is characteristic of many cities, creates social tension among the city's residents. This is also because a high population density remains in these areas, and the presence of a large number of tourists puts pressure on the social infrastructure of these areas of the city.

Suburbs as Tourist Areas

The problem of expanding the attractiveness of St. Petersburg, by creating additional points of attraction for tourists, has grown for the city authorities in the last decade. Due to overtourism and the concentration of tourist flows in the city centre, one of the urban strategies is to consider the suburbs as one way of dispersing tourist flows and increasing attractiveness. The fact is that in St. Petersburg, tourists sought to visit the three to five most popular tourist attractions (the State Hermitage, St. Isaac's Cathedral, the Church of the Saviour on the Spilled Blood, the Mariinsky theatre, and less often the State Russian Museum and the Peter and Paul Fortress). At the same time, the average stay of tourists in the city didn't exceed three to four days, which was extremely short in light of the rich cultural potential of the city.

In this regard, in recent decades much attention has been paid to increasing the tourist attractiveness of the tsar palaces located in the suburbs of St. Petersburg (see Figure 3.2).

During the Second World War, all the suburbs (except Oranienbaum) were occupied, and the palaces were looted by the Nazis and destroyed. The restoration of suburban palaces and parks, which began immediately after the war, dragged on for many decades and continues to this day. The restoration of the interiors lost during the occupation and the placement of new museum expositions in them increases the attractiveness of the palace ensembles for

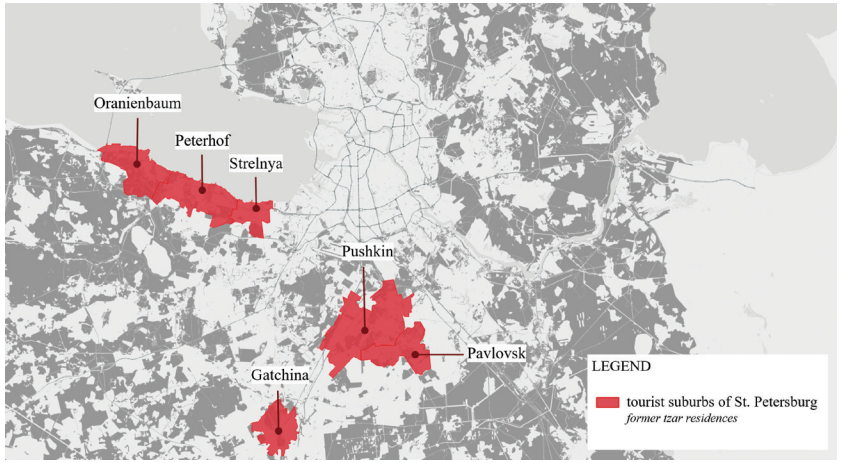


Figure 3.2 The suburbs of St. Petersburg (former tsar residences; map created using QGIS).

tourists. As an example, recreated in 2003, the Amber Room that was stolen by fascists from the Catherine Palace in Pushkin can be highlighted. It was the desire to see this landmark that dramatically increased the number of visitors to the Catherine Palace.

The restoration of suburban tsar residences and the creation of fully fledged tourist clusters on that basis became a new stage in the development of metropolitan tourism in St. Petersburg about thirty or forty years ago. Over the years, suburban residences have become the most important tourist attractions in St. Petersburg, which has given rise to several new problems. The fact is that the main places to visit in suburban clusters are the tsar palaces, the throughput of which is very limited. As a result, some of the tsar residences, designed to 'pull' the flow of tourists from the city centre, themselves faced acute problems of overtourism in the last few years before the pandemic. This applies primarily to the Peterhof State Museum Reserve, which was visited by 6.2 million tourists in 2019 (Novikov 2019), and Tsarskoe Selo State Museum and heritage site, visted by 4.18 million tourists (Tsarskoe Selo State Museum 2020). Attempts are being made to attract tourists to small palace buildings or to newly restored tsar residences to solve the problem of overtourism in suburban tourist areas in recent years. Currently we are witnessing that suburban tsar palaces, which developed as tourist clusters, became overtourism victims; however, they were designed to divert intensive tourist flows from the 'golden triangle'.

Creative Spaces and the Grey Belt

In recent years, St. Petersburg has been going through the third stage of the formation of metropolitan tourism following the trends observed in many megacities. It is based on the growing popularity among tourists of creative spaces, established on the site of former industrial enterprises and infrastructure facilities located in the so-called 'grey belt' surrounding the historical centre of St. Petersburg (see Figure 3.3).

Currently, more than fifty creative spaces have been formed in the city. Their interesting feature is that a significant part of these creative spaces is located on the banks of rivers, canals and the Gulf of Finland, since industrial enterprises and transport infrastructure facilities were usually located near the water to facilitate the delivery of raw materials and the export of finished products. At the same time, the most popular creative space, New Holland Island, is located relatively close to the city centre (although it adjoins the existing shipbuilding enterprises of the grey belt), being a kind of 'bridge'

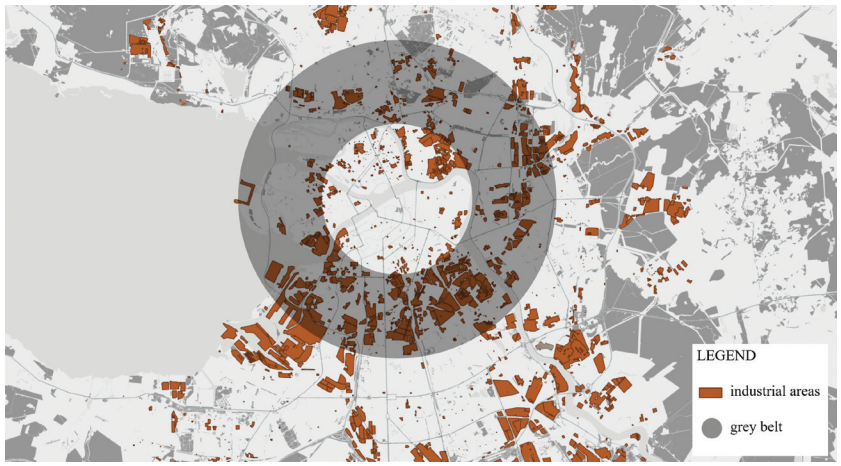


Figure 3.3 The 'grey belt' or industrial zone of St. Petersburg (map created using QGIS).

from the museum quarter to the theatre quarter, formed by several venues (stages) of the Mariinsky Theatre. Other creative spaces popular with tourists are located in the grey belt. Revitalisation, in this case, is a tool for transforming industrial areas to create new functional leisure areas for residents and tourists (Potseshkovskaya and Soroka 2021). For example, the creative space Sevkabel Port is located on the outskirts of Vasilievsky Island, and the creative space Treugolnik is located in a remote part of the Obvodny Canal embankment. We also note that the majority of creative spaces occupy vast territories and dozens of participants of various creative industries are located in them.

Considering the role of creative spaces in the development of metropolitan tourism, it should be mentioned that it is they who contribute to the realisation of the trends that have developed in tourism in the pre-COVID era: 'renovation' ('revival') which, in one form or another, can be expected after the end of pandemic restrictions. According to Ćopić et al. (2014), revitalised industrial areas primarily meet the needs of residents in terms of creating spaces for leisure and self-actualisation, but in recent years creative spaces have gained another important meaning for tourism: they have become a new point of attraction after, and sometimes instead of, traditional cultural attractions. We are talking about a trend, as the desire of tourists to establish relationships with residents, especially within the framework of experiential, cultural and creative types of tourism: the focus of tourists on various forms of interactivity and immersiveness, primarily in the form of participation in local holidays and rituals; the ever-increasing demand for tourist products

based on several types of tourism, for example business and entertainment (bleisure travel) (Gordin et al. 2019).

Taking into account the large restrictions that are present when tourists visit strictly protected cultural and historical sites, it is the creative spaces that create the opportunity to form an atmosphere of friendly communication, co-creation and empathy.[1] Moreover, the revitalisation of industrial areas, including hotel coastal areas and ports, contributes to the creation and enhancement of comfortable living and tourism environments (Kostopoulou 2013). Creative spaces form and reveal the hidden potential of a city (Kazimierczak 2012) by exploiting previously untapped resources, thereby establishing the basis for the development of new types of tourism. It should be noted that the creative spaces as tourist clusters attract tourists whose behaviour patterns differ from those who create the problem of overtourism.

Promising Metropolitan Tourism Directions

A fourth area of metropolitan tourism – the creation of peripheral tourism clusters – is now taking shape and will play a significant role in the future. It is this area of metropolitan tourism that is set to grow the fastest in the coming years. The most important tourist projects on the periphery of St. Petersburg are considered below.

First is the emergence of tourist clusters with a high level of interactivity and entertainment in suburban areas. The museum and history park 'Island of Forts', which is currently being created on Kotlin Island, fully meets these criteria. The city of Kronstadt, founded by Peter the Great on this island, has been the main base of the Russian navy for several centuries, and therefore the park is dedicated to this topic. Although some of the park's facilities will be located in the buildings of historical forts, the park is aimed at a variety of sport, entertainment and cultural forms of activity (as opposed to tourist clusters in suburban tsar residences). The creation of such a large-scale park will be a fundamentally new stage in the development of metropolitan tourism, as it emphasises the new features of the St. Petersburg capital character ('St. Petersburg as the capital of the Russian navy').

Second, a new direction for the development of tourist clusters in St. Petersburg will be the creation of ITMO Highpark. It is being created by ITMO University as a major innovation and educational centre that should attract scientists from different regions of Russia and from abroad. ITMO Highpark is located in the suburbs of St. Petersburg, on the outskirts of the satellite town Pushkin, and fully meets the strategy of dispersing tourist activities

from the city centre. At the same time, it is located near the city's largest convention and exhibition centre, Expoforum, which suggests the possibility of creating a business tourism-oriented cluster in this area that will be dedicated to technology.

Third, a cluster of business and educational tourism is being formed on one of the distant outskirts of St. Petersburg. It will include the existing Gazprom Arena stadium, the Lakhta Centre skyscraper under construction, and several cultural and entertainment facilities located around it. The main attraction of this cluster will be the main tower of the complex, at a height of 462 metres, in which the highest observation deck in Europe will be located at a height of 360 metres. The creation of such a 'record' skyscraper in terms of scale (and next to it the construction of two more skyscrapers with a height of 555 metres and 703 metres respectively) allows us to draw a conclusion about the 'metropolitan nostalgia' in which the city authorities are trying to emphasise the uniqueness not only of inherited architecture but also the modern architecture of St. Petersburg.

In line with the same 'metropolitan nostalgia' is the already implemented transfer to St. Petersburg of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and the planned transfer of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation in the coming years. Thus, there is a partial return of its former metropolitan functions to the city.

It can be concluded that the spatial organisation of the metropolitan tourism development in St. Petersburg is characterised by the peculiarities that have developed even during the period of the city's capital status in the placement of attractive tourist sites – residences, palaces and cathedrals. However, there has been a tendency to create new attractive tourist areas in the last decade, which are designed to organically complement the portrait of 'classic St. Petersburg'.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined in detail how the St. Petersburg metropolis at the first stage influenced the development of communication with suburban tsar residences, where the tourist flow was redirected due to overtourism in the city centre. Currently, the grey belt, with a lot of creative and public places, is becoming a zone of attraction for some, primarily youth categories of tourists. But in the short term, we can already foresee a shift in metropolitan tourism towards peripheral areas that are not linked to the suburbs

and are not connected to the grey belt. Examples of such peripheral zones are Kronstadt, Lakhta and ITMO Highpark, considered in the chapter. This leads to an increase in the variety of tourist offers that stimulate repeated visits by tourists to the city. Thus, four directions of the spatial organisation of the distribution of tourist flows are formed: the historical centre, the suburbs, the grey belt and the periphery.

One of the characteristic features of the St. Petersburg metropolis is a sense of lost capital, transmitted to a certain extent by the organisation of the socio-cultural life of the city. On the one hand, tourism enhances the sense of lost status, and on the other hand forms new growth points. The status of the capital primarily means administrative leadership, but for St. Petersburg it acquires the significance of uniqueness. The promotion and content of sightseeing routes, focused on the capital's status, will allow attracting more Russian tourists to the city, which will form the main tourist flow in the coming years. Therefore, it is possible to foresee that the main brand of metropolitan tourism in St. Petersburg will be 'diverse metropolitan'.

Note

1. The formation of this creative space marked a fundamentally new stage in the construction of the system of work of the city authorities, with the architectural heritage transferred for the organisation of the work of creative industries. The investor in the project has committed himself to the reconstruction of the ruined architectural ensemble while providing a number of opportunities for organising various types of social activities in this place (Gordin et al. 2014)

Bibliography

Abfalter, Dagmar and Martin Piber. 2016. 'Strategizing Cultural Clusters: Long-Range Socio-Political Plans or Emergent Strategy Development?' *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 46(4): 177–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2016.1211051

Committee for Culture of St. Petersburg. (Комитет по культуре Санкт-Петербурга). 2021. 'Statistics of cultural life of St. Petersburg (Статистика культурной жизни Петербурга/Statistika kul'turnoj zhizni Peterburga)' (in Russian). Last modified 4 June. https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_culture/culture_statistics/

Committee for Tourism Development of St. Petersburg (Комитета по развитию туризма Санкт-Петербурга/Komiteta po razvitiyu turizma Sankt-Peterburga). 2021a. 'CSR "North-West" according to the Committee for Tourism Development of St. Petersburg, calculations of St. Petersburg State University and expert assessments of representatives of tour operator' (in Russian). St. Petersburg Tourist Information Bureau. 4 February. http://ntg.visit-petersburg.ru/tpost/uvsxz58521-pervoe-zaseda nie-ekspertnogo-soveta-pri

Committee for Tourism Developent of St. Petersburg. 2021b. 'Development of tourism in St. Petersburg: main results of 2021 (Развитие туризма в Санкт-Петербурге: главные итоги 2021 года/Razvitie turizma v Sankt-Peterburge: glavnye itogi 2021 goda)' (in Russian). St. Petersburg City Administration. 30 December. https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_tourism/news/229496/

Ćopić, Sonja, Jasminaa Đorđevića, Tina Lukić, Vladimira Stojanović, Smiljanaa Đukičin, Snežanaa Besermenji, Igora Stamenković and Aleksandar Tumarić. 2014. 'Transformation of Industrial Heritage: An Example of Tourism Industry Development in the Ruhr Area (Germany)'. *Geographica Pannonica* 18(2): 43–50. https://doi.org/10.5937/GeoPan1402043C

Danko, Lukáš, Pavel Bednář and Jana Matošková. 2017. 'Managers' Activities within Cultural and Creative Clusters: An Essential Element for Cluster Development in the Visegrád Countries'. *Creativity Studies* 10(1): 26–42. https://doi.org/10.3846/23450479.2016.1266049

Gordin, Valery E., Marina V. Matetskaya and Mariya Dedova. 2014. 'New Life of New Holland in a Classical City'. In *Creative Districts Around the World. Celebrating the 500th Anniversary of Bairro Alto* edited by Lénia Marques and Greg Richards, 93–97. NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences. https://publications.hse.ru/pubs/share/folder/86e2ycd3ie/124230855.pdf

Gordin, Valery E., Y. V. Shokola and P. A. Kamenskaya. 2019. 'Using the Cultural Dimension in the Promotion of MICE Tourism Products in the World's Leading Centers'. Conference presentation, Atlas Business Tourism Special Interest Group, Porvoo, Finland, 9–11 May.

Gorgadze, Aleksei, Valery Gordin and Natalia Belykova. 2019. 'Semantic Analysis of the Imperial Topic: Case of St. Petersburg'. *e-Review of Tourism Research* 16(2/3): 3–12. https://ertr-ojs-tamu.tdl.org/ertr/index.php/ertr/article/view/313

Gravari-Barbas Maria, Sébastien Jacquot and Francesca Cominelli. 2019. 'New Cultures of Urban Tourism'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(3): 301–6. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-09-2019-160.

Kazimierczak, Jarosław. 2012. 'The Influence of the Revitalization of Former Industrial Urban Areas on New Urban and Tourism Spaces: Case studies of Manchester and Lyon'. *Turyzm* 22(1): 11–20. https://doi.org/10.2478/v10106-012-0002-3

Kostopoulou, Stella. 2013. 'On the Revitalized Waterfront: Creative Milieu for Creative Tourism'. *Sustainability* 5(11): 4578–93. https://doi.org/10.3390/su5114578

Lefèvre, Bruno. 2017. 'Les clusters culturels sous le paradigme créatif : des espaces de ruptures pour l'économie culturelle locale [Cultural Clusters Under the Creative Paradigm: Tensions and Ruptures]'. *Communiquer* 21: 119–36. https://doi.org/10.4000/communiquer.2392

Lucas, Léopold. 2011. 'Los Angeles ou l'hypothèse de la métapole touristique'. *Mondes du tourisme*, special issue 'Tourisme et mondialisation' (2011): 244–53.

Mantziou, Lena. 2019. 'Museum Cluster as Urban Defibrillator'. *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 471, 072046. https://doi.org/10.1088/1757-899X/471/7/072046

Mommaas, Hans. 2004. 'Cultural Clusters and the Post-industrial City: Towards the Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy'. *Urban Studies* 41(3): 507–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098042000178663

Mottiar, Ziene, Bernadette Quinn, Theresa Ryan and Jane Stacey. 2013. 'Building Collaboration Between the Arts and Culture and Tourism Sectors in the West of Ireland'. Fáilte Ireland.

Nikolić, Mila. 2011. *Ciudad de Museos: Clústeres de museos en la ciudad contemporánea*. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya.

Novikov, Artem. 2019. 'Музей-заповедник «Петергоф» за год посетили 6,2 миллиона человек/Muzej-zapovednik 'Petergof' za god posetili 6,2 milliona chelovek [Peterhof Museum-Reserve visited by 6.2 million people in a year]'. Форпост Северо-Запад [Forpost North-West]. 10 December. https://forpost-sz.ru/a/2019-12-10/muzej-zapovednik-petergof-za-god-posetili-62-milliona-chelovek

Pirnar, İge, E. Evla Mutlu and Metehan İğneci. 2017. 'Cultural tourism as a clustering base for destination marketing: Case of Izmir'. *5th International Conference on Contemporary Marketing Issues (ICCMI) 2017*, Thessaloniki, Greece, 21–23 June: 236–42.

Popova, Tamara. 2016. 'Knight Frank: Рынок гостиничной недвижимости. Санкт-Петербург/Rynok gostinichnoj nedvizhimosti. Sankt-Peterburg – 2016 [Knight Frank: The hotel real estate marketplace. St. Petersburg – 2016]'. HotelsCatalog. 10 December. http://www.hotelscata

log.ru/novosti-gostinits-sankt-peterburga/knight-frank-rynok-gostinichnoj-nedvizhimosti-sankt-peterburg-2016.html

Potseshkovskaya, I. V. and A. N. Soroka. 2021. 'Revitalization of Urban Industrial Areas Based on Sustainable Development Principles'. *E3S Web of Conferences* 266: 08012. https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202126608012

Pourzakarya, Marayam, and Somayeh Fadaei Nezhad Bahramjerdi. 2019. 'Towards Developing a Cultural and Creative Quarter: Culture-Led Regeneration of the Historical District of Rasht Great Bazaar, Iran'. *Land Use Policy* 89: 104218. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2019.104218

Seyfi, Siamak, C. Michael Hall and S. Mostafa Rasoolimanesh. 2020. 'Exploring Memorable Cultural Tourism Experiences'. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 15(3): 341–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2019.1639717

Tien, Chieh-Ching. 2010. 'Museum Clusters and the Features of the City'. In *City Museums and the Future of the City*, ICOM-CAMOC 2008 proceedings, 6–8 October 2008, 82–84. Seoul Museum of History.

Tsarskoe Selo State Museum. 2020. 'Отчёт Государственного музея-заповедника «Царское Село» за 2019 год/Otchyot Gosudarstvennogo muzeya-zapovednika 'Tsarskoe Selo' za 2019 god' [Report of the Tsarskoye Selo State Museum-Reserve for 2019]. Tsarkoe Selo State Museum. https://tzar.ru/science/publications/report-2019

Yang, Jianfei, and Jūratė Černevičiūtė. 2017. 'Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) and Sustainable Development: China's Cultural Industries Clusters'. *Entrepreneurship and Sustainability Issues* 5(2): 231–42. http://doi.org/10.9770/jesi.2017.5.2(6)

Yalçınkaya, Tarık and Tülay Güzel. 2019. 'A General Overview of Tourism Clusters'. *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research* 5(1): 27–39. https://doi.org/10.24288/jttr.465912

Zarlenga, Matías I., Joaquim Rius Ulldemolins and Arturo Rodríguez Morató. 2014. 'Cultural Clusters and Social Interaction Dynamics: The Case of Barcelona'. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 23(3): 422–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776413514592

Chapter 4

Metropolitan Tourism and Urban Redevelopment in South Africa: Creating Uneven Geographies?

Gustav Visser

Introduction

Globally, it is apparent that the majority of contemporary tourism activity occurs in urban places of different sizes (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021). This trend has also ascribed significant importance to tourism as an economic driver (Müller 2019; Saarinen 2019). In this regard, metropolitan regions are particularly important (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017). In the Global North, urban redevelopment through leisure and tourism interventions has been a keenly studied research area (Law 1993; Ashworth and Page 2011). Interventions articulated in various investment strategies have often led to the extensive reworking of central city areas in metropolitan regions (Spirou 2011). Within the context of the Global South – specifically Africa – limited attention has been devoted to providing examples of how processes of urban change manifest in metropolitan tourism (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021). The general point of departure of this study is that urban tourism, and metropolitan tourism as a subset thereof, is an agent of urban change and central to contemporary urban theorisation; however, it has not truly been acknowledged in broader urban studies scholarship (Visser 2019, 107). In addition, the impact of urban tourism generally in most theoretical or conceptual (re)thinking of 'the urban' or 'metropolitan' remains absent in key publications on Southern urban development. Nor is the underlying tourism-led trajectory as a critical shaper of process and urban morphological change acknowledged in recent very prestigious 'Handbooks' published by Routledge – not a single reference to the impact of tourism was acknowledged in conceptualisations of 'the urban' or their economies, planning imaginaries and their impacts discussed.

Building on earlier work (Visser 2016; 2019), the investigation tracks the development trajectories of tourism-led interventions aimed at the redevelopment of various parts of three major metropolitan regions in South Africa. Three key suggestions are offered. Following brief remarks concerning the idea of 'metropolitan tourism' as a concept itself (as highlighted in other chapters in this collection), the chapter analyses metropolitan tourism in three metropoles relative to an emphasis on: 1) the significance of different market segments and the need to distinguish between them and urban change; 2) reflecting on the different articulations of tourism in South Africa's different metropolitan environments; and finally 3) thinking about metropolitan tourism within a particular metropolitan area. First, consideration of key concepts comes into view.

Urban Tourism in Southern Africa and Scale of Analysis

Rogerson and Rogerson (2021, 1) observe that limited attention is given to the urban Global South in mainstream urban tourism scholarship. They argue that the 'other half' of global urban tourism is not so well researched. Arguably, considering the changing global patterns of urbanisation and of the shifting geography of leading destinations for urban tourism, greater attention is justified towards urban settlements in the Global South. Rogerson and Rogerson's (2021) analysis disclosed the appearance of an increasingly vibrant scholarship about urban tourism in the setting of the Global South, although seemingly not finding a sounding board in Northern urban scholarship. Concerning the size and function of urban settlements, unsurprisingly the greatest amount of attention has been paid to large urban centres, with far less attention so far given to tourism occurring either in intermediate centres or small towns (Donaldson 2018). At the same time, it can be observed that it is remarkable that no study has dealt decidedly and explicitly with large 'metropolitan areas' so far. Indeed, in edited volumes and the like, it is common that large cities predominate, but small cities are always mixed in between, and little attention is paid to what sets tourism in larger urban environments apart from tourism in other urban environments.[1] Nevertheless, in a comparative assessment of scholarship on urban tourism in the Global North vis-à-vis South, there are identifiable common themes and trends in writings about urban tourism, most especially in relation to the phenomenon of inter-urban competition, questions of sustainability and planning (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021). The conceptual distinction of 'metropolitan tourism' relative

to 'urban tourism' is, however, not deployed in analyses of tourism in metropolitan regions, yet one might argue it should. A critically important observation is that tourism in the Global South is urban, and hence there is space for exploring 'metropolitan tourism' through that analytic framework.

It should first be observed that regarding Africa, the major tourism activities are urban, as opposed to attractions that are often styled as nature-based (Rogerson and Visser 2011a; 2011b; 2014). The deployment of discussing urban tourism, as opposed to metropolitan tourism, in Africa is complex, and I would argue for caution in any form of generalisation of something such as 'metropolitan tourism'. What constitutes 'metropolitan' in one part of Africa might not be interpreted in the same manner in another part of the continent. In many ways, this is analogous to definitions concerning 'cities', 'secondary cities', 'large towns', and 'small towns' vis-à-vis Asian or European contexts. Even within a single country such as South Africa, the definition of 'metropolitan' has in some cases been the subject of politically motivated decisions, rather than the form and function of urban places. This issue can be extended to neighbouring countries where comparative definitions differ from South Africa.

In examining tourism in African cities, first one would have to underline the general nature of tourism in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Africa. Despite the idea that tourism in Southern Africa is mainly linked to nature-based tourism products, this is certainly not the case (Rogerson and Visser 2020; Rogerson and Rogerson 2021). Most tourism activities are domestic, regional and urban-based, including tourism in and to metropolitan areas (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021).

In the context of most analyses of metropolitan tourism in Africa, the overseas international tourism market is not foundational to tourism in 'the metropole'.

It has been argued that there are very clear distinctions to be made when investigating tourism in the region – the main focus of tourism intent and the place of both destination area and region of origin are important for any meaningful analysis (Rogerson and Visser 2006; Visser and Hoogendoorn 2012). Who the tourists are, how and why they travel to where and when are intimately linked to distinctions of metropolitan tourism spaces. Typically, observation is underpinned by the various socio-demographic traits of these various tourist cohorts and must be acknowledged. There are very diverse tourism markets at stake. I would argue that a lens of analysis sensitive to such variability might be useful for thinking about metropolitan tourism in many other Southern contexts too. The most important thing is to highlight the differences between domestic, regional, international and overseas

international tourists and the impact on the host location – urban or not, metropolitan or not.

One might start with the most important issue surrounding tourism in Africa. For the most part, this is domestic tourism. Domestic tourism, in turn, is a mixture of short-term migrations (or sometimes not that short) between various urban areas and rural locations mostly linked to VFR (visting friends and relatives) tourism, particularly evident during festivals and holidays such as Christmas, New Year and Easter. These tourism activities will often also include some form of business tourism element. Regional international travel is mostly a form of business tourism, and overseas international tourism is mostly related to leisure tourism. What is highlighted in extant scholarship is that very different types of geographies are associated with these different types of tourism and tourists (Rogerson and Visser 2007; Visser and Hoogendoorn 2012). Variation in this regard is manifested in the three different metropolitan contexts reviewed in this investigation. All three cases are metropolitan areas by any definition but related to various tourist markets in different ways regarding a range of activities. The investigation starts with Johannesburg, followed by Cape Town and, finally, Durban (Figure 4.1).

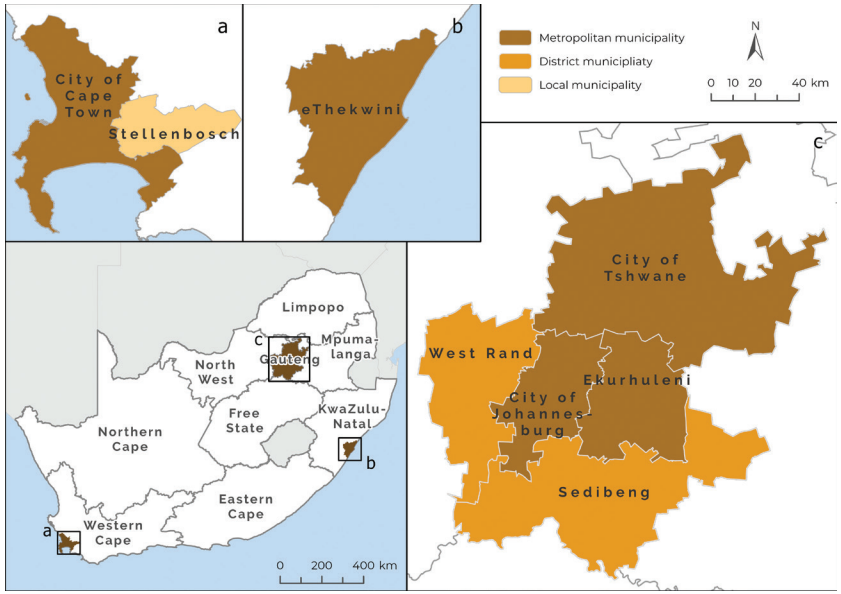


Figure 4.1 Location of the key metropolitan regions of South Africa.
(*Source:* Author's own)

Johannesburg-Centred Conurbation of Gauteng

Greater Johannesburg comprises three metropolitan authorities (along with two district municipalities), collectively constituting the Gauteng province, home to around fifteen million people (Ballard et al. 2021). It is the most visited metropolitan region in Africa and South Africa and has over a century of tourism history drawn to by various kinds of visitors with various travel motivations (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021). In contemporary framing, the reasons for a continued range of visitors relate to the sheer size of the larger Johannesburg conurbation, encompassing a vast range of tourism product types, ranging from nature to the whole spectrum of urban-based tourism activities (Rogerson and Rogerson 2014). It is a tourist destination that attracts significant visitor numbers among three types of tourist-generating regions. As mentioned, the South African tourism markets can be meaningfully distinguished between domestic tourists, regional international tourists, and overseas international tourists – all with different and often overlapping travel motivations, as is the case currently (Rogerson and Kotze 2011). In Johannesburg, for the most part, travel motivations vary broadly. Generally, domestic tourism relates to both business and leisure tourism; regional tourists are mainly focused on forms of business travel; while the international travel market to this region covers all aspects of travel motivation (Rogerson 2015). This gestures towards a potential definitional marker for thinking through 'metropolitan tourism' in South Africa.

In terms of overseas tourists, over the decades Johannesburg has been the main port of entry for overseas international tourists and business tourists and the conduit for overseas business and leisure seekers visiting destinations such as the numerous game parks in its extended hinterland and to other metropolitan regions such as Cape Town and Durban (Rogerson and Rogerson 2020). In this respect, it could be argued that historically and currently, Johannesburg is probably most akin to metropolitan tourism destinations such as London, New York and Paris, in that beyond its function as a gateway, it serves as a location of tourism products that truly cut across all of South Africa's tourist-producing regions and also includes the domestic market.[2]

However, the development of all forms of tourism in Johannesburg generated many challenges towards the late 1980s (Rogerson and Rogerson 2020). This was linked to sharp increases in suburbanisation and associated economic node development in the 1970s, which resulted in inner-city decay (Beavon 2004; Crankshaw 2008; Ballard et al. 2021). As a consequence, in the

1980s Johannesburg experienced unprecedented levels of fear linked to escalating crime rates and overcrowded, physically deteriorated buildings from new poor Black in-migrants (Ballard et al. 2021; Crankshaw and White 1995). This did not aid tourism in any form in Johannesburg relative to a largely white tourist support base. In addition, in terms of international tourists, demand declined, which was in part owing to international boycotts of the apartheid government and an associated collapse of international tourism markets (both regional and overseas), along with ever-growing inner-city decay and resultant accelerated capital flights and decentralisation of most higher-order functions (Rogerson and Visser 2004).

In short, like most major cities in South Africa, Johannesburg lost its appeal as a tourist destination regardless of tourism product type or market. This did, however, slowly change over time but required government-led interventions through various measures, including, in particular, the promotion of conference tourism to deal with the massive effects of South Africa's economy reintegrating into the international market. In large part, as argued elsewhere, this would take place because of the successes of deploying different forms of tourism as a developmental driver in places such as Cape Town and Durban during the same time (Rogerson 2002).

An initial observation is that tourism as a developmental agent was, perhaps belatedly relative to those two metropolitan regions, recognised for its economic and employment potential (Rogerson 2002). Business tourism, historically Johannesburg's focus, was identified as a route to sustained growth for Greater Johannesburg that could be linked to leisure tourism activities often enabled by the overseas business tourism cohort (Rogerson 2002; Rogerson and Kaplan 2005). This also resulted in a particular geography linked to overseas international travellers and the region. Much of these broadly categorised tourism activities and services are located in the northern suburbs (relative to the old central business district [CBD] – now the secondary CBD) centred on Sandton (the new CBD) (Rogerson 2002; Beavon 2004). The demographics of the main (international) tourists engaging in these types of tourism in Johannesburg are mainly wealthy and include many wealthier domestic tourists. In this regard, these two 'markets' are fairly integrated; however, the outcome is products that cater to particular types of markets and require a very specific business owner/entrepreneur. The 'requirement' is typically experienced, relatively well-educated and resourced owners. In the South African context, at least historically, this also often means that previously disadvantaged communities (for instance, Black nations) were/are excluded (Rogerson 2003). The spatial location of these tourism products is

'gated' and highly controlled. These spaces have also become rather 'placeless' and generic in terms of product offerings and general aesthetics. This has also created an ideal backdrop for the emergence of the third- and the fourth-wave gentrification – the exclusion of social classes by developers and local authorities, largely by design (see Lees et al. 2008) – which continues unabated.

Over the past decade, these processes have had an interesting outcome for residents and tourists alike: they seek out more authentic experiences and stimulate the development of places such as the Maboneng Precinct adjacent to the eastern fringe of the old CBD. This resulted in the rediscovery of a part of the old CBD and the notion of residential or doorstep tourism, a trend that, as will be later argued, is also evident in the Cape Town metropolitan region. Given the size of this metropolitan region, inter-metropolitan tourism is also evident (Hoogendoorn and Gregory 2016; Giddy and Hoogendoorn 2018; Hoogendoorn et al. 2020; Hoogendoorn and Hammett 2021). New forms of metropolitan tourism overseas, including both the overseas and residential tourism segment, in the guise of the rather controversially termed 'slum tourism', have also appeared (Booyens and Rogerson 2019).[3] A final remark in terms of inter-metropolitan tourism is that one cannot ignore the growing prevalence of pied-à-terre second homes, in which high-ranking business professionals have relocated their primary residence to various places, such as other metropolitan regions like greater Durban and Cape Town (BusinessTech 2022).

A further role-player in the Johannesburg tourism system is the regional international tourist, primarily business travellers in the form of traders (Rogerson 2004). Typically, retail businesses in neighbouring countries visit this city region briefly to buy wholesale stock for resale in their home countries. This has created its own tourism geography that does not intersect with the overseas tourists or the wealthier domestic tourists. They remain in the old CBD and its immediately adjacent retail spaces. Tourism-associated service providers are very often either immigrants or expatriates from those places and located in the poor, even slum-like, central parts of the city. This has created ethnic enclaves that, in turn, serve as VFR tourist destinations for such ethnic groups located elsewhere in South Africa.

Domestic tourists span the total extent of the South African population and tourism products (Rogerson 2015). Overall, this encompasses the totality of the Greater Johannesburg region and how and where tourism manifests itself spatially. What is important is that there are a myriad of linkages, spatially or otherwise, between these three main tourist markets that are difficult to disentangle. Generally, it could be argued that the wealthy congregate in

the city's northern parts and create exclusionary enclaves. The regional tourist and associated services and providers are relegated to fringe areas in or around the old, decayed CBD. Domestic tourists' activities largely correlate with their class position.

The main difference between Johannesburg and Cape Town – the focus in the following section – is the significant impact of international leisure tourism on that city, residents' reimagination of it, and a significant number of domestic tourists. Cape Town also does not feature regional international tourists in any force, unlike Johannesburg. The attention now shifts to these observations.

Cape Town

Cape Town and its immediate hinterland is home to around four million people (Visser and Horn 2021). Historically, the city was mainly an administrative and regional economic hub – the site of the South African parliament, for example. For the most part, it was seldom a main domestic or international tourist destination (Visser and Horn 2021). For all South African cities, capital flight from CBDs was evident by the early 1990s, although differently so in different spatial contexts, particularly concerning residential living and those social classes involved (Lemon et al. 2021). Relative to other major South African cities, Cape Town had far fewer derelict buildings, and the inner city was abutted by well-established middle- and upper middle-class neighbourhoods, at least on the western edge of the CBD (Visser and Kotze 2008). Given growing trends of inner-city decay in other South African cities, active local government interventions were planned, and in the late 1980s the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront was launched as a leisure and tourism redevelopment scheme on the fringes of the CBD – a decision that would prove pivotal to the future of the CBD and tourism in the city region as a whole. The development history and its relationship to leisure and tourism are discussed at length elsewhere (Bickford-Smith 2009). Suffice it to say that this set in train the development of metropolitan tourism in Cape Town (Visser 2016).

Currently, by tourist numbers, Cape Town is South Africa's and Africa's second most visited tourist destination. Issues of tourist-generating regions have been very important to the evolution of tourism in this city region over the past three decades. The key issue is that overseas tourism demand triggered the escalation of tourism activity in the city and compounded changing domestic tourist demand among the wealthier South African cohorts away from the larger Durban region – traditionally the tourist destination

of choice among tourists from the country's interior. The one tourist market that does not feature strongly in Cape Town is the international regional tourist. Given that this segment is often concerned with business-type tourism, Johannesburg is geographically far more accessible and services-diverse. I would argue that the important point is that overseas tourist interest in Cape Town and its hinterland played a central role in how South Africans, even Capetonians themselves, understood and imagined their city (Bickford-Smith 2009). It has also come to frame how residents think of their city and the type of development trajectory they deem desirable.

As such, Cape Town is an excellent example of tourism-led urban redevelopment. Visser (2016) has summarised a range of investigations into how this process unfolded in Cape Town since the late 1990s. By tracking how particularly leisure and tourism-led interventions were central to the redevelopment of central Cape Town, it was revealed how leisure and tourism development nodes developed, which in time consolidated into leisure and tourism frontiers that have radically reworked Cape Town's central business district along with adjacent neighbourhoods. Much of the gentrification processes vividly seen in central Cape Town can be ascribed to tourism, both traditional and residential interpretations thereof.

The 'discovery' of Cape Town also led overseas tourists to explore the immediate hinterland of Cape Town. Like Cape Town, the Cape Winelands has seen extraordinary development in tourism products and providers since the early 1990s. In places such as Stellenbosch, this has led to a near obsession with thinking about how tourists – domestic or overseas – might 'see' new expansion and development. Even domestic tourists from Cape Town are now often found to take weekend breaks in Stellenbosch and surrounds, even though it is strictly a day-tripper destination. Similar to Cape Town, there are tourism-led development frontiers (Ferreira 2020; Visser and Eastes 2020), which have made certain parts of this secondary city extremely expensive and exclusionary to many of its own population (Donaldson 2020). The experience has also led to a certain design aesthetic – some simplified version of Cape Dutch architecture – against which all new developments are measured. Similar processes have also occurred in adjacent towns such as Franschhoek and Paarl. A growing trend in inter-metropolitan tourism in South Africa relates to the increased emigration of South Africans who formerly lived and worked in the Johannesburg region and relocated to coastal locations of which Cape Town and its surrounds have been major beneficiaries (BusinessTech 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic only served to accelerate and consolidate this trend, creating a new domestic tourism system. In the

case of Cape Town and its surrounding areas, the normalisation of remote work has also stimulated the circular semi-migration of European residents. In some ways this only feeds into the broader second-home geographies discourse for decades at play in some South African towns and coastal cities (Visser 2006; Hoogendoorn and Visser 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015) and the interior (Hay and Visser 2014). Collectively, a further upshot has been the development of extreme wealth inequalities, reflected in elevated property prices, which has occurred as a result of tourism both domestically and overseas and which has reinforced the perennial issues of the uneven character of the South African tourism system (Visser and Hoogendoorn 2012).

Durban

Durban, on the east coast of South Africa, is home to around four million residents, with the largest Indian community outside India itself (Maharaj 2021). The city has a vast and densely populated immediate hinterland. Since the 1930s, Durban, as a coastal city with a subtropical climate, has been a premiere domestic tourist destination for South Africans from the interior – particularly during winter – along with visitors further afield in British-colonised Southern Africa (Rogerson and Rogerson 2020). In many ways, this harbour city – sub-Saharan Africa's largest – also developed as a seaside resort city, and its local residents, until the late 1980s, certainly identified it as such (Maharaj 2021). Among the white minority for much of the twentieth century, tourists considered Durban a sun, sea and sand destination. Within that trope of thinking, various tourist accommodation options developed, ranging from the most basic to arguably the most luxurious in South Africa. The reach of Durban as the resort was not limited to white South Africans during the apartheid years but even extended to the 'non-white' community (Rogerson and Rogerson 2021) serviced in segregated hotels, beaches and amenities.

As was the case in Johannesburg, inner-city decay, white capital flight, ever-growing suburbanisation, along with a significant expansion of the second homes and timeshare sectors both north and south of the city, diluted tourism demand in the main tourism areas, and the city fell out of favour with white domestic tourists (Visser 2019). It also needs to be noted that an increasingly affluent white middle class turned its back on hotel-based holidays and invested increasingly in some form of second home along the coast north and south of Durban and other parts of South Africa (Pandy and Rogerson 2013; Visser 2006). In addition, the postcolonial era undermined

the tourist market from neighbouring countries in Southern Africa as they often moved back to the United Kingdom or emigrated to other countries. In terms of international overseas tourists, the anti-apartheid boycotts of the 1980s snuffed out any chances for that tourist market visiting. As far as international regional tourists were concerned, apartheid strictures were certainly uninviting, although the Black elite of the region was welcomed at some of the high-end hotels (Rogerson 2020).

In the face of a declining profitable white domestic leisure market and the stunted emergence of a post-industrial economy, the city had to rework itself – certainly from a tourism perspective. It took considerable effort to establish Durban as an international and national conferencing destination, partly to 'repurpose' beachfront hotels initially developed for white leisure seekers. This would take time. This is a planning ambition and has not been realised for some time. In addition, issues concerning racism also played a role as many white middle-class visitors from the interior not only abandoned Durban but the region as a whole and migrated to other provinces, among them the Western Cape Province, in which Cape Town is located, which demographically was 'more white'. Other domestic tourists to the region in this cohort dispersed to coastal locations further north and south of the historical central leisure part of the city, in many ways going to locations that, in fact, have long histories as second-home destinations among wealthier white cohorts (Visser 2006). In addition, particularly post-apartheid, connectivity improved to other destinations in South Africa through, for example, expanded airline links and opening other tourist landscapes – both local and international.

The decline of the CBD by the late 1980s and its adjacent beachfront reached a point where the local authorities sought ways in which to revive it, starting with the redevelopment of derelict rail workshop complexes in the CBD and deciding to deploy business tourism through conferencing and events tourism as the developmental catalyst (Desai 2015). Some argue that this formed part of the neoliberal turn in the economic development trajectory the city had chosen, later expanded (Narsiah 2010) and one that would largely lead to capital-intensive developments that excluded any hope of broader participation in the tourism and leisure market. This would set several mega tourism-related developments in motion over the next two decades (Maharaj 2021). Unlike Cape Town, the city at that stage did not support the idea of developing the harbour waterfront, although, in time, it would go down that road, albeit with less success (Houghton 2011). The MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions) development route proved

to be highly successful with both the domestic and international markets; however, its footprint was limited to very particularly delineated nodes and corridors and, beyond low-skill work, exclusionary of the broader resident communities. Unlike Johannesburg, regional international tourism is not prominent in Durban. The domestic VFR tourism segment might not be as 'white as in the 1980s', but significant investments have paid off. The development of the uShaka marine park connected to the Golden Mile beachfront promenade connecting to the casino complex into the north and ending in the Moses Mabhida stadium complex has been highly successful and popular among most Durbanites themselves. It has seen support from the working classes from elsewhere in the province and from Gauteng (Rogerson and Rogerson 2020).

Unlike Cape Town, the development of business tourism in Durban did not address the issue of CBD decline beyond the narrow confines of the conferencing and adjacent beachfront precincts. On the contrary, a new CBD developed twenty kilometres to the north (Houghton 2011). In addition, the extensive site is not integrated with its immediate surroundings, nor does it really employ the poor in the residential parts of the CBD. To a large extent, residents in other parts of the city ignore the area. This redevelopment was unsuccessful in reimaging Durban as a whole – perhaps most importantly for its residents. It remained a 'former' beach holiday destination with its glory days long gone. Moreover, Durban's hinterland is also different from Cape Town or Johannesburg. Although the province in which the city is located – KwaZulu-Natal – has a wide variety of nature-based tourism products, they are not as accessible since they are located relatively far away regarding day-tripping activities, for example.

Unlike Cape Town and Johannesburg, the possibility for metropolitan tourism by residents in the metropolitan area itself is less extensive and is a function of the main geographical features of Durban, which is elongated along the coast. The result is tourism – in the classic sense of the word, whereby residents become tourists within the boundaries of Durban – is more challenging, in that many of the various tourist attractions in the province are located just outside the metropolitan border. There is, however, a driver, like in Johannesburg, to promote residential tourism, and there are examples of weekend breakaways in the metropolitan area for events such as bachelorette and stag weekends, and breakaway pamper stays and simply seeing unfamiliar places in the Durban area. These activities take place in very particular contexts that are intensive in terms of capital and other resources: for example, spa treatments, physical activities, associated staffing and capital

investment. This means that this style of tourism is not really inclusive of a broader population and is divisive both in terms of provider ownership, participation and labour markets.

Conclusion

Drawing on extant literature, the investigation tracked the development trajectories of tourism-led interventions aimed at redeveloping parts of three major metropolitan regions in South Africa. Three key suggestions were offered against the overriding observation that 'metropolitan tourism' is a complex concept not used in the African context as an analytic device. Following brief remarks concerning the idea of 'metropolitan tourism itself' (as highlighted in other chapters in this collection), the chapter analysed metropolitan tourism in three metropoles relative to an emphasis on 1) the significance of different market segments and the need to distinguish between them and urban change; 2) reflected on the different articulations of tourism in South Africa's different metropolitan environments; and finally 3) exploring metropolitan tourism within particular locations.

Conceptually, the challenges are that the units of analysis – 'metropolitan' and 'tourism' – are unstable across Africa, Southern Africa or even within South Africa. This also raises the question of how 'metropolitan tourism' might be deployed in South Africa and between the Global North and South. As a consequence, the issue of comparative studies comes into question. The investigation worked from the premise that metropolitans are evidenced in South Africa's three main metropolitan regions, the spatial consequences of which were differently articulated and linked to tourist types and generating regions. Intra- and inter-metropolitan tourism was considered and found to be evidenced in the three cases. Yet this claim is very place-specific, as it really concerns the scale of the metropolitan areas at stake. South Africa has metropolitan areas that are sometimes of vast spatial extent relative to many other places. The conceptual issue is thus not only of tourism between metropolises but within.

The types of metropolitan tourism activities in South Africa were also shown to hold different internal linkages to different types of hinterlands. The most visible metropolitan tourism destinations are the cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg, where there is, apart from various categories of international and national regional domestic tourism, a rise in residential tourism in their immediate hinterland and internal to their boundaries. The disconnect

exists between different spheres of tourism in space and local communities beyond those that have access to, relatively speaking, significant financial and human resources. In this regard, metropolitan tourism might aid the exclusion of various communities, not least the poor areas of metropolitan areas in which these tourism and development interfaces are lacking.

Notes

1. My thanks to Johannes Novy for underlining this observation.
2. This might be compared with Maitland and Newman's (2009) idea of 'world tourism cities'.
3. It has to be noted that this tourism 'product' has not registered as a main force in either Durban or Cape Town.

Bibliography

Ballard, Richard, Christian Hamann and Thembani Mkhize. 2021. 'Johannesburg: Repetitions and Disruptions of Spatial Patterns'. In *South African Urban Change Three Decades After Apartheid*: *Homes Still Apart?* edited by Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson and Gustav Visser, 35–55. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-73073-4_3

Beavon, Keith. 2004. *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City*. University of South Africa Press.

Bickford-Smith, Vivian. 2009. 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, "The Fairest Cape of Them All"'. *Urban Studies* 46(9): 1763–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009106013

Booyens, Irma and Christian M. Rogerson. 2019. 'Re-creating Slum Tourism: Perspectives from South Africa. *Urbani Izziv* 30(1): 52–63. http://dx.doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2019-30-supplement-004

BusinessTech. 2022. 'South Africa Semigration Surge: Buyers Are Snapping Up Homes and Vacant Land in These Western Cape Hotspot Areas'. BusinessTech. 22 January. https://businesstech.co.za/news/property/551286/south-africa-semigration-surge-buyers-are-snapping-up-homes-and-vacant-land-in-these-western-cape-hotspot-areas/

Crankshaw, Owen. 2008. 'Race, Space and the Post-Fordist Spatial Order of Johannesburg'. *Urban Studies* 45(8): 1692–1711. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098008091497

Crankshaw, Owen and Caroline White. 1995. 'Racial Desegregation and Inner City Decay in Johannesburg'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 19(4): 622–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.1995.tb00531.x

Desai, Ashwin. 2015. 'Of Faustian Pacts and Mega-Projects: The Politics and Economics of the Port Expansion in the South Basin of Durban, South Africa'. *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 26(1): 18–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2014.999692

Donaldson, Ronnie. 2018. *Small Town Tourism in South Africa*. Springer.

Donaldson, Ronnie (ed). 2020. *Human Geographies of Stellenbosch: Transforming Space, Preserving Place?* African Sun Media.

Ferreira, Sanette. 2020. 'Wine Tourism Development: Life Cycles of Wine Routes, Wine Resorts and Lifestyles in the Cape Winelands'. In *New Directions in South African Tourism Geographies*, edited by Jayne M. Rogerson and Gustav Visser, 203–26. Springer.

Giddy, Julia Kathryn, and Gijsbert Hoogendoorn. 2018. 'Ethical Concerns around Inner-City Walking Tours'. *Urban Geography* 39(9): 1293–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1446884

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sandra Guinand (eds). 2017. *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*. Routledge.

Hay, Anette, and Gustav Visser. 2014. 'Socio-cultural and Socio-economic Features of Second Homes in Rosendal, South Africa'. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series* 26*:* 157–66. http://dx.doi.org/10.2478/bog-2014-0051

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and James Gregory. 2016. 'Instagrammers, Urban Renewal and the Johannesburg Inner City. *Urban Forum* 27(4): 399–414. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12132-016-9287-7

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Daniel Hammett. 2021. 'Resident Tourists and the Local "Other"'. *Tourism Geographies* 23(5–6): 1021–39. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1713882

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Gustav Visser. 2010a. 'The Role of Second Homes in Local Economic Development in Five Small South African Towns'. *Development Southern Africa* 27(4): 547–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2010.508585

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Gustav Visser. 2010b. 'The Economic Impact of Second Home Development in Small-Town South Africa'. *Tourism Recreation Research* 35(1): 55–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2010.11081619

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Gustav Visser. 2011a. 'Economic Development through Second Home Development: Evidence from South Africa'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102(3): 275–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2011.00663.x

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Gustav Visser. 2011b. 'Tourism, Second Homes and an Emerging South African Post-Productivist Countryside'. *Tourism Review International* 15(1–2): 183–97. http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/154427211X13139345020651

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Gustav Visser. 2015. 'Focusing on the "Blessing" and Not the "Curse" of Second Homes: Notes from South Africa'. *Area* 47(2): 179–84. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12156

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert, Nthabiseng Letsatsi, Thabisile Malleka and Irma Booyens. 2020. 'Tourist and Resident Perspectives on "Slum Tourism": The Case of Vilakazi Precinct, Soweto'. *GeoJournal* 85(4): 1133–49. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-019-10016-2

Houghton, Jennifer. 2011. 'Negotiating the Global and the Local: Evaluating Development Through Public–Private Partnerships in Durban, South Africa'. *Urban Forum* 22: 75–93. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12132-010-9106-5

Law, Christopher M. 1993. *Urban Tourism: Attracting Visitors to Large Cities*. Mansell.

Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly. 2008. *Gentrification*. Routledge.

Lemon, Anthony, Ronnie Donaldson and Gustav Visser (eds). 2021. *South African Urban Change Three Decades After Apartheid*: *Homes Still Apart?* Springer.

Maharaj, Brij. 2021. 'Durban: Betraying the Struggle for a Democratic City?' In *South African Urban Change Three Decades After Apartheid*: *Homes Still Apart?* edited by Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson and Gustav Visser, 57–79. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-73073-4_4

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman (eds). 2009. *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge.

Müller, Dieter K. (ed). 2019. *A Research Agenda for Tourism Geographies*. Edward Elgar.

Narsiah, Sagie. 2010. 'The Neoliberalisation of the Local State in Durban, South Africa'. *Antipode* 42(2): 374–403. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00751.x

Pandy, Wayde R. and Christian M. Rogerson. 2013. 'The Timeshare Industry of Africa: A Study in Tourism Geography'. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series* 21: 97–109. http://dx.doi.org/10.2478/bog-2013-0024

Rogerson, Christian M. 2002. 'Urban Tourism in the Developing World: The Case of Johannesburg'. *Development Southern Africa* 19(1): 169–90. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03768350220123927

Rogerson, Christian M. 2003. 'Tourism and Transformation: Small Enterprise Development in South Africa'. *Africa Insight* 33(1/2): 108–15. https://doi.org/10.4314/ai.v33i1.22319

Rogerson, Christian M. 2004. 'Regional Tourism in South Africa: A Case of "Mass Tourism of the South"'. *GeoJournal* 60(3): 229–37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000034730.05992.18

Rogerson, Christian M. 2015. 'Restructuring the Geography of Domestic Tourism in South Africa'. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series* 29: 119–35. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0029

Rogerson, Christian M. and Lucy Kaplan. 2005. 'Tourism Promotion in "Difficult Areas": The Experience of Johannesburg Inner-City'. *Urban Forum* 16(2–3): 214–43. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-005-1006-8

Rogerson, Christian M. and Jayne M. Rogerson. 2014. 'Urban Tourism Destinations in South Africa: Divergent Trajectories 2001–2012'. *Urbani Izziv* 25, S189–S203. http://dx.doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-014

Rogerson, Christian M. and Jayne M. Rogerson. 2020. 'Coastal Tourism in South Africa: A Geographical Perspective'. In *New Directions in South African Tourism Geographies*, edited by Jayne M. Rogerson and Gustav Visser, 227–47. Springer.

Rogerson, Christian M. and Jayne M. Rogerson (eds). 2021. *Urban Tourism in the Global South: South African Perspectives.* Springer.

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser (eds). 2004. *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*. Africa Institute of South Africa.

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser. 2006. 'International Tourist Flows and Urban Tourism in South Africa'. *Urban Forum* 17(2): 199–213. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12132-006-0005-8

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser. 2007. 'International Tourist Flows and Urban Tourism in South Africa'. In *Urban Tourism in the Developing World: The South African Experience*, edited by Christian M. Rogerson and Gustav Visser, 41–56. Transaction Press.

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser. 2011a. 'African Tourism Geographies: Existing Paths and New Directions'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102(3): 251–59. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2011.00661.x

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser. 2011b. 'Rethinking South African Urban Tourism Research'. *Tourism Review International* 15(1–2): 77–90. http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/154427211X13139345020336

Rogerson, Christian M. and Gustav Visser. 2014. 'A Decade of Progress in African Urban Tourism Scholarship'. *Urban Forum* 25(4): 407–17. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12132-014-9238-0

Rogerson, Jayne M. 2020. Johannesburg's Iconic Hotels: The Life and Death of the Two Carltons'. In *New Directions in South African Tourism Geographies*, edited by Jayne M. Rogerson and Gustav Visser, 55–74. Springer.

Rogerson, Jayne M. and Nico Kotze. 2011. 'Market Segmentation and the Changing South African Hotel Industry (1990 to 2010)'. *African Journal of Business Management* 5(35): 13523–33. https://doi.org/10.5897/AJBMX11.030

Saarinen, Jarkko. 2019. 'Not a Serious Subject?! Academic Relevancy and Critical Tourism Geographies'. In *A Research Agenda for Tourism Geographies*, edited by Dieter K. Müller, 33–41. Edward Elgar.

Spirou, Costas. 2011. *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. Routledge.

Visser, Gustav. 2006. 'South Africa Has Second Homes Too! An Exploration of the Unexplored'. *Current Issues in Tourism* 9(4–5): 351–83. https://doi.org/10.2167/cit266.0

Visser, Gustav. 2016. 'Urban Leisure and Tourism-Led Redevelopment Frontiers in Central Cape Town since the 1990s'. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal* 64(4): 397–408. https://hrcak.srce.hr/170570

Visser, Gustav. 2019. 'Tourism and Urban Economic (Re)Development Strategies in Southern Cities'. In *A Research Agenda for Tourism Geographies*, edited by Dieter K. Müller, 107–16. Edward Elgar.

Visser, Gustav and Nikita Eastes. 2020. 'Mainstreaming Guesthouses: Reflections on the Evolution of South Africa's First Alternative Tourist Accommodation Sector'. In *New Trends in South African Tourism Geographies*, edited by Jayne M. Rogerson and Gustav Visser, 75–92. Springer.

Visser, Gustav and Gijsbert Hoogendoorn. 2012. 'Uneven Tourism Development in South Africa: Another Ongoing Struggle'. *Africa Insight* 42(2): 66–76.

Visser, Gustav and Anele Horn. 2021. 'Cape Town: Living Closer, Yet, Somehow Further Apart'. In *South African Urban Change Three Decades*

After Apartheid: *Homes Still Apart?* edited by Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson and Gustav Visser, 17–33. Springer.

Visser, Gustav and Nico Kotze. 2008. 'The State and New-Build Gentrification in Central Cape Town, South Africa'. *Urban Studies* 45(12): 2565–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008097104

Chapter 5

The Global Metropolis as a Tourism and Leisure Playground: Megaprojects in Kuala Lumpur Metropolitan Space

Frédéric Bouchon

Introduction

Southeast Asia as a region is often stereotyped as a mix of postcard paradise beaches, fast-growing cities, and colourful and diverse traditions that make it a tourism magnet. More than 125 million international visitors came to the region in 2019, representing 12.4% of the GDP, as compared with 9.8% globally (UNWTO 2022). The economic significance of tourism is evident with seaside destinations such as Phuket, Pattaya and Bali. Thailand and Indonesia attract more than 50% of international visitors, with the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam and Singapore representing another 40%. Tourism is also significant in its large metropolises. From 1915 to 2018 Kuala Lumpur saw visitor numbers increase from one million to twelve million (Euromonitor 2019), while in 2019 Singapore welcomed 19.1 million visitors (Singapore Tourist Board 2019).

Cities such as Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore traditionally welcome many international tourists as a gateway to the rest of the region, also known as ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). In recent decades, these cities have evolved from transit hubs to fully fledged destinations catering to business and leisure tourists. They are also becoming leisure consumption playgrounds for relatively affluent residents and represent a growing component of metropolitan tourism that relates to the central themes of this study.

The wave of globalisation between the late 1990s and 2010s accelerated both the emergence of global cities and large-scale urban projects aiming for a 'global' status. Perhaps in opposition, or at least in parallel, to the economic

global agenda has been the preoccupation to ensure the cultural and social continuity of norms and values of the ASEAN societies, distinct from Western ones. This is particularly evident from a tourism perspective in Malaysia, with containment strategies of various global tourism activities to specific enclaves. Open economies, fluid funding and technology transfer have resulted in the development of megaprojects in fast-growing economies. Authors (Flyvbjerg 2008; Flyvbjerg and Gardner 2022) have discussed the patterns of associated financial, ethical and qualitative risks to megaprojects. Megaprojects are sometimes seen as 'white elephants', vanity projects, expressions of high aspirations of prestige and influence. It is argued that while an extravagant building gives its creators – that is, architects and politicians – the opportunity to leave their mark, the concept of the commercial megacomplex with various functions is structuring metropolitan cities and was a characteristic of Western, automobile-based urban sprawl (Dear and Flusty 1998; Hannigan 1998; Soja 2000). This is enabled with the conjunction of managerial political governance and a laissez-faire or pro-business political approach (Soja 1989; Harvey 1990) often found in fast-growing economies. ASEAN countries have met these conditions at different paces, over the past thirty years, with fast economic growth, accelerated urbanisation and young populations. This study investigates the relationship between urban growth, tourism and the role of megaprojects in structuring unique metropolitan patterns in ASEAN countries, focusing on the case of Greater Kuala Lumpur.

Morphologies of the Metropolis

Globalised Morphologies

Megaprojects have become the epitome of globalisation and form nodes of the multicentred environment characterising the metropolisation of urban spaces. For instance, large-scale urban planning projects have been developed in the Gulf countries, particularly Dubai, since the mid-2000s (Zaidan and Abulibdeh 2021). Tourism and leisure are also encoded in megaprojects and in the case of Kuala Lumpur; some projects were born before the wave of globalisation.

Megaprojects are found both in central neighbourhoods for urban renewal and in the urban sprawl, often as pioneering projects of future urbanisation. They often quickly form new centralities within metropolitan

areas and can become a substitute for the old city centre. For example, South Jakarta (Jakarta), Sunway (Kuala Lumpur) and Bonifacio (Manila) also integrate theme parks and cater to tourists. The theme of urban touristification has been explored and defined from the morphologies to the social, symbolic and political ramifications (Hannigan 1998). Page and Hall (2003) emphasised the urban morphology of globalising cities with patterns and layout of deliberate clustering strategies and standardised offerings. The transformation of the economy and urban morphology leads to the opening of the entire urban area to tourism: a theme park that extends into the heart of the city and into the outskirts. Hannigan (1998) proposed 'fantasy city', a model representing the contemporary Western deindustrialised city, largely based on the service economy. He identified key attributes such as aggressive city promotion, urban marketing strategies, 24/7 functioning and modularisation of products and experiences. Hannigan also identified that urban tourism consumption is based on entertainment themes that are being serialised and reproduced globally. In terms of the accumulation of tourist-use facilities, the development of airports, accommodation, convention centres, theme parks, heritage districts, art districts, ethnic districts, commercial districts and entertainment districts is a major condition for urban touristification (Cazes and Potier 1996). The increasing complexity of the touristic offer shows trends of clustering taking tourism away from any historical or city centre. Globalising cities have identified formerly industrial neighbourhoods to become specialised in creativity to improve their attractiveness (Foord 2009). They contribute to the evolution of metropolises towards a knowledge-based economy (CityLife in Milan, Southbank in London, Confluence in Lyon, and so on). These are examples of gentrified neighbourhoods recomposed through creative and leisure activities and for visitors' consumption, which Zukin (2012) describes as 'disneylandized'. Current social and technological changes are supporting further the transformation of tourism production and consumption (Ivars-Baidal et al. 2021). Staycations, workation, digital nomad visas and home office provisions change the nature of tourism and leisure practices while blurring the boundaries between citizens/residents and visitors. The metropolitan tourism offering is expanding beyond specifically designed areas. This phenomenon contributes to a potentially complete touristification of the metropolitan space with regional variances. For instance, in the Southeast Asian region, Kuala Lumpur combines antagonistic attributes with purpose-built mass-consumption spaces for tourism, and tourism practices spread across the metropolitan area.

Kuala Lumpur Tourism Morphologies: A Playground for Leisure

Since the 1960s, the city has grown from a provincial status and limited population to a global Asian metropolis with more than seven million residents (2020, Table 5.1). The metropolitan area covers different administrative entities (Figure 5.1). These are the federal territory of Kuala Lumpur, or the city proper, and the federal territory of Putrajaya, hosting the federal administration transferred to a purpose-built administrative district. These territories are two enclaves in the Selangor state. More than three-quarters of the Greater Kuala Lumpur population live in Selangor, one of the thirteen states of Malaysia (Table 5.1). The recent development of the city has not yet created a strong sense of belonging and identification to a particular neighbourhood. Furthermore, there is no real distinction between the city centre and the suburbs in terms of service provision, as is often noted elsewhere. There is a higher concentration of services in the core city (the 'golden triangle'), but it is the multicentred organisation of the metropolitan space that characterises Greater Kuala Lumpur. The same phenomenon occurs in terms of the tourist offer, distributed between the city centre and the outskirts. Kuala Lumpur's tourism system is highly deconcentrated in the vast multicentric metropolitan area (Figure 5.1). The metropolis is divided between a historical and commercial core, similar to what Soja (2000) called 'flexopolis' in his study of the postmodern metropolis, and the extensive sprawl ('exopolis'), an urban patchwork of strictly zoned residential, industrial, leisure and commercial areas irrigated by a complex network of arterial roads.

Areas of interest and attractions are located throughout the metropolitan area, with a concentration of commercial and hotel offerings around the 'golden triangle' ('flexopolis'). The latter attracted the attention of policymakers and the economic elite in the combined desire for leading infrastructure and equipment illustrating the world-class level of the metropolis. In this aspect, there are multiple similarities with the patterns established by Soja (2000). Kuala Lumpur's metropolitan areas concentrate a third of the accommodation supply in the country (Bouchon 2014). The five-star luxury hotels are an integral part of the megacomplexes and offer the full range of resort facilities, including swimming pools, sports grounds, gymnasiums, restaurants, retail outlets, conference halls, banqueting facilities and possibly a golf course.

The clientele is mainly made up of business visitors and conference delegates, as well as independent tourists and organised trips. Finally, the local bourgeoisie uses these hotels for its social events (weddings and family

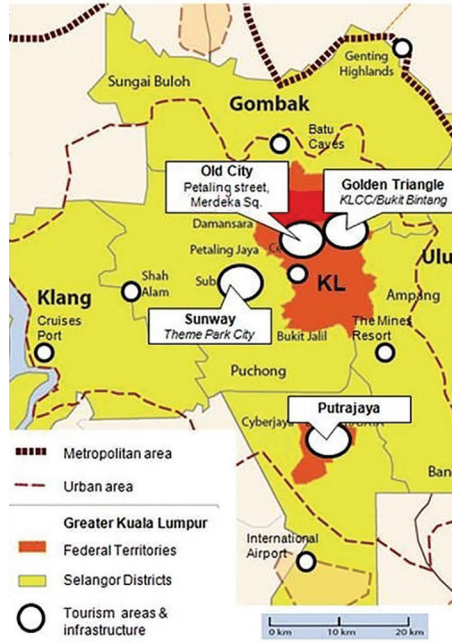


Figure 5.1 Greater Kuala Lumpur, tourism nodes and megaprojects. (*Source:* Author's own)

dinners, for example). Several hotel projects transformed the urban landscape by providing infrastructure for global businesspeople. The Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC) area has been enriched with a new convention centre extension (2 billion Ringgit), and five-star hotels. The main investor is the Qatar Investment Authority, followed by KLCC Property Holdings Berhad. The same investment company was also the main investor in the Pavilion megaproject in Bukit Bintang. The hotel offer has also expanded in the main station district (KL Sentral) a public–private megaproject including a transport hub connecting to the airport, mass rapid transit (MRT) and train lines. In total, more than 65,000 rooms in four- and five-star hotels were built between 2010 and 2022 in Greater Kuala Lumpur, while the total number of rooms doubled in the country during this period (MOTAC n.d.).

Kuala Lumpur's tourism development policies focus on extending tourism infrastructure and creating facilities to accommodate tourists and residents (Table 5.1). Megaprojects (combining shopping malls and business centres) have structured new urban cores as much as they have contributed to the dispersal of tourism infrastructures in the urban sprawl. The multicentred

Table 5.1 Tourism infrastructure distribution across Greater Kuala Lumpur

	Federal Territory KL (FT KL)	**Urban Selangor**	**Wilayah Putrajaya**	**Greater Kuala Lumpur**	**FT KL part**
Population	2.1m	5.5m	0.2m	**7.8m**	26.9%
Universities	15	36	2	**52**	28.3%
Hotels (4/5-star)	68	65	6	**139**	48.9%
Convention centres	6	8	2	**16**	37.5%
Mixed-use commercial sites	25	24	1	**50**	50.0%
Attractions/sites	14	11	3	**28**	50.0%
Theme parks	3	6	1	**10**	30.0%
Medical tourism hospitals	11	9		**20**	55.0%

Source: MOTAC n.d.; Statistics Malaysia; Author 2024

organisation of the metropolitan space is a characteristic of Greater Kuala Lumpur. The distribution of tourist facilities and attractions is widely extended to the entire metropolitan area, although there is a concentration of hotels and trade within the city's golden triangle (Table 5.1). This is quite different from Bangkok, for example, which presents a higher concentration of tourist and commercial offers in the core central area. From a spatial point of view, half of Kuala Lumpur's tourist facilities and resources are located outside the limits of the core urban area (federal territory). What's more, small and medium-sized retailers retain large sections of the metropolitan commercial space despite competition from megaprojects. Extended operating hours, proximity to consumers and agility of offer allow a great mix of commercial supply and, ultimately, demand. The entire metropolis is becoming dedicated to urban consumption. The sites of the new urbanism – pedestrian zones, themed areas, gated communities, redeveloped mixed-use areas – are subject to urban consumption. These often take the form of megaprojects with waterfront areas of leisure and entertainment. Touristified cities quickly experience a segmentation of the offer according to the levels of complexity of the metropolis (Smith and Diekmann 2017). For instance, medical tourism has become an important segment of the tourism offer of Kuala Lumpur, growing quickly from 75,210 medical tourists in

2001 to 1.2 million in 2019 (IMTJ 2024). A major contributor to this trend has been the recent proliferation of new private hospitals, mainly due to the entry of industry groups seeking access to market growth (Prince Court Medical Centre near KLCC, Sime Darby Group and Sunway Group hospitals in Subang).

The master plans and national plans combine free-market and laissez-faire governance, which are common in Southeast Asia (Jamil et al. 2013), and the private sector is enabled to raise capital for mixed-use large-scale projects or megaprojects. These have developed since the 1970s in a context of rapid economic growth and national assertiveness (Bouchon 2012). In the 'exopolis', megacomplexes cover the extensive metropolitan area and are combining several central functions that drive urban growth, some of which also have a tourist value. SkyCasino in Genting Highlands, the country's only casino, was established in 1977 and has developed into a mass-tourism destination on the outskirts of the metropolitan area. It now offers residential and tourist accommodation. Numerous projects combining shopping malls, offices, housing, theme park, convention centres and hotels followed: Sunway, Mines, Mid Valley, Damansara, Putrajaya and KLCC, among others. (Figure 5.1). The 'new cities' are also attractive by their architecture and urbanism: Petaling Jaya (1960–70), Shah Alam (1980–90), Putrajaya (2000–10). In the flexopolis, the core area of the global city project (golden triangle) illustrates the common desire of Kuala Lumpur's pro-business governance elites for world-class infrastructure and amenities in the city. Flyvbjerg (2008) defined megaprojects by their size, the scale of investment and the extent of risk associated with them. They typically cost US$1 billion or more, comprise mixed uses (residential, leisure, tertiary, transport, hotels, creativity, technology), take many years to develop and build, involve multiple public and private stakeholders, are transformational in the urban growth, and impact millions of people (Orueta and Fainstein 2008). A Marxist reading of the skyscraper would be that of a tool of power of the local elites to divert the attention of the masses and facilitate the global recognition of these elites by other elites. For instance, the KLCC megaproject of the late 1990s was to equip the city with a new central business district that would project the economic successes of the country and aspirations. The Petronas Twin Towers, the tallest twin towers in the world and the district's figurehead, represent the modern face of Malaysia; they are infrastructures symbolic of the country's development, and business cards of the state's public relations policy. They illustrate the new branding of Kuala Lumpur as a world-class city. They are also used internally to flatter the national ego and demonstrate the ability to complete grandiose projects.

The urban brand develops mainly from 'iconic' buildings, urban design and landscaping, including parks and public amenities, as well as street furniture and signs and markers. A distinct architecture makes it possible to develop a reputation through skylines, with an easily identifiable design to counter the urban trivialisation due to architectural homogenisation. The use of superlatives is the fastest way to make an impression in the quest for global city status, even though skyscrapers have controversial value in urban planning and the quality of life of the city (Leiper and Park 2010). Major urban planning projects have made it possible to develop new cities, structuring facilities such as Putrajaya, the international airport and the central business district around the twin towers. If these actions were the expression of a desire to change the image of the city, they also allowed the perhaps unintended dispersal of tourist activities into several nuclei covering the urban area.

Becoming a Global City

Since the 2010s the tourism offer in the metropolitan area of Kuala Lumpur has evolved to capture changing demand and markets. The segmentation of the value proposition has widened, mixing the leisure uses of visitors and residents. The forms of tourism are blurred between places of relaxation (for the resident population but also used by tourists) and tourist places (for visitors but used by residents). The advantage of a recent tourist metropolis is that it offers a wide choice of ways in which space can be used. Kuala Lumpur is a young city with a tourism infrastructure, developed from the 1990s onwards, that has been scattered across the metropolitan area in parallel with the urban development. Unlike many cities, development choices have exported certain tourism-related activities outside the original urban core. This explains why the city's tourist areas are scattered, with a tendency towards territorial specialisation.

The central areas of Kuala Lumpur and the leisure enclaves of Sunway, Genting, Bangsar and Mont Kiara are already home to all the attributes of global leisure (sophisticated nightlife, entertainment, shopping, dining, and so on). Developing a lively nightlife and entertainment is part of the goals of the Economic Transformation Programme (ETP) (PEMANDU 2010, 57–120): bars, cafes, nightclubs. The programme takes into consideration the needs of the conservative elements of the government and the religious (PEMANDU 2010).

It recommends a containment policy with relaxed limits on nightlife and entertainment in these specific enclaves that meet the needs of both

visitors and the non-Muslim population. This containment strategy meets the requirements of Islamic values while satisfying the general leisure aspirations of global residents and visitors (Jafari and Scott 2014). The attention paid to events and entertainment indicates the desire to change the conservative image of the country without alienating public opinion. Zoning and the creation of tourism and leisure clusters was done across the sprawl to mitigate the risk of a cultural backlash against tourism from the more conservative segments of the society. The policies and plans try to meet divergent interests, providing a 'global' tourism offer to achieve economic benefits while maintaining social and cultural stability. The tensions between the advocates of increased internationalisation and supporters of social control constitute reasons for clustering and explain further a highly segmented urban morphology. Despite the confusion that a multiple and sometimes contradictory offer can create in the image of the destination, it can represent a development of clustered specialisations (Cohen and Cohen 2012) in which spaces are functionalised and assembled. They become nodes in Kuala Lumpur of a global reproduction of 'world-class' tourism infrastructure.

Governance and Stages of Tourism Development

The interplay of metropolitan and tourism development is strongly associated with a deliberate strategy to make Kuala Lumpur (KL) a global city. The ETP placed an emphasis on KL, and tourism in KL as a focus point. This diverged from past plans that had a stronger regional development orientation. National and metropolitan planning emphasise the need for a world-class city status and the Ministry of Tourism identified priority *clusters* for tourism development: business tourism, congress tourism, shopping tourism (shopping week, theme weeks), family and amusement tourism (theme parks) and medical tourism. This was not only seen in Kuala Lumpur, as neighbouring Singapore invested in massive construction projects with direct tourism and urban branding impacts. The building of iconic landmarks such as the Petronas Twin Towers (KL), and Marina Bay Sands and Gardens by the Bay (Singapore) helped to build a new image, involving world-class architects, and the rise of cultural capitalism. A laissez-faire and pro-business attitude, combined with a hierarchical organisational and political structure, generated a governance style that focused on a top-down approach (Pierre 2009). This enabled large-scale private and public partnerships that can mobilise significant resources and function with limited risk of opposition from civil society.

In fast-growing economies, this enables infrastructure projects to accelerate further growth. Authors such as Flyvbjerg et al. (2003) and Flyvbjerg (2008) underline the opportunities and risks in relation to transport and connectivity related megaprojects. Although they are catalysts for growth, they can present substantial risks in terms of cost overruns, corruption and leakage, and potential market shortfalls. Governance that does not offer opportunities for independent scrutiny and opposing voices creates a lack of accountability and inappropriate risk sharing.

Tourism development operations are based on connections between the business community and public authorities. Theme parks (Berjaya, Genting, Sunway, Zoo, Bird Park), Genting Group (Genting Casino, Genting Tourist Complex), shopping malls (Berjaya, KLCC, Mines, among others), coach operators, airlines (Malaysia Airlines, Air Asia), KTM railways, RapidKL rapid transit network, taxis, tourist buses, museums – all participate in the development and promotion of the Kuala Lumpur destination. Tourism governance in Malaysia is organised hierarchically according to administrative levels. At the top of the hierarchy is the Ministry of Tourism and its promotion branch (Tourism Malaysia), followed by state (Selangor) and territories (Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya), and finally at the municipal level for the cities of Selangor.

Due to its limited budget, Tourism Malaysia promotes administrative states and territories but not individual places or attractions. Kuala Lumpur proper, as a federal territory (DBKL: Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur [Kuala Lumpur City Hall]), seems to benefit from this situation, while it does not benefit the rest of the metropolis as a destination (Figure 5.1). The Ministry of Tourism has a coordinating, planning and consultative role at national level, but has no authority over other ministries and states for tourism policies and development. The State Economic Planning Unit (SEPU) is responsible for creating favourable conditions (legal and operational) and infrastructure to facilitate private investment. This includes the construction of roads, airports, ports and resorts, as well as promotion and events. The state of Selangor has created its own branding (Tourism Selangor), while the DBKL and the Putrajaya Corporation do the same for the federal territories of Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya. The metropolitan coordination of tourism and planning is lacking, as each state has maintained a different tourism promotion. Political opposition between federal and local governments has reinforced a fragmented perception of the metropolitan area, with differing visions of tourism and development.

Urban Tourism: A Marker of Modernity and Nation-Building Instrument

Kuala Lumpur metropolitan area, and to a lesser extent other Malaysian areas, are organised around island-like megaprojects supported by highways cutting across the urban sprawl of low-density residential areas. While tourism policy in Kuala Lumpur and its region tended to play a minor role until recently, and despite the importance of megaprojects driven by private players, the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020 (KLSP 2020) has recently sectorised tourism functions around geographical clusters (KLSP 2004). Priorities were given to tourist activities such as shopping (with shopping centres), leisure and entertainment, sports, relaxation and recreation (golf, sporting events) and finally well-being and medical treatments. The main activities (shopping, culture, congresses, entertainment, gastronomy, education and medical) are concentrated in the golden triangle (Figure 5.1). The other neighbourhoods keep secondary and outdoor activities. The phenomena of globalisation and touristification are expressed through the multiple centralities of the metropolitan area with megaprojects attracting private investors, developers and, eventually, business and leisure visitors.

Mass tourism accounts for the lion's share of Malaysian tourism, from resorts to large cities, with Kuala Lumpur in the lead. Tourism development policies in Kuala Lumpur are based around the extension of tourism infrastructure, the creation of facilities that can accommodate tourists and residents (Table 5.2). Moreover, the plans between 1975 and 2010 repeatedly sought to combine the idea of the need for a representative city centre with that of tourism. In 1975, the showcase of the city was proposed along the Jalan Sultan Ismail (Bukit Bintang) area, while in 1990 the plan was to transform the old racecourse into the new KLCC. Since the 2000s, changes in the real estate market reveal that interest is focused on the golden triangle, as well as secondary business centres, such as Mid Valley, Damansara or Subang Jaya.

According to the ETP 2010, the elevation of Kuala Lumpur as a world city was intended to increase tourist spending with the goal of 'boosting the engine of the national economy'. The tourism chapter of the ETP included six themes expected to deliver significant results in 2020. These themes were materialised around twelve key points, nine of which had an interest in Greater Kuala Lumpur. The affordable luxury theme was supported by 28% of tourism revenue from shopping, compared to 35% in Singapore and 57% in Hong Kong (Tourism Malaysia 2023).

Table 5.2 Overview of tourism and urban planning phases in Kuala Lumpur

National and urban plans	Implications for Greater Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia Tourism development plan (1975)	Modern city – establishing tourism infrastructure and new city centre
Malaysia tourism policy document (1990)	
Second National Tourism Policy (2003)	Upscale: shopping offer, luxury hotels, congress city; home, national and regional gateway
KLSP 2020 (2004); KLCP Plan 2020 (2007)	World-class city: same functions, but broader aspirations. Importance of transport, quality of life and the environment
Economic Transformation Plan (2010)	A destination city: global role, access (TGV-style high-speed railway), building iconic places, developing cultural offer (creative city)
12th Malaysia Plan (2021–2025) KL Smart City Plan (2021)	Smart and sustainable city: resources optimization, growth and use of IT for growth

The stated objective was to reach 35% in 2020. After the COVID-19 period the new focus of tourism is now one of 'smart and sustainable' objectives in public planning. The use of technology and digital solutions is perceived as key to achieving world-class standards, while maintaining global economic rankings. This illustrates the growing tension between a tourism and urban infrastructure developed on a megaproject and mass-tourism model, and the renewed interest in alternative types of development.

Spaces of Tourism in the Metropolis: Megaprojects and Sustainability Issues

The metropolitan tourism characteristics in Kuala Lumpur were enabled with a particular urban development pattern: high motorisation rate (explained partially by the development of a national automobile industry and the production of petrol), subsequent urban sprawl, megaproject approach facilitated by the pro-business type of governance, and interest for a packaged experience centred around the theme park and integrated resort.

Megaprojects: Drivers of Metropolitan and Tourism Development

Megaprojects carry various links to globalisation, nation-building and branding, which are used as tourist attractions and can, among other elements, promote the construction of luxury hotels (with a large number of rooms). Such hotels are lucrative in the short term, as they endeavour to capture the clientele of business tourists, congress participants and, more recently, leisure tourists. Kuala Lumpur has expanded its tourism offer through development projects that have become micro-destinations, including areas such as Sunway, Genting and the core areas under the structure of mega-tall towers. The KLCC megaproject with the Petronas Twin Towers reflects the economic success of Malaysia in the 1990s and recognises the accomplishments of a fast-growing economy. Recent examples tried to reproduce this success story and have proved controversial for different reasons.

Corruption

Megaprojects are often associated with political and economic issues, including risks of corruption and opaque practices (Flyvbjerg 2008). This connotation has become prevalent in Kuala Lumpur in recent years due to several corruption scandals. The case of 1MBD corruption scandal is linked to the Bandar Malaysia megaproject. This massive requalification project (19.6 km^2) of the former Sungai Besi air base, in the central area of the metropolitan region, includes the terminal station of the high-speed rail (HSR) project linking Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, two MRT stations, offices, housing, and commercial and leisure infrastructure. This project was meant to continue the growth of Malaysia in the twenty-first century and attract large investments. 1MDB was created to develop the project; however, it was enveloped in a financial scandal that linked senior government members to massive corruption practices since 2016 (Head 2022). The air base was decommissioned in 2017, and the metro stations are under completion, but the HSR link has been discontinued, and the project is at a standstill.

Sustainability

When located in populated areas, the megaproject may act as an instrument of gentrification, and alter the urban and socio-cultural fabric, as in the case of heritage areas. In Kuala Lumpur, the three main components of

Malaysian multiculturalism are recognised and 'fixed' in tourism and heritage areas: Brickfields (Little India), Kampung Baru (Malay Village) and Petaling Street (Chinatown). These designated enclaves represent the official narratives of multiculturalism and the relationship with the colonial heritage remains defined by this narrative (Henderson 2004). The main concentration of monuments and buildings is in the old part of the city, around Petaling Street, with the art deco building of the Central Market, and the buildings inherited from the colonial period. However, this was the area chosen to build the next stage of economic development of the city and to reiterate the success of the KLCC twin towers.

Completed in 2022, the megaproject includes the second highest building in the world: Merdeka 118 (678.9 metres tall). This project created a debate on its sustainability, citing the colonial-era heritage sacrificed for a super-tall building. The economic downturn during the pandemic highlighted that this was a vanity project and not a necessity in a city with oversupply of office space. The socio-cultural sustainability of the project was also questioned, as an important heritage area was destroyed as the project towers above the old Chinatown and the historical precincts of the old Kuala Lumpur (Figure 5.2). In a multicultural country, where the diversified fabric of society is embraced and race relations are often politicised, the decision to locate this project in a historically valued area has resulted in different interpretations. Promoters of the project advocate the need for rejuvenation of the area and use familiar narratives (of the need) for progress and modernisation. This race towards modernity is aligned in all the national and local successive plans. The nation-building narratives sustain a national psyche free from any colonial remnants in the built-environment. Opponents lament the lack of consideration of heritage preservation and mention the underlying attempts of eradicating the colonial-era past and an important segment of the Malaysian Chinese heritage from the metropolitan landscape. The rationale for globalisation and the 'world-class city' with modern attributes such as skyscrapers, malls and consumer brands supporting the claim, seem outdated to the detractors, with the current focus on technology and smart and sustainable cities. Other leisure and entertainment megaprojects destinations can be found in the metropolitan area and include: 1 Utama, the Curve and Mid Valley focusing on shopping and business tourism; Berjaya Times Square, with an amusement park inside the shopping centre; and Sunway Lagoon, combining a shopping mall, accommodation and water amusement park. All of these developments include shopping malls, recreation, hotels, offices, residences and services. These complexes were built as part of the urbanisation process rather than



Figure 5.2 Merdeka 118 megaproject (2022).

from the perspective of a requalification of usage. Nevertheless, projects such as KL Sentral have overlapped since the 2010s onto the Little India area, altering the social fabric of Brickfields. Preference has been given to mega-complexes that combine several tourist functions (leisure, catchment area, homes, hotels, restaurants, clubs, sports clubs, and so on) and can develop

into autonomous destinations. They form nodal points in the metropolitan area, offering structural alternatives to the centralities of the golden triangle. The peripheral areas of the metropolitan area are evolving in a similar development pattern and Genting Highlands can be examined as a case study.

Genting Highlands: The Epitome of a Megaproject

Genting Highlands was initiated between 1965 and 1970 as the first gaming resort built in Malaysia. The site is located fifty kilometres from Kuala Lumpur, 1,800 metres above the sea in the Malay Cordillera. Located on the fringes of the city, it remains an exceptional place, a kind of island lost at the top of the mountains in the middle of a sea of clouds offering a remote and exotic retreat. The gaming licence, unique in Southeast Asia until 2008, is the cornerstone of its economic success. The tourist complex includes more than nine thousand rooms spread over six hotels and offers a wide range of lodging options, from mass-tourism to five-star hotels. This diversity combines the all-encompassing objectives of a megaproject: attracting and retaining *all* visitors. The budget hotel, First World, was the largest hotel in the world until 2006 with 7,350 rooms. Hotel Crockfords at Resorts World Genting (RWG) is now the only Forbes Travel 5-star awards recipient in Malaysia. There are seven luxury hotels listed by Forbes in Malaysia in 2025. Genting Grand is among the seven luxury hotels listed by Forbes Travel in 2025. The complex features a maze of shopping malls, restaurants and indoor and outdoor amusement parks. The congress centre can accommodate up to two thousand delegates in a plenary session. A multipurpose hall hosts concerts (Arena of Stars) and theme parks are scattered throughout the urban area. The most important is that of Genting Highland, a leisure resort for Kuala Lumpur residents but also a tourist site in the urban area. It includes an external amusement park, SkyWorlds, that was reopened in 2022 after a US$800 million investment to include virtual reality in its offer. Despite the opening of two casinos in Singapore, Genting remains a favourite destination for Singaporeans, allowing both the discretion of gambling and a getaway to another destination.

Sustainability, Quality of Experience: From Centralities to Peripheries

Recent themes of staycation and off-the-beaten tracks tourism have revived alternative views of the metropolitan heritage away from the official narratives. The analysis made by Maitland (2013) considers the shift to blended

experiences between residents' interests for the off-the-beaten track experiences of their city and tourists' quest for the daily life of a metropolis. Blending into the place, being taken for a resident, avoiding tourist places are part of the aspirations of seasoned visitors, who may not want to be associated with the mass of first-time visitors. In that sense, the commercial dynamism prevalent in Southeast Asian cities illustrates an authentic experience that is different from the generic and standardised of the globalised megaproject. The economic fabric of small businesses, shops and street vendors that are found in all corners of the metropolis colour the sidewalks and contribute to the quality of urban hospitality with more perceived authenticity than the megaproject. There is a large amplitude of opening times with night markets (pasar malam), convenience stores, restaurants and hawkers open non-stop. New tourism practices are redefining the understanding of tourism in which residents and visitors blend. In this, the development of 'iconic' and world-class places encapsulated in the megaproject is not a viable proposition on its own for the more experienced tourist. The off-the-beaten track experiences, notably in peripheral areas of the city that developed with COVID-19, emphasise proximity to the place of residence, and echo the UN Sustainable Development Goals' focus on more liveable cities, for the benefit of all users, particularly residents. The lush natural environment of Kuala Lumpur, surrounding mountain ranges and the coastline are elements of attractions that were considered low tourism priorities in the recent past. For instance, Pulau Ketam, off the coast of Port Klang, is an island home to several fishing villages. It has become a destination known for its seafood restaurants and fishing and nature activities. Other natural recreational places are located on the mountainous fringes of the city (Broga Hill, Ulu Kelang, for example). The huge Batu Caves, north of the city, are also part of these fringes. They have been converted into a Hindu pilgrimage site. Accessible after a climb of 272 steps, they are one of the most impressive tourist places in the city and prove fascinating during the Thaipusam ceremony. Bukit Tinggi, forty kilometres from the centre of Kuala Lumpur and near Genting Highland, has emerged as a place of retreat including accommodation, farm stays and numerous hiking trails. The post-COVID desire for remote work has created a renewed interest in this cool-climate residential estate above the metropolitan area, supported by new constructions and technology. On the south-west side of the metropolitan area, on the edge of the Malacca Strait, tourists' urbanisation projects have emerged only recently despite the attractive coastal situation. The proximity to the sea makes it a natural tourism development and future expansion site within the vicinity of central Kuala Lumpur. Sepang has now

developed into a satellite town between KL International Airport and the coast. Numerous resort-type residential projects have been developed since 2015, both closer to the sea and near to cooler highland areas, all within one and a half hour's drive to the city. These provide flexible workation, leisure and residential propositions that contribute to a reinterpretation of the tourism experience in the metropolitan area.

Conclusion

Metropolitan tourism in Southeast Asia shows similarities to and differences from other regions worldwide. Morphologies of tourism in the metropolis are influenced by the climate, government vision and the recent urbanisation in most cities. The flows of capital, information, technology and people have allowed the growth of cities with global aspirations. The case of Kuala Lumpur indicates several defining characteristics. Tourism plays an important role in the urban economy, and it is spread in multiple centralities across the metropolitan area, instead of a single core cluster. Furthermore, megaprojects have played a critical role in shaping the expansion of the metropolitan area and in spreading tourism far from the urban core since the late 1970s. Megaprojects, characterised by their mixed nature, private financing, size and their instrumental role in urban growth are also the expression of the political and economic governance dominant in the region. The alignment of managerial political governance and a laissez-faire or pro-business political approach enables the development of this type of project without hindrance of heritage, local requirements and, often, supporting infrastructure. The focus on peripheries and natural spaces of the metropolitan area, away from the crowds and density of the megaprojects, is contributing to a reorientation of the metropolitan tourism offer and practices. This is supported by the shift to sustainability brought by the COVID-19 pandemic and the focus on staycation, domestic tourism and a slower type of tourism activities.

Bibliography

Bouchon, Frédéric. 2012. 'Kuala Lumpur, métropolisation et mondialisation au risque du tourisme : enjeux et perspectives'. PhD diss., Université Toulouse II Le Mirail.

Bouchon, Frédéric. 2014. '*Truly Asia* and Global City? Branding Strategies and Contested Identities in Kuala Lumpur'. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 10(1): 6–18. https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2013.21.

Cazes, Georges and Françoise Potier. 1996. *Le tourisme urbain*. Presses universitaires de France.

Cohen, Erik and Scott A. Cohen. 2012. 'Current Sociological Theories and Issues in Tourism'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39(4): 2177–2202. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.07.009

Dear, Michael and Steven Flusty. 1998. 'Postmodern Urbanism'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(1): 50–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.00084

Euromonitor. 2019. 'Top 100 City Destinations: 2019 Edition'. https://go.euromonitor.com/white-paper-travel-2019-100-cities.html

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2008. 'Public Planning of Mega-Projects: Overestimation of Demand and Underestimation of Costs'. In *Decision-Making on Mega-Projects: Cost–Benefit Analysis, Planning and Innovation*, edited by Hugo Priemus, Bent Flyvbjerg and Bert van Wee, 120–44. Edward Elgar.

Flyvbjerg, Bent and Dan Gardner. 2023. *How Big Things Get Done: The Surprising Factors that Determine the Fate of Every Project*. Random House.

Flyvbjerg, Bent, Nils Bruzelius and Werner Rothengatter. 2003. *Megaprojects and Risk: An Anatomy of Ambition*. Cambridge University Press.

Foord, Jo. 2009. 'Strategies for Creative Industries: An International Review'. *Creative Industries Journal* 1(2): 91–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/cij.1.2.91_1

Hannigan, John. 1998. *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*. Routledge.

Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Blackwell.

Head, Jonathan. 2022. 'Najib Razak: The verdict that sent Malaysia's untouchable ex-PM to prison'. BBC News. 27 August. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-62685413

Henderson, John C. 2004. 'Tourism and British Colonial Heritage in Malaysia and Singapore'. In *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, edited by Michael C. Hall and Hazel Tucker, 113–25. Routledge.

IMTJ. 2024. 'Why Choose Malaysia for Medical Tourism?' International Medical Travel Journal. Last modified 26 July, https://www.treatmentabroad.com/region/malaysia/

Ivars-Baidal, Josep A., J. Fernando Vera-Rebollo, José Perles-Ribes, Francisco Femenia-Serra and Marco A. Celdrán-Bernabeu. 2021. 'Sustainable

Tourism Indicators: What's New within the Smart City/Destination Approach?' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 31(7): 1556–82. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2021.1876075

Jafari, Jafar and Noel Scott. 2014. 'Muslim World and its Tourisms'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 44(1): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.08.011

Jamil, Ishtiaq, Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman and Sk Tawfique M. Haque. 2013. 'Introduction: Governance in South, Southeast, and East Asia'. *Public Organization Review* 13(4): 341–47.

KLSP. 2004. 'Pelan Struktur Kuala Lumpur 2020 [Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020]'. Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur [Kuala Lumpur City Hall].

Leiper, Neil and Sun-Young Park. 2010. 'Skyscrapers' Influence on Cities' Roles as Tourist Destinations', *Current Issues in Tourism* 13(4): 333–49. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13683501003748047

Maitland, Robert. 2013. 'Backstage Behaviour in the Global City: Tourists and the Search for the "Real London"'. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 105: 12–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.11.002

MOTAC. n.d. 'Tourism Malaysia Key Performance Indicators 2022'. Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, MYTourismData. http://mytourismdata.tourism.gov.my/?page_id=348#!from=2010&to=2020

Orueta, Fernando Diaz and Susan S. Fainstein. 2008. 'The New Mega-Projects: Genesis and Impacts'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32(4): 759–67. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00829.x

Page, Stephen J. and C. Michael Hall. 2003. *Managing Urban Tourism*. Prentice Hall.

PEMANDU (Performance Management and Delivery Unit). 2010. 'Economic Transformation Programme: A Roadmap for Malaysia'. Federal Government of Malaysia.

Pierre, Jon. 2009. 'New Governance, New Democracy?'. QOG Working Paper Series 4, QOG Institute, University of Gothenburg.

Singapore Tourist Board. 2019. 'Annual Report 2019–2020: Stronger Together'. Singapore Tourist Board. https://file.go.gov.sg/stb-ar-19-20.pdf

Smith, Melanie Kay and Anya Diekmann, 2017. 'Tourism and Wellbeing'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 66: 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.05.006

Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Verso.

Soja, Edward W. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Wiley.

Tourism Malaysia. 2023. Key Performance Indicators. Strategic Planning Division, MOTAC, Putrajaya.

UNWTO. 2022. 'Malaysia: Basic Indicators (Compendium) 2017–2021'. https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/abs/10.5555/unwtotfb0458010020172021202211.

Zaidan, Esmat and Ammar Abulibdeh. 2021. 'Master Planning and the Evolving Urban Model in the Gulf Cities: Principles, Policies, and Practices for the Transition to Sustainable Urbanism'. *Planning Practice & Research* 36(2): 193–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2020.1829278

Zukin, Sharon. 2012. 'Competitive Globalization and Urban Change: The Allure of Cultural Strategies'. In *Rethinking Global Cities: Comparative Insights from Secondary Urban Cities*, edited by Xiangming Chen and Ahmed Kanna, 17–34. Routledge.

Chapter 6

Palermo Soho: Urban Transformation, Metropolitan Lifestyles and Tourism in the Creation of a Trendy Neighbourhood in the City of Buenos Aires[1]

Mercedes González Bracco

Introduction

In recent decades, cities have sought to change their image, repositioning themselves on an international scale. Among the revitalisation strategies that local governments have employed are efforts to attract international tourism. In this context, culture and heritage are increasingly valued as first-class resources to be exploited for economic gain. According to Ciccolella and Mignaqui (2008), new ideas about city management, linked to broader economic and technological transformations, have generated profound changes at the local level. These efforts, which have taken place over the last decades, have made an impact on large metropolises through modernisation processes and selective investments; they have also contributed to an intensification of historical inequalities and fostered socio-spatial polarisation: a territorial reconfiguration that has resulted from new methods of planning and conceiving urban development and that was spurred by the intervention of new local and global actors in competition to see their own logics and interests gain prominence. As Ciccolella and Mignaqui suggest, this competition generated new tensions, disputes and alliances. The authors propose that this process be understood as a stage within capitalism, what they call *metropolitan capitalism*. They write:

> capital is developed through the urban-metropolitan territory, and private capital appears as the predominant territorial organiser based on the multiple resources or competitive advantages of each portion of

> the territory, extracting more substantial capital gains precisely from the singularities and specificities that make each territory an optimal place for each type of production.
>
> (Ciccolella and Mignaqui 2008, 49–50)

The city of Buenos Aires exhibits these trends. In fact, during the last several decades the local government has been carrying out various actions that aim to place the city on the cultural world map and make it a preferred site in current global tourist circuits. These actions are in line with the market's interest in embracing the new tendencies linked to urban tourism, where the search for novelties in a framework of controlled heterogeneity plays an important role in the transformation of traditional neighbourhoods. The possibility of commercialising neighbourhood identities for their touristic consumption has, for example, configured the neighbourhood of La Boca as a site of immigration, San Telmo as the crib of the nation, Abasto as the home of tango, Mataderos as a countryside neighbourhood within the city, and Palermo as trendy (Durán et al. 2005; González Bracco and Kotschack 2017).

Within the academic literature related to Palermo's urban transformations, researchers have examined the process in various manners: a study of the city as a whole has examined the phenomenon on a macro level (Ciccolella and Mignaqui 2008), while others have looked at socio-economic change (Carbajal 2003; Mignaqui et al. 2005), cultural changes (González Bracco 2009; Monsalve 2009; Oropeza 2004), building type (Vecslir and Kozak 2013) and even infrastructure (González 2009). Many of these studies understand the problem of material and symbolic changes in the neighbourhood as connected to new uses, including tourism.

In line with these contributions, this chapter analyses the process by which a sector of Palermo's neighbourhood currently known as Palermo Soho was configured into a 'cultural quarter' (Montgomery 2003), and how this configuration arose in connection with broader urban transformations and the expansion of tourism that have taken place in recent decades. It engages the perspectives of subjects that inhabit (temporarily or permanently) the area, inquiring about changes in the neighbourhood's forms, uses and meanings. It makes use of various secondary sources (official documents, journalistic articles, specific bibliography, promotional materials) and primary sources, including semi-structured interviews, observations and field records.[2]

The choice of this approach is based on two assumptions: on one hand, that the analysis of concrete social processes regarding the construction of specific city areas contributes to the scholarship on contemporary urban transformations; and on the other hand, that these processes should be

understood through an articulation of the site's objective and subjective qualities in such a way that places value on the perspective of the subjects who experience them first-hand.

The analysis is framed within a conceptualisation of place as a social construction that articulates material and non-material dimensions. Following Agnew (1987, 3), we understand place as any area where 'the constitution of social relations is located and to which individuals can identify'. Place, therefore, is not only the area 'where the geographical experience of the human being develops' but, even more, 'the place "belongs to someone," is the center of his/her universe as a bearer of meanings and identities' (Albet i Mas 2001, 40) and, for this very reason, without a pre-established scale. As Dorothy said in *The Wizard of Oz*: 'There's no place like home'; but what is this place that we call home? Your house, your block, your neighbourhood, your city: all of them 'can become places after a time of frequentation, interaction and identification with that territory' (Ortiz Guitart 2004, 163). Likewise, far from constituting a static and ahistorical entity, place must be understood 'as in a process of becoming', which is in an incessant state of development (Pred 1984). In this sense, a place cannot be reduced to a material product of a society, since to socially build a place also implies to give human meaning to the materially given space. And as a historical entity, built places cannot be limited to the 'now'. However, the past to which a place allows us access is not a 'given' past, but a past recreated from the present, and always from the experience of the subjects who inhabit it.

From Villa Alvear to Palermo Soho: Distinctions for a 'New Singularity'

Like any large neighbourhood in Buenos Aires, Palermo has several internal divisions that work as organisers of urban life, and socio-economic differences among people living there were present from the beginning. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a lady of high society might choose the forests of Palermo 'to dazzle and humiliate all the other women who crossed her path, with her beauty and luxury' (López 1960, 159); decades later, Borges (1969) notes that Manuel Bilbao once described what was known as Barrio Villa Alvear thus: 'between the streets Nicaragua, Arroyo Maldonado, Canning and Rivera. Many vacant lands still exist, and its importance is small' (Figure 6.1).

The area now known as Palermo Viejo (later Palermo Soho) was originally a working-class neighbourhood known as Villa Alvear. According to

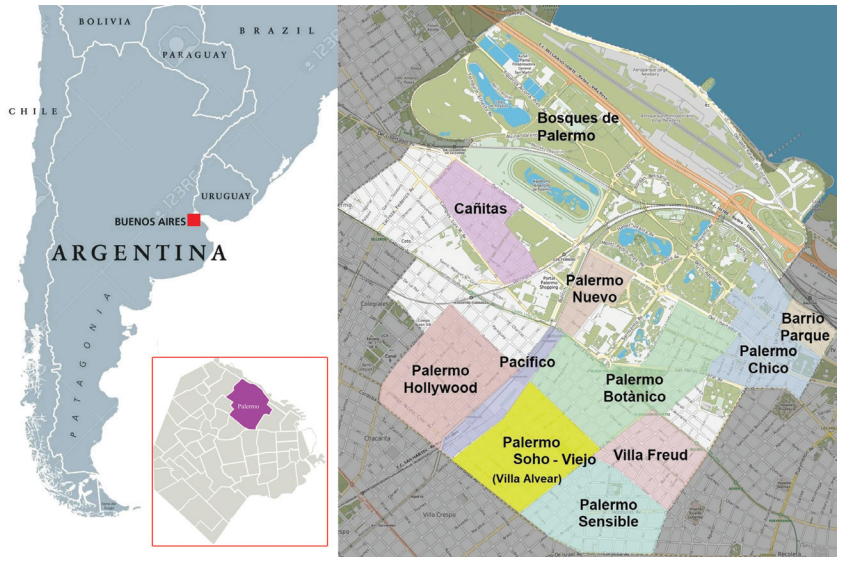


Figure 6.1 On the left, a map of Argentina and its capital city, Buenos Aires (with Palermo highlighted). On the right, Palermo and its internal divisions. (*Source:* own elaboration on maps from https://es.123rf.com and https://mapa.buenosaires.gob.ar)

Scobie (1977), Villa Alvear joined other new suburban neighbourhoods like Villa Crespo and Villa Malcolm as trolley lines expanded. These transportation lines brought the city centre closer to the neighbourhoods. The railway line and the bed of the Maldonado stream cut off access to the neighbourhood until the latter was piped in the mid-twentieth century; then the neighbourhood became more densely inhabited.

Another shift occurred in the late 1970s, when a certain sector of the intellectualised middle class began to rediscover this 'forgotten' area, this 'old' Palermo, with its quiet physiognomy of antiquated houses and warehouses in decline (Ricot 2005). Attracted by the low prices of the real estate, architects and artists renovated these old buildings and, with them, the neighbourhood environment.

According to Arizaga (2005) the choice of this type of neighbourhood and this type of housing – versus the possibility of choosing an apartment in a more central neighbourhood or a house in a closed urbanisation – is related to an idea of 'good living' associated with a search for authenticity and a return to one's roots. At the same time, the option of an old, recycled house is

also linked to an owner profile that seeks their house to be a unique, personal space rather than something more standardised. The construction of this bohemian-style residential space, however, did not completely break with the commercial uses already established in the area, which included mostly businesses like garages, tile shops and warehouses.

During the 1990s a specialised economic agglomeration of creative industries linked to design settled in Palermo Viejo. This fact, according to Mignaqui et al. (2005), was advantageous because of its proximity and territorial configuration, while responding more to the intrinsic needs of the activity than to a policy promoting it. This process can also be understood in terms of what Durán et al. (2005, 410) call the 'event': that is, a turning point that redefines the relations between actors and 'establishes the zero point from which the past is re-read and articulated with the present and the future'.

A group of actors – real estate developers, architects' studios – identified this portion of Palermo as an 'area of urban opportunity' due to low prices and wide availability of old industrial and obsolete residential buildings, the good connection with the city centre, and a social fabric ennobled by artists and professionals already settled there. 'These operations, similar to the conversion and recycling projects developed in New York's Soho in the 1980s, gave rise to the change of name of this sector known until then as Palermo Viejo' (Mignaqui et al. 2005, 7). These actors, among others, also promoted this area as different from the urban norm by preventing vertical constructions. Such policies aimed to maintain the characteristics of the area: that is, its low-density profile. Alongside the growing commercial interest in the area in the 1990s, the prices of land and buildings significantly increased (Carbajal 2003; Mignaqui et al. 2005). Although this change is based on the one developed in the 1970s, the distinctive feature of this new wave was marked by the economic regime that took place in Argentina during the 1990s. The deregulation and opening of the economy, together with the monetary policy of parity with the dollar and the control of inflation, enabled a large number of bank credits to be used for the purchase of real estate, stimulating the construction industry (Mignaqui et al. 2005). At that moment, this new shift was not clearly addressed to tourism, but to urban renewal encouraged by the economic conditions.

Cultural and commercial changes promoted and in turn were promoted by the real estate fever. The initial success of the new enterprises linked to design; in many cases informal stores stimulated the establishment of new stores also related to fashion, design and 'creative' objects, as well as bars and restaurants with increasingly sophisticated menus. Already in 1998, an

article from an important newspaper identified this area of the neighbourhood as Buenos Aires's Soho (Garmendia 1998). Although it did not mention what will later be known as 'the design trend', this piece previewed the ongoing increase of decor stores. 'We decided to install Abrapampa here because we consider that in a few years this area will be similar to New York's Soho' (Garmendia 1998). In 2002 this trend began to accelerate amid a post-crisis economic recovery. In little time, it had consolidated its reputation as the 'design center of the city' (Burrieza 2003).

The Buenos Aires city government made interventions in public space that contributed to the area's ongoing transformation. Among those initiatives worth mentioning are the fenced enclosure of Cortázar Square, the organisation of craft fairs that had spontaneously emerged in Palermo Viejo Square and in Cortázar Square, the installation of new public lighting, and the construction of widened sidewalks and elevated street crossings. These urban improvements were not requested by residents. On the contrary, several initiatives were (unsuccessfully) resisted. These actions can be seen as the construction of a new 'spatial order' (Zukin 1996), framed in what Delgado Ruiz (1995) presents as mechanisms of local politics aimed at fostering a certain identity in accordance with what the government wants to promote. Thus, they would seem to correspond less with their identity-based character – according to Prats (1997), the (multiple) 'we of us' – than with their commercial and, especially, touristic possibility: the (unique) 'we of others', tending to stereotype, homogenise and caricature the identity and specificity of the place.

From the above, it can be said that these material transformations helped in the reconfiguration of metropolitan space. Now, what changed as Palermo Viejo became Palermo Soho? What specificities were selected and constructed as placemarks? What discourses and practices participated in this selection and construction?

Metropolitan Lifestyles, Diversity and Tourism

Based on Bourdieu's notion of 'distinction', the construction of Palermo Soho is closely linked to new lifestyles, multiculturalism and tourism. Bourdieu (1998, 169–70) proposes *habitus* as a principle that generates objectively binding practices and, at the same time, a binding system. It is this double capacity of the habitus that makes it possible to constitute the social world as a representation: that is, a space of lifestyles. According to Oropeza (2004, 702),

'lifestyles can be recognised by signs that transpose the imaginary urban geography, with its ways and traces, and reconfigure it according to their pretensions'. The study of the 'Palermo lifestyle' can be related to a wider metropolitan lifestyle, linked to the hedonistic consumption of the good life: sport, sun, ethnic food, clothing and creative objects, worship of the retro, leisure time, as well as a distinctive aesthetic by which it becomes distinguishable. Ways of behaving and of dressing, places, and ways of socialisation link work with pleasure: this is how cuisine and independent design emerge as exclusive and hyper-personalised expressions of cultural production and consumption.

In this way, the local press began to present those who recognised themselves in this new way of life as a Buenos Aires version of the American *bobos* (*bourgeois bohèmes*) (Libedinsky 2000). The Buen Día festival, held for several years since 1999, is one paradigmatic example of this trend.[3] The press highlighted that the choice of the venue was due to: 'On the one hand, the post-hippie, neighborly, snobby elegance of Palermo Viejo. On the other hand, the stimulating drive of young, bohemian and multidisciplinary entrepreneurship, reflecting its independent origin' (J. A. 2002).

In addition, this 'Palermo lifestyle' is associated with a celebration of diversity. So, for example, in the early 2000s the Jewish group YOK chose the Palermo Viejo Square to perform the 'Urban Pesach' and the 'Urban Rosh Hashanah' as outdoor parties with klezmer music recitals, traditional gastronomy stalls, an objects and clothing fair, carnival games and talks on topics of community interest (Asociación YOK 2013). Both dates were celebrated in Palermo from 2006 and, according to the organisation, the idea of it is to 'bring Judaism to the streets'.[4] 'The basic idea was to show that you can be Jewish in your own way and live it as you please.' This intention was reinforced by the new trends in the neighbourhood, helping 'to make our events more massive every year. Because not only do Jews come, but also passers-by, tourists, etc. Our events are for the whole Argentine community. It is a celebration from secular Judaism to all people' (YOK member, personal interview).

Along with being identified with these new lifestyles and an aesthetic that valued multicultural openness, the area of Palermo Soho became a place in the city to be visited not so much for its history or architecture but for its commercial and cultural circuit. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, semi-annual maps began to appear with the location of an ever-growing number of shops. Several editions of these maps, called 'Know Where to Go. Palermo Viejo/Hollywood', included a description and selection of certain elements and qualities of the neighbourhood, as well as a definition of what 'must' be seen:

> This corner of Buenos Aires city houses alternative proposals, avant-garde design. Exclusive furniture and objects, music and art books, restaurants and bars that stand out for their original styles, with cutting-edge decorations and eccentric menus. Buenos Aires' Soho presents a different style, where the old and the modern meet in a hip and intellectual atmosphere.
>
> ('Know Where to Go', 2000 edition)

The maps were initially not conceived of as a series – the publisher initially intended to make one map for personal use – but the project ended up becoming a successful commercial venture and an important advertising outlet for the shops settling in the area:

> I think the map helped a lot to make Palermo grow faster [...] It made it public knowledge that in Palermo there was stuff related to design; one could say that had it not been for the map, growth would have been slower. A lot of people, when they looked at the map, said, 'Really? There's all this in Palermo?'
>
> (Editor of 'Know Where to Go', personal interview)

The project started in April 2000 with forty-nine advertisers; ten years later it had one hundred and sixty.[5] In addition to the quantity published, the content and forms of classification changed, allowing the maps to display the neighbourhood's increasingly sophisticated options. Thus, while the first map was divided into the headings 'furniture and objects', 'lighting', 'bars', 'restaurants', 'clothing' and 'various', the second issue already enlarged the perimeter to include the area of Palermo Hollywood. It was also translated into English and added the heading 'lodgings'. In later editions, even more details were added, dividing the map into more items: 'clothing', 'accessories', 'kids & parents', 'health & beauty', 'lodging & tourism', 'art & deco', 'for men' and 'gastronomy'.

The maps also provide examples of the kinds of distinctive marks that operated in the construction of Palermo Soho. For example, in the field of furniture, the shop Cat Ballou was presented as 'a Palermo mansion that houses furniture, objects and a clothes and accessories line. A mixture of travels, a contemporary cultural mix, pieces from distant corners, classic Argentine materials such as llama wool, leather in an artistic tradition.' The category of gastronomy also merged with art through exotic proposals: Becket Chapa y Pintura was described as 'Mediterranean food. A social club, individual shelter, cinema, art and brainstorming', while Menesunda offered 'Fusion food. Sculptures in aluminum foundry and conceptual handles'.

Finally, as a tourist destination, the visibility of Palermo Soho increased from 2002, when the economic difference after devaluation attracted many foreign visitors.[6] The undersecretary of tourism for that period, Jorge Purciarello, commented:

> It is a new product of the city [...] Tourism exploded as fast as the neighbourhood [...] It is a very identified area in guides for young people; the tourist's average age is 40 years old, most of them have high levels of education; it largely draws art, fashion and design lovers. They are pleasantly surprised by the nightlife in the neighbourhood.
>
> (Burrieza 2002)

It seems that, although Palermo Soho was not created for tourism, it was fully prepared once tourism emerged.

As we mentioned in another paper (González Bracco and Kostchack 2017), the main attraction of this area is not an emblematic site that the tourist visits and admires but a broader life experience that fuses the local and the cosmopolitan within a 'human scale'. The local government contributed to this image by constructing bicycle paths, widening sidewalks and organising craft fairs. Thus, the proposal of this commercial area was stabilised in recent years with a discourse on authenticity (linked to the recycling of old houses and the non-industrialised products offered by design shops and signature cuisine), sustainability (promoting transportation by foot or bicycle) and, in the case of gastronomy, the return to roots (reformulating classics of the Argentine menu, the use of handwritten blackboards to announce specials or to provide optimistic messages).

A hyper-personalised profile can be seen in the installation of boutique hotels with few rooms in old, recycled mansions. This extreme sophistication is melded with a warm neighbourhood experience as advertised by many boutique hotels:

> Ultra Hotel is a unique Mansion of 20 exclusive rooms and suites, carefully and inspired designed within a container of diverse, sophisticated, unique experiences. It is the first hotel in the world conceived and designed by a cool hunter. [...] It functions as a local meeting point, where the coolest and hippest people in the city come to escape the daily routine and renew their senses in the new luxury.[7]

> We invite you to immerse yourself in an atmosphere of glamor and aristocracy with an air of romanticism typical of the early twentieth century [...] Located in the exclusive Palermo Soho neighbourhood, which began as a favorite place for bohemians and intellectuals linked

> to art and literature. Its main attraction is the transformation of an old neighbourhood into an innovative neighbourhood, which invites you to walk through its green spaces, lakes, parks, shopping malls, sports areas.[8]
>
> What is worse than waking up in a hotel and not knowing what city you are in? At Vain Boutique Hotel you will feel the Buenos Aires of the early twentieth century, in contrast with touches of avant-garde design, where every detail was carefully thought out so that the guest has a unique experience. All the rooms at Vain Hotel are different but have in common the original architecture of the building, classic and modern furniture; and above all, the design down to the last detail.[9]

Here we have the invitation to 'experience' Palermo; the former adjective of *viejo* (old) is reconfigured to refer to the spaces in the hotel or in the neighbourhood that seek to attract the tourist looking for these new sensations. This promise of exceptionality is linked to the scale (not an impersonal chain hotel) and to the amalgam between the old (old houses, old trees, parks, cobbled streets) and the new (sport areas, restaurants, design shops) where these exclusive tourists can blend in with 'the coolest and hippest people in the city'.

This kind of promotion can be associated with 'experiential marketing'. The promotion no longer refers to a product or service but bases its strategy on the transformation of them into instruments for sensations and experiences (Schmitt 1999). That is why, in addition to promoting the hotels and highlighting the particularities of the place in which they are located, the presentations selected emphasise the exclusiveness of the experiences the tourists will find. Here, Michaud's words (2015) resonate, indicating that we are facing a new luxury era, where ostentation is no longer associated with the possession of unique objects, but with the possibility of living exceptional experiences.

We can see that tourism is not only coupled with new commercial uses but also, through the valorisation of certain place qualities as attractive and the construction of certain equipment for its enjoyment, reinforces the mark linked to the *bobo* and multicultural lifestyle. In this way, tourism participates in the construction of its 'trendy' character, using it as a placemark.

The Transformation Process and Palermo's 'New Singularity' from the Subjects' Perspective

In this section we expand on the previously described findings by incorporating the perspective of subjects who either temporarily or permanently inhabit

the area. We intend to dig deeper into the changes operating in Palermo Soho from analysis of their narratives.

First, we were interested in reconstructing perceptions about the 'before' of the neighbourhood, prior to the current transformations. Those who have inhabited the area for many years relate it to living in a 'real neighbourhood' but apparently one that lacked a distinctive 'brand'. This meant that Palermo was 'like any other neighbourhood'. In some cases, it was linked to being 'far' and in other cases 'close' (to the city centre). There were people that associated the residential profile with 'tranquillity', while others connected it to a sense of 'danger'. As the first approach to the neighbourhood converged with the processes described in the previous sections, these also appeared in interviewees' stories. Thus, while for José – whose family moved to the area in the early 1970s – 'it was a very remote neighbourhood' where there was 'almost nothing', for Marta, who arrived in the 1980s, it was not very attractive – 'it was nothing' – although she qualifies that 'it had that centric thing' to be found a few blocks from the main avenues.[10] We also find this description in the story of Adrian, who associates the residential profile of the neighbourhood with a lower middle class composed largely of elderly people – 'many old ladies in their loungewear tunics' and which did not invite night walks: 'At 9 o'clock at night it was a place where you had to be careful. […] And it was like going into the dark.' This sense of danger and darkness, however, is not related to insecurity, theft or violence but simply to the solitude of night, quite typical of this kind of neighbourhood.

In this 'before', Palermo Viejo was also marked by similarities and differences with other neighbourhoods. It was described as like Caballito in terms of socio-demographic profile, or like Floresta in terms of remote or undifferentiated neighbourhood, and far from other places marked by their socioeconomic profile: 'neither Lugano [the poorest neighbourhood in the city] nor Barrio Parque [the richest]'. Other interviewees who came to the neighbourhood later, such as Mabel, the owner of a boutique hotel established in the late 1990s, proposed a more ennobled view of the area. She commented that she was attracted to the movement of 'many artists, designers, writers too, who bought these [old] houses and restored them'. Along with this mainly residential profile, that 'previous' moment is remembered as a moment with some economic activity but not activity oriented toward hedonistic consumption: the mechanical workshops, the yarn shops on Scalabrini Ortiz Avenue, and other ordinary stores – the kind that would be found in any neighbourhood predominated.

Another common reflection among most of our interviewees is the memory of a neighbourhood that offered little cultural and leisure activity: only a few cinemas, theatres or other cultural places are mentioned, and they are associated with the surrounding main avenues, as well as minor cultural offerings more linked to the inner neighbourhood – carnivals, immigrant communities' festivities – and a few places of sociability: bars and pubs.

When we asked about the changes that had taken place over the last several years, different hypotheses arose about why it happened in that area of Palermo and not elsewhere. Among the responses, various processes that took place in the 1990s came up, such as the 'explosion' of design careers in the city and the arrival of shopping malls, which gave no place for emerging designers. There were also explanations linked to the previous gentrifying transformation of the neighbourhood in the 1980s, which would have implanted certain 'embryos, seeds that remained and then, for other reasons, began to blossom'. Places of sociability such as El Taller (a bar with great presence in the neighbourhood culture life until its closure in 2010) were mentioned, as were the artists who moved to the neighbourhood and took the opportunity to remake their own houses as shops; when one artist (successfully) set up, others followed. Finally, there were answers that linked Palermo's fate to absolute chance: 'This could have been Urquiza Soho, and you put around the Villa Urquiza Square a few little trees, an old bar, a restaurant, you start painting houses, you put on a little flower, and you say, "Uh, that's cool. Let's go to Urquiza".'[11]

Although all interviewees recognised the path described in the previous sections to some degree, some interviewees, especially those who worked in the neighbourhood, differentiated two moments divided by the economic break of 2001. The moment prior to that date is characterised by the installation of design houses associated with a kind of exclusive, almost secret, knowledge: 'They were speakeasies, let's say. They didn't have a sign and... But they were little places where you would look for very particular things.' On the contrary, the post-crisis recovery years are characterised by the massification of offerings, which undermined it. This is seen as a paradox, because 'when the big brands arrived, the big explosion began, increasing the number of people who frequent the neighbourhood, which took away a little the characteristic that this place had'. This negative opinion, mostly held by those who work in the neighbourhood in enterprises that are linked to these transformations, is probably because their businesses were modified by the newcomers, while for many of the residents interviewed it was simply a crescendo of the same trend.



Figure 6.2 Signs of a hip neighbourhood: Old houses transformed into shops. (*Source:* Author's own)

Along with the neighbourhood's development into a commercial area, the interviewees also highlighted trends in real estate development. Development is largely seen as negative as it alienated the neighbourhood, where 'identity now is anonymity'. In their memories, old mansions, cinemas and parking spots transformed into apartment towers, and the regretful destruction of building facades so they might be renovated as stores: 'OK, you can turn this old house into a lingerie store but, let's say, if you are in a place that is of the early twentieth century, with an Italian architecture and else... you should preserve that' (Figure 6.2).

Another important element in the 'before' and 'now' differentiation is the arrival of international tourism, which awakens mixed emotions.[12] As the neighbourhood began to reconfigure according to these new activities, it brought new forms of appreciation. The onset of hotels, restaurants and bars with menus in English or 'listening to other languages' presented the vision of a 'modern', 'cosmopolitan' neighbourhood but at the same time was experienced as awkward, because 'the regular neighbour was like trapped

in a showcase'. In this way, by adding international tourism to commercial and real estate development, the 'neighbourhood feeling' (in a sense of belonging) was lost. Paradoxically, however, many interviewees justified the tourists' preference because 'the neighbourhood still retains something'. This would be reflected in the attitude of people who passed by, because, although it can get crowded, 'it is much more pleasant to walk here than to walk along Florida.[13] [...] You don't get that stress of people going to work when you're walking around in the city center. The sensation is different. More of a promenade.'

Referring above all to this last point, and already delving into the consequences perceived from the transformations, this neighbourhood stopped being, for some, a place 'for us' and became 'for others', meaning international tourists or local visitors who do not live in Palermo. Among the negative consequences, we found a greater emphasis on price escalation: 'I see the prices at the showcases, what everything costs, and I don't look anymore. The offer is for tourists only. My conclusion of these last few years is "Oh! How nice these shops for tourists are!"' To this end, economic exclusion creates an added feeling of estrangement against a certain aesthetic that feels imposed on them, and that includes ways of behaving, dressing, moving and practising within the place:

> At eleven in the morning, you see two guys in their thirties or in their forties already, tanned like roasted chickens, eating a mushroom omelette with a strawberry juice under the sun. Then you say: 'Where were these guys? Are they local? Do they come to show themselves off from other neighbourhoods?'

In the same way, certain practices that do not fit with these new proposals may be discouraged, because one is always exposed to public judgement: 'If a guy sits alone, you may think he's a thief. If a girl sits alone, you may think she's a prostitute [...] because these bars are made for being seen.'

All this ends up being expulsive. In certain cases, residents flee during the weekends, when the concentration of people and the noise become unbearable. In other cases, they leave more permanently. This contributes to its material and symbolic change, reinforcing Palermo Soho's new face: 'They offer us money to buy our property and then sell it to make, I don't know, a tower, or a shop. It sells very well!' While some leave, joining the neighbourhood has become more exclusive. According to the interviewees, the prices of real estate for sale and rent, as well as other costs have gone up so much that it has generated a population turnover:

> The apartments that used to be rented to ordinary Argentine families, so to speak, are all updated to receive tourists. And they prefer to have them empty because they know that then they rent it for two months and they recover all year round. [...] At real estate costs, Palermo reached the prices of Belgrano or Recoleta, which were always more expensive.

These real estate changes, which reflect the new uses of the neighbourhood such as tourism, seem to also grant a new status to its inhabitants:

> From the real estate point of view they put together a strategy to attract people with money and a certain cultural profile, we would say. There are many restored houses [...] a lot of wood, a lot of noble materials, mainly for lefties [...] but lefties with money!

In this context, one strategy to stay is to ride the trend:

> I know people who own a house here and said, 'Well, my garage is now a little coffee house, or a dress shop or...' Neighbours had to adapt. Either they leave or they adapt, or they just put up with people, especially on weekends.

While some depart for other areas of the city, others described the weekday–weekend dyad as a strategy by which 'enjoyment' and 'tolerance' oscillates in the neighbourhood:

> What happens is that *that* [refers to the crowd and the noise] is on weekends [...] during the week it is quieter. You see a couple of foreigners doing shopping, but it's cheerful, it's something cheerful, not the saturated madhouse where you have nowhere to escape. (Figure 6.3)

Another negative consequence is linked to the identity of the neighbourhood. Here, however, an interesting contradiction appears, because while some see Palermo as 'now less of a neighbourhood' and grieve the loss of its markedly residential profile and its transformation into an 'open-air shopping mall', this goes against the notion of an undifferentiated Palermo, one that was 'dark' and 'dangerous' at nightfall and lacked a sense of identity. Despite this apparent dull profile, without specificity, there are memories of what is lost: 'All the places that I used to go as a kid, where I used to play football or paddle, are now apartment blocks, or have disappeared, or they are something else that have nothing to do [with me].' Faced with these changes, there are some who censure elements they view a disconnect between this



Figure 6.3 Signs of a hip neighbourhood: Craft and design fair displayed on the weekends.
(*Source:* Author's own)

'new singularity' and the history or symbols of the neighbourhood, limiting its publicity to one of its qualities: the commercial. Most of the interviewees mocked the name Palermo Soho, finding it fictitious even though it had reminiscences that relate it to similar processes: 'I don't know if the name tries to sell Palermo as something more bohemian. In that case, well, they named it Palermo Soho, but who thinks New York Soho is bohemian? It was in the sixties, seventies. It is not anymore, and everyone knows it!'

On the other hand, this uniformisation as a 'young', 'hip', 'avant-garde' neighbourhood operates both inwards and outwards. Inwardly it presents itself as more and more homogeneous, 'cleaned' of those unwanted elements, like the teen gangs in Serrano Square: 'A place where little gangs met [...] they made noise, they were doped', or the transvestite prostitutes who gathered on Godoy Cruz; these dispersions allowed for the 'dangerous' elements to be pushed away, gaining a wider place for business (Boy 2015; Burbridge 2005). Despite this, there remain people and practices that are not in line with the new aesthetic, including some tenement dwellings or run-down hotels.

Meanwhile, beyond the neighbourhood, the word Palermo became an adjective to describe a status of hipness that real estate developers seek to gentrify under these same criteria.[14] As one neighbour protested: 'Soon Palermo will reach all the way to General Paz Avenue!'[15]

Some interviewees, however, are comfortable with the 'new' identity. This is expressed, for example, in finding places from 'before' that still allow them to recognise themselves, even in the current Palermo:

> I still hear the birds in my block on Sundays.
>
> I've gone to the local grocery store since I was a kid [...] And the store has that socialisation aspect [...] I mean, there you find people who like to just waste their time there, right? 'Waste,' in quotation marks. [...] The old ladies of the neighbourhood, the men also, of course – and this is something that goes beyond Palermo – they say 'No, no, please, assist him, help him' and they wait on the side, and they chat and gossip. That kind of neighbourhood life is what I still like to find and like from Palermo.

They also find it possible to like the new proposals, even at some distance:

> I don't feel suffocated by a trend I reject. No, not at all. It amuses me, it amuses me. I look at it as an outsider.
>
> Depending on the situation I run away, or I stay. But it's good, I don't know, in terms of the number of bars, some of them even with shows. A lot of that is very good, and it's great that it's so close. It didn't exist before.

The 'before' and the 'now', finally, coexist in the same place:

> Because as much as there are a lot of people, and the Palermo phenomenon has gotten a little out of hand, it is still much more enjoyable here than to go to the city center. [...] As much as there are a lot of people, it still exists, at least it still feels like it once was.

Closing Remarks

In this chapter we have analysed the configuration of a neighbourhood area currently known as Palermo Soho by studying the transformations that occurred over the last decades associated with its new forms, uses and meanings. We have seen that its construction was fostered by a set of material and symbolic transformations, which involved not only urban changes but

also the selection and construction of certain singularities. Nowadays, these marks of uniqueness make Palermo Soho a distinguishable place (and even a brand), both for those who are part of it and for others (visitors). At the same time, these qualities also differentiate the place from its near past, like Palermo Viejo.

The reconstruction and interpretation of the narratives of those who experienced the neighbourhood transformations allow us to highlight that this history – the suburban Palermo of the early twentieth century, the cordial neighbourhood of the 1980s, the exclusive place of the present – does not formulate a linear narrative but rather forms a porous and contradictory tale, one in which the before–now dichotomy is far from homogeneous within its parts. There is no definite before or now, but within both categories there are different descriptions and assessments.

As can be observed, the construction of the 'hip neighbourhood' is neither permanent nor univocal. In this sense, the definition of the current Palermo image among the residents, the tourist industry and the state responds to diverse interests. As a 'place', moreover, these tensions make it a space of dispute: 'the images and memories that evoke [cities] and that undoubtedly cross our imaginaries and our practices, symbolise to whom certain places belong and who can use and appropriate them' (Lacarrieu 2007, 50). The tensions here, however, do not correspond to the processes of economic or material exclusion generally analysed in studies of gentrification. Many of the neighbours that have moved to Palermo in the last thirty years own their houses or apartments (IVC 2018), and most of them belong to the middle or upper middle class. They are not afraid of being evicted. As they feel attracted to news in cosmopolitan culture and design, they embrace a metropolitan lifestyle. At the same time, however, they do feel alienated with the escalation (of visitors, of shops, of prices), so they search for the preservation of vital spaces that are culturally hierarchised by this neighbour environment.

In this sense, questioning the orientation of Palermo's transformations does not refute the notion of the cool neighbourhood, but, without being reductionist of the tourist practice, they are appropriated as part of an identity to defend against the 'abuses' of economic development. In this regard, analysis of these tensions allows one to understand the relations, configurations and imaginaries generated from the multiple actors that build the 'cultural quarter' as a place. At the same time, it permits us to be aware of the multifaceted role that tourism plays in shaping neighbourhoods, particularly in the context of contemporary urban development.

Notes

1. I want to thank Analía Almirón for letting me use many ideas that we thought together several years ago.
2. A total of fifteen interviews were conducted with residents who had lived in the area for at least ten years and workers with labour related to the new commercial uses of the neighborhood (tourism, design). In this sense, we do not intend here to offer a representative sample like that made in other cases (Di Virgilio 2008) but rather engage in a qualitative approach that analyses the discourses of the interviewees.
3. Since then, the outdoor events that combine various activities, such as gastronomy, music, clothing fairs, and so on, have multiplied.
4. These celebrations have recently moved to a larger space (in Palermo but not in Palermo Soho). In 2020 and 2021 they were suspended because of the pandemic.
5. The map lost relevance as smartphone and social network technologies began to replace the use of physical maps.
6. Argentina suffered an economic and institutional collapse in December 2001. For more on this, see Cafassi (2002).
7. From its webpage https://hotelultra.com (currently offline, for further information visit the Instagram profile @ultramansion).
8. From its webpage https://duquehotel.com
9. From its webpage https://www.vainhotel.com
10. All names have been changed.
11. Villa Urquiza is another city neighbourhood, far away from the city centre and with a similar socio-economic demographics.
12. The interviews were conducted before the COVID-19 pandemic.
13. Florida is a pedestrian street in Buenos Aires' downtown, always jammed with people (mostly clerks but also tourists).
14. Since this process began, the noun Palermo became an adjective (*palermitano*) and a verb (*palermizar*). This made it possible to define Palermo's aesthetic as a brand, transferring it to other neighbourhoods in the city (and then even in other cities in Argentina).
15. A beltway that defines the city limits.

Bibliography

Agnew, John A. 1987. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Allen & Unwin.

Albet i Mas, Abel. 2001. '¿Regiones singulares y regiones sin lugares? Reconsiderando el estudio de lo regional y lo local en el contexto de la geografía posmoderna'. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 32: 35–52.

Arizaga, Cecilia. 2005. 'La construcción del gusto legítimo en el mercado de la casa'. *Bifurcaciones* 5: 1–12.

Asociación YOK. 2013. Pesaj Urbano. Archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20151012181212/http://yoktime.com/ (12 October 2015).

Borges, Jorge Luis. 1969. *Luna de enfrente y Cuaderno San Martin*. Emecé.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *La distinción: Criterios y bases sociales del gusto*. Taurus.

Boy, Martín. 2015. 'Travestis y vecinos de la "zona roja" de Palermo: distancias y cercanías en conflicto. Ciudad de Buenos Aires 1998–2012'. *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad: Revista Latinoamericana* 21: 175–96.

Burbridge, Martín. 2005. 'El nuevo "Palermo Boulevard", en la mira de los inversores'. IProfesional. 31 January. https://www.iprofesional.com/notas/12421-El-nuevo-Palermo-Boulevard-en-la-mira-de-los-inversores

Burrieza, Valeria. 2002. 'Palermo Viejo, un nuevo polo turístico'. La Nación. 10 June. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/palermo-viejo-un-nuevo-polo-turistico-nid403999/

Burrieza, Valeria. 2003. 'Palermo: el soho porteño'. La Nación. 1 June. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/lifestyle/palermo-el-soho-porteno-nid500009

Cafassi, Emilio. 2002. *Olla a presión: cacerolazos, piquetes y asambleas, sobre fuego argentino*. Libros del Rojas.

Carbajal, Rodrigo. 2003. 'Transformaciones económicas y urbanas en Palermo'. *Revista Argentina de Sociología* 1: 94–109.

Ciccolella, Pablo and Iliana Mignaqui. 2008. 'Metrópolis latinoamericanas: fragilidad del Estado, proyecto hegemónico y demandas ciudadanas. Algunas reflexiones a partir del caso de Buenos Aires'. *Cuadernos del Cendes* 25(69): 47–68.

Delgado Ruiz, Manuel. 1995. 'Las estrategias de memoria y olvido en la construcción de la identidad urbana: el caso de Barcelona'. In *Ciudad y Cultura: Memoria, Identidad y Comunicación*, edited by Diego Herrera Gómez, 95–126. Universidad de Antioquia.

Di Virgilio, María Mercedes. 2008. 'La renovación urbana a partir de las opiniones de los residentes en San Telmo y Barracas'. In *Con el corazón mirando al sur: Transformaciones en el sur de la ciudad de Buenos Aires*, edited by Hilda Herzer. Espacio.

Durán, Valeria, María Paula Yacovino, Tamara Domenech, Mariel Rubio and Mercedes Uzubiaga. 2005. 'Mapas barriales: ¿marca de las nuevas centralidades? Los casos de San Telmo, Abasto, Palermo Viejo y Lanín'. In *Buenos Aires a la deriva. Transformaciones urbanas recientes*, edited by Max Welch Guerra, 409–30. Biblos.

Garmendia, Mónica. 1998. 'En el Soho porteño'. La Nación. 19 August. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/arquitectura/en-el-soho-porteno-nid207645

González Bracco, Mercedes. 2009. 'Patrimonio e Identidad. Los "vecinos" de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires al rescate de las identidades barriales'. Thesis, IDAES-UNSAM.

González Bracco, Mercedes and Linda Kotschack. 2017. 'El espacio turístico, entre el enclave y el derrame: estudio en dos barrios de Buenos Aires'. *Cuadernos de Geografía: Revista Colombiana de Geografía* 26(2): 373–97. https://doi.org/10.15446/rcdg.v26n2.59182

González, Silvia Graciela. 2009. 'Inundaciones, transformaciones territoriales recientes y planificación en el barrio de Palermo (Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)'. *Actas del XII Encuentro de Geógrafos de América* (2009): 130–46.

IVC (Instituto de Vivienda de la Ciudad). 2018. 'Informe sobre situación habitacional de los/las inquilinos/as en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires'. https://data.buenosaires.gob.ar/dataset/informes-coyuntura-habitacional/resource/e40b424e-314e-4d77-8b7b-27b12f0eae3a.

J. A. 2002. 'El arte toma Palermo'. Página/12. 30 November. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/espectaculos/6-13556-2002-11-30.html

Lacarrieu, Mónica. 2007. 'La "insoportable levedad" de lo urbano'. *Eure* 33: 47–64. http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612007000200005

Libedinsky, Juana. 2000. 'Una nueva elite crece en EE.UU'. La Nación. 12 June. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/una-nueva-elite-crece-en-eeuu-nid20506

López, Lucio V. (1884) 1960. *La gran aldea*. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.

Michaud, Yves. 2015. *El nuevo lujo: experiencias, arrogancia, autenticidad*. Taurus.

Mignaqui, Iliana, Daniela Szajnberg and Pablo Ciccolella, 2005. 'Clusters creativos en la ciudad de Buenos Aires: Estudios de cine y televisión, moda y diseño en "Palermo Hollywood" y "Palermo Soho"'. Proceedings of the 41st International Society of City and Regional Planners Congress, 17–20 October 2005, Bilbao.

Monsalve, Mariela Rosa. 2009. 'Palermo: ¿Make up o made up? Notas sobre el devenir fantasioso de un espacio nacional'. *Question* 1(22).

Montgomery, John. 2003. 'Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters'. *Planning Practice & Research* 18(4): 293–306. https://doi.org/10.1080/1561426042000215614

Oropeza, Mariano. 2004. 'Un barrio a la carta. Un ensayo sobre estilos de vida y ciudad'. *Estudios Sociológicos* 22(3): 701–18.

Ortiz Guitart, Anna. 2004. 'Reflexiones en torno a la construcción cotidiana y colectiva del sentido de lugar en Barcelona'. *Polis* 1(4): 161–83.

Prats, Llorenç. 1997. *Antropología y patrimonio*. Ariel.

Pred, Allan. 1984. 'Places as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74(2): 279–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1984.tb01453.x

Ricot, Carmelo. 2005. 'La preocupante boludización de Palermo Viejo'. Café de las ciudades. February. https://cafedelasciudades.com.ar/articulos/la-preocupante-boludizacion-de-palermo-viejo/

Schmitt, Bernd H. 1999. *Experiential Marketing: How to Get Customers to Sense, Feel, Think, Act, Relate to Your Company and Brands*. Free Press.

Scobie, James R. 1977. *Buenos Aires del centro a los barrios 1870–1910*. Solar-Hachette.

Vecslir, Lorena and Daniel Kozak. 2013. 'Transformaciones urbanas en la manzana tradicional. Desarrollos fragmentarios y microtransformaciones en el tejido del barrio de Palermo-Buenos Aires'. *Cuaderno Urbano* 14(14): 148–71. https://doi.org/10.30972/crn.1414529

Zukin, Sharon. 1996. 'Paisagens urbanas pós-modernas: mapeando cultura e poder'. *Cidadania. Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 24: 205–19.

Chapter 7

Thanatourism in London and the Metropolitan Imaginary

Pippa Catterall

Introduction

People live in cities. They also die in them, leaving their mortal remains to be disposed of. As architectural texts, cities thus encapsulate both the potentialities and risks of existence, providing complicated geographies of mortality, morbidity and memorialisation. Sites of danger, disease and death such as rivers, bridges or insanitary neighbourhoods become embedded in the imaginary landscape of the city.[1] This can result from the actions of the metropolitan authorities, the media, or even literary elites. Locales associated with risk acquire rich emotional textures of both apprehension and excitement, even with so mundane a killer as sickness. Though communicable diseases strike at both the rich and poor, differential death rates in particular districts can infest those with social pathologies of fear and fascination. That localised fascination is part of the spark that engenders the rise of various forms of thanatourism in the modern metropolis.[2] That thanatourism is also path-dependently shaped by historic developments in the understanding and imagination of death and mortality within the city. In the process it may also, as will be investigated here through examination of guidebooks to London, feedback into the wider imaginary of the city.[3]

London is a particularly interesting site through which to explore the relationship between tourism and the metropolis using this distinctive lens. After all, it was described as a long-established metropolis as early as the fourteenth century (Keene 2004). It was also already a primate city, though not yet, as it was by the 1930s, seven times larger than its nearest English rival. By then it could also be described as the primate city of the far-flung British empire (Jefferson 1939). This dominant city was at the same time the administrative, judicial and political, social and cultural, as well as the

economic and financial capital of the country. It was the seat of kings, site of poverty and home to the full panoply of human existence, including death. London was also by the Victorian era arguably the epitome of a world city and metropolis, connected not just nationally but globally.[4] Indeed, the spread of print culture and the telegraph from the mid-nineteenth century were already communicating the spectacle of London far beyond its boundaries (Nead 2000). Refracted through the smog-shrouded streets evoked in the 1880s writings of Arthur Conan Doyle or Robert Louis Stevenson, subsequently conjured up for global audiences via film adaptations, the London of the late nineteenth century became lodged in the imagination (Clayton 2005; Pemble 2012). During the same decade, the serial killings in London's East End associated with the sobriquet Jack the Ripper became the first global murder sensation. This, as well as the fictional murders investigated by Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, conveyed a sense of the metropolis as a site of death as well as life. In the process, cultural products such as the media, literature and cinema thus imprinted a sense of London for those who had yet to visit it.

By the early eighteenth century, helpful guides for these would-be tourists to London were also emerging. London was a focal point of Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* in the 1720s, and it was followed by a steady stream of guides to the city. By the 1880s sometimes as many as ten different guidebooks to London were being published each year. These cultural products have been sampled here to explore the development of thanatourism in London and its role in shaping the imagination of the metropolis.

The Metropolis and the Dead

Before the onset of modernity, the living and the dead often shared the same communal spaces in both country and town. Up until the nineteenth century, London's dead were generally laid to rest in the consecrated space of the parish church and its surrounding churchyard, providing a continual memento mori for societies promiscuously familiar with death. Under the impact of modernity, that shared experience for rich and poor alike indeed became an important literary trope in the mid-eighteenth century. Modernity necessarily involves teleology, an aspiration for progress which mortality interrupts. Societies touched by modernity thus engage with death in different, more dynamic ways from societies for whom mortality is

ever-present and unchanging. A generation increasingly aware of economic possibilities and expanding horizons responded powerfully to the melancholic evocation of past lives contained in poems such as Thomas Gray's *Elegy on a Country Church Yard* (1751). These works and the emergent gothic literature that followed from the pen of Gray's friend Horace Walpole, were not really about death, or the dead: they instead lamented lives which were wasted, cut short, threatened or failed to fulfil their potential. This gothic literature resisted the constraining bonds of mortality, even while sometimes wallowing graphically on the effects that mortality has on the body (see Smith 2016). In the process, it also expressed a changing sensibility about dying and death.

This had a range of effects on the development of thanatourism in London. In much recent literature, thanatourism has been portrayed as a largely late twentieth-century phenomenon (Light 2017). Rare exceptions often focus on war and thanatourism (see Seaton 1999). Yet this approach is problematic for two reasons. First, the concept of thanatourism itself has been hitherto underdeveloped. Here I attempt to address this by examining thanatourism as a phenomenon involving the purposeful visiting and resulting commodification of sites associated with dying, death, the dead (and the undead).[5]

Second, it should be clear that thanatourism is of greater antiquity than often appreciated. By the early eighteenth century, various forms of thanatourism were certainly highlighted in guides to London. These focused particularly on the ecclesiastical spaces in which monuments to distinguished dead thronged, reflecting a pre-existing fascination with the resting places of the famous. Daniel Defoe in 1724 noted that the tombscape of Westminster Abbey had already been so extensively described by many authors 'that it would be a vain repetition to enter upon it here'. He confined himself to remarking disapprovingly on how the 'very fine monuments [that] are here to be seen over the graves of our ancient monarchs' had increasingly been joined by those of common people, 'some of which also are rather pompously foolish' (Defoe 1983, 120).

In contrast, extensive entries on the various famous men and women interred alongside kings and queens in Westminster Abbey appeared in *London in Miniature* published in 1755 (*London in Miniature* 1755, 127–64). Notable tombs there and in London's parish churches were staple features of many eighteenth and nineteenth century guidebooks.[6] Thus the medieval penchant for pilgrimage to view or touch saints' relics in sites like abbeys or Canterbury (Browett 2017) was replaced by a touristic gaze focused on

the fame and charisma of more secular remains necessarily centred on the metropolis of London. The historic burial grounds of politically marginalised Nonconformists and Quakers, located adjacent to each other in Bunhill Fields, however, only received brief mentions in these eighteenth-century guides. It was not until the later nineteenth century that the notable graves in Bunhill Fields of figures like Defoe himself began to be highlighted in London guidebooks as worthy of touristic attention.[7]

By then, Bunhill Fields had been joined by new necropolises. Defoe had already noted the increasingly unmanageable number of burials within the old city churchyards in the 1720s (Defoe 1983, 203). Burials in London's churches and churchyards were steadily discontinued: ninety of the latter had by 1900 been laid out as recreation grounds or public gardens. This resulted in a geographical relocation of the dead (*Cassell's* 1900, 25). The urban cemeteries, which instead emerged in early nineteenth-century London, removed the process of disposal and memorialisation to specialist settings that were only visited on purpose. This located and sanitised a distinctive geographic experience within the imaginary of the emergent middle classes of the period who patronised these new landscapes of the dead. Baedeker's guide to London of 1889, for instance, followed its reference to Bunhill Fields with praise for the 'very picturesque and tastefully laid-out' Highgate cemetery. The would-be visitor was also informed that 'The catacombs are in the Egyptian style' and that the 'terraces afford a fine view'. In keeping with the tradition of noting the famous dead, the graves of Michael Faraday, George Eliot and Samuel Taylor Coleridge were highlighted. Karl Marx, who had been buried in Highgate six years earlier, was not among their number (Baedeker 1889, 328).[8]

Kensal Green cemetery, laid out by a private company in 1832, was highlighted in the 1890s in one of a growing number of guidebook series – including those specially produced by department stores – aimed at American tourists. This was because of the number of their fellow countrymen buried there, even though 'As usual in England, there is little taste displayed in laying out the cemetery' (Gillig 1899, 89).[9]

As well as meeting the need for a physical focus for grief, these new cemeteries also provided oases of calm in an increasingly busy and polluted metropolis. Such experiences developed familiarity with the idea and process of visiting cemeteries as more than acts of familial respect. These locations were deliberately aestheticized (Taylor 1999). They also often provided rich detail on the lives of those interred. Not least, they furnished new sites for secular pilgrimages to the graves of the famous (Tomašević 2018).

The Thanatourism of Judicial Death

Baedeker's 1889 guide did not just mention the fields of the dead but also places and processes of dying.[10] Accounts of thanatourism often conflate sites of the undead, dead, dying and death. However, these all represent or reflect different thanatouristic settings, experiences and visitor motives. While the burial grounds of the dead during the nineteenth century were coming to be visited as sites of calm, reflection and exemplary lives, sites of death had by then instead long been associated with spectacle. The medieval and early modern state deliberately utilised the spectacle of judicially administered death as an awful warning. Indeed, Defoe's only mention of execution was of Temple Bar being topped by the heads of traitors (Defoe 1983, 109). This practice intentionally tutored people to read the sites/sights of the city and their geographical associations. It is not that, as Guy Debord suggests, social representation through spectacle only fully emerges in the media culture of the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries (Debord 1967), but that the articulation of those spectacles then became more democratised.

From such a perspective, guidebook writers by then could gaze back and dolorously romance the violent deaths experienced on Tower Hill.[11] Late Victorian guidebooks cited Thomas Babington Macaulay's reflections on the churchyard of St Peter ad Vincula within the Tower of London: 'There is no sadder place on earth than this little cemetery.' Therein lay interred such victims of Tudor executions as Sir Thomas More and Anne Boleyn (see Pascoe 1890, 279, another guidebook aimed at Americans). The evocation of a well-known and very different epoch that nineteenth-century writers like Macaulay had nonetheless popularised as formative in British history lent a poignancy to the scene, enhanced by the vividness of Macaulay's prose. To visit such sites was to engage imaginatively with their associations with state-executed violence during a tumultuous (and thankfully long-vanished) period.

Brutal and long-discontinued ways of killing could be used in late Victorian guidebooks to embellish – and consign to the past – the bloody history of the Tower. By then, their respectable readers only experienced judicially sanctioned death, if at all, via the newspaper or if they chanced to hear the bell of St Sepulchre's tolling as someone condemned was hanged behind closed doors at Newgate Prison (Baedeker 1889, 92–93). A hundred years earlier it was rather different. From the twelfth to the eighteenth century, London's main site of execution was Tyburn on what was then the western fringes of the city. The spectacle of execution came to be organised around a series of hanging days. By the eighteenth century these were usually six times a year. They

attracted large crowds with attendant hawkers and broadsheet sellers peddling supposed accounts or confessions of the condemned, while the wealthier watched from specially constructed seating (*London in Miniature* 1755, 245; Thompson 1991, 65). When Jack Sheppard, whose series of daring escapes from gaol made him arguably Britain's first celebrity criminal in the nascent print culture of the era, was executed in 1724 a sympathetic crowd estimated at two hundred thousand – a third of London's then population – was said to have participated in the carnivalesque atmosphere (*Gossipy Guide to London* 1900, 162). Similar crowds turned out to see and throw things at those in the pillory, who sometimes died from the resulting injuries (Ackroyd 2017, 155). This was thanatourism to visit not the heritage of death, but its actuality.

Tyburn now offers little for the visitor to conjure its awful past beyond a memorial plaque. There are no visual aids to the imagination at a site engulfed by twentieth-century traffic, a design seemingly created to ensure people flow past unaware of the horrors enacted there.[12] As a location for thanatourism, Tyburn did not long survive the movement of the site of executions to the rebuilt Newgate Prison in 1783, three years after the devastating Gordon Riots that destroyed the prison rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in the 1670s following London's Great Fire. That relocation was intended to provide for better crowd control and prevent the lengthy and boisterous processions that had come to accompany popular figures like Sheppard to their deaths. It placed the spectacle of judicial death along the façade of George Dance the Younger's new edifice, deliberately constructed in the *architecture terrible* style advocated by Jacques-François Blondel to convey a repulsive authoritarianism that communicated the chaotic lives of criminals and the force required to discipline them (Blondel 1771, 426–27). This indicated that the objective of social control continued to be closely linked to the official mind's articulation of the thanatopic geographies of the metropolis.

Whether these designs had the desired effect is another matter. A salacious interest in crime, criminals and executions among a growing reading public had already prompted the rise of the genre of Newgate literature in the later eighteenth century (McCalman 1999, 621–22), and the novelist William Thackeray was one of the first to try to gauge the behaviour and psychology of crowds at a hanging. His account of attending the execution of François Benjamin Courvoisier on 6 July 1840 begins with the anticipation, the dawn crowds scurrying to the site past already open gin shops, the passing shock of seeing the scaffold, the quality filling the better viewing places, while he mingled with a jocular mass assembled for the occasion. It was that, and the opportunity for casual society it afforded, that seemingly drew people.

Associated spectacle continued with the production, circulation and display of death masks. Thackeray's horrified reaction was not, he appreciated, universal. Of the estimated forty thousand there he wrote: 'Pickpocket and Peer each is tickled by the sight alike, and has that hidden lust after blood which influences our race' (Thackeray 1840).

It was these reactions of the crowd that increasingly impressed both press commentators and legislators. In moving the second reading of the bill to abolish public executions in 1868, the home secretary asserted that 'an execution has become nothing but a species of amusement, and is in nowise deterrent to the classes whom it is most desirable it should affect'.[13] Sites of judicial death became associated in the official mind with the disorderliness of the allegedly criminal classes. Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy's view was that public execution trivialised and debauched, while private execution, which could only be imagined by the non-spectator, would be more of a deterrent. In a period marked by concern among the authorities about the challenges of managing the unruliness of the burgeoning urban masses, this change in the locus of execution was designed to further the cause of social control. It also enabled the authorities to manage more tightly the message judicial death was intended to convey. This point was emphasised by Gathorne-Hardy's successor as home secretary, Assheton Cross, in 1880. Asked about restrictions on reporters' access to executions in Liverpool gaol, he warned that if the press 'were to be admitted to executions, and if the descriptions that we used to have are again to go forth without any control, then I say that the mischief will be increased tenfold'.[14]

British authorities in the nineteenth century, for reasons of social control, thus increasingly restricted and sanitised locations and occasions for thanatouristic spectacle. Just as the dead were increasingly separated from the living in their cemeteries, so the sites of judicial death – the only deaths which were readily predictable opportunities to gather a crowd – were distanced behind prison walls. Eighteenth-century guidebooks promised tourists that 'Those that have received Sentence of Death may be seen in [Newgate's] Chapel on a Sunday morning' though visitors were warned that 'to see the several Places here the Jailors expect a Compensation' (*London in Miniature* 1755, 218–19). By 1902 Newgate itself was closed. Like Tyburn, there is now little beyond a plaque to mark its grim history. As sites of memory both these locations, and all the suffering associated with them, have been largely expunged.

The relocation of the site of judicial death contributed to a shift in the focus of public sentiment. Spectacle could no longer be associated with the demise of the perpetrator. Instead, it increasingly focused on the nature of

their acts and, more occasionally, on their victim. Thanatourism became less about the dead, or about death and killing, but instead about the process of dying.

The Metropolis and Memorialisation of Dying

Not all places associated with dying are rich in thanatouristic possibilities. As Thackeray noted while on his way to Courvoisier's execution, 'In mansion or garret, on down or straw, surrounded by weeping friends and solemn oily doctors, or tossing unheeded upon scanty hospital beds', many were spending their last night on Earth (Thackeray 1840). In such settings, the act of dying was either private or bureaucratised in a semi-public hospital setting. Nonetheless, hospitals such as the Bethlem asylum for the mentally ill were certainly sites of visitation by prurient fee-paying spectators until this practice was discontinued in 1770. This grand edifice completed in 1676 was also a major landmark of the City of London. However, behind its opulent façade the building cracked and leaked, which did not prevent it rapidly becoming a tourist site for 'the greater quantity of persons that come daily to see the said Lunatickes' (Andrews et al. 1998, 178). Visits there were often positively encouraged. As with hangings, they were viewed as having an instructively deterrent effect. This authorised spectacle created a physical site of dark experience, while the contracted sobriquet for this hospital, Bedlam, passed into the English language as a marker for chaos and madness. The building itself, however, has gone the way of Tyburn and Newgate. Robert Hooke's palatial folly was eventually pulled down in 1815. Scarcely any trace of its existence survives at its former location. Again, its site can hardly be said to qualify as a *lieu de mémoire* either of architectural madness or human frailty.

Instead, three main ways in which processes of dying can come to be associated with thanatourism can be identified. The first of these is in relation to disasters. Nonetheless, disaster sites were rarely memorialised in London before the later nineteenth century. This was partly because such memorials were generally only provided through private subscriptions, such as the sixpenny fund that led to the erection of a Celtic memorial cross in Woolwich cemetery in 1880 to the victims of the sinking of the pleasure boat SS *Princess Alice* two years earlier (Lock 2013, 185). Such memorials may be aesthetic, but they are also generally very localised and primarily serve the assuaging of private grief. The notable exception was the use of public funds for the memorialisation of the Great Fire of 1666. This conflagration necessitated

extensive rebuilding of the city, with all the Wren, Hawksmoor and Vanburgh churches effectively in some sense memorials to the disaster. Additionally, what a 1755 guidebook described as 'Undoubtedly the noblest modern Column in the World [...] was erected to perpetuate the Memory of the dreadful Fire of London' adjacent to where the fire broke out (*London in Miniature* 1755, 44). While the Great Fire prompted new buildings that could function as *lieux de mémoire*, the plague of the preceding year did not, and accordingly went unmentioned in these eighteenth-century guidebooks. The Monument, designed by Wren and Hooke as a fluted Doric column with 311 steps inside that the visitor can climb to gain what were then panoramic views of London, constituted the first deliberately constructed site of thanatourism in the city.[15]

Thanatourism and Museums

A second type of thanatourism associated with dying concerns not hospitals but the museums they often contain. An example is the Bethlem Museum of the Mind, now co-located with the hospital itself in London's suburbs at Beckenham. Although its collections span the long history of the hospital dating back to its foundation in the thirteenth century, this museum was only established in 2015. It is thus one of the newest of London's twenty-six medical museums.[16] Some of these, such as the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons, date back to the late eighteenth century. Hospitals may not have been sites for viewing the dying, as opposed to the insane, but they were then becoming sites where artefacts associated with death, such as skeletons and skulls, could be encountered. A fascination with such objects and their classification, and with the wealth, connections and knowledge they conveyed, prompted the burgeoning of similar collections in the eighteenth century. As with that of the Scottish surgeon John Hunter, these often came to form the core of public museum collections by the early nineteenth century.

Medical museums such as the Hunterian were and remain primarily sites for teaching medical students, rather than public encounters with the sublimities of death. The late eighteenth century was nonetheless an age when both scientific exploration and new experimental discoveries fed a marked public appetite for science as spectacle, reflected in the crowds Humphry Davy drew to the Royal Institution, a body founded in 1799, the same year as the Hunterian. Among a growing well-to-do class with access to print culture, fascination with the life and death of the human body was reflected in the public engagement with related scientific controversies that marked the

early years of the nineteenth century. The hinge that linked this focus on the science of life with gothic literary representations of mortality was Mary Shelley's 1818 novel *Frankenstein* and the sensation it produced.

One of Shelley's protagonists is an explorer, and the novel is throughout informed by a profound sense of place and geography which conjures with contemporary associations. Thus, Frankenstein's charnel house of monstrous human assemblage is set in Edinburgh, site then of the recent vitalist controversy over what animates the body and the existence or otherwise of the soul (Butler 1994). Edinburgh was also, the novel hints, a place where the medically trained could acquire body parts with few questions asked. By the time a revised version of *Frankenstein* was published in 1831, the murderous efforts of William Burke and William Hare to supply that demand for corpses had already resulted in their apprehension.[17] After an execution attended by an estimated crowd of twenty-five thousand in 1829, Burke's body was then publicly dissected in the very anatomy theatre he had supplied. The procession to view his corpse took two hours to file through. His skeleton remains on display in Edinburgh's anatomical museum (Rosner 2010, 212–44).

The role of murder as the third and probably most significant driver of thanatouristic activities associated with dying is exemplified by the way in which visitors to Edinburgh now can undertake a self-guided walking tour of the sites associated with Burke and Hare's sixteen victims (Crystal 2020). However, at the time in the 1820s and 1830s, if the Scottish capital thereby acquired thanatopic resonances they attached themselves instead to Burke's mortal remains or to the city itself. The very particular process of dying known as murder – the third type of dying rich in thanatouristic possibilities – was nonetheless by then already beginning to fuel related activities. This was effectively as an adaptive commodification of the death mask displays associated with executions. These were used by the Revolutionary authorities in France to communicate the elimination of their victims, a practice the young Marie Tussaud became involved in during the 1790s. Having moved to Britain in 1802, Tussaud began displaying some of the resulting artefacts in her touring exhibitions. She was also invited to add wax images of executed British figures, starting with Colonel Despard after his madcap attempt at insurrection in 1803. By the time she acquired a permanent site on Baker Street in 1835, Tussaud had added notorious British murderers to her collection. In her search for authenticity Tussaud would even purchase the various artefacts associated with a murder for her tableaux, including relics of Burke and Hare. She bought the suit worn by the Stanfield Hall murderer, James Rush, for seventy guineas, generating additional admissions worth an extra

£1,500 in profits (Chapman 1984, 1–7, 23–27, 40–45; Crone 2015). By 1845, five years before her death, Tussaud's establishment was lauded in guidebooks as 'unquestionably one of the best [attractions] in London' (Mogg 1845, 8).

Tussaud's both contributed to and benefited from the growing popularity of the concept of *tableaux vivants*. Originating in eighteenth-century parlour games to entertain and reproduce historic scenes or works of art, their spread and growing familiarity ensured the legibility of Tussaud's *tableaux non-vivants*. Meantime, Tussaud's extended the public conception of these displays through the creation of static crime scenes in what was known, from the 1840s onwards, as her Chamber of Horror (Chapman 1984, 53). This prepared her generally middle-class audiences for the photographic representations of such scenes that subsequently began to appear in press outlets like *Illustrated Police News*, founded in 1864.

Murder and the Metropolis

The wealthier classes who could afford to frighten themselves with visits to Tussaud's viewed the murder and violence presented therein from an increasingly safe distance. The geographical separation of the classes in Victorian London can be exaggerated, as Charles Booth's surveys and maps from the 1880s make clear.[18] Nonetheless, it was becoming common to regard London as a city with concentrations of poverty, and of what Booth referred to as 'vicious and semi-criminal' classes, in particular districts. The nineteenth-century demarcation of the pleasure district of the West End from the city of the criminal and dispossessed located in the imagination in the East End was by then long established.[19] What would later be termed slum tourism was already evoked in the semi-autobiographical accounts of the wanderings there of a group of well-heeled young men penned by Pierce Egan in 1821 (Egan 1821). One of his companions in these adventures, and the illustrator of his book, was George Cruikshank, who went on in 1837–39 to illustrate Charles Dickens's lurid picture of the East End of *Oliver Twist* as a den of thieves, prostitutes and murderers. In this novel the character of Fagin was based on real-life local criminals like Ikey Solomon (Montagu and Tobias 1974; Horne 2017). Hitherto, authorised geographies of crime and punishment had shaped the pathologised districting of fear in the metropole of London. As the nineteenth century wore on, print culture and literary artifice were instead to play an increasingly important role in this phenomenon.

For many, particularly among the poorer classes, murder and violent death remained mundane facets of the daily struggle for survival. In the 1830s the social reformer Edwin Chadwick estimated that eleven thousand Britons died annually because of acts of violence (Finer 1952). Seemingly random deaths by violence, however, did not make good stories. Even when they contained elements that might appeal to prurience, such as prostitution, their newsworthiness, and thus thanatouristic potential, was by no means guaranteed. Consider the case of Thomas Edwards, who was apparently brutally set upon by a group of prostitutes in Brick Lane in 1888, dying three days later. The seeming purposelessness of the crime, the absence of a single perpetrator, the sex of the victim and criminals, and the coroner's quixotic verdict of 'accidental death' all contributed to the limited impact of Edwards' demise (Wise 2009, 101).

During the nineteenth century, few violent deaths were labelled murder. The apparent paucity of such crimes contributed to their fascination (Flanders 2011, 1). Nonetheless, not all such killings were newsworthy,[20] especially as most nineteenth-century murders were situated in the household, with the victim either a member of the family or a servant (Emsley 2010; Wise 2009, 100).[21] It was the rise of print culture and the crimes journalists selected to highlight that turned murder into something mysterious and macabre.

Recent research suggests that key factors in determining the newsworthiness of a murder are journalistic assumptions about the nature (and gender) of the victim and various sensational characteristics. Victims who can command sympathy are more likely to fit into models of journalistic practice than those who are seen by the public or encoded by the media as undeserving (Gekoski et al. 2012). To this can be added the newsworthiness of speculation about the identity or motives of the perpetrator, as exemplified by various notorious nineteenth-century cases.

It was the sensational narrativising of certain high-profile killings that established murder as a literary (and theatrical) trope with thanatouristic resonances. The rise of the press led to the origins of 'trial by newspaper' by the 1820s. Of particular importance in this process was the Red Barn murder in Suffolk in 1827. This story had it all: illicit sex, uncanny dreams by the stepmother of the victim's hasty burial site, the perpetrator's removal to London and marriage to another woman, eventual arrest and execution. Quite apart from lurid press reporting, it spawned a ballad, plays and thanatourism that began with William Corder's trial for the murder and continued with the chipping away of souvenirs from the Red Barn and Maria Marten's gravestone (Flanders 2011, 17–32).

Early nineteenth-century London also had notorious murders. The brutal assaults on the Marr and Williamson families in the Ratcliffe Highway murders of December 1811 certainly produced a sensation at the time. An enormous crowd assembled to witness the spectacular procession of the alleged murderer's body through the streets of East London on New Year's Eve. This reaction, however, parallels the throngs who then attended executions at Newgate. They were seemingly responding to the supposed murderer and the spectacle of his corpse, not to the victims or to the sites of the crime. Furthermore, the suicide of the apparent culprit robbed the case of its chilling mystery. Despite the sanguinary nature of the crimes and subsequent attempts to commodify these events through (inaccurate) representations of the accused, after John Williams's body was dumped in an unmarked grave and covered with quicklime these murders proved to have little direct thanatouristic possibilities, despite reported appearances of his ghost in the following months (Flanders 2011, 9–13). They did, nonetheless, contribute to the unsavoury associations that the East End of London came to acquire as a literary (and by extension touristic) trope during the nineteenth century.

Slum Tourism in the Metropolis

For there was clearly a symbiotic relationship between the representation of an area in print and its characterisation in mental maps of the metropolis. Indeed, guidebooks often consciously referenced literary representations; for instance, Charles Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* was used to evoke the destruction of the old Newgate Prison in the Gordon Riots of 1780 (*Cassell's* 1900, 88). The media also played their part in inscribing geographical understandings into the popular psyche, particularly when it came to locales rather than specific sites. An example is the representation of the East End of London in the 1895 guidebook produced by the popular magazine *Tit-Bits*. Its entry on the East End commences:

> One-third of the crime committed in England takes place in London. In face of this fact it is probable that few visitors would care to make a trip to some of the out-of-the-way slums in the East-end, where unquestionably, many gentlemen of shady character have their merry little nests.
>
> (*Tit-Bits* 1895, 50–51)

Murder, however, went unmentioned among the various crimes that *Tit-Bits* used to warn the unwary visitor against the area.

It was during the nineteenth century that the East End acquired its unfortunate reputation. Differentially high rates of death in these overcrowded and unsanitary districts during the cholera outbreaks between the 1830s and 1860s contributed to this, as did the marked and growing poverty of the area. Guidebooks to London therefore generally showed little more interest than *Tit-Bits* in encouraging tourists to visit the 'busy but dreary' East End (Cook and Cook 1910, 267). Around the turn of the twentieth century, if any detail on the area was supplied, guidebooks tended to concentrate on one of two features. They either drew attention to the Jewish character of Whitechapel – in *Tit-Bits*' case with marked anti-Semitic undertones – or to the philanthropic institutions founded in the 1880s to alleviate the poverty and distress of the area, such as Toynbee Hall or the People's Palace (Cook and Cook 1910, 224; *Tit-Bits* 1895, 51–52).

Yet these associations produced their own distinctive forms of tourism. When one of Toynbee Hall's early residents, William Beveridge, first visited the area he 'felt like an American tourist doing Whitechapel in two days' (Koven 2004, 8–9). By 1866 slum tourism to the East End had long attracted philanthropists, 'prophets of Piccadilly, students of human nature and cynics on the make' to gawp at its 'choicest rookeries' (the pioneering upper-class socialist, Henry Hyndman, cited in Koven [2004, 8–9]). The grisly 1860 murder in her own home of the rapacious landlady Mary Emsley further encouraged this (McKay 2018). Yet it was the attention drawn to the housing conditions of the area, rather than the murder itself, which seems to have produced this effect. The result was a phenomenon described as slumming. This imagined the East End as a site of danger, loose morals and sexual possibilities.[22] It was thus synchronically othered in much the same way that the Tudor bloodletting at the Tower was diachronically othered. Slumming appealed to the reformer and the rake, the prurient and the predator, as well as philanthropists, such as the fictional ones celebrated in Walter Besant's 1882 novel *All Sort and Conditions of Men*, or their real-life counterparts such as Angela Burdett-Coutts. The many charities established in the area during the later nineteenth century, meanwhile, had an interest in luridly emphasising the deprivation (and depravities) of the area to open the purse strings of their wealthy funders (Koven 2004, 14–15).

Jack the Ripper and the Imaginary of the Metropolis

The East End accordingly became a pathologised imagined space. In the 1880s it also became the haunt for all the anxieties of late Victorian society expressed in the range of responses stoked by the print media or voiced by

the public as a result of the killing spree attributed to an unknown serial killer dubbed Jack the Ripper (Frayling 2007, 13–28). Press reactions to this spate of gruesome femicides in 1888 drew on the established imaginary of the East End and of the death of women in a series of well-worn tropes.[23] Indeed, particularly because of the absence of any judicial denouement, the narratives of the Ripper murders were essentially established by the media (Oldridge 2007, 46–55). Unlike the murders of Edwards or Emsley, the killings of five (or possibly more) women in and around Whitechapel in what the press called the 'Autumn of Terror' proved eminently newsworthy. Both the modus operandi, mutilations and mystery surrounding the murderer, and the descriptions of the victims as prostitutes, fitted into existing tropes of the East End, of antisemitism, and of murder stories.[24] The horrified sensation produced by the manner of death, luridly depicted in the *Illustrated Police News*, the ineffectiveness of the police and the paucity of clear suspects all left space for the media to feed the appetite for news that Jack the Ripper's activities generated (Rubenhold 2019, 7–8; Wise 2009, 102–5).[25]

There were plenty of bodies in this gory story. However, unlike in the cases of the Ratcliffe Highway murders or that of Mary Emsley, what was missing was the body of the perpetrator. Despite the discontinuation of the spectacle of execution twenty years earlier, it seemingly remained the case that late Victorians continued to associate the thanatopic connotations of murder with the murderer and not the victims or sites of murder. Indeed, much of the press reporting at the time focused on speculation about the possible identity of the killer, an approach which, if anything, has become and continues to be even more pronounced in the enormous body of writings about this most sensationalised of serial murders. This journalistic approach, Darren Oldridge suggests, reflected the same calculations that rendered Edwards' murder unnewsworthy. He shows how reports suggesting a gang attacking prostitutes were superseded following Polly Nicholls' death by the way in which the *Star* evening newspaper – only launched in January of that year – gained circulation through turning the story into that of 'some cool, cunning man with a mania for murder'.[26] This narrative drew attention away from the – to the Victorian mind – unsympathetic victims and instead fixated it on the criminal, and the bloodthirsty nature of the crimes.[27] In the process, the thanatopography of the Ripper murders became publicly established both in Britain and around the world. Oldridge suggests that the *Star*'s reporting influenced the origins of thanatourism around the Ripper as well. Within days of Nicholls' murder, sightseers were visiting the site of the crime (Oldridge 2007, 49–54). By 27 September 1888 there was

also a temporary waxworks exhibition nearby where 'women with children in their arms are pushing their way to the front with their pennies to see the ghastly objects within'.[28] Many of these visitors were seemingly middle-class slummers with a new occasion to excite their sympathies and fears about the East End. Locals, in contrast, objected to Thomas Barry depicting gory pictures of the victims outside his exhibition, prompting the police to close it down for 'being a nuisance in Whitechapel Road' (Krawczyk-Zywko 2018, 3). This local commodification of the crimes of Jack the Ripper thus proved temporary. Tussaud's provided a more permanent spectacle for thanatourists in its Chamber of Horrors. Indeed, by this point Tussaud's had arguably come to substitute for the thrill of attending a public hanging. Obviously, there was no likeness of 'Jack', but waxworks of three leading suspects – all of whom were executed in connection with other, if dissimilar, murders – were displayed there (Krawczyk-Zywko 2018, 2). This approach reflected the focus on the killer already established by the journalistic thanatopography of the Ripper.

One possible reason for this is – within the framework of the Ripper narrative – a need to understand and be able to read the face of madness or evil, while also reducing it from the inchoate fears it generates to a more human level (Chapman 1984, 4). As with the theme of Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 novel *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, which portentously was causing a sensation on the London stage just before the Ripper struck (Frayling 2007, 17–19), the thrill of horror is spiced by the often unconscious need to recognise danger and inner human darkness. This and other responses that explain the attraction of the horror genre – ranging from othering of the villain to the biochemical reactions that fear produces – also suggest why attention focused, as at executions in the eighteenth century, on the murderer and their acts (Jarrett 2011). Accordingly, Ripper-related thanatourism, after Barry's ill-fated venture, long focused on depictions of his supposed body in waxwork. There was seemingly little or no association with the drabness of the actual sites of his crimes.

This can be borne out by the silence of London guidebooks on the subject. Only those rare guidebooks which contain sections on crime also discuss Jack the Ripper.[29] There may be some evidence of thanatourists drawn to see the crime scenes for themselves: the French novelist Émile Zola was one such visitor in 1893. More generally the atmosphere of the Ripper – and by extension, its impact on the imagined streetscapes of London – seems to have been conjured by the impact of Tussaud's. It was in the Chamber of Horrors that these scenes were 'safely abstracted from the specificities of *place*' in a

staging calculated to heighten the resulting emotional reaction (Cunningham 2007). That chamber also proved the vector whereby the imaginary of the Ripper's haunts spread through popular culture, aided by its depiction in Marie Belloc Lowndes' 1913 novel *The Lodger*. Her heroine's excitement about entering 'the curious, vault-like chamber where waxen effigies of dead criminals stand grouped in wooden docks', plays a crucial role in the plot (Belloc Lowndes 2015, 272). This story has since been filmed three times, most notably by Alfred Hitchcock in 1927. Hitchcock's depiction was tellingly subtitled 'A Story of the London Fog'. The gothic atmosphere that Hitchcock conjured was caused by the smoke particulates from London's many grates, but it was its cinematic rendering that made it sinister, producing a lasting impact on movie representations of Victorian London. It is through this indirect route that the Ripper seems most to have shaped popular imaginaries of that 'perpetually foggy' metropolis (Louttit 2016).

In contrast, London guidebooks of the interwar years, if they mentioned the East End at all, were more conscious of the legacy of slumming in the public mind. One in 1920 assured would-be visitors that it 'is not so bad as the provincial mind has imagined it, nor so dull as the denizens west of the dividing line of Houndsditch and the Minories would have us believe'. One marker of the liveliness of the area it cited was the Sidney Street siege of 1911 (*Cassell's* 1920, 192–3), but there was no mention of the Ripper.

Thanatopography and the Metropolis

Instead, understandably in the wake of the Great War, the main thanatouristic development of the interwar period was around the memorialisation of the slaughter in that conflict. Guidebooks evoked the emotional impact of Frederick Lutyens' Cenotaph, permanently established on Whitehall in 1920 as an unadorned catafalque representing 'an Imperial Grave of all those citizens of the Empire, of every creed and rank, who gave their lives in the War' (Whitaker-Wilson 1935, 19). The spread of newsreels accustomed visitors to such sights/sites, which served as foci for mourning for those who had no bodies to grieve over (Connolly 2002). Nonetheless, that guidebook went on to warn:

> Naturally you will sustain a minor mental shock as you recognise the Cenotaph. You should hardly be human if you did not. There is nothing attractive about it from the architectural point of view which, I have now come to the conclusion, is just as well. I was disappointed when I first

> saw it just after its unveiling. That was because the memories of the War were so fresh. Now that time has gone by and the memory of those dark days has become somewhat adjusted, I find great dignity in the simplicity of the Cenotaph. As a design it is, in my opinion, of little value; as a symbol it means a great deal.
>
> (Whitaker-Wilson 1935, 19)

The expectation that 'Men raise their hats when they pass' was already inscribed in guidebooks by 1920 (Baedeker 1920, 119). A particularly poignant example of this war-related thanatourism is the highlighting of the Cenotaph and tours to the graves of the Western Front in the pocket-guide to London produced by the Australian High Commission in 1924 (*Australians' Guide Book* 1924, 48).

Just as the fading of memories changed the emotional engagement with the Great War and the Cenotaph, so it was with the killing grounds of the Ripper. The Victorian East End of the murders was reshaped or erased by bombing, post-war economic decline and changes in population. By the time a growing fashion for city walking tours – including ones which featured the thanatouristic possibilities of ghosts – was extended to the haunts of Jack the Ripper in 1982, Thatcherite gentrification was poised to change the area and bring new potential punters to it. Furthermore, the Victorian past was also sufficiently remote to be darkly othered as thoroughly as Macaulay had othered the Tudor killing grounds of Tower Hill in the previous century. In the process, the tropes established cinematically by Hitchcock and others in the 1920s to stimulate the imaginary of the East End were employed in the commodification of murder for these ambulatory audiences (Cunningham 2007, 159–61, 172–3). Nonetheless, it was not until the twenty-first century that London guidebooks began to mention these walking tours among their lists of the touristic attractions of the city. At this point, the imagined heritagescape of the Ripper could be said to have finally been inscribed into the thanatopography of the London metropolis.

Conclusions

Thanatourism, as these twenty-first century guidebooks attest, is now a minor theme among more lucrative capitalistic activities, such as the restaurants and retail that they highlight. Indeed, if anything, it has become less central to representations of London over the past three centuries. Tombs of the royal and famous were prominent among the accounts presented in

eighteenth-century guidebooks. So were the sites of contemporary judicial death at Tyburn or Newgate. Thanatourism, well into the nineteenth century, focused on these themes, while the thanatopic geographies of the city were determined by the authorities.

From the early nineteenth century, however, popular and print culture became increasingly important in shaping these geographies. Not least, the Chamber of Horrors evoked the actions of the hanged murderers. This effectively gave visual representation to the sensations previously stimulated by the broadsheets and ballads sold at an execution. It also ensured that the focus remained on the perpetrators of these crimes, rather than their locations. There was one exception to this during the nineteenth century: Tower Hill. Macaulay's gothic romanticising of that site gave it an added thanatopic frisson. A guide in 1810 merely mentioned St Peter ad Vincula as a historic site of royal worship (*Stranger's Guide through London* 1810, 181). In contrast, by the end of the century a guidebook for Americans could quote Macaulay and then add 'It is not without a sense of relief that one turns away from the scene of so many foul and monstrous deeds' (Gillig 1899, 128). Macaulay and Madame Tussaud, it seems, combined to invest such sites of death with horror.

Tower Hill could thus be inscribed into the thanatouristic imaginary of the national metropolis, though only through a combination of the charisma of its historic and royal associations and the othering that the distance of time provided. A similar othering through the passage of time can also be observed regarding the thanatourism associated with the sites of dying where Jack the Ripper's victims lay. Barry's contemporary attempts to exploit their suffering through depictions of their bodies outside his short-lived emporium provoked local anger. Instead, Ripper thanatourism was located elsewhere, primarily at Tussaud's, and focused on the suspects, not the women who were killed. Indeed, the occlusion of women in general, and the commercial exploitation of the fates of these women, continued to fuel the local anger directed more than a hundred years later at the Jack the Ripper Museum opened in 2015.[30] The thanatourists that it and the Ripper walks catered for were largely outsiders. For them, their imaginary of the Victorian London experience these attractions provide had already been stimulated by indirect and mediated representations of the Ripper. In the process, the atmosphere evoked by the Ripper became part of the imaginary of London, and the exemplary Victorian metropolis it represented, long *before* his crimes were inscribed into the thanatourism of the areas associated with them.

Notes

1. The river as a site of death was a trope in many Victorian novels such as Charles Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–65) and this facet, and the criminal gangs who promenaded along the river between Blackheath and Lambeth, were picked out in an early twentieth-century French guidebook: de Bernhardt (1906, 277).
2. The association of the impoverished district of Bethnal Green with the ravages of cholera in the nineteenth century is highlighted in twenty-first century walking tours: see Charnick (2017).
3. I am grateful to the Bishopsgate Institute for access to their collection of these guidebooks.
4. The *New English Dictionary* in 1908 noted that metropolis was 'often somewhat pompously used of London', cited in Keene (2004), 'Metropolitan comparisons', 460.
5. Although ghost stories and evocations of the uncanny were clearly popular in this period and often strongly associated with place in the gothic literature of the late eighteenth century, there is less evidence that sites associated with the undead were seen as offering touristic potential at the time. Among the few references to ghosts in London guidebooks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the mention of Samuel Johnson exposing a fake ghost in Giltspur Street in *Cassell's Guide to London* (1900), 52–53.
6. See, for example, *London and Westminster Guide* (1768), vii; and Sarrett (1803), 51–66.
7. Baedeker (1889, 98). *Cassell's* (1920, 53) emphasised that this was certainly not on aesthetic grounds.
8. Now Marx's grave is Grade I listed and he is the only nineteenth-century figure mentioned on Highgate Cemetery's website alongside more recent celebrity figures such as George Michael: see https://highgatecemetery.org/
9. Gillig also tells Americans (on pp. 83–84) that they can find graves of relatives of Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, in St John's, Smithfield.
10. This includes the nosegay presented at St Sepulchre's to the condemned on their way to Tyburn (Baedeker 1889, 92–93).
11. In the eighteenth century, guidebooks seem instead to have focused thanatopic interest on the weapons of execution in the Royal Armouries at the Tower: see, for instance, *London in Miniature* (1755, 35).

12. However, relics and memorialisation of the 105 Catholics hanged at Tyburn between 1535 and 1681 can now be found at nearby Tyburn Convent: see https://www.tyburnconvent.org.uk/martyrs-shrine
13. HC Deb (3rd series) 5 March 1868 vol. 190, cc.1129–30.
14. HC Deb (3rd series) 5 March 1880 vol.251, c.432.
15. The Golden Boy at Pye Corner, also erected in the late seventeenth century to mark where the Great Fire was finally extinguished, was rarely mentioned in guidebooks, though see *Cassell's* (1900, 54).
16. See http://medicalmuseums.org/
17. The Fortune of War public house at Pye Corner also featured a backroom for storing the corpses dug up by bodysnatchers before they could be sold to nearby St Bartholomew's Hospital for dissection. See https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryMagazine/DestinationsUK/The-Golden-Boy-of-Pye-Corner/
18. Booth noted that, despite its reputation, 63% of the East End population were not in poverty: see Hall (2002).
19. On the emergence of London's West End and the role of its pleasure district in the imaginary of the metropolis see McWilliam (2020).
20. A rare exception was that of the servant girl Elizabeth Fenning, hanged for murder in 1815, largely because of pioneering investigative journalism of William Hone in his efforts to clear her name (Wilson 2005, 98–125).
21. One of the few guidebooks to mention murder points out there were only twenty murders registered in London in the previous year, 1905 (de Bernhardt 1906, 276).
22. The social needs and sexual mores of the area were highlighted in sensational and highly influential pamphlets such as 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London' (Mearns and Preston 1883).
23. On the history of artistic and literary fascination with female death, see Bronfen (1992).
24. On the misrepresentation of the victims by the media see Rubenhold (2019).
25. See, for instance, the *IPN*'s graphic front page of 6 October 1888.
26. *Star* 1 September 1888, cited in Oldridge (2007, 49).
27. Compare these deaths with the lack of press (or subsequent) interest in the murder of a prostitute in nearby Poplar at the end of 1888 (Fishman 2007, 241).
28. *Daily News* 27 September 1888, cited in Oldridge (2007, 54).
29. One of the few early examples is the brief recitation of the career of 'Jack l'Éventreur' in de Bernhardt (1906, 277).

30. In an echo of Barry's experience, they were ordered to take down their signage: see Marshall (2016).

Bibliography

Ackroyd, Peter. 2017. *Queer City: Gay London from the Romans to the Present Day*. Chatto & Windus.

Andrews, Jonathan, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker and Keir Waddington. 1998. *The History of Bethlem*. Routledge.

The Australians' Guide Book.1924. Australian High Commission.

Baedeker. 1889. *London and its Environs: Handbook for travellers*. 7th ed. Baedeker.

Baedeker. 1920. *London and its Environs*. Allen & Unwin.

Belloc Lowndes, Marie. (1913) 2015. *The Lodger*. Gaslight Crime.

Blondel, Jacques-François. 1771. *Cours d'architecture ou traité de la décoration, distribution et constructions des bâtiments contenant les leçons données en 1750, et les années suivantes*, volume 1. Paris.

Bronfen, Elisabeth. 1992. *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*, Manchester University Press.

Browett, Rebecca. 2017. 'Touching the Holy: The Rise of Contact Relics in Medieval England'. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68(3): 493–509. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046916001494

Butler, Marilyn. 1994. 'Introduction'. In *Frankenstein: 1818 Text* by Mary Shelley, xviii–xlix. Oxford University Press.

Cassell's Guide to London. 1900. Cassell & Co.

Cassell's Guide to London. 1920. Cassell & Co.

Chapman, Pauline. 1984. *Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horror: Two Hundred Years of Crime*. Constable.

Charnick, Dave. 2017. 'The Queen and the Green'. Footprints of London. 15 June. https://footprintsoflondon.com/live/2017/06/the-queen-and-the-green/

Clayton, Antony. 2005. *Decadent London: Fin de Siècle City*. Historical Publications.

Connolly, M. 2002. *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1916–1939*. Boydell Press.

Cook, Emily Constance and E. T Cook. 1910. *London and Environs*. 6th ed. Darlington.

Crone, Rosalind. 2015. 'Jack the Ripper, A Women's History Museum and London's Fascination with All Things Gory'. The Conversation. 31 July.

https://theconversation.com/jack-the-ripper-a-womens-history-museum-and-londons-fascination-with-all-things-gory-45456
Crystal. 2020. 'The Best Self-Guided Tour of the Burke and Hare Murders'. Wandering Crystal. 14 March. https://www.wanderingcrystal.com/burke-and-hare-edinburgh-tour/
Cunningham, David. 2007. 'Living in the Slashing Grounds: Jack the Ripper, Monopoly Rent and the New Heritage'. In *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History*, edited by Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, 159–76. Manchester University Press.
De Bernhardt, F. 1906. *Londres et la vie à Londres*. Dumoulin.
Debord, Guy. 1967. *La société du spectacle*. Buchet-Chastel.
Defoe, Daniel. (1724–7) 1983. *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, volume 2. Folio Society.
Dickens, Charles. 1865. *Our Mutual Friend*. Porter & Coates.
Egan, Pierce. 1821. *Life in London*. Sherwood, Neely and Jones.
Emsley, Clive. 2010. *Crime and Society in England 1750–1900*. 4th ed. Longman.
Finer, Samuel E. 1952. *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick*. Methuen.
Fishman, William J. 2007. 'Crime and Punishment'. In *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History* edited by Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, 229–43. Manchester University Press.
Flanders, Judith. 2011. *The Invention of Murder: How the Victorians Revelled in Death and Detection and Created Modern Crime*. HarperCollins.
Frayling, Christopher. 2007. 'The House that Jack Built'. In *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History*, edited by Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, 13–28. Manchester University Press.
Gekoski, Anna, Jacqueline M. Gray and Joanna R. Adler. 2012. 'What Makes a Homicide Newsworthy?' *The British Journal of Criminology* 52(6): 1212–32. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azs047
Gillig, Charles Alvin. 1899. *Gillig's London Guide*. London.
The Gossipy Guide to London and District. 1900. Arthur Pearson.
Hall, Peter. 2002. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Planning and Urban Design in the Twentieth Century*. 3rd ed. Blackwell.
Horne, Philip. 2017. 'Crime in *Oliver Twist*'. British Library. 15 May. https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/crime-in-oliver-twist
Jarrett, Christian. 2011. 'The Lure of Horror'. British Psychological Society. 21 November. https://www.bps.org.uk/volume-24/edition-11/lure-horror
Jefferson, Mark. 1939. 'The Law of the Primate City'. *Geographical Review* 29(2): 226–32. https://doi.org/10.2307/209944

Keene, Derek. 2004. 'Metropolitan Comparisons: London as a City-State'. *Historical Research* 77(198): 459–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.2004.00218.x

Koven, Seth. 2004. *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*. Princeton University Press.

Krawczyk-Zywko, Lucyna. 2018. 'On Waxworks Considered One of the Hyperreal Arts: Exhibiting Jack the Ripper and His Victims'. *Humanities* 7(2). https://doi.org/10.3390/h7020054

Light, Duncan. 2017. 'Progress in Dark Tourism and Thanatourism Research: An Uneasy Relationship with Heritage Tourism'. *Tourism Management* 61: 275–301.

Lock, Joan. 2013. *The Princess Alice Disaster*. Robert Hale.

London and Westminster Guide, Through the Cities and Suburbs. 1768. W. Nicoll.

London in Miniature. 1755. C. Corbett.

Louttit, C. 2016. 'Victorian London Redux: Adapting the Gothic Metropolis'. *Critical Survey* 28(1): 2–14. https://doi.org/10.3167/cs.2016.280102

Marshall, Tom. 2016. 'Blow for Controversial Jack the Ripper Museum as It Is Ordered to Remove Nearly All of Its Signage'. *Evening Standard*, 4 June. https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/controversial-jack-the-ripper-museum-ordered-to-remove-almost-all-of-its-signage-a3261406.html

McCalman, Iain (ed). 1999. *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776–1832*. Oxford University Press.

McKay, Sinclair. 2018. 'Victorian London's East End: What Can a Foul Murder Tell Us About Life in the City?' History Extra. 20 June. https://www.historyextra.com/period/victorian/life-victorian-london-east-end-crime-poverty-slum-danger/

McWilliam, Rohan. 2020. *London's West End: Creating the Pleasure District, 1800–1914*. Oxford University Press.

Mearns, Andrew and Willam C. Preston. 1883. 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor'. London Congregational Union.

Mogg, Edward. 1845. *Mogg's New Picture of London and Visitor's Guide to Its Sights*. E. Mogg.

Montagu, Euan and John Tobias. 1974. *The Prince of Fences: Life and Crimes of Ikey Solomon*. Vallentine Mitchell.

Nead, Lynda. 2000. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. Yale University Press.

Oldridge, Darren. 2007. 'Casting the Spell of Terror: The Press and the Early Whitechapel Murders'. In *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History*, edited by Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, 46–55. Manchester University Press.

Pascoe, Charles Eyre. 1890. *London of To-day*. Marshall.

Pemble, John. 2012. 'Gaslight and Fog'. *London Review of Books* 34(2), 26 January.

Rosner, Lisa. 2010. *The Anatomy Murders: Being the True and Spectacular History of Edinburgh's Notorious Burke and Hare and of the Man of Science Who Abetted Them in the Commission of Their Most Heinous Crimes*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rubenhold, Hallie. 2019. *The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper*. Transworld.

Sarrett, S. J. 1803. *Tegg and Castleman's New Picture of London 1803–4*. Tegg & Castleman.

Smith, Andrew. 2016. *Gothic Death 1740–1914: A Literary History*. Manchester University Press.

Seaton, A. V. 1999. 'War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(1): 130–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00057-7

The Stranger's Guide through London. 1810. Tegg.

Taylor, William. 1999. '"A Contrivance for Life": The Garden Cemetery and the Cultivation of National Enterprise and Individual Sentiment as Aspects of British Character'. *National Identities* 1(1): 53–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.1999.9728102

Thackeray, William Makepeace. 1840. 'Going to See a Man Hanged'. *Fraser's Magazine*. July. The text of this report can be found online at https://www.thecircumlocutionoffice.com/william-makepeace-thackeray/on-going-to-see-a-man-hanged/

Thompson, E. P. (1963) 1991. *The Making of the English Working Class*. Penguin.

Tit-Bits Guide to London. 1895. George Newnes.

Tomašević, Amelia. 2018. 'Cemeteries as Tourist Attraction'. *Turisticko Poslovanje* 21: 13–24. http://dx.doi.org/10.5937/TurPos1821013T

Whitaker-Wilson, C. 1935. *The Country Cousin's Guide to London*. Methuen.

Wilson, Ben. 2005. *The Laughter of Triumph: William Hone and the Fight for the Free Press*. Faber, pp. 98–125.

Wise, Sarah. 2009. *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum*. Vintage.

Part 2

Politics and Governance of Metropolitan Tourism

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

Introduction

Metropolises are complex and heterogeneous spatial entities composed of different and numerous municipalities and territories. Despite the fact that they are linked by their territorial proximity or contiguity, they may have different, even divergent or opposing objectives. When it comes to tourism in particular, a metropolis is not automatically or obviously one single destination. On the contrary, within a metropolis we often have different destinations, which sometimes collaborate but most often compete for market share. The situation is similar in sectors other than tourism. However, tourism has its own specificities, due to the structure of tourism businesses, which are often small and highly fragmented, and also the fact that the tourism sector concerns all aspects of urban and metropolitan life in a cross-cutting manner: housing, transport, cultural infrastructures, public spaces and so on.

As Scott and Marzano pertinently remind, 'governance within the tourism sector is a challenging task as it involves a variety of stakeholders who are sometimes only weakly aware of what tourism is' (Scott and Marzano 2015). According to the authors, 'Tourism is an "open" sector of the economy, with low barriers to entry and is subject to the threats and opportunities from numerous political, social, environmental and technological trends' (Scott and Marzano 2015, 182).

As Dredge (2006) stresses, there are few large companies that can provide leadership, such as in aviation, dominated by large businesses operating at a

global scale. Tourism is a fragmented industry, characterised by micro, small and medium-size suppliers. In most countries, we are faced with a mosaic of private tourism players, whose actions are coordinated by different levels of government: local, regional or national – or even, in some cases, as for the countries of the European Union, international. This presents inherent difficulties, a fortiori because tourism is not always considered a priority sector. To take the example of France, one of the world's leading tourism destinations, there is no ministry of tourism (tourism is a subdepartment of the ministry of employment, which says a lot about the difficulty of approaching the tourism phenomenon in a transversal and holistic way). More generally speaking, the multisectoral nature of tourism means that important decisions, which can have a very serious impact on the sector, can be taken by a multitude of decision-makers at all levels, local or national, be it for transport, health, education, housing or immigration. This often creates conflicting and often irreconcilable priorities between the various decision-makers.

At a metropolitan level, the situation is also conflicting and fragmented. Within the metropolis, the different territorial levels may communicate to tourist targets not only about different sites and attractions, but also about different territorial identities (between, for example, the central urban parts of the metropolis and others more rural, offering a totally different type of tourism product).

To complicate matters, tourists' perception of the destination does not always coincide with the administrative boundaries in which a tourism policy or governance is applied. A tourist who comes to 'Paris' does not only see Paris *intra muros*. They mentally include in their destination not only the city of Paris, but also the Stade de France or the Basilica de Saint-Denis (in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis at the northern outskirts of Paris), Disneyland Paris (in the Seine-et-Marne department), or Versailles (in the Yvelines department). Although all these sites are located in the Île-de-France region, which is seeking to implement a tourism policy on its own scale, it's not certain that they 'speak with the same voice'. Their objectives differ, and as much as they seek synergies, they are able to diversify their positions if need be.

Tourism governance at a metropolitan scale is therefore both necessary, and particularly difficult to implement. Bock et al. (2021) define it as 'the process by which governments coordinate destination management at different scales through synergistic efforts, which include the private tourism sector and non-governmental organizations', with the intention to positively influence the maximisation of tourism benefits in the economy, environment and society. Social science disciplines have seen governance as a polysemic

concept (Bock et al. 2021), broad in its interpretation and used by many lines and schools of thought (Farinós Dasi 2008; Bock et al. 2021). The aim of governance is to influence and balance interactions, forces and social interests, and to establish a normative basis that allows actors and social systems to organise themselves (Kooiman 2003).

Governance, Tourism and the Metropolis

The term 'governance', often misused as a synonym for 'government', is an ostensibly more complicated term. Government and governance, while clearly related, are different concepts. Governance emerges as a wider phenomenon than the government. It covers government institutions, but also informal mechanisms. It is a more encompassing phenomenon than government, since it embraces governmental institutions, 'but it also subsumes informal, non-governmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organisations within its purview move ahead, satisfy their needs, and fulfill their want' (Scott and Marzano 2015). The governance capacity is, in fact, the formal and factual capability of public or private actors to define the content of public goods and to shape the social, economic and political processes by which these goods are provided (Knill and Lehmkuhl 2002, 43).

The characteristic feature of governance, therefore, is to be a form of regulation, characterised by the presence of planning widely shared by a plurality of different kinds of actors. Governance is described as 'our joint and uneven terms of engagement with the complex fields of economic, human, social and cultural power relations in which we are all "stakeholders" ' (Mercer 2005), as a set of rules (which may vary from project to project) that only works if the majority accepts them. As a set of shared rules for the implementation of a project, governance requires the coordinated participation of actors, social groups and institutions appropriate to the specific objectives discussed and defined collectively. It is therefore a dynamic process involving structures, functions (responsibilities), processes (practices) and organisational traditions that a group of stakeholders uses to accomplish its missions. It also requires the involvement of citizens who become an active part in decision-making. This is particularly important but also complicated in the metropolis, where the involvement of local inhabitants greatly differs depending on their relation to tourism (and in particular to whether they receive any benefits from tourism or not) and their location. For example, for Barcelona, Richards and Wilson (2006) define three 'zones' of resident–tourism relationship, ranging from the tourist core where opinions about tourism are sharply

divided according to whether or not people have a job related to the industry, to the outer periphery where many people have little direct relationship to the city centre or to tourism.

Looking for 'Good Governance' at the Metropolitan Scale

The concept of 'good governance' was introduced by institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to emphasise the rise of efficiency and effectiveness, the creation of governability conditions and the need to increase the interaction between various social actors (Frey 2005). The concept was primarily focused on the application of principles such as ethics, transparency and efficiency in the management process of both the public and private sectors (de Bruyn and Alonso 2012; Bock et al. 2021). It now, however, becomes a wider concept, presented as the 'mode or model of governance that leads to the social and economic results sought by citizens' (Graham et al. 2003, 8) and as the achievement of desired results consistent with the normative values of democracy and social justice (Gill 2001). 'Good governance' is supposed to consist of a culture of urban partnership that respects the needs and responsibilities of all stakeholders in terms of city processes, including city planning, administration and governance (UNDP-TUGI 2003).

These questions are important considering tourism, a fortiori in a metropolitan context, since metropolitan tourism is embedded in social relations, and particularly in relations of local political governance and ownership, which can be very often elements of conflict. Tourism in the metropolis, with its specific cultural, social and economic landscape, its environment and its resources, cannot be treated in the same manner as all other goods; it requires the use of models and ad hoc policies in which tourism and the territory become inextricably linked to concepts like development, sustainability, cohesion and competitiveness. Tourism development in the metropolis is therefore expected to take place within a production context, which includes social groups, institutions and agencies of governance, and where various political and economic interests are entangled in quite complex interrelations.

In the planning of tourism on a metropolitan scale, the approach to governance involves the replacement of the traditional rules of government utilities (top down) with new forms of participatory management (bottom up), which tends to involve in decision-making both public and private actors.

Studies on tourism governance highlight the effects or impacts of communication, trust creation, legitimacy, knowledge development and transference among tourism actors within different network arrangements, evidencing their mode of operation and the outcomes obtained thereby (Beaumont and Dredge 2010).

Although governance now seems to be gaining ground, both in the approaches of stakeholders and in the scientific literature, its scope needs to be qualified. Governance (and 'good governance') is also a term contested by a number of researchers, both because it can appear to be a vague concept that is difficult to measure, and because it is very European-centric. It has become a catch-all term, covering a variety of different realities. In general, it goes without saying that the success of a metropolitan destination depends on a whole range of other factors. In their literature review Bock et al. (2021, 655) conclude on the 'potentially influential mechanisms of decisions and actions about tourism development and management'. Their analysis confirms that 'even if the success or failure of a destination is not only related to governance, it has a fundamental role in leading to one or another path'.

Governance as a Means to Solve Tourism Conflicts at a Metropolitan Scale

Given that tourists are 'potentially everywhere' in the urban space, understanding, managing and regulating their presence in the metropolis requires a certain change in approach in terms of politics, urban time management, urban planning, law, communication and so on. The mechanisms that determine the influence of metropolitan tourism are linked to the players who operate on different scales that transcend existing administrative boundaries. The governance that needs to be developed, or even invented, implies a mastery of the regulatory elements that are deployed in metropolitan tourist areas. This approach calls for a new territorial frame of reference, which may raise the question of potential tensions between institutional territories and tourism practices. In addition, the quest for efficient tourism management corroborates the need and desire of several metropolitan territories to renew their appeal and to build a new reputation to bolster their role as a metropolitan destination at a national, regional or international level. In this way, the metropolitan level could also become that of a relationship between citizens and political decision-makers and make the metropolitan development project part of a unifying future.

In recent years, the introduction of metropolitan tourism governance has also been seen as a way of tackling the problem of the distribution of tourist flows (between central areas, which are over-visited, and more peripheral areas, which are not). Consultation between stakeholders, in the context of setting up partnership projects between areas, thus consists of devising joint solutions, enabling outlying areas to benefit from the tourism windfall, and central areas to relieve congestion (Morais et al. 2005).

In addition to regulating tourist flows, tourism decision-makers and stakeholders in the metropolitan areas are also looking at the distribution of the tourism offer in the metropolis. This also involves thinking about the quality of the tourism product on a metropolitan scale, its diversity and complementarity. Often, 'good governance' is put in place, enabling peripheral areas to benefit from the economic spin-offs generated by collaboration between the areas. This also implies the active participation of residents. As Richards stresses (2010), the concentration of tourism in the centre leaves the outskirts 'as effective "colonies" which provide resources to support the facilities that attract tourists, but with little engagement in these facilities or the tourism industry themselves' (Richards 2010, 91).

The expansion of short tourism rentals in the more global metropolitan area of several cities is an example demonstrating the necessity of regulation of the platform phenomenon at a metropolitan level. Indeed, with the expansion of the Airbnb model beyond the touristified historical centres, new approaches to regulation and governance of metropolitan tourism are needed (Martínez et al. 2023).

Tourism Governance at Metropolitan Scale as a Means to Achieve Global Tourism Status

The question of tourism governance on a metropolitan scale seems to be essential when a metropolis has ambitions to become a global destination. No matter how rich a city centre may be in historical monuments, tourist attractions, events, hotels, bars and restaurants, its global tourism destiny inevitably depends on its (good) links with its suburbs. This is where the airports are located, and progressively the major railway stations and ports, as well as most of the infrastructure, theme parks and a large proportion of the accommodation. The ambition to create a top-of-the-range destination on a global scale requires metropolitan players to put in place a tourism governance

system that enables them to promote a global destination. Setting the global metropolitan destination implies complex and comprehensive coordination that can influence destination competitiveness (de Bruyn and Alonso 2012; Bock et al. 2021).

Disruptions as a Means to Strengthen Governance?

Paradoxically enough, it is against a backdrop of conflict and disruption that metropolitan tourism governance is often established, at a time when the various local governments are realising that they cannot solve the problems on their own.

This was the case with the short-term rental platforms mentioned above. The different metropolitan areas are aware that it is now necessary to propose concerted reflection and to regulate the platforms according to the metropolitan territories. Deciding, for example, that the number of rentals authorised per year in the different cities of the metropolis can vary according to the geographical, social or economic characteristics of each city, represents considerable progress in the way that metropolises organise themselves as destinations.

In the case of other disruptions, such as the exponential increase in cruises, which has had an impact on a number of urban destinations around the world, collaboration between one or more urban authorities and port authorities has also proved essential.

But it is undoubtedly the COVID-19 pandemic that has had the most catalytic effect in establishing tourism governance in a number of areas. The realisation that the metropolitan area is systematically linked, and that no solution can be found without the concerted efforts of all the metropolitan areas, has helped to consolidate relations between the players. The COVID-19 pandemic even demonstrated that the regions needed the outlying metropolitan areas: in a context of controlled and limited travel, these areas were favoured by local and regional visitors for their leisure trips.

Thus, metropolitan tourism governance is sometimes put in place opportunistically: that is, because decision-makers realise that they need collaborations with neighbouring areas and their infrastructures; or because they realise that in any case tourists (like pandemics and viruses!) attach no importance to administrative divisions; or, finally, because they are developing major tourism ambitions that imply significant synergies.

Bibliography

Beaumont Narelle and Dianne Dredge. 2010. 'Local Tourism Governance: A Comparison of Three Network Approaches'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 18(1): 7–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580903215139

Bock, Isabel Angelica, Rui Costa, Carlos Rodrigues and Janaina Macke. 2021. 'Examining the Concept of Governance in Tourism Research'. *Tourism and Hospitality Management* 27(3): 629–68. https://doi.org/10.20867/thm.27.3.9

de Bruyn, Christophe and Alba Fernández Alonso. 2012. 'Tourism Destination Governance'. In *Knowledge Management in Tourism: Policy and Governance Applications*, volume 4 edited by Eduardo Fayos-solà, 221–242. Emerald. https://doi.org/10.1108/S2042-1443(2012)0000004015

Dredge, Dianne. 2006. 'Policy Networks and the Local Organisation of Tourism'. *Tourism Management* 27(2): 269–80. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2004.10.003

Farinós Dasí, Joaquín. 2008. 'Gobernanza territorial para el desarollo sostenible: estado de la cuestión y agenda'. *Boletin de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 46: 11–32.

Frey, René Leo. 2005. 'Von der Wirtschaft lernen? Governance als Managementaufgabe'. *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* 9/10: 559–65.

Gill, Mel. 2001. 'Governance Do's and Don'ts: Lessons from Case Studies on Twenty Canadian Non-Profits'. Institute on Governance.

Graham, John, Bruce Amos and Tim Plumptre. 2003. 'Governance Principles for Protected Areas in the 21st Century'. Institute on Governance.

Knill, Christoph and Dirk Lehmkuhl. 2002. 'Private Actors and the State: Internationalization and Changing Patterns of Governance'. *Governance* 15(1): 41–63. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0491.00179

Kooiman, Jan. 2003. *Governing as Governance*. Sage Publications.

Martínez, Pablo, Jorge Sequera and Javier Gil. 2023. 'Livin' on the Edge: The Peripheral Host and the Production of a Digital Tourism Space Beyond the City Center'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 46(6): 1180–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2023.2276769

Mercer, Colin. 2005. 'From Indicators to Governance to the Mainstream: Tools for Cultural Policy and Citizenship'. In *Accounting for Culture: Thinking Through Cultural Citizenship*, edited by Caroline Andrew, Monica Gattinger, M. Sharon Jeannotte and Will Straw, 9–20. Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Press. http://books.openedition.org/uop/2393

Morais, Duarte B., Chung-Hsien Lin and Jing-Shoung Hou. 2005. 'Center/Periphery Imbalance in Tourism Development: The Case of Taiwan'. *Tourism Analysis* 9(4): 285–98. https://doi.org/10.3727/108354205789807292

Richards, Greg. 2010. 'Metropolitan Tourism: Competition, Collaboration and Creativity'. *Asia Pacific World* 1(1): 75–94. http://dx.doi.org/10.3167/apw.2010010106

Richards, Greg and Julie Wilson. 2006. 'Developing Creativity in Tourist Experiences: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture?' *Tourism Management* 27(6): 1209–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.06.002

Scott, Noel and Giuseppe Marzano. 2015. 'Governance of Tourism in OECD Countries'. *Tourism Recreation Research* 40(2): 181–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2015.1041746

UNDP-TUGI (United Nations Development Programme-The Urban Governance Initiative). 2003. 'Institutional Profile'. *Environment & Urbanization* 15(1): 159–70. https://doi.org/10.1177/095624780301500121

Chapter 8

Fragmented Dynamics of Touristification and Urban Development in the Metropolis of Paris

Tim Freytag, Florian Weber and Nora Winsky

Introduction

Processes of touristification and urban development are closely intertwined. The mutual connectivities have come out very clearly with the rise of new urban tourism aggravating various pressures, disturbances and conflicts that are often associated with overtourism. Also, the more recent crisis of undertourism or literally non-tourism resulting from the measures to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic has illustrated the vulnerability of economic activities and the lack of resilience due to the existing strong linkages between tourism and urban development. In the past few years, a wide range of experts and actors have called for coordinating the policy and planning processes in tourism and urban development (see, for example, Stevenson et al. 2009). The main aim of an integrated approach is to better cope with the profound changes and sometimes rather negatively experienced consequences and conflicts that have been observed in many places and to pave the ground for a more balanced and sustainable spatial development.

In this chapter we focus on the metropolis of Paris. Tourism plays a very important role in the French capital – economically, culturally, socially, politically and with regard to the city image and the infrastructure projects in the transport and utilities sectors. As we point out in this chapter, over the past decades, tourism growth and processes of gentrification have strongly affected Paris *intra muros*, putting more and more pressure on urban spaces with a trend to spread out into the adjacent urbanised areas beyond the traditional boundaries of the 'city proper': the so-called *banlieues* – especially in proximity to the *boulevard périphérique* (ring road around Paris) and along the local transport lines (metro, RER [rapid transit rail system], bus). In 2019, 50.6 million tourists visited the Île-de-France region, generating 196.4 million

overnight stays. For tourist activities, the Paris city centre remains the central destination with 57.3% of the total of overnight stays, followed by the departments Seine-et-Marne with 9.5%, Hauts-de-Seine with 8.4%, Yvelines with 6.2%, Val-de-Marne with 5.4% and Seine-Saint-Denis with 4.9% (Comité Régional du Tourisme Île-de-France 2021). While almost the entire city of Paris has been shaped by tourist activities, the outlying areas comprise a few tourist hotspots, such as the Basilica of Saint-Denis, the Palace of Versailles and Disneyland Paris. Moreover, the business district of La Défense, a few larger outlet malls and sports venues and so on attract many visitors and enhance the construction of huge hotel buildings. In the field of spatial planning, policy and administration, joint efforts of the Paris metropolis ('Métropole du Grand Paris'), the departments and the municipalities have been undertaken to foster regional cooperation beyond the Paris city limits – although the regional and local authorities keep insisting on their competences with regard to the respective territories. Therefore, it is increasingly important to consider not just the city of Paris, but primarily its functional interrelatedness with the surrounding territories when it comes to questions of spatial planning, housing, urban and tourism development, environmental conservation and so on. While the city of Paris formerly appeared to be clearly separated from the *petite couronne* of the *banlieues*, the dividing line (see Fassin 2010) has become increasingly blurred and a new patchwork of spatial fragmentations has started to emerge (Weber 2019).

As Füller and Michel (2014, 2) note, 'cities have been undoubtedly shaped through tourism in the past decades', but 'an explicit discussion of the links between urban tourism and urban development remains sparse'. In this chapter we want to address this research gap and at the same time look at how the metropolis of Paris functions. In the first step, we set a focus on tourism and urban development in the city of Paris (that is, department 75) in order to sketch out the importance of tourist activities in the core area of the metropolis. We explore the question to which extent ongoing processes of touristification and urban development are interlinked. We then move to the level of the Greater Paris metropolis, which consists of the City of Paris and one hundred and thirty surrounding municipalities. Finally, we look at the Île-de-France region. Drawing on a set of examples, we point out existing challenges, chances and expectations, the ongoing transformations and the underlying strategies for urban and tourism planning. Based on research literature, official statistics, planning documents and additional materials, we analyse the forms of tourism-related cooperation and integration of relevant governance structures. We conclude with a résumé on tourism and the Paris metropolis.

Paris Inner-City: High Tourism Density and Ongoing Touristification

Tourism has substantially affected urban development in Paris since the nineteenth century. Several world expositions attracted millions of visitors (Vajda 2007). The French capital can be described as a 'world tourism city' (Maitland and Newman 2008) and a leading urban tourism destination in Europe. The core city of Paris has several high-profile tourist attractions, such as the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre Museum, each counting several million visitors per year. Tourist attractions and tourist activities in Paris are characterised by a strong spatial concentration. Accordingly, Duhamel and Knafou (2007) defined a Parisian central tourist district (CTD), which was later refined by Bauder (2015) on the basis of GPS tourist tracking. In terms of urban development, the spatial concentration of tourism attractions corresponds with a spatial zoning approach – that is, certain inner-city spaces have been designated for predominant tourist use, while other spaces have been reserved for other purposes. This results in what Kühne and Weber (2019) call a 'spatial pastiche' with varying degrees of tourist density.

Tourism statistics show a slight increase in Paris over the past twelve years (Figure 8.1). However, this trend was temporarily interrupted, as the terror attacks from 13 November 2015 were followed by a considerable decline, in particular with regard to international visitors (Schmude et al. 2020). More recently, another severe backlash for the tourism sector occurred due to the COVID-19 pandemic with a loss of roughly 70% of the overnight stays in 2020 compared to the years before 2019.

With the rise of new urban tourism (NUT), tourist interests and activities in Paris have changed. More and more tourists tend to strive for getting closer to the everyday life of the residents. Accordingly, (residential) neighborhoods, which previously were not regarded as particularly attractive for tourists, are coming more and more into focus. Tourists enjoy to stroll through a supposedly 'authentic' neighborhood with spontaneous encounters, casual sitting and spending their time in cafés, parks and the like (Kramer et al. 2019). As a result of growing NUT, short-term rented apartments, rooms and beds are gaining importance – also because this type of accommodation includes relatively cheap prices that are often more affordable than staying at a regular hotel. Airbnb data suggests that Paris has a very large number of vacation rentals available. In contrast to the spatial structure of the CTD, vacation rentals cover virtually all of Paris. This process can be described as bottom-up touristification (Freytag and Bauder 2018). In addition to the vacation homes,

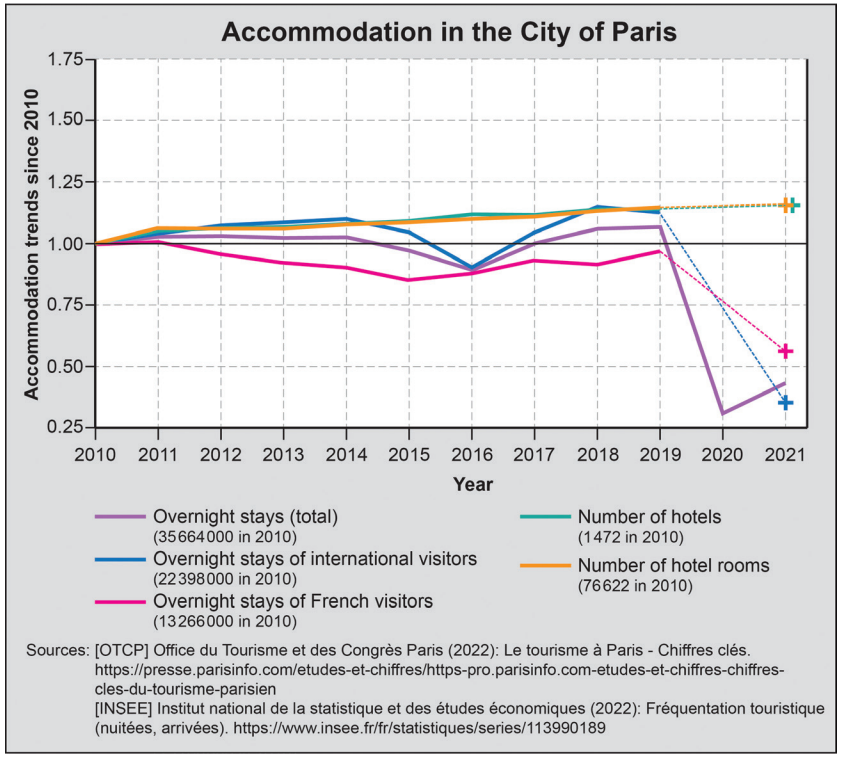


Figure 8.1 Tourism accommodation trends in the city of Paris (2010–2021).

the mobility practices of tourists (including walking and cycling) as well as spending time in public and semi-public spaces also contribute to the widespread touristification of the city. More and more places away from tourist hotspots are experiencing tourist demand and appropriation.

The trend towards NUT and bottom-up touristification has led to conflicts and protests in Paris – and it similarly occurred in other metropolises of European city tourism: locals have the impression that tourists are taking their everyday spaces away from them (Colomb and Novy 2017). They feel that their familiar everyday space is being alienated. Tourists also notice and sometimes complain about the burdens caused by overtourism or crowding and the associated loss of quality of stay and (perceived) authenticity. As a result, there have been calls, especially from locals, for greater control and restriction of tourism. Bans on vacation homes can obviously hardly be enforced consistently and ultimately do not give much relief. Other approaches pursued

include temporary zoning (for example, the summer event Paris Plage or larger parts of Marais neighbourhood being used as a pedestrian zone on Sundays). Compared to the previously pursued spatial zoning approach, the temporal component is now increasingly considered, which ultimately leads to an optimisation or compression of the uses in space and time. In terms of urban development, NUT and bottom-up touristification go hand in hand with processes of gentrification – that is, city neighbourhoods are 'upgraded' in terms of the building fabric but at the price of displacing local residents who are less affluent.

Paris is characterised by a classic sightseeing tourism that is prevailing together with a strongly pronounced NUT. This causes a very high and further growing pressure of tourist use on the city of Paris. The inner-city space is increasingly shaped according to the interests of tourists and gentrifiers (Gravari-Barbas 2017) – a more and more homogeneous 'space of experiences' is created, while less affluent residents and alternative uses are visibly pushed out of the (inner) city. As Loisy (2019, 327) states, 'Paris needs its suburbs' and 'the suburbs rely partly on the attractiveness of the capital to draw visitors to its territory'. The political, economic, social and ecological contexts of the Paris metropolis have long since ceased to be represented exclusively by the centre (Weber 2019, 646). Also from a historical perspective, the *banlieues* have taken on complementary functions to the city of Paris. Consequently, we have to do with a long history of interrelations and mutual dependencies (Gilli 2014, 293). Paris *intra muros* must therefore be increasingly thought of and analysed in relation to the surrounding areas in terms of tourism and urban development.

Greater Paris: Fragmented Dynamics of Tourism Development

As the 'city proper' is shaped by a particularly high tourist density, we can assume that some of the tourism activities and related infrastructures tend to spread out into the wider metropolitan Paris (Ingallina and Park 2009; Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2019). This is confirmed by the tourism accommodation trends (Figure 8.2).

In a first step, we look at recent developments that have been fostered by the foundation of the Métropole du Grand Paris. This association of municipalities was established to intensify the coordination between the core city and its surroundings. In a second step, we identify and examine policy measures that are set out in relevant documents at the level of the municipal

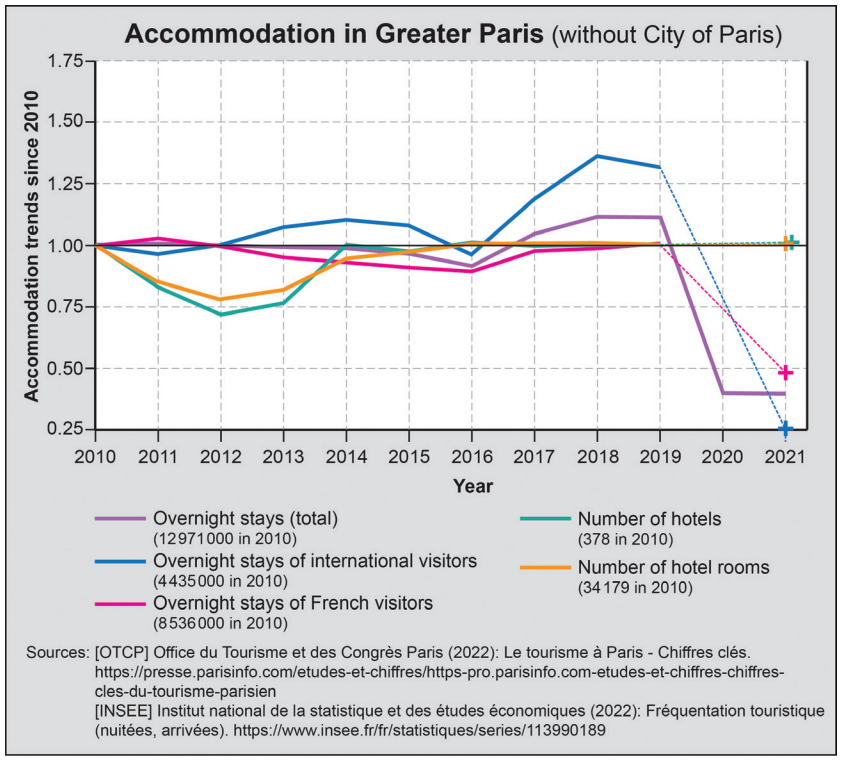


Figure 8.2 Tourism accommodation trends in Greater Paris without city of Paris (2010–2021).

associations (*territoires*) of Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune (Figure 8.3). In doing so, we assess the existing strategies for tourism development in the *banlieues*, which we understand as being more or less embedded in the context of the metropolitan region. Our analysis shows that the metropolis is a hybrid conglomeration with multifold, sometimes contradictory and potentially conflictual relations between the core city and the *territoires* in the field of tourism development.

Overarching Dynamics in the Métropole du Grand Paris

In 2016, when the Métropole du Grand Paris was founded as an association of the core city and eleven surrounding *territoires*, the prevalent (im-) balance of power was reflected and reconfirmed as a challenge for future

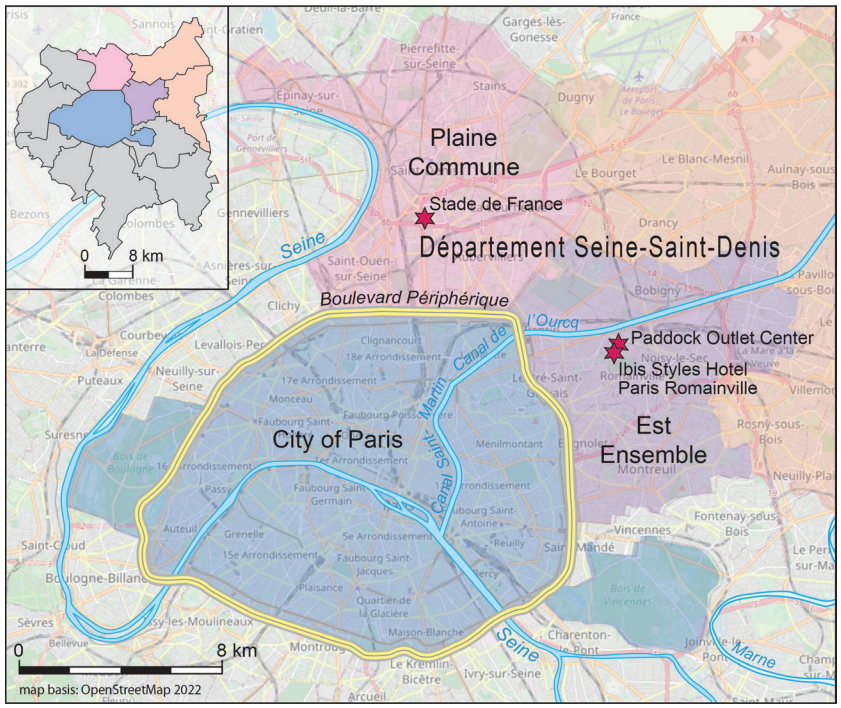


Figure 8.3 Map of Métropole du Grand Paris with areas and locations referred to in this chapter.

development. Shared governance (*gouvernance partagée*) initiatives have sparked various cooperative projects in the fields of air pollution control, sustainable transportation, housing, employment and economic development. Strategic planning has entered an operational phase with the development of the Plan Climat Air Énergie Métropolitain (Metropolitan Climate Air Energy Plan), the launch of the Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale (SCoT, Territorial Coherence Plan), the Plan Métropolitain de l'Habitat et de l'Hébergement (PMHH, Metropolitan Plan for Housing and Accommodation) and the Schéma Métropolitain d'Aménagement Numérique (SMAN, Metropolitan Digital Development Scheme) (Métropole du Grand Paris 2021). All these shared governance initiatives are framed under the umbrella of advancing a reconciliation between Paris and its *banlieues* (Gilli 2014, 20). This objective is rather ambitious since the core city and the *banlieues* remain divided by a predominant line of separation, which is marked by the *boulevard périphérique* (inner suburban ring) (Weber 2019, 641). As a physical and also

symbolic barrier (Fassin 2010), this ring road has been considered so far to be a major obstacle for tourism development. Therefore, one of the key concerns of *la ville augmentée* is to overcome the urban and mentally perceived borderline and to upgrade the surrounding communities. In terms of tourism development, a guiding idea is to unveil new districts to allow visitors to discover little known aspects of the Paris metropolis and to enable the entire Parisian territory to gain economic and social benefits from tourism (Mairie de Paris 2016, 15).

Consequently, the initiative for tourism development beyond the *boulevard périphérique* has a threefold target. First, due to the tourist saturation of the inner-city of Paris, alternative tourism offers are created and promoted with the aim to decentralise and balance the tourist flows. Since the core city has partially reached its capacity limits, attempts are being made to redirect tourists to the *banlieues* with the help of marketing campaigns. This type of soft visitor management is accompanied by the promise that the tourists will get to know the 'real' Paris metropolis (Mairie de Paris 2016, 15). Hence, 'the goal of the City is to decentralize tourist flows to less visited districts, but also to create bridges with its suburbs. The metropolisation project of "Grand Paris" contributes to this process of blurring borders' (Loisy 2019, 326). The expansion of the Grand Paris Express (GPE) metro network is intended to ensure and improve connectivity between the districts.

Second, to present the *banlieues* as tourist areas entails the opportunity to reinterpret the image of these often media-stigmatised areas – namely, as culturally diverse tourist areas.

> The city of Saint-Denis, on the northern fringe of Paris, is a good example of the way in which tourism development in a 'peripheral' area can potentially challenge more conventional forms of tourism in central areas. In Saint-Denis, the systematic promotion of tourism dates back to the end of the 1990s, stimulated by the Soccer World Cup (whose main stadium was built in Saint-Denis).
>
> (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2016, 43)

So, the FIFA World Cup was used by the administration to counteract the attributes spread by the media (including deindustrialisation, unemployment and violence). Popular events are often intended to promote the reinterpretation of spaces. The destination contract states in this regard that tourism can play a major role in the requalification and rewriting of certain spaces (OTCP n.d., 5). It should be noted that major events are used strategically not

only to reinterpret spaces, but also for larger urban renovation and development projects. However, these transformation processes are often contested as they may spark gentrification processes that lead to the displacement of local residents. Tourism offers that are to be promoted in the Paris *banlieues* include river tourism, night tourism and major events, as well as business tourism (Mairie de Paris 2016, 15). These offers are complementary to those of the core city, which are primarily focused on art and culture. In addition to the touristic valorisation of the 'peripheral areas', tourist interests are changing: New urban tourists tend to look for everyday spaces. Seine-Saint-Denis is a prototypical example of such a new urban tourism area:

> The sought-after imaginary of urbanity is often connected to former working-class and post-industrial inner-city neighborhoods. These areas are often functionally as well as ethnically mixed and characterized by a wide range of small retail and gastronomy.
>
> (Füller and Michel 2014, 1306)

Third, the last goal consists in enhancing more general benefits from tourism development at the local level, namely through infrastructure and transport connections to the core city. Locals are supposed to profit from the valorisation of public spaces and tourist expenses on site. Improved accessibility, for example by the Grand Paris Express, also means a benefit for the residents. Due to the infrastructure measures described above, gentrification is increasingly taking hold beyond the core city. It can be observed that gentrification processes are under way in Levallois-Perret, Plaine Saint-Denis around the stadium, Saint-Ouen, Issy-les-Moulineaux and Montreuil, in first steps also along the Ourcq canal (for example, Albecker 2015, 5; Marchal and Stébé 2012; Weber 2019), which are part and parcel of extensive urban revitalisation projects and new uses of conversion areas. Ribbon-like and island-like expansions of gentrified neighbourhoods are spreading out from the core city to the surrounding *banlieues*. Changes in the socio-economic profile of the residents living in the neighbourhoods are clearly related to and supported by tourism promotion – and this is not necessarily without conflict or protest. Tourism development may contribute to increasing rents or taking away rental housing from the resident market to serve the tourism market. These changes in the *banlieues* correspond to the understanding of the metropolis sketched out by Brantz et al. (2012) with predominant fractures and conflicts shaping the ongoing metropolitan processes (see also the Introduction to this book). Tourist development is multidimensional and not entirely controllable, which entails a certain degree of fragility with regard to tourist metropolises.

In the following two sections we take a closer look at the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, which is adjacent to the *boulevard périphérique* in the north-east of Paris. Drawing on the examples of Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune as *communautés d'agglomérations*, we identify and examine diverging strategies in tourism development. Both communities of agglomerations were created in the 2000s to coordinate urban development across municipal boundaries. They share the strategic aim to gain economic advantages from tourism. More precisely, they see tourism as a resource to address local challenges. However, the applied strategic measures vary considerably: while Est Ensemble strives for a massive increase in overnight accommodation capacities, Plaine Commune aims rather at integrating tourism into urban development initiatives. Consequently, the two communities are suitable examples to address diverging strategies and potential conflicts in the context of touristification.

Est Ensemble: A Fragmented Focus on Hotel Infrastructure

Est Ensemble is a federation of municipalities with the legal status of *établissement public territorial* (EPT, territorial public establishment) located in the Seine-Saint-Denis department. The EPT is composed of the nine towns of Bagnolet, Bobigny, Bondy, Le Pré Saint-Gervais, Les Lilas, Montreuil, Noisy-le-Sec, Pantin and Romainville with a total population of more than 418,000 inhabitants. Local stakeholders and decision-makers describe the *territoire* as one of the poorest and at the same time most promising areas within the metropolitan region (Est Ensemble 2021). The prospect of a more favourable situation in the future is based on two reasons: first, the proximity to the core city and the availability of good transport connections, which are to be further expanded; and second, the development of comparatively inexpensive overnight accommodations. The *territoire* advertises the proximity to the centre of Paris as well as the manifold cultural and leisure offers. Due to the spatial proximity, the tourism valorisation strategy focuses on the extension of hotel rooms. Over a period of seven years (2018–2025), thirty-one hotels with 4,400 rooms are to be built (see Figure 8.4 as an example). The expansion of tourist accommodation is discussed in a metropolitan context:

> Il s'agit d'accompagner le développement et la modernisation de cette offre, au service de la politique d'Est Ensemble en matière de tourisme, de développement économique et l'aménagement du territoire avec une nouvelle ambition qui cible la qualité et la localisation des nouveaux établissements au plus près des besoins.
>
> (Est Ensemble 2018, 2)



Figure 8.4 Paddock outlet center and Ibis Styles hotel in Romainville as part of the restructuring processes along the Ourcq canal in Est Ensemble.
(*Source:* Author's own, 2021)

The ongoing and planned construction of new hotel buildings – pushed by the regional and local decision-makers – is strongly influenced by the expansion of the public transport network (Est Ensemble 2018, 3). Hotel building projects are planned at stops along line 15 of the Grand Paris Express (scheduled for completion in 2030), which will extend the metro network into the Greater Paris area. Some more hotels are located near the Ourcq canal. The design of the Plaine de l'Ourcq as a major construction project can be read as confirmation that tourist attractions are politically desired. Opening the cities to the canal, attracting various businesses, creating housing and designating the area as a tourist destination are goals of Est Ensemble.

A significant portion of the new hotels will be designed to accommodate groups. Hence, it is intended to create affordable overnight accommodations for families, couples or groups of friends, which are rare in the core city. With this complementary offer the new hotels set themselves apart from the often smaller and more expensive accommodations in the core city. The hotel accommodation facilities to be built can contribute to transforming Est Ensemble into an urban destination for tourists who wish to stay relatively close to the centre of Paris (Est Ensemble 2018, 11). Apart from these assumptions, which are supposed to lead to economic benefits from hotel infrastructures, broader urban development potentials remain vague in the planning documents. Overarching visions and ideas of how residents will benefit from

the measures are absent. Nor do these documents address conflicts that could arise from touristification when prices grow locally.

In conclusion, Est Ensemble is interested in benefiting from tourist demand. However, the development goals appear to be fragmented. There is a danger that tourists may only choose the inexpensive overnight accommodations and will not necessarily stay longer to spend some parts of their time and money in Est Ensemble. The core city may hold its position as the main attraction, which involves both the benefits and problems related to tourism.

Plaine Commune: Tourism and Urban Development for Out-of-Towners and Locals

Plaine Commune is, like Est Ensemble, an *établissement public territorial* in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis and includes the municipalities of Aubervilliers, Épinay-sur-Seine, L'Île-Saint-Denis, La Courneuve, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine, Stains and Villetaneuse with a total of 435,000 inhabitants. Already in the early 2000s, the inter-communal organisation attempted 'to promote its industrial, social and cosmopolitan heritage and promote tourism on the fringes of Paris' (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2016, 43). As part of the territorial policy, a set of measures was taken to develop the tourism infrastructure. Consequently, the number of hotel rooms doubled within fifteen years (Plaine Commune 2018, 9). The transformation of structures from the past into a resource for future-oriented development was regarded as a suitable and efficient approach (see Figure 8.5 as an example). Similar to Est Ensemble concerning the new hotel infrastructure, Plaine Commune relies on public transport accessibility and especially the Grand Paris Express network in order to achieve a tool for channelling and steering tourist flows to tourism hotspots (Plaine Commune 2018, 4).

On the one hand, Plaine Commune is concerned with improving its image and increasing its development potential for marketing purposes. On the other hand, the importance of a balanced development (*développement équilibré*) is strongly emphasised (Plaine Commune 2018, 5), which includes that efforts are made not only to attract incoming tourists, but also to serve the local residents:

> Nous avons également à cœur de veiller à ce que les habitants s'approprient les riches touristiques et patrimoniales de leur quartier, de leur ville et des villes voisines, c'est aussi à cette condition qu'ils se sentiront pleinement partie prenante du territoire qu'ils habitent. Ainsi,



Figure 8.5 Revitalisation processes near the Stade de France in Plaine Commune. (*Source:* Author's own, 2022)

> le tourisme contribue à sa manière à relever le défi de la cohésion sociale qui est un enjeu majeur du projet de territoire.
>
> (Plaine Commune 2018, 5)

Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot (2016, 43) describe this orientation as an active shift, in which local residents are seen 'not only as beneficiaries of tourism-led economic development, but as co-participants in the symbolic upgrade of their neighbourhoods'. Thus, there is a strategy that 'advocates a "participatory" model of tourism that relies on locals' contributions' (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2016, 43). Being active in tourism as a resident in one's own city can be understood as an expression of new urban tourism and corresponds to the ideal of a 'city for all' with its projects being oriented towards the needs of residents and tourists alike. Accordingly, the aim is to increase attractiveness for both locals and visitors (Loisy 2019, 327). Here, Plaine Commune takes a much more active role than Est Ensemble to promote its tourist attractiveness, which is also seen as necessary because the *boulevard périphérique* is perceived as a barrier that in the first place has to be overcome psychologically (Plaine Commune 2018, 13). As a counter-proposal to the hegemony of central Paris, Plaine Commune advocates an 'alternative conception of metropolitan development in the Paris city-region' consisting in a polycentrism with 'alternative tourism and heritage policies in support of new forms of

territorial development in the suburbs' (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2016, 44). The central steering effect is attributed to new transport infrastructures:

> Le développement des transports et notamment les nouvelles lignes de tramways et le Transilien ouvrent de nouveaux horizons en matière de mobilité tant pour les habitants et les salariés, que pour les visiteurs […]. La future gare Pleyel […] sera déterminante au niveau des aménagements, des fluxes, des équipements et de la reconnaissance du territoire.
>
> (Plaine Commune 2018, 10)

So, in terms of transport, the coming years will be decisive for Plaine Commune with the arrival of the Grand Paris Express and the opening of seven new stations. Especially around the new development nodes, urban restructuring is taking place that will change Plaine Commune and thus increase its attractiveness for tourists. Overall, both the infrastructural and the urban development dynamics form the basis for further tourism development, while tourism is to be promoted with and not against the local population. However, it is too early to say whether this can be achieved in the long term.

Île-de-France: Overall Regional Destination Management

In the previous sections, we had a focus on the relationship between the core city of Paris and its close surroundings. Now, we take a look at tourism development in the greater Île-de-France region, as objectives are also set at the regional level. The starting points are the 'Schéma régional de développement du tourisme et des loisirs en Île-de-France 2017–2021' (Île-de-France 2017) and the 'Schéma régional de développement du tourisme et des loisirs en Île-de-France 2022-2028' (Île-de-France 2022). 'Paris Île-de-France' is defined as a destination that is subject to strong competition. Adaptations are therefore considered necessary in order to remain competitive (Île-de-France 2017, 10; 2022, 17). The focus on competition (at international scales) and renewal are crucial for maintaining the central position in the competitive market and to expand the status as a tourist metropolis. This gives rise to a concrete need for action:

> La volonté de la Région est non seulement d'affirmer son engagement en faveur du tourisme, mais aussi de travailler en lien avec l'ensemble des autres collectivités territoriales pour relever les défis auxquels ce secteur d'activité fait face.
>
> (Île-de-France 2017, 5)

> Les collectivités territoriales et leurs groupements sont des acteurs majeurs du développement touristique et des loisirs dans la région Île-de-France. La Région a été à leurs côtés et le sera dans les années à venir, afin de les soutenir dans le respect de leurs compétences et de leurs spécificités.
>
> (Île-de-France 2022, 41)

Here again, the (so far) predominant focus on tourism development in the core city of Paris is addressed, where two-thirds of the hotels in the entire region are to be found, but not sufficiently large hotels to receive groups (Île-de-France 2017, 18) even if meanwhile the situation has improved (Île-de-France 2022, 30). In this respect, the region wants to take more steering action to support and adapt future tourism development. In line with the previous explanations, the focus on areas with particular development potential is taken up at the regional level, including Versailles, La Défense and Marne-la-Vallée Pays de Meaux with Disneyland, but also Saint-Denis Plaine de France and Roissy-Pays de France, which is mainly due to the 2024 Summer Olympics (Île-de-France 2022, 72). Particular attention is paid to strengthening the surrounding area's tourism and urban development. In doing so, a mindset of urban development towards tourism is called for: that is, it is not tourism concerns that should influence urban development. The network of the Grand Paris Express is seen as an important tool to pursue the development and promotion strategies:

> Le développement de la destination Paris Île-de-France devra s'opérer en adéquation avec l'offre de transports ferrée, et la mise en œuvre des grands projets de transports, comme le Grand Paris Express ou Eole, offrira la possibilité à de nombreux territoires de bénéficier d'une accessibilité renforcée, permettant leur découverte par les touristes franciliens, nationaux et internationaux.
>
> (Île-de-France 2022, 47)

From the perspective of Île-de-France stakeholders, international competition makes it necessary not to simply rely on the existing international reputation of Paris, but also to open up attractive perspectives for future development. This requires that, in addition to the core city, hotspots in the surrounding areas are provided with increasing valorisation in terms of tourism. Urban development can create the basis for putting this into practice. In contrast to an overall spatial promotion, the focus is on development axes that follow the central infrastructures of public transport, with the future Grand Paris Express playing a key role. The challenge for tourism

stakeholders is seen in the need to distribute tourism flows more widely throughout the region, which requires, among other things, a joint marketing strategy (Île-de-France 2022, 21). Accordingly, this can result in conflicts if, as shown above, specific strategies are pursued to improve the own situation at a local scale.

Conclusion

For a long time, tourism has been an integral part of urban life. Especially metropolises of European urban tourism, such as Paris, enjoy great tourist popularity. Until the 1990s, tourism management was often seen by political actors as tourism promotion. In competition with other cities, the main aim was to confirm and augment a city's position in terms of tourist arrivals and overnight stays. According to such a growth paradigm, the metropolis of Paris has experienced overtourism locally concentrated in the city centre. Due to a changing pattern of tourist interests and activities affecting residential areas (NUT), the call for more regulation and coordination of tourism became louder in the late 2010s.

Drawing on Paris as an example, we pointed out a set of political endeavours and tourism developments at various scales (inner-city, Paris metropolis and its *territoires*, Île-de-France). Inner-city urban development in Paris has been increasingly affected by touristification and new urban tourism. In the *banlieues* tourism development can be regarded as a resource to foster urban and economic development and to some extent reduce touristification pressure in the inner-city. Expanding public transport infrastructure (in particular, the Grand Paris Express) plays a key role for implementing tourism development projects in the *banlieues*. Such planned major construction measures strengthen the connectivity between the *banlieues* and the core city and increase accessibility for residents and tourists alike.

Such a strategy is being pursued by Est Ensemble expanding the supply of hotel beds (partly, to accommodate larger travel groups) and creating more effective public transport facilities. Consequently, most of the new hotel buildings are located in proximity to the planned track of the Grand Paris Express. In Est Ensemble, the main aim is to use tourism development as an economic resource and a tool to create new jobs. Along the Ourcq canal, in particular, various urban development measures are currently being taken that may have a massive impact on the locally prevailing usage patterns. So conflicts between urban policy and the expectations of the population have

started to arise and may get more severe in the coming years, such as: who benefits from the expected tourism revenues and in what way? And which parts of the population can (not) afford the housing units that are being built?

Plaine Commune, however, strives to adopt a more integrated approach to tourism development from the very beginning. Here, the guiding idea is to harmonise tourism development and the needs and interests of the local residents. Consequently, overtourism and a rapid increase in Airbnb apartments and other vacation rentals (similar to the situation in the inner-city) are regarded as a nuisance to regional development that may intensify (existing) social tensions.

All in all, we have shed light on the emergence of 'polycentric' spatial (re-) configurations and fragmented dynamics of touristification and urban development in the Paris metropolis. Meanwhile, we could not identify a coherent line of development at the metropolitan scale. On the contrary, we 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. As an additional factor, the pandemic has contributed to increase the complexities that make it very difficult to plan or predict tourism development. All the multidimensional and fragmented processes at work may lead to discontinuities, disruptions and potential conflicts, although they take place in spatial and temporal proximity to each other. Consequently, touristification and urban development have the potential to generate positive effects (such as improving transport infrastructure and facilitating 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.

Bibliography

Albecker, Marie-Fleur. 2015. 'Banlieues françaises/La banlieue parisienne, périphérie réinvestie?' Urbanités. 13 October. http://www.revue-urbanites.fr/la-banlieue-parisienne-peripherie-reinvestie

Bauder, Michael. 2015. 'Refining the Central Tourist District of Paris with GPS Tracking Data and GIS Analysis'. *Via Tourism Review* 8. https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1617.

Brantz, Dorothee, Sasha Disko and Georg Wagner-Kyora. 2012. 'Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism'. In *Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism*, edited by Dorothee Brantz, Sasha Disko and Georg Wagner-Kyora, 9–28. Transcript.

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2017. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Routledge.

Comité Régional du Tourisme Île-de-France. 2021. 'Repères de l'activité touristique à Paris Île-de-France 2020'. Visit Paris Region. https://pro.visitparisregion.com/chiffres-du-tourisme/chiffres-annuels/reperes-de-l-activite-touristique-a-paris-ile-de-france-2020

Duhamel, Philippe and Rémy Knafou. 2007. 'Le tourisme dans la centralité Parisienne'. In *La métropole parisienne. Centralités, inégalités, proximités*, edited by Thérèse Saint-Julien and Renaud Le Goix, 39–64. Belin.

Est Ensemble. 2018. 'Synthèse du schéma de développement hôtelier'. Est Ensemble Grand Paris. https://www.est-ensemble.fr/sites/default/files/pictures/guide_schema_hotelier.pdf

Est Ensemble. 2021. 'Le projet de territoire'. Est Ensemble Grand Paris. https://www.est-ensemble.fr/le-projet-de-territoire

Fassin, Didier. 2010. 'Introduction: Frontières extérieures, frontières intérieures. In *Les nouvelles frontières de la société française*, edited by Didier Fassin, 5–24. La Découverte.

Freytag, Tim and Michael Bauder. 2018. 'Bottom-Up Touristification and Urban Transformations in Paris'. *Tourism Geographies* 20(3): 443–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2018.1454504

Füller, Henning and Boris Michel. 2014. '"Stop Being a Tourist!" New Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38(4): 1304–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12124

Gilli, Frédéric. 2014. *Grand Paris. L'émergence d'une métropole*. Presses de Sciences Po.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria. 2017. 'Super-Gentrification and Hyper-Tourismification in Le Marais, Paris'. In *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*, edited by Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand, 299–328. Routledge.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sébastien Jacquot. 2016. 'No Conflict? Discourses and Management of Tourism-Related Tensions in Paris'. In *Protest and*

Resistance in the Tourist City, edited by Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy, 31–51. Routledge.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sébastien Jacquot. 2019. 'Mechanisms, Actors and Impacts of the Touristification of a Tourism Periphery: The Saint-Ouen Flea Market, Paris'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(3): 370–91. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-11-2018-0093

Île-de-France. 2017. 'Schéma régional de développement du tourisme et des loisirs d'Île-de-France 2017–2021'. Région Île-de-France. https://web.archive.org/web/20230123020752/https://www.iledefrance.fr/sites/default/files/2019-06/srdtl.pdf

Île-de-France. 2022. 'Schéma régional de développement du tourisme et des loisirs d'Île-de-France 2022–2028'. Région Île-de-France. 12 May. https://www.iledefrance.fr/actes/avis-ceser/AVIS2022-05.pdf.

Ingallina, Patrizia and Jungyoon Park. 2009. 'Tourists, Urban Projects and Spaces of Consumption in Paris and Ile-de-France'. In *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*, edited by Robert Maitland and Peter Newman, 43–65. Routledge.

Kramer, Clara Sofie, Nora Winsky and Tim Freytag. 2019. 'Places of *Muße* as Part of New Urban Tourism in Paris'. In *Tourism and Everyday Life in the Contemporary City*, edited by Thomas Frisch, Christoph Sommer, Luise Stoltenberg and Natalie Stors, 188–210. Routledge.

Kühne, Olaf and Florian Weber. 2019. 'Postmoderne Zugriffe und Differenzierungen von Stadt und Land(schaft): Stadtlandhybride, räumliche Pastiches und URFSURBS'. In *Handbuch Landschaft*, edited by Olaf Kühne, Florian Weber, Karsten Berr and Corinna Jenal, 755–70. Springer VS.

Loisy, Marine. 2019. 'Tourism and Involvement of Inhabitants in Paris'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(3): 326–37. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-01-2018-0006

Mairie de Paris. 2016. 'Stratégie tourisme 2022. Schéma de développement touristique'. Mairie de Paris. October. https://www.api-site.paris.fr/paris/public/2018%2F8%2FAnnexe_5b-_Strat%C3%A9gie_tourisme_2022.pdf

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman. 2008. 'Visitor–Host Relationships: Conviviality Between Visitors and Host Communities. In *City Spaces–Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precints*, edited by Bruce Hayllar, Tony Griffin and Deborah Edwards, 223–42. Elsevier.

Marchal, Hervé and Jean-Marc Stébé. 2012. *Les lieux des banlieues. De Paris à Nancy, de Mumbaï à Los Angeles*. Le Cavalier bleu.

Métropole du Grand Paris. 2021. 'Une métropole mondiale'. Métropole du Grand Paris. https://www.metropolegrandparis.fr/fr/une-metropole-mondiale-142

OTCP (Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris). n.d. 'Destination Paris: la ville augmentée. Contrat de destination'. https://www.tourisme-valdemarne.com/espace-pro/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2019/05/projet-de-contrat-destination-paris_la-ville-augmentee.pdf

Plaine Commune. 2018. 'Schéma touristique de Plaine Commune 2018/2022'. Plaine Commune Grand Paris. https://plainecommune.fr/fileadmin/user_upload/Portail_Plaine_Commune/LA_DOC/THEMATIQUES/Tourisme/SchemaTouristique_2018-2022.pdf

Schmude, Jürgen, Marion Karl and Florian Weber. 2020. 'Tourism and Terrorism: Economic Impact of Terrorist Attacks on the Tourism Industry. The Example of the Destination of Paris'. *Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie* 64(2): 88–102. https://doi.org/10.1515/zfw-2019-0015

Stevenson, Nancy, David Airey and Graham Miller. 2009. 'Complexity Theory and Tourism Policy Research'. *International Journal of Tourism Policy* 2(3): 206–20. http://dx.doi.org/10.1504/IJTP.2009.024553

Vajda, Joanne. 2007. 'L'élite voyageuse et la transformation de l'espace urbain parisien, 1855–1937'. In *Mondes urbains du tourisme*, edited by Philippe Duhamel and Rémy Knafou, 116–27. Belin.

Weber, Florian. 2019. 'Von divergierenden Grenzziehungen und Konflikten im StadtLandHybriden des *Grand Paris*'. In *Landschaftskonflikte*, edited by Karsten Berr and Corinna Jenal, 637–63. Springer VS.

Chapter 9

Tourism and the New York Metropolitan Region: Chaos, Compromise and Collaboration

Jill Simone Gross

Introduction

Tourism has long been understood to be a critical driver of development. In 2022, in New York State, the sector was reported to have had a $123 billion economic impact (including direct, indirect and induced impacts) – factoring in spending, wages, employment and taxes (Tourism Economics 2023c). During the same period in the state of New Jersey, the sector's impact was reported at $73 billion (Tourism Economics 2023a). At the core of these state level impacts is the New York metropolitan region. The region is a global tourism dynamo. As a centre of culture, entertainment, hotels, restaurants, retail, fashion, art, real estate and finance, the region is rich with attractions for every type of tourist – from business to leisure to education. Alongside the economic infrastructure sits a physical environment rich with architectural heritage and unique public spaces, all woven together by an extensive multimodel global transportation and communication network. With three international airports alongside additional domestic airports, the region is a central player in the regional tourism economy.

As scholars such as Saskia Sassen have long noted, cities like New York behave as nodes within the global system (Sassen 2001), acting as magnets for people and investment. In combination, it is all of these elements that undergird the New York metropolitan tourism region. And while one tends to think of this region through the lens of Manhattan, the reality is in fact far more complex. While it is true, the urban core (Manhattan) has for the most part functioned as the political and economic centre of the New York metropolitan region, as will be discussed below, it does not do so in isolation. And,

as the history of this region reveals, in moments of crisis it is often the more disparate parts of the larger region that have served to keep the core alive as a tourist destination.

While the urban core tends to hold the largest concentration of tourism infrastructure, the surrounding territories (inner-ring urban communities and contiguous suburban and semi-rural territories) have fed and sustained regional tourism as well. It is in the larger metropolitan region, for example, that we find all of the domestic and international airports that bring visitors to the territory. It is in the areas surrounding the core that one also finds a whole host of complementary supply-side resources that support tourism demand at the core (and at times complete with it) by offering lower-cost hotel and restaurant spaces to student and working-class visitors and their families. These peripheral spaces fall into the realm of 'off the beaten track' tourism (Maitland and Newman 2009). While for the most part the region's tourism stakeholders tend to engage within one another as political and economic competitors, there are notable exceptions.

It was this larger metropolitan region's tourism infrastructure that was used to help pull the core and inner-ring urban communities from the clutches of a fiscal crisis in the mid 1970s; these same regional partners that helped share the collective grief and rebuilding following the 9/11 attacks; and most recently it was the suburban and rural parts of the region that came to the rescue of the core when its population was faced with the worst public health crisis in its modern history.

The New York tourism sector's regional tentacles extend outward from the core, over a vast multi-state region encompassing parts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Though the official metropolitan statistical area covers this vast region, for the purposes of this analysis (see Figure 9.1), the focus is more directly on the urban core (New York County: that is, Manhattan), the inner-ring counties (Bronx, Kings [Brooklyn], Queens and Richmond [Staten Island]) and the immediately surrounding contiguous counties (in New York – Nassau, Suffolk [Long Island], and Rockland and Westchester [the lower Hudson Valley]), and across the Hudson River in New Jersey (Bergen, Hudson, Essex, Union, Passaic: that is, the Gateway region). Due to proximity, these areas are closely linked (physically, economically, politically, culturally and socially) to the urban core, and together these communities share a vast network of tourism-related infrastructure (airports, public and private transport systems, accommodation, culture, entertainment, sport and green spaces), capital and labour.



Figure 9.1 Study area map.
(*Source:* Social Explorer 2023)

Consider, for example, that in 2022, close to 93 million tourists visited the study region. Collectively, these tourists spent $66.9 billion directly on products and services generated within the sector (though this figure grows significantly when indirect tourism expenditures are added in). In combination, the sector generated almost $70 billion in state and local tax revenues (includes sales, real estate and employment), and almost 400,000 jobs could be directly tied to the tourism industry (see Table 9.1). The money that flows through the New York region's tourism economy surpasses that of most nation states!

This revenue and spending was not, of course, equally distributed. As Table 9.2 reveals, the core of the region dominates the tourism economy, garnering almost 50% of direct spending, and generating more than 60% of the tax revenue. Employment is more equally spread out across the region, due in part to the location of international and regional airports outside the urban core. As regards revenue and tax benefits, the inner-ring urban communities come in second place, and the Gateway communities of Northern New Jersey occupy the third position, leaving the more distant suburban and rural parts of the Hudson Valley and Long Island regions with a far smaller proportion of the economic benefits than are found for those that are geographically most proximate to the urban core.

Given the lucrative nature of the tourism economy, one should not be at all surprised that it is the subject of powerful political competition. However, as will be illustrated below, there have also been notable moments

Table 9.1 Economic Impacts of Tourism on New York Metropolitan Region 2022

Economic impacts of tourism on New York metropolitan region 2022	**Direct tourism spending ($billions)****	**State and local tax revenues generated by tourism sector ($billions)**	**Tourism-generated direct employment (number of jobs) ****
Urban core: Manhattan	$ 32.8	$ 4.300	150,760
Inner ring urban areas, NY	$ 14.2	$ 1.800	90,515
Long Island suburbs, NY	$ 6.6	$ 0.599	52,102
Lower Hudson Valley suburbs, NY*	$ 2.5	$ 0.303	19,185
Gateway: urban/suburban NJ	$ 10.7	$ 0.001	79,331
Total	$ 66.8	$ 7.003	391,893

Sources: Tourism Economics 2023b, c, d, 'Economic Impact of Visitors in New York 2022' reports; Tourism Economics 2023a , 'New Jersey Visitor Economy 2022' report.
* Only Westchester and Rockland counties are included here from the Hudson Valley Region.
** Direct includes tourism specific industry impacts in the following economic sectors: food and beverage, lodging, transport, recreation and entertainment, finance, insurance and real estate.

of collaboration, with more enduring impacts on the practice of tourism governance. Of importance to note here: there is no single overarching regional body in place to govern the tourism sector. This fragmentation lies at the heart of the tensions underlying the regional governance of tourism in this study area.

Theoretical Framing

While a great deal has been written about the tourism economy in New York (Bram 1995; Judd and Fainstein 1999; Gladstone and Fainstein 2001), much less is known about the regional dimensions underlying the governance of tourism in this metropolitan area. The deficit is not surprising given the complexity underlying the politics, governance and funding streams. Described as a territory that is 'physically, as well as politically, fractured

Table 9.2 Distribution of Tourism's Economic Impacts within the New York Metropolitan Study Area in 2022

Distribution of tourism's economic impacts within the New York metropolitan study area 2022	**Percentage of direct tourism spending by subregion****	**Percentage of state and local tax revenue captured by subregion**	**Tourism employment captured by subregion**
Urban core: Manhattan	49%	61%	38%
Inner ring urban areas, NY	21%	26%	23%
Long Island suburbs, NY	10%	9%	13%
Hudson Valley suburbs, NY*	4%	4%	5%
Gateway: urban/suburban NJ	16%	0%***	20%

Sources: Tourism Economics 2023b, c, d, 'Economic Impact of Visitors in New York 2022' reports; Tourism Economics 2023d, 'New Jersey Visitor Economy 2022' report.
* Only Westchester and Rockland counties are included here from the Hudson Valley Region.
** Direct includes tourism specific industry impacts in the following economic sectors: Food and beverage, lodging, transport, recreation & entertainment, finance, insurance and real estate.
*** less than 1%

right to its very core' (Gross and Nelles 2018), one should not be at all surprised to find that metropolitan tourism, while incredibly lucrative, and central to the economic health of the region, remains a system that is characterised by division and competitiveness. Recognising that the concept of the metropolitan region is a contested one, here tourism is not viewed as the outcome of naturally occurring urban growth but rather through the lens of contest, conflict and occasionally collaboration. Following theorists such as Neil Brenner, tourism governance was explored using 'a strategic institutional' lens (Brenner 2004).

Given the complexity of tourism governance in the New York region, a heuristic device was necessary to help unpack sector governance. To that end, a framework developed by Kevin Cox to explore the socio-political construction of scale was utilised (1998). To capture the dynamic interplay to be found within the vast network of actors and infrastructure that underlie governance processes, 'spaces of dependence' and 'spaces of engagement' were identified (Cox 1998, 2008; Gross et al. 2018; Nelles et al. 2018).

Spaces of dependence represent the spatially anchored aspects of tourism in the metropolis (transportation, physical infrastructure, land, history, culture and so on). While, of course, capital is mobile, the vast majority of tourism infrastructure is fixed in place. The physical fixity is politically supported by a wide range of interests (public and private) seeking to anchor, develop and grow these assets and reap economic benefits from them. Spaces of engagement are the political spaces that emerge, in which actors come together to secure spaces of dependence (Cox 1998; Gross et al. 2018). Competition emerges in a global metropolitan region such as New York because the many localities and stakeholders (public and private) occupying this physical behemoth each seek to use their power to secure control over tourism infrastructure and to maximise their share of tourists and the revenue they represent. Collaboration is, of course, also present because the parts need the whole in order for these systems to operate. Thus a delicate dance ensues.

It is suggested that though the governance of regional tourism (as manifested in spaces of engagement) tends to cross formal jurisdictional boundaries, the region's physical infrastructure is largely 'place-specific' (creating spaces of dependence). Both components, 'are inserted in broader sets of relationships of a more global character and these constantly threaten to undermine or dissolve them' (Cox 1998, 2). As will be illustrated, it is this tension that helps one to understand why tourism governance in the New York metropolitan region seems to swing on a pendulum – moving between collaboration and conflict. Crises serve as the fulcrum that moves the regional partners closer together in collaboration at critical moments, though only temporarily. At the same time, these moments create small degrees of path dependency, and thus these collaborations have had long-term impacts on the region's economy and on development processes more broadly.

A mixed methodology was used in this research. Quantitative analysis on the tourism sector between 2018 and the present was gathered at the county level (in New York: Bronx, Brooklyn, Nassau, New York, Richmond, Rockland, Queens, Suffolk and Westchester; in New Jersey: Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Passaic and Union). Data included information on spending, tax revenue and industry, and employment data. Data on the tourists themselves came from analysis of domestic and international airport arrivals, bridge and tunnel use, mass transit and waterborne passenger data, county visitor counts, and attraction visitor counts at the region's parks and recreational areas. To better understand the institutional structure and the nature of collaboration and conflict in decision-making, narrative analysis was conducted of legislative debates, committee reports, the minutes of tourism advisory

council meetings, and the speeches given by elected officials (and private sector leaders) at the municipal, county and state levels across the metropolitan region. Finally, an effort was made to scrape data from the websites of the official tourism and convention bureaus within the metropolitan area, to better understand the ways localities market and brand themselves vis-à-vis the larger region.

This analysis began with a focus specifically on the period immediately preceding the onset of the pandemic, from 2018 through to the current period. However, context matters, and given some of the path dependencies that were found in relation to the sector's governance, it became clear that a longer time frame was necessary to capture the regional path dependencies that continue to shape contemporary tourism governance. Thus, in what follows we begin by looking back to the ways in which state and local actors were brought together in spaces of engagement to secure and utilise place-based tourism infrastructure, initially in response to Depression-era conditions and then more recently to combat the fiscal crisis of the 1970s. This early history set the path for the formation of regional institutions that continue to operate today.

The core findings of this analysis are twofold. First, due to the economic importance of tourism to the regional economy at moments of crisis (such as fiscal crisis, terrorism, environmental and public health), spaces of collaboration have been created in an effort to secure the sector's spaces of dependence. Crises have been used by local leaders (public and private) to generate new collaborations and synergies, but they have not always served to tame institutional complexity, nor create enduring new regional scales of government vis-à-vis tourism. Indeed, much depends on the type of crisis under way. Economic crises have had very different impacts on the regional system than public health and environmental crises.

Second, within these spaces, the balance of public and private partners have varied, with direct implications for the way the 'region' is framed. While there are in fact a wide variety of public sector agencies involved in aspects of regional tourism governance (transportation, parks and recreation, environment, health, security, ports and so on), our focus here is on the specific spaces of collaboration created to support tourism governance. These include both geographically focused tourism groups (public and private), and interagency tourism groups.

As will be illustrated below, early collaborative spaces formed at the turn of the century were spurred by private sector interests. Public actors were brought in as ex officio or token members to enhance the power and influence

of these entities. These privately led partnership entities adopted a more geographically expansive view of the region as a market space. More recently created spaces of engagement (1970s and beyond), by contrast, have often been publicly led at the behest of state leaders, with memberships that include both public officials and private sector actors. These publicly led entities tend to conceptualize 'regional' interests, as being attached to subregions within states and the state level needs. Indeed, even bistate public partnerships, like the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, have tended to behave as two-headed entities with each state's members taking parochial positions vis-à-vis the management and development of regional transportation systems and the related real estate underlying the tourism sector.

In what follows, a brief overview of the regional tourism sector in New York is presented – focusing on the spatially fixed aspects of tourism infrastructure (that is, spaces of dependence). This is followed by a discussion of the systems' institutional architecture and how governance arrangements have evolved over time (spaces of engagement). We begin with an exploration of the roots of regional tourism governance focusing on two periods: the turn of the century when private sector actors first become engaged in the promotion of tourism regionally; and the 1970s when tourism becomes a core component of regional economic development policy, and new institutions are created and legally codified at the state level. The chapter ends with a discussion of these spaces in the context of the pandemic and the lessons learned for the future of regional tourism governance in the New York metropolitan area.

Tourism Infrastructure: An Overview of the Region's Spaces of Dependence

Tourism in this metropolis not only encompasses many distinct types of tourism and tourists, but perhaps more importantly, it is a sector rife with internal competition for control of these elements. Each of the outer boroughs of New York City (Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island) compete not only with each other but with the core, Manhattan. On the urban periphery, Long Island (Nassau and Suffolk) is in competition with the lower Hudson Valley (Rockland and Westchester) for its fair share, and the New Jersey Gateway communities (Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Passaic and Union) also endeavour to lure visitors and development west to their side of the Hudson River.

For the most part, the periphery appears very cognisant of its dependence on the core. A quick look at most of the official tourism marketing sites for

example, shows discourse in which most localities in the study area highlight their proximity to New York as a selling point, followed by a celebration of what is unique to the locality itself. On the New Jersey side, a second nodal point for tourism is also prominently featured in the tourism discourse (Atlantic City and Cape May, which lie outside the Manhattan orbit in southern New Jersey). And thus while most of the Gateway areas highlight their proximity to Manhattan, they also draw from the state's largest tourism sites to the south. Thus the Gateway counties are in some ways pulled in two distinctly different directions, due to slightly differing spaces of dependence. As might be expected, within-state collaboration is much more prominent than between-state collaboration vis-à-vis tourism.

The region is physically woven together by a complex transit network that is at the core of the region's spaces of dependence. Given that Manhattan is an island (as is Staten Island, aka Richmond County), this infrastructure is crucial to the functioning of regional tourism. Bridges and tunnels connect the core to the New Jersey Gateway communities (the Holland Tunnel, Lincoln Tunnel and the George Washington Bridge), some connect Staten Island to the New Jersey Gateway area (Goethals, Outerbridge Crossing and the Bayonne bridges), and Westchester and Rockland counties are connected to Manhattan (via the Mario Cuomo and Broadway bridges). Bridges also connect the inner urban ring areas to each other and the core (Brooklyn, Ed Koch, Manhattan, RFK, Throggs Neck, Verrazano, Williamsburg, Willis Avenue bridges and the Hugh L. Carey Tunnel). Much of this infrastructure was built in the late 1920s and early 1930s, forming crucial arteries for domestic tourism. Alongside this are three international airports (Kennedy, LaGuardia in the inner ring and Newark in the NJ Gateway), and seven regional airports in the Gateway region of New Jersey (Essex County, Greenwood Lake, Linden and Teterboro), Long Island (MacArthur), and north of the core in the Hudson Valley (Westchester County and Stewart).

The area is served by an extensive rails system that includes the Amtrak national rail system that runs across the entire eastern seaboard, the commuter (Long Island Rail Road, Metro-North and the New Jersey PATH [Port Authority Trans-Hudson] system) and light rail (NJ Transit) systems that connect the nearby suburban parts of the region to the urban core in New York and New Jersey. The region is also home to a growing network of waterborne transit options, including ferries and water taxis that connect all parts of the region and offer another form of tourism infrastructure to grease the wheels of the system.

These transit systems weave this region together physically and serve to maintain the flow of people and goods. On average the regional transit system carries almost nine million people a day (Partnership for New York City 2020). The Metropolitan Transit Authority oversees what is considered to be the largest urban public transit system in North America, including the subways and commuter rails systems on the New York side of the regional system; the New Jersey Transit system fulfils a similar role across the Hudson River. The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, a federally created public authority, oversees the development and management of the region's airports, bridges, roads, tunnels and the waterways.

The region is also made up of thousands of neighbourhoods, each with their own unique cultural identities and histories. Consider, for example, that the two counties of Long Island are home to thirty-seven recreational and historic sites (including historic homes and gardens, beaches, golf courses, wetlands and hiking trails); heading north to the lower Hudson Valley counties (Westchester and Rockland), there are more than eighty park and recreational areas and 290 historic places. The New Jersey Gateway area is home to more than one hundred such locations. Within the urban core, each borough can boast its own unique heritage alongside zoos, sports stadiums, parks and countless museums and cultural institutions. Of course, Manhattan is home to all of these things and more, and this does not include the supporting businesses – hotels, restaurants and retail. In 2024, for example, the New York City Comptroller reported an inventory of 135,000 hotel rooms (NYC Comptroller 2025), and the Economic Development Corporation identified 24,000 bars and restaurants (NYCEDC 2025) in the core and inner ring. We can add to this two national baseball teams (Mets and Yankees), two national basketball teams (Nicks and Nets), two national American football teams (Jets and Giants), two national hockey teams (Islanders and Rangers), the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center complex, and a new soccer stadium is currently being built for the upcoming FIFA World Cup. All are housed in sports complexes or arenas spread across the entire study region. There are six convention centres in place within the study area as well.

As one might imagine, the governance and funding of the tourism sector regionally is encapsulated within a complicated mix of policy arenas – culture, land use, parks and recreation, labour, accommodation and transportation are all a part of this. And, to add additional challenges, in this metropolitan region these systems operate across states and governmental scales, with parts administered by federal, state, city and neighbourhood governments.

As will be illustrated, not only is there a complex mix of both privately and publicly led institutions, but there is also great variation in the way the region itself is framed in the minds of tourism stakeholders.

Tourism Governance: Institutional Architecture of the Region's 'Spaces of Engagement'

Early History: Setting the Path

The early roots of tourism governance in the New York metropolitan region can be found in the private sector, with businesses forming sector-specific professional associations to lobby local government for support of commercial needs and interests. These private associations later became more active in governance of the region during World War I and later the Great Depression.

The Merchants' Association of New York in New York was founded at the turn of the century to serve these interests. Its membership included businesses (manufacturers, merchants, finance, real estate and insurance and entertainment) located in the urban core, as well as those active on the periphery and beyond. This group tended to focus their attention on businesses located in the New York study region, or those tied to it through regional rail systems and ports operating along the 'Atlantic seaboard' (Merchants' Association of New York 1906). The region was conceived broadly as an economic space for New York-based businesses to ply their wares.

The Merchants' Association recognised the value of building spaces of engagement in support of growth and development of the urban economy. By 1905 the group could already boast over one thousand members, who worked in committees to lobby the government for services such as affordable power, clean water and transportation. The association also endeavoured to provide support for the region's business visitors. Thus, it might be considered one of the earliest 'spaces of engagement' tied to tourism. In 1906 the association published what some consider to be one of the earliest tourism guides to the region for the '9,000 out of town buyers' who had registered with the association in search of 'information on hotels, restaurants, transportation and excursions', when visiting the New York metropolitan region (Merchants' Association of New York 1906, xiv). Not only did this guide identify tourism infrastructure in the core, but it also highlighted regional infrastructure (transportation), cultural heritage, entertainment and leisure in Long

Island, Westchester, the lower Hudson Valley, New Jersey and the inner-ring urban areas.

During World War I, the association's governance ties were further solidified as they were enlisted to work with federal, state and local governments in support of the war effort. As William King, Merchants' Association president, had commented about membership: it 'simply demonstrates the value of united and systematic work [on the] the part of merchants [...] The Merchants' association believes that if it builds up the trade of the country at large, New York in its natural superiority will reap [the benefits] largely' (*New York Times* 1897).

By the early 1930s, the association boasted a membership of six thousand and had begun to advertise nationally on the benefits not only of doing business in the region but also pointing to the region as a location for leisure and vacationing (*New York Times* 1938). In 1935, the hotel industry formed its own association, the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau (NCVB) to promote the interests of the sector. The NCVB believed that their members' interests were being lost in the larger network of interests represented by the Merchants Association, thus the need for a more sector-specific space of engagement.

The NCVB's governing board was a 'who's who' of prominent hoteliers in the core, from the manager of the Waldorf Astoria to the Algonquin. This group set its sights on attracting both the convention industry as well as the world expo/fair industry, which would expand the number of visitors to the region, by moving beyond business tourists to the leisure side of the market. The regional lens of the NCVB was narrower than that of the Merchants' Association, focusing largely on the core and inner ring region of New York.

In 1938, the two groups merged, and would later become 'New York City Tourism + Conventions' which today serves as the central tourism association for the New York urban core and inner-ring New York boroughs. Of particular interest from a governance perspective was the decision of the new association to appoint New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia to serve as honorary chair (*New York Times* 1938). In doing so, the coalition recognised the value of this highly visible political figure as titular head of the association, aiding in marketing the city's businesses and location to a larger global audience. They are today a 501(c)6 organisation, which is a membership-based non-profit organisation with some two thousand members (New York City Tourism + Conventions 2023).

To this point, the tourism region was largely understood to be the urban core and inner-ring boroughs within the state of New York. Though awareness

of larger regional ties along the East Coast were recognised, they were not at the centre of the NYC & Co. agenda. To this point, it was the private sector that took the lead in development and planning of tourism within the smaller region. Initially far more focused on the convention and business side of the industry, this was expanded with the advent of successful world fairs and expos. In New York a group of civic and business leaders actually formed a World's Fair Committee in 1935, with the goal of using tourism as an economic development tool in the face of the Depression. The result was the 1939–1940 World's Fair held in Queens. Importantly, one can note the increasing recognition of the value of leisure tourism to the regional economy.

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ) must also be mentioned in regard to these early regional spaces of engagement tied to tourism. It was a public authority created by the federal government in 1921 to manage and develop transportation infrastructure within the shared port area of these two states. The authority was given the power to 'self-finance their investments'. Alongside this, it was granted a great deal of independence, making it an important tool of regional development (Wright 2017, 308). The hope at the time was that the PANYNJ would build regional capacity to develop and manage transportation infrastructure (spaces of dependence), while providing space for stakeholder voices in decision-making. However, because its twelve members were all political appointees of the governors, equally divided between the two states (New York and New Jersey), the authority found itself at the centre of ongoing political battles and occasional scandal. Though not a tourism agency per se, it played a crucial role in the development and maintenance of the region's transit systems. However, by virtue of its institutional design, it would, for most of its history, be a space of conflict and competition. Thus, while central to building the transit systems of the region, it was fraught by political wrangling and parochial views over resource allocation, power and control.

Tourism's regional spaces of engagement began to take form at the turn of the century, with private sector stakeholders taking the first steps in support of building a more expansive regional marketplace for their goods and services through attention to tourism infrastructure. This period also revealed a growing awareness of the value and importance of tourism and its respective infrastructure for the economic health, well-being and safety of this bistate region. Public actors, by contrast, endeavoured to use these spaces of engagement to support more parochial tourism goals, seeking to extract resources from the region, control its infrastructure and development, and protect respective state and local member interests.

The Fiscal Crisis and Governance: Reframing Tourism's Spaces of Engagement

The 1970s might be viewed as the next formative period in the institutional development of regional tourism governance. This was a challenging time for the promotion and support of tourism across the New York study region. Economic restructuring, redlining and white flight all combined to leave the urban core on the brink of economic collapse. Affluent, largely white populations moved out of the core to contiguous suburban locations; redlining and zoning was used to prevent communities of colour and low-income residents from accessing suburban spaces; manufacturing moved to less costly locations in the United States and offshore. In the core, inner ring and the urban portions of the Gateway region, vacancy rates grew (residential and commercial), austerity measures were imposed affecting public service delivery, and a raft of dystopian representations began to emerge in popular media highlighting the region as dangerous and crime-ridden. In combination, this left the regional economy reeling. The urban core and its inner-ring communities (on both sides of the Hudson River) were left with increased service demands alongside a declining tax base and shrinking resources from state and federal government. Not surprisingly, tourism suffered as infrastructure became increasingly difficult to maintain, and the economic pie needed to accommodate a wider and increasingly needy set of urban interests.

By 1975, both New York and New Jersey were searching for mechanisms to strengthen their local economies. Researchers at the New York State Department of Commerce found that public spending on tourism in both states was among the lowest nationally, despite the fact that the sector was among the top for employment (Bendel 2011, 180). In New Jersey, not only was spending in the sector low, but it had declined by some 6% between 1972 and 1975 (Sterne 1977). Domestic air travel for business and leisure tourists was also contracting (Merton 2019, 563). In the absence of public investment, private sector stakeholders began to take a more active role in tourism planning and marketing. Private spaces of engagement were formed by local stakeholders to strategise about ways to reinvigorate tourism and fight back against the growing competition from cities outside the region.

To this end, local businesses (finance, insurance and real estate [FIRE] sector) on the New York side of the metropolitan region formed a privately led non-profit business association to meet the growing challenges: the Association for a Better New York (ABNY). ABNY was driven by real estate

interests, with the primary goal of protecting the value of land at the core and later in the inner ring's downtown areas. As Merton highlighted:

> ABNY's programs were not only symbolic attempts to improve urban life or restore investor confidence in the city, but also ideological projects: a means of visibly asserting the efficacy and authority of private or voluntarist solutions over their public equivalents; reorienting municipal priorities away from redistribution toward the promotion—or protection—of private accumulation, growth, and development (often of its own assets); and restructuring New York's political, economic, and spatial order.
>
> (Merton 2019, 559)

In regard to tourism, ABNY initiated the 'Big Apple' campaign, a globally focused effort to promote an image of the New York core as safe, vibrant and attractive to both visitors and residents (Bendel 2011). This was no easy task because, as the fiscal crisis unfolded, other groups sought to utilise the negative imagery of a region in decline as a tool to advance their own interests.

In 1975 public sector unions, fearing the impending austerity cuts to pensions, salaries and jobs, banded together to form a coalition. Among their strategies to force concessions from the city was a campaign to raise public and visitor fear of the impending austerity measures planned by then New York mayor, Abe Beam. A labour coalition made up of some twenty-eight public sector unions (including the New York Police Department) produced a pamphlet titled 'Welcome to Fear City', which was distributed at local airports, highlighting the core as a centre for crime and pushing visitors to stay away (Baker 2015).

ABNY's Big Apple campaign helped the region to counteract these images and change the dystopian tourism narrative. And while highly successful, the campaign was narrowly focused on the business centres located largely at the geographic centre of the New York tourism region (midtown Manhattan, downtown Brooklyn, Jamaica Queens and Fordham Road in the Bronx). While ABNY's model became important for subsequent branding efforts to support tourism across the core of the region, it also formed the basis for a public–private model of neoliberal urban governance. By 1976, New York City's Office of Economic Development began to actively collaborate with ABNY to market the city as a space to do business (Greenberg 2008) spurring greater public–private collaboration in support of tourism in the urban core and inner ring. Thus, new spaces of engagement were formed, and they became central elements in tourism governance across the metropolitan region. The following

year, at the state level, public–private regional tourism partnership groups were established at the executive level of state government in both New York and New Jersey.

In addition to institutional growth, there were also important lessons learned from the ABNY 'Big Apple' campaign that would later form the basis of a much larger statewide tourism development initiative, the 'I Love New York' campaign, which not only brought tourism to the core but also served to expand the notion of the tourism region and to promote collaboration with stakeholders sitting beyond the core in nearby suburban and rural areas within New York State. Thus, here we begin to see a reframing of regional tourism. The campaign was implemented in 1977.

Of significance to this story was an important shift in tourism policy in New York State, which was subsequently emulated by policymakers in New Jersey (and beyond). In 1976, the New York State Department of Commerce reported that the state had two primary tourism resources: the urban core and the state's rural recreational areas (Bendel 2011, 181). These resources, they argued, were critical to the economy, yet to this point received little direct government support. The result, they argued, was that New York was losing out in the tourism realm to other cities like Chicago. In recognition of the need for economic growth, the state agreed to a massive infusion of public funding ($4.3 million) in support of the now famous 'I Love NY' campaign (Bendel 2011, 181). Two major advertising programmes were launched: one focused on the core, and another on the rural/suburban recreational infrastructure. Initially these campaigns were targeted at domestic tourists along the Northeastern seaboard and later expanded to national and international audiences (Bauer 2012).

New ties and collaborations were created, linking the contiguous regions of the study area (Long Island and lower Hudson Valley) more directly to the markets at the urban core. The state helped facilitate this by targeting resources to larger cross-county and regional collaboration rather than to the marketing of specific attractions (Feron 1979). Also of importance to the story of regional tourism was the growing recognition of the importance of non-urban tourism infrastructure (parks, beaches, outdoor recreational facilities and historic sites) for the state as a whole. Policymakers began to see that it was not simply the core that fuelled tourism but the periphery too was understood to be crucial to the health of the sector and the economy more broadly.

The marketing model was emulated by boosters on the New Jersey side of the region with the 'New Jersey's Got It' campaign of the 1970s and the 'New Jersey and You' campaign initiated in the early 1980s. Interestingly, during

this period competition across the bistate region began to grow (Sterba 1978). Though these campaigns were being used in part to counteract negative images of locality in the face of the fiscal crisis, they were also used to encourage investment in support of the physical infrastructure of localities within the metro study region's spaces of dependence.

During the period, there was also growing attention to regional ecosystem needs, with implications for the creation of parallel spaces of regional engagement around environmental protection and ecotourism. In 1969, for example, in New Jersey, the Hackensack Meadowlands Development Commission was formed to plan and develop a wetlands area shared by Bergen and Hudson county. This area was formerly a 'repository for a third of New Jersey's solid waste' (ANJEC 2000), and the site of extensive illegal dumping. Clean-up began in earnest in the early 1970s, and by the 1990s it would become the centre of state efforts to promote ecotourism. It was one of the largest pieces of undeveloped land in the area, and with its proximity to the urban core of the metro region, it would become a site of intense substate regional competition (Yıldız 2021). Not surprisingly, some forty-five years later, when an Olympic bid was in the making, the environmental planning group was merged with the New Jersey Sports and Exposition Authority, enabling greater focus on economic development of the area for tourism and other uses. Again, new spaces of engagement were formed to support subregional spaces of dependence.

Though collaborative regional spaces were emerging, attention to tourism tended to remain bifurcated with New York and New Jersey's subregional bodies cleaving to their more parochial state and local interests rather than to the shared realities of a bistate regional economy facing recession, economic structuring and environmental degradation. Even PANYNJ, the bistate agency created in 1921 to manage, plan and develop transportation infrastructure (roads, waterways and air) and attached real estate, behaved as a two-headed entity (Wright 2017). Political divisions had hampered any broad-based collaboration around tourism (Plotch and Nelles 2023).

Awareness of the value of the tourism economy to the states of New York and New Jersey, as well as the infrastructural dependencies within each state, became very clear during this period. The way institutions were designed tended to reinforce divisions. This became a period of public institution-building on the part of state and local government actors across the study area. By the end of the decade, both New York and New Jersey had created executive-level offices to oversee travel and tourism, invested in strategic planning for tourism across agencies, created funding streams to support it, and facilitated the development of substate regional tourism advisory and

development councils of two or more counties. These entities would serve to engage key state stakeholders in ongoing development, planning and resource allocation of the sector.

In 1977, New York State passed the Tourist Promotion Act (New York Consolidated Laws, Chapter 15, articles 5-A, 5-B and 5-F) and New Jersey passed the Division of Travel and Tourism Act (NJ Rev Stat § 34:1A-44–1A-54). Both pieces of legislation established statewide tourism authorities, funding mechanisms, reporting requirements and support for collaboration between counties. State institutions were built to support within-state regional tourism as a component of statewide economic development.

Within counties, spaces of engagement were formed to feed information upwards into the larger state systems and garner resources from the state for local tourism plans. In Westchester, for example, an appointed tourism advisory council of residents and businesses was created to assist in tourism planning locally, and to support statewide planning and funding allocations to subregions within the state (Hudson 1980). The counties of Nassau and Suffolk came together to form a joint commission on tourism for Long Island (Sterne 1977). Similarly, Westchester and Rockland began collaborating with the communities to the north of the urban core, in the Hudson Valley. Thus, stakeholders from both the public and private sector came together to discuss tourism promotion.

Across the Hudson, on the New Jersey side of the region, tourism councils were created to promote local assets within the state of New Jersey. Initially they served largely as marketing outlets. In 1986 the value of these local committees as important sources of policy information became increasingly clear, and the NJ state assembly proposed that regional committee chairs come together as tourism planning advisers to the state and its related state agencies (State of New Jersey 1986, 10–12). Thus, over time, like New York, subregional partners began channelling information upwards to the state government in support of larger economic development goals of the state. Spaces of engagement were created among public sector agencies who oversaw the broad range of infrastructures (spaces of dependence) that support tourism (directly and indirectly), and in parallel more geographically focused regional partnership also took root. Representatives from each group also shared information and thus created networks of tourism governance within each state.

Regional partners and their perspective on regional tourism did seem to reflect different visions. While in New York, the mutual linkages between core and periphery tended to promote a more collaborative environment among stakeholders (downstate regional partners in New York) and the recognition

of the value both of rural/suburban green tourism infrastructures as well as urban core and inner-ring tourism infrastructures. There would always be competition for public resources within the body, but this did not obviate the larger sense of a collective interest in state-level economic health.

In some ways, one can argue that the Gateway region found itself in a more challenging position than the substate regional groups in New York in the realm of tourism governance and promotion. Not only did it find itself competing with the New York subregions for tourism revenue, funding and tourists, but also with other regions within the state of New Jersey itself.

The Gateway community had initially focused attention on investment and development of the New Jersey Meadowlands as a space for ecotourism. Then in the late 1970s, efforts were made to build out the area as a space for sports, gambling and recreational tourism. This put them in competition with the southern tourism regions of the state, specifically Atlantic City, where casino gambling was central, as well as with gaming interests on the New York side of the region. The creation of harness racing facilities placed the Gateway communities into direct competition with Westchester and Long Island, which also had racetracks in place. Later the Gateway region leveraged its infrastructure to attract two national football teams, the New York Jets and the Giants from the inner-ring counties of the region. The Gateway region was also in competition with the Shore and Atlantic City regions within the state.

In the face of fiscal crisis, on the New York side of this tourism region, over time, competition gave way to collaboration both among private sector tourism interests, as well as among geographic tourism subregions within the state. The executive-level creation of spaces of engagement also brought government agencies and geographically based councils together to support tourism as a pillar of economic development for the state as a whole. On the New Jersey side of the region within-state (and between-state) competition tended to dominate the tourism agenda. Not surprisingly the Gateway community sought to carve out its own set of tourism magnets, through investments in more localised infrastructure. As Bern Rotman, director of tourism for New York State commented: '"The competition [was] intense [...]. We have to run twice as hard just to stay in place." [...] because of competition from [...] New Jersey' (*New York Times* 1985).

Thus, the decade ended with the tourism sector becoming a core component of economic development across both states, greater attention to the political construction of subnational regional scales to support the sector's spaces of dependence, and increasing recognition of the need for cross-agency collaboration in the management of tourism growth and tourism impacts on

the environment. Regional tourism was narrowly framed to support 'within-state' rather than 'between-state' spaces of engagement.

Tourism partners in both states began to place value on urban, suburban and rural infrastructures. In New York, when the core and inner city communities appeared to be on the brink of collapse, the state helped to build support through investments in the substate regional tentacles of the tourism economy. The communities that sat in more distant locations (yet were within commuting distance of the core) in Long Island and the lower Hudson Valley began to develop greater awareness of their synergistic ties with one another and to tourism partners in the core and inner ring. One outcome from a governance perspective was greater attention to substate regional tourism planning. Across the Hudson, tourism in the Gateway region also came to be seen as an important component of growth and development in New Jersey, though within-state competition tended to be ever-present in these substate tourism dynamics.

This early history set the path for contemporary patterns of tourism governance in the study area. Today, actors continue to engage with one another within their respective substate regional tourism councils through the lens of both collaboration and competition. The movement between these contrasting approaches is conditioned by larger state- and city-level needs. The fiscal crisis generated moments of competition, conflict and even some collaboration. However, collaboration was far more common within substate regional entities, while competition between states tended to grow. Within states, though the urban core continued to serve as a focal point of policy making and planning, the period witnessed an important shift in awareness of the complementary role that suburban and rural tourism infrastructure played in the larger tourism economy. As for bistate regional collaboration, the institutional architecture built in the 1970s and 1980s for tourism governance is complex and fragmented. This makes efforts to construct more expansive scales of regional tourism governance difficult. As our final case below reveals, only in the face of wicked problems that have laid out uniformly across all parts of the region does one see openings for broader spaces of collaboration around tourism governance.

COVID-19 as a Driver of Regional Collaboration

In 2020, the most severe public health crisis in contemporary times unfolded in New York. The first diagnosed case of COVID-19 was identified on 29 February 2020; to date 3.7 million cases have been diagnosed; 243,824

hospitalisations and over 47,000 associated deaths were reported in the urban core and inner ring alone (NYC Health 2025). Perhaps no sector of the urban economy was more impacted than tourism. National borders were closed. State travel and public space use was restricted. Theatres ceased to operate; hotels, restaurants and business of all varieties were forced to shut down. Transit systems faced huge expenses to maintain the flow of essential workers in a healthy and safe manner.

In New York City alone, the number of visitors dropped from 66.6 million in 2019 to 22.3 million in 2020. Domestic tourism grew in importance, while international tourism was severely restricted. With this, the core saw tourism industry employment shrink by 31%, and the tourism economy was estimated to have declined by 75% (Office of the New York State Comptroller 2021). Similar declines were reported across the entire Gateway region in New Jersey (Tourism Economics 2022). Visitation to the state dropped by 27%, spending declined by 37% and tax revenues dropped by half (Biryukov 2023). In this shared and by extension 'wicked' crisis, both subregional and more broad-based bistate collaborations emerged. As the Partnership for New York City commented, 'partnerships must be put in place to restore confidence [...] and redefine [...] the city and region' (2020, 20).

In New York, tourism partners used this period as an opportunity to promote outdoor recreation outside the urban core, while also developing virtual materials to bring greater awareness of subregional tourism infrastructure once the crisis was over. The period also saw regions use this moment as an opportunity to invest in the repair of ageing infrastructures (transit hubs and airports). Thus both states' tourism stakeholders focused on shoring up regional spaces of dependence.

Those who could leave the urban core during the pandemic, did. The more affluent urbanites were able to decamp to their vacation homes in Long Island and the lower Hudson Valley, and for Gateway residents the move was to the suburban parts of the state and the Jersey Shore. The use of parks and green spaces by urban residents not surprisingly also grew. This was facilitated in part by state decisions to eliminate fees for entry to all state, local and county parks, beaches and recreation areas. Collaboration by state agencies also led to the use of some of the region's open spaces as sites for COVID-19 testing and vaccination. Waterborne transit modes also increased in use across the region. A look at the minutes of the substate regional tourism authorities during this period revealed greater focus on the value of domestic tourism. Bistate collaboration tended to be more firmly attached to health and safety protocols. COVID-19 also reinforced the importance of

the regional tentacles of the tourism economy located in suburban and rural areas, especially for local and domestic populations. Thus, a wider view of the region, and an awareness of the value of collaboration and complementarity, began to take root.

In 2020 non-essential businesses were closed, while in both states, parks remained open. In New York, no fees for entry were charged. Not surprisingly: 'Millions of New Yorkers visited state parks during this time [...]. Parks were a refuge and a safe-haven for exercise and socializing in fresh air' (New York State Council of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation 2021, 20). This occurred despite reductions by 50% in the numbers allowed access. Thus, one begins to see a significant and important focus on domestic tourism outside the urban core. In particular 'parks' became key, not only as destinations but also as partners with the Department of Health. Testing and vaccine sites were set up on Long Island at Jones Beach and north of the city in Harriman State Park, located in Orange and Rockland Counties. In New Jersey, beachfront areas and parks were also earmarked to be sites for testing and spaces for domestic travel. All of this was made possible, not only by within-state regional partnerships but also by cross-agency collaborations and bistate collaboration.

As states got better control of the health dynamics, they then turned their attention to marketing. Across the bistate region, money was allocated to efforts to reopen. While clearly the core and inner rings had significant need, in regards to tourism there was a growing awareness that the more rural and suburban areas would be able to open more safely. Money was also allocated to support regional destination marketing in both states. These dynamics appear to have had a more enduring impact on tourism in the broader region. Analysis of visitor numbers to parks and beaches in the suburban and rural parts of the region revealed that the increases during the COVID-19 crisis have continued to hold even after the pandemic was under control. Thus, new spaces of dependency have emerged, and greater collaboration has been evident in tourism's subregional and bistate spaces of engagement.

COVID-19 generated greater bistate collaboration in support of tourism through attention to shared transportation and public health needs. The PANYNJ, sitting in a critical space during this period, needed to maintain transportation systems for essential workers and circulation for residents unable to leave the region, and also contain the spread of the virus across the region. A review of the minutes of PANYNJ meetings in 2021 suggests that political competition began to take a back seat to regional collaboration.

As Commissioner McCabe commented, 'a unique partnership' was forged, ushering in 'an era of cooperation and harmony that [was] virtually unprecedented in the 100-year history of this agency' (PANYNJ 2021). In the aftermath of the crisis, collaboration has continued. This was also shaped by powerful leaders in both states and within the PANYNJ. One indication of the enduring impact of this moment was the recent agreement among PANYNJ partners to support the development of new rail tunnels beneath the Hudson River to shore up regional rail ties. This project had been stymied by political wrangling between New York and New Jersey since 1995 and was finally given the green light in 2023.

On the New York side of the region, collaboration was evident throughout the crisis. Though the needs of the core remained a prominent feature of the discourse on regional tourism, awareness of the importance of the rural and suburban communities was also evident. Thus, while differences in substate regional needs were clear, there was a sense of complementarity and a shared notion of the importance of the sector overall for the economic health and well-being of the state.

In New Jersey, one can note some collaboration throughout the COVID-19 crisis, but in its aftermath, substate regional rivalries re-emerge. Here the north–south divisions continue to shape the nature of interaction between sector stakeholders, with central parts of the state arguing that they were being left out of tourism-based resource allocations. In fact, legislation was passed in August 2023 to ensure that 'central Jersey' would have its own regional tourism authority. Thus, on the New Jersey side, one can continue to note a more competitive substate regional framework, reified by state tourism laws.

Conclusions: Rescaling Tourism Governance or Business as Usual?

Crises have sometimes served to remind stakeholders of the 'region's interconnectedness'. This was the case in the aftermath of superstorm Sandy (Yıldız 2021) and more recently in the context of the pandemic (Gross and Savitch 2023). When economic crises emerge, the patterns are more complex. During the fiscal crises, the substate regions of New York were more likely to coalesce around the shared needs of the state and to see their resources as best spent on 'within-state' development needs. The periphery and core understood their dependencies on one another. In New Jersey, by contrast, the enduring divisions between the north, central and southern regions seem to make collaboration that much more difficult.

It is suggested that environmental and public health crises are more likely to bring tourism stakeholders together as collaborators. This is necessary for regional governance to occur. Economic crises, by contrast, are more likely to reap competition and prevent the emergence of regional governance in the realm of tourism. With COVID-19, all geographic parts of the tourism region were impacted, as were all sector-based stakeholders and related public sector agencies. The shared experience may well have served to unify stakeholders. Over time, however, as the crisis recedes, competition for control of tourism's spaces of dependence and the resources they generate grows.

In conclusion, it would appear that the shared experience of environmental and health crises may serve to pave the way towards a more expansive understanding of regional tourism governance. Economic crises, by contrast, tend to generate greater regional division between states. Within-state differences may reflect the role of state leaders. In New York, the state leaders actively promoted the formation of spaces of collaboration around tourism. In New Jersey, the emphasis of tourism councils was largely for marketing and to determine resource distribution. Thus, in New Jersey there appeared to be fewer incentives to collaborate. Though wicked problems may open new regional pathways of collaboration, it is still a bit too early to know if they will be able to fully overcome the long-term institutional, political and jurisdictional fragmentation that characterises tourism governance in the New York metropolitan study region.

Bibliography

ANJEC (Association of New Jersey Environmental Commissions). 2000. 'Preserving the Meadowlands', *ANJEC Report* 20(4): 12. https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/17250/PDF/1/play/

Baker, Kevin. 2015. 'Welcome to Fear City – The Inside Story of New York's Civil War, 40 Years On'. The Guardian. 18 May. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/may/18/welcome-to-fear-city-the-inside-story-of-new-yorks-civil-war-40-years-on

Bauer, Matthew A. 2012. 'Boosting the Metropolis: The Tourism Industry and the Renewal of Post-9/11 New York City'. PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. https://doi.org/doi:10.7282/T3W95848

Bendel, Peggy R. 2011. 'Branding New York City: The Saga of "I Love New York"'. In *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, edited by Keith Dinnie, 179–183. Palgrave Macmillan.

Biryukov, Nikita. 2023. 'New Jersey Tourism Set to Exceed Pre-Pandemic Levels'. New Jersey Monitor. 27 April. https://newjerseymonitor.com/2023/04/27/new-jersey-tourism-set-to-exceed-pre-pandemic-levels/

Bram, Jason. 1995. 'Tourism and New York City's Economy'. *Current Issues in Economics and Finance* 1(7). https://www.newyorkfed.org/research/current_issues/ci1-7.html

Brenner, Neil. 2004. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford University Press.

Cox, Kevin R. 1998. 'Spaces of Dependence, Spaces of Engagement and the Politics of Scale, or: Looking for Local Politics. *Political Geography* 17(1): 1–23.

Feron, James. 1979. '"I Love N.Y." Now Statewide Affair: A Nice Place to Visit, and You'd Want to Live There'. *New York Times*, 25 March. Westchester section, 1. https://www.nytimes.com/1979/03/25/archives/westchester-weekly-i-love-ny-now-statewide-affair-a-nice-place-to.html

Gladstone, David L. and Susan S. Fainstein. 2001. 'Tourism in US Global Cities: A Comparison of New York and Los Angeles'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23(1): 23–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2166.00073

Greenberg, Miriam. 2008. 'Marketing the City in Crisis: Branding and Restructuring New York City in the 1970s and the Post-9/11 Era'. In *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle*, edited by Anne Cronin and Kevin Hetherington, 19–44. Routledge.

Gross, Jill Simone and Jen Nelles. 2018. 'Contesting the Region: Transportation and the Politics of Scale in New York'. In *Constructing Metropolitan Space: Actors, Policies and Processes of Rescaling in World Metropolises*, edited by Jill Simone Gross, Enrico Gualini and Lin Ye, 109–31. Routledge.

Gross, Jill Simone and Hank V. Savitch. 2023. *New York*. Megacities Series. Agenda Publishing.

Gross, Jill Simone, Enrico Gualini and Lin Ye (eds). 2018. *Constructing Metropolitan Space: Actors, Policies and Processes of Rescaling in World Metropolises*. Routledge.

Hudson, Edward. 1980. 'County Presses Tourism Plans'. *New York Times*, 6 July. https://www.nytimes.com/1980/07/06/archives/westchester-weekly-county-presses-tourism-plans-county-pressing.html

Judd, Dennis R. and Susan S. Fainstein (eds). 1999. *The Tourist City*. Yale University Press.

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman (eds). 2009. *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge.

Merchants' Association of New York. 1906. *Year Book*. Merchants' Association of New York.

Merton, Joe. 2019. 'John Lindsay, the Association for a Better New York, and the Privatization of New York City, 1969–1973'. *Journal of Urban History* 45(3): 557–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144218765465

Nelles, Jan, Jill Simone Gross and Loraine Kennedy. 2018. 'The Role of Governance Networks in Building Metropolitan Scale'. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 6(2): 159–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2017.1421478

New York City Tourism + Conventions. 2023. 'Who We Are'. 27 June. https://www.business.nyctourism.com/about-us/who-we-are

New York State Council of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. 2021. 'Annual Report 2020'. February. https://parks.ny.gov/documents/state-council/2020StateCouncilAnnualReport.pdf

New York Times. 1897. 'WORK OF THE MERCHANTS; They Have Aroused a Healthy Trade Spirit That Kills Midsummer Dullness. DUTY OF THE RAILROADS President King Explains the Situation – Importance of the Patronage of Country Merchants – Some Short-Sighted Views Exposed'. *New York Times*, 2 August, p. 8. https://www.nytimes.com/1897/08/02/archives/work-of-the-merchants-they-have-aroused-a-healthy-trade-spirit-that.html

New York Times. 1938. 'Convention Units in the City Merged; Hotels and Merchants' Groups Combine to Expand Work at Lower Cost. Mayor Is Honorary Head; Field Staff to Be Formed to Help Get Larger Share of Meetings for New York'. *New York Times*, 14 March, p. 18. https://www.nytimes.com/1938/03/14/archives/convention-units-in-the-city-merged-hotels-and-merchants-groups.html

New York Times. 1985. 'States Turn to Tourism for New Funds and Jobs'. *New York Times*, 16 August, p. 8. https://www.nytimes.com/1985/08/16/us/states-turn-to-tourism-for-new-funds-and-jobs.html

NYC Comptroller. 2025. 'Spotlight: Tourism's Role in New York City's Economy'. NYC Comptroller. 11 March. https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/March-2025-Spotlight-Tourism.pdf

NYC EDC (Economic Development Corporation). 2025. 'State of the New York City Economy 2024'. https://edc.nyc/sites/default/files/2025-01/NYCEDC-State-of-the-NYC-Economy-2024-v3.pdf

NYC Health. 2025. 'COVID-19: Data. Trends and Totals'. NYC Health. Last modified 14 July. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/covid/covid-19-data-totals.page

Office of the New York State Comptroller. 2021. 'The Tourism Industry in New York City: Reigniting the Return'. April. https://www.osc.ny.gov/files/reports/osdc/pdf/report-2-2022.pdf

PANYNJ (Port Authority of New York and New Jersey). 2021. 'Public Board Meeting: Transcript'. 11 February. https://www.panynj.gov/corporate/en/board-meeting-info/board-committee-meeting-presentations.html

Partnership for New York City. 2020. 'A Call for Action and Collaboration'. Partnership for New York City. July. https://pfnyc.org/research/a-call-for-action-and-collaboration/

Plotch, Philip Mark and Jen Nelles. 2023. *Mobilizing the Metropolis: How the Port Authority Built New York*. University of Michigan Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Revised edition. Princeton University Press.

State of New Jersey. 1986. 'Findings and Recommendations of the Assembly Select Committee on Tourism'. https://dspace.njstatelib.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/a1afa8d7-f604-4b10-b244-39cc9cbe0f4c/content

Sterba, James P. 1978. 'Ad Slogans Tell Businessmen Grass Is (or Isn't) Greener Elsewhere; Zoned for Success'. *New York Times*, 18 July, p. 14. https://www.nytimes.com/1978/07/18/archives/ad-slogans-tell-businessmen-grass-is-or-isnt-greener-elsewhere.html

Sterne, Michael. 1977. 'New York Urged to Stress Tourism'. *New York Times*, 5 May, section D, p. 22. https://www.nytimes.com/1977/05/05/archives/new-york-urged-to-stress-tourism-new-york-city-as-a-vacation-place.html

Tourism Economics. 2022. 'Economic Impact of Tourism in New Jersey 2021'. New Jersey Division of Travel and Tourism. 5 May. https://visitnj.org/economic-impact-report-2021

Tourism Economics. 2023a. 'The New Jersey Visitor Economy 2022'. New Jersey Division of Travel and Tourism. March. https://visitnj.org/sites/default/files/2023-05/2022_Tourism_Economic_Impact_Study.pdf

Tourism Economics. 2023b. 'Economic Impact of Visitors in New York 2022: Hudson Valley Focus'. September. https://esd.ny.gov/sites/default/files/Hudson-Valley-2022-NYS-Tourism-Economic-Impact.pdf

Tourism Economics. 2023c. 'Economic Impact of Visitors in New York 2023: Long Island Focus'. Empire State Development. September. https://esd.ny.gov/sites/default/files/media/document/Long-Island-New-York-Tourism-Economic-Impact-2023.pdf

Tourism Economics. 2023d. 'Economic Impact of Visitors in New York 2022: New York City Focus'. Empire State Development. September. https://esd.ny.gov/sites/default/files/New-York-City-2022-NYS-Tourism-Economic-Impact.pdf

Wright, Thomas K. 2017. 'Governing the Metropolis: New York and the Metropolitan Region'. In *Steering the Metropolis: Metropolitan Governance for Sustainable Urban Development*, edited by David Gómez-Álvarez, Robin Michael Rajack, Eduardo López-Moreno and Gabriel Lanfranchi, 308–13. InterAmerican Development Bank.

Yıldız, Şevin. 2021. 'Planning a "Regional Breathing Space": The Ecological Shift in the Comprehensive Land Use Plan for the New Jersey Meadowlands, 1970'. *Planning Perspectives* 36(1): 95–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2019.1709099

Chapter 10

Tourism, Planification and Metropolises in Twenty-First Century China: Jing-Jin-Ji and Yangtze Delta River Cases

Françoise Ged, Lian Hu, Chensi Shen and Chunyan Zhang

Introduction

The past decades have witnessed rapid tourism development in China. In 2014, according to the UN World Tourism Organization, China was the top source market and the fourth top tourist destination. In more than four decades, from the 1978 implementation of reforms and opening up to 2019, China's urbanisation rate has increased from 10.6% to 60.6% (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2021a). Urbanisation has become an important way to support China's economic growth and has considerably influenced every aspect of Chinese society. Meanwhile, metropolises such as Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and most of the coastal cities consider tourism as a strategic pillar industry for their economy. Tourism development is largely top-down by nature, in a centralised political structure and socialist economic system.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the government put forward a new phase of development propaganda, namely 'the scientific outlook on development' and 'the harmonious society' (State Council of China 2006), which promote a comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable mode of development. Though economic growth continues to be very important, GDP is no longer the sole measurement standard and development goal. Urban policies have been reviewed and put forward a slowed-down, people-centred urban development. Cities become considered as a conglomeration of the population rather than an economic engine. As a result, culture and heritage are highly considered to strengthen national identity and serve as a bond for national unity against the current socio-economic complications. In 2007, the National Tourist Attractions issued a model for judging the level of

tourist attractions, with the 5A level being the highest quality.[1] In that year, a total of sixty-six top-ranked 5A tourist attractions were announced. The number of 5A tourist attractions increased rapidly after 2010, with a total of 318 declared by 2022 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2021).

In 2011 the statement issued by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventeenth Central Committee proposed to promote cultural awareness and develop the soft power of Chinese culture. At the urban level, as the global economy evolves, big cities tend to distinguish themselves by resorting to culture and heritage to gain competitiveness. Thus, heritage was reassessed not just economically but also culturally, which has influenced the heritage practice and accordingly its relation to tourism and urban development. In 2018, to promote cultural tourism and reinforce the relationship between the two administrations, the National Tourism Bureau was integrated into the Ministry of Culture, to become the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

In this context, top-down decisions took great importance such as holding the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008 (summer) and 2022 (winter), grouping Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei province as a whole, organising the World Expo in Shanghai in 2010, locating Disneyland Park in Shanghai, and grouping the Yangtze River Delta Mega-City Region with cities within the region. Moreover, the ways of visiting cities, and not only in China, have evolved towards individualisation of the practices, but a diversification of the sites also proposed the development of Airbnb accommodations, the use of social networks and platforms such as TikTok, relegating group travel to corporate or retiree travellers.

Based on the above, this chapter proposes to examine case studies of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei metropolitan region named Jing-Jin-Ji, and the Shanghai-Hangzhou-Suzhou area: the Yangtze Delta metropolitan region. It intends to explain the national policy steps for tourism and the logic behind them and their applications in different coastal cities, including the role of cultural heritage. Finally, this article addresses two main questions: why has tourism in China become a new economic growth point? And what are the impacts of the practices of tourists on local policies and planification?

The Capital Economic Circle or Jing-Jin-Ji Metropolitan Area

The area called the Jing-Jin-Ji area 京津冀 includes Beijing 北京, Tianjin天津 and Hebei province 河北 (one-character abbreviation is 冀). Two of the four municipalities (Beijing and Tianjin) have the administrative rank of a

province. This grand project appeared in the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011–2015) with the aim to create a world-class city cluster centred around Beijing, known as well as the 'capital economic circle' (see Figure 10.1). In addition to Beijing and Tianjin, there are eleven cities in Hebei, and the whole region covers 216,000 km^2, more than twice the size of South Korea. The area has access to the Bohai Sea and mountainous hinterland in the western part of Beijing and is one of the three existing city cluster areas in China, with the Yangtze Delta area around Shanghai, and the Pearl Delta area around Shenzhen. The total population is approximately 110 million, accounting for 7.6% of the country's total population (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2021b) and is three times that of the Tokyo megalopolis. Currently, Jing-Jin-Ji's combined GDP accounts for approximately 11% of China's total GDP.

In the mid-1980s, Tsinghua University's famous urban planner and professor Wu Liangyong pointed out that the Bohai Gulf area, including Tianjin and Beijing, had superior economic conditions and should strengthen mutual ties, enhance complementary borders, establish a 'Bohai Rim Economic Circle' and take the path of regional integration (Liu et al. 2013). However, it took time before his opinion became a national issue. In 2014, President Xi Jinping called for the synergistic development of this region to be elevated to a national strategy (National Development and Reform Commission 2019b), followed a week later by Premier Li Keqiang, who pointed out in the government work report that it was necessary to strengthen economic cooperation (Li 2014).

Name	GDP (billion Yuan)	Pop（million）	Area (km^2)
1 北京市 Beijing	3537.1	21.5	16410
2 天津市 Tianjin	1410.4	15.6	11966
(3-13) 河北省 Hebei Province	3510.5	74.5	188800
3 保定市 Baoding	322.4	9.4	22135
4 石家庄市 Shijiazhuang	581.0	10.4	14464
5 邯郸市 Handan	348.6	9.6	12066
6 邢台市 Xingtai	212.0	7.4	12400
7 张家口市 Zhangjiakou	155.1	4.4	36357
8 承德市 Chengde	147.1	3.6	39512
9 唐山市 Tangshan	689.0	8	13472
10 秦皇岛市 Qinhuangdao	161.2	3.2	7802
11 沧州市 Cangzhou	358.8	7.5	14304
12 廊坊市 Langfang	319.6	4.9	6429
13 衡水市 Hengshui	150.5	4.5	8836
Total 京津冀 Jing-Jin-Ji	**8458.0**	**113.1**	**218000**

表格数据来源于各省市统计局官网及百度百科。
The data in the table are from the official websites of provincial and municipal statistics bureaus and Baidu Encyclopedia.

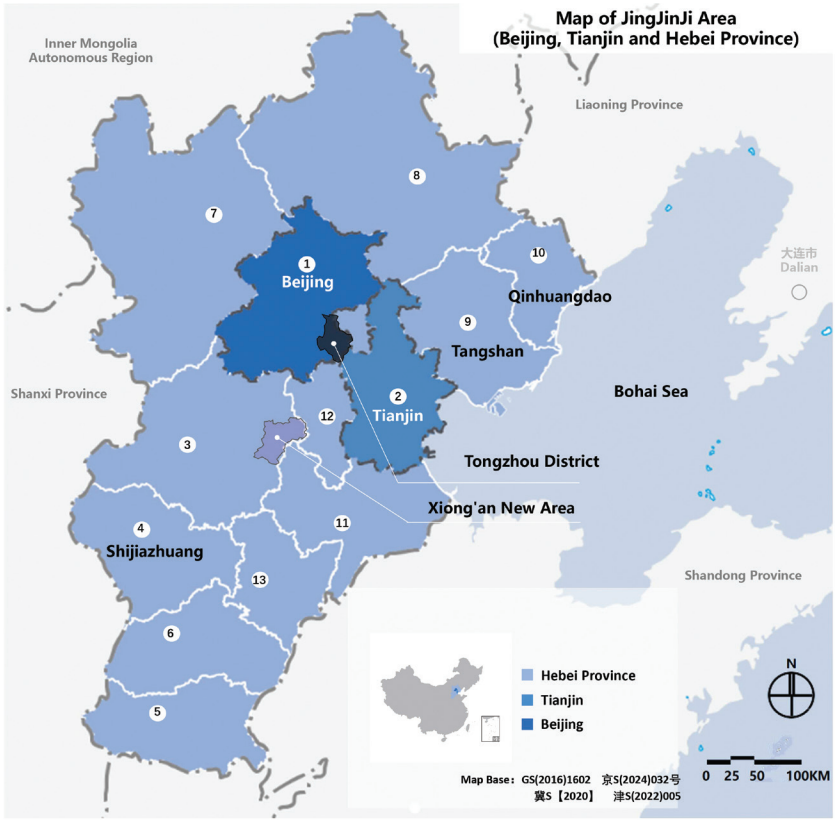


Figure 10.1 Statistical chart of population, economy and regional area of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, 2019.

Areas within the Jing-Jin-Ji region already have their strengths. Beijing is known as a political, educational, cultural, and research and development centre; Tianjin is known as China's northern logistics centre, with one of the busiest ports in the world; and Hebei province is known for its heavy industries, including steel production. Hebei province will be required to modernise its industrial base. The Tianjin free trade zone will play an important role in assisting Tianjin's attempts to be a pilot area for financial innovation and reform, and Beijing has already begun transferring some non-essential resources, including factories and wholesale markets, to Tianjin and Hebei. Meanwhile, the Beijing municipality seeks to limit its permanent population, both rural and urban, to 23 million by 2035. Making the whole region's

economic development more sustainable is an important issue, and Hebei province could become an important ecological protection area, with national and forest parks surrounding the capital.

National policy has been an important driving force behind the integration of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and tourism development in this metropolitan region is also being rapidly promoted as part of the national strategy. In 2007, Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei province had already jointly signed the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Tourism Cooperation Agreement and established the Regional Tourism Collaboration Meeting System during the Jing-Jin-Ji tourism meeting (Meng 2007). This system requires the tourism-related departments of the three regions to establish a linkage mechanism for tourism safety and market supervision. In 2012, the three regions further signed the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Tourism Cooperation Near-Term Action Plan and the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Tourism Cooperation Agreement. These documents demonstrate the objective of equipping the as-yet-improved system with a unified information system and complaints mechanism, focusing on the promotion of tourism connectivity and cooperation in investment projects at the planning level. The implied top-down impetus behind these documents is to promote regional integration through the tourism development agenda.

New Infrastructure and Tourism, High-Speed Traffic Systems, Mega-Events

An important opportunity for tourism linkages between Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei was the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics. The Olympic Games not only brought a modern feast based on infrastructure renewal to Beijing but also accelerated the process of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei integration, which had been 'much agreed upon and much called for, but not progressing fast enough' a few years earlier (Wen and Xiao 2008). In reality, however, tourism has not enjoyed the explosive growth imagined in 2008 under the guidance of a stable policy. The 2022 Winter Olympics, on the other hand, have driven the trend towards snow sports and ice tourism in Beijing and Zhangjiakou.

Since 2016, railway construction in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei has picked up pace, not only with high-speed trains between Tianjin and Beijing but also forming a high-speed railway circle around the entire region. To promote 'self-drive' tourism, highways in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei have also been linked to segments of the region that were once disconnected and administratively separated. As infrastructure development progressed, tourist trains and buses began to appear, and bus routes between different cities and regions can be used with the same payment card.

2017 saw a significant increase in the number of tourists within the metropolitan area, with 1.08 billion domestic and international visitors to the region, one and a half times more than in 2010 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2018). Several new tourism concepts were introduced, such as the ecotourism belt of south-western Beijing (a consortium of five natural tourism spots comprising a short tour of Beijing and Tianjin) and the ice and snow tourism circle in northern Beijing (with the sites of the Beijing Winter Olympics) (Han 2017). Travel routes have also expanded from traditional routes to include weekend trips, family trips and leisurely self-drive tours which correspond to the new stage of development of the Chinese tourism market. But the construction of major infrastructure and the hosting of major events have played an important role in this process (Han 2017).

The development of tourism has also been accompanied by the decentralisation of Beijing's functions as a national political centre. The Xiong'an New Area, a national development area in eastern Hebei province 105 kilometres from the centre of Beijing, is aiming to decongest some of Beijing's administrative units at national levels from 2017. In the same year, the Tongzhou district as part of Beijing municipality, which sits 22 kilometres from the city centre and a transport time of about thirty minutes with the metro, aims to relieve Beijing of its municipal administrative functions as a new place for Beijing's governing institutions on the municipal level. The expansionary effects of transport, talent and culture brought about by the political subcentres, as well as the ecological and sustainable principles, make for dimensional and fluid tourism links within the region.

Beijing as a Powerful Dominant Centre

In the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei area, the Beijing municipality presents a strong political, economic and cultural dominance. In Beijing and Tianjin, municipalities cover a wider area than just the municipal core: they include the surrounding districts and counties and rural areas. In 2021, the Beijing municipality included a population of 21.893 million, with 1.815 million living in the city. The Tianjin municipality will contain 13.73 million people, of whom 4.06 million comprise the urban population. Although there are large cities in the Hebei province region, such as Tangshan, Langfang and Shijiazhuang, Beijing has a clear dominant position. Not only is Beijing far ahead in terms of economic development, but the standard of living in Beijing (and parts of Tianjin) is also far higher than in the surrounding regions. More importantly, the influence of Beijing as a capital has led the surrounding area to respond to Beijing's development plans (see Figure 10.2).

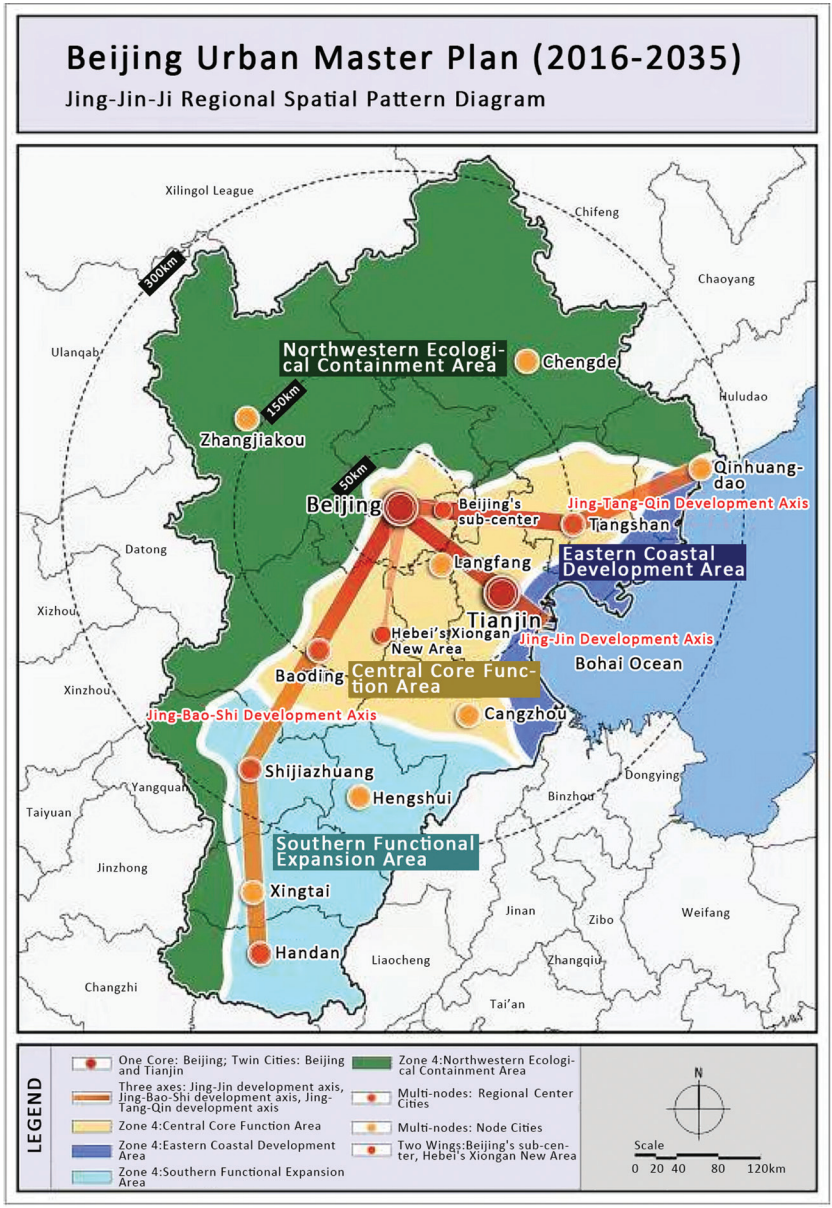


Figure 10.2 Beijing Urban Master Plan (2016–2035).

Tourism resources are also concentrated in Beijing. Of China's highest official tourism rating, the 5A level, Beijing has eight 5A attractions among twenty-one in the Jing-Jin-Ji area, while Shanghai has only four out of sixty-one in the Yangtze River Delta region (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2021). Seven of China's twenty-one World Heritage Sites are located in Beijing. Beijing is accustomed to receiving tourists, more than ten times as many as Tianjin and Hebei. Two important tourism themes in the Jing-Jin-Ji region are the Ming and Qing dynasty royal routes and the red routes, both of which are spatially and culturally structured with Beijing at their core. From a cultural perspective, therefore, Beijing, as the undisputed gathering place for the dominant discourse and heritage is also naturally at the heart of tourism (Chauffert-Yvart et al. 2020)

Tourism in Tianjin and Hebei has been repositioned in the context of Beijing as the centrepiece. Tianjin, with its heritage of nine concessions and its new port area zone, could be a complement to Beijing, while Hebei, with its folklore and rural territory, could serve as a leisure destination. They demonstrate a complementary and 'second tier' relationship to Beijing. The integration of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei as a whole is an opportunity to reposition these three areas through tourism, to establish the new cultural and economic value of their characteristics. Inside the Jing-Jin-Ji integrated project, each metropolis could redefine its own identity and new synergies could be developed. In the context of China's economic transformation, new destinations around Beijing are being rediscovered as urban heritage or developed as rural recreational places, thereby achieving a stimulus for domestic consumption. The concept of heritage is also being expanded in China, with intangible and landscape heritage gaining recognition in addition to heritage buildings. The heritage practice is also gradually being improved.

Implementation of the National Strategy in the Local Planification

If the development of tourism in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei has been encouraged and promoted by the highest authorities, many documents and regulations have been introduced to encourage the growth of tourism in the area. In practice, however, much of the literature shows that tourism in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei has not been linked and connected as a whole. Why has tourism progress not been achieved quickly under strong policies?

Tourism cooperation in the Bohai area was first proposed by academic research societies rather than by tourism practitioners, so the initial cooperation was more academic than substantive in operation (Yin and Wu 2004).

As early as September 1985, Dalian – a port and former industrial city belonging to Liaoning province, a popular tourist destination for its relaxing atmosphere – held a seminar on collaboration in the Bohai Bay Economic Circle, in which it was proposed that the Bohai Sea region should strengthen communication and cooperation based on tourism cooperation. In some plans, Dalian is included in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei range. Although tourism policies and new systems are constantly being introduced, for example, the 'Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Tourism Promotion Week' jointly convened by the tourism bureaus of the three places in 2003 and the 'Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Tourism Cooperation Agreement' in 2007, and although there are departments making efforts to join the regulation of the regional tourism market, the corresponding regulatory bodies and market systems have not been put in place. Many attractions and sites are not well informed, and there are no websites or brochures that uniformly present them.

At the 2014 Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Regional Tourism Cooperation Conference, Xi Jinping stressed that realising the synergistic development of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei is a major national strategy when he was briefed on the synergistic urban development (Pang 2014). In August 2014, the Tianjin Airport Terminal opened a fast transfer channel to Beijing, and tourism cards and transport interconnection were enhanced. During the mid-autumn festival of the year, while Beijing received 3.74 million tourists (Liu 2014), Tianjin received 1.12 million visitors, including those from Beijing, Hebei and other neighbouring provinces and cities, with a growth of 9.6%, and income growth of 14.4% (Zheng et al. 2014). During the same time, Hebei has received a tourism population of 5.55 million, with a growth of 19.9% and income growth of 24.7% (Hebei Daily 2014). Furthermore, this integration is identified as a spatial pattern on the region's Thirteenth Five-Year Plan: Beijing acts as a radiating core, connecting the core areas including the surrounding Hebei region and Tianjin, and expanding to the surrounding coastal development zones.

To conclude, the Jing-Jin-Ji integration project offers great potential with its promotion of sustainable and inclusive development and infrastructure investment, with cooperation and skilful coordination by government actors being required. This in itself will be a challenge, as regional governments compete for projects and investment opportunities. The national strategy of developing Jing-Jin-Ji as a whole with Beijing as the capital centre, is also suggesting that the whole region is not sufficiently internationalised and integrated into global supply chains compared to the Yangtze River Delta region around Shanghai.

Tourism as an Issue of Economic, Cultural and Social Development in Yangtze River Delta (长三角)

In 1992, the Yangtze River Delta Cities Economic Co-ordinating Committee was established, comprising fifteen major cities, including Shanghai, Wuxi and Ningbo.[2] In 2018, Xi Jinping, the president of the PRC, said in his opening speech at the China International Import Expo that the state 'will support the integrated development of the Yangtze River Delta region and elevate it to a national strategy'. And at the end of 2019, the Yangtze River Delta regional integration development document 'Outline of the Yangtze River Delta Regional Integration Development Plan' (Xinhua News 2019) was officially released by the State Council. At this time, the Yangtze River Delta has joined all forty-one cities of Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui (Qian 2021).

This plan currently covers the whole of Shanghai, Jiangsu province, Zhejiang province and Anhui province (an area of 358,000 km^2), with twenty-seven cities of Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuxi, Changzhou and Suzhou in Jiangsu province as the core area (225,000 square kilometres, as big as half of France) (Xinhua News 2019).[3] The plan includes the creation of a green integrated development and international free trade pilot zone in an attempt to find a new efficient development model. In 2021, the GDP of the Yangtze River Delta region reached RMB 27.6 trillion, accounting for 24.1% of China's GDP and contributing 24.2% to GDP growth. The per capita GDP of the Yangtze River Delta region reaches 117,400 yuan, 1.45 times the per capita GDP of China (National Bureau of Statistics 2021b) (Figure 10.3).

From Market to Policy in Yangtze River Delta

During his 'Southern Tour' in 1992, which began on 18 January in Wuhan and continued until 21 February in Zhuhai, Guangzhou, Shanghai and Nanjing, Deng Xiaoping, the still powerful and prominent former president of the People's Republic of China (1983–1990), remained influential in pushing the policy of reform and opening up through numerous speeches. Through this journey, China's scepticism and hostility to this strategy were transformed, and the reform gained local support. The rapid increase in the income level of Chinese residents, the implementation of China's two-day weekend system in 1995 and the three annual seven-day holidays in 1999, have released the potential for domestic tourism demand.[4] On this basis, tourism cooperation has become a

Name	Pop (million)	GDP (billion Yuan)	Area (km²)	Name	Pop (million)	GDP (billion Yuan)	Area (km²)
1 上海市 Shanghai	24.3	3815.5	6340	21 盐城市 Yancheng	7.2	570.2	16931
(2-17) 安徽省 Anhui Province	60.9	3711.4	140100	22 淮安市 Huaian	4.9	387.1	10030
2 宿州市 Suzhou	5.7	197.9	9939	23 扬州市 Yangzhou	4.6	585.0	6591
3 淮北市 Huaibei	2.3	107.8	2741	24 泰州市 Taizhou	4.6	513.3	5787
4 亳州市 Bozhou	5.3	174.9	8374	25 南通市 Nantong	7.3	938.3	8001
5 阜阳市 Fuyang	8.3	270.5	10118	26 南京市 Nanjing	8.5	1403.0	6587
6 淮南市 Huainan	3.5	129.6	5533	27 镇江市 Zhenjiang	3.2	412.7	3840
7 合肥市 Hefei	8.2	940.9	11445	28 常州市 Changzhou	4.7	740.1	4385
8 六安市 Lu'an	4.9	162.0	15451	29 无锡市 Wuxi	6.6	1185.2	4627
9 安庆市 Anqing	4.7	238.1	13590	30 苏州市 Suzhou	10.8	1923.6	8657
10 铜陵市 Tongling	1.6	96.0	3008	(31-41) 浙江省 Zhejiang Province	63.8	6235.2	105500
11 池州市 Chizhou	1.5	83.2	8399	31 衢州市 Quzhou	2.2	57.4	8844
12 芜湖市 Wuhu	3.8	361.8	6026	32 丽水市 Lishui	2.2	147.7	17300
13 黄山市 Huangshan	1.4	81.8	9807	33 杭州市 Hangzhou	10.4	1537.3	16850
14 马鞍山市 Maanshan	2.4	211.1	4049	34 湖州市 Huzhou	3.1	312.2	5820
15 宣城市 Xuancheng	2.7	156.1	12340	35 金华市 Jinhua	5.6	456.0	10942
16 蚌埠市 Bengbu	3.4	205.7	5951	36 温州市 Wenzhou	9.3	660.6	12110
17 滁州市 Chuzhou	4.2	290.9	13398	37 台州市 Taizhou	6.2	513.4	9411
(18-29) 江苏省 Jiangsu Province	84.7	9963.2	107200	38 绍兴市 Shaoxing	5.1	578.1	8275
18 徐州市 Xuzhou	8.8	715.2	11258	39 宁波市 Ningbo	8.5	1198.5	9816
19 宿迁市 Suqian	4.9	309.9	8555	40 舟山市 Zhoushan	1.2	137.2	22200
20 连云港市 Lianyungang	4.5	313.9	7615	41 嘉兴市 Jiaxing	4.8	537.0	3915
Total 长三角 Yangtze River Delta					**234.2**	**23753.1**	**358000**

表格数据来源于各省市统计局官网及百度百科。
The data in the table are from the official websites of provincial and municipal statistics bureaus and Baidu Encyclopedia.

breakthrough point for the priority development of the Yangtze River Delta economic integration (Chen et al. 2018). First, promoted by tourism enterprises in various regions, it then rose to the level of local governments, and finally the central government participated in the guidance level to become a national strategy.

Tourism cooperation began with the combination of travel agencies' tourism products in the Yangtze River Delta region (Yin and Wu 2004). In 1992, the Yangtze River Delta Cities Economic Co-ordinating Committee initiated the establishment of joint meetings for heads of collaboration departments. A consultation and coordination mechanism between regional cities has been established since then. In 2003, Hangzhou launched the Yangtze River Delta Tourism Cities Summit Forum, and the government stood at the

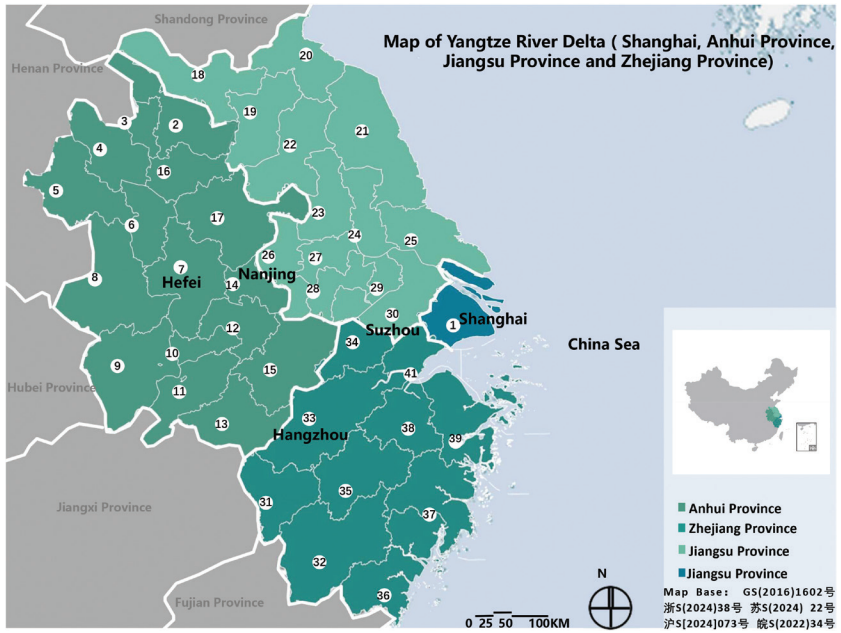


Figure 10.3 Statistical chart of population, economy and regional area of Yangtze River Delta, 2019.

forefront of promoting tourism cooperation in the Yangtze River Delta region. The summit forum, which is held in rotation in different cities every year, has become a normalised and specialised platform for intercity tourism cooperation. The intergovernmental cooperation platform is well established. After the 2010 World Expo, tourism cooperation in the Yangtze River Delta region has reached a new height, the national level has paid more attention, and the tourism development goal of the Yangtze River Delta region has shifted to global. In 2016, the State Council executive meeting passed the Yangtze River Delta Urban Agglomeration Development Plan. In 2018, President Xi Jinping proposed to 'support the integrated development of the Yangtze River Delta region and raise it to a national strategy'.

From Tourism Quality to Cultural Branding

Under the call for reform and opening up in 1992, the Yangtze River Delta soon became one of the model regions for economic reform in China. As

home to many export-oriented and manufacturing companies, the Yangtze River Delta gained an important position in the global supply chain and accumulated wealth accordingly. The relatively early marketisation process also made the Yangtze River Delta more familiar with the logic of capitalisation. With the rise in demand for tourism, it was only natural that the tourism of the Yangtze River Delta became more responsive to the market.

Local governments began to try to regulate their participation in tourism public services by playing a leading role. Central to this intervention was the improvement of the quality of the tourism product. The Hangzhou Declaration on Cooperation among Tourism Cities in the Yangtze River Delta (2003) was published after the East China and Yangtze River Delta City Building Forum, which was a conference participated by national officials like the ministry of construction, and local mayors and local leaders of construction bureaus stated that 'Open markets and services, mutual markets and sources for visitors, and integration into the world tourism competition system' (Zhang 2003) began an attempt to break down policy barriers between administrative divisions to share infrastructure and tourism brands. The Huangshan Consensus, which was published after the Yangtze River Delta Tourism Cities Summit and participated mainly with tourism officials from the national level to the local level, reached tourism quality supervision and enforcement cooperation in the Yangtze River Delta region of 2004. The statement 'establishing a responsive platform, building a legal system and a civilised image' set out the requirements for the integration of tourism complaint handling. The framework agreements of 2011 and 2012 set out the requirements for barrier-free tourism and tourism brand planning for leisure and holidays. The 2014 Action Plan for the Yangtze River Delta Region to Take the Lead in Tourism Integration was signed by the tourism management department of Shanghai municipality, Zhejiang province, Jiangsu province and Anhui province to consider that the focus of integration is on improving product quality (Jiang et al. 2021). It emphasises the exemplary role that the Yangtze River Delta region should play in tourism integration, with its announcement of 'Building a joint, open and dynamic tourism market and intelligent tourism construction' (Shen 2014).

The infrastructure development has also fundamentally advanced the integration of tourism in the Yangtze River Delta, including transport infrastructures such as high-speed rail, as well as the improvement of tourism infrastructure and related policies. Such improvements include the unification of personnel departments, the sharing of transport payment methods, and the joint development of urban tourism distribution centres.

Tourism has further deepened the integration process in the Yangtze River Delta, not only from an economic perspective but also from a cultural perspective. The Yangtze River Delta encompasses many cities with traditional Chinese literary heritage and landscape resources, and the integration of tourism promotes the interaction of cultural resources within the region. The development of intra-regional tourism routes is promoting a 'Jiangnan feeling' as a way of life. Jiangnan, the southern bank of the lower Yangtze River, includes Shanghai municipality, Zhejiang province, the southern part of Jiangsu province and the eastern part of Anhui province. This region is historically famous for its cultural prosperity in China, with its mild climate, rich produce and extensive cultural traditions and heritage. Its thriving commerce along rivers and numerous canals was also an urban–rural way of life in a densely populated area. Today, this water network provides an existing basis for tourism. Tourism image, including the traditional poetic culture, the natural landscape of southern China and the image of a developed economic zone, in addition to emphasising the provision of high-quality services, presents a more coordinated system compared to Jing-Jin-Ji.

Jiangnan Tourism at Global, National and Local Levels

Based on the cultural characteristics of Jiangnan, the Yangtze Delta region is not only looking to promote the region's heritage but also to integrate it into the global context by giving value to local characteristics. This emphasis on the integration of the Yangtze River Delta at the national level also coincided with the hosting of the 2010 Shanghai World Expo. Under the influence of policies driven by the World Expo, tourism in the Yangtze River Delta has further improved. It has realised the standardisation of regional tourism public services, such as unified tourism market supervision, unified barrier-free facilities, mutual recognition of tour guide qualifications and other common standards. Especially after the World Expo, the enhanced transportation infrastructure, such as high-speed railways and expressways, has become the basis of promoting the process of regional integration in Yangtze River Delta.

Driven by this international urban event, the National Tourism Administration and the Shanghai Municipal Government jointly announced the opening of the '2010 China Expo Tourism Year', linking the Expo with the promotion of regional tourism. Significantly, the Waitan (also called Bund, the western bank of the Huangpu River) has been refurbished to create pedestrian, green and public spaces for visitors to appreciate the new urban landscape of the financial district across the river (Pei 2010). The huge number of

visitors brought by the Expo has also been accompanied by the discovery of Shanghai's everyday heritage for leisure and business tourism, the flourishing of its cultural brand and the reuse of its industrial heritage. The opening of high-speed railways from Shanghai to neighbouring cities, such as Hangzhou (50 minutes for 176 kilometres) and Nanjing (70 minutes for 304 kilometres), brought the impact of the Expo to the surrounding areas. Neighbouring provinces such as Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui took advantage of the opportunity to launch destination plans and model attractions for Expo-themed experiential tours. In effect, the Expo was a window through which China sought to present a new image of itself, which in turn required neighbouring regions to integrate themselves more actively into the tourism industry, thus promoting the national character of a 'modern China'. The Expo brings an international vocabulary, which means that a more global image of tourism is being established in the Yangtze River Delta.

The 2015 Suzhou Declaration on Tourism Development (The Paper [Pengpai News] 2018) in the Yangtze River Delta region clearly states that the goal of the region's tourism synergy is to build a more globally competitive and influential tourism destination. Two other important events are the hosting of the G20 Summit in Hangzhou (the capital of Zhejiang province) and the opening of Disneyland in Shanghai Pudong, the development district founded in 1992. On the one hand, the Yangtze Delta is broadening its inbound market and wants to establish itself as a high-quality, world-renowned tourism destination. On the other hand, through the introduction of internationally renowned brands and urban events such as the Shanghai Urban Space Art Season (SUSAS) Biennale, the Yangtze River Delta has established itself as a centre of international exchange, thus enhancing its emerging tourism appeal to the rest of China.

In conclusion, the economic base and openness of the market ensured that the Yangtze River Delta became a pioneering region for tourism integration in China. And then, as regional integration became a national strategy, policies began to step in by providing regulatory assurance. This process was accompanied by the standardisation of institutions and the building of infrastructure. And as Shanghai began to undertake major international events as an international city, the tourism objectives of the Yangtze River Delta shifted to an international level. Culture and city branding became the third orientation in the Yangtze Delta, after economic and policy orientation. Overall, it is a process of integration, first initiated by the private sector, with the public sector stepping in, and finally achieved together through appropriate consultation.

New Tendencies

Ecological Management as a National Strategy

China's rapid economic development has been accompanied by the emergence of many social problems, especially ecological and environmental concerns. As China attempts to transform itself from a manufacturing powerhouse into a more innovative and sustainable country, ecological concerns are being raised to the level of the 'future of the nation and civilisation'. In 2012, the decision to 'promote ecological civilisation' was confirmed at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, and this became a key theme guiding subsequent political practice. Xi Jinping pointed out that to achieve the goal of building a 'beautiful China', the key to the issue was 'institutional reform towards ecological civilisation' (Xi 2012).

These 'institutional reforms' include changes in planning methodology. This change aims to achieve 'unification of the different types of plans', which had contradictory, overlapping and conflicting parts in the previous system. The creation of a unified system for the whole country is considered to be part of the construction of a better country and the achievement of a more scientific management system, with the ultimate aim of achieving a beautiful, harmonious and sustainable ecological territorial space (Xinhua News 2019). Another noteworthy trend is the introduction of the 'Beautiful Villages' (美丽乡村) following the initiative of Anji county in Zhejiang province in 2008. This policy responds to the reality of the growing gap between the countryside and the city, the exodus of the population and the degradation of the environment, and seeks to achieve holistic development and ensure the quality of life for urban and rural inhabitants. The top-level policy ensures that the planning basis and administrative implementation are strong. In this context, the creation of an 'ecological countryside' is seen as an important element of the national strategy.

At the local government level, a number of ecological transformation projects have been proposed, such as the Integrated Ecological Green Development of the Yangtze Delta (National Development and Reform Commission 2019a). This project includes the remediation of arable land, water bodies and air, and is a common ecological initiative that crosses provincial administrative boundaries. Within this framework, specific ecological restoration measures are implemented, providing a spatial basis for the possible development of ecotourism. At a time when other sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing and the internet, are trying to harness the human and

material resources of the countryside to promote urban development, tourism has become an important driving force in attracting people back to the countryside and thus contributing to the process of urban–rural integration. Tourism income provides an economic source and jobs for the local population and could contribute to the beautification of the countryside. In addition, the market spontaneously seeks resources for the development of ecotourism itself. Many bed-and-breakfasts and boutique hotels set in natural surroundings have become a popular topic of tourism. Holiday destinations designed and built with natural materials are sought after, such as the 'Tree Frog Tribe' (Han 2020) in Yuyao, Zhejiang.[5] The combination of ecology and heritage is also very noticeable, perhaps most notably in the planning of the National Cultural Park Policy which was initiated by the State Council in 2019, combining the historical cultural heritage, including the Grand Canal, the Great Wall and the Long March, with the goal of creating national ecological parks.

These eco-zones and tourism schemes that transcend administrative boundaries are bringing metropolitan areas and surrounding towns closer together, and people's travel choices bear witness to this trend. Ecotourism and peripheral holiday trips are becoming popular choices. This is partly due to a continuing increase in people's basic standard of living and their quest for a higher quality of life since the 1990s. Another part of this trend is the idea of 'escaping the city', especially the exhaustion and boredom caused by '996' working hours and homogenised urban environments.[6] People are beginning to yearn for the countryside once again, as evidenced by the popularity of the video blogs 'Liziqi' and 'Huanong Brothers'.[7] With the hectic pace of work, weekend getaways to the countryside around the city have become a more economical and flexible option. If the activities of the urban population are anything to go by, these rural areas have become part of urban life in the name of tourism. This has further expanded the boundaries of the metropolises in people's mind.

Transformation of Tourism Purposes Driven by Social Media Images

Around 2017, with the popularity of streaming media platforms such as Douyin (TikTok), and Xiaohongshu (Chinese Instagram), the term *wanghong* (网红) (internet influencer) has become a buzzword in Chinese public opinion, with tourism being no exception. Although Xiaohongshu is learning from Instagram, the short video trend led by Douyin soon spread to the world with its overseas company TikTok, which made China one of the first cases of celebrating wanghong tourism destinations.

Wanghong originally referred to influencers who marketed themselves by portraying their image on social media platforms. As the popularity of the wanghong trend has affected lifestyles, it becomes an object of pursuit and imitation. In this case, wanghong attractions or wanghong photograph spots become popular as the backdrop for pictures shared on social media, while online fans seek to live like wanghong, thus going to the same spot and 'copying' the same photo. This process is accompanied by the rediscovery and reinvention of tourist destinations, and also reshaping the representation of metropolitan areas. In the heart of the metropolis, former tourism destinations are given new value, thus reattracting short-distance tourists within the metropolitan areas, such as Wudadao in Tianjin, the former British concession now becoming a popular destination for influencers, and the Forbidden City in Beijing, which transforms its heritage discourse. In the surrounding suburbs, new destinations are created to become a hit on the internet, especially with their aim to attract weekend leisure tourism from the city centre, like Moganshan mountain in Zhejiang province, which promotes its unique B&Bs, and Anaya chain resort in Qinhuangdao, Hebei province, which creates a wanghong destination by the beach. The wanghong phenomenon has become a driver of renewed growth in tourism within metropolitan circles.

The rediscovery of wanghong destinations has also been accompanied by the rediscovery and optimisation of tourism heritage within the metropolitan context. For example, the Forbidden City in Beijing has the highest profile and status of almost any heritage site in China. Although it enjoys the aura of being the most popular tourist destination, it is not as accessible and well restored as it should be. In 2012, Shan Jixiang, the former director of the China Cultural Heritage Bureau and then director of the Palace Museum, with innovative ambition launched a series of online campaigns to create a more 'lovely' and 'approachable' image of the Forbidden City to gain more financial resources and then successfully renovate the environment and cultural transmission of the museum (Shan 2019). This has created a good backdrop for photographs, thus attracting a large number of visitors who live in Jing-Jin-Ji to the Forbidden City specifically to take 'old-fashioned' pictures, increasing its tourism revenue and cultural impact. The new group of visitors to the Forbidden City is younger than the previous 'long-distance travellers'. These young people, who live in the surrounding cities and suburbs, are not interested in the Forbidden City as a famous tourist attraction but are willing to visit it several times to capture scenes of the 'Forbidden City in the snow' or 'Cats in the Forbidden City'. The success of the Forbidden City's 'wanghongisation' is a manifestation of the everyday nature of tourism, as the act of

taking photos that can be shared on social media on weekends has led to the development of short trips within the metropolitan area.

Wanghong tourism has also been accompanied by the invention of tourist attractions from scratch. A prominent case in point is Qinhuangdao Anaya, a tourism resort village which is located on a previously unpopulated beach in a seaside city in Hebei province. The logic of image dissemination in the age of social media, rather than the traditional discovery of 'comfortable' and 'superior' natural conditions for vacation tourism, led Anaya Development to choose this place and make a buzz by inviting cutting-edge architects to build small signature architecture, such as 'lonely library' and 'beautiful small chapel'. In Qinhuangdao, the small chapel is used mainly for art events and weddings and has created fame on social media. Social media was flooded with 'snapshots' of the same angles and compositions with Anaya elements, like the white church facade, sea and beach, and the existence of these photos further contributed to the popularity of Anaya as a photo destination. Using pop culture as a footnote, Anaya has further developed its brand as a 'contemporary art centre' by hosting contemporary theatre and music festivals that bring 'internet celebrities' together to promote the Anaya brand, which has led to Anaya's 'niche literature' but 'popular' label. The Anaya resort in Qinhuangdao has also become a venue for popular music, theatre and film festivals, making it a popular destination for the 'literary youth'.

Wanghong culture has influenced consumers' choice of tourist destinations. The choice of destinations for photography goes beyond the previous geographical or popularity choices and becomes a showcase of tourist behaviour that transcends geographical boundaries. The wanghong fashion also embodies the everyday discourse of tourism, with short breaks and the simplified act of picture-taking becoming centre stage, promoting the attitude of 'discovering the beauty around you' and compressing the distance of travel. Tourism within metropolitan areas is profoundly influenced by the wanghong discourse by attracting short-haul visitors from within the region to rediscover the new value of classic destinations and by attracting visitors from urban centres to the periphery for short-term leisure trips.

Conclusion

As the economy develops and tourism diversifies, new trends bring about more balanced development dynamics and expansive tourism growth in metropolitan areas. In the process, macro-regulation began to gradually give way

to a more diverse bottom-up approach to tourism participation and decentralised modal development. Metropolitan development has also shifted from an economic base-oriented urban sprawl to a new urbanisation model as emphasised in the Fourteenth Five-Year Plan in 2021. Urban development is becoming more focused on social life and cultural experiences.

The stories of the Jing-Jin-Ji region and the Yangtze River Delta are different. Beijing, the political and mainstream cultural centre of China, continues to develop in a more polarised way. However, as the urban system and infrastructure improve, regional development becomes more balanced and the polarised gap in tourism begins to narrow. The Yangtze River Delta, one of the first special economic zones to open up in China, placed greater emphasis on linking market-oriented enterprises with local administrations, thus creating a deeper system of metropolitan tourism development from the outset.

The relationship between urban development and tourism development deeply reflects the gradual transformation of Chinese society. As urban infrastructure improved and people secured their basic livelihoods, Chinese people began to further focus on leisure and cultural life, which led to rapid growth in tourism. This tourism growth has in turn contributed to the expansion of leisure tourism opportunities in urban areas, particularly in the suburbs and satellite cities, which has also led to improvements in the infrastructure of these places. In the process, life quality and experience have become the most important keywords, and the value of cultural heritage is beginning to be more valued and rediscovered. B&Bs, villages and towns of character, cultural tourism and sports tourism are increasingly becoming the mainstay of tourism trends, rather than the previous famous tourist sites following guided tourism. Ecology has also become an increasingly important mainstream discourse in planning documents. This reflects the shift from a development model based on resources and consumption to one that places greater emphasis on quality in the wake of rapid urbanisation. Ecology, as reflecting a more territorial scale of thinking, is especially important in the construction of metropolitan regions, and ecotourism has become a priority as well to metropolitan tourism.

With the development of new media, tourism is becoming a more decentralised process, while more urban fringe areas or satellite towns that were once not tourist destinations are being noticed for their proximity to metropolitan centres. The different tourism growth and metropolitan area expansion stories in China share a common character, one of rethinking development in a post-growth era. In this story, tourism relies on the economic dividends

and infrastructural advantages of metropolitan area development, while the population movements, by bringing in the tourism economy, reactivate the peripheral areas of the metropolis. This is an ongoing process, which will continue in the future.

Notes

1. The rating system for tourist attractions is based on criteria first set out in 1999 by the China National Tourism Administration and revised in 2004, including quality and management factors.
2. Shanghai, Wuxi, Ningbo, Zhoushan, Suzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Shaoxing, Nanjing, Nantong, Taizhou, Changzhou, Huzhou, Jiaxing, Zhenjiang.
3. The planning area covers the whole of Shanghai, Jiangsu province, Zhejiang province and Anhui province (an area of 358,000 square kilometres). With Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuxi, Changzhou, Suzhou, Nantong, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Yancheng and Taizhou in Jiangsu province, Hangzhou, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Huzhou, Jiaxing, Shaoxing, Jinhua, Zhoushan and Taizhou in Zhejiang province, and twenty-seven cities in Hefei, Wuhu, Maanshan, Tongling, Anqing, Chuzhou, Chizhou and Xuancheng in Anhui province as the central area (covering an area of 225,000 km^2).
4. In 1999 the State Council of China announced the new 'National Holiday Measures for Annual Festivals and Commemorative Days', deciding to combine the Spring Festival, May Day and November Day breaks with the double holidays before and after, thus creating a seven-day long holiday. Golden Week originally refers to the seven consecutive days off for each of the two holidays of Labour Day and National Day in the People's Republic of China. The seven-day Labour Day holiday is known as the 'May Day Golden Week', the Seven-day Spring Festival holiday is known as 'Spring Festival Golden Week', and the seven-day National Day holiday is known as the 'October Day Golden Week'.
5. A resort village which was known for its 'tree house' experience.
6. '996' is a popular term on the internet to describe the working life with much pressure, which signifies starting work at 9 am, finishing work at 9 pm, working 6 days a week.
7. Popular bloggers on social media portray life in villages.

Bibliography

Chauffert-Yvart, Bruno, Françoise Ged, Yue Lu, Christine Mengin and Émilie Rousseau. 2020. 'Tourism and Heritage in the Enhancement of Tianjin'. *Built Heritage* 4(1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1186/s43238-020-00009-3

Chen, Aiping, Huang Yang and Ren Yaoti. 2018. 'Yangtze River Delta Promotes Tourism Economic Prosperity with Higher Quality Integration [长三角以更高质量一体化推进旅游经济繁荣发展]'. Xinhua News [新华网], 4 October. https://web.archive.org/web/20181004091822/http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018-10/04/c_1123519207.htm

Han, H. 2017. 'Regional Linkage and Tourism Integration, Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei Draw a "Tourism Circle" [区域联动 • 旅游一体化京津冀共绘"旅游圈"]'. Economic Daily, 13 January. https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2017-01/13/content_5159374.htm

Han, Shuang. 2020. 'Yuyao Tree Frog Tribal Chalet - Duxiang Architecture [余姚树蛙部落木屋]'. ArchDaily, 11 July. https://www.archdaily.cn/cn/898350/yu-yao-shu-wa-bu-luo-mu-wu-du-xiang-jian-zhu

Hebei Daily [河北日报]. 2014. 'Hebei Tourism Welcomes 5.554 Million Visitors During Mid-Autumn Festival Holiday [中秋小长假 河北旅游迎客555.4万人次]'. People's Daily Online, 10 September. http://culture.people.com.cn/n/2014/0910/c172318-25633341.html

Jiang, Wei, He Xinrong and Hu Jiefei. 2021. 'Riding the Wind into the Future: General Secretary Xi Jinping Charts a New Chapter for the Integrated Development of the Yangtze River Delta [御风而行向未来——习近平总书记谋划推动长三角一体化发展谱写新篇章]'. Xinhua News Agency (Beijing), PRC Government [中国政府网], 22 October. https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2021-10/23/content_5644421.htm

Li, Keqiang. 2014. 'The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, Government Work Report, Second Session of the 12th National People's Congress on 5 March 2014 [2014年3月5日在第十二届全国人民代表大会第二次会议政府工作报告]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 14 March. http://www.gov.cn/guowuyuan/2014-03/14/content_2638989.htm

Liu, Jia. 2014. '2014 Mid-Autumn Tourism Revenue Ranking by Provinces Released; 4 Provinces Earn Over 3 Billion [2014中秋各省份旅游收入排行榜出炉 4省收入超30亿]'. People's Daily Online [人民网], 9 September. https://travel.people.com.cn/n/2014/0909/c41570-25625989.html

Liu, Jinhan, Yuan Xiaolin, Shen Hejiang and Jia Feifan. 2013. 'An Operational Model for the Integrated Development of Tourism in Beijing, Tianjin

and Hebei Region [京津冀区域旅游一体化开发的运行模式]', *Hubei Agricultural Science [湖北农业科学]* 52(21): 5365–70.

Meng, Hua. 2007. 'Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei Tourism Market Integration Accelerated [京津冀旅游市场一体化加快]'. Sohu.com [搜狐网], 7 May. https://news.sohu.com/20070507/n249877919.shtml

Ministry of Culture and Tourism [中国文化和旅游部]. 2021. '5A Grade Scenic Areas [5A级景区]'. Ministry of Culture and Tourism. https://zwfw.mct.gov.cn/wycx/5ajlyjq/

National Bureau of Statistics of China [国家统计局]. 2018. 'Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Regional Development Index Steadily Improving [京津冀发展指数持续提升]'. PRC Government [中华人民共和国中央人民政府], 2 August. https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2018-08/02/content_5311232.htm

National Bureau of Statistics of China [国家统计局]. 2021a. 'Seventh National Population Census Communiqué [全国人口普查公报]'. PRC Government [中华人民共和国中央人民政府], 11 May. https://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2021-05/13/content_5606149.htm

National Bureau of Statistics of China [国家统计局]. 2021b. 'Statistical Chart of Economic and Social Development: 7th National Population Census [经济社会发展统计图表：第七次全国人口普查京津冀、长江经济带、长江三角洲人口情况]'. Qiushi, 16 August. http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2021-08/16/c_1127760486.htm

National Development and Reform Commission [国家发展改革委]. 2019a. 'Overall Programme of the Yangtze River Delta Eco-Green Integrated Development Demonstration Area [长三角生态绿色一体化发展示范区总体方案]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 20 November. https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2019-11/20/content_5453710.htm

National Development and Reform Commission [国家发展改革委]. 2019b. 'Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Synergistic Development [京津冀协同发展]'. National Development and Reform Commission, 27 November. https://www.ndrc.gov.cn/gjzl/jjjxtfz/201911/t20191127_1213171_ext.html

Pang, Xinglei. 2014. 'Xi Jinping Presided Over a Symposium to Listen to the Report on the Coordinated Development of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei [习近平主持召开座谈会听取京津冀协同发展工作汇报]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 27 February. https://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2014-02/27/content_2624901.htm

The Paper (Pengpai News). 2018. 'The First Joint Conference of Tourism Associations in Three Provinces and One Municipality of the Yangtze River Delta Was Held, "Suzhou Declaration" Released [首届长三角三省一市旅游协会联席会议召开，发布《苏州宣言》]'. The Paper (Pengpai

News), 25 November. https://m.thepaper.cn/kuaibao_detail.jsp?contid=2669352

Pei, Xin. 2010. 'Shanghai Waitan Comprehensive Renovation Completed with a Brighter New Look for Expo [上海外滩综合改造竣工 以更亮丽的新貌迎接世博会]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 28 March. https://www.gov.cn/jrzg/2010-03/28/content_1566850.htm

Qian, Jiwei. 2021. 'The Yangtze River Delta Region: Promoting Economic Integration Amid Provincial Competition.' ThinkChina, 2 August. https://www.thinkchina.sg/yangtze-river-delta-region-promoting-economic-integration-amid-provincial-competition

Shan, Jixiang. 2019. 'Bringing the Cultural Heritage of the Forbidden City to Life [让博物馆文物"活起来"]'. Bilibili, 14 April. Video, 1:30:30. https://www.bilibili.com/video/BV1s5411x7do/

Shen, Wenmin. 2014. 'Yangtze River Delta Tourism Integration Action Plan signed [长三角旅游一体化行动纲领签署]'. People's Daily Online [人民网], 24 July. https://travel.people.com.cn/n/2014/0724/c41570-25338593.html

State Council of China [中国国务院]. 2006. 'Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Important Issues in Building a Harmonious Socialist Society [中共中央关于构建社会主义和谐社会若干重大问题的决定]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 11 October. https://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2006/content_453176.htm

Wen, Jing and Xiao Jing. 2008. 'The Olympic Feast Accelerates the Integration of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei [奥运盛宴加速京津冀一体化]'. Economic Reference Newpaper [经济参考报], 27 August. https://web.archive.org/web/20200805142706/http://jjckb.xinhuanet.com/yw/2008-08/27/content_115997.htm

Xi, Jinping. 2012. 'Putting Ecological Civilisation in the Forefront [把生态文明建设放在突出位置]'. People's Network [中国共产党新闻网], 17 December. http://theory.people.com.cn/n/2012/1217/c352852-19921984.html

Xinhua News [新华社]. 2019. 'The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the State Council Issued the Outline of the Yangtze River Delta Regional Integrated Development Plan [中共中央国务院印发《长江三角洲区域一体化发展规划纲要》]'. PRC Government [中国政府网], 1 December. https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2019-12/01/content_5457442.htm

Yin, Baihui and Wu Bihu. 2004. 'A Comparative Study of Tourism Cooperation Conditions Between Yangtze River Delta and Bohai Rim and

the Choice of Tourism Cooperation Path in Bohai Rim Subregion [长三角与环渤海区域旅游合作条件对比研究——兼论环渤海次区域旅游合作道路选择]'. *Journal of Tourism [旅游学刊]* 6: 33–37.

Zhang, Jin. 2003. '16 Cities Sign Declaration of Cooperation Yangtze River Delta Tourism Industry Takes the Lead in Integration [16城市签署合作宣言 长三角旅游业率先一体化]'. Enorth Network [北方网], 7 July. http://economy.enorth.com.cn/system/2003/07/07/000591944.shtml

Zheng, Donghong, He Zhineng and Ren Guomin. 2014. 'Tianjin Mid-Autumn Tourism Rakes In 492 Million Yuan, Up 14.4% On the Same Period Last Year [天津中秋旅游揽金4.92亿元 同比增长14.4%]'. Enorth Network [北方网], 9 September. http://economy.enorth.com.cn/system/2014/09/09/012133766.shtml

Chapter 11

Constructing Metropolitan Scales and Metropolitan Cultural Tourism in China's Greater Bay Area

Jie Li and Honggang Xu

Introduction

Cultural facilities such as theatres and concert halls are not only important for promoting a prosperous cultural life for urban residents and reimagining a post-industrial city, but also key attractions for urban tourism, as Spirou (2010) pointed out: 'convention centers and exhibitions are often regarded as a prerequisite of travel to urban areas' (37). However, cultural activities such as concerts and musicals require certain thresholds for population, and the larger its hinterland, the more and higher-level activities could be arranged. Therefore, tourism has significant implications on how cultural facilities are spatially distributed and used in a metropolitan region. On the one hand, through tourism mobility, residents could easily travel across city boundaries to attend cultural activities in another city within the metropolitan region, making cultural facility sharing possible; on the other hand, every city government strives to build its own cultural facilities as a way to showcase its urban image and the administrative achievement of the government officials, leading to possible repetitive building and inefficient use of cultural facilities.

The tensions discussed above are best illustrated with the Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area (GBA) in China, which is a state project for metropolisation to increase the integration between Hong Kong, Macau and China's mainland as well as enhance the competitiveness of the region in the global economy. A key objective is to promote co-construction, co-governance, and sharing of regional services and public facilities. 'Metropolitan development' could be understood as a process that contributes to the construction of economic, spatial and political metropolitan scales

(D'Albergo and Lefèvre 2018). This could be challenging for GBA as the region is divided by administrative boundaries and borders. This chapter aims to reveal the characteristics and challenges of metropolitan-scale construction through metropolitan cultural tourism. Both the terms of *tourism* and *cultural tourism* are blurred concepts subjected to different definitions. The conceptual definition of cultural tourism by ATLAS is 'the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs' (Richards 2003). Cultural tourism in this chapter refers to regional-level intercity movements for cultural events such as exhibitions, musicals and concerts, including those returning on the day and without staying overnight. This is because such movements are travelling to places outside one's usual environment to satisfy one's cultural needs. As will be shown in the analysis, travelling to another city even in the same region invokes the psychological feeling of tourism because it is a non-habitual environment.

This chapter will first examine the spatial distribution of cultural facilities including theatres, concert halls, art galleries and the like within the GBA, and how cultural activities are arranged in each cultural venue. It will then discuss the new development of some major cultural facilities in GBA underlined by the cities' entrepreneurial efforts, focusing on the grand theatres developed in Guangzhou, Foshan and Zhuhai. Following that, it will elaborate the construction of economic, spatial and political metropolitan scales in relation to metropolitan tourism mobilities, the spatial reconfiguration of cultural activities, and the intended co-development and sharing of cultural facilities. It argues that sharing of cultural facilities is enabled by metropolitan tourism and led to a reconfiguration of the metropolitan spatiality of cultural activities. However, co-development and co-governance of cultural facilities and activities in GBA has yet to be realised, reflecting challenges of constructing a political metropolitan scale in GBA.

Qualitative and geographical research methods were used, with multi-sourced data collected during October 2021 to March 2022. First, data of cultural facilities/performance spaces in GBA were collected from platform websites for show tickets, such as Damai (damai.cn) and Dahepiao (dahepiao.com), and facilitated by show review websites such as Dianping (dianping.com), which provide information on cultural venues. In particular, Dahepiao provides a complete city-level cultural venue database for Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Hong Kong. The definition and classification of cultural facilities were set according to national and local policy documents. Since our aim was to investigate cultural mobilities, only facilities or venues with shows or

exhibitions were included, while those local public facilities such as libraries and youth activity centres were excluded. Live house activities and venues were also excluded. Data of cultural venues were collected during October 2021, and hence those without public shows during this period were not included. Geographical information regarding these venues were scraped from the map website. Further data was collected on the arrangement of cultural events including exhibitions, musicals, plays, dances, talk shows and concerts in each cultural venue in the month of December 2021. The events were counted by the number of showings.

Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eighteen informants who resided within GBA and had rich experience in travelling around GBA cities for cultural shows and performances. Among the eighteen informants, thirteen were college students and five were professionals. It should be noted that the findings are limited by the sample since the majority were college students and could not represent the overall population. Three were male and fifteen were female. Participants were recruited from online social groups made of cultural and art show fans. Finally, to better understand cultural tourism mobilities in GBA, a survey was conducted with some key information collected from interviews, with key questions regarding their travel patterns for cultural shows, reasons for travel, their opinion on the co-development and governance of cultural facilities in GBA, and their sense of GBA as an integrated metropolitan region. A total of 264 samples were collected with purpose sampling from online social groups. Respondents were predominantly college students (80%) and female (82%), mainly resided in the city of Guangzhou (48%) and Zhuhai (29%), followed by Shenzhen (10%) and Foshan (7%). While the data did not represent the overall population in GBA, it captured the characteristics of a key group of cultural and art enthusiasts in GBA. As explained earlier, the interviewees and survey participants are considered cultural tourists in this research, even if they travel intra-regionally without overnight stays.

Theoretical Perspectives and China's Political Economic Contexts for Urban Cultural Facility Development

Urban Entrepreneurialism and the Development of Cultural Facilities

Since the neoliberal turn in the 1970s, 'culture' has become the key to urban regeneration in the Global North. Cultural facilities, such as museums,

concert halls, theatres and cinemas, came to occupy a pivotal position in urban redevelopment projects to improve the image of run-down urban districts (Bayliss 2004). This is closely linked to urban cultural tourism, as Zukin (1995) observed that 'culture is more and more the business of cities—the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge' (1). Against the contexts of rising urban entrepreneurialism paralleled with a cultural turn to postmodernism (Harvey 1987), cultural instrumentation, the harnessing of culture by entrepreneurial cities to reimage a post-industrial urban landscape and attract money-packed tourists and investors, has been widely documented in the literature (Degen and García 2012, Gezici and Kerimoglu 2010, Gibson and Stevenson 2004). In examining the entrepreneurial city, arguments have been presented that the political economy of place and the cultural politics of urban landscapes are intimately intertwined, embedded in the construction of a particular built environment (Hall and Hubbard 1996). This explains much of the proliferation of cultural facilities construction in post-industrial cities; as Harvey (1989) insightfully points out, cultural innovation and consumer attractions, including sports stadiums, convention and shopping centres, 'have become much more prominent facets of strategies for urban regeneration. Above all, the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in' (9). Such endeavour is further boosted by Florida's creative class thesis, which argued that in the post-industrial era the clustering of the creative classes is the critical factor in regional economic growth, and culture can potentially offer a powerful means of attracting them into the city (Florida 2002).

While the literature has widely documented the pursuit of cultural facilities as a major strategy to promote economic growth and competitiveness in both developed and developing countries (Swyngedouw et al. 2002), a related but often neglected body of literature associated with the rise of urban cultural megaproject development concerns state rescaling (Brenner 2004). Few studies have paid particular attention to how cultural projects are engaged with what Brenner termed state 'scale-making projects', which comprise political strategies to embed cities within supralocal institutional hierarchies and regulatory frameworks and involve 'scale selectivity' by state power targeting different spatial scales. For example, the world-renowned cultural megaproject, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, was initially targeted at the local scale and aimed at restructuring old industrial areas towards a new post-industrial economy; the Brussels Leopold Quarter, on the other hand, targeted the supralocal scale to raise the political and cultural position of the city in the European urban hierarchy (Baeten 2003). In these cases, cultural

facilities such as spectacular museums are the tools for state scalar strategies that attempt 'to position places centrally on "stages" of various spatial scales: regional, national, international, global' (Hall and Hubbard 1996). Thus, urban entrepreneurialism and state scale-making explains the frenzy of cultural facility construction in both global(ising) cities and smaller cities in post-industrial transformation.

Constructing Metropolitan Scales and Cultural Facility Co-Construction and Sharing in China

The enthusiasm for cultural facility construction discussed above can be observed in many cities in China that are in transition towards a post-industrial economy, which are characterised by entrepreneurialism and competitive urbanism (Jiang et al. 2016; Wu 2017b). Today, Chinese cities not only 'compete to develop mega infrastructure projects such as deep-water ports, airports and highways to strengthen their status and position in terms of accessibility' (Wu 2017a, 1140), but also compete to build their own sport stadiums, convention centres, galleries and concert halls to increase their visibility in national and even global cultural maps and attract tourists and the so-called creative class (Li 2020). This manifests one aspect of the crisis of entrepreneurial governance, which includes but is not limited to repetitive and inefficient building of infrastructure and facilities, fragmented land use and sprawl, and environmental degradation (Wu 2017a).

In response to the crisis of entrepreneurial governance, regional coordination has become a priority on the government's agenda, and the scale of the city-region became the new form of state spatial selectivity. Worldwide, city-regions have superseded cities as real engines for national and global economy. Since its market reform in 1978, China has witnessed various trajectories of metropolitan scale building, whereby the central government plays the most important role (Dong and Kübler 2021). Earlier trends of metropolisation and city-region building in China are realised through the mechanism of promoting a territorial administrative government to a higher level in the administrative hierarchy, administrative annexation, and the merging of two or more cities/districts (Shen 2007; Chien 2013; Luo et al. 2014; Cartier 2015; Wu 2017a). Recent decades have seen the rise of mega-regional planning as a way to 'manage the complex relationship between increased exposure to external global capitalist market forces while maintaining tight authoritarian control over internal domestic matters' (Harrison and Gu 2021, 78). In particular, China's metropolisation corresponds to specific logics of scale

production and can be seen as a response to the crisis of economic decentralisation, vicious intercity competition and uncoordinated development (Wu 2017a). Thus, coordinated development and regional co-construction and sharing of public facilities, including cultural facilities, have become an important objective in both China's five-year plans and regional plans.

However, there is an important distinction between planning mega-regions as discursive and imagined, and mega-regional planning as concrete and actual (Harrison and Gu 2021; Meulbroek et al. 2022). While the large extended urban landscapes of mega-regions are an empirical reality, their planning is more of a concept and a tool for territorial politics and economic logics. The extent to which mega-region planning is actualised can be examined through the construction of metropolitan scale. According to D'Albergo and Lefèvre (2018), metropolitan scale building entails the economic dimension, the spatial dimension and the political dimension. The economic dimension mainly concerns an internal concentration of specialised functions and global ties underpinned by connectivity through transport and communication infrastructures. The spatial dimension concerns the reconfiguration of concentrated functions within the urban space, giving rise to particular spatial patterns of economic activity within urban agglomerations. The political dimension relates to the formation of metropolitan governance through state rescaling, which could involve the conventional wisdom of establishing a centralised and integrated governing system – such as a new government authority at the metropolitan scale or via upper-level government – or, as the 'new regionalism' advocates, to strengthen intergovernmental cooperation in a context of city-regional interdependence (Dong and Kübler 2021). Thus, this research examines the construction of metropolitan scale focusing on cultural facilities provision and metropolitan cultural tourism. In particular, it aims to unveil to what extent metropolitan scale building is realised from the perspective of cultural facility co-construction and sharing and to fathom whether and how mega-region planning can be actualised, with a case of the Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area.

The Case: The Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area and Its Cultural Facility Development

The planning of GBA best showcases China's recent round of mega-regional planning and metropolitan scale construction. The GBA has eleven cities, including nine cities in the Pearl River Delta of Guangdong province, plus

Hong Kong SAR and Macau SAR, with an area of 56,000 km^2 and a total population of seventy million. According to the Outline Development Plan for GBA (GBA Plan) issued by the central state council in 2019, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Hong Kong and Macau are central cities with significant economic and cultural roles both nationally and internationally, while others are important nodal cities with complementary functions and competitiveness. The plan requires to build an intercity rapid transit network with high-speed railways and high-grade highways, and strives to achieve one-hour access between major cities in GBA. In terms of tourism, the GBA Plan stipulates to build GBA as a world-class tourism destination, by promoting the sharing of regional tourism resources between Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macau, building GBA tourism brands, developing creative tourism products and jointly expanding the tourist market.

The Spatial Pattern of Cultural Facilities and Activities in GBA

Cultural facilities in this study comprise those for exhibitions and for performances, including theatres, museums, galleries, art centres, music halls and sport stadiums (for large-scale concerts). Historically, cultural facilities were most concentrated in the provincial capital city of Guangzhou and the special administrative region of Hong Kong. Before the 2000s, there were only forty-one cultural facilities in GBA; 41% of them were located in Guangzhou, while 27% were located in Hong Kong. There has been a boom of cultural facilities construction in GBA during the twenty-first century, with the total number more than tripling. The city of Guangzhou still contains the most cultural facilities and venues, but the percentage dropped to 36%. Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan and Dongguan have seen a rapid expansion of cultural facilities both in quantity and in scope. Currently, Shenzhen has twenty-six major cultural venues (18% of GBA) followed by Zhuhai (9%). Table 11.1 presents the evolution of cultural facilities in each city of GBA during the past decades, while the current spatial distribution of cultural facilities in GBA is shown in Figure 11.1. It can be seen that most cultural facilities concentrate in the city centre of Guangzhou and Shenzhen, followed by Hong Kong, Zhuhai, Foshan and Dongguan.

Even though Guangzhou provides the most cultural facilities and venues for shows and performances, Shenzhen is the city that provides most cultural activities. There were more than three hundred events in Shenzhen in December 2021, with various types but particularly rich in plays and musicals. Choices in Guangzhou were about two-thirds of those in Shenzhen,

Table 11.1 Evolution of cultural facility development in GBA cities

Place	Pre-2000		Pre-2010		End of 2021		End of 2021
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Usual resident population (units: 1,000 people)
Hong Kong	11	26.83%	13	14.44%	13	8.84%	7,301
Macau	0	0.00%	3	3.33%	5	3.40%	683
Guangzhou	17	41.46%	36	40.00%	53	36.05%	18,811
Shenzhen	6	14.63%	10	11.11%	26	17.69%	17,682
Zhuhai	2	4.88%	6	6.67%	13	8.84%	2,467
Foshan	1	2.44%	4	4.44%	9	6.12%	9,613
Huizhou	0	0.00%	3	3.33%	5	3.40%	6,066
Dongguan	2	4.88%	9	10.00%	11	7.48%	10,537
Zhongshan	1	2.44%	3	3.33%	3	2.04%	4,467
Jiangmen	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	2.04%	4,835
Zhaoqing	1	2.44%	3	3.33%	6	4.08%	4,130

while other cities offered far less compared with these two. Figure 11.2 demonstrates the distribution of cultural activities by venue, with a larger circle indicating more shows in that particular venue during the month. Comparing with Figure 11.1, it is clear that cultural events are more spatially concentrated in the city of Guangzhou and Shenzhen, followed by Zhuhai, Foshan and Dongguan, while many cultural venues, particularly those in non-central cities, have no cultural events arranged for the whole month (that is, those shown in Figure 11.1 but disappearing in Figure 11.2).

Cultural Facility Development under Urban Entrepreneurialism and the Changing Strategy for GBA Co-Development

As is shown above, GBA has witnessed a boom in iconic cultural facilities over the past decade, with explicit scale-making goals to put the city on the regional and global cultural maps. Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province and renowned as the cultural centre of the Lingnan area, opened its new 'grand theatre' in 2010, with a large theatre of 1,800 seats and an experimental

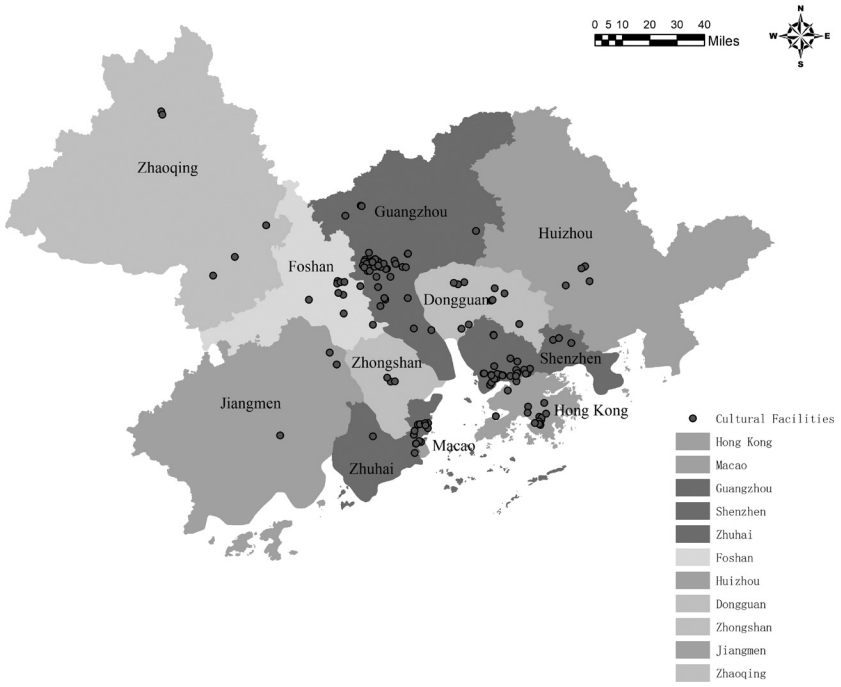


Figure 11.1 Spatial distribution of cultural facilities in GBA in 2021. (*Source:* Authors' own, data collected from show ticket platform websites)

theatre of 443 seats. It strategically positions itself as 'one of the top three theatres in China with world-class stage and equipment that would allow any performances and shows in the world.' The reason for a new grand theatre in Guangzhou is justified by the constraint of its existing cultural facilities. Since its opening, the grand theatre has become a cultural identity card of Guangzhou. According to news reports, its managers saw the issuing of the GBA Plan as a new opportunity for its development, as 'co-construction of humanistic bay area' is proposed in the Plan, including discourses like 'shaping the humanistic spirit of the Bay Area', 'jointly promoting cultural prosperity', and 'promoting cultural exchanges and mutual appreciation between China and foreign countries'. The general manager of Guangzhou Grand Theatre regards the GBA Plan as coinciding with its strategy to 'be based in the Pearl River Delta, cooperate with the Greater Bay Area, and connect to the world'. Taking the GBA Plan as an opportunity, the Grand Theatre is envisioned as a cultural and creative aggregation field in GBA, based in Lingnan but with increasing overseas cultural influence. According to the news reports, their

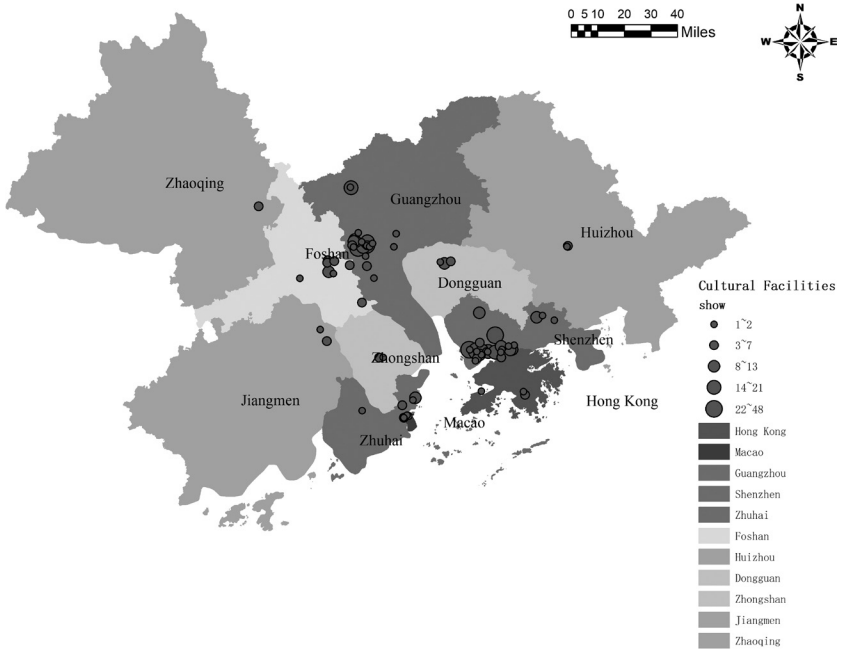


Figure 11.2 Spatial distribution of cultural events by venue.
(*Source:* Authors' own, data collected from show ticket platform websites)

aim was to 'co-develop the prosperity of performing arts through the aggregation of artistic resources and showcase Guangzhou's "international style" in the field of arts and culture'. However, it is not clear how they will 'cooperate' or 'co-develop' with GBA and benefit the whole Greater Bay Area.

While the construction of cultural facilities in Guangzhou has a clear 'world class' inspiration to put the city on the global cultural map, in lower-level cities such as Foshan and Zhuhai, their enthusiasm for cultural facility development was no less, which demonstrated a clear intention of entrepreneurial city marketing with the cultural facility as the new landmark of the city. Zhuhai Grand Theatre, opened on the first day of 2017, is reported as the first comprehensive stage-art performance venue in Zhuhai built in accordance with international standards. Its iconic function as a landmark and tourism attraction is clearly shown in its design: a group of two shells, a large one and a small one, which is named 'the sun and the moon shell', located on a small island and connected to the city through a bridge. With a total investment of 1.08 billion Chinese yuan, it is an imposing part of Zhuhai's cultural

elevation plan, which included building a grand theatre, a city museum, a city planning exhibition hall and a cultural centre. To build the theatre, Zhuhai municipal government launched an architectural design competition that attracted more than thirty famous design institutions, overseas and domestic. 'The sun and the moon shell' scheme, proposed by a famous professor of landscape design at a top university in China, won the competition and was selected as the final implementation plan.

A number of studies have discussed the roles of star architectures – iconic buildings designed by a celebrity architect – in urban regeneration efforts not only in American and European cities but also rising Asian cities, such as Abu Dhabi (Ponzini 2011, Alaily-Mattar et al. 2018). It is demonstrated that star architectures can effectively rebrand a place, draw tourists, stimulate economic activity and also contribute to the construction of city identity (Lindsay and Sawyer 2022). The construction of Zhuhai Grand Theatre provided a Chinese case of star architecture, which was clearly integrated with entrepreneurial city marketing strategy, intended to serve as a cultural landmark of the city and showcase the city's spirituality and cultural taste. According to the latest news reports, its operational company, Poly Group, was also thinking of its future development and responsibility in relation to the GBA Plan, including:

> Actively integrate into the construction of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Bay Area, and strengthen cultural exchanges and cooperation with Hong Kong and Macao.
>
> (South Daily 2022)

> Open the resource platform, integrate the advantages of the theatre, and make Poly's contribution to the construction of Zhuhai as an important cultural and creative industry centre in the Pearl River Delta region, to serve the strategy of GBA construction, and to build the cultural belt of Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao.
>
> (Zhuhai Grand Theatre 2018)

The newly completed Foshan Grand Theatre welcomed its first show in October 2018. It has a large theatre with 1,122 seats and a small theatre of about 500 square metres with 294 seats. Similar to the Zhuhai Grand Theatre, the Grand Theatre in Foshan is also intended to serve as a landmark of the city, with eye-catching architectural design. The whole building is made of nine regular square 'boxes' with a unique shape, which looks like a tower made of building blocks.

The news on the inauguration of Foshan Grand Theatre reported with excitement that:

> this is the first major theatre in Foshan designed and built according to the standards of professional theatres. The stage machinery, stage lighting system, sound reinforcement system and central clock system of the whole theatre are all designed according to the first-class standards of domestic professional theatres. In short, it is the No.1 theatre in Foshan. From today on, the audience will be able to enjoy the same viewing experience in Foshan as in the Guangzhou Grand Theatre.
>
> (Liu 2018)

It is undeniable that the theatre has played an important role in the cultural life of Foshan as well as in GBA. In the first three years of its operation, the Foshan Grand Theatre has staged 153 plays with 287 performances, and received 185,000 visitors, with an average attendance rate of 70%. At its three-year ceremony, the director of Foshan Tourism and Cultural Bureau expressed that it is hoped Foshan Grand Theatre will inject new impetus into the cultural market, create an artistic highland and contribute to the construction of a high-quality culture-oriented city in Foshan. Regarding the GBA Plan, he also stressed that the theatre should persist in integrated development and jointly building a high-quality humanistic bay area. However, for these cultural institutions either in Guangzhou, Zhuhai or Foshan, as will be shown in the following analysis, such statements are more discursive than actual with little concrete action.

Constructing Metropolitan Scale and Metropolitan Cultural Tourism in GBA

Constructing the Economic Metropolitan Scale: Infrastructure Connectivity and Cultural Tourism Mobility Patterns in GBA

While cities in GBA have seen rapid development of their own cultural facilities and the emergence of new cultural spaces, metropolitan cultural tourism mobilities were obvious. According to our survey, the direction and frequency of residents travelling across cities in GBA for cultural shows and performances are mapped out in Figure 11.3. While the survey data is not representative of the GBA population, we can see that all eleven cities are connected by cultural tourism mobilities. Residents from Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai,

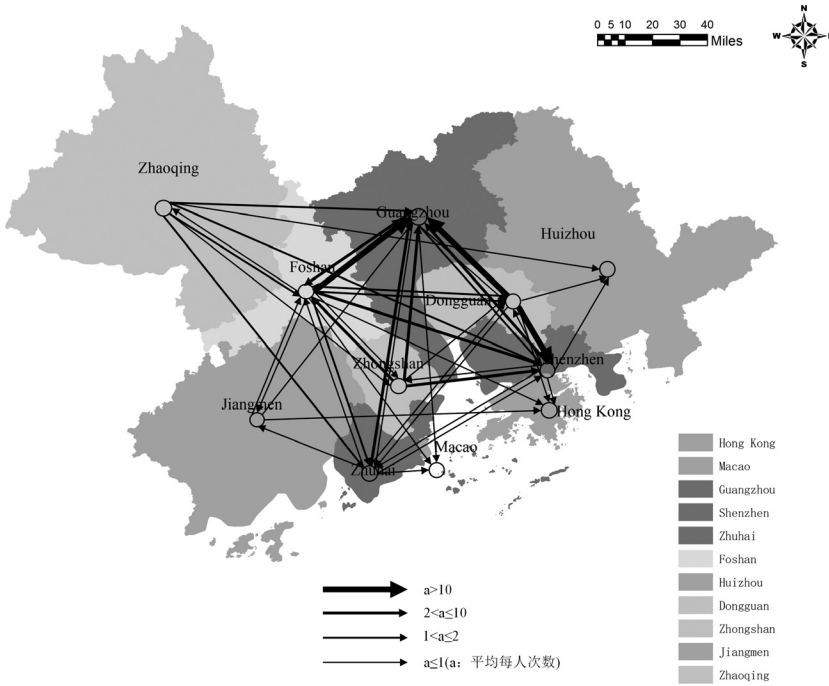


Figure 11.3 Metropolitan cultural tourism mobility patterns in GBA.
(*Source:* Authors' own according to survey data with 264 samples in March 2022)

Foshan and Dongguan attended the most cultural shows and performances in their own residential cities, but they also demonstrated high mobility to other cities. For example, Guangzhou residents attended an average of eleven shows per person in Guangzhou over the past three years, while attending two and a half shows in Foshan. Foshan residents, on the other hand, attended an average of nineteen shows in Foshan while Guangzhou was their second choice, with an average number of twelve shows per person. Similarly, for Dongguan residents, their first choices have been Dongguan (fourteen shows per person on average), followed by Shenzhen as the second choice (twelve shows) and Guangzhou as their third choice (ten shows). As is shown in Figure 11.3, Guangzhou is still an important attractive centre for metropolitan cultural tourists, particularly for those from its adjacent cities such as Foshan and Dongguan. Shenzhen is another attractive centre particularly for residents in Dongguan, but also for many other cities. Foshan can be identified as an emerging place of attractiveness, with most tourists from Guangzhou. We had

a very limited number of respondents from more remote cities of GBA such as Jiangmen and Zhaoqing, and no respondents from Huizhou. The data indicated that they tended to travel to other cities for show-watching rather than their own residential city, possibly because of the lack of cultural facilities and activities in these cities. Cross-border cultural tourism to Hong Kong and Macau were clearly held back by the COVID-19 pandemic prevention policies, and therefore the data could not reflect the usual situation. Seventy per cent of respondents indicated they travelled across cities for plays, operas and musicals, followed by concerts (45%), art exhibitions (38%), traditional Chinese art such as comics and acrobatics (33%), and dances/dance dramas (25%).

Such intercity mobilities in GBA are stimulated and facilitated by the expanding intercity transport network of light rails, high-speed trains and intercity subways. According to the survey, 60% of respondents on average spent less than an hour for a one-way intercity trip, while one quarter spent two to three hours. The central location of Guangzhou positioned it in excellent connection with other GBA cities, making it both an important destination and a generating area for cultural tourism. In particular, the Guangzhou–Foshan underground line plays a key role in cultural tourism mobilities between the two cities. As one informant, residing in Guangzhou, commented on why she travels to Foshan for musical shows: 'Because the metro is connected, it feels like it's in the same city'. The same informant also travelled to Dongguan for cultural shows, which is connected to Guangzhou 'by bullet train with thirty minutes' travel at high frequency and low fare. As she commented: 'I took the bullet train to Dongguan because it's really cheap. The expense is pretty much the same as travelling to Foshan'. Respondents residing in Zhuhai were mostly college students whose university has multiple campuses in both Zhuhai and Guangzhou. In addition to the intercity railway, these two cities are connected by university bus directly from campus to campus in two hours. For them, the two cities are close both spatially and psychologically. Therefore, they would travel to Guangzhou for cultural shows, but would also travel to Foshan 'because its transportation to Guangzhou is very convenient. In my mind, it's basically tantamount to going to Guangzhou'. The locations of two major theatres in Foshan along the Guangzhou–Foshan line are also critical factors attracting GBA tourists, because it is considered more convenient than going to a theatre in Guangzhou but located in a remote suburban area.

In some cases, travelling across the city for cultural shows is combined with tourism with occasional overnight stays. For example, one informant

mentioned how her show-watching trip from Guangzhou to Zhuhai was combined with a one-day leisure tourism, with bike-riding and sightseeing along the city's famous beach during the day. A few informants travelling to Foshan for cultural shows confessed that they would take the opportunity to visit some sites of interest, which are located close to theatres. Such incidental tourism activities undoubtedly increased their knowledge of and familiarity to GBA. One comment is particularly illustrative:

> As a girl growing up in the town of Foshan, I had always thought of Dongguan as a remote city. I decided to go to Dongguan for a show because there was a big discount for the ticket, which was a real bargain. So I tried to travel to Dongguan for the first time, and surprisingly I found it quite close. Then I found that Dongguan retained the flavour of the old Guangdong of the twentieth century. It turns out I quite like the city, because it offers cheap tickets, good scenery and unique features of Guangdong. It's a good place for tourism.

It can be seen that at least from the perspective of regional level intercity cultural tourism mobilities, an economic metropolitan scale is under construction, with increased intercity connectivity in GBA. As the spatial distribution of cultural facilities and venues became dispersed in GBA, cultural tourism mobilities also demonstrated a multidirectional pattern, with major cities being both the source of visitors and the destination. Through cultural tourisms oriented toward cultural performances and show-watching, residents get a better sense of GBA as an integrated metropolitan region, particularly in the sense of convenient transport linkages. Furthermore, better knowledge and familiarity towards other cities could be gained through tourism activities.

Constructing the Spatial Metropolitan Scale: The Spatial Division of Labour in Cultural Activities in GBA

The cultural tourism mobilities in the metropolitan area are underpinned by the spatial (re)configuration of cultural activities in GBA. Before 2000, cultural facilities and activities were mainly concentrated in the capital city of Guangzhou and Hong Kong SAR. The construction of major cultural facilities in the 2000s, such as the Poly Theatre in Shenzhen, Yulan Theatre in Dongguan, and Qionghua Theatre in Foshan, and the boom of cultural facility development post-2010, including the completion of the Grand Theatres of Guangzhou, Foshan and Zhuhai, has significantly reconfigured the spatial

pattern of cultural activities in GBA. From our survey and interview, a spatial division of labour in terms of cultural performances and shows in GBA can be identified, which triggered the metropolitan mobilities. The top-ranking reason for intercity mobility is a show's unavailability in the residential city, picked by 73% of the respondents. Surprisingly, this answer not only came from those living in second- or third-tier cities where less rich cultural activities could be expected, but also from first-tier cities, notably Guangzhou. Our informants expressed that there were many good quality plays and musicals available in Foshan and Shenzhen but not in Guangzhou. This is because cultural facilities in Guangzhou, albeit quite rich in number, cannot meet the needs of the cultural programmes. Guangzhou Grand Theatre, which is undoubtedly of the highest quality in the region, does not have a medium-sized theatre for around 1,000 people. The two theatres it has are either too large or too small for many shows. In addition, given its central location and high quality, the cost is quite high for the show company. This makes many shows choose Foshan Grand Theatre as their performing venue, which has the right size, lower price, good quality, and a convenient location along the underground line close to Guangzhou. Surely there are other theatres to choose from in Guangzhou, but they suffer from inconvenient location, undesirable equipment and low-quality service and management. Therefore, even though the shows are available in these theatres in Guangzhou, those enthusiasts may still choose to travel to a nearby city for a better viewing experience. Living in Guangzhou but travelling to Shenzhen for a musical, one informant's account is particularly telling:

> I went to Shenzhen for the French version of the musical *Romeo and Juliet*. I had always wanted to see it, and this time Damien [the actor for Romeo] himself would come. I've always loved the play and the actor, so I had no reason not to watch it. Its schedule in Guangzhou was fine with me, but it chose a very bad place to play. It's a convention centre, not a theatre at all. There are even tables in the performing venue; it's not the setting of a theatre. There is no reverberation and the sound is poor. It could be predicted that the viewing experience would be a disaster. So, I chose to go to the Poly Theatre in Shenzhen to watch the show, to guarantee a high-quality experience.

It is evident that with the development of new and good quality cultural facilities in cities like Foshan and Shenzhen, cultural activities are no longer concentrated in Guangzhou but more dispersed over the metropolitan area. The two theatres in Foshan in particular, are complementary with those in

Guangzhou in important ways and offered more options for cultural activities in GBA, attracting a large volume of visitors from Guangzhou as well as other GBA cities. Shenzhen, on the other hand, was considered as a 'cultural desert' in the past, given its short history and economic-oriented development. However, with its strategy of cultural and creative industry development since the late 2000s and expansive development of cultural facilities, Shenzhen has become the new star of culture and creativity. As commented by our informants, Shenzhen offers the most and the best quality of musicals, plays, dances and art exhibitions that are often not available in other cities, not even in Guangzhou, supported by its variety of theatres and other cultural venues that are able to hold a diverse range of events.

The second aspect of spatial reconfiguration of cultural tourism mobilities results from different prices in different cities in GBA. While Shenzhen offers the most choice and best quality, its tickets are the most expensive. In general, the price for a ticket in Shenzhen could be 20% higher than that of second-tier cities such as Foshan and Zhuhai. Considering also the high cost of eating and accommodation, our informants confirmed that they often had to give up going to Shenzhen for shows. Other cities, then, had the opportunity to attract tourists with lower fares. The city of Dongguan, in particular, was often mentioned for its low price in the interviews. One informant, living in Zhuhai, confessed: 'The ticket price in Dongguan is usually half of that in Guangzhou. So if the show is available in Dongguan, I would not choose Guangzhou for viewing. Expenses are surely within my consideration'. Cheap tickets may not be a major reason for intercity mobilities but certainly play a role, as 20% of our survey respondents indicated this in their travel motives.

The reason for such a big gap in price between Dongguan and other GBA cities is because of heavy governmental subsidies from Dongguan's municipal government. Dongguan is renowned as a manufacturing centre in southern China, a world factory for electronics and semiconductors. Since 2007, however, its municipal government put forward a twenty-year plan to build Dongguan into a 'capital of musicals' with great influence domestically and abroad, making it a new brand of urban culture, a new driving force for the development of urban cultural industry and a new carrier for the dissemination of the city's image. Over the past decade, Dongguan has invested a lot in the development of original musicals and heavily subsidised musical shows in its Yulan Grand Theatre, attracting tourists from GBA as well as other places in China, which demonstrates how the entrepreneurial effort of the municipal government to build a post-industrial city image with cultural

industries is intertwined with a reconfiguration of metropolitan tourism mobilities.

Spatially, the development of new cultural facilities in different cities has led to a reconfiguration of the spatial distribution of cultural activities and cultural tourism mobility patterns over the metropolitan area. A spatial division of labour seems to emerge for cultural activities within the metropolis, with different size and level of cultural facilities, different types of shows and performances, and different prices in different cities, complementary with each other and together offering more choices to the metropolitan residences.

Constructing the Political Metropolitan Scale: Towards Co-Construction of a Humanistic Greater Bay Area?

The co-construction of a humanistic Greater Bay Area is a major objective in the GBA plan, where 'humanistic' refers to the cultural aspect and the objective concerns promoting the development of traditional Chinese cultural heritage and jointly promoting cultural prosperity in GBA. However, this would require constructing the political metropolitan scale: that is, overcoming the administrative barrier and building intercity cooperation. While the economic and political metropolitan scales seem to be in formation with rising metropolitan cultural tourism mobilities and reconfiguration of metropolitan cultural activities, such sense of integration and complementation is by no means a result of metropolitan-level planning and design but is underpinned by highly fragmented governance. Such fragmentation is felt by our informants and considered as a major reason for the differentiation of shows and performances in different cities. It is common that a show is on either in Guangzhou or in Shenzhen, but not both cities simultaneously. This is because there are two major corporations for cultural show production and operation in China's performance industry: CPAA Theatres and the Poly Culture Group. CPAA was initiated, operated and managed by China Foreign Culture Group Co. Ltd as a professional theatre management and performance operation company. Poly Culture Group, belonging to the Poly Group, also specialises in performance and theatre management. They both have their own directly operated theatres. Currently, CPAA theatres are only available in Guangzhou and Foshan, while Poly theatres are only available in Dongguan and Shenzhen. Usually, the show companies will choose either CPAA or Poly as their operator. Consequently, the cities in which the shows are available is dependent on which one is the operator and where its directly operated theatres are. The lack of a Poly theatre in Guangzhou and Foshan is

recurrently mentioned by our informants as their reason to travel to Shenzhen and Dongguan for show-watching.

Another reason for differentiated performance arrangement regards administrative approval in different cities. In China, commercial performances need to obtain approval from the city government. The approval right belongs to the Cultural and Tourism Bureau of each city, so different cities may make distinct decisions. For example, Guangzhou was quite strict with its approval for cultural shows and performances, while it was easier to get approval from other cities such as Foshan and Zhuhai. The spatial distribution of different performances in different cities is not a result of intentional division of labour and cooperation among GBA cities, but results from fragmented governance by administrative boundaries. GBA residents, on the other hand, could take advantage of its spatial connectivity and navigate to shows and performances they like in the region across city boundaries.

The fragmentation of governance is further reflected in the fact that few needs of metropolitan tourists are considered or services provided. As most of our informants are young and cost-sensitive, it is important for them to be able to return within the day to avoid overnight expenses. Several informants mentioned they would rush to catch the train as soon as the show finished, but this requires the venue to be located close to a mass transit station, which is not always the case. According to our survey, 80% of respondents consider it important to offer intercity shuttle buses so that they could return even when the show finishes late. More than half of them hope to have more choices in the afternoon rather than evening to allow for enough time for a return trip. Whether there are shows arranged in the afternoon and whether an intercity shuttle bus service is provided elaborates much of how metropolitan tourism is considered. According to the interviews and the events schedule available online, big cities such as Shenzhen and Guangzhou tend to arrange more afternoon shows. Smaller cities such as Zhuhai do not offer the option of afternoon shows. Foshan Grand Theatre is the only one that provides a shuttle bus service to Guangzhou when its shows finish late.

Moreover, the fragmentation of metropolitan governance is demonstrated by the lack of coordinated development of cultural platforms, cultural image and branding in GBA, despite the clear policy goals to co-develop a liveable metropolitan area that is pleasant for work and tourism, co-construct and share public facilities, and co-build GBA as a world-class tourism destination. First, as mentioned above, the cultural shows and performances are highly divided in different cities according to the operation companies. There is no alliance for different theatres and other performance spaces to coordinate

and co-promote their shows. There is no unified platform for visitors to browse all available shows in different cities and buy tickets. There is no coordination of time between different cities and theatres for the same niche market, leading to clashes of time for potential audiences. This is in sharp contrast to that of Shanghai, where an alliance called 'Show Life' is established, integrating different cultural facilities and spaces for shows and exhibitions to promote its cultural industry. According to our survey, more than half of respondents considered it important for there to be a unified platform for information and tickets, as well as an alliance of theatres and other cultural spaces. Second, there is little joint effort for GBA cities to work together to cultivate a cultural atmosphere and develop a GBA cultural brand. While there are joint cultural events such as the GBA Cultural and Art Festival, the number and scope of such events is limited, which is more of a top-down effort initiated by the governments of Guangdong province, Hong Kong SAR and Macau SAR. The world-class destination in the cultural respect can only be achieved if more bottom-up cooperation at the city level is in place to offer influential and diversified cultural events and festivals to develop a cultural atmosphere in GBA and meet the diverse needs of the audience, which could finally lead to a cultural brand of GBA. This would require more coordination and cooperation between cities' governments and cultural institutions in GBA, abandoning the 'competitiveness urbanism' strategy that is focused on the city's own development and branding.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area in China is a state project in response to global forces and local dynamics. Specifically, it is a metropolisation strategy and a scale-making project that aims to build a highly competitive mega-region in the global economy, to promote more integrated development between Hong Kong SAR, Macau SAR and the mainland, which is currently under the 'one country, two systems' policy, and to counterbalance the inefficient and uncoordinated development among local cities under urban entrepreneurialism and competitive urbanism. In such a context, the GBA Plan was a comprehensive overarching document. In terms of culture and tourism, it requires to jointly promote cultural prosperity and development, to prosper the cultural market and enrich the cultural life of residents, to promote the sharing of regional tourism resources, jointly expand the tourism market, co-build the tourism brand of GBA, and finally co-develop a

humanistic Bay Area. Nonetheless, it is a nebulous document without specifying the governance mechanisms for this co-building, co-development and sharing, which makes it intriguing to examine the construction of metropolitan scales and the mega-regional planning as concrete and actual or discursive and imagined.

This chapter aims to unveil the construction of metropolitan scales in GBA by examining the metropolitan cultural tourism oriented towards cultural shows and performances. While GBA as a region will attract cultural tourists nationally and worldwide, this chapter focuses exclusively on intra-regional cultural mobilities, including those without nights spent in destinations, because the cultural mobilities on a regional basis tell much about the construction of a metropolitan scale. It found that the construction of cultural facilities and the development of new cultural spaces in GBA cities, notably in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan and Dongguan, were underpinned by entrepreneurial urban strategy to harness culture and iconic buildings for reimaging and rebranding a post-industrial city. With the issuing of the GBA Plan and the relentless construction of regional transportation networks, these newly developed cultural facilities and spaces led to a reconfiguration of cultural activities and cultural tourism mobilities to a more dispersed pattern rather than concentrating in the capital city of Guangzhou. In this sense, economic and spatial metropolitan scales are constructed through intercity connectivity and mobility as well as a spatial division of labour in cultural activities. Nonetheless, the mega-region largely involves top-down regional territorial mobilisation, and coordinated metropolitan governance has yet to be formed.

In parallel to the construction of economic, spatial and political metropolitan scales, it is also important to understand whether the 'metropolitan scale' is perceived and recognised by its residents and whether a 'metropolitan identity' is formed. Both the survey and the interviews reflected that the metropolitan area of GBA perceived by the respondents is not equal to the one officially designated and planned. According to the survey, over 90% of respondents considered the cities of Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai belong to GBA, while over 85% also included the cities of Hong Kong and Macau. Foshan and Dongguan were also chosen by over 60% as a component of GBA, while other cities, including Zhongshan, Huizhou, Jiangmen and Zhaoqing, were chosen by less than half of the respondents. This is partly in accordance with the cultural tourism mobility patterns, as those more visited are more likely to be included in people's cognitive map of GBA. In addition, two-thirds of the respondents agree or strongly agree on a place identity of the GBA.

It could be concluded that the GBA as a mega-region is both concrete and actual, and discursive and imagined. It is actual in the sense that metropolitan mobility has become a concrete reality, and many people have developed a sense and identity of GBA metropolis, possibly nurtured by cultural tourism mobilities, albeit their cognitive map of GBA does not completely match with the official version. It is imagined in the sense that for local governments and businesses, co-development and sharing remains discursive rather than materialised with concrete actions, urban development is still characterised by competitive urbanism, and for many people, a sense of regional identity has yet to be developed. Better coordinated metropolitan governance is needed to overcome the current fragmentation by administrative boundaries.

Bibliography

Alaily-Mattar, Nadia, Johannes Dreher and Alain Thierstein. 2018. 'Repositioning Cities through Star Architecture: How Does It Work?' *Journal of Urban Design* 23(2): 169–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2017.1408401

Baeten, Guy. 2003. 'Old Elites in a New City: Restructuring the Leopold Quarter and the Europeanization of Brussels'. In *The Globalized City: Urban Restructuring and Social Polarization in European Cities*, edited by Frank Moulaert, Arantxa Rodríguez and Erik Swyngedouw, 125–43. Oxford University Press.

Bayliss, Darrin. 2004. 'Creative Planning in Ireland: The Role of Culture-Led Development in Irish Planning'. *European Planning Studies* 12(4): 497–515. https://doi.org/10.1080/0965431042000212759

Brenner, Neil. 2004. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford University Press.

Cartier, Carolyn. 2015. 'Territorial Urbanization and the Party-State in China'. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 3(3): 294–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2015.1005125

Chien, Shiuh-Shen. 2013. 'New Local State Power through Administrative Restructuring–A Case Study of Post-Mao China County-Level Urban Entrepreneurialism in Kunshan'. *Geoforum* 46: 103–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.12.015

D'Albergo, Ernesto and Christian Lefèvre. 2018. 'Constructing Metropolitan Scales: Economic, Political and Discursive Determinants'. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 6(2): 147–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2018.1459203

Degen, Mónica and Marisol García. 2012. 'The Transformation of the "Barcelona Model": An Analysis of Culture, Urban Regeneration and Governance'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(5): 1022–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01152.x

Dong, Lisheng and Daniel Kübler. 2021. 'Scale-Building in the Party-State: The Governance of China's Metropolitan Regions'. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 9(4): 493–511. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2019.1710560

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books.

Gezici, Ferhan and Ebru Kerimoglu. 2010. 'Culture, Tourism and Regeneration Process in Istanbul'. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4(3): 252–65. https://doi.org/10.1108/17506181011067637

Gibson, Lisanne and Deborah Stevenson. 2004. 'Urban Space and the Uses of Culture'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10(1): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663042000212292

Hall, Tim and Phil Hubbard. 1996. 'The Entrepreneurial City: New Urban Politics, New Urban Geographies?' *Progress in Human Geography* 20(2): 153–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/030913259602000201

Harrison, John and Hao Gu. 2021. 'Planning Megaregional Futures: Spatial Imaginaries and Megaregion Formation in China'. *Regional Studies* 55(1): 77–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2019.1679362

Harvey, David. 1987. 'Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization: Reflections On "post-Modernism" in the American City'. *Antipode* 19(3): 260–86. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1987.tb00375.x

Harvey, David. 1989. 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism'. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 17(1): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583

Jiang, Yanpeng, Paul Waley and Sara Gonzalez. 2016. 'Shanghai Swings: The Hongqiao Project and Competitive Urbanism in the Yangtze River Delta'. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 48(10): 1928–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X16652897

Li, Jie. 2020. 'Culture and Tourism-Led Peri-Urban Transformation in China – The Case of Shanghai'. *Cities* 99, 102628. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102628

Lindsay, Georgia and Mark Sawyer. 2022. 'A Constellation of Stars: What a Local Newspaper Talks About When It Talks About Star Architecture'. *European Planning Studies* 30(1): 66–84. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2021.1892031

Liu, Yanjun. 2018. 'Early Visit to the Foshan Grand Theatre, The Countdown to Open to the Public'. Sohu.com, 11 September. https://www.sohu.com/a/253174601_355821

Luo, Xialong, Yeqing Cheng, Jie Yin and Ying Wang. 2014. 'Province-Leading-County as a Scaling-Up Strategy in China: The Case of Jiangsu'. *China Review* 14(1): 125–46.

Meulbroek, Chris, Jamie Peck and Jun Zhang. 2022. 'Bayspeak: Narrating China's Greater Bay Area'. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 53(1): 95–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2021.1998579

Ponzini, Davide. 2011. 'Large Scale Development Projects and Star Architecture in the Absence of Democratic Politics: The Case of Abu Dhabi, UAE'. *Cities* 28(3): 251–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2011.02.002

Richards, Greg. 2003. 'What is Cultural Tourism?' In *Erfgoed voor Toerisme*, edited by A. van Maaren. Nationaal Contact Monumenten.

Shen, Jianfa. 2007. 'Scale, State and the City: Urban Transformation in Post-Reform China'. *Habitat International* 31(3–4): 303–16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2007.04.001

South Daily. 2022. 'Five Years of Zhuhai Grand Theatre: Let the Light of Art Shine into the City of Youth'. 7 January. http://ysln.ycwb.com/content/2022-01/07/content_40499258.html

Spirou, Costas. 2010. *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy*. Routledge.

Swyngedouw, Erik, Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodríguez. 2002. 'Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy'. *Antipode* 34(3): 542–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00254

Wu, Fulong. 2017a. 'China's Emergent City-Region Governance: A New Form of State Spatial Selectivity through State-Orchestrated Rescaling'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40(6): 1134–51. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12437

Wu, Fulong. 2017b. 'Planning Centrality, Market Instruments: Governing Chinese Urban Transformation under State Entrepreneurialism'. *Urban Studies* 55(7): 1383–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017721828

Zhuhai Grand Theatre. 2018. 'Theatre News | 50 Poly Theatres Gather at Zhuhai Grand Theatre to Help Zhuhai's Cultural Development'. Southcn, 30 January. https://static.nfapp.southcn.com/content/201801/30/c940701.html

Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities*. Blackwell.

Chapter 12

Laboratory of Consumption: Macau's Metropolitan Tourism

Tim Simpson

> *A world economy always has an urban centre of gravity, a city, as the logistic heart of its activity.*
>
> (Fernand Braudel 1992, 27)

Introduction

The world's highest bungee jump is located atop the Macau Tower, the tallest structure and most visible landmark in the ancient Chinese city-state of Macau (see Figure 12.1). The 338-metre edifice, which resembles Seattle's Space Needle and is an almost identical copy of Auckland's Sky Tower, was designed by New Zealand architect Gordon Moller and financed by billionaire Macau casino tycoon Stanley Ho at a cost of US$130 million. Construction of the tower began in 1998, just one year prior to Portugal's handover of Macau to the People's Republic of China (PRC) after nearly half a millennium of colonial rule. The tower's austere modern concrete form contrasts dramatically with the baroque cathedrals and pastel colonial-era buildings in Macau's picturesque central city.

Founded by Portuguese explorers in 1557, Macau was the first and longest-enduring foreign territory in China (see Figure 12.2). After an initial golden age when Macau mediated the vast majority of trade between Europe and China, the city faded into historical obscurity in a process that mirrored Portugal's own waning global empire. When Portugal returned the city to the PRC in December 1999, two years after Britain's celebrated return of Hong Kong, Macau was the last remaining European territory in Asia, with a sleepy ambiance and moribund economy. Macau's peripheral identity was formalised by its postcolonial designation (like neighbouring Hong Kong) as a special administrative region (SAR) of the PRC, and by its juridical status as the only



Figure 12.1 The Macau Tower, the city's tallest structure. Photo by Diego Delso, and licensed under Creative Commons attribution 4.0, CC-BY-SA.

site of legal casino gambling in China. However, with the liberalisation of the local casino monopoly in 2002, and the entry of several foreign operators in the city's gaming industry, Macau has transformed over the past two decades into the most lucrative site of casino gaming in global history.

Today, Macau's quaint UNESCO World Heritage buildings and massive casino mega-resorts are enticing attractions, drawing nearly 40 million tourists to the tiny city in 2019 alone. The majority of those tourists are from mainland China. Their massive expenditures on gambling and shopping in Macau reflect the rapid growth of China's reform-era economy and the consumerism of the country's post-Mao citizens. The pedagogical function of Macau's post-colonial cityscape in the comportment of those post-socialist Chinese tourists is the focus of this chapter, and the Macau Tower provides a useful vantage point to observe the dynamics of this metropolitan tourism phenomenon.

Macau and the Urbanisation of China

The tower stands at the axis of Macau's imbrication in two complementary geo-spatial processes that converge today in post-Mao China. The first is the process that philosopher Peter Sloterdijk (2013) calls *terrestrial*

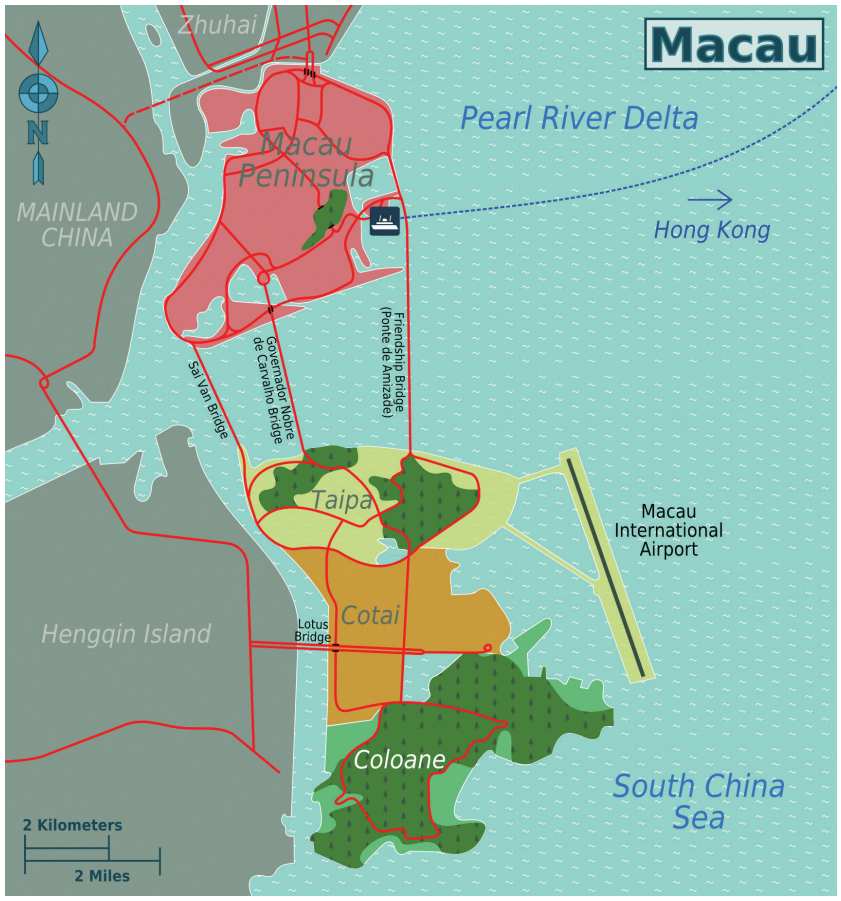


Figure 12.2 Map of Macau. Macau is located to the south of the Chinese city of Zhuhai and to the east of Zhuhai's Hengqin Island. The city's casino mega-resorts are located on the Macau peninsula and in the new district of Cotai, which is a land reclamation site that connects the former islands of Taipa and Coloane. The airport runway to the right of Cotai provides perspective on the city's relatively small size. Map by No mas btz and licensed under Creative Commons attribution 4.0, CC-BY-SA.

globalisation, the five-hundred-year era of European colonial expansion which founded Macau, and in which the city played a seminal role as a crucial site of trade between Europe and the Ming dynasty. The terrestrial era, which birthed both the global capitalist system and the modern world, essentially ended with Macau's retrocession to the PRC in 1999. However, this final act of European colonial politics officially conjoined the city

with a second world-historical spatial transformation: the contemporary *urbanisation* of China. The fundamental importance of China's urbanisation for the very sustainability of capitalism today arguably rivals in global significance the half millennium of European expansion that immediately preceded it.

This Chinese urbanisation project commenced in 1978 with Deng Xiaoping's introduction of the country's post-Mao economic reforms, but it has increased dramatically in the intervening years. As recently as 1980, only about 25% of China's 980 million citizens lived in cities. However, by 2011, for the first time in history more than half of the country's population – which by then had reached 1.3 billion – was urban (Li 2019). By 2019, China's urban population comprised nearly 60% of the country, and this number continues to expand. This rapid urbanisation has upended the predominantly rural culture that persisted in China for several thousand years. This reversal of rural preeminence is not mere happenstance. Over the past decade, the central government has moved more than two hundred million rural peasants to cities, and China's National New-Type Urbanisation Plan, which was introduced in 2014, details the government's goal to urbanise 250 million additional rural residents by 2026.[1] State investment in urban infrastructure projects to accommodate these new residents, as well as the concentration of these new workers in urban areas, has contributed to dramatic increases in the country's industrialisation level and GDP.

However, under a market economy the city is not simply a container for life and work. The capitalist city is a stimulating environment with affective attractions that implicitly promote the metropolitan qualities that sociologist Louis Wirth (1938) called 'urbanism as a way of life' – the density, heterogeneity, anonymity and creativity that shape a distinct urban personality. Incidentally, these characteristics of urbanism were eliminated from China's cities during the Mao era, in an effort to create a collectivist society of communist workers whose egalitarian lifestyles were diametrically opposed to the capitalist cities of the West. Today, however, central government authorities believe that the residential and lifestyle purchases of hundreds of millions of new city dwellers will markedly increase domestic consumption levels and stimulate economic development, thus weaning China from the unsustainable manufacturing regime that defined the initial reform period. Macau sits today at the spatio-temporal nexus of the end of the European expansion that made the modern world, and the onset of Chinese urbanisation that will define the planet's future.

Macau's cityscape provides a three-dimensional testament to the colonial era, and the far-flung consequences of Portugal's global voyages are materialised in the heritage buildings located in the city centre. However, the significance of China's massive urban transformation only becomes evident from atop the Macau Tower. The rapid ascension from the diminutive city to the tower's observation deck affords the breathtaking vision of a massive urban expanse, of remarkable density, colour and texture, which stretches out in every direction as far as the eye can see. Viewed from the tower's vantage, the heritage buildings and resort attractions of Macau's tiny cityscape merge seamlessly into the Pearl River Delta region, which the United Nations has designated as the world's largest urban area. This Chinese megacity, which sociologist Manuel Castells describes as 'the most representative urban face of the twenty-first century' (Castells 2010, 439), covers 50,000 km^2 and has a population of upwards of 120 million people. In his three-volume treatise *The Rise of the Network Society*, Castells (2010) calls the Pearl River Delta the spatial prototype of the planet's new information and finance economy.

Where the city does not yet exist it is under construction, and skeletons of half-built towers of various shapes and sizes protrude from the earthen terrain below. Barges float through the narrow sea channel at the base of the tower, loaded with sand and gravel cargo to create the bedrock of new land reclamation projects set to alter the contours of the coast. Indeed, visitors to the tower in 2023 may observe no fewer than six concurrent reclamation projects under way in Macau alone, which when completed will increase the size of the city by an additional 12%, and accommodate 350,000 people. The Pearl River Delta region is the epicentre of China's market reforms, and constitutes what historian Fernand Braudel might call the 'core city' of China's contemporary market-socialist regime, and the 'logistic heart' of the country's post-socialist enterprise (Braudel 1992, 27). The Pearl River Delta megacity is therefore a window into the future of global capitalism.

The dramatic recent development of Macau's casino tourism industry is a product of Macau's specific role in this Chinese metropolis. Macau is therefore not simply an external vantage point from which to observe this massive new urban system, but serves as an integral component in its operation. That is, the key to China's new *political economy* is the development of a concomitant *subjective economy* in which Macau plays an important role. China's economic reforms began with Deng's creation of the special economic zones (SEZs) along China's southern coast. These new zones were designed as *laboratories of production*, where China would tentatively embrace transnational investment, cooperate with foreign companies and study capitalism

itself. I argue that the adjacent Hong Kong and Macau SARs function today as complementary *laboratories of consumption* to which Chinese tourists travel to gamble or shop, and in which new 'quality' Chinese citizens are cultivated for the country's reform-era economy.

'Quality' (*suzhi*) is a key term in the contemporary political economy of the PRC. While China's Mao-era government emphasised building population *quantity*, authorities today aim to enhance individual citizen *quality*. Quality is conceived as an individual collection of physical, intellectual and ethical characteristics, which may be moulded and enhanced to conform to the goals of the state (Sigley 2009). The goal is to produce a population of increasingly educated, refined and self-enterprising citizens, who are prepared to compete in a global marketplace and to contribute to the country's economic development. Most importantly, however, the central government aims to valorise those self-reliant subjects who achieve a high level of autonomy in social life, and the tourist citizen exemplifies these desired characteristics (Ong and Zhang 2008). Therefore, Chinese tourism to Macau is a crucial component of the country's new urban economy.

The Pearl River Delta Becomes the Greater Bay Area

The Pearl River Delta (PRD) is the low-lying geographical expanse that surrounds the Pearl River estuary, where China's massive Pearl River, the country's third-largest river system, flows from three tributaries on the mainland and empties into the South China Sea. This region today encompasses Guangdong province, as well as the adjacent cities of Hong Kong and Macau. Guangdong itself includes the immense city of Guangzhou (formerly known as Canton), one of China's most populated places, as well as Shenzhen, Dongguan, Foshan, Zhongshan, Jiangmen, Zhuhai, Huizhou and Zhaoqing. Along with Shanghai's Yangtze River Delta, and Beijing's Silicon Valley-style Zhongguan Cun, the Pearl River Delta is one of the three spatial engines that drive China's economic transformation (Arrighi 2007, 356–57; Ng and Tang 1999).

Canton was the heart of China's early engagement with capitalist Europe in the nineteenth century, and today Chinese officials hope to recapture this economic function by linking each of the region's locales into an integrated innovation hub that they have named the Greater Bay Area (GBA). The central government has chosen to rebrand the Pearl River Delta as the Greater Bay Area because authorities believe this growing metropolis may surpass, in

both global economic significance and popular culture resonance, its Silicon Valley 'Bay Area' namesake on the California coast (as well as the Hudson Bay area of New York, and Tokyo Bay area in Japan).[2] China's GBA is currently the factory to the world, and produces the bulk of the planet's 'electronics, household appliances, telecommunications and computer equipment, toys, timepieces, lighting apparatus, garments, footwear, plastic products, and ceramics' (Bie et al. 2015, 104). However, the central government projects that by 2035, China's Greater Bay Area will be the vibrant urban centre of a new Sinocentric global economy that may eclipse both Japan and the United States.

This expansive GBA megacity is also a crucial contributor to Macau's contemporary development, because many of the city's tourists travel from this region.[3] Again, this is not mere happenstance. The central government has selected these tourists for enhanced opportunities for cross-border travel to Hong Kong and Macau that are enabled by a unique exit visa, introduced in 2003, called the Individual Visit Scheme (IVS). These Chinese citizens are mobilised today in a programme of capitalist 're-education', which mirrors (in inverted fashion) the rustication of youth during the Cultural Revolution and which involves their participation in a contemporary 'Grand Tour' of the casino resorts and retail attractions of Hong Kong and Macau (Simpson 2022b). In order to understand how these postcolonial cities came to serve this function, however, it is first necessary to clarify their distinct role in the overall design of this new Bay Area metropolis.

Although the GBA is the world's largest and fastest-growing urban area, it is not a conventional metropolis, with a characteristic organic development or consistent composition. Rather, the GBA is a completely contrived 'city' composed of a variety of distinct locales that have been assembled into a dynamic whole. These elements include economic zones, administrative regions, 'coastal open cities', factory towns, urban villages, reclaimed islands, and leisure and residential theme parks, each of which is designed to fulfil a specific function in the region's economic activities and its articulations with global capitalism.[4] The unique urban design of the GBA region is characterised by a peculiar condition of 'spatial discontinuity' (Castells 2010, 439) or 'exacerbated difference' (Chung et al. 2001) that makes it a *sui generis* environment.

The City of Exacerbated Difference

In 2001 Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas, along with a group of postgraduate students enrolled in the Harvard Design School, produced a 700-page document

of the development of the Pearl River Delta entitled *Great Leap Forward*, in which they famously refer to what is now the GBA as the 'city of exacerbated difference'. Whereas a 'traditional city strives for a condition of balance, harmony, and a degree of homogeneity', they argue, this new Chinese megacity 'is based on the greatest possible difference between its parts – complementary or competitive' (Chung et al. 2001, 704). Macau's specific function in the GBA as a gambling and shopping locale becomes clear only within the context of the 'exacerbated difference' that defines both this megacity and China's post-Mao economy.

Koolhaas' team suggests that Macau and the other European concessions actually *inspired* the exacerbated difference of the Greater Bay Area's design. Speaking of Macau and Hong Kong, they contend that, 'The land concessions in the Pearl River Delta established the idea of a different China – a China of enclaves' (Chung et al. 2001, 83). It is this enclave morphology, defined by distinct foreign territories within a larger Chinese environment, which has taken form in the GBA today.[5] Macau was therefore an urban prototype for the unique spatial logic of China's economic reforms.

The City with No Outside

How can we understand the combination of internal exacerbated differences and overwhelming massive dimensions that characterise China's GBA metropolis today? Contemporary urban scholarship arguably lacks the vocabulary necessary to describe this unique urban region, much less to explain Macau's particular function within it. The problem is that urban scholarship is constrained by a 'methodological cityness', or an implicit epistemological assumption that the global urban landscape still comprises distinct, self-contained cities (Angelo and Wachsmuth 2015). However, Harvard University urbanist Neil Brenner argues that in order to grasp the expansive and amorphous urban space typical of the planet today (and which certainly characterises the GBA), we must move beyond an approach that takes 'the city' as the primary unit of analysis, and embrace instead 'a new vision of urban theory *without an outside*' (Brenner 2014, 15). That is, the key to understanding capitalism today is not the autonomous cities that once dominated the global economy, such as New York, London, Amsterdam or Venice, but the open-ended process of *urbanisation itself*. We must reach beyond the conceptual lexicon of contemporary urbanism to capture the organisational logic of China's GBA metropolis, and its formative role in the country's market-socialist economy.

Urban scholars have challenged this 'methodological cityness' by coining two widely used terms – 'megalopolis' (Gottmann 1961) and 'megacity' (Perlman 1976) – to characterise such expansive urban spaces. However, while both terms are certainly relevant for describing China's GBA, each term carries conceptual baggage that limits its applicability to this particular Chinese case. The *megalopolis* is the urban product of the distinctly *post-Fordist* economy that emerged in the United States (and later Japan) after 1970; while the *megacity* is a *postcolonial* phenomenon that was produced by the termination of terrestrial globalisation at the same time (Haar and Marshall 2012; McGrath and Shane 2012). However, though the GBA encapsulates both of these postcolonial and post-Fordist conditions, China's core city is a uniquely *post-socialist* urban space, a sort of megacity with Chinese characteristics.

The GBA metropolis simply spills over the categorical boundaries of the megalopolis/megacity taxonomy. For this reason, I contend that China's GBA metropolis is not really a conventional city at all, and is instead exemplary of what Lewis Mumford, writing in a different context, called a *megamachine*. A megamachine is a complex apparatus that incorporates individual human bodies as components in its operation, and Mumford's megamachine concept will clarify the GBA's role in a *subjective economy* that is central to China's reform era. Metropolitan tourism is a crucial factor in this new subjective economy. In addition, thinking of this massive city as an urban megamachine will also allow me to demonstrate Macau's function as a *laboratory of consumption*, in which subjectivity itself becomes the object of experimental policies, and in which a new quality Chinese consumer is cultivated and refined.

The Greater Bay Area Megamachine

Mumford was an urban historian and public intellectual who published popular architecture criticism and books on urban planning. He was perhaps best known for his book *The City in History,* which traced the historical development of urban forms. However, Mumford's discourse on what he called the 'megamachine' was a component of his two-volume *Technics and Civilisation*, an exploration of humanity's historical relations to tools and technology, or 'man's total equipment for life', which he called 'biotechnics' (Mumford 1971, 308).

With the megamachine, Mumford conceived not of a city per se, but of a machine-like social mechanism that incorporates regimented human subjects as its component parts. The prototype megamachine was the archaic human effort that constructed Egypt's pyramids with nothing more than the primitive technologies of the lever and inclined plane. In this social machine,

'human beings themselves are constituent pieces of a machine they compose among themselves and with other things (animals, tools) under the control and direction of a higher authority' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 456–57). This Egyptian megamachine necessitated the production of new subjectivities, including workers conditioned to obediently execute each task, as well as members of a priesthood and secular bureaucracy that organised knowledge and carried out instructions. However, the megamachine was not simply a primitive Egyptian apparatus. Mumford observed a contemporary megamachine operating in the post-war United States military-industrial complex, enabled by that era's 'organisation man' and symbolised by the Pentagon.

My appeal to the *megamachine*, rather than the megacity or megalopolis, to describe the integration of the GBA metropolis with the post-Mao subjects of market-socialism, highlights Macau's distinctive function in this new core city of Chinese capitalism. My approach is indebted to the scholarship of Felix Guattari and his use of the megamachine concept to explain the role of cities in producing urban subjects.[6] Much like the Egyptian construction of the pyramids, or America's military-industrial complex, the GBA metropolis may be understood as *a social machine* that is designed to *produce subjectivity*. Guattari calls subjectivity the 'key commodity' of contemporary capitalism. He argues that capitalism perpetuates itself by continually producing new subjectivities, with novel identities and desires and in search of new consumer experiences. For Guattari, it is the physical 'enunciations' of the city, such as architecture and infrastructure, which are formative of specifically urban consumer subjects. Understood in this way, then, the GBA is a massive machinic apparatus, assembled from a variety of disjunctive spatial components, whose function is to produce not only the export commodities that fuel China's economic growth, but also the new citizens necessary for the market-socialist regime. These megamachine operations contribute to a *subjective economy* in China that produces new 'quality' post-socialist consumers. So I turn to the complementary relationship among China's proto-capitalist SEZs and postcolonial SARs in the *subjective economy* of this GBA metropolis. This will allow me to illustrate the *production of subjects* who are crucial to this new economic regime.

Macau and Hong Kong as Consumer Laboratories

The first phase of Deng's economic reforms involved the development of a production-for-export regime in the new SEZs along China's southern coast. In 1979, a site near Hong Kong was declared the Shenzhen economic zone,

and several months later, the Zhuhai economic zone was created adjacent to Macau. These new zones were designed as 'laboratories' of capitalist production, where the central government would facilitate joint manufacturing projects funded by foreign capital. Chinese authorities established the economic zones as practical experimental classrooms, 'social and economic laboratories where foreign technologies and managerial skills could be observed' (Harvey 2005, 130).

If budding Chinese entrepreneurs initially learned the lessons of capital by studying in the learning laboratories of the Zhuhai and Shenzhen economic zones, then the consumer acumen of these 'quality' tourist citizens is cultivated today in, among other places, the shopping malls and casino resorts of the Hong Kong and Macau SARs. Both Macau and Hong Kong serve as didactic laboratories for Chinese consumerism, and in these cities the consumer behaviours promoted by the central government are pursued in a condensed and intensified form. The Macau and Hong Kong SARs are *spaces of consumption* that mirror the *spaces of production* just across the border in the SEZs.

While China's SEZs were crucial to the initial phase of market reforms, the SARs function in a complementary second phase of this process, in which Chinese authorities aim to develop a mature domestic consumer market to ease the country's reliance on foreign consumers. The development of this domestic consumer economy is one specific goal of China's National New-Type Urbanisation Plan. The central government also set out to position tourism as a key growth area of the economy, hoping to mobilise the Chinese population in domestic tourism practices that would lead to enhanced levels of consumption. This new tourist promotion inverted decades of socialist rhetoric that had pejoratively characterised tourism as bourgeois decadence, and authorities revised state policies that had discouraged or even prevented population mobility. In 2000, the central government formalised the overt practice of 'leisure' by creating three annual public holidays, or Golden Weeks, to encourage domestic and cross-border tourism (Nyíri 2006). To do so, authorities drew on the Maoist practice of using large-scale ideological campaigns, such as the Great Leap Forward or the Down to the Countryside movement, to mobilise the population and to produce the country's socialist 'New Man'. They also launched an extensive information campaign designed to inform citizens of the moral value of travel and the specific behaviours deemed proper to modern tourism (Nyíri 2006; 2008). Therefore, this new state-sanctioned leisure time was not meant as a mere respite from labour, but was designed to serve as another productive component of economic life.

Promoting what they deem a 'scientific view of consumption', Chinese authorities conceive of a productive integration of tourism practices, consumption habits and individual tourist quality, thereby differentiating such consumption from general hedonism or wasteful excess (Nyíri 2006, 78). Alongside tourism's economic benefits, the Chinese government sees tourism as 'an inexpensive substitute for education' (Nyíri 2008, 154), a pedagogical or civilising practice that produces those 'quality' Chinese citizens who are desired by the regime (Nyíri 2008, 157).

Both Hong Kong and Macau possess distinct characteristics that enable their roles in this tourist programme. Hong Kong's early economic advantage was its status as a free port, and the city has long been a dynamic marketplace that is often rated the world's freest economy. Today Hong Kong is a sort of consumer laboratory for Chinese tourists, 44 million of whom visited the city in 2017; and Hong Kong has an indigenous architectural form, the podium shopping mall, with a consumer function that rivals Macau's casino resorts. These high-rise malls are typically located on top of Hong Kong's underground railway stations, and are a by-product of the city's unique colonial land management system (Lai 2016). In *Mall City*, his account of Hong Kong's 'dreamworld of consumption', architect Stefan Al (2016) counts several hundred such malls in the SAR, perhaps the densest and tallest collection of shopping malls in the world. These Hong Kong malls make the city a shopping paradise and are a key attraction for Chinese tourists.

Entire retail districts have emerged near the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border that cater exclusively to mainland shoppers, many of whom make day trips to take advantage of the city's favourable retail environment (Buckley 2015; Yeung and Yee 2012). Retail shops in the tourist areas of both Hong Kong and Macau are geared towards mainland customers and primarily offer such products as cosmetics, gold and diamond jewellery, and designer fashion goods. Favourable taxation regimes in the SARs mean these products are significantly cheaper than they are on the mainland, and these exclusive items have the added benefit of enhancing the 'quality' of those individuals who purchase them (Cartier 2009).

In addition, however, tourist-oriented shops in both Hong Kong and Macau also stock such mundane products as infant formula, diapers, shampoo, toothpaste and liquid soap, which are slightly cheaper than they are on the mainland, and whose compositional integrity and brand veracity are assured by their purchase in the relatively well-regulated environments of these cities. (Mainland China, by contrast, is notorious for loose controls on brand and intellectual property.) It is common to see Chinese tourists on the

sidewalks of Macau stuffing small suitcases with these quotidian items, or visiting tourist attractions while toting unwieldy prepackaged plastic bags packed with promotional goods purchased at pharmacies or cosmetics chains such as Watson's, Mannings or Sasa (see Figure 12.3). Such scenes demonstrate the ways in which Hong Kong and Macau function as *laboratories of consumption*, and cultivate those calculating consumers that China desires for its reform regime.

However, Macau's 'exacerbated difference' from Hong Kong and the other cities of the GBA is its casino gaming industry, and the six gaming companies with concessions to operate casinos in Macau have invested US$35 billion over the past two decades to construct numerous casino mega-resorts in the city, including two of the world's largest buildings. Many of these integrated resorts have thematic motifs that symbolically represent key sites from global capitalist history such as Venice, Paris and London, and massive shopping arcades with high-end retail shops that cater to tourists from the mainland. It is common to see Chinese tourists queued in long lines outside exclusive designer outlets such as Chanel, Hermes and Louis Vuitton waiting patiently for the opportunity to enter the stores and purchase luxury goods (Simpson 2022a).



Figure 12.3 Chinese tourists in Macau's city centre pack a suitcase with diapers and other mundane consumer items purchased at nearby shops. Photo by Adam Lampton.

In addition to shopping, gambling activities in Macau's casinos may also serve as a pedagogical tourist practice that enculturates calculating consumer subjects for China's reform-era economy. Elsewhere, I have analysed a unique electronic baccarat machine that was created by a Hong Kong biopharmaceutical company and designed to appeal to Chinese gamblers in Macau (Simpson 2019). The machine transforms the simple card game of baccarat, which is the most popular casino game among Chinese tourists in Macau, into a complex socio-technical device that enjoins the gambler to engage in various forms of financial calculation. The individual gambler sits at a gaming terminal and watches the card-dealing actions of a live croupier that are projected onto a televisual screen, while placing electronic bets at the terminal. The combination of live croupier and electronic game enables a variety of new wagers that are not possible on the conventional baccarat table game, as well as creating novel forms of association and collective betting opportunities among individual punters who are each wagering on the same electronic system.

We may understand this gaming machine as a biopolitical apparatus of subjectification that produces a *homo economicus*, or 'entrepreneur of the self', that is conducive to China's post-socialist economy. The baccarat machine is an 'epistemic consumption object' (Zwick and Dholakia 2006) that becomes more complex the longer it is played and that turns the simple casino game of baccarat into a productive mode of capitalist enterprise that elicits and engenders market behaviours. The affective cognitive-kinesthetic stimulation of gambling on the cyborg device serves as a sort of 'sentimental education' in contemporary market behaviour. In this way, the baccarat machine functions for Chinese gamblers much like action-adventure video games that inadvertently train player minds and bodies to anticipate and navigate the risks and opportunities of social life under neoliberal capitalism (Väliaho 2014). Therefore, the specific leisure 'sentiments' honed by the Macau baccarat machine may be productively 'put to work' in market activities beyond the confines of the casino (Virno 2006, 15). Thus, the biopolitics of machine gaming in Macau exemplifies the realisation of the Chinese state's 'scientific view of consumption' and the productive use of the leisure sphere to create 'quality' citizens for the reform-era economy.

Key to understanding the role of Macau's casino resorts and attractions in Chinese consumerism is a focus on pedagogical characteristics of the material spaces, objects and activities that comprise the tourist environment. This

appeal to the educational function of the built environment is based on the assumption that learning is not merely cognitive but also corporeal, and demonstrates the ways in which, as geographer Colin McFarlane (2011) says in his book *Learning the City*, 'Learning emerges through practical engagement with the world' (15). In the case of Macau, the integrated resorts, retail shopping arcades and casino games comprise a 'spatial grammar of urban learning' (1) that is indicative of the state's civilising mission and urban consumption regime (see Figure 12.4).[7]

In short, travel to the Hong Kong and Macau SARs is not mere respite from the urban workaday world of the GBA but a productive economic sphere of consumption in which tourists may practise the 'labour of leisure' (Rojek 2010) for the benefit of China's market-socialist regime. The spatial grammar of Macau's postcolonial cityscape and the gambling and shopping activities typical of the transnational resorts render Macau into a laboratory of consumption for the cultivation of Chinese tourists. The PRC's productivist mainland economic zones and consumerist postcolonial administrative regions thus play complementary roles in the subjective economy of the Greater Bay Area.



Figure 12.4 Chinese tourists inside Macau's Venetian Resort, one of the world's largest buildings. Photo by Adam Lampton.

Concluding Remarks: The View from the Tower

This discussion of the GBA metropolis, the unorthodox core city of China's new market economy, finally returns us to the Macau Tower where we began this chapter. The Macau Tower is an ideal vantage point from which to observe the spatial logic of China's reform regime and the construction of the GBA metropolis. From the top of the tower, it is possible to envision the operations of the massive urban megamachine that organises the country's subjective economy down below. We have seen that Macau inspired the very exacerbated differences and enclave design that are characteristic of the GBA region.

China's economic zones transformed the country into a factory for the world. Likewise, the SARs of Hong Kong and Macau play their own unique role in Chinese capitalism by cultivating consumers who contribute to China's domestic consumption economy. Today Macau is positioned at the nexus of the dual urbanisation and subjectivation processes that define the reform era. If the pyramid and the Pentagon were Mumford's transhistorical architectonic archetypes of the megamachine, and China's GBA metropolis is a contemporary example of its operation, then Macau's integrated casino resorts are key devices in China's programme of tourist re-education. Postcolonial Macau is therefore a geo-spatial and geo-historical linchpin in China's reform regime. This regime aims to remake the global economy for an emergent era of Sino-capitalism with origins reaching back five hundred years to the peripheral and outré Portuguese city-state of Macau.

Notes

1. On the National New-Type Urbanization Plan, see Casey and Koleski (2011); Chan (2014); Griffiths and Schiavone (2016); Looney and Rithmire (2016).
2. The Greater Bay Area includes eleven cities within the PRD, with a population of 68 million and a combined GDP of $1.3 trillion (Heaver 2018).
3. Of the 25 million mainland Chinese tourists who visited Macau in 2018 (out of a total 36 million tourists), 41% were residents of Guangdong province (GGRAsia 2019).
4. The centrally organized GBA region comprises a number of integrated but relatively autonomous elements. The GBA 'is a model of multi-tiered

urbanism because it is made up of diverse regulatory regimes, physically linked but acting almost like micro-states' (Bie et al. 2015, 105).

5. 'Following the precedent of establishing Hong Kong and Macao as concessions for trade with foreigners, the Party chose to adopt the enclave model for these new socialist market experiments, designating select regions in the Pearl River Delta as Special Economic Zones' (Chung et al. 2001, 85).
6. As Gary Genosko (2016) says of what Guattari called the 'subjective city': 'Given that Guattari relies on the concept of the megamachine borrowed from Lewis Mumford in order to describe large machinic assemblages at the scale of urban agglomerations, he has a specific usage in mind: to discover the ways that cities produce subjectivities' (242).
7. McFarlane (2011) argues that learning is not simply a cognitive process of knowledge acquisition, but should be understood 'as a distributed assemblage of people, materiality, and space that is often neither formal nor simply individual' (3).

Bibliography

Al, Stefan (ed). 2016. *Mall City: Hong Kong's Dreamworlds of Consumption*. University of Hawaii Press.

Angelo, Hillary and David Wachsmuth. 2015. 'Urbanizing Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39(1): 16–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12105

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. Verso.

Bie, Jiangbo, Martin de Jong and Ben Derudder. 2015. 'Greater Pearl River Delta: Historical Evolution Towards a Global City-Region'. *Journal of Urban Technology* 22(2): 103–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2014.971575

Braudel, Fernand. (1979) 1992. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century, volume 3: The Perspective of the World*. Translated by Siân Reynolds. University of California Press.

Brenner, Neil. 2014. 'Introduction: Urban Theory Without an Outside'. In Brenner, Neil, *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, 14–30. Jovis.

Buckley, Sarah. 2015. 'What are China's Shenzhen Shoppers Buying in Hong Kong?' BBC News, 13 April. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-32283440

Cartier, Carolyn. 2009. 'Production/Consumption and the Chinese City/Region: Cultural Political Economy and the Feminist Diamond Ring'. *Urban Geography* 30(4): 368–90. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.30.4.368

Casey, Joseph and Katherine Koleski. 2011. 'Backgrounder: China's 12th Five-Year Plan'. US–China Economic and Security Review Commission.

Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Wiley.

Chan, Kam Wing. 2014. 'China's Urbanization 2020: A New Blueprint and Direction'. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55(1): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2014.925410

Chung, Judy Chuihua, Jeffrey Inanba, Rem Koolhaas and Sze Tsung Leong. 2001. *Great Leap Forward*. Harvard Design School.

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. (1980) 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. University of Minnesota Press.

Genosko, Gary. 2016. 'Postscript: For an Urban Machinic Ecology'. In *Deleuze and the City*, edited by Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson and Jonathan Metzger, 241–45. Manchester University Press.

GGRAsia. 2019. 'Macau Draws Nearly 36mln Visitors, Up 10pct in 2018: Govt'. GGRAsia, 23 January. https://www.ggrasia.com/macau-draws-nearly-36mln-visitors-up-10pct-in-2018-govt/

Gottmann, Jean. 1961. *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States*. MIT Press.

Griffiths, Martin and Michael Schiavone. 2016. 'China's New Urbanisation Plan 2014–20'. *China Report* 52(2): 73–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/0009445515627034

Haar, Sharon and Victoria Marshall. 2012. 'Mega Urban Ecologies'. In *Urban Design Ecologies*, edited by Brian McGrath, 144–59. Wiley.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Heaver, Stuart. 2018. 'If Hong Kong Has Rejected the New Economy, What Can It Bring to China's Silicon Valley?' South China Morning Post, 17 October. https://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/article/2168741/if-hong-kong-has-rejected-new-economy-what-can-it-bring-chinas-silicon

Lai, Tung-Yiu Stan. 2016. 'The Rise of Tall Podia and Vertical Malls'. In *Mall City: Hong Kong's Dreamworlds of Consumption*, edited by Stefan Al, 53–64. University of Hawaii Press.

Li, Peilin. 2019. 'Urbanization and the New Phase of Growth in China'. In *Urbanization and Its Impact in Contemporary China*, edited by Peilin Li, 1–20. Springer.

Looney, Kristen and Meg Rithmire. 2016. 'Urbanization with Chinese Characteristics? China's Gamble for Modernization'. Harvard Business School, Working Paper 16-083. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:25525861

McFarlane, Colin. 2011. *Learning the City: Knowledge and Translocal Assemblage*. Wiley-Blackwell.

McGrath, Brian and Grahame Shane. 2012. 'Introduction: Metropolis, Megalopolis and Metacity'. *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory*, edited by C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns and Hilde Heynen, 641–57. Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446201756.n38

Mumford, Lewis. 1971. *The Myth of the Machine, volume 1: Technics and Human Development*. Harvest Books.

Ng, Mee K and Wing-Shing Tang. 1999. 'Urban System Planning in China: A Case Study of the Pearl River Delta'. *Urban Geography* 20(7): 591–616. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.20.7.591

Nyíri, Pál. 2006. *Scenic Spots: Chinese Tourism, the State, and Cultural Authority*. University of Washington Press.

Nyíri, Pál. 2008. 'Between Encouragement and Control: Tourism, Modernity and Discipline in China'. In *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism*, edited by Tim Winter, Peggy Teo and T. C. Chang, 169–85. Routledge.

Ong, Aihwa and Li Zhang. 2008. 'Introduction: Privatizing China: Powers of the Self, Socialism from Afar'. In *Privatizing China: Socialism from Afar*, edited by Li Zhang and Aihwa Ong, 1–19. Cornell University Press.

Perlman, Janice E. 1976. *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*. University of California Press.

Rojek, Chris. 2010. *The Labour of Leisure: The Culture of Free Time*. Sage.

Sigley, Gary. 2009. 'Suzhi, the Body, and the Fortunes of Technoscientific Reasoning in Contemporary China'. *Positions: Asia Critique* 17(3): 537–66. https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-2009-014

Simpson, Tim. 2019. 'LIVE Baccarat Calculations: Macau Machine Gambling and the Production of the Post-Socialist Subject'. *Journal of Cultural Economy* 12(6): 521–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2019.1630660

Simpson, Tim. 2022a. 'The Velvet Rope and the Chinese Consumer: A Science of the Queue Apparatus'. *Applied Mobilities* 7(1): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2019.1608656

Simpson, Tim. 2022b. 'Macao's Post-Mao Grand Tour: China's Gamble on Urbanization in the Venetian Macao Resort'. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 20(5): 678–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1998085

Sloterdijk, Peter. 2013. *In the World Interior of Capital: Towards a Philosophical Theory of Globalization*. Polity.

Väliaho, Pasi. 2014. *Biopolitical Screens: Image, Power, and the Neoliberal Brain*. MIT Press.

Virno, Paolo. 2006. 'The Ambivalence of Disenchantment'. In *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, edited by Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, 13–36. University of Minnesota Press.

Wirth, Louis. 1938. 'Urbanism as a Way of Life'. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(1): 1–24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2768119

Yeung, Ruth M. W. and Wallace M. S. Yee. 2012. 'A Profile of the Mainland Chinese Cross-Border Shoppers: Cluster and Discriminant Analysis'. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 4: 106–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2012.06.001

Zwick, Detlev and Nikhilesh Dholakia. 2006. 'The Epistemic Consumption Object and Postsocial Consumption: Expanding Consumer-Object Theory in Consumer Research'. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 9(1): 17–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/10253860500481452

Chapter 13

The Impossible Joint Governance? Tourism and Metropolises in the Shanghai Megalopolis

Benjamin Taunay[1]

Introduction

Whereas at the end of the 1970s barely a quarter of the Chinese population resided in cities, today more than half of the population lives in urban areas of the country. This is the result of the economic reforms (*gaige kaifang*), when the central government has allowed the metropolises to seize the land market as a development tool (Xie et al. 2002). As a consequence, the urban areas expanded and became denser. With this very rapid urbanisation, several very large urban areas created by the convergence of metropolises have emerged (Xu and Yeh 2010). The best known is the one centred on Shanghai, which is now a megalopolis of several tens of millions of inhabitants. This is one of the largest multi-metropolitan areas in the world. Every day, local residents pass through it, as well as other individuals, who travel for business or pleasure, through tourist mobility. These journeys in particular have clearly become an issue for metropolises, as they generate economic activity (hotel room rentals, consumption in restaurants, bars, and so on), which the various local stakeholders compete for.

This chapter aims to show that joint governance between the metropolises of the Shanghai megalopolis is very difficult to put in place, although China remains a very authoritarian and centralised regime with a planned economy. Metropolitan resistance to multilateral development of tourist mobility is strong. Each of the metropolises is trying to attract tourism flows to itself, in particular those from domestic tourism.[2] The location of the main tourist sites (classified as 'A') illustrates this well: each metropolis tends to concentrate them in and near its urban area. This leads to rivalries

not only between metropolises, but also within the space managed by each metropolis.

After an analysis of the link between megaregions, urbanisation, governance and tourism in China, we will present the multi-metropolitan structure of the Shanghai megalopolis and the type of analysis we have conducted there. This chapter will then rely on the concentration of tourist functions in the metropolises of this megaregion and the competition between places that this leads to. This will make it possible to outline a typology of the link between tourism and metropolises within this megalopolis.

Megaregions, Metropolises, Governance and Tourism in China

The Emergence of 'Megaregions' in China: What Kind of Governance?

There are now ten major urban regions in China, formed by the clustering of several formerly separate metropolises. These are: the Beijing–Tianjin–Hebei province area; the Pearl River Delta (referred to in Chinese development plans as 'the Great Bay Area', see Chapters 11 and 12); Shandong Peninsula (between the cities of Jinan and Qingdao); South-Central Liaoning (Shenyang to Dalian); the Central Plain (around Zhengzhou, in Henan); the Middle Reaches of the Yangtze River (around the city of Wuhan); the western bank of the Taiwan Strait (from Fuzhou to Xiamen); the Chuanyu region (from Chengdu to Chongqing); the Guanzhong region (around Xi'an); and the Yangtze River Delta, centred on Shanghai, running from Nanjing in the north-west to Ningbo in the south-west. They all are 'mega-regions' (Florida et al. 2008), which each concentrate several tens of millions of inhabitants. These are multi-metropolitan forms, which have emerged as a result of the convergence of metropolises after several decades of urban growth.

The processes that led to this situation are well known. With the entrenchment of reforms, several transformations in the status of land led to a very high level of urbanisation. In particular, the decollectivisation of agricultural land (agrarian reform, 1988), then the permission given to the metropolises to manage land themselves (with large-scale real estate operations, granted to private companies, since 1992). Caught up in this process, former villages quickly became part of a dense urban fabric (*chengzhongcun*). Villages have kept their old morphology since the land-use rights have remained with them, generating a 'patchwork' urbanisation. Here we find different urban forms coexisting in a limited space, particularly within the metropolises. Some, such

as Shenzhen, have emerged in less than thirty years from almost nothing. Thus, while the development of urban areas was strongly contained until the reform period, it has since become an objective to be achieved. The 'Chinese dream' (*zhongguo meng*) has its roots in an 'urban dream' (Guan et al. 2018). It corresponds to a certain liberalisation of the urban construction market, where the metropolises have been placed in the front row, because they are the ones to whom the central power has transferred some of its prerogatives.

This metropolisation in China is synonymous with very large urban expansion, which has led to the formation of several 'megalopolises' (Gottmann 1964). Named 'megaregions' (*chengshi qun*), they became a priority in the five-year development plans from 2006 (11th Plan): in fact, as a direct consequence of the economic reform period, when several free zones were created (from 1984 onwards), in order to facilitate foreign direct investment. This urbanisation, initially made possible by rural industrialisation, led to reorganisations of the administrative structure in charge of these regions (in the case of the Pearl River Delta, upstream of Hong Kong, first of all: Zhang and Wu 2006). Here it was quickly observed that the metropolises have grown independently, not all together. Tensions between neighbouring cities became so great that the central government had to try to put in place arrangements to form clusters (Vogel et al. 2010). However, it must be noted that until now the metropolises within the Chinese megaregions have continued to be built in relation independently, as is the case around Shanghai (Su et al. 2017). In fact, the various waves of reform (rural industrialisation, land restructuring, tertiarisation of the economy) first served each of the metropolises (Yeh et al. 2020).

The association of several metropolises into a single entity does not inherently produce a joint governance. The governance of megaregions in China is a chimera. First, from the point of view of demographic dynamics, these megaregions are not polycentric: they are dominated by a main centre and the other centralities work individually, in clusters (Yang et al. 2015). Moreover, while local initiatives were envisaged in different regions to take advantage of the competition between metropolises (bottom-up logic), the state refused for a long time to allow them to emerge (as in the Great Bay Area). The central government maintained its power through a central government top-down approach, with the provinces being required to follow and implement the five-year plans. The de facto decentralisation that has taken place is therefore a challenge for the rescaling of statehood (Li and Wu 2012). There is, therefore, no joint governance, which has been an issue for the central government since the 12th Five-Year Plan, which is trying to

create coordinated development with better managed clusters (Wu 2017). There is indeed intense bargaining between central, provincial and other local government actors (Xu et al. 2020). However, while the state has now oriented its urban strategy towards these large urban regions (in a 'regional turn'), the joint governance of this type of space remains in its infancy. Before looking at this multilevel governance, we must consider that there is not yet awareness among the inhabitants that they belong to these regions. In order to coordinate the many proposals from the various metropolises, the central government is trying to create labels in branding operations. These are said to be markers of local identity, but they have difficulty in being adopted even in the earliest developed regions, such as the Great Bay Area (Lu et al. 2020). This strategy is struggling to create a coordinated dynamic, which is what the central government would like to see (Ye and Björner 2018). What the central government national power brings is the setting up of networks that link the metropolises together: high-speed trains, motorways, energy supply circuits. This is where coordination takes place, at the level of the provinces, not the metropolises. In this case, there is a relationship between central government imposition, with directives relayed by the provinces, and negotiation with the metropolises. This multilevel governance is done in order to attract as much public investment as possible to their agglomeration and, in return, to bring in a large number of private actors. These megaregions, therefore, remain a multi-metropolitan system, where each metropolis is a centre of gravity in competition with its neighbour. Little information emerges on the arrangements made between stakeholders to develop the various sectors of activity.

A Top-Down Approach to Tourism Governance

Like the construction of megaregions, the tourism phenomenon is a priority for the central government which is keen to keep a close and involved hand on its development. In 1982, the State Council (*guowuyuan*) placed the new Chinese National Tourism Administration under its authority (CNTA; *zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lüyou ju*), whose role is to implement the directives of the central government. It is only in 2018 that an independent Ministry of Culture and Tourism appears (*wenhua yu lüyou bu*). In China, tourism is therefore placed under the cultural authority of the state (Nyíri 2006). Thought of as a development tool, especially for regions where other activities are difficult to set up, tourism also responds to state directives: it's a state-directed phenomenon. It is thus the object of a particular political

framework, in that it is a resource for political action: since this sector was entirely undeveloped at the beginning of the reform period, it was then easier to control the planning, the material organisation of tourist sites, but also the messages of national pride that they should convey within them. Tourist sites thus serve a nationalist purpose: to glorify China's 'great' past (Yan and Bramwell 2008). In this way, they also tend to be sites of patriotic education.

In China, perhaps more than elsewhere, the undivided authority of the Party State is at work determining the meaning attributed to places and landscapes, and defining the ideas of history and culture attached to them. Tourism is thus related to the Chinese government's concern for the notion of intangible cultural heritage, of which eco-museums are one aspect (Bodolec 2014). This is why, even today, the experiences and discourses of tourists, and the representations that result from their visits, are all the product of the Chinese state (Taunay 2022). It is therefore understandable that tourism governance is hardly attributed to spheres other than those controlled by the central government. The initiatives remain strongly top-down, with new policies to be followed in each new five-year plan. It is, for example, the case of the 'small towns' (*xiao zhen*) since 2015, particularly developed in Zhejiang province and whose implementation suffers from this top-down logic (Hu et al. 2022). The specifications to be respected are often very restrictive and disconnected from local spatial logic. The increasing autonomy given to municipal governments has led to the emergence of a private market, which is in fact in competition with state projects: 'The growing autonomy of city government has encouraged intense competition between China's cities to attract capital investment and businesses' (Wang and Bramwell 2012, 991).

Little is known about the governance of tourism and the difficulties of making private initiatives coexist with central government directives. In the megaregions in particular, it is clear that the development of tourism has changed the spatial and social face of metropolises. In the Great Bay Area for example, with the importance of tourism, the prefectures of Guangdong province have begun to work together. This phenomenon, which seems to be rare, is however confronted, once again, with the central government's desire to control the actions and decisions taken in terms of joint governance. In this case, the power restrains what it struggles to organise itself: 'this change is subject to political, social and cultural objections and counterforce' (Luo and Fung Lam 2020, chapter 4). As with governance in general, tourism management is therefore also sometimes constrained by state directives. The places where there is more room for manoeuvre are in the rural areas, which are much more documented by the tourism studies: in particular those located

near a metropolis, whose sprawl leads some villages to organise themselves in relation to tourist development, in order to insure urban growth and the associated services (Zhang et al. 2022a). There are many case studies, however, that provide information on the negotiations within these areas, rather than proposing an analysis of the links between local actors (public, private) and the decision-making centres (at the level of the departments of the province, each polarised by a main metropolis).

With the continuous increase in the standard of living in the metropolises of China's megaregions, there is a gentrification that is pushing back the boundaries of what used to distinguish urban and rural spaces. This process, encouraged by the provincial government (in order to achieve the national 'urban dream' objective mentioned above), is again bringing metropolises into competition with each other. This is the case of water cities (towns that have been built along rivers hundreds of years ago) in Zhejiang province, such as Wuzhen, where several operations have been carried out, to the detriment of other localities (Zhang et al. 2022b). Are the other metropolises around Shanghai trying to position themselves in order to develop this type of project in their periphery? What forms of competition but also – perhaps – joint actions can be taken in order to develop tourist activity?

Tourism Dynamics and Metropolises in the Shanghai Megalopolis

Shanghai: A Multi-Metropolitan Megalopolis

In order to address the matters in question, we have chosen the Shanghai megalopolis as an example. This choice is based on several reasons. It is an area (the Yangtze River Delta) which is historically very populated, one of the two economic centres (with the Pearl River Delta) of China in the nineteenth century, with living standards comparable to European standards at that time (Pomeranz 2001). It includes two former capitals (Hangzhou and Nanjing), both of which have become major metropolises. Finally, this megaregion is centred on Shanghai, the country's largest metropolis (a megacity), which has expanded very rapidly since the early 1990s. While it was perceived by the central power as the imperialist city (mirroring the imperial city, Beijing), a series of policies to open up to the world have made it the centre of a very vast megalopolis.

Within it, there is one municipality with provincial rank (*zhixia shi*: Shanghai), two provinces (*sheng*: Jiangsu and Zhejiang), and more than twenty metropolises. While all are interrelated by rail and motorway networks, not all are interconnected (that is, working together on common projects). What can be observed is a continuous urbanisation but with different gradients of urbanity. The strongest are those of the metropolises, those vast urban centres placed in the middle of a mixed urban patch, of the Desakota type (Moriconi-Ebrard and Perez 2017). As in other Chinese megaregions, there is therefore a superposition of different powers, which are sometimes in competition with each other. The metropolises must first of all manage the area they administer: that is, the central city (*shiqu*) and the prefecture (*shi*). The metropolises are in fact the decision-making points at the centre of a larger administrative network. They are therefore responsible for areas that are also under the authority of a province, which is obliged to apply national directives strictly. This gives rise to the tensions between the different forms of governance described above.

Before going into the details, it is worth specifying which metropolises we are talking about here. To present them is difficult: the statistical data do not only count the population of the metropolises themselves, but also the number of inhabitants of the territories administered by them. The 'central agglomeration' and the 'administrative unit' (the prefecture) that depends on it are thus classified under the same term (*shi*), which leads to confusion about the reality of urbanisation and the very definition of metropolises. These are those prefectural-level cities, made of districts (*qu*), which excludes municipalities with district rank (*xian ji shi*; Sanjuan and Fayolle Lussac 2017). These form the urban sieve that connects the major metropolises to each other, a sieve that also contains smaller metropolises. In order to grasp the metropolitan phenomenon within the Shanghai megalopolis, it is therefore necessary to take into account only the most densely populated districts in our definition of metropolises. To do this, we can consider only those districts with a population density equal to or greater than five thousand inhabitants per square kilometre (Sanjuan and Fayolle Lussac 2017). Here, based on the 2010 census (data for 2020, at the subprefectural level, are not yet available), we can produce Table 13.1. This one examines only the main metropolises located on or bordering the deltaic plain irrigated by the Yangtze River: that is, between Nanjing in the north-west, Ningbo in the south-east, Huzhou and Wuxi in the west. Between these main metropolises, there are others of lesser importance, which may be presented in the analysis to follow.

Table 13.1 Population and density in the thirteen prefectural-level cities of the Shanghai megalopolis (2010 census)

Rank	Metropolises	Central agglomeration (population: more than 5,000 inhabitants/km²)	Administrative unit (population: inhabitants)	Part of densely built-up area (%)
1	Shanghai	11,572,419	23,019,196	50.3
2	Nanjing	3,563,762	8,003,744	44.5
3	Hangzhou	2,631,050	8,700,373	30.2
4	Suzhou	1,686,357	10,459,890	16.1
5	Wuxi	1,457,761	6,374,399	22.9
6	Ningbo	1,177,388	7,605,689	15.5
7	Changzhou	1,016,920	4,592,431	22.1
8	Yangzhou	521,146	4,460,066	11.7
9	Shaoxing	473,499	4,912,239	9.6
10	Nantong	423,250	7,283,622	5.8
11	Zhenjiang	330,563	3,114,105	10.6
12	Jiaxing	255,419	4,501,657	5.7
13	Huzhou	248,360	2,893,542	8.6
	TOTAL	**25,357,894**	**95,920,953**	**26.4**

Analysis of the Distribution and Governance of Tourist Locations from the Metropolises

In order to understand the tourism dynamics at work in the metropolises, we have chosen to explain how the tourist places are distributed and to analyse how they are developed and managed. In particular, we will observe where the places classified 'A' are located, a hierarchy produced by the tourism administration in 1999, at the time when the 'Golden Weeks' – *huangjinzhou* – were created. The Golden Weeks are the most visible expression of the imposition of tourism by the central government. There are five levels of tourist places and '5A' is the highest, which represents the world-class tourist attractions in China. This level was created in 2007, at the time of the Golden Weeks reform

(Wu et al. 2012), to distinguish these places from those 4A, the highest level until then. Considering these two types of places (4A and 5A) allows us to grasp the most visible expression of the directives of central power: localities wishing to host these types of tourist site must indeed comply with a large number of rules and standards, imposed within the framework of the various five-year plans.[3] By observing the distribution of pay-to-enter 'parks' we get a first idea of the power issues that exist between the metropolises and the provinces (thus the representatives of the national cultural authority).

Here, we can already see that the Shanghai megalopolis is the space that hosts the most 5A locations in China: sixty by the end of 2021, out of 306 (19.6%) of the country's total (Wang et al. 2022). This megaregion is therefore also a touristic cluster, the 'Yangtze River Delta city cluster'. It is also known that tourist locations ranked by number of As 'are distributed in areas with dense population and high levels of economic development, urban agglomeration and transport infrastructure' (Wang et al. 2020). However, what links do these places have with the metropolises? The hypothesis is that, as in other megaregions, there is no joint governance within the Shanghai megalopolis. If so, how are negotiations with the central government, with the other metropolises and with private tourism stakeholders carried out? While it is difficult to answer these questions in detail, the choice of selected examples will allow us to better understand where and how these sites with a national label are established with the goal of bringing in visitor flows and crucial revenues for the local population. Through further examples, we will also be able to understand the strategies developed from smaller metropolises, or on their periphery, to develop tourist activities. Together, these stakeholders' negotiations form a system, that of the relationship between metropolises and tourism within the Shanghai megalopolis, for which a typology will be sketched.

Results and Discussion

A Common Tourism Control Scheme, Differentiated Metropolitan Governance

If the metropolises in China are the places of economic concentration and value, they are also the places where tourist functions converge. It is indeed here that the planning of tourist places and activities is managed. The offices in charge of tourism (*lüyou ju*) work in response to national calls for projects, in order to obtain the necessary funds for the planning required by each

metropolis. Several institutions share the monitoring of the projects, according to their competences and their position in the Chinese administration, as well as their location. At the highest level of the state, labels are imposed, which oblige the facilities set up to respect certain standards, verified during inspection visits. This power is delegated to the provincial tourism office (*sheng lüyou ju*), which is in charge of tracking the execution of projects within the sites (such as the construction and commissioning of new roads, the opening of a camping area, the establishment of new shops, and so on). However, this institutional level is not responsible for the actual implementation of the projects, nor for financial support, which is the responsibility of the prefecture (*shi*). The prefecture orders but also collaborates with the district (urban space: *qu*), or the county (rural space: *xian*), which has an interest, in order to give visibility to the territory it administers (in a context of competition between prefectures), to develop this site. The district and the county thus have, in most cases, a company in charge of carrying out the various works (*lüyou jiquan kaifa youxian gongsi*), which may itself cooperate with other companies. Finally, at the site level, in addition to the employees recruited to ensure security, ticket control and also the daily management or the health of visitors (if necessary), a Communist Party unit is present. The unit ensures the application of the rules of good conduct, monitors the implementation of national slogans according to the various five-year plans, and officially validates all projects from their start-up to their opening to the public.

It is because of this general pattern that tourist locations often look the same from one prefecture to another: the guidelines issued by the central government must be followed, but each metropolis then calls on private companies, which combine the guidelines with their own particular objectives. Second, not all metropolises concentrate on the same business sectors and therefore have different levels of income. The choice of projects, their scale and even their success often depend on these different resources. Finally, not all metropolises took the tourist turn (the choice to develop tourism) at the same time, which explains why some prefectures have more tourist sites than others. All of these elements, as well as the interlocking strata of power, explain why, for an identical national tourism directive, the results on the ground may not be the same. The metropolitan function therefore defines the form of tourism: the more power the metropolis has, the more it controls the development and implementation of tourism.

In this sense, each metropolis seeks to host the greatest number of tourist sites, to make the region it controls the most visible, thus attracting

the most visitors and recovering the highest associated revenues. This can be seen very clearly with the metropolises near Shanghai, located in Jiangsu province. The cities with the most 4A and 5A sites are also the ones that receive the most arrivals and collect the most tourism revenue. This is the case of Suzhou, which has forty such sites (17.2%) and earns 18.4% of the total revenue, thus ranking first in the province (Table 13.2). It is ahead of Nanjing, which is a larger metropolis. To understand this paradox, it should be noted that the metropolises of Suzhou and Wuxi share the same airport. Their combined urban agglomerations (dense: more than five thousand inhabitants/km^2) represent a demographic weight (3.1 million) similar to that of Nanjing (3.6 million; Table 13.1). But this would be forgetting that Suzhou and Wuxi concentrate seventy-one 4A or 5A sites, for 32.9% of the total revenue. This is the result of the competition between the metropolises around Shanghai. In order to exist between the megalopolis that is Shanghai and the former imperial capital that is Nanjing, Suzhou and Wuxi have joined forces and placed themselves in the orbit and attraction of Shanghai. It takes only twenty minutes to connect Suzhou's TGV station to Shanghai's (Hongqiao station), while it takes a little over an hour to reach Nanjing. This shows different strategies and no common coordination yet at the level of tourism governance in this part of the megalopolis.

A Concentration of Tourist Sites Around Each Metropolis

Table 13.2 highlights the link between the size of the metropolis and the frequency of tourist arrivals in 4A and 5A locations. Indeed, the larger (population) the metropolis, the more tourists it receives in this type of place. More precisely, the more power the metropolis has, the more visible and attractive it is, and the more it implements an individual strategy enabling it to attract tourist activity and the associated revenue to itself. This can be seen on the following map (Figure 13.1): 4A and 5A tourist locations are first concentrated around each metropolis, before being distributed further afield within the space controlled by the metropolis.

There is in fact a cluster effect around each metropolis. Conversely, the further one moves away from one's conurbation, the fewer the locations, clearly showing the administrative boundaries between prefectures. This is particularly true in the case of the metropolises located at the extremities of the megalopolis (Ningbo, Nanjing): they concentrate around them most of the 4A places located in the space that they control administratively. Only

Table 13.2 Tourism arrivals and receipts, number of 4A and 5A sites and corresponding tourism arrivals, by prefectures in Jiangsu in 2019

Metropolises	**Tourist arrivals (*10,000*)**	**%**	**Tourism receipts (*100 million yuan*)**	**%**	**Number of sites 4A-5A**	**Tourist arrivals at sites 4A-5A (*10,000*)**	**%**
Suzhou	13,374.10	15.3	2,559.29	18.4	40	10,462.54	16.3
Nanjing	12,718.85	14.5	2,412.24	17.4	27	12,868.49	20.0
Wuxi	10,236.93	11.7	2,015.70	14.5	31	9,558.84	14.9
Changzhou	7,947.05	9.1	1,178.09	8.5	13	7,557.94	11.8
Yangzhou	7,739.11	8.8	996.33	7.2	15	4,400.23	6.8
Zhenjiang	7,120.71	8.1	1,012.35	7.3	9	2,398.12	3.7
Nantong	5,251.21	6.0	765.42	5.5	11	2,253.18	3.5
Taizhou	3,156.72	3.6	409.31	2.9	11	1,572.77	2.4
Total	**87,611.70**		**13,902.21**		233	64,271.70	

a few places are located around secondary cities (Xiangshan and Ninghai around Ningbo, for example), in order to give counterparts to the latter. This situation is found in Shaoxing county (Zhejiang province), where the main metropolis contains the majority of 4A sites and the only 5A site. Only five 4A locations are left to the two secondary cities in the department. The situation changes the closer one gets to Shanghai. Counties such as Jiaxing (in Zhejiang) and Suzhou (as seen above) are located on the direct periphery of the megacity and are therefore geared towards it, trying to benefit from its nationwide attraction to welcome visitors.

In between these two cases is the metropolis of Hangzhou, also the capital of Zhejiang province and the fifth largest city in the country. Since it has its own power of attraction, it functions almost independently of the neighbouring prefectures. Indeed, it attracts to it the 4A places of Huzhou prefecture (to the north; the 4A places are located along the main roads leading to Hangzhou), so that the administrative borders seem to blur between the two prefectures. It can also be observed that within the prefecture it controls, tourist sites are well oriented towards its metropolitan area, along the main roads, in order to facilitate their access from Hangzhou.

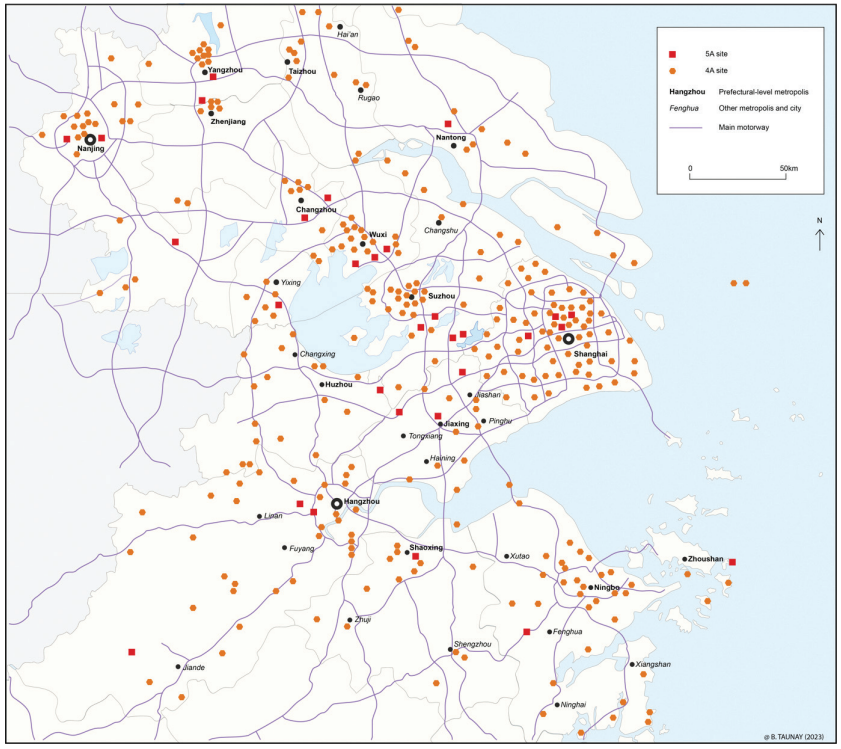


Figure 13.1 Locations of 4A and 5A sites in the Shanghai megalopolis (December 2021).

What we note here is the formation of urban corridors, which start from the metropolises and head towards the main tourist locations (4A and 5A). This formation is particularly visible in Jiangsu province, since the metropolises there are more compact, closer to each other. Whereas in Zhejiang the Hangzhou Bay creates a natural border to be crossed, there is no clear boundary to be traversed here. The urban density is higher and the travel time between the metropolises is shorter; for example, Ningbo is two hours by high-speed train from Shanghai, compared to just over an hour for Nanjing. This reinforces the competition between metropolises, which then adopt differentiated strategies (as we have seen with the Suzhou–Wuxi conurbation). In terms of governance, there is therefore clearly a logic of the situation within the Shanghai megalopolis. As tourist places are often similar from one prefecture to another, each metropolis must find ways to differentiate itself. In other

words, the metropolis must be attractive so that Chinese tourists will then want to visit the tourist sites located within its catchment area.

Individual Initiatives Emerge, Without Joint Governance

This concentration of the main tourist locations in or near the largest metropolises explains why smaller localities are also trying to develop a tourism activity, specifically the smaller cities, in the shadow of the prefectural-level metropolises. Projects developed here and in different places are copied elsewhere, without joint consultation. This is the case, for example, with the successful establishment of a maritime cruise port in Shanghai and the parallel failure of the same type of place on the Zhoushan archipelago (the only maritime department in the megalopolis, with 'only' three 4A sites and one 5A site). In the first case, due to the extremely rapid economic development and demographic reserves of the megacity and its urban area, a first port (Beiwaitan) was created near the Bund, a few hundred metres in front of the towers of the Pudong district. This first port, however, rapidly became undersized in relation to the increase in the flow of Chinese cruise passengers between the mid-2000s and the mid-2010s. To increase capacity, the metropolis of Shanghai decided to create a second port, effective in 2015, situated in the Yangtze delta thirty kilometres from the centre of Shanghai (Wusongkou). The new second port allows the most recent, larger capacity and higher tonnage boats to be received. The Wusongkou port is experiencing very strong growth: in 2012, it welcomed sixty ships representing 280,000 passengers, compared with four hundred ships in 2016, exceeding 800,000 cruise passengers; that is, 64% of the ships received in China and 70% of the cruise passengers (Mondou et al. 2017). This success has given ideas to the tourism bureau of Zhoushan prefecture, which in 2014 acquired a cruise port with a quay capable of receiving the vast majority of the largest and most modern maritime cruise ships.

This ambitious project has not been as successful as in Shanghai. Traffic remains very low (only twenty-seven ships received between the opening of the port and 2017), although this port is in a position to reach South Korea and Japan more quickly than from Shanghai. In addition, there is the opportunity to sail much faster (five times faster) in international waters. The port's position and opportunity open up the possibility of offering a casino in the boat, an undeniable and proven attraction of cruising in a country where they are forbidden. So why did the port fail even though the project had the financial support of the provincial government? Firstly, even though it was positioned

in a different niche (attendance was largely based on a modest Chinese company, Zhonghua Taishan), this port is in direct competition with the more accessible and renowned port of Shanghai. Aware of this, but without consulting the port of Wusongkou, the municipal authorities (the metropolis of Shenjiamen) decided to move towards the reception of smaller, top-of-the-range boats with international passengers on board. A company dedicated to the operation and marketing of the terminal has thus been chosen. Once again, this is a symbol of self-centred governance that is confronted with the reality that the territories are competing for Chinese tourists. Thus, until now (and even more so during the COVID-19 period) the infrastructure is disproportionate and international companies still make little use of the Zhoushan terminal as a port of embarkation.

The metropolises are in competition with each other in a game where each has unequal advantages. It should also be emphasised that obtaining and implementing funding is not enough, as it is first necessary to appear on the map of the region's tourist locations. Obtaining a station for high-speed trains is a necessary prerequisite, for which localities can sometimes fight. This is particularly true where activity is most recent or even in its infancy, as was the case in Deqing, a district of Huzhou prefecture in Zhejiang province. Although located on the immediate edge of Hangzhou county, the province's largest and most touristy metropolis, Deqing district remained in the shadow of its neighbour until the 2010s. It was not until the high-speed train line (in 2014) connecting Hangzhou to Nanjing that Deqing appeared on the map of possible tourist destinations for everyone in the megalopolis. But why this city rather than another? The financial resources here were insufficient to undertake major works. A tourism development project was therefore proposed to the Zhejiang government, and a request for funding was made for which a general development plan was drawn up. This announced the establishment and development of tourist sites spread evenly throughout the district. However, we can see today how great the gap is between the initial announcements and reality. On site, investments were initially concentrated on the city of Deqing (*Deqing xiancheng*), and in a few localities around it, notably the high-altitude resort of Moganshan. There, companies have taken over the renovation of old colonial villas, in order to offer them to tourists in the region. The local authorities have thus redirected the money from the initial project to the development of their largest city and its surroundings in order to attract private investors. Thanks to its attractiveness, Deqing has become a city of power, exploiting a de facto decentralisation, without any consultation with its neighbours.

What Typology of Links Exist Between Metropolises and Tourism in the Megalopolis of Shanghai?

It can be said that the metropolitan form defines the degree of tourism in the Shanghai megalopolis. More precisely, depending on the size and nature of the metropolis, the attraction is not the same, influencing arrivals and the associated tourist revenues. All this explains why each metropolis tries to attract to itself the tourists who go to that megalopolis. However, it is possible to draw up recurrences that link tourism and metropolises in this area. Generally speaking, we observe a basin logic, centred on metropolises of different sizes. Four types of area emerge: megacities, metropolitan corridors, independent metropolises and smaller cities (Table 13.3).

The first, the megacity, corresponds to the very large metropolises of Shanghai and Hangzhou. These are the largest urban areas and the fifth largest metropolis in the country. They concentrate all the management functions associated with very large urban areas and can function almost independently of other neighbouring metropolises. They are also a centre of attraction for them, but also for trade flows from the megaregion and the rest of the

Table 13.3 Typology of the links between metropolises, governance and tourism in the megalopolis of Shanghai

Type of urban space	Governance	Tourist traffic	Examples
Megacity	De facto independent pole (at the centre of a megacity region)	++++ (Most frequented areas)	Shanghai; Hangzhou
Metropolitan corridor	Attempts at consultation with neighbouring metropolises (conurbation, urban agglomeration)	+++ (Highly frequented areas)	Wuxi; Suzhou; Changzhou; Jiaxing
Independent metropolis	Individual initiatives aimed at strengthening the weight of the metropolis (and the metropolitan area) in the region	++ (Medium to high traffic areas)	Nanjing; Ningbo
Cities	Wish to develop an autonomous activity (in the city-region) with the support of the prefectural-level metropolis	+ (Less frequented areas)	Xiangshan; Jiande; Hai'An

country. Very large urban areas therefore form very dense urban clusters and concentrate the largest number of tourists here. Shanghai remains a special case, particularly because it is the main gateway to the region and because this metropolis has been the showcase of China's economic reforms for the last three decades. It therefore embodies the face of Chinese modernity. Hangzhou has developed in parallel, but has only recently become visible to the world, notably by concentrating some of the country's largest high-technology companies (like Shenzhen in the Pearl River Delta). Between these two poles are the metropolises that are located within a metropolitan corridor. These include Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou in Jiangsu province, and Jiaxing in Zhejiang. These metropolises are located in the catchment area of the megacities and, in order to exist, they must sometimes join forces. This forms the only form of joint governance observed in the megalopolis (even if communication and branding often remain the prerogative of each metropolis in these cases). The number of tourists is also very high here.

Beyond these metropolises close to Shanghai and Hangzhou, there are other metropolises whose situation makes them more independent. These are in particular Ningbo and Nanjing, located at the south-eastern and north-western ends of the megalopolis. Their relative isolation explains why they concentrate their efforts on their conurbation first and then on the region they administer.[4] They therefore function as regional poles that define the limits of the megaregion. Beyond this, the peripheries of the megalopolis appear (the Zhoushan archipelago, for example) and, rapidly, its margins (the mountainous areas of the south of the delta, as well as the agricultural plain to the north). It is towards these transitional areas that the least frequented tourist spots are located, close to smaller metropolises or secondary towns. Their distance from the main centres, as well as the relative disengagement of the prefectural-level metropolis, explains why there are often independent development initiatives here. These are not always successful, due to a lack of financial resources but also of human resources, which are concentrated in the largest metropolises of this megalopolis.

Conclusion: A Governance That Remains to Be Built

Despite repeated calls from the central government for a coordinated governance of China's megaregions, there is still no common tourism governance in the Shanghai megalopolis. At this stage of urbanisation in China, it is still a spatial form, not a political entity. This should remind us that China

is certainly an authoritarian regime, but it is also a space where order must be negotiated. In particular with the metropolises, which several decades of economic reform have made almost independent, or at least able to manage the direction of the projects they have decided to undertake. They therefore concentrate the power of decision on tourist activities and places. Here we realise that while the central government tries to regulate private initiatives through five-year plans to be respected by a series of decrees and regulations, the metropolises encourage the action of private actors. The latter generate competition, which is a source of profit for the metropolitan governments.

These are questions that future research could address. A better knowledge of the private actors would indeed allow us to understand how the de facto decentralisation (in the framework of tourist operations) is organised within the metropolises. And this against the prerogatives retained until now by the central power in Beijing, with the support of the provincial authorities. Indeed, despite the growing autonomy of the metropolises, this level of the administrative mesh has not been removed in the megaregions. Here, the state probably wishes to limit the perverse effects of a liberal order, which would leave the smaller metropolises and the secondary cities in each prefecture even more to one side. Such research exists in the case of very localised examples, particularly within rural areas, but is still lacking at the level of metropolises. Are the tensions, conflicts and associated negotiations observed there to be found here? In what form? Why here and not elsewhere? These questions must be even more topical after almost three years of zero-COVID policy and control of associated mobility. At a time when the control is loosening, it will be interesting to look at the competition and complementarities between the different metropolises in their prospects of resuming the march towards tourism development.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Greg Andruszczenko for his careful proofreading of this text, as well as his wise advice.
2. International arrivals being a very small minority and of little significance in terms of economic growth (Deng et al. 2014).
3. The criteria include quality and management factors like ease of transportation links, site safety, cleanliness, etc., and also take into account the uniqueness and recognition of the sightseeing offers (Ryan and Gu 2013).
4. Ningbo is barely an hour from Hangzhou by high-speed train.

Bibliography

Bodolec, Caroline. 2014. 'Être une grande nation culturelle. Les enjeux du patrimoine culturel immatériel pour la Chine'. *Tsanta* 19: 19–30.

Deng, Taotao, Mulan Ma and Shuai Shao. 2014. 'Has International Tourism Promoted Economic Growth in China? A Panel Threshold Regression Approach'. *Tourism Economics* 20(4): 911–17. https://doi.org/10.5367/te.2013.0308

Florida, Richard, Tim Gulden and Charlotta Mellander. 2008. 'The Rise of the Mega-Region'. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 1(3): 459–76. https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsn018

Gottmann, Jean. 1961. *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States*. MIT Press.

Guan, Xingliang, Houkai Wei, Shasha Lu, Qi Dai and Hongjian Su. 2018. 'Assessment on the Urbanization Strategy in China: Achievements, Challenges and Reflections'. *Habitat International* 71: 97–109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2017.11.009

Hu, Xiaohui, Qianbo Wu, Wei Xu and Yuwen Li. 2022. 'Specialty Towns in China: Towards a Typological Policy Approach'. *Land Use Policy* 114, 105933. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2021.105933

Li, Yi and Fulong Wu. 2012. 'The Transformation of Regional Governance in China: The Rescaling of Statehood'. *Progress in Planning* 78(2): 55–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2012.03.001

Lu, Haiyan, Martin de Jong, Yun Song and Miaoxi Zhao. 2020. 'The Multi-Level Governance of Formulating Regional Brand Identities: Evidence from Three Mega City Regions in China'. *Cities* 100, 102668. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102668

Luo, Jian Ming and Chi Fung Lam. 2020. *City Integration and Tourism Development in the Greater Bay Area, China*. Routledge.

Moriconi-Ebrard, François and Joan Perez. 2017. 'Shanghai et Guangzhou sont les deux agglomérations urbaines les plus peuplées du monde [Shanghai and Guangzhou Are the Two Most Populated Urban Centers in the World]'. *Confins* 30, 11729. https://doi.org/10.4000/confins.11729

Mondou, Véronique, Shen Shiwei and Benjamin Taunay. 2017. 'The Cruise Ports of Call in China: A New Form of Harbour Development'. *PORTUSplus* 7. https://portusplus.org/index.php/pp/article/view/167

Nyíri, Pál. 2006. *Scenic Spots: Chinese Tourism, the State, and Cultural Authority*. University of Washington Press.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. 2001. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton University Press.

Ryan, Chris and Gu Huimin. 2013. *Tourism in China: Destination, Cultures and Communities*. Routledge.

Sanjuan, Thierry and Bruno Fayolle Lussac. 2017. 'La Chine vue d'en bas, les petites villes enjeux du développement'. *L'Espace géographique* 46(4): 292–310. https://doi.org/10.3917/eg.464.0292

Su, Shiliang, Zebin Liu, Yifan Xu, Jing Li, Jianhua Pi and Min Weng. 2017. 'China's Megaregion Policy: Performance Evaluation Framework, Empirical Findings and Implications for Spatial Polycentric Governance'. *Land Use Policy* 63: 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2017.01.014

Taunay, Benjamin. 2022. 'Contrôler et normaliser l'habiter touristique: enjeux pour la projection de la Chine dans le Monde contemporain'. HDR thesis, University of Amiens.

Vogel, Ronald K., H. V. Savitch, Jiang Xu, Anthony G. O Yeh, Weiping Wu, Andrew Sancton, Paul Kantor, Peter Newman, Takashi Tsukamoto, Peter T. Y. Cheung, Jianfa Shen, Fulong Wu and Fangzhu Zhang. 2010. 'Governing Global City Regions in China and the West'. *Progress in Planning* 73(1): 1–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2009.12.001

Wang, Jingbo, Yu Xia and Yuting Wu. 2022. 'Sensing Tourist Distributions and Their Sentiment Variations Using Social Media: Evidence from 5A Scenic Areas in China'. *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 11(9) 492. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi11090492

Wang, Ting, Lu Wang and Zhi-Zhong Ning. 2020. 'Spatial Pattern of Tourist Attractions and Its Influencing Factors in China'. *Journal of Spatial Science* 65(2): 327–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/14498596.2018.1494058

Wang, Yi and Bill Bramwell. 2012. 'Heritage Protection and Tourism Development Priorities in Hangzhou, China: A Political Economy and Governance Perspective'. *Tourism Management* 33(4): 988–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.10.010

Wu, Bihu, Lan Xue, Alastair M. Morrison and Xi Y. Leung. 2012. 'Frame Analysis on Golden Week Policy Reform in China'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39(2): 842–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.10.002

Wu, Fulong. 2017. 'China's Emergent City-Region Governance: A New Form of State Spatial Selectivity through State-orchestrated Rescaling'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40(6): 1134–51. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12437

Xie, Qingshu, A. R. Ghanbari Parsa and Barry Redding. 2002. 'The Emergence of the Urban Land Market in China: Evolution, Structure, Constraints and Perspectives'. *Urban Studies* 39(8): 1375–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980220142682

Xu, Jiang and Anthony Yeh (eds). 2010. 'Coordinating the Fragmented Mega-City Regions in China: State Reconstruction and Regional Strategic Planning'. In *Governance and Planning of Mega-City Regions*, edited by Jiang Xu and Anthony Yeh, 229–51. Routledge.

Xu, Jiang, Calvin K. L. Chung and Mengmeng Zhang. 2020. 'Governing Mega-City Regions in China'. In *Mega-City Region Development in China*, edited by Anthony Gar-On Yeh, George C. S. Lin and Fiona F. Yang, 226–47. Routledge.

Yan Hongliang and Bill Bramwell. 2008. 'Cultural Tourism, Ceremony and the State in China'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(4): 969–89. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2008.09.004

Yang, Jiawen, Ge Song and Jian Lin. 2015. 'Measuring Spatial Structure of China's Megaregions'. *Journal of Urban Planning and Development* 141(2). https://doi.org/10.1061/(ASCE)UP.1943-5444.0000207

Ye, Lin and Emma Björner. 2018. 'Linking City Branding to Multi-Level Urban Governance in Chinese Mega-Cities: A Case Study of Guangzhou'. *Cities* 80: 29–37. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.10.018

Yeh, Anthony Gar-On and Zifeng Chen. 2020. 'From Cities to Super Mega City Regions in China in a New Wave of Urbanisation and Economic Transition: Issues and Challenges'. *Urban Studies* 57(3): 636–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980198795666

Zhang, Jingxiang and Fulong Wu. 2006. 'China's Changing Economic Governance: Administrative Annexation and the Reorganization of Local Governments in the Yangtze River Delta'. *Regional Studies* 40(1): 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400500449085

Zhang, Qingyuan, Chao Ye and Jinjun Duan. 2022a. 'Multi-Dimensional Superposition: Rural Collaborative Governance in Liushe Village, Suzhou City'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 96: 141–53. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.10.002

Zhang, Qingyuan, Lin Lu, Jianfeng Huang and Xiao Zhang. 2022b. 'Uneven Development and Tourism Gentrification in the Metropolitan Fringe: A Case Study of Wuzhen Xizha in Zhejiang Province, China'. *Cities* 121, 103476. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2021.103476

Part 3

Practices and Representations of Metropolitan Tourism

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

Introduction

The tourist metropolis is not just a matter of public policies and investments. It is also shaped by practices and representations, making it possible to go beyond the divide between production and consumption. If restricted to management and promotion policies, the notion of a metropolitan tourist destination overlooks the way in which visitors transcend tourist perimeters and spread out into the wider metropolis. The metropolisation of tourism is therefore not just a tourism policy but also a social fact, which can be understood in terms of practices and representations. The mixing of the circulating imaginations of locals and international tourists also transforms tourist metropolises into places where new relationships with tourism are invented.

Circulating images shape the metropolis. Imaginaries circulate globally, constituting powerful instruments of change (Salazar 2012). The tourist metropolis is not only produced by the specialised narratives and images produced by tourism players and professionals, but also conveyed by the mass media and the iconic role of metropolises. For example, slum tourism in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro is underpinned by the circulation of films, video clips and street artists' frescoes, which feed into and globalise new imaginaries of the metropolis (Freire-Medeiros 2011).

The metropolis also conveys an imaginary of modernity through its cityscapes, as shown by Gilbert and Hancock (2006) studying how New York

has become the spectacle of the modern metropolis for European visitors. The skyline is the symbol of a triumphant modernity or postmodernity. Following the division between the metropolitan imaginaries from the Global North and the Global South (Roy 2005), some metropolises also embody excess and urban gigantism, which are part of the metropolitan experience and tourist experiences, involving its popular and informal spaces. At the same time, certain metropolitan touristified attributes seem to become global attributes, emancipated from local specificities, as Voon Chin Phua and Jesse Shirliff (2019) show in their analysis of Singapore's Chinatown.

These imaginations are not set in stone but can be altered or challenged, revealing dominant narratives or other representations and narratives of the metropolis. For example, some guides and representations construct a gendered imaginary of the destination aimed at the 'male tourist gaze' (Degen and Wainwright 2011). Conversely, some representations are changing, integrating other histories, stemming from the civil rights struggles, promoting African American tourism (Grant 2005), taking up colonial legacies (Jørgensen 2019) or making the presence of migrants visible (Chapuis and Jacquot 2014). These integrations of other narratives or reinterpretations of dissonant heritage produce ambivalent forms of tourism, part of counter-hegemonic narratives (Boukhris 2017) or leading to a neutralisation of a colonial past (Jørgensen 2019).

These imaginaries can encourage certain practices (Gravari-Barbas and Graburn 2012). However, the link between practices and imaginaries is not unequivocal. The massive use of social networks by visitors accentuates the hermeneutic circle described by John Urry (2002), also generating new tourist locations, as illustrated in Montevideo (Paül i Agustí 2018). The notion of experience makes it possible to think about the imaginary and practice together. In fact, experience is both the ways in which we interact with metropolitan spaces and the way in which they are transformed into experiences and representations. What are the experiences of metropolitan tourism?

This raises the question of the specific nature of metropolitan tourism. Are tourist practices different from those of urban tourism or tourism in general? Are there emblematic and specific practices in the tourist metropolis? We can postulate that, compared with other tourist destinations, metropolitan practices are marked by their diversity and their ability to reinvent tourism.

What seems to characterise the tourist metropolis is the plurality of motives for visits and tourist practices. Tourist metropolises are often destinations for leisure, festivities, congresses and business, allowing shopping, festive and transgressive practices, event and sports tourism and so on, all

at the same time. This versatility results in a range of practices that are not specific to any one category of visitor, whereas other types of destination are more specialised (Équipe MIT 2011). Conference and business visitors are also consumers of other aspects of the metropolis, such as Porto's gastronomic offer (Pinho and Marques 2021). Some metropolitan destinations are major shopping destinations, such as Hong Kong (Choi et al. 2015) and Dubai (Zaidan 2015), while some metropolitan districts are becoming specialised, such as the shopping outlets on the outskirts (Rabbiosi 2011). Classic practices of strolling, gastronomy, and cultural and museum visits coexist with metropolitan specialisations, from participation in the Chicago marathon (Suozzo 2002) to music festivals in Detroit (Che 2008) or to Berlin's electronic scene (Garcia 2015).

Metropolitan practices are also linked to the possibility of diffuse urban itineraries, not limited to the historic central areas but extending to the suburbs (Maitland 2019) and urban peripheries. This intra-metropolitan tourism can extend to the metropolitan fringes (Wu and Cai 2005; Liu and Wong 2019) as a trend of exurban tourism (Weaver 2005).

The metropolis is marked by the multiple origins of residents and tourists, bringing together individuals from many different backgrounds and creating spaces at the crossroads of these multiple flows, such as the Ham Ngu Lao backpacker district in Ho Chi Minh City (Peyvel and Gibert 2018). Metropolises bring together visitors from far away and from neighbouring countries, resulting in differentiated practices, as analysed in shopping practices in Johannesburg (Rogerson 2011). This plurality of tourists and practices leads to forms of distinction (Freytag 2010), seeking to emancipate themselves from the main tourist concentrations, giving rise to off-the-beaten-track tourist practices (Maitland and Newman 2009) or to tourist practices perceived as more ethical. Repeaters are also a factor in the spread of tourism within the metropolis (McKercher et al. 2012).

The tourist metropolis is also marked by a plurality of tourist practices, which also depend on where visitors come from. As Novy (2017) shows, mobilities intersect, and it is difficult to distinguish between international tourists, visitors from closer geographical origins, mobile students, and so on. What brings them together is the sharing of the same metropolitan area and a certain homology of practices. In this respect, the tourist metropolis is emblematic of the blurring of origins and practices, producing a form of de-differentiation emblematic of the idea of post-tourism. The touristification of everyday life and the mixing of tourists and residents are becoming a feature of metropolitan tourism (Maitland 2010). These connections are also part of

the new landscape of urban consumption in gentrified areas, attracting visitors with similar practices to their metropolises of origin.

This blurring also transforms the resident into a visitor, shaping the idea of the 'resident tourist' who explores neighbourhoods that are close to home but socially distant (Hoogendoorn and Hammett 2021). In this way, the tourist metropolis is also a meeting place for otherness (Rath 2007), with objectives ranging from commodification to political action (Cloquet and Diekmann 2015) and through the tourism of multicultural or cosmopolitan spaces visited by distant tourists or resident tourists.

The notion of practice also needs to be reconsidered. The usual conceptualisation of the urban tourist as a 'flaneur' reflects a gendered bias, thinking of the visitor as detached from the urban spectacle. Conversely, from a feminist approach, thinking of the tourist as a 'choraster' means imagining them as more involved in the urban world, engaged in various interactions and living experiences rather than practising activities (Wearing and Wearing 1996), while being attentive to the plurality of ways of being a tourist (Wearing and Foley 2017). Indeed, these various practices cannot be detached from the emotions and judgements that accompany them, which are little studied in academic work. In Amsterdam, Chapuis (2016) shows the plurality of tourist positions with regard to the red-light district, the consumption of landscapes presented as immoral, and the emotions experienced by visitors, which engage them in their own self-definitions. In this way, metropolitan tourism practices also construct moral geographies and affects, and engage the individual beyond the mere pleasure of consumption.

The notion of practice does not just concern 'tourists'. Taking into account the practice turn (de Souza Bispo 2016) makes it possible to go beyond the opposition between structures and agency by considering the performative and organisational dimensions of practices. The other challenge of the practice turn is not to confine the analysis of practices to visitors and consumers (Bargeman and Richards 2020). The public and private institutions which organise, regulate and develop the tourist metropolis are also affected by practices at the crossroads of their own urban and tourist experiences and professional practices. The tourist metropolis is thus also made up of ordinary development, the practices of residents who rent out their property on Airbnb or oppose it, local mobilisations (Colomb and Novy 2017) and even forms of resistance. The structure of the tourist metropolis is produced by these practices and the way they are organised. Thinking about the various players together enables us to understand how tourists can be perceived as allies or, on the contrary, as stakeholders in metropolitan transformation, and

ultimately to consider tourism practices in their political dimension. Some studies show that visitors are also looking for a tourism alternative that is not just about distinctive consumption but also raises ethical issues that may resonate with non-mainstream tourism players (Vergopoulos 2019), who also have a political agenda.

Bibliography

Bargeman, Bertine and Greg Richards. 2020. 'A New Approach to Understanding Tourism Practices'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 84, 102988. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2020.102988

Wu, Bihu and Liping A. Cai. 2006. 'Spatial Modeling: Suburban Leisure in Shanghai'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1): 179–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2005.10.013

Boukhris, Linda. 2017. 'The Black Paris Project: The Production and Reception of a Counter-Hegemonic Tourism Narrative in Postcolonial Paris'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25(5): 684–702. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1291651

Chapuis, Amandine. 2016. 'Touring the Immoral. Affective Geographies of Visitors to the Amsterdam Red-Light District'. *Urban Studies* 54(3): 616–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016645261

Chapuis, Amandine and Sébastien Jacquot. 2014. 'Le touriste, le migrant et la fable cosmopolite. Mettre en tourisme les présences migratoires à Paris'. *Hommes & Migrations* 1308(4): 75–84. https://doi.org/10.4000/hommesmigrations.2999

Che, Deborah. 2008. 'Sports, Music, Entertainment and the Destination Branding of Post-Fordist Detroit'. *Tourism Recreation Research* 33(2): 195–206. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2008.11081305

Phua, Voon Chin and Jesse E. Shircliff. 2019. 'Heritage Spaces in a Global Context: The Case of Singapore Chinatown'. *Current Issues in Tourism* 23(12): 1449–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2019.1689930

Choi, Mi Ju, Cindy Yoonjoung Heo and Rob Law. 2016. 'Progress in Shopping Tourism'. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 33(sup1): 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2014.969393

Cloquet, Isabelle and Anya Diekmann. 2015. 'Discovering or Intruding? Guided Tours in the Ethnic District Matonge in Brussels'. In *Ethnic and Minority Cultures as Tourist Attractions*, edited by Anya Diekmann and Melanie Kay Smith, 41–59. Channel View.

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2017. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Routledge.

de Souza Bispo, Marcelo. 2016. 'Tourism as Practice'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 61: 170–79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2016.10.009

Degen, Monica and Emma Wainwright. 2011. 'Wallpaper* City Guides and Gendering the Urban Aesthetic'. *Tourist Studies* 10(2): 155–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797611403056

Équipe MIT 2011. *Tourismes 3. La révolution durable*. Belin.

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. 2011. '"I Went to the City of God": Gringos, Guns and the Touristic Favela'. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 20(1): 21–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2011.562631

Freytag, Tim. 2010. 'Déjà-vu: Tourist Practices of Repeat Visitors in the City of Paris'. *Social Geography* 5: 49–58. http://doi.org/10.5194/sg-5-49-2010

Garcia, Luis-Manuel. 2015. 'Techno-Tourism and Post-Industrial Neo-Romanticism in Berlin's Electronic Dance Music Scenes'. *Tourist Studies* 16(3): 276–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797615618037

Gilbert, David and Claire Hancock. 2006. 'New York City and the Transatlantic Imagination: French and English Tourism and the Spectacle of the Modern Metropolis, 1893–1939'. *Journal of Urban History* 33(1): 77–107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144206290385

Grant, Elizabeth. 2005. 'Race and Tourism in America's First City'. *Journal of Urban History* 31(6): 850–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144205278170

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Nelson Graburn. 2012. 'Tourist Imaginaries'. *Via Tourism Review* 12(1). https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1180

Hoogendoorn, Gijsbert and Daniel Hammett. 2021. 'Resident Tourists and the Local "Other"'. *Tourism Geographies* 23(5–6): 1021–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1713882

Jørgensen, Helle. 2019. 'Postcolonial Perspectives on Colonial Heritage Tourism: The Domestic Tourist Consumption of French Heritage in Puducherry, India'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 77: 117–27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2019.05.001

Liu, Ran and Tai-Chee Wong. 2019. 'Rural Tourism in Globalizing Beijing: Reproduction of the Mountainous Suburbs into a New Space of Leisure Consumption'. *Sustainability* 11(6), 1719. https://doi.org/10.3390/su11061719

Maitland, Robert. 2010. 'Everyday Life as a Creative Experience in Cities'. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4(3): 176–85. https://doi.org/10.1108/17506181011067574

Maitland, Robert. 2019. 'Extending the Frontiers of City Tourism: Suburbs and the Real London'. In *Destination London: The Expansion of the Visitor Economy*, edited by Andrew Smith and Anne Graham, 15–35. University of Westminster Press.

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman (eds). 2009. *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge.

McKercher, Bob, Noam Shoval, Erica Ng and Amit Birenboim. 2012. 'First and Repeat Visitor Behaviour: GPS Tracking and GIS Analysis in Hong Kong'. *Tourism Geographies* 14(1): 147–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2011.598542

Novy, Johannes. 2017. '"Destination" Berlin Revisited. From (New) Tourism towards a Pentagon of Mobility and Place Consumption'. *Tourism Geographies* 20(3): 418–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1357142

Paül i Agustí, Daniel. 2018. 'Characterizing the Location of Tourist Images in Cities. Differences in User-Generated Images (Instagram), Official Tourist Brochures and Travel Guides'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 73: 103–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2018.09.001

Peyvel, Emmanuelle and Marie Gibert. 2018. 'La fabrique du quartier routard de Pham Ngu Lao (Hô Chi Minh-Ville, Viêt-nam). Rapports de pouvoir et inégalités dans la mondialisation touristique'. *L'Espace géographique* 47(2): 121–39. https://doi.org/10.3917/eg.472.0121

Pinho, Micaela and Jorge Marques. 2021. 'The Bleisure Tourism Trend and the Potential for this Business-Leisure Symbiosis in Porto'. *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism* 22(4): 246–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/15470148.2021.1905575

Salazar, Noel B. 2012. 'Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39(2): 863–82. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.10.004

Rabbiosi, Chiara. 2011. 'The Invention of Shopping Tourism. The Discursive Repositioning of Landscape in an Italian Retail-Led Case'. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9(2): 70–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2010.549233

Rath, Jan (ed). 2007. *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City*. Routledge.

Rogerson, Christian M. 2011. 'Urban Tourism and Regional Tourists: Shopping in Johannesburg, South Africa'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102(3): 316–30. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2011.00666.x

Roy, Ananya. 2005. 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning'. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71(2): 147–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689

Suozzo, Andrew. 2002. 'The Chicago Marathon and Urban Renaissance'. *Journal of Popular Culture* 36(1): 142–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-5931.00036

Vergopoulos, Hecate. 2019. 'Alternative Tourism and Civil Society in Athens'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(1): 51–62. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-12-2017-0086

Urry, John. 2002. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. Sage.

Wearing, Betsy and Stephen Wearing. 1996. 'Refocussing the Tourist Experience: The Flaneur and the Choraster'. *Leisure Studies* 15(4): 229–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/0261436963755530

Wearing, Stephen and Carmel Foley. 2017. 'Understanding the Tourist Experience of Cities'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 65: 97–107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.05.007

Weaver, David. 2005. 'The Distinctive Dynamics of Exurban Tourism'. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 7(1): 23–33. https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.521

Zaidan, Esmat A. 2015. 'Tourism Shopping and New Urban Entertainment: A Case Study of Dubai'. *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 22(1): 29–41. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356766715589426

Chapter 14

From Forgotten Borders to New Centralities: Emerging Tourism Practices and Concepts in São Paulo (Brazil)

Camila Cardoso Ribeiro, Paulo Tácio Aires Ferreira, Thiago Allis and Reinaldo Tadeu Boscolo Pacheco

Introduction

The dialectical relationship between city and tourism is mediated by several social actors. In this work, the role of urban social movements in the city of São Paulo is highlighted, which, by activating tourism with different purposes based on different practices in the city, ignites new political and social processes (Harvey 2014). We assume that the city is essentially made of movements both material and symbolic, so that approaching it under the spectrum of normativity would incur freezing it (Agier 2015).

Therefore, following the same arguments of Ferreira and Pachedo (2022), it is intended to understand emerging narratives of urban tourism based on strategies of urban 'collectives' (Aderaldo 2016), whose sociabilities take place beyond conventional tourist centralities – that is, the peripheries or self-nominated *quebradas*. Thus, it seeks to discuss the practice and theory underlying contemporary interpretations of tourism in metropolitan contexts, with emphasis on the urbanity of the Global South.

Specifically, we feature urban situations that depict how tourism on the edges of the city – physically and symbolically – inform about intentions other than those defined by conventional tourism market agents in large cities: in general, based on heritage icons of historic centres, corporate landscapes and cosmopolitan practices based on visions of exogenous urban experiences.

In an anthropological approach, it is opportune to prioritise 'a closer look and from inside' as a way of identifying and describing aspects excluded from the perspective of those focused from outside and far away. Thus, 'instead of a

passing at a glance', it is necessary to look 'from the arrangements of the social actors themselves' (Magnani and Spaggiari 2018), having in mind particular 'urban situations' (Agier, 2011). Considering tourism and the actors that are part of the investigation in this context, we will work especially with the category of *circuit*, which allows us to understand the city from the perspective of groups and their symbols that circulate, exchange internally and externally, and have controversies (Magnani and Spaggiari 2018, 328).

Tourism and the Everyday: What Is the Attraction?

Everyday leisure practices emerge from the category of tourist attraction, deserving, therefore, to be understood how they take place, which includes conflicts and opportunities for hosts and visitors. This produces forms of tourism outside conventional urban circuits, a phenomenon that has been addressed in the literature from various perspectives (Matoga and Pawłowska 2018; Argod 2016; Gravari-Barbas and Delaplace 2015; Allis 2014; Colomb 2012; Maitland 2013, 2010; Novy 2010; Pappalepore et al 2010; Novy and Huning 2009; among others, with specific views of particular cases).

Very different from a questionable approach on slum tourism activities of the 1990s in Brazil and elsewhere (South Africa, Namibia, Mexico, India, among others), self-managed tourism initiatives centred on community agendas have emerged in recent years. These, in general, are based on social and political activism, though not many lasted long in commercial aspects (Freire-Medeiros and Moraes 2022).

Thus, resistance and activism are manifested by the opportunity to communicate local issues and engage external audiences, making tourism programmes a digestible and soft way to raise political invisible flags. Despite a geographic and symbolic peripheric condition, this task is not exactly commonplace, since the fringes of large cities in the Global South are generally assumed for their problems, misery and danger. Off-the-beaten-track tourism can be even more challenging once the urban daily routines suffer additional (non-tourism related) difficulties, especially in complex urban contexts – like in Brazil and in Latin America.

Because of that, far from the exposure of misery, non-conventional tourism programmes are seen as a practice of protest – and not only the voice of the 'discontents' against tourism and tourists' own practices (Novy and Colomb 2017). It is, from another perspective, a layer of tourism as a vehicle for local agendas. The novelty here emerges from two aspects.

In short, thinking about these actors and their disputes in a city that boasts grandeur can be a starting point for the reflection that is being built. It is interesting to know how much tourism there is in the practices and discourses of these movements, which, at their origin, had no intention of becoming touristic (Allis 2016). We assume that the political strategies used by such groups, in many cases, in addition to helping in the possibilities of building another city, are of interest to critically grasp tourism and leisure, based on non-dominant expressions of urban planning.

Setting the Stage: São Paulo and the Role of *Quebradas*

Brief Urban History and Tourism Development in São Paulo

Once tourism takes place in the city, it approaches the processes of production and reproduction of urban space, constituting itself by the accumulation of capital. One needs to situate tourism in the current 'forms and content of the production of urban space', because this way it is possible to problematise it (Soares 2015).

The city of São Paulo, one of the largest urban agglomerations in the world, had its urbanisation process accelerated from the middle of the nineteenth century, changing from an irrelevant colonial village to a hub of flourishing businesses linked to coffee growing and an emerging industry. At the turn of the twentieth century, its population exceeded three hundred thousand inhabitants and, in the 1950s, it would consolidate itself as the main economic centre in Brazil and Latin America (Caldeira 2000).

The arrival of European immigrants was rampant in that period. For the author and activist Abdias do Nascimento, it is 'unquestionable fact that immigration laws in post-abolitionist times were conceived within the larger strategy: the eradication of the "black spot" in the Brazilian population' (Nascimento 1978, 71). Whitening in Brazil was a project presented at the first Universal Races Congress in 1911, in which the country was represented by João Baptista de Lacerda and supported by other scientists, and was put into practice based on eugenics policies: that is, 'cleansing' of people who did not correspond to the European white standard. Such a proposal predicted the extinction of the black population in a period of one hundred years with the 'help' of white contingents from Europe.

One cannot forget that between the 1930s and 1970s one of the greatest phenomena of demographic dynamics took place in Brazil. Associated with

the process of accelerated growth and concentration of the economy, domestic migration of Northeasterners to the Southeast – mostly to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro – was intense, in search of work in sub-jobs, which European immigrants would avoid. Little by little, these migrants established their homes, social and cultural relationships; today, it is difficult to walk through the streets of São Paulo and not come across some expression or manifestation of the culture of the Northeast.

The urban expansion then was projected beyond municipal boundaries, initiating a process of metropolisation that was never interrupted. In the present, the city of São Paulo has over ten million inhabitants and its metropolitan area is about to reach twenty million inhabitants (Caldeira 2000).

Especially after the second half of the twentieth century, social discrepancies and the political and economic crises the country went through produced unequal, segregated territories full of urges never fully resolved – ranging from a booming industrial city to a fragmented and chaotic urban puzzle. Even so, the city consolidates itself as an important regional hub for international tourism, making the economic, financial and logistical connections between the country and a good part of Latin America with the rest of the world. Therefore, it is estimated that São Paulo receives more than ten million visitors, attracted by events, working, culture, shopping, medical treatments and, on an increasingly larger scale, urban leisure (Caldeira 2000; Rolnik 2017).

And regarding the approach to urban tourism, one has to observe several components to influence its planning, not only focusing on business, events or cultural tourism without delving into the incidence of tourism in urban planning, in order to observe how cities begin to project themselves, thus, as cities for consumption (Allis 2016, 108).

Cities and metropolitan regions concentrate many companies and mobilise an intense flow of tourists, especially those travelling on business. And as a result, many cities have become spaces for attracting financial investments, whose funds finance urban projects aimed at many activities, including tourism (Allis 2016, 2). In addition to travel motivations that revolve around commerce, services and industries, cities are certainly also characterised by having numerous cultural facilities, although located essentially in central regions.

São Paulo is an iconic reference both as a financial centre and also as a tourist destination (MICE [meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions] segment, cultural activities, medical services and so on). These permeate the historical occupation of Avenida Paulista until the opening of shopping centres at Brigadeiro Faria Lima and Engenheiro Luís Carlos Berrini avenues,

where urban interventions currently take place and public investments are typically concentrated (Carlos 2015, 51). Thus, most hotels, international standard facilities and cultural venues are concentrated in the so-called 'southwest quadrant' (for more details, see Santoro and Rolnik 2017).

However, in opposition to tourism activities in central São Paulo, there is a growing number of tourism initiatives also in its periphery. Communities and associations have promoted partnerships that unite agroecology and tourism; other collectives have given new meaning to public spaces, highlighting memories that relate to numerous cultural references. These take place despite a deep social and economic inequality in the city, specifically because of the absence of public policies.

Further on, we will discuss these examples of tourism, which, in a certain sense, are configured as off-the-beaten-track experiences (Gravari-Barbas and Delaplace 2015), addressing their discourses and practices, and how they show us their relevance to thinking about tourism in the city. But first, an essential question has to be asked: what is a *quebrada*?

What Is a Quebrada?

São Paulo grew vertiginously from the end of the nineteenth century. From this period until the present, the city has gone through several processes of formation. The growth pattern characterised by 'centre-periphery' developed in São Paulo in the mid-1930s (Caldeira 2000, 211). From the 1980s onwards, another form of spatial occupation will gradually emerge as 'fortified enclaves' (Caldeira 2000), whose pattern has impacted to a certain extent the movement of people in public space. Harvey (2014, 47) points out that cities have become 'walled communities and public spaces kept under constant surveillance' (Harvey 2014, 48).

Similar processes occur in other cities around the world, as in the case of Los Angeles, a city also studied by Caldeira (2000). Another important issue is that throughout this period of transformations in its urban space, the city was also affected by an intense change in terms of economic structuring: that is, the deepening of neoliberal policies. And such a change would evidently not fail to be accompanied by many contradictions.

And with these transformations, added to the historical processes that already marked the periphery of the city of São Paulo, there is an increase in the fear of living in the city. For Caldeira (2000), the fear of living in the city comes together with the advent of 'fortified enclaves', which also help to reinforce class and race prejudices. For D'Andrea (2013, 53), while neoliberalism

worsened the lives of the working classes, it leveraged others, especially those who had access to the financial market. Thus, a supposed 'modernity', succeeded by the volatility of capital in the 1990s, cheered up the 'São Paulo bourgeoisie'. Not only do they start to choose gated communities as their new home, but they also start to indulge in the consumption of imported products (D'Andrea 2013, 53).

Urban violence would skyrocket in the 1990s, and it certainly had its background in many institutionalised policies characterised by the privatisation of public space, but also in growing unemployment (see Rolnik 2017, 46). In this sense, crime, fear of violence, disrespect for citizenship and urban transformations make up a formula for spatial segregation. They promote a symbolic reorganisation of life and interfere in the way we relate to the public space (Caldeira 2000, 9).

However, although authors such as Caldeira (2000) lead us to perceive a certain fragmentation of the city, for example, demonstrating the coexistence of favelas bordering on large real estate projects aimed at the middle classes and elites, the dichotomy between centre and periphery is still in fact very striking in São Paulo – even the discourse that it is no longer possible to oppose 'centre and periphery', since the idea of 'periphery' in the city of São Paulo can and should be problematised (D'Andrea 2021, 14) (Figure 14.1).

Since the mid-1980s, the term periphery (*periferia*, in Portuguese) has been pointed out in hegemonic discourses for its negative aspects, where the absence of public power and the marked presence of poverty were always apparent. However, it is important to highlight that the term 'periphery' has undergone different transformations over the last few decades. The hip hop movement and the emergence of numerous cultural collectives, for instance, in the periphery of São Paulo in the 1990s are significant elements of the 're-semantisation of the term periphery and the re-signification of political making in the periphery' (D'Andrea 2013, 26). The periphery in its concreteness, or even the idea of periphery, becomes an important symbolic element in the formation of its residents, which the author calls 'peripheral subjects' (D'Andrea 2013).

However, it is important to point out that the peripheries are not homogeneous as is usually thought and defined; they do have their vicissitudes, contradictions and certainly virtues. That is, far from freezing them, they are configured in a space where their living ones 'accommodate and conflict' (D'Andrea 2021, 31–32). D'Andrea (2013) highlights that the 'peripheral subjects', including cultural collectives, by provoking a re-semanticisation of the term periphery, from the 1990s onwards began to produce aesthetic and

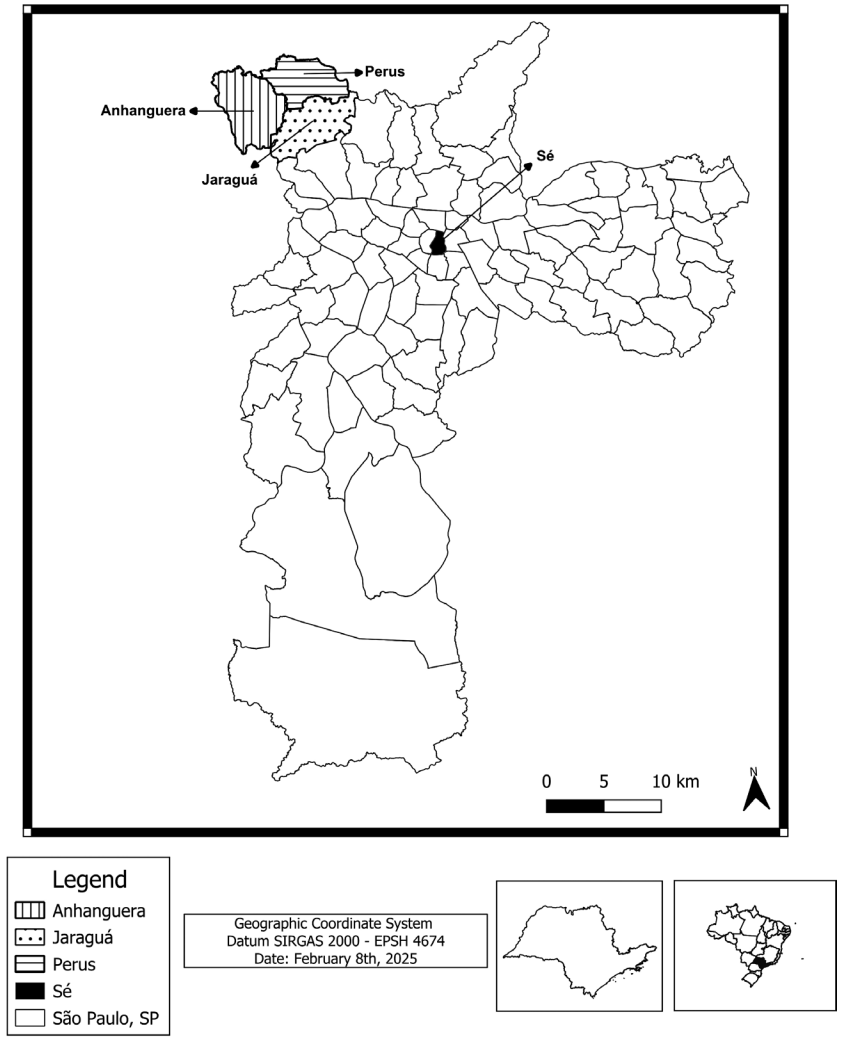


Figure 14.1 São Paulo: territories of diversity and inequality.
(*Source:* Marino 2017)

political re-significations that overcome the negative view that had been from the periphery.

It is common to inflect the expression periphery given by 'peripheral subjects' as the plural: that is, 'peripheries'. In addition, it is possible to observe other expressions commonly used by residents of the periphery, whose

meanings delimit or associate neighbourhoods, communities and social groups. This is the case of the term *quebrada*, which soon became a topic of interest at the university.

This term refers to neighbourhoods located on the periphery and carries with it a certain complexity. For Pereira (2010, 55) the notion of *quebrada* is marked by a 'set of supposedly community relations and perceived as positive', but also with the same 'negative milestones' usually pointed to the peripheries. *Quebrada* also concerns how to act in the neighbourhood itself, though it is not an element that imposes the binary idea of being 'inside or outside' but rather the recognition of being and belonging to a *quebrada* (Pereira 2010, 55).

D'Andrea (2020) points out that the set of several *quebradas* forms the peripheries. *Quebrada* is periphery, and in general the terms, when activated, carry inherent powers and contradictions. Magnani (2002), when studying the different forms of sociability in the outskirts of São Paulo in the 1980s, highlighted what he named a *pedaço* ('portion', to refer to a segment of a given territory), captured from his own interlocutors. This category concerns a spatial delimitation marked by neighbourhood relations, kinship, sharing and belonging that confuse public and private space (Magnani 2002). It can be said that in the ravines there are countless pieces. Such a category, therefore, dispenses with a delimited space: a bar, a perimeter of a square, a library, among others (Magnani 2002).

Social Movements and Their Political Engagements

Following the insurgency of various urban social movements around the world, in São Paulo several cultural collectives emerged fighting for the right to enjoy public space, to transform the collective subjects themselves or even the individuals (Harvey 2014, 28). This is visible in the postures, actions, debates and meetings of certain groups in São Paulo in recent years. One learns in theory and in practice, capturing references – whether they are actions or theoretical – to anchor ideologies and projects.

Social movements in the city of São Paulo are certainly nothing new. Sader (1988), Cardoso (1992) and Kowarick (1987), among others, demonstrated the role of these collectivities in the political formation of the city. D'Andrea (2021) highlights the relevance of cultural collectives after the 1990s. For instance, Aderaldo (2016) studied the mobility of audiovisual activists in the periphery, and Raimundo (2017) analysed the territorialisation of cultural collectives.

In this study, we follow the definition of 'collectives' proposed by Aderaldo (2016):

> small associations – without hierarchical structure and generally informal – constituted by certain junctions of people with certain affinities, which are organized in most cases to carry out both aesthetic and political interventions in different urban spaces, with the purpose of re-signifying the social meaning of places.
>
> (Aderaldo 2016, 55)

Additionally, these can be understood as 'organised groups of people who defend democratic and non-hierarchical processes of action, sharing a critical reading of contemporary society' (Raimundo 2017, 22).

Very often, social movements aim at occupying public space, but they have also tightened up some dynamics of private spaces that concern collective memory. They stimulate discussions on the preservation of cultural and environmental heritage, encourage acts of solidarity, and emphasise local development through actions that articulate small businesses. It is true that housing, health, education, day-care centres and the fight against famine have been social movements' agendas since the mid-1970s. Among so many demands, tourism has emerged on the agenda of these communities with varied forms of action.

Comunidade Cultural Quilombaque: Engagement, Resistance and Local Development

'Our achievement [*vitória*] will not happen by chance.' This is how members of Quilombaque Cultural Community refer to their work and purpose, and this epitomises the tone of their social commitment. The Quilombaque Cultural Community, a non-profit organisation based in the neighbourhood of Perus in the Northwest Zone of São Paulo, emerged in 2005. On its Facebook page, the group defines itself as an 'ethnic and cultural political movement ruled by drums'. The collective has been dedicating itself to cultural activities that highlight Black and peripheral culture of the city.

Perus, Anhanguera and Jaraguá are peripheral districts of the city of São Paulo, with a large array of heritage assets and a constant target of real estate speculation. Very attentive to these factors, local social and cultural movements, in cooperation with the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo (FAU-USP), started a partnership aiming at

creating the Territories of Cultural and Landscape Interest (TICP: *Territórios de Interesse Cultural e da Paisagem*). In the realm of the emerging Strategic Master Plan (PDE: *Plano Diretor Estratégico*) in the city of São Paulo in 2014, that was a legal and administrative attempt to point out with technical language all the particularities and potentialities from the urban and social fabric in the new PDE.

TICP represents an educational, cultural and collaborative space, recognising the affective potential of knowledge based on the population's experiences, articulating cultural and natural heritage, places of memory, forms of participation, dialogues and local cultural production. With that, this instrument brings the dimensional recognition of the city alongside the economic and functional issues, going against the grain of what conventional urban planning models are traditionally guided by (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2014).

In this context, new mechanisms were needed in order to dynamically shape, articulate and sustain local struggles, so that these memories were accessible to the community and wider audiences. With the support of the Quilombaque Cultural Community, two incubation projects were launched: the Tekoa Jopo'í Territorial Museum of Cultural and Landscape Interest, and the Queixadas Eco-Cultural Tourism Development Agency, which, due to the magnitude they have taken, today operate independently.

The Tekoa Jopo'í Territorial Museum of Cultural and Landscape Interest proposes dialogues in the community and with external individuals, connects social movements, enriches the region's memory, encourages local sustainability and disseminates the struggles that take place in the territory through living mechanisms of collective actions (Museu Territorial Tekoa Jopo'í n.d.). In the cosmology of the Guarani people – still settled in a small community in the region – 'the more you donate, the more prestige you have'. In the process of developing this territorial museum, places of interest in history, affection, environment and social struggles encompassed in Perus, Anhanguera and Jaraguá territory were mapped. This is how paths and narratives take the form of educational trails that make possible different paths and educational and cultural perspectives through their attractions and dynamics.

In order to organise and operationalise educational trails promoted by the Territorial Museum and point out how to approach the TICP, the Queixadas agency was opened in 2018. Agência Queixadas was set as a strategy to enhance and problematise new possibilities of tourism in the periphery as a rich cultural source of forms, colours, knowledge and flavours, and the creation of a new tourist approach to bottom-up community-led tourism

development. Thus, the idea of 'resistance tourism' goes against the grain of what conventional tourism expects from a favela: Agência Queixadas does not carry out the well-known 'favela tours'; quite the contrary – these experiences reveal the potentialities coming from the peripheral territories. Inspired by the thought of José Soró ('Our theory is the praxis', Soró 2019), a community cultural and political leader, the founding principle is 'to make it happen', either with public or state support or not; and the outputs of these initiatives are the very core of the so-called 'resistance tourism' undertaken in Perus (Figure 14.2).

Even after almost one hundred and fifty years since the abolition of slavery in Brazil, the logic of 'the masters and the slaves' was not dismantled.[1] From the affirmation of a false racial democracy and the abolition as an unfinished work (see, for example, works of Nascimento 1978, 1979; Munanga



Figure 14.2 Graffiti at the Quilombaque Cultural Community headquarters by João Breno, a Queixada leader.
(*Source:* Paulo Tácio, Dec 2021)

1999; Gonzalez and Hasenbalg 1982; and Carneiro 2011), Agência Queixadas stresses that racism in Brazil is structural and produces poverty, social inequality, child labour, unemployment and a lack of decent housing. In this way, resistance tourism chooses to tell some of the stories that Brazil chose not to highlight, assuming protagonist and transformative potentialities of the periphery as cornerstones.

Inspired by Rosa (2013), to whom 'In extreme situations, ancestry opens the ways and displays perspectives, guarantees that the beam does not collapse', the agents involved in Agência Queixadas have drums as an organising principle and an ancestral social technology. Their foundations are based on the 'union and constant strength' inherited from the 'queixadas' workers.

> With the drums, we sing and attentively connect with Axé, we dance for the end of the genocide of the poor, black and peripheral population, because wherever we are, we are in the fight! We extend utopia as a founding element of our generation in this pandemic crossing of hopelessness. We drive an economy built on and through ecological dependence. Respect for Nature. Demarcation of Indigenous Lands, Now!!!
>
> (Manifesto of the 15th Anniversary of Comunidade Cultural Quilombaque)

In this sense, for Agência Queixadas, money cannot be the only engine for the development of the territory through tourism, much less for access to leisure and culture. It is important to establish new social relationships and a different life for the residents of this territory so the colonisation does not erase history or memory, but the present is reframed to build the future.

> After all, as master José Soró taught us, it is necessary to pass through to be able to see. Thus, in the peripheries, territories determined by denial, incapacity and impossibility, we reveal potential, potentialities and powers, such as the peripheral identity itself, forged in the creative capacity to resist. Youth with its energy and disposition to challenge and transform. Art, culture, knowledge. THE TERRITORY BOILS!!!
>
> (Manifesto of the 15th Anniversary of Comunidade Cultural Quilombaque)

Thus, by estimating such 'resistance tourism', Agência Queixadas seeks to disseminate the knowledge acquired over seventeen years of studies by the Quilombaque Cultural Community, independently and autonomously consolidating experiences for a new model of city. In order to do so, the following

elements are taken as essential conditions for the full exercise of citizenship and consolidation of the Democratic State of Law, following José Soró's inspiring words: 'Another city is possible and we are making it':

a. Guarantee of access for basic needs and well-being as a essential human right.
b. Emancipation: expanding the imaginary and the repertoire of languages.
c. Autonomy: creation of jobs and income, as well as prospects for social and economic transformation.
d. Local development through creative, solidary, cultural and environmental economy.

In 2018, the Quilombaque Cultural Community hosted the International Field School during the 15th World Leisure Congress, welcoming students from all continents. Quilombaque, as it is known, had already carried out several cultural activities in its territory before the meeting at the congress, also had partnerships with institutions such as Senac, Sesc and the University of São Paulo, and therefore decided to open a tourism agency, Agência Queixadas.

To date, Agência Queixadas has welcomed tourists from several countries, such as Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Turkey, United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.[2] They also highlight the importance of receiving visitors from their own territory, the neighbourhood of Perus, and students from the city of São Paulo itself, with the purpose of spreading their culture and territorial struggles (REPEP 2020).

These articulations enhanced the circulation of activists and dialogues that have also helped in the production of public policies. Members of the movement for the reappropriation of the Perus cement factory also participate in the São Paulo Heritage Education Network (REPEP: *Rede Paulista de Educação Patrimonial*), a collective that has been discussing heritage education as a tactic in urban politics.

The dialogue with these activists leads to discussions on themes essentially linked to the repertoires and performances of social movements in Brazil (Alonso 2017), such as strikes, occupations, reappropriation of spaces and re-signification of others: elements of culture and leisure as re-signification, resistance, reinterpretation that unfold in tourism activities. This becomes clearer when observing the naming of descriptions 'Trail of reappropriation and re-signification of public spaces' (see Table 14.1). It also reveals

Table 14.1 Educational trails developed by Agência Queixadas

Trails	Description
'Jaraguá é Guarani' Trail	This trail aims at understanding the ancestral presence of the Guarani peoples in the territory. After living in the indigenous village with the Guarani, visitors take a trail to the top of Pico do Jaraguá (1,135m), the highest point in São Paulo.
Perus-Pirapora Railway Trail	A steam-engine railway was established in 1914 and never fully concluded. It connects Perus, in São Paulo, to Pirapora do Bom Jesus. Visitors learn about its history and take a 3 km historic train ride to the Perus-Pirapora Railway Institute, where it is possible to visit a train museum.
Queixadas' Memories Trail	It preserves the memory of resistance and struggle of the *queixadas*, workers of the first cement factory in Brazil, where a seven-year strike took place (1962–1969). This trail brings the visitor to the precincts of the abandoned plant.
Dictatorship Never More Trail	This trail aims at supporting the forensic work of identifying bones discovered in the clandestine ditch of the Dom Bosco cemetery. Visitors get to know the historical context of the time and reflect on the military regime that took place in Brazil (1964–1984).
Town and Country Agroecologic Trail – Movimento dos Sem Terra (MST)	Visit to the first settlement of the MST (Landless Workers' Movement) in the city of São Paulo, in which the visitors get in touch with agroecological practices, environmental education practices and the history of resistance of Irmã Alberta MST Settlement, in Perus.
Reappropriation and Re-signification of Public Spaces Trail	Trail that allows visitors to understand the processes of cultural occupation and revitalisation of public spaces in Perus, including Comunidad Cultural Quilombaque, Hip Hop House Occupation, Canhoba Artistic Occupation and Padre José de Anchieta Public Library.
Perusferia Graffiti Street Art Gallery Trail	A trail through revitalised alleys in the neighbourhood, depicting the history of hip hop and graffiti as art and expression of resistance through several street galleries.

discussions that refer to the recent Brazilian past marked by the authoritarianism of the military regime, such as the trail that crosses the 'common grave' where countless people were murdered during that period and buried clandestinely in the Dom Bosco Cemetery in Perus. On the agency's website, the trail is highlighted with the following sentence: 'Remember so you don't forget, so it never happens again'.

In view of this, the group deeply problematises its territorial actions and, consequently, tourism. Making tourism is not opposed to political actions, the search for citizenship or the struggle for human rights. The collective essentially addresses discussions that emphasise the forgetfulness of the state as a provider of public policies and also as a repressive body, with the legitimacy of using violence as postulated by Max Weber. Thus, it promotes policies that cause high mortality, mainly related to Black and peripheral bodies.

In this sense, tourism has been recognised by a profusion of perceptions, sometimes as a tool for the dissemination of themes of social struggles, while it can also be a mediator for understanding the potential of territories and the social technologies produced (which are never less important than digital technologies): that is, everyday knowledge and collectively produced knowledge.

It is imperative to point out that in 2020, given the incidence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused an unprecedented health crisis also profoundly affecting public space and tourism activities in turn, cultural collectives were profoundly affected. Based on decades of action by popular movements, it was possible to acquire valuable experience in transmitting knowledge between generations, which made possible more effective actions against the sluggishness of the state at times when prompt responses were required.

At first it was noticeable that there was a general shock in the collectives, evidently because the situation was practically new to all humanity. However, later on, many communities and collectives, especially those located in peripheral neighbourhoods, began to act as catalysts for donations, even transforming their spaces into points of collection and distribution of food for communities in their territories, as in the case of the Quilombaque Community that gave up its space to collect basic baskets and distribute them. These spaces, 'immobile platforms' according to Sheller and Urry (2006, 209), made it possible to mobilise humanitarian aid.

Touring the Borders, Building New Centralities

Policies, or 'It's like Capoeira: You Need to Play Wisely'

More than the way these collectives and activists have been naming their tourism activities, it is through the observation of their practices that one can discuss some results of their productions. Fieldwork has pointed out some recurrences that proved to be relevant throughout the research. Even in the constant changes between the face-to-face and remote fields, the subjects' speeches captured through meetings and interlocutions lead to some discoveries. In this sense, urban anthropology is certainly an essential discipline for tourism studies, as it allows to capture and understand how social groups, not necessarily just social movements but wrapped in the dynamics of tourism in the city, theorise and develop their actions.

Members of Agência Queixadas repeatedly point out that the construction of their itineraries and educational activities are 'social technologies' produced from the experience in the territory. The collective refers to its pedagogical practice as *sevirologia* – an emerging and organic methodology from the idea of 'make it happen' (*se virar* in Portuguese). According to some members of the collective, this neologism refers to a methodology constructed by the activists themselves, whose verb 'to find a way' points to the difficulties, certainly financial, that residents and activists of peripheral neighbourhoods face in carrying out cultural actions in the face of an unfavourable environment. As the coordinator of Agência Queixadas said in an informal conversation: 'We need to do it with a lot or with little money', referring to the achievement of activities and projects.[3]

Practices: Tourism 'Beyond the Bridges'

Magnani (2002) suggests that it is necessary to observe the city through 'a close and inside look capable of identifying and describing aspects excluded from the perspective of those approaches [...] from outside and from afar'. Thus, 'instead of a passing look', it is necessary to look 'from the arrangements of the social actors themselves' (Magnani 2002, 18). The author has therefore proposed a 'family of categories', namely portion (*pedaço*), spot (*mancha*), portico (*portal*), circuit (*circuito*) and path (*trajeto*). In this chapter, we will focus mainly on the last two.

Circuit, for Magnani (2002):

> designates a use of space and urban facilities – thus enabling the exercise of sociability through meetings, communication, handling codes – but in a more independent way in relation to space, without sticking to the contiguity, as occurs in the spot or in the portion. But it also has an objective and observable existence: it can be surveyed, described and located.
>
> (Magnani 2002, 24)

The choices for certain 'paths' depend on the different choices or logics that people make (Magnani 2002, 23). Paths are non-random ways; and in the case of this research they are the options of individuals and their collectivities. To better exemplify the formation of a circuit, another category is mobilised: the portion (*pedaço*).

The approach and participation of researchers in the field in collective activities has been a way of at least trying to visualise the more generalist routes and circuits of the city's activism, to later enable more focus to the work, which specifically targets tourism and cultural heritage (Figure 14.3).



Figure 14.3 Visit to the former cement factory in Perus (São Paulo, Brazil). (*Source:* Thiago Allis, Dec 2021)

According to Magnani (2002, 24) circuits can be distinguished into a main one, which is more generalised and whose mechanism conglomerates other, more specific circuits. This category does not fit as a 'closed set' (Magnani 2002, 24). Environmentalists, cultural activists and mobility activists can be configured in a possible main circuit, for example, for the 'right to the city'. But they can also maintain links with one another or be delimited by other clippings. Thus, in the circuit of cultural activism, it is possible to perceive its numerous variations such as peripheral cultural activism, the soirée circuit, marginal cinema, cultural heritage activists, among many. As with the issue of urban mobility, this can happen with cycle activists, activists for mobility on foot; or in the environmental movement, such as movements to revitalise squares, among many others.

The local and territorial alliances and connections of Agência Queixadas give rise to small circuits. And these networks can be expanded and transposed throughout the city, not only having cultural heritage or tourism as central demands but also negotiated, agreed according to coalitions as they are formed. In this sense, it is interesting to note how expressions such as 'periphery', 'quebrada' and 'resistance' take place in the narratives of these collectives.

Discourses, or How 'the Quebrada Teaches'

It should be noted that through the actions and practices mentioned, one can understand how these collectives have operated. In addition to the recurrent adjectives to tourism, such as naming 'sustainable tourism' and even 'community-based tourism', it is noteworthy how the collectives name themselves their actions. Through the verbalisation of their actions, it becomes possible to understand the agency of these actors (Magnani and Spaggiari 2018, 31). Many of these verbs point to the actions of groups or social movements that perform social demands in discourses and practices, especially to public institutions.

In the case of tourism, it is interesting to point out how such an activity, given the market search for segmenting it, considers some rubrics on adjectives. The recurring presence of adjectives is visible both in official tourism, coming from the public and private sectors, which stratify typologies and concepts. In tourism this becomes visible when observing numerous segments such as cultural tourism, ecotourism and business tourism. Other forms of adjectives denote commitment to good practices for the activity: the case of

sustainable tourism and responsible tourism. However, it is worth pointing out that the neoliberal ideology, composed of a variation of elements, such as the increasing personalisation and individualisation of consumption, also depicts its ambivalences. While ideologically it highlights the individual as the protagonist to the detriment of the collective, responsibility for consumption is attributed to the same individuals.

Cultural collectives in the city of São Paulo have also named tourism. They are interested in community-based tourism (CBT). CBT is pointed out by many authors, researchers, community members and activists not as a segment but as a management model or even as a political strategy. And in this research we highlight resistance tourism, *quebrada* tourism and periphery tourism, among others that appeared in the discourse.

We also noticed a recurrence in nominations in several projects of cultural collectives, whose activations show how this notion has operated: walks are named with this expression, as in the case of the 'Let's Go, Quebrada' by Instituto Bixiga; collectives carry it in their own name, such as 'Caminhada das Quebradas' by Ermelino Matarazzo; and even courses recently developed, such as 'Turismo de Queixadas: memory, affection and resistance', taught by Agência Queixadas.

Thus, numerous verbs come to the fore: occupy, articulate, organise, pressure, claim, activate, mobilise, debate, disseminate, shoot, revolutionise, map; or other compounds such as verbal phrases that point to circulation in the city in the case of 'walking in the city', 'taking a ride in the city', 'planting in the city'; and also neologisms, such as *aquilombar* (to form a *quilombo*), and more unusual ones, such as 'to turn around' (which gives rise to 'sevirology'), and also 'to hack'.[4] Many of these verbs point to the actions of groups or social movements that perform social demands in discourses and practices, especially to public institutions. Others point to the making-city of activists, the continuous city construction of these groups, considering that the city is in constant movement.

It has been common to hear the expression 'hacking' from many activists in the city, it involves several issues, such as mastering political processes, academic methodologies, technologies, finding flaws in the structures of power and converting them in favour of underserved social groups. The origin of this neologism is still unclear. However, in addition to the speeches in informal conversations and also reproduced in live speeches by activists, the adage 'hacking the system' can be found by doing a quick search on the internet. It is not difficult to find the expressions hacking politics, hacking the

economy, hacking the public budget, hacking culture, hacking racism, among many others on Google or social networks. And tourism has also entered these hacking processes.

Himanen (2001) engaged in a more in-depth study beyond the strictly technological perspective, highlighting, under a Weberian methodology, the ethics of hackers who oppose the morals of contemporary society and the spirit of capitalism. It thus brings more sociological, philosophical shades of the term (Himanen 2001). However, our case seems different from the one treated by this author, even though he brings more social perspectives of analysis of the term 'hacking', in addition to analyses of information technologies. Therefore, the term 'hacking' emerged specifically from what has been seen in contemporary militancy and Brazilian activism.

Hacking can be taken as a tactic by the aforementioned collectives, as they use their territorial experiences to think and practice tourism in a more assertive and engaged manner. The discussion on memory and cultural heritage, having tourism as an important tool for action, is a recurrent strategy. In a session held by the Social Service of Comérico, the coordinator of Agência Queixadas, Camila Cardoso (Sesc São Paulo 2020), explains these processes with: 'We are going to revolutionise even the methodology of making tourism, because tourism [in the conventional approach], it also limits the possibilities of experiences in the territory'. Observing the work of Agência Queixadas, hacking is then claimed to counterpose dominating processes, in cultural, political and public policies, methodologies, technologies, and even tourism, finding flaws and inverting them in favour of needy social groups.

These movements have followed the opposite path of official tourism in the city, which has acted as a diffusing element of traditional cultural heritage, made official by public institutions (Scifoni 2022). In this sense, these actors have been working by problematising these crystallised perceptions of heritage and giving prominence to their daily productions, positioning them as of equal relevance.

Final (and Future) Remarks: Stretching Out the Frontiers of Tourism Scholarship

As practices of an emerging urban tourism, in large and complex urban centres like São Paulo, one is required to think, manage and plan tourism in other perspectives. As a first point, the dimensions of 'inside' and 'outside' in a large metropolis are subverted by indicators that go beyond linear distance.

In other words, in 'entering' certain parts of the peripheric city – and 'exiting' from others – the visitor experiences another sort of estrangement: if they come from central São Paulo to visit its borders, fear is replaced by curiosity.

The notion of *circuit* served to show that, despite being on the periphery, these communities are somehow articulated, whether in the processes of resistance (cultural, urban, political and so on) or in collective learning, which, with regard to tourism, invariably go through mediation with local authorities, non-governmental organisations and universities. In this sense, the production circuit of peripheral tourism does not occur only in simple opposition to the economic centre of the metropolis; on the contrary, there are communicative channels that create webs of relationships that do without the conventional circuits of power (political, financial, symbolic) – most of the time segregating and exclusionary. So once these collectives organise themselves – either individually or in groups – a new set of interactions is provided to the visitor, whose notion of the peripheries is generally driven by stereotypes of poverty and danger. In sum, the new circuits of metropolitan tourism, emerging from and empowering the borders, are the reason and the product of alternative ways of producing city spaces themselves.

In sum, this chapter intended, from a case study of Agência Queixadas, born as a collective initiative in the periphery of a large Latin American metropolis, to reflect on how discourses about collectivities reflect on alternative tourism in urban contexts. With an empirical approach, it was possible to understand the complex articulation that involves Agência Queixadas with other actors from the same territory contributing to the composition of their descriptions. The relevance of categories from the social sciences, essentially from anthropology, is also highlighted, such as the notion of *quebrada* (D'Andrea 2013; Pereira 2010) present in the narratives of the collectives of the territory. Another important notion is the idea of circuit proposed by Magnani (2002) that helps us understand how narratives, ideas and collectivities permeate the formation of descriptions and connections of subjects.

The city goes through recurrent processes and transformations. Many social sectors contribute to these changes. Services, which include tourism, play a role in this dialectic relationship between subjects and objects in the city, and certainly do not escape these changes. In this sense, tourism and the city form a mediating relationship between different social actors.

Resistance tourism emerged and was created by Agências Queixadas as a new methodology for tourism, going against the grain of what conventional tourism expects from a *quebrada*. This resistance tourism reveals the potentialities coming from the peripheral territories, consisting of what the agency

coordinators call sevirology, which concerns knowledge, shapes, colours and flavours, among other issues built in the territorialities themselves. This construction also concerns the idea of hacking, pointed out by the members of the tourism agency, because for them it is necessary to master processes and methodologies of tourism that are still – in the conventional approach of making tourism – inverted to their needs.

It is in these realities of shared narratives, contradictions and peripheral plurality, permeated with experiences with physical spaces and collectivities, that we can understand new experiences of doing, practising and managing tourism.

Notes

1. This expression refers to seminal work of Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande e Senzala*, originally published in Portuguese in 1933 and translated into English by Samuel Putnam, published by Knopf in 1946 as *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*.
2. https://ims.com.br/convida/comunidade-cultural-quilombaque/
3. This observation was mentioned in the course 'Tretas, tratos e tramas: gestão cultural e a construção de territórios educadores' promoted by the São Paulo SESC Research and Training Centre.
4. According to Machado et al. (2019): 'Between the 16th and 19th centuries, great numbers of men and women in the Americas escaped slavery by joining communities of fugitives. In Brazil, these communities were called *mocambos*, at first, and they were later referred to as *quilombos*, both of which were African terms that designated camps in several small societies in Central West Africa'. For more on that topic, see Machado et al. (2019).

Bibliography

Aderaldo, Guilhermo. 2016. 'Entre imagens e imaginários: estética e política nas intervenções visuais/audiovisuais de coletivos culturais paulistanos'. In: *Pluralidades urbana em São Paulo: Vulnerabilidade, marginalidade, ativismos*, edited by Lúcio Kowarick and Heitor Frúgoli Jr, 55–80. Editora 34.

Agier, Michel. 2011. *Antropologia da cidade: lugares, situações, movimentos*. Terceiro Nome.

Agier, Michel. 2015. 'Do direito à cidade ao fazer-cidade. O antropólogo, a margem e o centro'. *Mana* 21(3): 483–98. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0104-93132015v21n3p483

Allis, Thiago. 2014. 'Viajeros, visitantes, turistas... En búsqueda de conceptos en un mundo'. *Caderno virtual de turismo* 14(sup.1): 23–38. https://www.ivt.coppe.ufrj.br/caderno/article/view/1022/426

Allis, Thiago. 2016. 'Em busca das mobilidades turísticas'. *Plural* 23(2): 94–117. http://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2176-8099.pcso.2016.125112

Alonso, Angela. 2017. 'A política das ruas: Protestos em São Paulo de Dilma a Temer'. *Novos Estudos*, São Paulo Special Issue: 49–58.

Argod, Pascale. 2016. 'La médiatisation d'un tourisme « hors des sentiers battus » dans une édition touristique créative'. *Via* 9. https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.516

Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio. 2000. *Cidade de muros: Crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo*. Editora 34/Edusp.

Cardoso, Ruth Corrêa Leite. 1992. 'Popular Movements in the Context of the Consolidation of Democracy in Brazil'. In *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, edited by Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, 291–302. Westview Press.

Carlos, Ana Fani Alessandri. 2015. 'A tragédia urbana'. In *A cidade como negócio*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Danilo Volochko and Isabel Pinto Alvarez, 43–64. Contexto.

Carneiro, Sueli. 2011. *Racismo, sexismo e desigualdade no Brasil*. Selo Negro Edições.

Colomb, Claire. 2012. 'Pushing the Urban Frontier: Temporary Uses of Space, City Marketing, and the Creative City Discourse in 2000s Berlin'. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34(2): 131–52. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00607.x

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2017. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Routledge.

D'Andrea, Tiarajú Pablo. 2013. 'A formação dos sujeitos periféricos: Cultura e política na periferia de São Paulo'. PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo.

D'Andrea, Tiarajú Pablo. 2021. *Reflexões Periféricas: propostas em movimento para a reinvenção das quebradas*. Dandara.

Ferreira, Paulo Tácio Aires and Reinaldo Tadeu Boscolo Pacheco. 2022. 'Turismo, movimentos sociais e patrimônio cultural na cidade São Paulo/SP'. *Turismo Visão e Ação* 24(2): 340–59. https://doi.org/10.14210/rtva.v24n2.p340-359

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca and Camila Maria dos Santos Moraes. 2022. 'Mobilidades Transnacionais e a produção acadêmica sobre o turismo em favelas'. *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa em Turismo* 16, 2262. http://doi.org/10.7784/rbtur.v16.2262

Gonzalez, Lélia and Carlos Hasenbalg. (1982) 2022. *Lugar de Negro*. Zahar.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Marie Delaplace. 2015. 'Le tourisme urbain « hors des sentiers battus »'. *Téoros* 34(1–2). http://journals.openedition.org/teoros/2790

Harvey, David. 2014. *Cidades rebeldes: Do direito à cidade à recolução urbana*. Martins Fontes.

Himanen, Pekka. 2001. *The Hacker Ethic and the Spirit of the Information Age*. Random House.

Kowarick, Lúcio. 1987. 'Movimentos urbanos no Brasil contemporâneo: uma análise da literatura'. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 1(3): 38–50.

Marino, Aluízio. 2017. '"Ocupas" e Insurgências na São Paulo do século XXI'. *Anais do XVII ENANPUR* 17(1).

Machado, Maria Helena P. T., Flávio dos S. Gomes and Marília B. A. Ariza. 2019. 'Quilombos'. Oxford Bibliographies, last modified 29 May. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199730414-0314

Magnani, José Guilherme Cantor. 2002. 'De perto e de dentro: notas para uma etnografia urbana'. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 17(49): 11–29. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092002000200002

Magnani, José Guilherme Cantor and Enrico Spaggiari (eds). 2018. *Lazer de perto e de dentro*: *uma abordagem antropológica*. Edições SESC São Paulo.

Maitland, Robert. 2010. 'Everyday Life as a Creative Experience in Cities'. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4(3): 176–85. https://doi.org/10.1108/17506181011067574

Maitland, Robert. 2013. 'Backstage Behaviour in the Global City: Tourists and the Search for the "Real London"'. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 105: 12–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.11.002

Matoga, Łukasz and Aneta Pawłowska. 2018. 'Off-the-Beaten-Track Tourism: A New Trend in the Tourism Development in Historical European Cities. A Case Study of the City of Krakow, Poland'. *Current Issues in Tourism* 21(14): 1644–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2016.1212822

Munanga, Kabengele. 1999. *Rediscutindo a Mestiçagem no Brasil: Identidade nacional versus identidade negra*. Vozes.

Museu Territorial Tekoa Jopo'í. n.d. 'Território Perus'. Museu Territorial Tekoa Jopo'í . https://museutekoajopoi.com.br/territorio/

Nascimento, Abdias do. 1978. *O genocídio do negro brasileiro: processo de um racismo mascarado*. Paz e Terra.

Nascimento, Abdias do. 1979. *Brazil: Mixture or massacre? Essays in the Genocide of a Black People*. Afrodiaspora.

Novy, Johannes. 2010. 'What's New About New Urban Tourism? And What Do Recent Changes in Travel Imply for the "Tourist City" Berlin?' In *The Tourist City Berlin: Tourism and Architecture*, edited by Jana Richter, 27–35. Braun.

Novy, Johannes and Sandra Huning. 2009. 'New Tourism (Areas) in the "New Berlin"'. In *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*, edited by Robert Maitland and Peter Newman, 87–108. Routledge.

Pappalepore, Ilaria, Robert Maitland and Andrew Smith. 2010. 'Exploring Urban Creativity: Visitor Experiences of Spitalfields, London'. *Tourism Culture & Communication* 10(3): 217–30. https://doi.org/10.3727/109830410X12910355180946

Pereira, Alexandre Barbosa. 2010. '"A maior zoeira": experiências juvenis na periferia de São Paulo'. PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo. https://doi.org/10.11606/T.8.2010.tde-17112010-141417

Prefeitura de São Paulo. 2014. 'Plano Diretor Estratégico do Município de São Paulo'. Prefeitura de São Paulo. https://gestaourbana.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Plano-Diretor-Estrat%C3%A9gico-Lei-n%C2%BA-16.050-de-31-de-julho-de-2014-Texto-da-lei-ilustrado.pdf

Raimundo, Sílvia Lopes. 2017. 'Território, Cultura e Política: Movimento Cultural das Periferias, Resistência e Cidade Desejada'. PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo. https://doi.org/10.11606/T.8.2017.tde-17042017-104001

REPEP (Rede Paulista de Educação Patrimonial). 2020. 'Turismo, movimentos sociais e patrimônio cultural'. YouTube, 21 July. Video, 1:32:00. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnJzyNHCEYI

Rolnik, Raquel. 2017. *Territórios em conflito. São Paulo: espaço, história e política*. Três Estrelas.

Rosa, Allan da. 2013. *Pedagoginga, autonomia e mocambagem*. Jandaíra.

Sader, Eder. 1988. *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: experiências, falas e lutas dos trabalhadores da grande São Paulo (1970–80)*. Paz e Terra.

Santoro, Paula Freire and Raquel Rolnik. 2017. 'Novas frentes de expansão do complexo imobiliário-financeiro em São Paulo'. *Cadernos Metropole* 19(39): 407–32. https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-9996.2017-3903

Scifoni, Simone. 2022. 'Patrimônio e educação no Brasil: O que há de novo?' *Educação & Sociedade* 43, e255310. https://doi.org/10.1590/ES.255310

Sesc São Paulo. 2020. 'Cartografias do (in)visível: Turismo, Memória e Ação Educativa'. YouTube, 20 October. Video, 1:38:55. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sqmURrNK7KE

Sheller, Mimi and John Urry. 2006. 'The new mobilities paradigm'. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38(2): 207–26. https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268

Soares, Luís Severo. 2015. 'O fio de Ariadne e o desatar dos nós do turismo urbano'. In *A cidade como negócio*, edited by Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos, Danilo Volochko and Isabel Pinto Alvarez, 227–45. Contexto.

Soró, José. 2019. 'Nossa teoria é a prática!' In Fórum de Cultura da Zona Leste: *Nenhum passo atrás!* edited by Elaine Mineiro, Mônica Gomes and Queila Rodrigues. Forma Certa Gráfica Digital.

Chapter 15

Tokyo as a Tourism Metropolis

Eranga Ranaweerage, Taiyo Yagasaki and Toshio Kikuchi

Introduction

Metropolitan tourism is considered a major pillar of tourism in the Asia-Pacific region in the twenty-first century (Richards 2010), and Tokyo has become one of the prominent tourism destinations in the region. *Condé Nast Traveler*, a leading international travel magazine (US edition), has ranked Tokyo as the best global city destination for four consecutive years since 2016 and again in 2021 by both US and UK editions (Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs 2021). Tokyo has remained at third place in the Global Power City Index (GPCI) since 2016, which includes evaluations on the power of cities to attract people based on inbound tourism (Institute for Urban Strategies 2020).

The number of inbound tourists to Japan was 28.7 million tourists in 2017, and 24.3 million of them were from Asian countries: 26% from China, 25% from Korea, 16% from Taiwan, 8% from Hong Kong, and 11% from Southeast Asia and India. There were 3.3 million tourists from Europe, North America and Australia. Tokyo targeted forty million foreign visitors to the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games, even though it could not be realised due to the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The number of visits by domestic tourists to Tokyo has increased from 436 million in 2007 to 523 million in 2017 and continued to remain at over 500 million since 2013 (Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs 2018).

Tokyo has developed and expanded over a long history, and the cityscape contains many historical landscapes, a similar feature to many European cities. However, Tokyo's geographical location in a highly active tectonic zone makes it vulnerable to earthquakes, fires and floods. Unlike the stone-based architecture common in European cities, Tokyo's cultural heritage is rooted in wood and wooden structures. The Edo fire of 1657, the Hōei eruption of Mt. Fuji in 1707, the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 and air raids during

World War II were major catastrophes that caused heavy damage to the urban landscape of Tokyo and the loss of many historical buildings (Kikuchi 2020). New landscapes and modern urban spaces had to be created after every catastrophe.

Besides all these challenges, how did Tokyo rise to become the prominent and highly sought-after tourism destination it is today? To explore this phenomenon, it would be important to identify the strengths of Tokyo as a tourism destination. Tourism resources are a key indicator for assessing a region's tourism strengths, while the distribution of these resources is a major factor in defining the unique characteristics and appeal of a destination (Sugimoto and Kikuchi 2014). Therefore, in this chapter, we aim to clarify the regional characteristics of Tokyo as a tourism metropolis by examining Tokyo's tourism resources and its patterns in the distribution.

This chapter is organised as follows: the next section explores the complex geographical ranges of Tokyo using various classifications and map data to define its spatial extent. The third section examines the distribution of tourism resources across different geographical areas of Tokyo, highlighting their diversity and characteristics by mapping the distributional patterns of prominent tourism resources. The fourth and fifth sections delve into the main forms of tourism in Tokyo, further elaborated through case studies. Finally, based on these discussions, we conclude by identifying the regional characteristics that define Tokyo as a tourism metropolis.

Geographical Range of Tokyo

Tokyo is not a compact city, and its spatial extent is somewhat complex due to several overlapping classifications. Understanding the geographical range helps to identify the regional characteristics of Tokyo's tourism resources. Three most commonly used classifications of Tokyo's geographical range are 'Tokyo', 'Tokyo metropolis' and 'the Greater Tokyo Region' (Figure 15.1). Each of these classifications plays a significant role in discussions about Tokyo's tourism dynamics.

'Tokyo' refers to the urban core of Tokyo consisting of twenty-three special wards, an area about 627 square kilometres with a population density of about 14,746 persons per square kilometre as of 1 October 2015 (TMG 2024). The concentration of population in this area becomes striking when compared to Japan's average population density of 341 people per square kilometre in the same year.



Figure 15.1 Location and geographical ranges of Tokyo.
(*Source:* Authors' own, based on US Geological Survey)

The geographical range referred to as 'Tokyo metropolis' includes 'Tokyo' (twenty-three wards area), the Tama area and the Izu and Ogasawara islands. The Tama area spans approximately 1,160 square kilometres and has a population of about 4.22 million, resulting in a population density of around 3,640 persons per square kilometre as of 1 October 2015. This density is significantly lower compared to that of the twenty-three wards. The Izu and Ogasawara islands together cover an area of about 404 square kilometres and have a population of approximately 26,000 as of 1 October 2015, resulting in a population density of 65 persons per square kilometre.

'The Greater Tokyo Region' extends the spatial range further to three neighbouring prefectures: Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa. This region houses

30% of Japan's total population and is considered the most populous metropolitan area in the world. Approximately 2.4 million workers commute to Tokyo from these three prefectures. In other words, 30% of the workforce in Tokyo metropolis are residents of these neighbouring areas (TMG 2024).

As shown in Figure 15.2, the spatial structure of the three ranges consists of urban areas (30 km radius from Tokyo station), suburbs (30–70 km radius), periphery of the metropolitan area (70–150 km radius) and several islands. What connects the spatial structure is the transportation infrastructure of railways and roads (Figure 15.2). The development of the subway network within the urban area supports urban tourism, while the expansion of

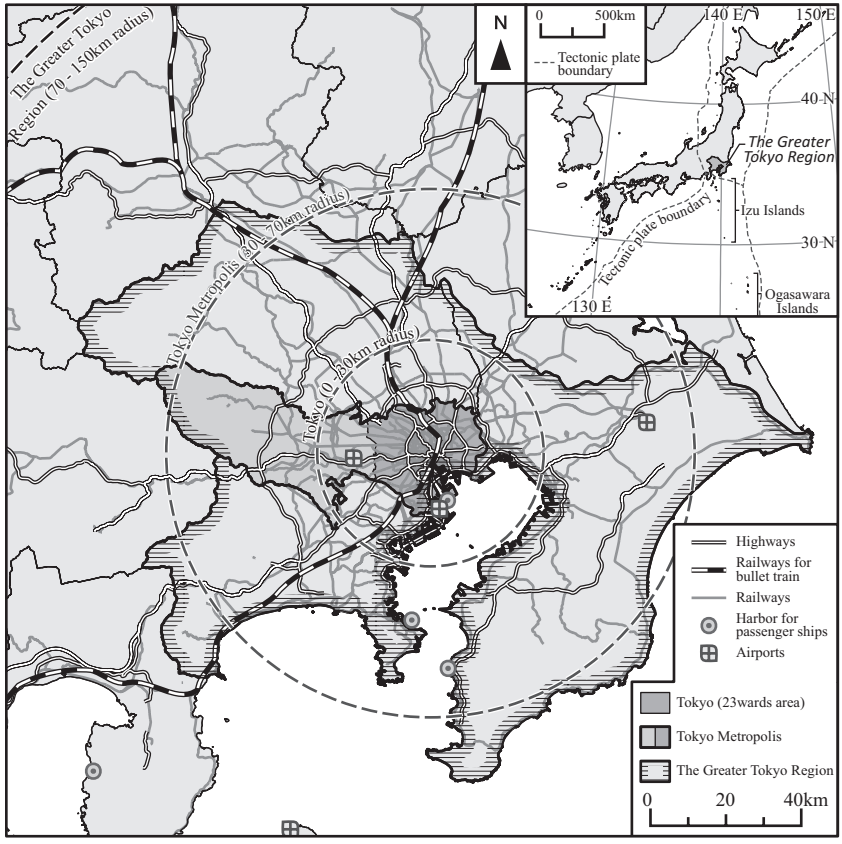


Figure 15.2 Transportation network in the three geographical ranges.
(*Source:* Author's own, based on MLIT Japan and US Geological Survey)

high-speed mass transportation has facilitated the development of tourist destinations in the suburbs and peripheral areas. Approximately 50% of domestic tourists visiting Tokyo's attractions are residents of Tokyo, and 90% of these visitors are on day trips (Sugimoto 2020).

Distribution of Tourism Resources in the Three Geographical Ranges

Figure 15.3 illustrates the distribution of tourism resources across Tokyo's three geographical ranges. This map was created using the tourism resources ledger published by the Japan Travel Bureau Foundation and references the official Tokyo travel guide on the Tokyo Convention and Visitor Bureau's website.

Notable cultural resources for tourism such as museums (such as the National Museum of Western Art inscribed as a UNESCO cultural heritage site, National Museum of Nature and Science, National Museum of Modern Art), high-rise buildings/towers (Tokyo Skytree, Tokyo Tower), shopping districts (Harajuku, Ginza), famous temples and shrines (Asakusa, Meiji Jingu), and the Edo Castle are largely concentrated in the twenty-three wards area classified as 'Tokyo'. This area also hosts a variety of domestic and international festivals and events, including traditional performing arts, sumo wrestling competitions, religious festivals, seasonal illuminations, fireworks, the Olympic Games and film festivals. Tokyo boasts the highest number of hotels in Japan, with the greatest concentration found in the twenty-three wards area (Sugimoto 2020).

Tama within the 'Tokyo metropolis' range offers abundant natural resources for tourism. Mt. Takao, a popular day-hiking destination in Tama, is recognised as one of the most visited mountains in the world. The Ogasawara islands, also within this geographic range, are designated as a UNESCO World Natural Heritage site and are home to a diverse array of wildlife, particularly marine mammals. The Izu islands are renowned for their geoparks.

With easy and quick access from the city, the three prefectures of Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa (within the 'Greater Tokyo Region') are popular among city dwellers for various outdoor leisure activities, including camping, canoeing, surfing, and rural experiences such as vegetable and fruit harvesting. These prefectures are also known for their historical sites, including castle towns and pilgrimage destinations. Kawagoe in Saitama prefecture and Kamakura in Kanagawa prefecture are notable tourist attractions. Narita

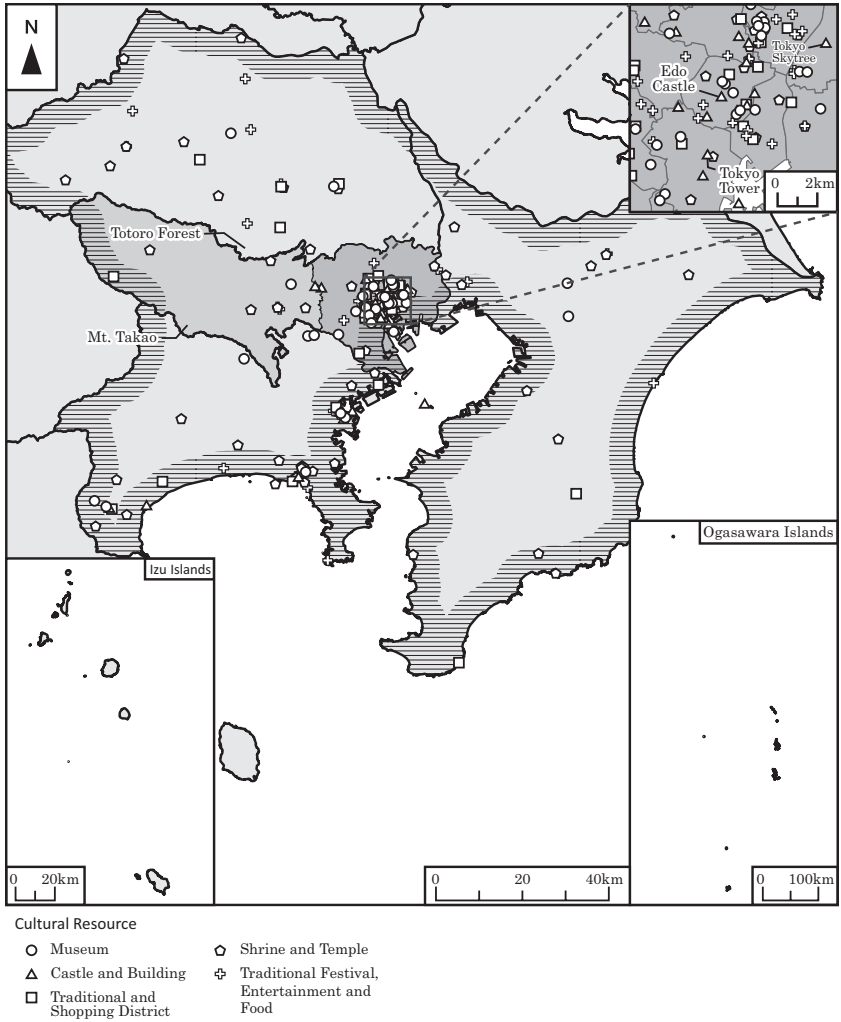


Figure 15.3 Distribution of notable tourism resources in the three geographical ranges.
(*Source:* Tourism resources ledger by the Japan Travel Bureau Foundation (n.d.) and Go Tokyo (n.d.), the official Tokyo travel guide on the Tokyo Convention and Visitor Bureau's website)

International Airport, located in Chiba prefecture, is one of the main access points to Tokyo. Chiba is also home to the Tokyo Disney Resort, which is strategically positioned for easy access from both the airport and central Tokyo. The prefecture is known for its continuous sandy beaches and water sports facilities. Ichinomiya City in Chiba served as the surf town for the Tokyo 2020 Olympics. Additionally, beach areas in Kanagawa prefecture, such as Enoshima, are popular summer destinations for city dwellers and hosted the sailing competition during the Tokyo Olympics.

Thus, tourism resources and activities vary significantly by geographical range. Highly visited cultural resources are concentrated in the urban core, while natural resources are found in the Tama region, the islands and the three neighbouring prefectures. Consequently, Tokyo's tourism can be categorised into two main types: culture-based tourism and nature-based tourism. Culture-based tourism remains the most prominent form among foreign visitors. However, recent promotions by the Tokyo government and changes in travel behaviour following the pandemic have led to an increase in visitors to natural and remote areas. The following section further explores this dichotomy in Tokyo's tourism through relevant case studies.

Tokyo's Culture-Based Tourism

Culture has undeniably become a crucial element in the development of metropolitan tourism (Richards 2010; Richards and Wilson 2007), and Tokyo is no exception. The most visited areas in Tokyo are cultural tourism spots concentrated within the geographical range classified as 'Tokyo', which refers to the urban core. This area benefits from a well-developed transportation infrastructure that ensures easy access to these sites (Figure 15.4). In this section, we examine two types of cultural resources utilised for tourism to highlight the characteristics of culture-based tourism in Tokyo: modern towers and Edo culture.

Modern Towers

Modern towers are representative tourism resources of Tokyo. In Tokyo, towers are multipurpose, but one common purpose is to enhance Tokyo's appeal as a tourist destination. Here we reveal the characteristics of Tokyo's towers and their evolution over time.

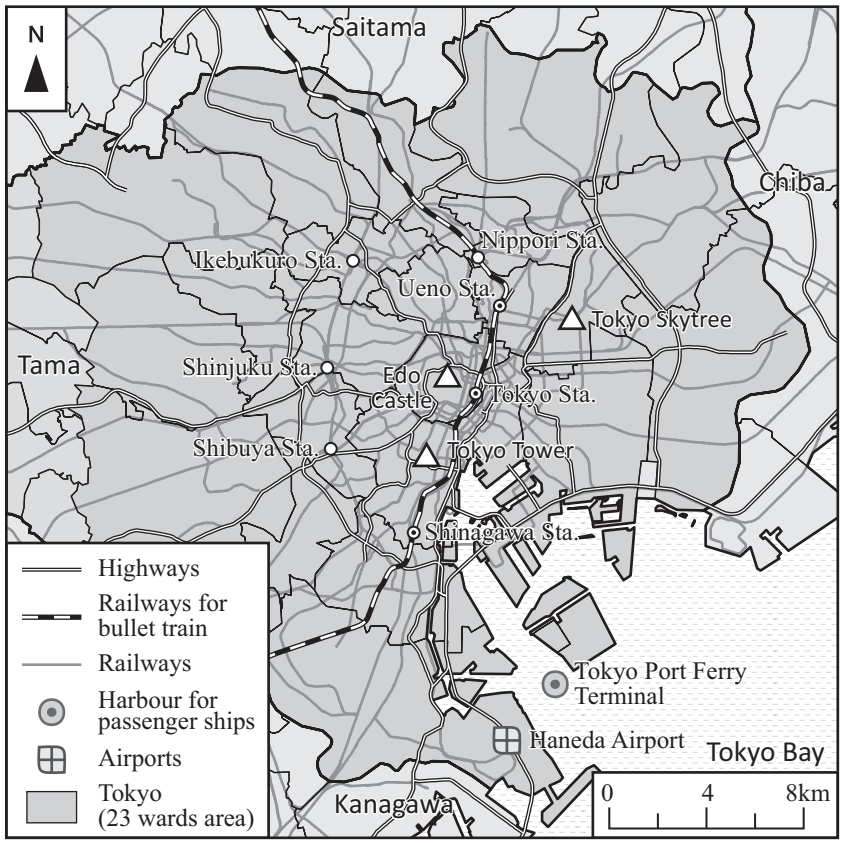


Figure 15.4 Tokyo's transportation network.
(*Source:* Authors' own, based on MLIT Japan)

In the past, towers were created to support religious tourism. Tokyo's first tower was a thirty-two metre high replica of Mt. Fuji in 1887 (Ota 2020) where people could view the actual mountain from the summit. The tower was an alternative form of pilgrimage for those unable to climb Mt. Fuji due to health or economic reasons (Mansfield 2009). Later, towers were constructed as symbols of modernisation. Tokyo's first modern skyscraper was Ryōunkaku, meaning 'cloud-surpassing pavilion'. Built in 1890, this fifty-two-metre-tall tower featured the first electric elevator in Japan and quickly became a popular tourist attraction. Unfortunately, Ryōunkaku was destroyed during the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923.

During the post-war period, construction of towers meant to display Japan's post-war recovery and economic boom (Mandujano-Salazar 2016). The iconic example is Tokyo Tower, which at 333 metres opened in 1958 as the tallest tower in the world at that time. It has appeared in numerous movies and TV dramas, some of which feature the tower as a symbol of prosperity and dreams. In its early years, Tokyo Tower attracted about five million visitors annually. This number grew to one hundred million visitors by 1989, 150 million by the time of its fiftieth anniversary in 2008 and 170 million in 2013 (Tokyo Tower n.d.). However, the full view of Tokyo Tower from various locations in Tokyo started to get obstructed by the rapid construction of high-rise buildings. To address this, the Japanese government declared Tokyo Tower a National Registered Tangible Cultural Property in 2013. The local government has since implemented measures, including building regulations such as height and colour restrictions, to preserve its visibility from the remaining viewpoints.

Tokyo Skytree, a new tower surpassing the height of Tokyo Tower, was completed in 2012. At 634 metres tall, it became the world's tallest freestanding structure (Figure 15.5). Unlike previous towers, this tower blends Japanese traditions and aesthetics with modern architecture, creating a distinctly futuristic presence. The number 634 is read as '*mu-sa-shi*' in old Japanese numerals, representing the historical province of Musashi, where the tower is located. Earthquake resistance measures were inspired by traditional pagoda architectural techniques. When the Great East Japan earthquake struck in 2011, while the tower was still under construction, it sustained no damage to the structure or workers, demonstrating its resilience to earthquakes. The number of visitors to Tokyo Skytree reached one million within three months of its opening, ten million in the following year, and 100 million the year after (Tokyo Skytree n.d.). Tokyo Skytree now attracts over four million visitors annually (Tobu Group 2018) and stands as a prominent cultural tourism resource in Tokyo.

Edo Culture

Edo is the former name of Tokyo. Edo culture represents key elements of Tokyo's culture-based tourism, contributing to the city's unique blend of old and new. In this section, we explore three forms of cultural resources inherited from Edo culture: Edo Castle and temple towns, cherry blossom viewing culture (*hanami*) and Edo food culture, to identify the characteristics of culture-based tourism in Tokyo.



Figure 15.5 View of Tokyo Skytree from the Asakusa area one year after its opening. (*Source:* Toshio Kikuchi, July 2013)

Edo Castle and Temple Towns

Edo Castle, now known as the Imperial Palace, serves as a lasting symbol of Edo's urban development and continues to be a prominent tourist attraction (Figure 15.6). Situated in the heart of Tokyo, it stands amid the city's modern skyscrapers, reflecting the blend of historical legacy and contemporary urbanisation. Matsui (2014) examines the religious aspects of Edo and finds that the construction and development of Edo Castle and the city of Edo were significantly influenced by the religious norms of the time. One of the norms is the concept of four mythical creatures guarding the cardinal directions, according to traditional Japanese divination practices. The north is guarded by a black tortoise (*Genbu*), the east by an azure dragon (*Seiryu*), the south by a vermilion bird (*Suzaku*), and the west by a white tiger (*Byakko*). Specific geographical elements are associated with each mythical creature: mountains or hills represent the black tortoise; rivers symbolise the azure dragon; ponds are linked to the vermilion bird; and broad roads correspond to the white tiger. It was crucial to find a location that embodied the features of the



Figure 15.6 Edo castle (present Imperial Palace).
(*Source:* Toshio Kikuchi, July 2007)

four guardians, especially when building a capital city. Edo's location met these conditions, and the concept of the four mythical guardians was applied to the urban planning of Edo. Another concept is the belief in 'demon gates' when constructing a castle. The north-east and south-west directions were considered inauspicious or 'demon gates'. Consequently, temples and shrines were constructed in these directions around Edo Castle to protect it from evil forces. Matsui (2014) further explains that a large proportion of land in the city centre was occupied by temples and shrines. However, the construction of new temples and shrines in the city centre was restricted. Some existing temples and shrines were relocated from the city centre owing to high land demand resulting from population growth and as part of the reconstruction policy following the Great Fire of Meireki in 1657.

Temple towns were established in some areas, which eventually developed into entertainment districts. Asakusa is a notable example of such a temple town and entertainment district from the Edo period and it remains a vibrant tourism attraction today. Asakusa's Sensoji temple served as the temple where prayers for the shogunate were offered during the Edo period. A theatre district (Asakusa Rokku) was created on the western side of the temple. Before World War II, Asakusa was the most popular entertainment

area, featuring modern buildings such as the Ryōunkaku Tower. However, the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 destroyed Sensoji temple and much of the Asakusa district, and the area also suffered significant damage during World War II. Sensoji temple is the oldest temple in Tokyo today. It is surrounded by twenty-five affiliated temples, and the main temple alone attracts approximately thirty million visitors each year (Sensoji Temple n.d.). In 1985, new tourism spaces such as a pedestrian bridge over the Sumida River and a public park along the river began to develop (Ranaweerage et al. 2018). Water buses and cruises operate on the Sumida River, offering a unique way to enjoy Tokyo's cityscape. Tokyo Skytree, which opened in 2012, is just a twenty-minute walk across the Sumida River. Its proximity and the picturesque view of the tower from Asakusa have recently attracted more tourists to the area.

Cherry Blossom Viewing Culture (Hanami)

Cherry blossom *(sakura)* viewing culture (*hanami*) in Tokyo originated during the Edo period with the construction of the leading temple, Kaneiji in Ueno, to showcase the sovereignty of the shogunate (Kikuchi 2020). Sakura trees were planted as the primary vegetation in the temple's gardens, but initially, common people were prohibited from entering, and the number of *sakura* trees was regulated, limited to temples and shrines. In 1636, however, commoners were allowed to view the blossoms at Kaneiji temple, making Ueno the first *hanami* site in Edo. Following this, a policy was enacted to plant *sakura* trees in other areas of Edo, making *sakura* an accessible attraction to a broader population.

Even today, Ueno is one of the most popular *hanami* spots in Tokyo. The avenue of *sakura* trees at Ueno Park features more than one thousand *sakura* trees (Figure 15.7). The tradition of viewing *sakura* continues, with more than two million people visiting Ueno Park during the *sakura* season every year (JNTO n.d.).

Edo Food Culture

Tokyo's local cuisine has its roots in Edo-era food culture. Edo was a bustling metropolis with a population of roughly one million, and was predominantly populated by men who had migrated from other regions for work. Many of these men, often bachelors, resided in terrace houses that lacked



Figure 15.7 *Hanami* at Ueno Park.
(*Source:* Toshio Kikuchi, March 2016)

kitchen facilities (Kikuchi 2020). These conditions led to the development of an affordable fast-food dining culture, catering to the needs of the city's workforce. People could quickly grab a meal at street stalls (*yatai*) offering ready-made food such as sushi.

Today, sushi is enjoyed worldwide, and *Edomae-zushi* is perhaps the most well-known Edo-style cuisine globally (Kikuchi 2020). *Edomae-zushi* consists of hand-formed vinegared rice topped with a slice of fresh or lightly seasoned fish, making it easy to eat. This type of sushi was immensely popular in Edo and continues to be a favourite dish today. Another fast food originating from Edo is *soba* (buckwheat noodles), which has become a major local speciality in Tokyo. Many *soba* speciality shops still thrive in the city, some of which have been in operation for over a century.

Another notable fast-food dish from the Edo period is *Fukagawa-meshi*, which originated in the fishing town of Fukagawa. This area was renowned for its abundant and affordable shellfish, particularly Japanese short-neck clams (*asari*). *Fukagawa-meshi* is prepared in two distinct ways: *bukkake* style features a miso-based soup with *asari*, tofu and green onions poured over rice, reflecting how fishermen in Fukagawa traditionally enjoyed the dish; *takikomi* style involves cooking rice with clams mixed in. *Fukagawa-meshi*

is recognised as one of Japan's top five rice dishes according to a national local cuisine survey conducted by the Imperial Household Agency (Food in Japan 2021).

While Tokyo has increasingly embraced and developed a Western-style food culture, the desire for Edo food persists. Edo food culture remains an intangible cultural resource in Tokyo, offering visitors a taste of history amid the modern cityscape.

Tokyo's Nature-Based Tourism

Tokyo encompasses two distinct ecosystems: forested and agricultural (*satoyama*) systems, and oceanic island systems (Numata and Hosaka 2018). The twenty-three wards, often referred to as 'Tokyo', are predominantly urban, with forests and tree plantations covering only 0.1% of the land. In contrast, the Tama region in western Tokyo has significant forest cover, accounting for 48.7% of its area, along with agricultural land making up 5.5% (Numata and Hosaka 2018). The oceanic island ecosystems, located in Tokyo's Izu and Ogasawara islands, boast rich biodiversity. Nature-based tourism thrives primarily in Tokyo's Tama region and its islands, where diverse natural resources are abundant.

Under Japan's Natural Parks Law, thirty-four areas have been designated as national parks, including three within Tokyo: Chichibu-Tama-Kai National Park, Fuji-Hakone-Izu National Park, and Ogasawara National Park. In addition, there are fifty-eight quasi-national parks recognised for their rich natural environments, including Meiji no Mori Takao Quasi-National Park in Tokyo. Tokyo also features six prefectural natural parks. With approximately 36% of its total area designated as natural parks, Tokyo ranks second in Japan for natural park coverage (TMG 2017). This remarkable natural diversity within a single prefecture is one of Tokyo's most distinctive features. In this chapter, we explore how these natural resources from various ecosystems are utilised for nature-based tourism.

Nature Hiking in Tokyo's Mountains: The Case of Mt. Takao

Mt. Takao, located in Hachioji City in the western part of Tokyo, is approximately 50 kilometres from the city centre. With convenient transportation options, the mountain is reachable in less than an hour from central Tokyo, making it ideal for a day trip. In 2007, Mt. Takao was awarded a Michelin

three-star rating, alongside Mt. Fuji, as a destination worth visiting. Each year, over 2.5 million hikers visit Mt. Takao, earning it the title of Tokyo's favourite mountain and the world's most visited mountain. Its extraordinary natural beauty close to an urban centre contributes to its immense popularity. Rising to 599 metres above sea level, Mt. Takao offers a cable car and lift service that ascends to 271 metres of the mountain. The cable car ride takes about six minutes and can accommodate 135 people at a time, with the cable car's maximum tilt reaching 31.18 degrees, the steepest slope in Japan. Additionally, several hiking trails are available, with each route taking approximately one to one and a half hours to reach the summit on foot.

Mt. Takao is situated at the natural boundary between Japan's subtropical and temperate forests, resulting in a diverse range of forest types, including evergreen forests, deciduous forests and forest plantations. According to Tokyo's Bureau of Environment, Mt. Takao is home to over 1,500 plant species, a diversity comparable to that found in England. Among these, sixty species were first identified on Mt. Takao, including the Takao sumire, a variant of violet. Known as a sanctuary for violets, Mt. Takao hosts around eighteen types of violets. When accounting for hybrids and variations in colour and leaf patterns, the total number of violet species exceeds forty. The Takao sumire (*Viola yezoensis f. discolor*) was the first violet species discovered on Mt. Takao and was named 'Takao' to distinguish it from the Chinese violet (*Viola yezoensis*). It is characterised by its dark brown leaves, unlike the green leaves of the Chinese violet.

Diversity of vegetation leads to diversity of wildlife. Mt. Takao is one of Japan's three main habitats for insects, alongside those in Osaka and Kyoto prefectures. It is also a treasure trove for birdwatchers, with approximately 150 bird species present, about one-third of the bird species found in Japan.

The forests of Mt. Takao have long been protected, initially as sacred grounds for adjacent temples and shrines, later as imperial forests, and eventually as national forests within a national park. A notable aspect of this protection was the principle of *sesshokindan*, which prohibited the killing of wildlife. Under the protection of the Hojo clan, severe penalties were enforced for environmental offences, including the death penalty for anyone who plucked weeds or damaged natural resources in the Mt. Takao area. Mt. Takao serves as the eastern starting point of the Tokai Nature Trail, a trail that stretches 1,697.2 kilometres across eleven prefectures from Tokyo to Osaka. It typically takes forty to fifty days to complete the entire trail on foot.

Mt. Takao has long been regarded as a sacred mountain and a site of mountain worship. The Yakuo-in Temple, located on the mountain, practises

mountain asceticism and conducts rigorous training, including waterfall asceticism. Trail 1 leading to the temple features a legendary cedar tree known as the Octopus Cedar (*Takosugi*). During the construction of the path, this tree was considered an obstruction and was set to be cut down. However, according to legend, by the following morning, the tree had mysteriously moved to the side. Since then, it has been regarded as a sacred tree that opens new paths. Previously, people would touch the tree and pray for new opportunities, but touching it is now forbidden for the protection of the tree. Instead, a statue of an octopus has been placed where visitors can offer their prayers.

The main deity of Mt. Takao is *Izuna-Daigongen*, an avatar of *Fudo-Myo* (the Immovable King, deity of victory), and a combination of five Hindu deities. Many warlords in the past, particularly the powerful Hojo clan, paid respect to this deity, which contributed to the protection of Mt. Takao as a sacred mountain. Additionally, Mt. Takao is known for its sacred creatures called *tengu* (Figure 15.8), believed to inhabit holy mountains and act as messengers from deities (Head Temple Takao-san Yakuo-in 2010). A popular specialty snack from Mt. Takao is *tengu-yaki*, made from black soybeans and shaped like *tengu* faces. Due to these characteristics, Mt. Takao attracts a diverse range of visitors, including advanced hikers, mountain worshippers, nature enthusiasts and families with small children.

Satoyama Rural Experiences: The Case of Totoro Forest

Satoyama literary means 'villages surrounded by mountains or nature', which is the typical rural landscape of Japan. *Satoyama* landscape is a mixture of natural and social environment and includes natural areas such as forests, grasslands, streams and man-made areas such as paddy fields, farmlands and irrigation ponds (Figure 15.9). *Satoyama* provides essential resources such as food, water, fuel, wood, fodder and fertiliser, supporting rural life while also fostering biodiversity (Sasaki 2018). Forestlands were regarded as sacred places by rural communities, where local deities were believed to dwell, and thus received careful maintenance and protection (Kikuchi and Obara 2005). *Satoyama* is considered the best example of traditional land use practices and conservation measures that enabled socio-ecological symbiosis (Sasaki 2018). However, urbanisation and rapid urban sprawling has resulted in heavy degradation of *satoyama* landscapes in many areas in Tokyo (Kikuchi and Obara 2005). Agricultural lands such as paddy fields are converted into housing areas. Additionally, the decline in rural populations has resulted in the abandonment of agricultural land and challenges in maintaining *satoyama*



Figure 15.8 A *tengu* statue on Mt. Takao.
(*Source:* Eranga Ranaweerage, November 2011)



Figure 15.9 *Satoyama* landscape of Totoro Forest.
(*Source:* Toshio Kikuchi, July 2006)

landscapes. To support the conservation of these valuable socio-ecological landscapes, tourism in the form of rural experiences is being promoted, with Totoro Forest serving as a representative example in Tokyo.

Totoro Forest is located within the Sayama Hills region in the north-western part of Tokyo metropolis, approximately 30 kilometres from the city centre. Totoro Forest is named after the renowned Japanese animation *My Neighbour Totoro*, created by the celebrated film director Hayao Miyazaki in 1988. The animation portrays the *satoyama* landscapes of Sayama Hills in the 1950s, evoking nostalgia among many Japanese people and sparking interest in traditional landscapes (Kikuchi 2008). However, forestland owners face high taxes, leading some to consider selling their lands in this region to developers (Kikuchi 2008). To address this, the Totoro Fund was established in 1990 to conserve the forestlands of the Sayama Hills region, collectively naming the preserved areas Totoro Forest. The foundation operates as a national trust. In 1991, the foundation acquired 1,183 square metres of forestland through public donations, and by 2019 this area had expanded to 89,689 square metres. The foundation's efforts have been widely recognised across

Japan. In 2002, it received the Environment for Tomorrow Prize – Special Award for Forest Heritage from the Asahi Shimbun Company, and in 2006 it was awarded the City of Kitakyushu's Environment Award (Totoro Fund n.d.).

Traditionally, rural communities utilised forestlands to produce compost, charcoal and firewood, while maintaining the forest by collecting fallen leaves and cutting undergrowth and low branches. Today, urban residents participate in the maintenance of Totoro Forest under the guidance of volunteer farmers and rural residents. This involvement offers urban dwellers a chance to experience and appreciate rural life, while also deepening the spiritual connection for rural residents (Kikuchi 2008). This collaborative effort at Totoro Forest is contributing to *satoyama* conservation by fostering harmonious interactions between rural and urban communities.

Ecotourism in Tokyo's Islands: The Case of Ogasawara Islands

The Ogasawara islands, a subprefecture of Tokyo metropolis, are located in the north-western Pacific Ocean about 1,000 kilometres south of Tokyo and comprise over thirty islets. The two largest island clusters are Chichijima (23.79 km^2) and Hahajima (20.25 km^2) and they are the only inhabited areas of the islands. Chichijima has a population of about 2,049 and Hahajima about 415 people as of 1 April 2021 (Ogasawara Village n.d.-b). The name Ogasawara comes from the samurai Sadayori Ogasawara, who discovered the islands in 1593 (Ogasawara Village n.d.-a.).

The islands have never been connected to any mainland and were uninhabited until 1830 (Song and Kuwahara 2016). Ogasawara islands are also called Bonin islands, which derives from the meaning 'desert islands'. Even now, the islands can only be accessed by sea and the journey takes about twenty-four hours from Tokyo. The long distance from the mainland and isolation has led to the evolution of a rich oceanic ecosystem of high endemism. More than twenty-three species of dolphins and whales have been found in the adjacent waters, which is about 30% of all cetacean species found in the world's oceans (Government of Japan 2010). Additionally, the islands hold significant geological value, offering insights into the development of oceanic island arcs over millions of years. In recognition of these values, the Ogasawara islands were inscribed as a UNESCO World Natural Heritage site in 2011.

According to Ogasawara Village (n.d.-a), whaling was popular in the Pacific Ocean among Westerners in the nineteenth century, and seas around Ogasawara islands were a popular whaling ground. The first settlement on

the islands began in 1830, when a group of five Westerners and twenty Pacific Islanders arrived to supply water and provisions to whalers. The Ogasawara islands officially became Japanese territory in 1876, and by the early twentieth century, the population had surged to over seven thousand residents. During World War II, the islands were occupied by the US military, leading to the evacuation of its residents. After the war, descendants of the former non-Japanese settlers were permitted to return. The islands were formally returned to Japan in 1968, and many of the former residents came back to their homeland. In 1979, a local government was established, marking a new chapter in the islands' history.

Ecotourism in the Ogasawara islands began with whale-watching in 1988, marking Japan's first ecotourism initiative dedicated to this activity and coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the islands' return to Japanese administration. The Ogasawara Whale Watching Association was established in 1989, combining whale-watching with research efforts. By 1992, self-imposed regulations for whale-watching were introduced to ensure sustainable practices.

With a shift in focus from whaling to whale-watching, the promotion of ecotourism gained momentum through the involvement of local government and residents. Today, the ecotourism offerings in the islands have expanded to include dolphin-watching and -swimming (Figure 15.10), birding tours, island-hopping excursions, visits to historical battle sites, and night tours to observe endemic wildlife.

Conclusion

Based on the geographical layout of Tokyo, the spatial structure of tourism can be broadly categorised into three regions. The urban core, within approximately 30 kilometres from the city centre, serves as the heart of Tokyo's tourism infrastructure, featuring major attractions, accommodations and cultural landmarks. The suburbs and islands extend from 30 to 70 kilometres from the city centre, including a UNESCO World Natural Heritage site. The metropolitan periphery, ranging from 70 to 150 kilometres from the city centre, includes farther-reaching destinations that are well-connected to the urban core through developed transport infrastructure, enhancing accessibility for tourists.

The urban core, or the geographical area defined as 'Tokyo', has emerged as the most utilised tourism space within the city, showcasing attractions



Figure 15.10 Tourists swimming with dolphins in Ogasawara islands. (*Source:* Toshio Kikuchi, March 2015)

related to urban history and culture alongside shopping, gourmet experiences and entertainment. Culture-based tourism resources are predominantly concentrated in this area, with landmarks such as 'modern towers' exemplifying the evolution of these resources over time. These attractions have adapted to societal changes and new developments, reflecting Tokyo's resilience and ability to rejuvenate through innovative urban planning despite facing multiple catastrophes.

Tokyo's diverse landforms, including oceanic islands, mountains, hills, uplands and lowlands, contribute to a variety of nature-based tourism resources. Prominent natural attractions, such as mountains, forests (like Mt. Takao) and traditional agricultural landscapes (like *satoyama*), are primarily found within a 30 to 70 kilometre radius of the city centre. Tokyo's islands, known for their abundant wildlife and natural beauty, add to the city's ecological diversity. In the peripheral areas of the Tokyo metropolis, stretching 70 to 150 kilometres from the city centre, visitors can explore a variety of outdoor leisure opportunities, including rivers and coastal regions (Figure 15.11). This geographic variety allows Tokyo to embody both urban and rural characteristics, with its metropolitan tourism reflecting this unique dual nature.



Figure 15.11 Mt. Takao crowded with tourists on a sunny summer day. (*Source:* Eranga Ranaweerage, June 2024)

In this chapter, we have identified two main forms of metropolitan tourism in Tokyo: culture-based tourism and nature-based tourism. Recent years have seen a significant increase in foreign visitors to Tokyo, with culture-based tourism in the urban core emerging as the most popular form among these travellers. However, the high concentration of tourist attractions within the urban area has posed challenges for tourism management in Tokyo. The development of transportation infrastructure has played a crucial role in decentralising tourism by expanding both daily tourism spaces and day trip destinations. Influenced by the pandemic, travel behaviour has shifted towards a preference for less crowded and more remote locations (Chelbi and Said 2020). In Tokyo's context, this trend indicates a growing interest in nature-based travel (*Condé Nast Traveler* 2021). Consequently, post-pandemic tourism in Tokyo is likely to emphasise nature-based experiences. It is therefore important to consider how these changes might impact tourism resources and to explore sustainable practices for tourism in natural areas.

Bibliography

Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs. 2018. 'Tourism statistics'. Tokyo Metropolitan Government, May. https://www.sangyo-rodo.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/plan/tourism/pocket05_2018en.pdf

Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs. 2021. 'Tokyo Selected Best City in the World'. Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 22 October. https://www.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/english/topics/2021/1022_01.html

Chelbi, Amina and Foued Ben Said. 2020. 'The Impact of COVID-19 on Tourist Consumption Behaviour: A Perspective Article'. *Journal of Tourism Management Research,* 7(2): 196–207. https://doi.org/10.18488/journal.31.2020.72.196.207

Condé Nast Traveler. 2021. 'Tokyo Travel Experts on What the City Will Look Like Post-Pandemic'. Condé Nast Traveler, 5 March. https://www.cntraveler.com/story/inside-making-connections-tokyo

Food in Japan. 2021. 'Fukagawa Meshi (深川めし)'. Food in Japan, 4 March. https://www.foodinjapan.org/kanto/tokyo-en/fukagawa-meshi/

Go Tokyo. n.d. 'The Official Tokyo Travel Guide'. https://www.gotokyo.org/en/index.html

Government of Japan. 2010. 'Nomination of the Ogasawara Islands for Inscription on the World Heritage List'. Ogasawara World Heritage Centre. http://ogasawara-info.jp/pdf/isan/recommendation_en.pdf

Head Temple Takao-san Yakuo-in. 2010. 'History: The *Tengu* of Mount Takao'. https://www.takaosan.or.jp/english/about.html

Institute for Urban Strategies. 2020. 'Global Power City Index'. Mori Memorial Foundation. https://www.mori-m-foundation.or.jp/pdf/GPCI2020_summary.pdf

Japan Travel Bureau Foundation. n.d. 'Tourism Resources Ledger'. https://www.jtb.or.jp/page-search-tourism-resource/

JNTO (Japan National Tourism Organization). n.d. 'Ueno Cherry Blossom Festival'. JNTO. https://www.japan.travel/en/spot/1675/

Kikuchi, Toshio. 2008. 'Sustainable Development of Rurality-Based Ecotourism in Outer Urban Fringe of Tokyo: A Case Study of the Totoro Forest'. *Global Environmental Research* 12(2): 145–52.

Kikuchi, Toshio. 2020. 'Tokyo's History and Culture'. In *Geography of Tokyo*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi, Hiroshi Matsuyama, Lidia Sasaki and Eranga Ranaweerage, 73–80. Asakura Publishing.

Kikuchi, Toshio, and Norihiro Obara. 2005. 'Recreating of Rurality around the Totoro Forest in the Outer Fringe of Tokyo Metropolitan Area: The

Spirituality of Rurality'. *Geographical Reports of Tokyo Metropolitan University* 40: 39–52.
Mandujano-Salazar, Yunuen Ysela. 2016. 'Tokyo Tower and Tokyo Skytree: History and Symbolism in Contemporary Japan'. *Gremium* 3(SI1): 11–22.
Mansfield, Stephen. 2009. *Tokyo: A Cultural History*. Oxford University Press.
Matsui, Keisuke. 2014. 'Discussions on the Religious Space of Edo City: The Landscape and Functions of Temples and Shrines'. *Journal of Geography (Chigaku Zasshi)* 123(4): 451–71. https://doi.org/10.5026/jgeography.123.451
Numata, Shinya and Tetsuro Hosaka. 2018. 'The Current Status of and Prospects for Biodiversity in Tokyo'. In *Tokyo as a Global City: New Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi and Toshihiko Sugai, 53–68. Springer.
Ogasawara Village. n.d.-a. 'History'. Ogasawara Village. https://en.vill.ogasawara.tokyo.jp/history/
Ogasawara Village. n.d.-b. 'World Natural Heritage Ogasawara Islands'. Ogasawara Village. https://en.vill.ogasawara.tokyo.jp
Ota, K. 2020. 'Tower-Based Tourism in Tokyo'. In *Geography of Tokyo*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi, Hiroshi Matsuyama, Lidia Sasaki and Eranga Ranaweerage. Asakura Publishing.
Ranaweerage Eranga, Takayuki Arima and Toshio Kikuchi. 2018. 'Regional Characteristics of Urban Tourism in Tokyo'. In *Tokyo as a Global City: New Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi and Toshihiko Sugai, 247–66. Springer.
Richards, Greg. 2010. 'Metropolitan Tourism: Competition, Collaboration and Creativity'. *Asia Pacific World* 1(1): 75–94.
Richards Greg and Julie Wilson (eds). 2007. *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. Routledge.
Sasaki, Lidia. 2018. '*Satoyama* Landscapes in Tokyo'. In *Tokyo as a Global City: New Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi and Toshihiko Sugai, 69–90. Springer.
Senso-ji Temple. n.d. 'History of Senso-ji'. Asakusa Kannon Senso-Ji. https://www.senso-ji.jp/english/
Song, Dajeong and Sueo Kuwahara. 2016. 'Ecotourism and World Natural Heritage: Its Influence on Islands in Japan'. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 5(1): 36–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.imic.2016.05.006
Sugimoto, Koun. 2020. 'Tourism in Tokyo'. In *Geography of Tokyo*, edited by Toshio Kikuchi, Hiroshi Matsuyama, Lidia Sasaki and Eranga Ranaweerage, 121–28. Asakura.

Sugimoto, Koun and Toshio Kikuchi. 2014. 'Regional Characteristics of the Distribution of Tourism Resources in Japan'. *Journal of Geography (Chigaku Zasshi)* 123(1): 1–24.
Tobu Group. 2018. '2018 Annual Report'. https://www.tobu.co.jp/pdf/ir/investor_info/ar2018.pdf
Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). 2017. 'Tokyo's Natural Parks Vision' (Japanese). https://www.kankyo1.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/naturepark/know/vision.files/29park_vision_alls.pdf
Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). 2024. 'Tokyo City Profile and Government'. Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 24 October. https://www.english.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/w/001-101-000054
Tokyo Skytree. n.d. https://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/en/
Tokyo Tower. n.d. https://www.tokyotower.co.jp/en/profile/
Totoro Fund. n.d. 'About Totoro Fund'. https://www.totoro.or.jp/totorofund/info.html

Chapter 16

Beyond the Gateway of India: Pertinent and Misplaced Narratives of Twenty-First Century Mumbai's Tourism

Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna and Shruthi Ramesh

The Liminal City

The enticement of a metropolitan experience is to witness not only the marked changes of progressive economy but also the intersection of culture and the new urbanism. Since the economic liberalisation reforms of 1991 that led to a shift in globalisation dynamics, Mumbai has borne witness to global tourist interest. Its position as the financial capital of India influenced every aspect of the city's construct, including tourism. The Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) is best described as a 'liminal city' that operates within the threshold of urban fluctuation. The aspiration of global financial centres and intense urbanisation, along with the integration of its colonial heritage, subaltern histories and informal environments has led to a transient landscape (Brahmbhatt 2015). The constant testing and shifting of the city, so as to suit the imagination of multiplicity, brings with it a city in constant flux.

Mumbai lies along the western coast of India in the state of Maharashtra. The expansion of the MMR (Figure 16.1) delineation from 1965 till the present encompasses nine municipal corporations, including Greater Mumbai, suburban, peri-urban regions, and the newly planned regions, with an area of 6,328 km^2 and an estimated population of 21.67 million (as of 2024).[1] Greater Mumbai – the inner city core within the MMR – with an area of 437 km^2 and population 12.47 million (as per census 2011) – is primarily of British colonial origin.[2] Many of the peripheral municipalities such as Panvel, Vasai and Kalyan were once historic urban centres that now house remnants of lost

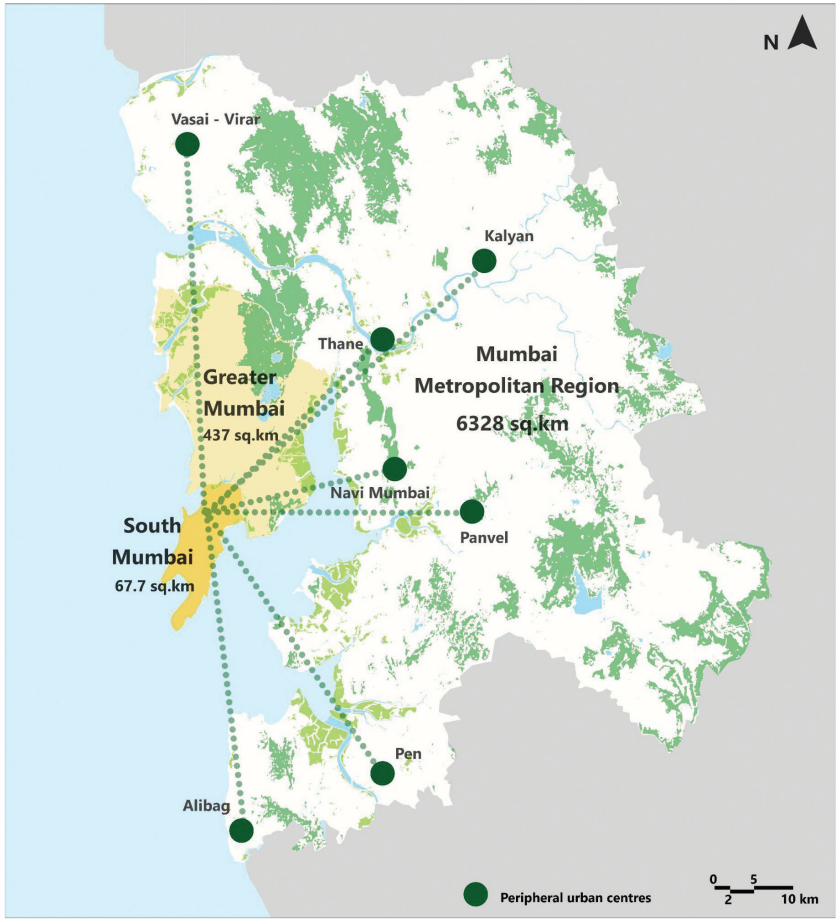


Figure 16.1 The metropolitan expanse with peripheral linkages.
(*Source:* Authors' own, data: Login Mumbai [UDRI])

Maratha glory.[3] The new *polycentric regions* of MMR that house rural and peri-urban communities intersperse urban sprawl with villages and forgotten historical cities.

Resilience: Research Framework

A lack of consensus on the definitions and meanings of resilience was observed by Hall (2017) while stratifying definition into two distinct views.[4]

The static view of resilience, as first defined by Holling, is 'the strength or ability of a system to return to normality after experiencing a shock or to adapt to perturbations, minimising risks' (Corte et al. 2021, 406). Contrarily there is a dynamic view of resilience 'where the challenge is not to mitigate risks and return to the pre-crisis state, but to cope with change by focusing on innovation, learning, growth and taking advantage of emerging new perspectives' (Corte et al. 2021, 406–7).[5] Resilience allows tourism to relay the ability to mitigate crisis, bouncing back to a new equilibrium.

Mumbai's resilient dimensions deem it a suitable candidate to understand its tourism resilience in relation to its dynamic urbanism. In urban scholarship, Mumbai is referenced as a resilient city in varying contexts: economic resilience in slums and slum tourism (Jones and Sanyal 2015), coastal resilience (Shaw et al. 2009) and community resilience (Dey et al. 2021). As the economy, vendors and tourism oscillate with an amoeboid mechanism within its current state of affairs, the people of the 'maximum city' are labelled *resilient*. Their act of living within the state of dilapidation and despair is perceived as a spectacle of human resilience (Van der Veer 2013).

This chapter captures and dissects the interaction and interrelationship between *metropolisation* and *tourism resilience*. Mumbai's tourism resilience is analysed in the milieu of its decision-led, urban spatial transformations and produced imaginaries.[6] This chapter defines tourism resilience in Mumbai as a mechanism to enable tourism to adapt to the liminal city's urban fluctuations – multiple urban processes, decisions and policies. As a city in constant flux, Mumbai's tourism resilience is dynamic, factoring in fluctuating metropolitan imaginaries and spatial transformative forces. The study employs numerous case studies in order to question the unique metropolisation dynamics. How do multiple actors and layered urban processes shape a cohesive tourist narrative, albeit spontaneous and intuitive in a seemingly piecemeal, complex urban expanse?

Tourism resilience in metropolitan Mumbai is explored within three distinct contexts: 1) Tourism in the milieu of urban spatial transformation; 2) coastal reshaping; and 3) manufactured city images. Spatial transformation decisions were analysed using the tools of maps, historical texts, existing scholarship on its concurrent development decisions, an expert interview with a tour operator, and tourist reviews.[7] Here, tourism's (sites, circuits, tours, narratives and visions) ability to cope and evolve is theorised.

Tourism in the Mumbai Metropolis

> Mumbai, formerly Bombay, is big. It's full of dreamers and hard-labourers, starlets and gangsters, stray dogs and exotic birds, artists and servants, fisherfolk and *crorepatis* (millionaires), and lots and lots of people. It has India's most prolific film industry, some of Asia's biggest slums (as well as the world's most expensive home) and the largest tropical forest in an urban zone.
>
> (Lonely Planet 2022)

This kaleidoscope-esque metropolitan imagery maximises the tourist's *Mumbai darshan* (Mumbai sightseeing experience). The postcard visual imagery of the water edge with the Gateway of India and the Taj Mahal Palace hotel flanking it, has been used to promote Mumbai as a tourism destination since the 1970s. Mumbai is the city of arrival, and hence literal gateway of India for international tourists. The tourism destination still operates on the generic template of visiting historic monuments, museums and natural sites: remnants of the logics of twentieth century colonial-origin tourism. The southern part of Greater Mumbai, now known as South Mumbai, houses a remarkable ensemble of neo-Gothic and Indo-Saracenic British colonial architecture and art deco buildings – Grade I and II heritage structures – some of which have been collectively inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. These iconic landmarks are well incorporated into the present heritage tourist circuits. Dwivedi and Mehrotra (1995) discuss the imposition of an 'intense duality' (309) as migration in the metropolis intensified; the juxtaposition of 'parallel cities' (309), the Indian with the European in the postcolonial context – for instance, 'bazaars in Victorian arcades' (323). Early Bombay tourism maps (Bombay of 1958) reveal the cartographic distortions of colonial versus non-colonial public heritage structures (Buckler 2015).[8]

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) report on India 2021, travel and tourism's contribution to India's GDP in 2019 was US$191.3 billion (6.9% of total GDP), which dropped to US$121.9 billion (4.7% of GDP) in 2020 (WTTC 2021) mainly due to the pandemic. Between 2014 and 2019, the industry generated 6.36 million jobs, witnessing the strongest growth in the Asia-Pacific Region (WTTC 2020). It constituted an estimated 40 million jobs (8.8% of total employment) in 2019, which reduced to 31.7 million in 2020 (WTTC 2021). As of 2024, this has grown

back to under 43 million, marking a recovery of the sector (WTTC 2024). In 2019, Mumbai was among the top twenty most visited travel destinations in the world, with approximately 12.4 million visitors (Times Travel 2019). An early 2000s study projected 34.4 million tourist arrivals in Maharashtra in 2021 (Parul 2010), though the slowdown in economic growth and pandemic impacted these figures.

Role of Tourism Departments

The city's tourism is overseen by the tourism ministry at the centre and state. The Maharashtra Tourism Development Corporation (MTDC), the primary tourism wing of Maharashtra's tourism ministry, often operates in collaboration with the city municipal corporation, civic authorities, tour agencies and local grassroots organisations.[9] Tourism bodies, each driven by individual agendas, work towards tourist development and promotions in Mumbai. Policies (such as the Maharashtra Tourism Policy 2016) and tourism frameworks of MTDC are designed state-specifically, promoting standardised forms of arts and craft villages, hill stations, heritage hotels, camping facilities and adventure parks across Maharashtra. Multiple governmental bodies (heritage board, environmental board) and missions (for example, Swachh Bharat and Make in India) with limited interrelationships, control the planning and development of tourist sites and circuits. Regionalisation and obtuseness to metropolitan tourism persist in the absence of an independent tourist body specifically for the MMR.

Metropolisation: Expansion, Linkages and Identity

This section of the chapter analyses the impact of the metropolitan boundary expansions and the challenges of peripheral linkages, integration of agglomerations and the multiplicity of identity. The aim of the section is to give a broad overview on the varied metropolitan urban processes in Mumbai.

Multiculturality is a facet of Mumbai's emergent reality, as well as a marketed tourism identity ('Incredible !ndia', for example).[10] The dichotomy of gods and statues as religious markers within a metropolis satiates tourists craving a multicultural experience. As a melting pot of diverse religious, linguistic and ethnic groups, a tourist's slice of the city could encompass temples, mosques or *dargahs*, fire temples, *derasars*, synagogues, Buddhist

temples or even an Armenian church, juxtaposed against high-rise buildings and slums. Enticing imagery of Bollywood and entertainment, shopping streets and indulgent street foods satiate tourists salivating for vibrant culture. Promotional material presents ethno-cultural identities as commodified colourful imagery (Shaw 2015). The kinetics of religious festivals as a spectacle poses an intersection of politics, festivities and the public realm. Urban issues like high population, construction of highways, climate change and sustainability exercise control on the urban experience of the event. Often, Bollywood movies relay urban complexities, capturing the soul of the city – imaginations of varied human experiences are framed against the backdrop of its stone arcades and metro night skyline, as well as the dark inner-city underbelly. This multicultural, albeit fragmented tourist landscape explodes with feverish vigour in the reins of its highly contested geography producing a rich palimpsest.

Reality tourism is an emerging mode of experiential tourism within the Mumbai metropolis. The lasting impact of reality tourism, such as slum tours, local train travel experiences, *dabbawala* tours, Dhobi Ghat open laundry tours, among others, on the urban fabric warrants scholarship.[11] Private tour agencies packaged reality tours – experiencing the slums, *chawls*, *koliwadas*, among other subaltern realities. The movie *Slumdog Millionaire* kick-started the market trend for slum tours among Western tourists. This mode is highly contentious in view of the voyeurism, aestheticisation and commodification of poverty. The MTDC hesitates to take charge of reality tourism, especially slum tours, even as it rolled out *social tourism* (for the upliftment of rural poor and disenfranchised in Maharashtra). The lack of governmental support subverts the role of economy, resting the onus to sustain in the blight of economy on the subaltern communities.

Heritage Inheritance

Post-independence, the people of Mumbai were left with the unique challenge of maintaining, conserving and appropriating its colonial heritage. Tourism modalities began operation in the backdrop parallel with the post-independence institutionalisation of early colonial civic and public buildings in the Fort precinct of South Mumbai. Conservation plans such as the Fort Management Plan (2007–2010) have enabled delineation of heritage districts for conservation and preservation of the primary tourist area of the city, organising traffic and building facades (UDRI n.d.). The open double-decker bus tours in South Mumbai now capture the visual sights of the arcaded facades. Much of the misplaced tourist narratives stems from a Eurocentric

understanding of heritage. Local Indians are largely excluded from personal associations with the monuments. Reality walking tours now extend the city narrative outside the Fort area and into the dense inner historic bazaar areas (Bhendi and Chor Bazaar). The perception of colonial geography as intrinsic to the heritage circuit of MMR, as opposed to the bricolage of indigenous heritage fabrics is promulgated. Mumbai's metamorphosis into a world-class city has resulted in the loss of many historic edifices, including a large chunk of its unprotected heritage of iconic art deco buildings. The liminal city's forgetfulness of the past with each thrust of change, earned it the moniker 'amnesiac city' (Mehta 2009). Tour operators navigate rapid changes and cultural loss, recentring urban development by linking its present with the forgotten past.[12]

Urban Peripheries

The MTDC typecasts the dense city core as a site of business and leisure tourism, earmarking peripheral regions for ecotourism centred around scenic landscapes and beaches (MTDC 2013). The challenges of generating sites of tourist interest persist in peripheral areas included in the MMR. Devoid of notable tourist sites in the peripheries, attempts to promote consumption-centric tourism are under way – mall tourism and amusement parks – a lacklustre mimicry of the early trends of global tourism in Dubai. This exhibits the city's urgency to turn tourism into a profitable enterprise.

Tourism Resilience in the Metropolis

This section examines tourism resilience in relation to urban development in three distinct contexts.

Tourism in the Context of Urban Spatial Transformation

Subaltern Tourism as an Emerging Form

While the museographic edifices of inherited colonial architecture occupy a dignified position on Mumbai's tourism maps, unique typologies of non-colonial architecture – *chawls* adjacent to mills (industrial built heritage), *koliwada* and historic Portuguese village-like settlements – are emerging subaltern tourist destinations (Figure 16.2).[13] The rubric of the metropolis largely defined by Western ideologies deems these urban fabrics inappropriate within the context of contemporary urban space (Bautès 2017). Here, Bautès's

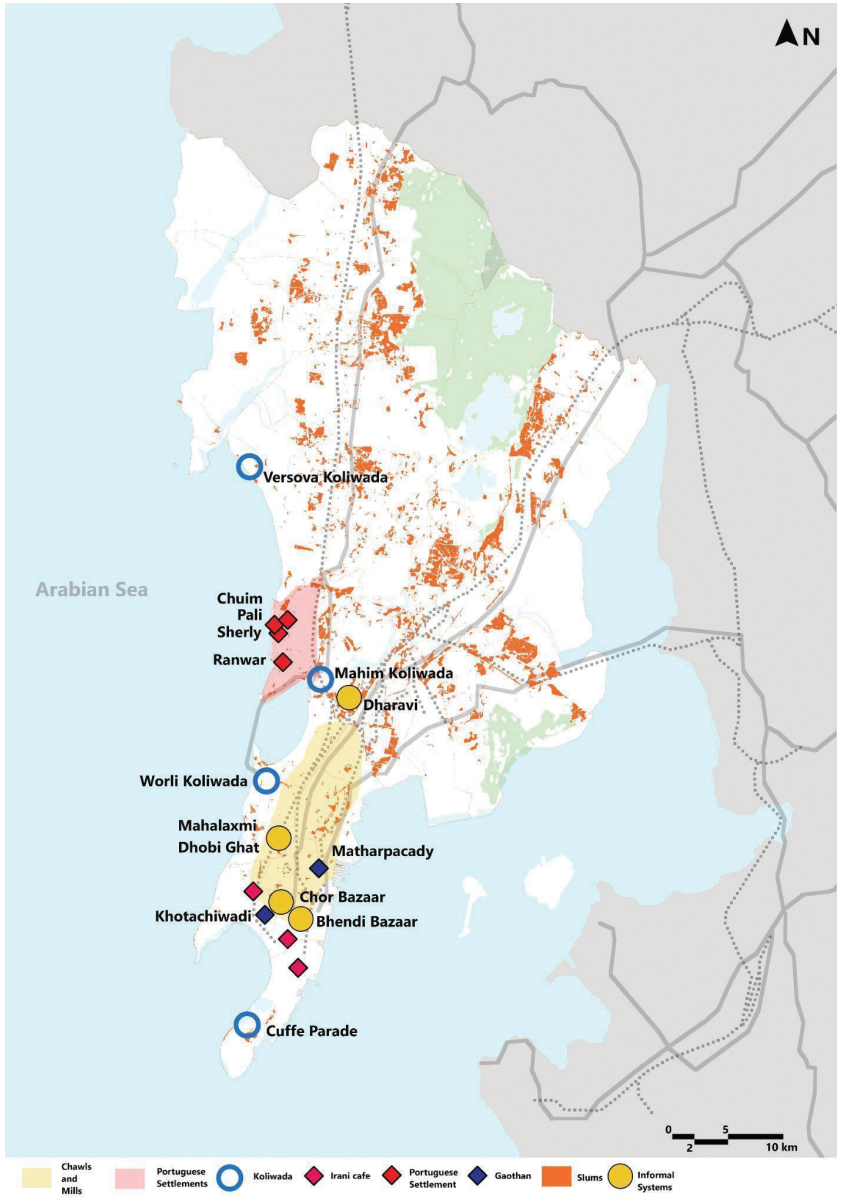


Figure 16.2 Subaltern tourism geographies in Greater Mumbai. (*Source:* Authors' own, data: Login Mumbai [UDRI], Google Earth)

argument that 'everyday social and cultural networks, more than built space itself, are what sustain the sociocultural relevance of the city' (Bautès 2017, 189) balancing the 'alleged unsightliness' of such urban spaces seems fitting. The process of metropolitan expansion of the MMR resulted in the absorption of rural structures (approximately three hundred *gaothans* or urban villages) into its folds. While the idea of a fishing village or even an urban village in the heart of the metropolis may indeed be incomprehensible to the Western eye, these unique sites dispel ideas of a standardised metropolitan tourist image. This section explores the tourism narratives subject to urban transformations, offering insights on tourism resilience in adaptiveness to rapid changes while retaining cultural identity.

Mumbai's boom as a financial district has fizzled out over the past decade. Diverging spatial tendencies in politico-economic and social space, triggered by the neoliberal ordering, have fractured the city. While tourists perceive through the smokescreen, breathing in the spirit, vibrance and diversity, they are accosted by the undesirable messiness of the underbelly. In a city where 40% of the population, mainly urban poor and migrants, resides in slums, the slum as a resilient survival tactic to float through economic instability and spatial inequality becomes a visible artefact. A lot of the contemporary tourism discourses are linked to reality tourism, notably tours of the slums, such as Dharavi or informal systems such as Dhobi Ghat, Chor Bazaar and Bhendi Bazaar.

'This multi-dimensional focus on process enables destinations to not only recover from endogenous and exogenous stressors, but also to transform, adapt and learn from them' (Radzanowski and Uğur 2020, 100, citing Boschma 2015).

The tourism industry absorbed the shock of the drastic visualisation of spatial disparity by taking on resilient forms of reality and poverty tourism. The attraction of tourists to reality tourism is a natural progression in this city uniquely equipped with adaptable survival mechanisms. However, there are negative connotations when urbanscapes of disparity imprint on tourists as metropolitan city images. In a city where trade and monetary value seep into every aspect of city life, the act of commodification of poverty by way of poverty tourism may not be misplaced. But, derivation of pleasure from this schizophrenic imagery renders this action problematic. Curiosity and satisfaction of hosts trump lingering concern over the commodification of poverty, as visitors cross lines of privacy (Diekmann and Chowdhary 2015). The unconcerned nature of host residents to the voyeuristic tourist gaze often mistaken for normalcy of the actions, rather characterises the inevitable

trait of a 'city so densely packed that it affords no privacy' (Mehta 2009, 135). Tourists often contest with the residents of the overcrowded city. Tourism, as a cross-disciplinary industry, adds pressure on city infrastructure such as linear transit lines and built infrastructure, already buckling under its twenty million inhabitants. Under conditions of economic depravity, tourist infrastructure such as public washrooms at tourist sites double-down as everyday utilities. A viewing gallery of the Dhobi Ghat designed for tourists intersects the thoroughfare of daily commuters exiting from the local railway station.

Here, we closely examine three subaltern sites – Dhobi Ghat, Irani cafes and Portuguese settlements – to understand the nuances of community, cultural loss and contention in the backdrop of urban spatial transformation of the MMR.

Dhobi Ghat

The informal system of the Dhobi Ghat presents as an idiosyncratic tourist site where the act of laundering, publicly performed as a community activity, engages the tourist gaze.[14] The Dhobi Ghat arose as a spatial manifestation of the socio-economic construct of the British colony in Mumbai in the 1800s, as an informal service backbone supporting it. It is now listed as a protected Grade IIB heritage site. The concentration of activities within a tight cluster of washing stones, drying terraces and housing units, closely proximal to a water source and the coastal edge represent its emergence as a unique community-driven economy in the postcolonial, coastal landscape of Mumbai. The tourist gaze is directed to view existing socio-spatial systems as innovation working outside and despite the economy (Norris 2005).

Performative public spaces are collective representations of community and cultural value. Mumbai's *dhobi ghats* represent the city's tourist landmark due to its resistive response to intrusive spatial transformations. The landmark offers a case study for resilience in tourism, as the community continues to sustain itself and has faced the need to self-regulate its narrative to adapt to the urban transformation. This section analyses the development trends and transformation of the Dhobi Ghat at Mahalaxmi: as built in 1890; as situated on the outskirts of the Fort walls; the postcolonial tourist narrative of the 1970s; and its current context.[15]

The tourist narrative is positioned in two ways: 1) assimilation of its historical continuity in a contemporary context; 2) resistant to change and integration within the economy. The colonial narrative of the *dhobi ghats* was conceived by the colonists as working outside the formal – or the

locals as the 'other'. This has guided the lens of the tourist narrative into the post-independence contemporary urban lens. The Dhobi Ghat is currently enclosed with the western local railway lines, a motorised flyover and masked by towering high-rises (Figure 16.3). The tourist can now view the everyday activity from a viewing gallery directing the tourist gaze from the edge of the flyover.[16] The height serves as an ideal vantage point to view the everyday washing activity cycles. However, this serves as an indirect point of contact between the tourists and the community, a panoptic of sorts, as opposed to a direct engagement within the landmark. This idea also asserts the position of viewing the landmark as an entity, as opposed to the cultural assimilation of local people and their narratives: limited immersion into the century-old subaltern historical narratives of the Ghat as encapsulating native working-class history during colonial occupation.

The Ghat that is engulfed by the railway tracks, flyovers and highways is indicative of the exclusionary urban response to an active historical urban

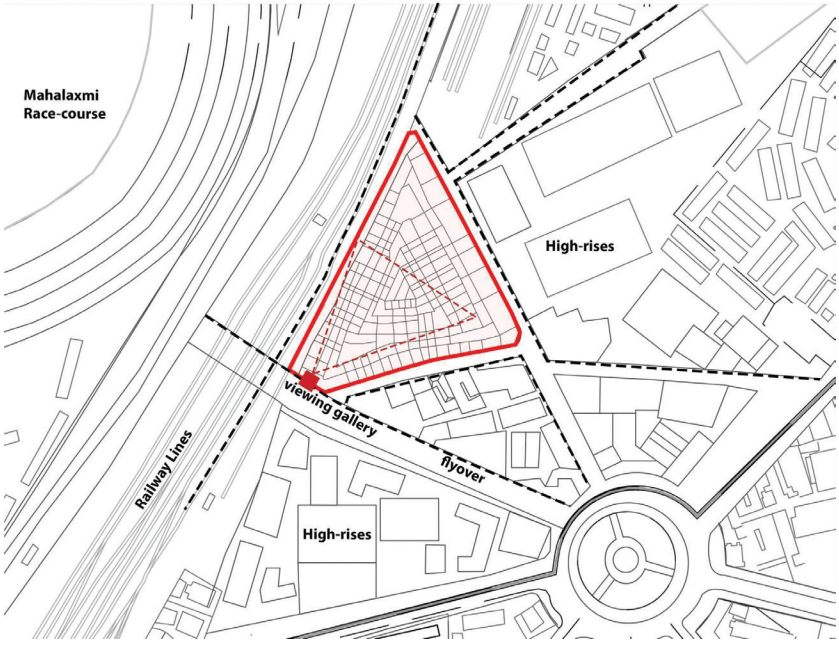


Figure 16.3 Map indicating the Dhobi Ghat enclosed within the high-rise developments and railway lines. The tourist point of contact 'viewing gallery' at the flyover overlooks the Ghat.
(*Source:* Authors' own)

system. The triangle land-parcel persists as a historical relic within the spatiality of surrounding development. It lacks significant benefits from the rising real estate development in the precinct. The community values aren't fully integrated with the processes of tourism and within the development agenda. The lack of visible change in the Dhobi Ghat's processes from the municipal authorities could also stem from the fear of diluting the authentic functionality of the landmark itself. The resilience in tourism has transformed into a dais for reality tourism that rests on showcasing the laborious and depreciating economy. Farrell and Twining-Ward (2005) apply resilience theory to tourism by arguing that sustainable development 'must be viewed as an evolving complex system that co-adapts to the specifics of the particular place, and especially to the aspirations and values of local people' (Farrell and Twining-Ward 2005, 110(2)). Here, tourism co-adaption to community needs is limited. The non-intrusive viewing gallery captures the public performance solely through the tourist gaze, keeping the local community unrewarded and disconnected. With direct engagement through walking tours, local communities rake in monetary benefits while susceptible to risks from reality tourism discussed earlier.

Irani Cafes

Historically, the Irani cafes began operation from the early 1890s as a stronghold of then recently immigrated Iranian diaspora.[17] While primarily catering to the working-class of nineteenth century industrial Mumbai, they synthesised Irani tea-drinking culture for Indian consumers. These cafes, cutting across class, caste and ethnic divisions, facilitated individuals 'to eat together in a common space' (Hoskote 2001, cited in Elison 2007, 8), initiating the city's metropolitan culture. The cafe as a product of the emerging hospitality and tourism industry in 1890–1920 was reactionary to the influx of migrants from diverse socio-cultural and ethnic groups (Dwivedi and Mehrotra, 1995).

Mumbai's recent position as the financial capital and the influx of multinational companies and foreign direct investment amplified demand for land, especially in the prime localities, eradicating domestic heritage and pushing crumbling cafes out of business. Forgotten by the amnesiac city in the course of urgent urbanisation, the third-generation enterprises underwent a revival in 2017. Since then, the cafes have emerged as a tourist spot – popularised by movies, food blogs and photographic spreads. Their revival is presented as a nostalgia storytelling within urban tourism. The zeitgeist of the cosmopolitan life of yesteryear lingers in the bentwood chairs, marble tabletops and

chequered floors. The idea of incorporating the finer nuances of the storytelling of domestic buildings, as opposed to monumental landmarks, fosters belonging and agency among subaltern communities (Elison 2007).

The cafes mushroomed in prominent locations of South Mumbai, specifically corner shops considered inauspicious by prominent merchants of the time, belonging to the Hindu and Jain communities. As the city leapfrogged from the logic of superstitions that once sustained Irani cafes, chasing real estate, merchants now have to make the choice between sustaining the cafe (a Herculean task) and selling out prime real estate (easy and huge payout).

Portuguese Urban Villages

Prior to the 1960s, the fortified inner-city of South Mumbai expanded into surrounding suburbs, marking the spatial composition of Greater Mumbai. Bandra, an upscale suburb in Greater Mumbai, characterised by iconic twentieth-century bungalows neatly arranged on a hilly terrain, were originally home to twenty-four urban villages with Portuguese historical origins dating to the 1700s. A handful of these Portuguese urban villages – Ranwar, Sherly, Chuim and Pali – have retained and resisted the development forces razing vintage houses for apartment constructions through waves of activism. However, placemaking of the coastal promenade and the emerging cosmopolitan culture in Bandra has evoked a vibrant brand of hip urban village culture. Bandra's revamp into a trendy suburb is largely due to curated events, activation via various heritage walking tours, collective design projects and heritage conservation-centric policies. Catalysed by transformative forces, the urban villages of Bandra align to a new tourist centrality, forging metropolitan identities in the postcolonial context.

These urban villages gained tourist traction, presenting as small pockets of idiosyncratic native settlements that resist the concrete jungle despite being subjected to urbanising forces and engulfed by the urban sprawl as the metropolis expands. They express their resilience, 'staunchly defending their existence and lifestyle in the midst of the rapidly transformed city' (Jain et al. 2013, 210). The picturesque *gaothan* of Khotachiwadi with intricate vernacular details in wood and the Matharpacady heritage precinct, both East Indian indigenous village settlements with European stylistic references, also become sites of domestic heritage tourism.[18] The settlement of colonial origin is commodified as a romantic tourist enclave in a similar fashion in sites across India from Fort Kochi and Pondicherry to Shimla, the Indo-European-style domestic architectural backdrop now catnip for Instagram-fuelled tourism.

Cultural mixing and religio-ethnic diversity add to the attractiveness, while European stylistic references evoke charm. Rofe positions this as a global phenomenon wherein 'consumptionscapes […] characterised by the presence of cafes, restaurants, boutiques and art galleries' emerge as focal points for the global gentrifying classes (Rofe 2003, cited in Snyder 2014). Measures of adaptive reuse (transforming heritage bungalows into cafes and clubs) and spatial transformation through urban art and urban activation (walks, campaigns and events) generate a refreshed metropolitan place identity.

Tourism in the Milieu of Coastal Reshaping

Linearity, Cultural Identity and Transforming Geography

This section analyses the changing nature of coastal landmarks framing tourist narratives in the contemporary city. A dominant characteristic of the Greater Mumbai area is its linearity along the coastal edges of the Arabian Sea. As a key maker of space, transit is an integral binder of the cityscape enforcing this north–south axial linearity. Mumbai's linear geography has defined and transcribed the tourist paths and circuits repetitively along these linear lines. Access to shorelines and landmarks has incentivised coastal areas into major tourism resources (Lapointe 2018). Mumbai before Western colonisation was once an archipelago of seven islands (Figure 16.4b) inhabited by Koli communities, native Buddhists, Hindu kings and sultanates (Nakamura 2014). The onset of the British reclamations starting from 1708 pushed the edges of the city out seaward. Conversion of this collection of sandbars, tidal flats, islands and hilly terrain into a single landmass at the behest of the British was for the creation of the colonial presidency port city.[19] This sea reclamation practice has continued into independent India to reinstate new coastal-edge meanings.

The manipulation of the coastline reflects socio-political changes across the city's historical timelines. For the purpose of this research, four key historical timelines are considered: Mumbai during the precolonial period (pre-sixteenth century); the Portuguese (1534–1661); British (1661–1947); and the post-independent city (1947 onwards). Much of precolonial Mumbai's socio-cultural and religious markers – such as the Banganga temple tank and Haji Ali Dargah – were associated with its coastal geography.[20] The Portuguese and British marked their territoriality with sea ports and forts (Figure 16.4a) on their islands. The British in Mumbai redefined the coast as

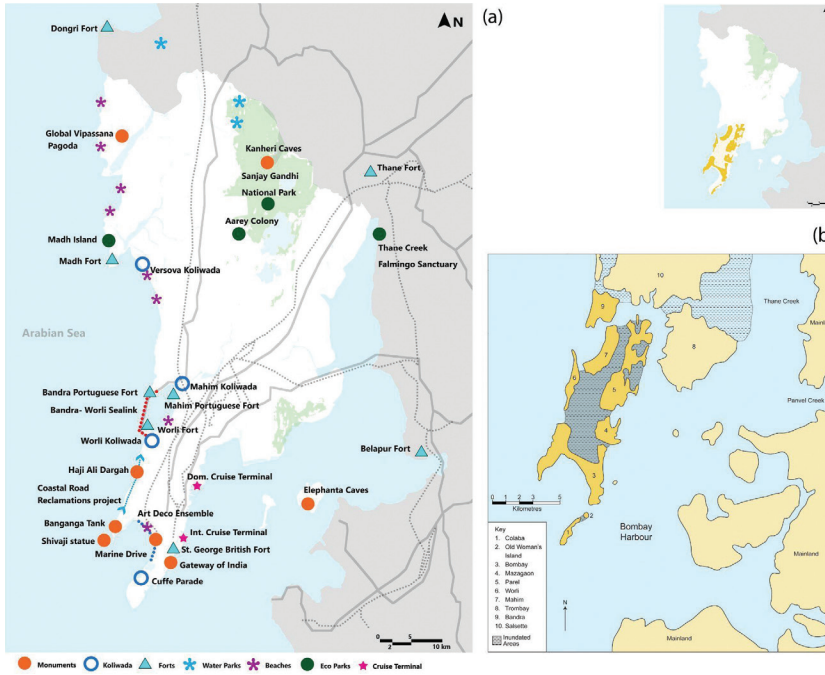


Figure 16.4 a: Tourist sites along the coast: Greater Mumbai. (*Source:* Authors' own Data: Login Mumbai, Google Earth)
b: The geography of the seven islands. (*Source:* Tim Riding [2018])

a space for leisure, entertainment and business. Marine Drive promenade, or the 'Queen's Necklace' is a C-shaped water-edge public space, developed as part of the 1920s Backbay Reclamation Scheme (Figure 16.4a). A series of art deco buildings line this promenade and it has formed a stellar public space that continues to emphasise the citizen's association with its water edge. In contemporary Mumbai, the coastline is symbolic of a consumption-oriented luxurious lifestyle that gained traction with the onset of European influences. However, additional reclamations have marred historical sites. The precolonial and colonial markers – the forts, relics and temple tanks – exist in dilapidation, contesting against the pressures of new development. The Sea Link (Figure 16.4a) as the new infrastructural marvel, coastal road reclamations, new cruise terminals and focuses on skyline definitions reframe a global new imaginary of the coast.[21] This is seen as a fissure from the socio-religious imaginations.

The contemporary coast captures the vision of an unobstructed skyline – a night-view with glistening upscale high-rise buildings across the waters – emanating a global public space image and tourist attractiveness without par. The present day tourism relies heavily on coastal shore tourism as leisure and entertainment drivers (beach and cruise tourism). Open-air bus tours along the Sea Link bridge, or reality tours within the *koliwadas* (fishing villages) became acts of adaptive narratives to sustain contemporary economies. The change in coastal tourism narratives, from sacred-religious and fortified markers to leisure-based consumption and contemporary engineering feats, has emphasised the metropolis as a signifier of constant change. Each of the landmarks are manifested by individualised political-economic agendas, and to find a tied narrative would require cohesive development planning. The accessibility to the city coastline is often contested by several privatised and military (naval) land ownership rights (Burte and Krishnankutty 2006). Conflict between contrasting imaginations of the sea produces fragmented tourism geographies and incongruous circuits (MTDC 2016, 15).[22] While 'the promenade [Marine Drive] continues to throb, like it always has through its history' (Dwivedi and Mehrotra, 1995, 271), it also symbolises a dynamic resilience in its adaptive capacity to transformative urban developments despite historic anchoring. Despite significant alterations to the historic spatial identity, tour guides evaluate and integrate the altered narratives to build a cohesive coastal identity.

Coastal Expansions and Ecotourism

The MTDC's strategy for the Konkan shoreline (including but not limited to Mumbai's coast) is modelled on international examples of the French Riviera, Bali and Gold Coast (Planning Commission 2007). Mumbai's highly broad and ambitious visions of reclamations of its coastline is an urban phenomenon that is directly impacting the city's coastal tourism visions and becomes yet another by-product of its capitalistic tendencies. Beyond connectivity, India's aspirations to match 'global imagery' of iconic bridges prompts design of the Bandra–Worli Sea Link, as well as the upcoming Sewri–Nhava Sheva Sea Link. Navi Mumbai has been recently branded as 'The Flamingo City'.[23] Offering contrast to the densely built fabric of Greater Mumbai, ecologically rich pockets of space in the peripheries, like Madh Island, Alibaug and so on, are developed as ecotourism enclaves (Figure 16.4a). In Madh Island, a green coastal retreat, with quaint fishing villages, reminiscent of the

Portuguese-influenced beaches of Goa, overdevelopment for tourism threatens to destroy the fantasy of the pristine ecotourism landscape.

Some of the problems of tourism expansions are unsustainable tourism practices, such as illegal constructions to accommodate tourist centres and hotels which flout Coastal Regulation Zone rules (Arora-Desai 2022).[24] Beach spaces become highly contentious, adapting to rising sea levels and extreme weather events that threaten coastal infrastructures, submerge beaches and erode coasts. The beach as a space of leisure, conflicts with existing *koliwadas*, in order to make way for the tourist hotels (Burte and Krishnankutty 2006). Arabindoo (2011), discussing the south-east Indian coastal city of Chennai, perceives the increasing role of beaches as pristine promenades for the public (catering to 'bourgeoisie of the post-colonial' cities) as creating exclusions with the rest of the wide spectrum of communities and income groups that are associated with the beaches and coastlines (Arabindoo 2011). Loss of rights of indigenous fishing communities in order to produce a thriving public space creates a complex and layered tourist site. The prospect of resilience must accommodate the needs of multiple contenders and intentions.

Manufactured City Imagery

Mumbai is a multifaceted beast. The competing city imagery as perceived by tourists and the larger politico-cultural motivators in its production are discussed in this section.

Global Image

In the previous section, we discussed the coast and its intrinsic link to the framing of Mumbai's global image. Mumbai aspires to become a global tourist destination designed to bring forth 'global flows of people' (Salama 2015). Certain city development programmes like 'Vision Mumbai' focus on the production of a global city. Despite this, much of its urbanism is unplanned and an afterthought in its destiny to become a megacity (Brahmbhatt 2015). As megaprojects of urban development looking up to global examples in Shanghai, Dubai and Tokyo shape Mumbai's global standing, the tendency of capitalism to upstage culture, heritage and lifestyle is often demonstrated. The transformation of sites of contemporary urban projects such as the Bandra Kurla Complex demonstrate an inclination to embody the global image trend.[25]

Multicultural Image

The city is visualised as a cosmopolitan metropolis of exuberating vibrance, multicultural yet consisting of a local milieu of Maharashrians.[26] 'Incredible !ndia' projects Mumbai as an immersive multicultural experience with its diverse demographic of citizens and denizens – the street artists, the slum and *chawl* dwellers, taxi drivers, and so on – contributing to city character. Multiculturality and 'Mumbai is its people' are central themes in Mumbai tourism. The city's true resilience in its ability to pick itself up and march right back to work, even after major terror attacks, has been sloganised as the indomitable 'Spirit of Mumbai' (Karkaria 2015).[27] Another popular slogan, 'Aamchi Mumbai' ('Our Mumbai' in the regional language, Marathi), signals localisation within this global city (Mitra 2010), playing out in the backdrop of globalisation and deindustrialisation, and under socio-political triggers.

The Colonial City Image

The dominant imagery of colonial buildings, stylistically similar to European architecture, eclipses images of indigenous architecture in India's self-representation for tourist consumption. Tourist narratives of South Mumbai relay the historical past, reappropriating the narratives of the colony with a heightened romanticism. Even within the Incredible !ndia campaign, there remains a 'perennial outlook of Eurocentric superiority over a presumed "inferior" "Indian-ness"' (Nair 2021, 27–28). The city is aware of its exploitative colonial past but, simultaneously, primarily dependent on its colonial architecture for tourism. Imperialism, colonialism, decolonisation and neoliberal restructuring reshape this tourist imaginary (Goreau-Ponceaud 2019).

Placemaking Image

The role of placemaking has been reduced to quick-measure solutions, satiating Instagram-fuelled tourism – lifesize 'I Heart Mumbai' slogans ('I लव Mumbai' in Devanagari script) as borrowed Western mechanics of placemaking and replacing the monument.[28] First situated in the affluent localities, the logos extend into the impoverished pockets (along the highways, carelessly plopped against the slums), revealing the splintered urbanism and the municipality's nonchalance towards inequities in projected and existing realities. Holistic placemaking measures should present just representations of the community and unfiltered urban history, and trigger growth and progress within the urban pocket, rather than distract from the urban apathy and disconnections. The repurposing of industrial infrastructure into art districts,

for instance, upscaling defunct textile mill units to house cafes, as another borrowed tactic, is inaccessible to the largely weaker sections of the economy, but serves international tourist impressions. The largely privatised nature of placemaking interventions promotes culture when it fulfils capitalistic and real estate goals.

Regional Image: Maratha and Mimetics

City branding strategies are approached by intentions to promote the regional political brand identity, reinstating the glory of the Marathas and the city's Koli heritage roots. The promotional advertisement of the Incredible !ndia campaign, set to the Marathi-language tune of 'Dev Pavlay Dev Mazha Malhari', pays tribute to the Koli community.[29] MTDC identifies Maratha forts as tourist landmarks dotting the landscape. The new MMR heritage circuits include heritage in peripheral regions (Kalyan, Vasai-Virar, Pen-Alibaug, Thane), recognising the faded glory of Maratha and Portuguese monuments with attempts to link these distant sites through trails and treks (enmeshing historicity and ecology), as well as awareness campaigns.[30] Further, mimetics is employed, using direct referencing to translate iconography of the peripheral monuments as objects into the inner-city centres. The replication of Maratha forts at traffic junctions in various localities in Greater Mumbai becomes an attempt to superimpose the imagery of the Maratha historical narratives within the city centre. The plans to erect a 212-metre statue of Chhatrapati Shivaji – the largest in the world – on an island off the coast of South Mumbai (near Walkeshwar) become a means for revanchist recentring.

Other Minor Imagery: East-Aligned Image[31]

Aligning with the rediscovery of Buddhist philosophies in modern India, the Global Vipassana Pagoda as a twenty-first century landmark, built in 2009 along a coastal creek-edge in the outskirts of Greater Mumbai near Gorai, became a hub for meditation and ecotourism.[32] This 'created' cultural landmark, modelled after the Shwedagon Pagoda (Golden Pagoda) in Yangon, Myanmar, digresses from indigenous stylistic references in pursuit of a globally dominant 'Buddhist' image. In contrast, the historic rock-cut Buddhist caves, like the Kanheri caves and Elephanta caves (a UNESCO World Heritage Site) present tourists in MMR with native forms and archetypes. The promotion of Buddhist religious places and circuits nationally by the government aligns with the Looking East policy to attract East-Asian tourists (Nair 2021).[33]

The contesting imagery examined above reflects the city's varied socio-political relationships. The question of appropriate tourist narratives seems to shift under varying agendas of the government, tourism board and other actors. The process of touristification is transient, managing amoeboid shifts in agenda on the basis of place-branding, identity generation, revanchist tendencies, decolonisation and globalisation.

Conclusion

In metropolises grappling with urban spatial transformation and economic inequities, tourism (albeit informally) extends relationships with subaltern geographies. Besides urban transformations, coastal metropolises of developing economies are also modifying their boundaries, causing changes not only in coastal habitats but also indigenous histories. The research highlights the conflicts of plural identities represented in singular, popularised icons, distorting historical biases in newly incorporated peripheries.

The idea of reality tourism could be mobilised for economic sustenance. However, it is important to involve the subaltern communities as part of the development processes. This would enable the tourist gaze to view the community processes from the inside, as opposed to being viewed as the 'other', without losing the landmark to development. The acceptance that multiple, often contentious narratives and imagery will persist for a single place, often temporally, is critical for a holistic representation that brings forth tourism resilience. Mumbai's tourism should evolve innovative circuits capturing the dynamic metropolis. Political and urban agendas should be verified as inclusive to Mumbai's heterogeneity and ingenuity.

A characteristic of a metropolis is the layering of contemporary sites of interest over historical landmarks and the ability of the urban area to find cohesive links through adapted tourist narratives. Critical research and collection of stories is required within these areas to generate authentic tourist circuits that would benefit from funding of heritage conservation. Misplaced imagery of cultural revanchism is persistent due to the lack of knowledge of interpreting local culture for a diverse audience, which often gets replaced by commercial consumerist landmarks and monuments unsuitable for the economic realities. It is vital to establish local micro-community narratives to emphasise areas that are not monumental but have sentimental value in order to find tourist values in the peripherals, establishing linkages between the historical core and the peripheral areas.

The Future of Metropolitan Tourism

The chapter perceives tourism resilience in the adaptive quality of tourist sites and patterns to sustain its economy and retain relevance for tourism under contentious agendas and actors. As emerging from a dire need and resting on the adaptive mechanisms of the citizens, tourism resilience planning enables dependent communities to sustain and thrive in the new economy. Scholarly research and government initiatives should evaluate the intersection of urban planning and tourism to make plans that foster tourism resilience. The government (MTDC and other tourism authorities) displays a lack of initiative to include subaltern sites, stubbornly anchored to twentieth-century landmarks and circuits. Despite tourist popularity, the tourism industry in these sites persists informally. The incorporation into a formal system is imperative for value addition and planting safeguards. Governmental agencies should rethink innovatively and holistically to formulate the metropolis's tourism vision. Emerging tourist geographies should capture the soul of the dynamic metropolis, its ingenuity, its liminality and the aspirations of its diverse demographic. Peripheral areas carry immense potential. In order to diversify the landmarks to the peripheral extents of the city, sensitive placemaking is required. An integrated tourist network plan that not only guides the tourist linearly but is inclusive of sensitive representation, along with local community participation, could provide varied opportunities for the new metropolitan tourist and citizen. Thoughts on self-representation, with detail into how metropolitan Mumbai presents itself, could produce a coherent tourist narrative connected with urban development processes.

Notes

1. World Population Review, 'Mumbai', accessed 1 July 2024, https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/mumbai-population
2. The most recent official census of India was conducted in 2011. Indian Population Census, 'Mumbai City Population 2023', accessed 1 July 2024, https://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/365-mumbai.html
3. Regional historic rulers and warrior clans who ruled the Maratha kingdom across present day Maharashtra from 1674 to 1818.
4. Origins and definitions of resilience: Hall (2017) and Corte et al. (2021) provide a comprehensive overview of literature in the tourism resilience domain. Resilience in a metropolis should be understood as a relevant

mechanism for understanding urban processes while linking human and environmental processes (Cochrane 2010). Resilience was first assessed from an ecological perspective by Holling in 1973, later evolving into a socio-ecological resilience by Folke in 2006 (Corte et al. 2021; Radzanowski and Uğur 2020). Other critical modalities where tourism resilience was explored include: engineering resilience theorised by O'Neill et al. (1986), Pimm (1984), Tilman and Downing (1994) (cited in Holling 1996); economic resilience (Psycharis et al. 2014; Cellini and Cuccia 2015); disaster resilience (Cai et al. 2018); community resilience (DasGupta and Shaw 2015); cultural resilience (Hu et al. 2021); and recently resilience in light of COVID-19 (Prayag 2020).

5. As defined by Folke 2006; Hudson 2010; Hermansen and Röhn 2015; Cellini and Cuccia 2015 (cited in Corte et al. 2021).
6. *Metropolisation* definition: 'The process through which institutionally, functionally, and spatially fragmented urbanised regions become integrated as coherent metropolitan systems' (Cardoso and Meijers 2021, 1).
7. An expert interview was conducted with a tour curator from Khaki Tours.
8. A cartographic guide map titled 'Bombay: The Gateway of India' was prepared by the Indian government in 1958 highlighting key landmarks that would introduce the new image of the city to Western tourists (Buckler 2015). See map here: https://hum54-15.omeka.fas.harvard.edu/exhibits/show/1958-bombay--gateway-to-india/item/1799
9. The MTDC, a state body (Maharashtra state), is the major authority in charge of tourism in Mumbai. There is an absence of a specific metropolitan body in charge of tourism in Mumbai.
10. The nation-branding international tourist campaign initiated by the government of India in 2002. See http://www.incredibleindia.org
11. *Dabbawala*: A network of ingenious tiffin-delivery service systems.
12. Based on expert interview with tour operator at Khaki Tours.
13. Industrial built heritage consisted of collective housing typology for mill workers. The *koliwada* refers to an indigenous fishing village. The *kolis* are believed to be the earliest native inhabitants of Mumbai, continuing their fishing traditions to the present day.
14. A dhobi ghat refers to an open-infrastructure, neighbourhood-scale laundromat, operating as an informal system.
15. The context is of the British Fort precinct of South Mumbai.
16. The gallery was erected by the government in 2019 specifically for tourists to view the laundering activities from a vantage point.

17. Zoroastrians and Muslim Shias who immigrated from Iran to India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, migrating as a consequence of famine in their homeland.
18. Heritage settlements in Portuguese-style houses belonging to local East Indian communities (native Christian converts during Portuguese colonisation).
19. The Bombay Presidency was the administrative boundary of a British province that included the present Mumbai Metropolitan Region.
20. The Banganga temple tank was built in 1127 CE during the time of the Silahara kings; Haji Ali Dargah was built in 1431 CE by Sufi saint Pir Haji Ali Shah Bukhari during the time of the Delhi Sultanate.
21. Bandra–Worli Sea Link is a coastal bridge connecting parts of the northern and southern city.
22. See 'Proposed Circuit for Recreational and Natural Areas', slide 15, in MTDC 2016.
23. The planned twin-city of Greater Mumbai of the 1970s situated eastward.
24. The Coastal Regulation Zone is a demarcated zone along the coastline with special development controls.
25. A newly planned business district in Mumbai that houses multinational banks and commercial complexes situated as high-value real estate.
26. Native to the state of Maharashtra.
27. The slogan 'Spirit of Mumbai' has been in use since 2006.
28. Devanagari script is used for Sanskrit, Hindi and other Indian languages.
29. The video campaign for Incredible !ndia – Destination Mumbai, YouTube, 31 July 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fj8WObtCMJI
30. A set of nine 'heritage circuit' maps of the MMR prepared in 2018 by the MMR Heritage Conservation Society, accessed 1 July 2024. http://mmrhcs.org.in/images/publications_manuals/Set-of-9-heritage-circuit-maps-of-MMR.jpg
31. While Mumbai carries multiple religious identities, the Buddhist circuit is discussed as a relatively new addition to the existing circuits, in the interest of situating this discourse on the creation of new landmarks and non-Western 'global' imageability.
32. From as early as the second century BCE to the thirteenth century CE, the islands of Mumbai were a centre of Buddhist patronage.
33. See also IANS 2014.

Bibliography

Arabindoo, Pushpa. 2011. '"City of Sand": Stately Re-Imagination of Marina Beach in Chennai'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35(2): 379–401. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00943.x

Arora-Desai, Prayag. 2022. 'NMMC Moves to Action over Illegal Construction on CRZ Plot'. Hindustan Times, 4 October. https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/mumbai-news/nmmc-moves-to-action-over-illegal-construction-on-crz-plot-101664827023911.html

Bautès, Nicolas. 2017. 'Caught Between Metropolitan Renovation and Resistance: The Dilemma of Khotachiwadi, Mumbai (India)'. In *Neighbourhood and City: Between Digital and Analogue Perspectives*, edited by Marluci Menezes and Carlos Smaniotto Costa, 185–97. Edições Universitárias Lusófona.

Boschma, Ron. 2015. 'Towards an Evolutionary Perspective on Regional Resilience'. *Regional Studies* 49(5): 733–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2014.959481

Brahmbhatt, Viren. 2015. 'Messy Urbanism: Transformation and Transmutation of Cities under Globalization'. In *Now Urbanism: The Future City Is Here*, edited by Jeffrey Hou, Benjamin Spencer, Thaisa Way and Ken Yocom, 13–25. Routledge.

Buckler, Julie. 2015. 'Humanities 54: The Urban Imagination'. University course. Harvard University. https://hum54-15.omeka.fas.harvard.edu/

Burte, Himanshu and Malini Krishnankutty. 2006. 'On the Edge: Planning, Describing and Imagining the Seaside Edge of Mumbai'. In *Peri-Urban Dynamics: Case Studies in Chennai, Hyderabad and Mumbai*, edited by Véronique Dupont and N. Sridharan, 87–109. CSH Occasional Papers 17. French Research Institutes in India.

Cai, Heng, Nina S. N. Lam, Yi Qiang, Lei Zou, Rachel M. Correll and Volodymyr Mihunov. 2018. 'A Synthesis of Disaster Resilience Measurement Methods and Indices'. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 31: 844–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2018.07.015

Cardoso, Rodrigo and Evert Meijers. 2021. 'Metropolisation: The Winding Road toward the Citification of the Region'. *Urban Geography* 42(1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1828558

Cellini, Roberto and Tiziana Cuccia. 2015. 'The Economic Resilience of the Tourism Industry in Italy: What the "Great Recession" Data Show'. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 16: 346–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2015.09.007

Cochrane, Janet. 2010. 'The Sphere of Tourism Resilience'. *Tourism Recreation Research* 35(2): 173–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2010.11081632

Corte, Valentina della, Giovanna Del Gaudio and Simone Luongo. 2021. 'A Literature Review on Tourism Resilience'. In *Leveraging Intersections in Management Theory and Practice*, edited by Sandro Castaldo, Arabella Mocciaro Li Destri, Lara Penco and Marta Ugolini, 405–10. Proceedings of Sinergie-SIMA 2021 conference, Palermo, 10–11 June 2021.

DasGupta, Rajarshi and Rajib Shaw. 2015. 'An Indicator Based Approach to Assess Coastal Communities' Resilience against Climate Related Disasters in Indian Sundarbans'. *Journal of Coastal Conservation* 19(1): 85–101. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11852-014-0369-1

Dey, Pritam, Swapna Deshmukh Deshpande and Paridhi Kedia. 2021. 'Who's City? Urban Regeneration of Fishermen Community in a Century Old Indian Metropolis to Create a Sustainable and Liveable Society at Mahim Koliwada, Mumbai'. *Descriptio* 3(1): 1–16. https://pure.jgu.edu.in/id/eprint/1518

Diekmann, Anya and Nimit Chowdhary. 2015. 'Slum Dwellers' Perceptions of Tourism in Dharavi, Mumbai'. In *Ethnic and Minority Cultures as Tourist Attractions*, edited by Anya Diekmann and Melanie Kay Smith, 112–26. Channel View.

Dwivedi, Sharada and Rahul Mehrotra. 1995. *Bombay: The Cities Within*. India Book House.

Elison, William. 2007. 'Immanent Domains: Gods, Laws, and Tribes in Mumbai'. PhD thesis, University of Chicago.

Farrell, Bryan and Louise Twining-Ward. 2005. 'Seven Steps Towards Sustainability: Tourism in the Context of New Knowledge'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 13(2): 109–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580508668481

Folke, Carl. 2006. 'Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social–Ecological Systems Analyses'. *Global Environmental Change* 16(3): 253–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2006.04.002

Goreau-Ponceaud, Anthony. 2019. 'Coloniality and Tourism: The Fabric of Identities and Alterities in India'. *Via: Tourism Review* 16, 4251. https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.4251

Government of Maharashtra. 2016. 'Maharashtra Tourism Policy 2016'. Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs, 4 May. https://maharashtratourism.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/Tourism-policy-2016-English.pdf

Hall, C. Michael. 2017. 'Resilience in Tourism: Development, Theory, and Application'. In *Tourism, Resilience and Sustainability: Adapting to Social, Political and Economic Change*, edited by Joseph M. Cheer and Alan A. Lew, 18–33. Routledge.

Hermansen, Mikkel and Oliver Röhn. 2015. 'Economic Resilience: The Usefulness of Early Warning Indicators in OECD Countries'. OECD Economics Department working paper 1250, 22 July. https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jrxhgfqx3mv-en

Holling, C. S. 1973. 'Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems'. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 4: 1–23. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2096802

Holling, C. S. 1996. 'Engineering Resilience versus Ecological Resilience'. In *Engineering within Ecological Constraints*, edited by Peter Schulze, 31–43. National Academy of Engineering.

Hu, Haisheng, Xuezhong Qiao, Yang Yang and Ling Zhang. 2021. 'Developing a Resilience Evaluation Index for Cultural Heritage Site: Case Study of Jiangwan Town in China'. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 26(1): 15–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2020.1805476

Hudson, Ray. 2010. 'Resilient Regions in an Uncertain World: Wishful Thinking or a Practical Reality?' *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 3(1): 11–25. https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsp026

IANS. 2014. 'Maharashtra to Launch Buddhist Circuit Tourism Soon'. Business Standard, 24 June. https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/maharashtra-to-launch-buddhist-circuit-tourism-soon-114062401111_1.html

Jain, Julian, Fritz-Julius Grafe and Harald A. Mieg. 2013. 'Mumbai, the Megacity and the Global City: A View of the Spatial Dimension of Urban Resilience'. In *Institutional and Social Innovation for Sustainable Urban Development*, edited by Harald Mieg and Klaus Töpfer, 209–30. Routledge.

Jones, Gareth A. and Romola Sanyal. 2015. 'Spectacle and suffering: The Mumbai slum as a worlded space'. *Geoforum* 65: 431–439. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.02.008

Karkaria, Bachi. 2015. 'How the 1993 Blasts Changed Mumbai Forever'. BBC News, 30 July. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-33713846

Lapointe, Dominic and Bruno Sarrasin. 2018. '(Re)production of Resilient Tourism Space in the Context of Climate Change: A Case Study from Québec, Canada'. In *Tourism, Resilience and Adaptation to Environmental Change: Definitions and Frameworks*, edited by Alan A. Lew and Joseph M. Cheer, 141–56. Routledge.

Lonely Planet. 2022. 'Mumbai (Bombay)' Lonely Planet: India. Accessed 14 August 2022. Archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20220727221347/https://www.lonelyplanet.com/india/mumbai-bombay

Mehta, Suketu. 2009. *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*. Vintage.

Mitra, Sreya. 2010. 'Localizing the Global: Bombay's Sojourn from the Cosmopolitan Urbane to *Aamchi Mumbai*'. In *Reorienting Global Communication: Indian and Chinese Media Beyond Borders*, edited by Michael Curtin and Hemant Shah, 139–57. University of Illinois Press.

MTDC (Maharashtra Tourism Development Corporation). 2013. 'Tourism Development Plan: Mumbai Suburban (Draft Copy)'. MTDC and Fortress Infrastructure Advisory Services.

MTDC. 2016. 'Tourism Development Plan: Mumbai City and Suburbs'. Structwel, Fortress and MTDC.

Nair, Bipithalal Balakrishnan. 2021. 'Critique of a Nation's Self-Representation in Tourism: Incredible India'. 남아시아연구 *(Journal of South Asian Studies)* 26(4): 27–51. https://doi.org/10.21587/jsas.2021.26.4.002

Nakamura, Carolyn. 2014. 'Mumbai's Quiet Histories: Critical Intersections of the Urban Poor, Historical Struggles, and Heritage Spaces'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 14(3): 271–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605314539419

Norris, Lucy. 2005. '*Dhobighat*' (Review of *Dhobighat*, dir. Giorgio Garini, 2004). *Visual Anthropology Review* 21(1–2): 168–69. https://doi.org/10.1525/var.2005.21.1-2.168

O'Neill, Robert V., Donald Lee Deangelis, J. B. Waide and Timothy F. H. Allen. 1986. *A Hierarchical Concept of Ecosystems*. Princeton University Press.

Parul, M. S. 2010. 'Marketing of tourism by Maharashtra tourism development corporation MTDC Maharashtra'. PhD thesis, Chaudhary Charan Singh University. http://hdl.handle.net/10603/228648

Pimm, Stuart L. 1984. 'The Complexity and Stability of Ecosystems'. *Nature* 307(5949): 321–26. https://doi.org/10.1038/307321a0

Planning Commission. 2007. 'Maharashtra Development Report'. Planning Commission, Government of India.

Prayag, Girish. 2020. 'Time for Reset? COVID-19 and Tourism Resilience'. *Tourism Review International* 24(2–3): 179–84. https://doi.org/10.3727/154427220X15926147793595

Psycharis, Yannis, Dimitris Kallioras and Panagiotis Pantazis. 2014. 'Economic Crisis and Regional Resilience: Detecting the "Geographical Footprint" of Economic Crisis in Greece'. *Regional Science Policy & Practice* 6(2): 121–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/rsp3.12032

Radzanowski, Sarah and Lauren Uğur. 2020. 'The Futile Pursuit of Sustainability? Exploring Diversity as an Approach to Achieving Resilient Tourism Destinations'. *Dos Algarves: A Multidisciplinary e-Journal* 36: 97–107. https://doi.org/10.18089/DAMeJ.2020.36.6

Riding, Tim. 2018. ' "Making Bombay Island": Land Reclamation and Geographical Conceptions of Bombay, 1661–1728'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 59: 27–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2017.08.005

Rofe, Matthew W. 2003 '"I Want to Be Global": Theorising the Gentrifying Class as an Emergent Elite Global Community'. *Urban Studies* 40(12): 2511–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136183

Salama, Hussam Hussein. 2015. 'Dubai: An Urbanism Shaped for Global Tourism'. *Journal of Architectural Engineering Technology* 4(3), 154.

Shaw, Rajib, Bam H. N. Razafindrabe, Gulsan Ara Parvin, Akhilesh Surjan and Yukiko Takeuchi. 2009. 'Climate Disaster Resilience: Focus on Coastal Urban Cities in Asia'. *Asian Journal of Environment and Disaster Management* 1(1): 101–16. http://dx.doi.org/10.3850/S17939240200 9000088

Shaw, Stephen J. 2015. 'Negotiating Asian Identities in London and Other Gateway Cities'. In *Ethnic and Minority Cultures as Tourist Attractions*, edited by Anya Diekmann and Melanie Kay Smith, 31–40. Channel View.

Snyder, Michael. 2014. 'Bandra Is Changing But It Isn't Being Gentrified'. Mumbai Boss, 18 October. Archived at: https://web.archive.org/web/201 41018090116/http://mumbaiboss.com/2014/04/21/bandra-is-changing-but-it-isnt-being-gentrified/

Tilman, David and John Downing. 1994. 'Biodiversity and Stability in Grasslands'. *Nature* 367(6461): 363–65. https://doi.org/10.1038/367363a0

Times Travel. 2019. 'Hong Kong tops the list of the most visited city of 2019, Delhi and Mumbai in top 20'. Times of India, 5 December. https://times ofindia.indiatimes.com/travel/destinations/hong-kong-tops-the-list-of-the-most-visited-city-of-2019-delhi-and-mumbai-in-top-20/articleshow/72378236.cms

UDRI (Urban Design Research Institute). n.d. 'Fort Management Plan 2007–2010: A Participatory Design Approach'. UDRI. https://www.udri.org/pdf/02-Fort-Management-Plan-Report.pdf

Van der Veer, Peter. 2013. 'Urban Aspirations in Mumbai and Singapore'. In *Topographies of Faith: Religion in Urban Spaces*, edited by Irene Becci, Marian Burchardt and José Casanova, 61–72. Brill.

WTTC (World Travel and Tourism Council). 2020. 'Travel and Tourism: Global Economic Impact and Trends 2020'. DevelopmentAid.

https://www.developmentaid.org/api/frontend/cms/file/2020/10/Global_Economic_Impact__Trends_2020.pdf

WTTC. 2021. 'Annual Summary 2020: India'. https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact/moduleId/704/itemId/130/controller/DownloadRequest/action/QuickDownload

WTTC. 2024. 'India's Travel and Tourism Sector Shows Strong Recovery with Domestic Tourism Leading the Way'. WTTC, 28 June. https://wttc.org/news/indias-travel-and-tourism-sector-shows-strong-recovery-with-domestic-tourism-leading-the-way

Chapter 17

Tourists in the Many-Sided Metropolis

Robert Pascoe and Chris McConville

Introduction

According to the celebrated critic Roland Barthes, tourist guidebooks to the modern metropolis presume a Western bourgeois traveller anxious to accumulate visits to 'must-see' buildings and artworks, each one speaking to a received canon (Barthes 1972). Famously, the Blue Guides have developed a coded series of fonts and asterisks to guide this imagined tourist deftly up and down certain streets, and in and out of particular museums and galleries. During the half century since Barthes published this essay in 1957, the Blue Guides have extended their gaze into non-Western cities such as Cairo, assimilating Islamic and other traditions into a universal gestalt of sightseeing, without changing their *raison d'être*.

Using Kevin Lynch in the Metropolis

If the authoritative text directs us towards paradigmatic, self-referential sites, how can a visitor engage meaningfully with the surrounding metropolis? Our purpose here is to propose an answer to this question by drawing on Kevin Lynch's classic *The Image of the City* (1960). Here we reflect initially on the Lynchian approach. We secondly explore examples from neighbourhoods in two metropolitan places, Berlin and Rome, and one major city, Dublin. These places we explore by way of analytical walking tours. We would argue that at the built and emotional scale of the city, Lynch's maps do give a broad comprehension. In the complexity of the metropolis, they introduce the visitor to certain themes of topography and history even if these must always remain circumscribed. We finally reflect on the strengths and limitations of this method in enabling tourists to comprehend the metropolis, rather than

the individual site as cynosure. Here we suggest a productive method for the tourist's richer engagement with urban form, history and life. We propose walking in distinctive urban neighbourhoods, preferably ones connected to major touristic sites. These we frame through cognitive mapping and site-based historical research, as a strategy by which the tourist can come to terms with the locality around the great site in the first instance, before engaging with the wider metropolis. We use 'coming to terms' advisedly, since the twenty-first-century metropolis defies absolute comprehension.

We have arrived at this method after working for years with student groups in Australian cities, using neighbourhood field trips as a platform for urban historical analysis. More immediately, and because of anti-COVID lockdowns, we conducted hybrid field trips, with one of us walking a neighbourhood, iPhone camera at hand and turned on, the other tending a 'mission control' computer, linked to the walker and students following from laptops at home. We also conducted neighbourhood walking tours entirely online for community groups, whose members were typically elderly and isolated in their homes by extreme lockdowns. These imaginary walks were conducted in cities around the world, in lieu of being able to take students and community groups on previously planned tours of global cities. Our experience of diverse actual and imaginary journeys has reinforced our faith in Lynchian cognitive mapping. Before walking the neighbourhoods, however, we must distinguish a metropolitan scale and depth from a broader urban topography. Walking only allows us to explore a small segment of the metropolis. Metropolitan space is dynamic, its fixity always undermined. The metropolis generates the iconic site, since historically it has a colonising and national heritage immersed within a globalising present. The conceptualised metropolis in other words, taking its genesis in Simmel's contrast with the city (Cunningham 2005). The journeys we undertake are experiential and educational, shaped by Lynch's typology, enabling a transit from the tourist site to the neighbourhood and then to the patterns indicative of wider metropolitan life. We thus propose our well-tried mental typologies of space as a means to metropolitan knowledge acquisition. Our methodology in each walk was to begin with the five elements of Kevin Lynch's classic urban typology (paths, nodes, edges, districts and landmarks) to select sites in close proximity to one another and to a classic tourist site, reflecting on these elements and conducting detailed historical analysis site by site. Because Lynch assessed each of his elements by way of hierarchies of recognition, we were then able, among other questions, to explore the distinctiveness of the 'metropolitan' apart from any protean character of the urban.

In several essays, though most importantly in his celebrated book, *The Image of the City*, Lynch proposed that each group of newcomers to an urban locality, such as Boston's North End, understood that space quite differently. In their daily lives, each group took different paths through it, divided it into districts that reflected their own needs, identified landmarks by which to navigate their corner of the metropolis, hesitated to go beyond certain boundaries ('edges'), and regarded key locations as 'nodes' where they could pass from one district to another. While a tourist of the American Revolution would see the Paul Revere House as a landmark site, an Italian American visitor returning to their family's ancestral Little Italy would favour as their point of reference a Hanover Street café around the corner. Other versions of the same locality would render the townscape legible when experienced by the Massachusett people, by Boston's African American community, or by the Irish immigrant. Beyond identifying the distinct ways in which diverse groups formed a legible and imagined city, Lynch created hierarchies of significance so as to arrive at a picture of urban interconnectedness. Recent digitally aided analysis of spatial networking tends to reinforce rather than destabilise Lynch's patterns (Park and Evans 2018).

Following Lynch and inquiring into the lived history of localities rather than the grand epochal moments of the canonical site, we propose here a form of tourism that responds to the critique offered by Barthes. It privileges the less remarkable aspects of the urban locality, speaking to the broad flows of populations through significant locales. We demonstrate that each reading alerts the tourist to the nuances of metropolitan life. These quotidian localities explain the metropolis in a way that the great sites when seen in isolation do not. Thus the Lynchian theoretical framework enables us to explain the metropolis and move away from tourism as consumption. This strategy offers clues as to how tourism might best revive after the pandemic years are behind us. All the same, we acknowledge problems of gentrification, overtourism and urban sustainability exposed through these journeys, problems that remain to be addressed.

The metropolis almost by definition must continually evade the tourist's comprehension. Confronted by the metropolis with its vastness, its historical layers and its relentless reinventing of place and routine, a tourist might quickly abandon any attempt at comprehension. Instead the visitor sticks to the guidebook and classic sites, or else wanders at random, to simply enjoy the sensual experience of lostness and novelty pervasive in any engagement with the unknowable metropolitan landscape. Raymond Lucas reflected some years ago on this experience of the metropolitan, to propose that the

geometric order of walking maps and guiding signs failed in the face of superhuman chaos. He chose Tokyo's Shinjuku transit centre, perhaps the planet's most disorienting (in Lynch's typology) urban node, to demonstrate this. Shinjuku, he proposed, was only made more incomprehensible when signposted and mapped (Lucas 2008). For Lucas, a pedestrian could only comprehend Shinjuku through emotional phases rather than rational wayfinding. Shinjuku can certainly bamboozle even the most spatially sophisticated. After all, it has more than two hundred separate exits! And yet every day, more than three million commuters pass through Shinjuku's exits and entrances, quickly and efficiently, perhaps guided by emotion but unavoidably adhering to a rational movement pattern, of pathways, edges, landmarks, possibly districts and, eventually, nodal points.

To extend this point, we see the typologies that Lynch identified as signposts to understanding the metropolis (Lynch 1961). They enable strategies for a more meaningful experience of travel. If we agree that because of its many-sided and multilayered complexity ('thick space'), the metropolis, just as in Shinjuku terminal, evades any easy reduction to the monocular vision of an imagined tourist, then only the careful *flânerie* (exploratory walking) proposed by Walter Benjamin and others can help us reimagine the metropolitan. The walker's urban environs are understood through the lens of diverse groups of inhabitants. As Rebecca Solnit remarked in her history of pedestrianism, 'walking, ideally, is a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned as though they were three characters finally in conversation together' (Solnit 2014, 6).

Metropolitan Case Studies

Trastevere: Rome

The uniqueness inherent in each walker's alignment with the metropolis had been earlier expanded to distinct groups – in the first instance, residents of immigrant neighbourhoods – by Kevin Lynch. Among the dozen or so neighbourhoods that make up the metropolis of Rome, Trastevere attracts tourists and visitors from other parts of Rome for quite distinct reasons. The guide books focus on its largest church, Santa Maria in Trastevere, but *trasteverini* have their own landmarks. Its local prison, Regina Coeli, is, in Lynch's typology, a landmark for working-class Romans. The stories and songs associated with this prison, heard in neighbouring cafes and piazzas, illustrate aspects of Italy's political and social history. Regina Coeli was converted from its former

use as the Heavenly Queen convent in the aftermath of the Risorgimento, a convulsive period of Italian life (Touloumi 2006). The striation of the Tiber here, which took place around the same time, spelled the end of the old port and the demise of waterside work. In his subsequent effort to remove the vestiges of working-class Rome, Mussolini added to the housing stock (a district) of Trastevere, with middle-class streets that skirt the Janiculum hill (Gianicolo). The Trasteverine poets who railed against these changes, G. G. Belli and Trilussa, are immortalised in statues that stand guard in riverside squares and are also featured in the local Museum of Rome (Lorin 2018).

Another district, but one stripped of its history, was the old Jewish ghetto, across the river but organically linked to Trastevere. Today, other visitors, especially Roman Jews, come here to visit the museum, to worship at the huge landmark synagogue, or to take an evening stroll, the *passeggiata*, along the pathway Via del Portico d'Ottavia. They pause to remember the two thousand Jews rounded up here by the Gestapo on 16 October 1943, and follow the golden *pietre d'inciampo* ('stumbling blocks' or *Stolpersteine*) embedded in footpaths leading back to Trastevere proper.

Around the San Cosimato market are streetscapes, sounds and characters made famous by Rome's filmmakers, to refer again to Lynch's imageability: a spatial order as representational node. Plaques reveal the homes where actors like Alberto Sordi or director Sergio Leone grew up. The spaghetti western genre was dreamed up in a room provided for Leone and Ennio Morricone by a Trastevere restaurateur and schoolmate. Trastevere's landmark Cinema America was the gateway into Italy of the new ideas that are known by the catchphrase 'the Sixties'. A 1971 comedy directed by Fausto Tozzi, simply named *Trastevere*, assembled a cast of famous Italian actors who showcased these ideas for the Italian public. With this inrush of fresh ideas came the artisans and the literati, often foreigners, who adopted this neighbourhood as their own. Visible signs of this invasion are to be found in the artisanal businesses and the community groups such as the Sant'Egidio community. The inhabitants of Trastevere, left-wing Catholics and socialists alike, continue to resist what they regard as the injustices of Berlusconi's Italy.

Prenzlauer Berg: Berlin

Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg has been reinvented as almost the classic gentrified neighbourhood. Despite its history as an industrial locality, this is one place in Berlin where traces of a poverty-stricken past and of East Germany's disintegration have all but vanished. Interestingly, the district has resurrected

aspects of its origins, when it formed part of Hobrecht's 1862 plan for Berlin (Bernet 2004). Framed on a Parisian model with wide streets, formal parks and uniformly arranged ranks of apartments, a sewerage system and public rapid transit, visitors can orient themselves through the surviving elements of this plan (Bentlin 2018).

Taken together, Prenzlauer Berg's parks, tree-lined and cobbled streets, and Wilhelmine-era apartments, make up an almost perfect place for the well-heeled to set up home in Berlin, capital of a united Germany and heart for the new Europe. Walking through here and reflecting on the cognitive maps of Kevin Lynch, we can retrace the layers of history. For nearly thirty years, the Berlin Wall formed a lethal edge to Prenzlauer Berg so that the Berlin Wall Memorial, which now follows this dividing line, draws tourists from around the globe. Walking east from the memorial, we come to a different place and a distinct comprehension of the metropolitan life of Berlin: on the surface, hectic, unstable and traumatic; in parks and streets of Prenzlauer Berg, secure, relaxed and more or less mundane.

Applying Kevin Lynch's typology, we could commence with one of the more popular local nodes, Kollwitzplatz. Here, tourists, even if unfamiliar with the wider Berlin townscape, can familiarise themselves with the neighbourhood as it has become and as it was initially planned. The park, towards the south of the district, is a classic node in Lynch's terms, even though its cramped scale and plain design might not impress anyone familiar with the great urban parks and gardens of other cities. At the centre of the park is one landmark which is sometimes recognised in more specialised tourist guides: the Kollwitz statue. In the last months of peace in 1939, Doris Fitzpatrick, an American visitor to Berlin, recalled her discovery of an artist unknown to Americans:

> After dinner I picked up a book of etchings lying on a table and casually turned the pages. I held the book up and looked at a peasant woman holding a child in her arms and a quiver leaped along my spine. Neither the woman nor the child were beautiful but they lived. The lines were powerful, vigorous and with a terrible certainty [...] In a trance I turned the pages. These were the children I had seen on the streets, their starved thin faces, there were the coal men, the peasants, hunger, death, terror and love stalked through the pages.
>
> (Fitzpatrick 1939)

The artist who created these haunting images, Käthe Kollwitz, was, like so many of her subjects, an immigrant to Berlin. She had married a doctor and focused her art on the poor, destitute and ill people who passed through their

Prenzlauer Berg home and surgery (Schymura 2014). The statue is a local landmark and, as well, representative of the unique artwork of Kollwitz.

A paired node and landmark from a later era in the district's history are to be found at the former Ernst Knaack Youth Centre at Greifswalder Straße 224, a place which music fans around the globe refuse to let vanish entirely. The now closed Knaack Klub once had a deep history. Ernst Knaack had joined the Communist Party in 1928 and was assigned to propaganda campaigning in Prenzlauer Berg before being captured and killed in 1944. To ensure that East German youth would never forget Knaack, his comrades sponsored the Ernst Knaack Youth Centre. Curiously, the club survived the disintegration of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), to attract legendary German rock groups as Rammstein and Die Toten Hosen. With lyrics that would have shocked any surviving Stasi agents (they even disturbed open-minded West Berlin liberals) these punk bands had made the youth club a cutting-edge music venue. That was until 2010, when the Knaack Klub fell foul of the gentrifiers next door. Residents in a new apartment block complained after years of noise and the club closed. Undaunted, promoters intended to open a new Knaack Klub near Mauerpark in 2018. It is no surprise to see that the new Knaack Klub building remains empty.

The landmark at Knaackstraße 63 would most likely not find its way onto any mass tourist itineraries. This graffiti-plastered grey column memorialises Ernst Knaack and another resistance fighter, Siegmund Stredzki. The monument, though, looks tired. The heads of the two fighters appear uncomfortably juxtaposed, perhaps a reflection of reality, since Knaack the communist may have had little in common with Stredzki, who came to the resistance by way of his membership of the anarchist League of Proletarian Freethinkers. The East German creators of this drab block, of course, were constantly emphasising reverence for proletarians, alongside an undiluted contempt for freethinkers.

Leading away from the park, tourists can follow a popular local pathway, Husemannstraße. This street displays some of the most carefully restored apartment blocks of the district. And even though visitors would look at the wide tree-lined street and reflect on the skills of traditional building crafts, uniformity here derives from a very early use of industrially mass-produced elements. The modernist form of the streetscape, the use of mass production to create a revivalist façade and the addition of gentrifying elements, by both new residents and before them the GDR's building workers, make this a uniquely interesting linking route and one which introduces the tourist to some of the key forces shaping Berlin as both modern and postmodern metropolis (Angermann 2021).

The inquisitive tourist will eventually reach a distinctive Lynchian district. The Carl Legien social housing estate, designed by Bruno Taut, which now stands as testament to a lost faith in scientific projects for liberating workers. In designing its sleek modern lines, U-shaped form, curving balconies and windows facing away from the street to internal open space, Taut in the 1920s was deliberately drawing a contrast to the area's older tenements (Taut 2015). His streamlined blocks with curved balconies faced to capture summer sun, are elevated above common interwar and post-1945 apartments. Here, modernity and scientific design were put to the service of the working class rather than the state. Eberswalder Straße runs to another popular local node, the stone-columned and iron-girted U-Bahn station of the same name. This has stood here under various titles since 1913. A transit node, it is also recognised as a site for late-night or early-morning currywurst. It is, more importantly, the site of some of the first moving films shot in Berlin.

Perhaps the most unusual landmark to survive from Prenzlauer Berg's time as the front line of the GDR is the Ernst Thälmann Memorial: unusual in that similar superhuman statuary once dotted across eastern Europe has almost entirely been cut up and disappeared. Soviet realist sculptor Lev Kerbel began working on his enormous bronze of Thälmann, which now dominates what is left of the park of the same name. Whereas Kerbel's other giant sculptures were torn down soon after the fall of communism, Thälmann survived. Perhaps local residents still admire his heroic stance against Nazis on the waterfront in Hamburg, his founding of the now fashionable Antifa movement, or his survival in prisons until the last years of the Second World War (Lemmons 2009). At least graffiti in the park suggests that this has been a common view. Most tourists only see the giant bronze figurehead of anti-fascist street fighting when they follow a pathway through the park to the nearby swimming pool or planetarium. In a city where GDR texts have been energetically overwritten while memorials are erected to as many other victims of fascism as possible, there is no memento to communist resistance such as this. And the great anti-fascist fighter is only here because he cost too much for a cash-strapped Berlin to break up, and because local residents refused to allow the new unified state to cart him away. It is a strange landmark for a metropolis no longer divided.

The Liberties: Dublin

At first glance, the Liberties can seem confusing, a nondescript sort of place. On the one hand, this small district of Dublin can be presented as little more

than the link between one of the city's newest tourist sites, 'Dublinia', and the city's most visited tourist site, the Guinness Storehouse. Within the Liberties, even the quayside house at 15 Usher's Island, a building connected to one of Dublin's cultural heroes, James Joyce (where he set his story *The Dead*), is to be redeveloped as a hostel, protests from Ireland's cultural celebrities and heritage advocates notwithstanding. The Liberties, as the fate of this house suggests, is now a contested space between the global phenomenon of gentrification and a fierce working-class attachment to the locality. And yet the Liberties can introduce us to Dublin both as a national capital and a city once proudly claiming status as the 'second metropolis' of the British Empire. Kevin Lynch's cognitive maps can aid us here in grasping the rhythms of the city in a way not quite possible in the less stable metropolitan expanses of Rome or Berlin.

The Liberties' boundaries are clear in edges to the north (the Liffey River), to the west (St James's hospital, Guinness brewery and Heuston Station) and to the south (Cork Street). To the east, the Iveagh Housing Trust land and the cathedrals mark a transition into Merchant's Quay, Temple Bar and wealthier houses and educational precincts beyond Grafton Street. Of course, several of the sites listed here are also highlighted in a number of other guides. But we present them within the framework provided by cognitive maps and, where possible, explained through localised low-key historical moments.

Marking an eastern boundary of the Liberties, visitors to Dublin almost always stop by one of Dublin's most famous landmarks, Christchurch Cathedral. This is one of two cathedrals in this neighbourhood and along with the other, St Patrick's, Christchurch can make some claims to origins in medieval Ireland. Tourists cannot doubt its grandeur. This was not always the case, as this cathedral had fallen into disrepair in the first half of the nineteenth century, when it had just about become unusable. Henry Roe, the whiskey distiller, came to the rescue. With true Victorian energy, his workers set about demolishing much of the medieval cathedral, adding a tower and setting buttresses against the outside walls, as much for romantic effect as structural soundness (Murphy 2019). The cathedral is now rather more an exemplar of Victorian nostalgia than evidence of medieval spirituality.

Following the pathway of Thomas Street, a visitor will come to the two St Audoen's churches, one that we could call a node, the other a landmark. Catholic St Audoen's is now the lively religious and national cultural node for the many Polish workers who toil away in Dublin. Over thirty thousand Polish nationals live within the County of Dublin (Szmytkowska 2011). The remains of St Audoen's Church, as an Anglican (Church of Ireland) landmark, survive

as a medieval structure, built in 1190 and possibly on the site of an even older religious shrine. Like so many other churches we pass by in the Liberties, it fell into disrepair and was a roofless ruin by the middle of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the failures of previous restoration efforts have worked in the church's favour, since Anglican St Audoen's can now claim to be the only surviving purely medieval parish church in Dublin.

The pathway of Thomas Street has a long history going back to its role as the ancient Celtic route into Dublin. As the Liberties became the centre of the textile trade, commercial structures changed the street, and their expansion continued into the nineteenth century when warehouses for local liquor traders, shoe manufacturers and clothing and food factories were built. Alongside churches, some nineteenth-century commercial and industrial buildings still survive here, for example the former Webb and Co. warehouse. The structures at 79 and 84 Thomas Street once housed banks.

There is one unique landmark here, Dublin's recently discovered oldest house. Erected in 1639, its corner fireplace indicates that it was probably originally a 'Dutch billy', the building form brought to Dublin by Huguenot refugees. Ceiling beams run across the building, the standard structural approach of the Huguenot builders. And carbon-dating has confirmed the building date, older than any other house in Dublin.

It takes some effort to decipher boundaries and function in this Lynchian district, but the City Basin, Grand Canal Place, was a critical part of the local canal network sustaining such admired industrial enterprises as the Guinness brewery. In the nineteenth century, a network of canals connected the industries of the Liberties to the Shannon River, the west of Ireland and the waters of Dublin Bay (Delaney 1980). As road and rail traffic usurped the barges, the canal became a simple route alongside a pleasant walking trail, which it remains in parts of South Dublin. The basin here is simply marked by the curve of Grand Canal Place. However, there are plans for massive redevelopment of the now waterless basin. Proposals include renovating remaining warehouses and erecting high-rise towers into what will become an exclusive district with its own edges within the Liberties.

Another district, which reflects Dublin's engagement with modernity, is rarely visited by tourists on their way between major sites. Following Robert Street to the south, walkers eventually meet Marrowbone Lane and the sleek four-storeyed wall of Simms's Marrowbone Flats, the result of efforts by three men to improve living conditions in the Liberties during the 1930s. Much loved as 'the Shaking Hand of Dublin', Mayor Alfie Byrne knew everyone. He also wandered down poor streets handing out lollipops to children and coins

to parents. Byrne's Dublin City Council, more productively, kept an eye on a very modern approach to public housing and worked closely with the architect Herbert Simms and town planner Horace O'Rourke between the 1930s and 1950s. Simms's flats stood out for their quality and survived long after more expedient construction from the 1950s and 1960s decayed. Over time, Simms, like many modernists, was seduced by greater scale. Overworked and pressured for funds, he suicided.

We can draw a telling contrast with a second district of social housing, the Dublin Artisan Dwellings Trust estate. These are cottages rather than apartments and were constructed by the fabulously wealthy Guinness family's Dublin Artisans' Dwellings Company. Built around intimate squares they still retain a village-like charm. The district also encloses a small localised landmark: the Emancipation Shrine, Reginald and Grey Streets. This was erected in 1929, and although it stands in the centre of a Protestant-inspired public housing estate, it marks the anniversary of Catholic Emancipation (1829).

After following a more or less circular route around the Liberties, a tourist will arrive at both landmark and edge. St Patrick's Cathedral, like Christchurch, is one of the iconic sites of Dublin tourism and marks a transition from the Liberties to a more commercialised inner Dublin. Tourists might combine a visit to the cathedrals with a tour through the exciting world of Viking Dublin in 'Dublinia'. In tourist imagery, the cathedral is one of the icons of the medieval city and its religiosity. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the building, like Christchurch, had fallen into disrepair until the Guinness family in another of their 'charitable' ventures, paid for its restoration (Bernard 1903).

Benjamin Lee Guinness had deeper pockets than Christchurch's restorer Henry Roe and less ambitious restoration plans. He took architectural advice, completed the restoration without losing vast sums of cash and for his troubles has a statue in the cathedral grounds. Poor Henry lost both his local prestige and his distillery, which went broke as he obsessively restored Christchurch. Even so, both cathedrals testify to the powers of the liquor industry rather than faith in Christ, and their built form derives from a Victorian-era romantic excess rather than medieval monastic austerity.

Discussion

Walking through these landscapes and framing them through Lynch's typology can direct us to an understanding of the broader urban landscape, a timeline of social change, and otherwise obscured complexities in urban pasts.

By applying Lynch's cognitive maps, a walk through the Liberties can bring the visitor to a confident engagement with urban topography and chronology. A tourist would be unwise to assume the same comprehensive awareness after a walk through Prenzlauer Berg or Trastevere, localities less able to explain broader metropolitan form. In all of these walks, the typologies enable a basic framework for reading the urban landscape as both currently legible and historically imagined. They introduce us to urban form and history. The metropolis in its complexity and instability remains an elusive landscape, and Kevin Lynch provides us with suggestions for interpretation rather than any panoptic finality.

Where the broader character of a neighbourhood calls for their acknowledgement, we attempt to integrate the landmark into a localised quotidian world. Within each walk we apply Lynch's typology so as to systematise a sense of place into a legible framework. The intent is that tourist-walkers could then expand from this localised starting point to develop a personal cognitive map of the metropolis, both in spatial and chronological order. In this way, Lynch's typology, when combined with instances of local history, can be adapted as a mode of metropolitan tourism running counter to the journey from one canonised site to the next.

Not surprisingly Lynch's scheme has now been taken up in wider planning circles as cities around the world strive to prove their 'walkability' (Riggs 2017). Lynch's five key variables – edges, pathways, landmarks, nodes, districts – are becoming just as familiar in some planning circles as are height limits and parking availability charts. Planners are probably on the right track here. As a mark of the enduring worth of Lynch's mental mapping, community activists are looking again at these variables too (MacBride 2011; Jaffe 2013).

Appropriately enough, since cognitive maps reflect the framing of urban space by successive groups of newcomers, guided walking tours now form a familiar, commercially orientated layer to the experiences of the most numerous sets of newcomers to the metropolis: tourists. These walks tend to fall into three categories. First, walks can follow a particular theme: James Joyce's Dublin, for example, or Cold War Berlin. Second, they restrict themselves to a popular locality and often treat this as if it stands apart from the metropolis. Third, there are 'main street and mall' walks, and these seem to be increasing in number. They are typically constructed around shopping with no reflection on urban character or history. Many such tours draw on intimate knowledge of a particular subject matter and no doubt bring some sense of urban life to the tourist experience. The thematic focus, however, runs into the same

difficulty as the iconic site; it is sequestered from the surrounding life of the metropolis and it gives an illusory sense of control and knowledge. In contrast to many of these walking tours, we have constructed walks to take tourists away from iconic sites and shopping, and to extend the locality into the wider urban expanse.

The psychological and haptic ambiguities that pervade the metropolis have challenged generations of urban writers. Whereas Georg Simmel wondered about the way in which an individual could retain personal coherence once assailed by the intensity of emotional stimuli in the metropolitan world, later writers like Marshall Berman, and with an eye to Lynch's street-level perspective, assumed that it was possible to 'make oneself somehow at home in the maelstrom' (Berman 2009, 345–46; Lislak et al. 2018). In a different vein, and in responding to what he thought of as New York's recent loss of metropolitan uniqueness – as its urban rituals and form were absorbed into broader American mass culture – the architectural critic Paul Goldberger tried to define a sense of the metropolitan (in his writing the 'real city'):

> To say that the new model of urban form, in which a suburbanised private space morphs into something quasi-urban, is acceptable, is to deny an essential truth about great and even not-so-great cities. They are deeply, profoundly, and utterly public. In a real city we accept messiness as part of the deal. Unevenness, disarray, complexity, a mixture of people and things, and a certain amount of chaos are all part of the price we pay for the extraordinary creative energy that emanates from cities; for the presence of public space that can be described as common ground, for that elusive difficult-to-define quality called authentic experience
>
> (Goldberger 2009, 169)

As Rebecca Solnit recognised, urban walking always retains an element of transgression – unlike the moral uplift associated with rural or wilderness journeys, or, we might say, visits to the great sites. Online mapping apps can sanitise and systematise Goldberger's metropolitan messiness. They can even construct their own authenticity quite distinct from Berman's being 'at home' in the maelstrom. And yet, even in the era of digitised geolocation, our cognitive urban maps still follow Lynch's five forms of legibility. We propose these as a way of building a sense of the metropolitan 'thick space' from the local to the general. It is not claimed that the entire history or social structure of a metropolis reveal themselves through this technique. Rather mundane, localised historical details linked to Lynch's five elements give visitors an entry point into the complexity of the metropolis.

With a more dystopian flourish than either Berman or Goldberger, Luc Sante drew his exhaustive walking around Parisian streets to a close with his comment that

> The small has been consumed by the big, the poor have been evicted by the rich, the drifters are behind glass in museums. Everything that was once directly lived has moved away into representation.
>
> (Sante 2015, 271)

Walking with small groups of students and tourists through these not-so-big urban neighbourhoods cannot reverse the sanitising processes lamented by Sante. Our journeys at least expose these transitions and form our experiences with our fellow walkers, so that we are able to conclude journeys as enlightening experiences. They bring a haptic spatial engagement to fragmented experiences in the metropolis. Through Lynch's typology we overlay this sensuality with an intellectual framework, to feel at home in local history and to be challenged by current renovation. Our walks in Sante's terms are small rather than big. We are drifters outside the museum's glass. Our cognitive mapping reflects the 'creative energy' that appealed to Goldberger, although we do not pretend that the Lynch typologies answer all questions about 'authentic experience' in both great and 'not-so-great' places. But the mental maps through which tourists can interrogate their own spatial readings do give us a start, in seeing through a metropolitan opacity.

Our walks have not been that complex. But the geometry of edges, pathways, nodes, landmarks and districts gives us our framework for walking. The streets beneath our feet or in our minds are composed of past fragments, structured by current theory and planning, and are open, at least for a brief time, to new futures. We continue to order them through Lynch's five fundamental mental images. We can, in the space given us by the current health crisis, look at the neighbourhoods with fresh eyes and construct our own picture of the metropolis. Here the city becomes less opaque, and the metropolis, inscrutable still, can at least be approached with a degree of confidence and enrichment.

Bibliography

Angermann, Kirsten. 2021. 'The Making of the "City as a Whole": Postmodern Discourse on Urbanity in the GDR'. *WolkenKuckKucksheim/Cloud-Cuckoo-Land/Воздушный замок (International Journal of Architectural*

Theory) 25(41): 39–53. https://cloud-cuckoo.net/fileadmin/issues_en/issue_41/article_angermann.pdf

Barthes, Roland. (1957) 1972. *Mythologies.* Translated by Annette Lavers. Jonathan Cape.

Bentlin, Felix. 2018. 'Understanding the Hobrecht Plan: Origin, Composition, and Implementation of Urban Design Elements in the Berlin Expansion Plan from 1862'. *Planning Perspectives* 33(4): 635–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2017.1408484

Berman, Marshall. (1982) 2009. *All That Is Solid Melts into the Air: The Experience of Modernity*. Verso.

Bernard, J. H. 1903. *The Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick: A History and Description of the Building, with a Short Account of the Deans*. George Bell.

Bernet, Claus. 2004. 'The Hobrecht Plan (1862) and Berlin's Urban Structure'. *Urban History* 32(3): 400–19 https://doi.org/10.1017/S0963926805002622

Cunningham, David. 2005. 'The Concept of Metropolis: Philosophy and Urban Form'. *Radical Philosophy* 133: 13–25

Delaney, Ruth. 1980. 'The Grand Canal'. *Dublin Historical Record* 33(2): 73–76.

Fitzpatrick, Doris. 1939. 'An Artist of the People'. *Design* 40(8): 16–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/00119253.1939.10741603

Goldberger, Paul. (2001) 2009. 'New York Becomes Like America'. In *Building Up and Tearing Down: Reflections on the Age of Architecture.* Monacelli Press. First published in *Metropolis*, March 2001.

Jaffe, Eric. 2013. 'How Your Mode of Travel Shapes Your Mental Map'. Bloomberg UK: CityLab, 21 November. https://www.citylab.com/transportation/2013/11/how-your-mode-travel-shapes-your-mental-map/7663/

Lislak, Agata, Reece Cox, Flavia M. Tienes and Sophia Zbinovsky Braddel. 2018. '"A City Coming into Being": Walking in Berlin with Franz Hessel and Marshall Berman'. *City* 22(5–6): 877–93. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2018.1555960

Lemmons, Russel. 2009. '"Germany's Eternal Son": The Genesis of the Ernst Thälmann Myth, 1930–1950'. *German Studies Review* 32(2): 343–56. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40574804

Lorin, Giuseppe. 2018. *Transtiberim: Trastevere, il mondo dell'oltretomba*. Bibliotheka.

Lucas, Raymond. 2008. 'Getting Lost in Tokyo'. *Footprint* 2: 91–104.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. MIT Press.

Lynch, Kevin. 1961. 'The Pattern of the Metropolis'. *Daedalus* 90(1): 79–98. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20026641

MacBride, Natalie. 2011. 'Kevin Lynch: The Image of the City (1960)'. Architecture + Urbanism, 17 January. http://architectureandurbanism.blogspot.com/2011/01/kevin-lynch-image-of-city-1960.html

Murphy, Sean J. 2019. 'The Roe Family and Roe's Distillery'. *Dublin Historical Record* 72(1): 89–92.

Park, Giyoung and Gary W. Evans. 2018. 'Lynch's Elements of the City in the Digital Era'. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 84(3–4): 276–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2018.1524308

Riggs, William. 2017. 'Walkability: To Quantify or Not to Quantify'. *Journal of Urbanism* 10(1): 125–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2015.1111926

Sante, Luc. 2015. *The Other Paris: An Illustrated Journey Through A City's Poor and Bohemian Past*. Faber and Faber.

Schymura, Yvonne. 2014. *Käthe Kollwitz 1867–2000: Biographie und Rezeptionsgeschichte einer deutschen Kunstlerin*. Klartext.

Solnit, Rebecca. (2001) 2014. *Wanderlust*: *A History of Walking*. Granta.

Szmytkowska, Magdelena. 2011. 'Polish Migrants in Urban Space of Dublin'. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-economic Series* 16: 139–52. https://doi.org/10.1515/v10089-011-0019-4

Taut, Bruno. 2015. *The City Crown*. Translated and edited by Matthew Mindrup and Ulrike Altenmüller-Lewis. Routledge.

Touloumi, Olga. 2006. 'The prison of Regina Coeli: A laboratory of identity in post-Risorgimento Italy'. MSc thesis, MIT.

Chapter 18

Tourists of the Metropolis: Vertical Recreation between West and East

Desmond Wee

Introduction

The great glass elevator at the fascinating National Museum of Cinema in the metropolitan city of Turin, conjured flashbacks to the fantastic books of Roald Dahl. Yet my ascent to the top of the Mole Antonelliana was marked by an iconic sign that embodied the hallmark of the motion picture – *Metropolis* (1927) by Fritz Lang. Suddenly, I realised then that I was no longer only recalling the film and picturing the futuristic city from afar – I was also, at the same time, in the film and inside the city. 'But which city?' I asked myself, as I was whisked up vertically in a capsule within a heterotopic space, straddling the social strata above and the less visible underground in the metropolis – in Turin, possibly Berlin, probably New York, maybe Hong Kong, Shanghai or even Tokyo.

Both Citroen (1923) and Bilinsky (1926) (see Figure 18.1) illustrated wonderful montages of the metropolis, luring us into a figment of our own stories of collective Western imagination of what that dynamic city might entail. What is more interesting on closer introspection is that their rendering of the metropolis coerces the viewer to see vertical juxtapositions of space, like in the lift of Mole Antonelliana, almost as if the various buildings, bridges and alleyways are connected by stairs begging to be climbed. One cannot help but imagine being able to traverse the city vertically, but also in the East, walking between multiple vectors just as Faye did in Wong Kar Wai's (1994) *Chungking Express* on the remarkable outdoor escalators, so-called travelators, surrounded by hundreds of skyscrapers in the vertical city of Hong Kong. Is there an 'other' way of rendering the metropolis as we construct Asian metropoles and mobile practices centred in othered spaces?



Figure 18.1 Top: Paul Citroen, *Metropolis* (1923) [Photomontage, Prentenkabinet, University of Leiden] in Stierli 2018, 36. Bottom: Boris Bilinsky (1926), Theatre decoration for the first screening of Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*, 1926 [Photomontage, National Film Archives, London] in Stierli 2018, 67.

Perhaps it is necessary to question the very Western epistemology that has come to regard the concept of the metropolis. Figures such as Poe's (1840) man of the crowd in London, Simmel's (1908) stranger in Berlin or Baudelaire's (1964) *flâneur* in Paris, need to be considered 'in relation to the changing nature of the social and spatial relations within which the tendencies of contemporary global urbanisation unfold' (Cunningham 2005, 21). What is discursively 'Western' might be used as refutation to question what the heterogeneities and contingencies of spaces in non-Western cities are, that the metropolis may not be inherently Western but one that may effectively transcend the East–West spatial divide. A character that has the power to do this is none other than the walker and the tourist.

This chapter explores the paradoxes of vertical, humanistic investigation between Eastern and Western spatial conceptualisations of the metropolis, how socio-cultural conflation of the modern city reveals 'a fragmentary and contradictory space for subjectivity' (Kracauer 1995, as cited in Reeh 2004, 4). It uses film, performance and photography via 'montage' (Stierli 2018) to bridge the qualities of critical theory, media analysis and performance studies (see Figures 18.2, 18.3 and 18.4) to elicit a critical framework that convenes a mediation 'taking place' through tourist practice. As such, a kind of heterotopic 'spacing' (see Foucault 1986) emerges to reveal complex, everyday gazes that reflect notions of 'othering' as new mirrors surface in familiar places. It is crucial to question the everyday ordering of spaces through 'vertical travel' (Forsdick et al. 2021) by involving current tourist and leisure practices and engaging new reflexivities of the metropolis as a method. Material from literature, film, anime, manga, image and media discourses (*Metropolis*, *Joker*, *Your Name*, *The Walking Man*) in the portrayal of metropoles between both the 'West' and the 'East' will be analysed using visual narratives and cultural theory to understand the cinematic gaze as an intertextual reproduction of new tourist gazes based on a vertical recreation of the metropolis.

Vertical Recreation of the Metropolis

During the pandemic, one was all too familiar with the radical drop in tourism manifested by plummeting hotel occupancy rates in particular. The first signs of recovery saw tourist flows from the urban to the rural to 'escape' the concentration of people and the likelihood of contraction. What became apparent was the more vertical the city was, the more prohibitive the lockdown criteria. Hotels situated away from the city and closest to the sea, the ones that had

more leisure visitors rather than business visitors, were the quickest on the rebound trajectory. The new tourism seemed to revert towards an older form of leisure and recreation in the pursuit of idyllic pleasures by the water.

It comes as no surprise on hindsight, reflecting on all those images and videos of totally empty cities, that metropolises can be rendered as 'places of privilege and wellsprings of contamination; places that hold out the promise of wealth but from which one runs at the first sign of danger' (Wilson 2020, 4). Perhaps the metropolis needs to be considered through its negation, of what it is not. The empty cities only made an impact on the eye because they are metropolises, of which the flows of people and their connective tissues are an inherent factor.

> When we talk about 'the metropolis' in the twenty-first century, we are not talking about the central business district of Manhattan or central Tokyo – the classic idea of where power and wealth resides – but of vast interconnected regions where cities melt into other cities.
>
> (Wilson 2020, 5)

But what does it mean for cities to melt into other cities? How might we construe the moulding of metropolises by collapsing the cities therein, and exploring them vertically rather than horizontally – between, rather than across, the spatial frontiers of the so-called West and East?

Forsdick et al. (2021, 105) reiterated the importance of the key vectors of the journey

> in terms of the relationship to the cardinal points for instance, the direction from which a place is approached or in which it is left. Such aspects can have significant implications for the experience of travel, but at the same time, it is the axes of the journey, vertical and horizontal, that play an equally important role in determining the experience of the traveller and the nature of their attention to place and space.

This cannot be overstated, especially since journeys of the past, excursions of memory and revisiting of historical narratives bring a vertical alignment to the more normative understanding of the horizontal travel hermeneutic circle.

'Vertical travel' has been discussed largely in travel writing (Lackey 1997; Pettinger 2004; Cronin 2012) but not mentioned to a large extent in tourism academia and especially not in the travel industry. Forsdick et al. (2021, 106) discussed vertical travel firstly as 'a sense of confinement or restriction,

limiting either the scope or speed of travel; and secondly, and affected by such boundedness or restriction, there are a number of complementary and common methods that travellers adopt'. They use the metaphor of the palimpsest 'to encompass physical and cultural aspects of sites over time, allowing the writer a means by which to encapsulate the temporal heterogeneity of place' (Forsdick et al. 2021, 107). Pettinger (2004) described vertical travel as an ecumenical approach that could incorporate the phenomenon of everything from mundane descriptions of everyday surroundings, short narratives or even transcripts of overheard conversations. It is a 'microspection' (Cronin 2012) that oversees situated knowledge, sensory perception and physical immersion – a kind of journeying that employs creative tension with experiences of slowness and immobility.

The vivacity of the imagination, of what it means to be travelling, is also a *recreation* of what we visualise over social media, a must-witness of an Instagram that goes beyond vertical travel. Hence, the tourist is not a passive recipient, but the instigator of *vertical recreation*. Reliving the past and imagining the future is possible, especially when rediscovering the modalities of travel in an era of pandemic, war and environmental degradation. In other words, the more horizontal approaches in travel and tourism in relation to space, systems and tangibility may be embellished by time, reflexivity and imagination. This means that vertical recreation – the agency of leisure – is not only about the place but about place(d) mobilities in which the journey is already there. Verticalness is experienced visually and vicariously through upward–downward vectors, and physically through performance in place. It can also create overlapping maps of places including cities on top of each other, so that one could, creatively walk on the stairs in (between) cities (see Figure 18.4). In other words, rather than thinking of bifurcation in relation to form in terms of what is east and west, or vertical and horizontal, we try to understand convergence through practice and representation.

The metropolis as a mode of representation for the city is, then, about the articulation of the complexities of relationships across vertical space and time, alongside human activity in the urban environment. 'The social totality is crystallised in miniature in the metropolis, and it is in the spaces and structures of the modern metropolis that contemporary culture presents itself for deciphering' (see Gilloch 1996 on Benjamin). This means going into the everyday experience in the Benjaminian sense of gazing (see Buck-Morss 1991) to achieve a phenomenological hermeneutic of the profane world. Stierli (2018) defined 'montage' in this thread as 'the cultural technique that, through its distinctive production of meaning in a gap bounded by disjunctive,

prefabricated elements, has been singularly able to address the nature of perception in the age of technological reproducibility' (268). What emerges is a symbolic form of modernity, or 'montage thinking' (Stierli 2018) as a framing device in the reconceptualisation of space.

Space as a practiced place (de Certeau 1984, 117) is informed by urban planners, but ultimately transformed by walkers through the constitution of signs and their practices in a particular place. These walkers, tourists and all the characters inspired by the city, forge the metropolis as a 'dynamic technical system of relations or references, of connectivity, and of production' (Cunningham 2005, 21) and 'characterise' the city in the making of the metropolis. What we see then is a media(ted) tourism in terms of how tourist experiences comprise the reliving and reconstitution of fictional events (sometimes, but not always) based on media narratives contingent on place. Yet this tourism may also be mediated itself, in how media is appropriated as experience or, in other words, how tourism is experienced. Hence, cinematic representations of place are not only the lure of tourism but also a reflection of how tourism and the everyday are practised and recreated vertically.

Mediated Spaces of the Western Metropolis

The influence of Paul Citroen's (1923) *Metropolis* (see Figure 18.1) on Fritz Lang's enduring classic *Metropolis* (1927) was well known, alongside the startling imagery and impressive spectacle of lights in New York that inspired Lang to make the following declaration: 'I roamed the streets all day. The buildings struck me as a vertical curtain, glistening and very light, an opulent stage backdrop hung against a gloomy sky to dazzle, to distract, and to hypnotise' (Nash 2005). It was this very 'vertical curtain' of New York, and perhaps even Citroen's city of birth, Berlin, that created the backdrop for the imagination of the futuristic city in the German expressionist film. The intersections between place, imagination and representation cannot be overstated, noting that Lang's *Metropolis* was created before Boris Bilinsky's theatre decoration for the film (see Figure 18.1). As Stierli (2018) iterated, 'despite its overladen symbolism and somewhat reductionist plot structured between good and bad, *Metropolis* was so memorable because of its phenomenal imagination of a future cityscape' (67). 'New York' existed as a conceptual prototype of the metropolis as a city of the future and brought to light the vertical metropolises of Citroen, Lang and Bilinsky (see Figure 18.1).

Rather paradoxically, Lang's vibrant metropolis based on his description in New York was transformed in his film into a bleak, urban dystopia that radiated a hostile, overwhelming technoscape of an apocalyptic future. These horrors were attuned to a catastrophic Zeitgeist of affirmation rather than refutation of mechanical progress. Film and photography of the late 1920s (see Figure 18.2) captured an ingrained social inequality in the metropolis (Brooker



Figure 18.2 Top: Kazimierz Podsadecki, *Modern City: Melting pot of Life* (1928) [Photomontage, Museum Sztuki, Łódź] in Ades 2021, 124. Bottom: Walter Ruttmann, *Berlin, die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (1927) [Photomontage, Picture-alliance/akg] in Morat 2016.

2001). How people gazed – that is, if they were able to – produced a vertical stratification of an impoverished below and the aspiration of 'upward mobility', revealing a fixated and embodied fear. Yet at the same time, the images also construed a dynamic reproduction of the city, filled with ambivalence, disdain, opportunity, challenges and hope. Urban assemblages are produced and reproduced as contradictions manifested in how films and montage are portrayed, coalescing in the makings of new variegated spaces.

In the same year as Lang's *Metropolis* was Walter Ruttmann's (1927) *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (often translated to 'Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis'), an aesthetic cinematic form that presented an insight into the emergent qualities of a city that included everyday working people across various strata of society in an industrial era (see Figure 18.2). The film epitomised Bauhaus-influenced 'mechanical ballets' weaved alongside the pulsating rhythms of the city and jazz scoring of Edmund Meisel to produce a cinematic scape of imagination (see Gropius and Wensinger 2014). What emerged was a dynamic representation of a European version of New York and its stylistic portrayal via film montage that contributed towards the creation of an archetype of what the metropolis was. Ruttmann's intent on 'creating a symphonic film out of the millions of energies that comprise the life of a big city' (Goergen 1989) not only produced a documentary, but inadvertently, a travelogue film providing real-life ethnographic accountability of the characters of the city.

Ruttmann and, for that matter, Simmel's (1908) stranger inhabited the 'Großstadt' rather than the 'metropolis'. 'What is absolutely decisive for the concept of the modern metropolis is not the number of its inhabitants but rather the spirit of the metropolis' (Scheffler 1910, as cited in Frisby 2001). This *Großstadt Geist* was also the beginnings of a Zeitgeist incorporating the architecture of art deco and the beginning of Bauhaus, which thrived as all these imaginaries were being reproduced. Yet one cannot but notice that this 'Gesamtkunstwerk', the comprehensibility of the everyday aesthetics, is being reimagined by the European Commission as Ursula von der Leyen introduced the New European Bauhaus initiative (NEB) in 2020 (New European Bauhaus n.d.) as a creative and interdisciplinary initiative that connects the European Green Deal to living spaces and experiences in Europe. This 'explosion of creativity' a century later is also the incorporation of 'beautiful' places, practices and experiences that are enriching, sustainable and inclusive. The 'reopening' of a new European Bauhaus could also be a reimagination of the metropolis, one that is not rooted in materiality, but ingrained with culture, both tangible and intangible, through reflections, projections and optimism.

The aesthetics of filmic space of diegetic quality seeps into the social space of the city. Hence, the metropolis is not what is represented in the city, but what is manifest of itself. It is the imagination of people, a 'characterisation' of the city, that is performed in the making of dynamic space. Jasanoff and Kim's (2015) 'imaginaries' as collectively held and performed visions provoke how the future presents itself now. There always exists a politics of the imagination, but who owns these spaces of imagination, and how are they manifested through everyday and tourist practices? In other words, how do we experience the life of the metropolis in the form of modern portraiture?

The implicit connections between metropolises culminate in the imagination of place and how these imaginations translate into creative tourist practice. The city dweller is compartmentalised as the blocks of the metropolis (see Koolhaas 2014), not as resident per se, but in the multifarious roles that they adopt and perform within and across the cityscape. Hence, the narrator of modern metropolis may be none other than the tourist: the walker, the individual or the hero with a thousand faces (Campbell 2008). Fragmentation, commodification, interiorisation and marginalisation of experience (see Gilloch 1996) are key to understanding the cityscape based on these personalised myths of imagination.

Characters Walking in Vertical Metropolises

According to Brantz et al. (2012), the metropolis may be understood 'as a relational space that is both material and abstract' (17) and never emerges 'independently or outside of the global relations in which they evolved' (19). This is reified by Reeh (2004) on Kracauer's concept of the city:

> which ranges from a predominantly spatial conception that corresponds to the sociological interpretation by an individual subject to finally dealing with the city as a space of memory for an (imaginary?) collective subject. In this transition, the ornament serves as a point on which both interpretation and presentation hinge.
>
> (Kracauer 1995 as cited in Reeh 2004, 6)

Brantz et al. (2012) further described metropolitanism as 'thick space', one that:

> encompasses the frenetic yet rhythmic temporalities and the palimpsestic spatial consistencies as well as the 'actual embodied encounters' that make up the actuality of everyday life in the metropolis.
>
> (Brantz et al. 2012, 17)

Indeed, these actualities of the everyday may be 'characterised' literally, but how do we understand the metropolis built on the characters inhabiting the city, through embodied encounters?

Simmel's (1908) stranger embodied the unresolved tensions between the proximities of distance and closeness. The interaction and imagery of proximity was what created an objectivity of being and not being in space, detached and engaged – akin perhaps to Poe's (1840) 'Man of the Crowd', who:

> endeavored, during the brief minute of my original survey, to form some analysis of the meaning conveyed, there arose confusedly and paradoxically within my mind, the ideas of vast mental power, of caution, of penuriousness, of avarice, of coolness, of malice, of blood-thirstiness, of triumph, of merriment, of excessive terror, of intense – of supreme despair.
>
> (Poe 1840, 267–70)

Yet what is 'criminal' is not the revelation of a dagger or a diamond but the reflexivities of being engrossed in and exemplified by the metropolis. In fact, Charles Baudelaire was fascinated with Poe's (1840) man of the crowd for his bewitching curiosity and irresistible passion, not his transgression or malefaction. In Baudelaire's (1964, 7) masterpiece, 'The Painter of Modern Life', the 'fleeting, ephemeral experience of life in an urban metropolis' was personified by the *flâneur,* the 'passionate spectator' likened:

> to a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness, responding to each one of its movements and reproducing the multiplicity of life and the flickering grace of all the elements of life. He is an 'I' with an insatiable appetite for the 'non-I', at every instant rendering and explaining it in pictures more living than life itself, which is always unstable and fugitive.
>
> (Baudelaire 1964, 9)

The responsibility to capture this experience is also a temporality 'characterised by intense historical discontinuity or rupture, openness to the novelty of the future, and a heightened sensitivity to what is unique about the present' (Kompridis 2006, 35). After all, modernity, for Baudelaire (1964) was about 'the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent' (13). The '[o]bserver, philosopher, *flâneur* [...] is the painter of the passing moment and all the suggestions of eternity that it contains' (Baudelaire 1964, 4–5).

The individual needs to adapt and adjust to reflect the structure of the metropolis as a place and concept loaded by way of a modernist imagination,

straddling the utopian and dystopian. This ambivalent power is what consumes the mentality of the individual, as illustrated in Georg Simmel's (1950) 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. The stranger (Simmel 1908) evolved from this character – one who was of the group, rather than in the group – questioning the meaning of modern life and the production (and reproduction) of the *Geistesleben*:

> The most significant characteristic of the metropolis is this functional extension beyond its physical boundaries [...]. The essential point is that the particularity and incomparability, which ultimately every human being possesses, be somehow expressed in the working-out of a way of life. That we follow the laws of our own nature – and this after all is freedom – becomes obvious and convincing to ourselves and to others only if the expressions of this nature differ from the expressions of others.
>
> (Simmel 1950, 8–9)

Benjamin (2003, 27) wrote that Poe's (1840) man of the crowd always remains in the middle of the crowd. The individual is determined by the relationship of spaces in the metropolis. As alone as he is, or she perhaps, the gaps of interaction can only be social – this we learnt through negation and the regulation of space via social distancing in a grim pandemic. Hence, the powerful phenomenological account of modern social life may be defined in the form of displacement by negation of the urban form (see Cunningham 2005).

This distancing and alienation are reminiscent of Rem Koolhaas's (1995) 'Potemkin Metropolis', a critical poetry of the early modernisation project of Singapore that premised a total, planned state infrastructure that included nature. Perhaps this was a reference to the 'Potemkin village', an architectural façade and performative construction of make-believe to represent a space as something other. Or was this rather a cocktail of Sergei Eisenstein's (1925) *Battleship Potemkin* with Lang's *Metropolis*? If so, the allusion to authoritarian governance could not be more lucid – and dark – as portrayed infamously on the Odessa Steps sequence – citizens desperately fleeing the Cossacks with the terrifying fate of the baby pram rolling down after the mother had been shot. Indeed, the vision of the metropolis and its manifold meanings seem to have persisted in the visual medium as a futuristic and often agonising undertaking.

Yet this dystopia of the 'metropolis' was also eclipsed by a rather paradoxical enchantment of modernity and the futuristic, or as described by Sadowski (2018) on the contingency of the shadows in the transformation of

phenomenon, into 'meaningful visual signs'. The *flâneur* is another expression of the man of the crowd or the stranger, where (s)he observes the intricacies of pedestrians who all tell a story of their own. The figure of the *flâneur* was used to explore modern alienation, urban experience and mass culture through a spectatorial gaze to elucidate the class tensions and gender divisions of the nineteenth-century metropolis. The hallmark of this largely male portrayal was his ability 'to be away from home and yet to feel home anywhere' (Baudelaire 1972, 400) while indulging in metropolitan landscapes of art and existence (Benjamin 1997) by 'seeing without being caught looking' (Bauman 1994, 141).

As a detached viewer drawn by subjective engagement, the *flâneur* articulates the paradox of modern subjectivity by reinforcing the subject–object dualism, even as one desires to transcend and escape that dualism (Oakes and Minca 2004). This elitism alongside identification with the poor, perhaps the first forms of slum tourism, translated into a modern idea of curiosity – of what it meant to be embedded in the city. Yet all this characterisation begs the question if the 'Western' imperative is already there, or is there an Eastern perspective that could also be rendered, either separately or combined.

Jiro Taniguchi's manga pieces have a meditative tone and conjure the reflexivities of walking in the city. His intrigue with everyday life and familiarity questions the nature of how we take walking for granted. In *Furari* (Taniguchi 2017), meaning 'aimlessly' or 'unexpectedly', Taniguchi imagined a man imagining the everyday life of the old metropolis of Edo (now known as Tokyo). This metastasis could also be translated as 'picture(s) of the floating world' – 'floating world' representing the hedonistic lifestyle of rapid economic growth, of everyday travel scenes depicted using inspiration from the ukiyo-e woodblock prints, reminiscent of Hiroshige. An old kind of regional tourism, perhaps.

The Walking Man (Taniguchi 2012), written way earlier, was the first book of Taniguchi that was published outside Japan, in France, with the title *L'homme qui marche*, bringing to mind an Eastern depiction of the man of the crowd, the stranger and the *flâneur*. It is a more familiar depiction of modernity in suburban Tokyo and a fragmented perception of the world at large in a nondescript metropolis. Figure 18.3 highlights an episode involving a flight of stairs – the man first observing the path of ascendancy, followed by a retrospective gaze after reaching the top, contemplating the walk, and a realisation, perhaps, of the completion of only one stage of the journey, with many more to come.

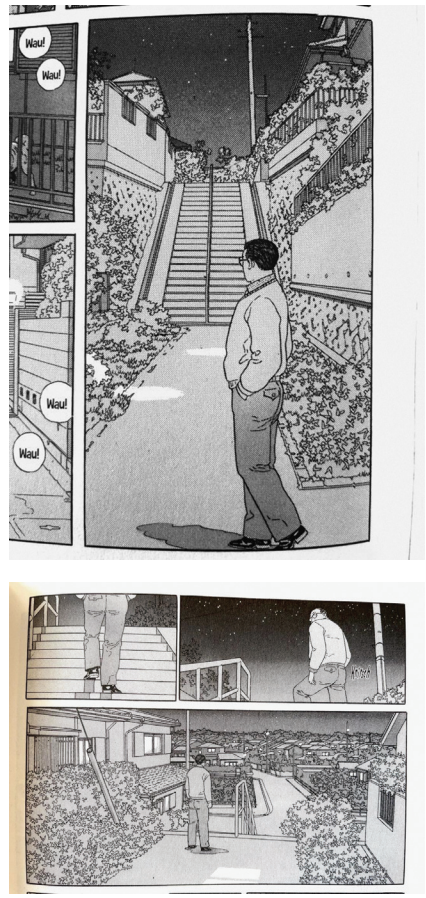


Figure 18.3 Jiro Taniguchi, *The Walking Man*, 2012, 84–85 [Manga].

Platthaus (in Taniguchi 2012, 12) highlighted Taniguchi as a great wanderer between worlds, a walking man who blended both Japanese and Western influences to create a Japanese *ligne claire*. This wanderer was also a wonderer at the same time, as both author and the male subject traversed their worlds vertically, first looking up and then looking down again, both arguably at the same place with different worldviews or *Weltanschauungen*. What is crucial is the role of the reader, reflecting on another meta-strata of a writerly text (see Barthes 1980).

Who then is the individual subject in our contemporary everyday, and what is the ornament in the metropolis? Just as Walter Benjamin (1999) appropriated Baudelaire's *flâneur* as an observational tool, indulgent lifestyle

and a product of modern life, marking at the same time the dawn of the tourist, the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011) is once again exemplified by way of the signs of placed-self circulated and reproduced over social media. The old selfie made you envious because you wanted to be there, foregrounding the distinction between self and other. Instagram (dis)solved the schism by transporting your-self there (see Arzbaecher et al. 2022), recreating the ornament in which the imagination is prioritised. Kracauer (1995) seemed to be ahead of his time when he predicted, in a way, the semiology and implications of our modern social media and the rendering of tourist spaces. The fulfilment of the mediated, touristic journey is the transition between subjective practice and collective imagination – one in which the mediation of the event 'takes place' through constant reproduction, distribution and circulation of the tourist image.

Tourists of the Metropolis

By rendering the tourist as a figure of the metropolis, this section explores tourist practice (performance) in the metropolis as a mode of representation (image) of the city. By articulating such complexities across time and space, and alongside human activity in the urban environment, the constitution of the metropolis becomes a 'frame or theatre for activity' in which human subjects leave symbolic traces as markers of their mode of existence (see Gilloch 1996). Just as Walter Benjamin was fascinated by the fetishising consumer embracing the store front window, invisible players write the pages of the modern metropolis and recreate a phenomenology incorporating a new 'periphera' (Peltonen 2001).

The machine-based tempo of the twentieth century has been replaced by the internet of things, a sensibility rooted in virtual commodification and Instagramic reproduction (see Arzbaecher et al. 2022). Conventional forms of attractions instituted by destination marketing organisations (DMOs) and other travel proprietors may not be what the modern tourist flocks to. Instead, social media has created a circulation of the image with far quicker resonance and greater reach than the best marketing agencies. Advertising is no longer the jurisdiction of the producer, but the individual with multifarious co-producers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004) who have a voice in making a place desirable.

Be it New York or Tokyo, the 'Joker stairs' in the Bronx and the 'red stairs' at Suga Shrine have prompted a screen tourism of the faithful to revisit the

scenes in real life and walk the stairs, in order to re-experience the site that was represented (see Figure 18.4). What is evidenced is a pop-culture fandom in which tourists appropriate landscapes and transfer these into their imagination (Reijnders 2016). This entails the touristic labour of walking there, followed by a staging of the event there – walking – often mimicking the same outfits as the imaginary screen other and performing the character. What appears thereafter is *talking the walk,* through careful scripting and documentation to ensure quality representation on social media.

This notion of 'taking place', as opposed to a static understanding of place or destination, is reproduced through transient spatialities in which embodied performances and practices are facilitated within complex infrastructure, networks and mobilities (Wee 2017, 222). Jansson (2007, 8) emphasised the connection between media and tourism that 'takes place and produces space through texture', positing that society, spaces and places in tourism are incorporated into fundamental communication processes. Reijnders (2011, 17) described how 'the phenomenon of media tourism derives its power and popularity from the symbolic contrast between imagination and reality' and how places of imagination involve not only physical locations but also the



Figure 18.4 Top: Photo illustrating *New York Post* article (Fleming 2019) about the *Joker* stairs. Credit: Erik Summers; Warner Brothers. Bottom: Still from YouTube video (GLOCO 2020) showing the stairs featured in *Kimi No Nawa* (*Your Name*) (Shinkai 2016).

underlying processes in which the imagination 'takes place' in a metropolis. But how do we understand this from a more vertical perspective? What if we considered the vertical constructions of the stairs, how the performances across spaces frame the very representation?

The figures in Figure 18.4 seem to personify the 'blasé attitude' as described by Simmel (1950) of the metropolis. Todd Phillips's *Joker* (2019) pranced about the stairs, while Makoto Shinkai's *Your Name* (2016) depicted Mitsuha and Taki finally meeting also on a flight of stairs as they walked past each other. Yet the imagery as portrayed in the films was poignant, and the very embodiment through performance of the cultural text was very real. These practised representations relate to a vivid imagination across vertical spaces, as much as the very performances they inspire *in situ*, be it in New York or Tokyo. The mundane practices involving nondescript stairs illustrate that both walking to the stairs and walking at the stairs mark the journey and the destination. The self of the metropolis is largely performed because it is Instagrammable and TikTokable. In a way, this recalls the agency found in de Certeau's (1984) tactics, in which creative mobilities emerge to subvert structure, where possible, making the mundane something special. The stairs, an everyday construct of the city, evolve to become the epitome of the metropolis on a symbolic, vertical register. A reconsideration of the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011) is necessary to incorporate not only the object of the gaze and the embodied practices reproducing the gaze, but the very seeing itself constituted by placing and replacing moving spaces, mobile bodies and ambulatory practices. After all, everyday practices are not solely embodied for their own sake, but constitute the prerequisite for another kind of tourist gaze and recreation of the object of imagination that bridges spaces.

Just as Baudelaire's 'fugitive' was more transitory than illicit, the fleeting moment captured in pictures is reminiscent of the modern Instagram, rendering the instability and confusion of what constitutes the self and other. Through mimesis, reproduction and distribution, one questions the new crowd of the metropolis, even a virtual one, in which the mirroring is happening instantaneously, the moment the image is taken (see Wee et al. 2021). This potential of the extension of space into an imaginary is also at the same time the culmination of an imaginary practice of the everyday metropolis. The mimetic gestures of what is evidenced on social media become extensions of place, arguably similar because of their recognisability, and different because of the protagonist's subject. This simultaneous self-conviction of performance and reproduction for the omnipresent audience via the freedom of tourist and leisure mobilities relegate human susceptibility to the system of social mediation and the willingness to be enslaved by someone else's gaze.

The newer tourist gazes (Urry 2016; Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry and Larsen 2011) need to be reconsidered by going back to Urry's (1990) original gaze, without the other sensual condiments by which it was criticised. Indeed, tourist practices are constitutive of the regulation of the gaze and need to be reconciled with how new subjective practices become the object of the circulatory and reproductive tourist gaze. Likewise, authenticity as 'tourist agency' (MacCannell 2001) is staged not by the proprietors of tourism but by the consumer for the consumer of a co-created experience that is perpetuated through the looking glass as an everyday dance of the reflexive self (Wee 2021). The stage is continually recreated and choreographed in a manner where the tourist experiences themselves reproduce and redistribute mimetic meanings.

In the world of digital culture and social media, tourists can foresee the future and thus enact the scripted practice at the destination that has already been represented and foretold beforehand. Akin to the process of inversion in Nolan's film *Tenet* (2020), such tourist experiences seem less related to being *in situ*, but manifested as a memory of the reproduction of space and a vertical recreation of place. In other words, we are already a kind of tourist living in the future in order to experience the past. It would seem as if the image and its constant circulation is here to stay in the very signification of place, incorporating the sensual and affording mediation processes that not only translate the nature of place but transcend space and time as infinite recirculation of the tourist imagination (Wee et al. 2021). Hence, the making of ordinary spaces in the city into spectacular ones via inspiration from film, tourist performance *in situ* and its reproduction through social media provides an intertextual rendition of how new spaces within the city might manifest, disrupt and even enhance the conventional attractions of the metropolis.

Conclusion

It is telling on the website of Citroën (Citroën n.d.) about their latest concept car named 'Metropolis':

> Un concept car a la hauteur de la Chine – Citroën Métropolis est un concept-car hybride entièrement conçu par l'équipe de design internationale de Citroën à Shanghai. Une véritable création artistique.

The Citroën Metropolis was the inspiration of Citroën in China and presented at Expo 2010 in Shanghai, catering to the modern Chinese luxury consumer.

Yet the connection to Paul Citroen's *Metropolis* (see Figure 18.1) remains uncanny, even if unplanned, especially since Citroen's work was based on the city of his birth, Berlin.

The understanding of the city and the imagination of the metropolis are constructions that are highly subjective based on the gaze. The shift from the dark and bleak *Metropolis* of Fritz Lang and the slapstick machine aesthetics of Chaplin's (1936) *Modern Times* in the first half of the twentieth century have paved the way for different gazes of the metropolis – imagined in ways closer to *Blade Runner* (Scott 1982) and *Ghost in the Shell* (Oshii 1995). The metropolis is now composed of 'intertwined bundles of interrelated processes that create a thick complexity, and which in turn feed off of a city's heterogeneity and diversity' (Brantz et al. 2012, 19). There might be certain core characteristics, yet these characteristics are only suggestive in the (re) creation of subjective meaning.

This chapter explored the shaping of a fluid, modern metropolis that moves across both mediated spaces and geographical boundaries. It interrogated the lived everyday experiences of people operating within cityscapes through creative tourist performance by enacting imaginative spaces and creating new representational meanings; how implicit connections between metropolises culminating in the practices and representations of tourists' experiences and behaviours were explored alongside vertical recreations of imaginaries and identities. Although this chapter sought to go beyond boundaries to include other(ed) gazes, it did not do enough to challenge the typical male gaze embedded in virtually every embodied character discussed in the making of the modern metropolis. Hence, we still need to constantly identify new tourist and leisure practices in progressive ways and rethink new relational meanings of the metropolis.

Stairs embody the very nature of what vertical recreation could entail between spaces. Let us not forget the stairs in Odessa from Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*. The horrifying assault on fleeing civilians serves to remind us of the sad times we live in, that along the vertical structures of space and power are also embedded contradictions of possibility and hope in Ukraine. One cannot help indulging in retrospect, of going back to the past and the age of the Bauhaus, to re-examine the reading of the metropolis as a hallmark of the future – apocalyptic, dystopian or otherwise. It raises the question if we are already there in this envisaged future – is it still coming or is it the perpetual void of relentless waiting? Could it also be defining the lack of its very being, that the metropolis only exists as an imagination for its own sake?

This self-reflexivity is in part an expression of the cultural conditions of modernity and its development, especially in the form of mobility. Indeed, the stairs of the metropolis and the metaphor for reshaping space through vertical recreation produce 'new spaces of autonomy which sow the seeds of "new social relationships", new modes of cooperation' (Cunningham 2005, 22). These cooperative encounters in hybrid spaces blossom not only within the metropolis but between metropolitan spaces, articulating new synergies, collages, montages and assemblages that wield new meanings collectively. Perhaps this was what constituted the inner emotional reality and connection I felt when I saw the sign 'Metropolis' traverse downwards at the National Museum of Cinema in Turin.

Touristic practices of today seem to have transformed the imagination of the metropolis in more optimistic ways (even on the *Joker* stairs), thanks to mediated representations of place. What is certain is that we will need even more mobile metaphors in the future, as the new allure for place commodification shifts towards ordinary, everyday places and objects, rather than institutional attractions designated by DMOs for mainstream tourism consumption. We need new ways of looking to reconfigure the metropolis, just as Italo Calvino (1978) did in *Invisible Cities*, where the one city is symbolised, recreated and reproduced with infinite meanings. Hopefully, this never-ending project will continue to explore the particularities of imaginative everyday spaces above and below metropolises to generate meaningful intersections that put Hollywood and anime, West and East, and other contradictions on the same page.

Bibliography

Arzbaecher, Megan, Toni Sillanpää and Desmond Wee. 2022 'Surrogate Tourists on Instagram: An(other) Kind of Mimetic Gaze'. *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 22(2): 169–80. https://doi.org/10.3727/109830421X16296375579606

Barthes, Roland. (1970) 1980. *S/Z: An Essay*. Siglo XXI.

Baudelaire, Charles. (1863) 1964. *"The Painter of Modern Life" and Other Essays*. Translated by Jonathan Mayne. Phaidon Press.

Baudelaire, Charles. 1972. *Selected Writings on Arts and Artists*. Translated by P. E. Charvet. Penguin.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1994. 'Desert Spectacular'. In *The Flâneur*, edited by Keith Tester, 138–57. Routledge.

Benjamin, Walter. (1976) 1997. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. Translated by Harry Zohn. Verso.
Benjamin, Walter. 1999. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Harvard University Press.
Benjamin, Walter. 2003. 'The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire'. In *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, vol. 4, 1938–1940*, edited by Howard Eiland and Micahel W. Jennings, 3–92. Harvard University Press.
Bilinsky, Boris. 1926. *Metropolis* [photomontage]. In *Montage and the Metropolis: Architecture, Modernity and the Representation of Space*, Martino Stierli, 67. 2018. Yale University Press.
Brantz, Dorothee, Sasha Disko and Georg Wagner-Kyora. 2012. 'Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism'. In *Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism*, edited by Dorothee Brantz, Sasha Disko and Georg Wagner-Kyora, 9–28. Transcript Verlag.
Brooker, Peter. 2001. *Modernity and Metropolis: Writing, Film and Urban Formations*. Springer.
Buck-Morss, Susan. 1991. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. MIT Press.
Calvino, Italo. (1972) 1978. *Invisible Cities*. Translated by William Weaver. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Campbell, Joseph. 2008. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. 3rd ed. New World Library.
Chaplin, Charlie, dir. *Modern Times*. 1936. United Artists.
Citroen, Paul. 1923. *Metropolis* [photomontage]. In *Montage and the Metropolis: Architecture, Modernity and the Representation of Space*, Martino Stierli, 36. 2018. Yale University Press.
Citroën *Metropolis* (n.d.). Available at: https://www.citroen.ps/citroen-universe/concept-car/metropolis/(Accessed: 19 July 2024).
Cronin, Michael. 2012. *The Expanding World: Towards a Politics of Microspection*. Zero Books.
Cunningham, David. 2005. 'The Concept of Metropolis: Philosophy and Urban Form'. *Radical Philosophy* 133: 13–25.
de Certeau, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press.
Eisenstein, Sergei, dir. *Battleship Potemkin*. 1925. Mosfilm.
Fleming, Kirsten. 2019. '"Joker" Stairs Are Attracting Influencers to the Bronx'. New York Post, 21 October. https://nypost.com/2019/10/21/joker-stairs-are-attracting-influencers-to-the-bronx/

Forsdick, Charles, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester. 2021. 'Vertical Travel: Introduction'. *Studies in Travel Writing* 25(2): 103–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2022.2051320

Foucault, Michel. 1986. 'Of other spaces'. Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16(1): 22–27. https://doi.org/10.2307/464648

Frisby, David. 2001. *Cityscapes of Modernity: Critical Explorations*. Polity Press.

Gilloch, Graeme. 1996. *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City*. Polity Press.

GLOCO. 2020. 'The Stairs From *Kimi No Nawa* / *Your Name* | JAPAN VLOG'. YouTube, 17 February. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U7T2fQq3NXQ

Goergen, Jeanpaul. 1989. *Walter Ruttman: Eine Dokumentation*. Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek.

Gropius, Walter and Arthur S Wensinger (eds). 2014. *The Theater of the Bauhaus*. Wesleyan University Press.

Jansson, André. 2007. 'A Sense of Tourism: New Media and the Dialectic of Encapsulation/Decapsulation'. *Tourist Studies* 7(1): 5–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797607079799

Jasanoff, Sheila and Sang-Hyun Kim (eds). 2015. *Dreamscapes of Modernity: Sociotechnical Imaginaries and the Fabrication of Power*. University of Chicago Press.

Kompridis, Nikolas. 2006. 'The Idea of a New Beginning: A Romantic Source of Normativity and Freedom'. In *Philosophical Romanticism*, edited by Nikolas Kompridis, 32–59. Routledge.

Koolhaas, Rem. 1995. 'Singapore Songlines: Portrait of a Potemkin Metropolis…or Thirty Years of Tabula Rasa'. In *S, M, L, XL*, by O.M.A., Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, 1008–89. Monicelli Press.

Koolhaas, Rem. 2014. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. Monacelli Press.

Kracauer, Siegfried. 1995. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*. Translated and edited by Thomas Y. Levin. Harvard University Press.

Lackey, Kris. 1997. *Road Frames: The American Highway Narrative*. University of Nebraska Press.

Lang, Fritz, dir. *Metropolis*. 1927. Paramount Pictures.

MacCannell, Dean. 2001. 'Tourist Agency'. *Tourist Studies* 1(1): 23–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879760100100102

Nash, Eric Peter. 2005. 'Waldorf-Astoria Hotel'. In *Manhattan Skyscrapers*. Rev ed. 79. Princeton Architectural Press.

New European Bauhaus. n.d. https://new-european-bauhaus.europa.eu/index_en
Nolan, Christopher, dir. *Tenet*. 2020. Warner Bros. Pictures.
Oakes, Tim and Claudio Minca. 2004. 'Tourism, Modernity, and Postmodernity'. In *A Companion to Tourism*, edited by Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams, 280–90. Blackwell.
Oshii, Mamoru, dir. *Ghost in the Shell*. 1995. Bandai Visual/Kodansha/Manga Entertainment/Production I. G.
Peltonen, Matti. 2001. 'Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro–Macro Link in Historical Research'. *History and Theory* 40(3): 347–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00172
Pettinger, Alasdair. 2004. 'Towards Vertical Travel' (Review of Hooper and Youngs, 2004, *Perspectives on Travel Writing*). *New Formations* 2004(54): 178–81.
Phillips, Todd, dir. *Joker*. 2019. Warner Bros. Pictures.
Podsadecki, Kazimierz. 1928. *Modern City: Melting Pot of Life* (photomontage). In *Photomontage*, 3rd ed., Dawn Ades, 124. 2021. Thames and Hudson.
Poe, Edgar Allan. 1845. 'The Man of the Crowd'. In *Tales*, 219–28. Wiley and Putnam.
Prahalad, C. K. and Venkat Ramaswamy. 2004. 'Co-creation Experiences: The Next Practice in Value Creation'. *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 18(3): 5–14. https://doi.org/10.1002/dir.20015
Reeh, Henrik. 2004. *Ornaments of the Metropolis. Sigfried Kracauer and Modern Urban Culture*. MIT Press.
Reijnders, Stijn. 2011. *Places of the Imagination: Media, Tourism, Culture*. Ashgate Publishing.
Reijnders, Stijn. 2016. *Places of the Imagination: Media, Tourism, Culture*. Routledge.
Ruttman, Walter, dir. *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt*. 1927. Fox Europa.
Ruttmann, Walter. 1927. *Berlin, die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (photomontage). In 'Die Sinfonie der Großstadt: Berlin und New York', Daniel Morat, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 3 August 2016. https://www.bpb.de/themen/zeit-kulturgeschichte/sound-des-jahrhunderts/210144/die-sinfonie-der-grossstadt/
Sadowski, Piotr. 2018. *The Semiotics of Light and Shadows: Modern Visual Arts and Weimar Cinema*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
Scott, Ridley, dir. *Blade Runner*. 1982. Warner Bros. Pictures.

Sheller, Mimi and John Urry. 2006. 'The New Mobilities Paradigm'. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38(2): 207–26. https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268

Shinkai, Makoto, dir. *Your Name*. 2016. Toho.

Simmel, Georg. 1908. *Soziologie: Untersuchung über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Duncker and Humblot.

Simmel, Georg. (1903) 1950. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff, 409–24. The Free Press.

Stierli, Martino. 2018. *Montage and the Metropolis: Architecture, Modernity, and the Representation of Space*. Yale University Press.

Taniguchi, Jiro. 2012. *Der spazierende Mann*. Carlsen.

Taniguchi, Jiro. 2017. *Furari*. Fanfare.

Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Travel, Leisure and Society*. Sage.

Urry, John and Margaret Grieco (eds). 2016. *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*. Routledge.

Urry, John and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Sage.

Wee, Desmond. 2017. 'Home Away *at* Home: Mediating Spaces of Tourism and Narratives of Belonging in the German Village of South Korea'. In *Film Tourism in Asia: Evolution, Transformation, and Trajectory*, edited by Sangkyun Kim and Stijn Reijnders, 221–37. Springer.

Wee, Desmond. 2021. 'Walking with the Little Prince in Busan: Paradoxes of Culture Making and Place Identity in a Tourist Slum'. In *Tourism in Asian Cities*, edited by Saurabh Kumar Dixit, 226–48. Routledge.

Wee, Desmond, Anthony Amato and Marina A. Schmitz. 2021. 'Where Do the Actors Live? The Chinese Tourist Gazes in Hallstatt'. *Journal of China Tourism Research* 17(4): 570–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/19388160.2021.1988793

Wilson, Ben. 2020. *Metropolis: A History of the City, Humankind's Greatest Invention*. Penguin.

Wong, Kar-wai, dir. *Chungking Express*. 1994. Jet Tone Production.

Chapter 19

Destination Metropolis: From the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries

Ulrike Zitzlsperger

Introduction

In the final scene of Michael Curtiz's film *Casablanca* (1942), café owner Rick convinces his former lover Ilsa to remain with her husband Victor and support him in his fight against National Socialism. Reminding her of their first encounter, Rick assures her, 'We'll always have Paris'. Personal memories aside, this declaration captures the elusive and yet relatable promise of the metropolis. It is the quality of the intangible – the myth as much as the visual associations – that distinguishes a metropolis from the majority of cities. Exploiting this, organisers worldwide advertise 'city tours' with instantly recognisable images: the Eiffel Tower, the Colosseum, the Brandenburg Gate and the Statue of Liberty.

When it comes to the popularity of 'destination metropolis' a lot is at stake. In May 2022, *My London* headlined with mock hurt urban pride, 'London outrageously named only world's third most popular city among tourists' (*My London* 2022). The data, based on MasterCard's Global Destinations City Index, lists Bangkok and Paris in first and second place. London is followed by Dubai, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, New York, Istanbul and Tokyo. Factors determining popularity among tourists include access to the (at times iconic) urban transport system, the cultural mix, landmarks and history, food, shopping and a bustling nightlife. These are all metropolitan qualities, yet the term 'metropolis' rarely appears in advertisements. This may well make sense since city centres – despite the size of the metropolis and the growing importance of its suburbia and edgelands – normally remain the exclusive focus of attention. When we think of Paris, Montmartre comes to mind; New York is associated with Greenwich Village; London with Soho; Vienna with Leopoldstadt. The full extent of the city is rarely of interest.

One metropolis that has not made it into the top twenty of the Global Destinations City Index is Germany's capital Berlin. Here too, despite attempts at the more recent sustainable approaches to tourism, the focus of attention remains on the city centre. For example, in 2015 the travel guide *Lonely Planet* listed its choice of top ten destinations in the metropolis, including the Brandenburg Gate, Museum Island and the Holocaust Memorial. All bar one of these on the list are at the 'heart' of the city (Lonely Planet 2015, 6–12). Despite the current strong representation of Asian metropolises among top destinations for tourists, from the nineteenth century onwards the history of metropolitan tourism focuses primarily on Europe and North America. Berlin is an ideal example since the city's historical turning points illustrate global shifts in the development of metropolitan tourism too.

As a rule, metropolitan tourism is most of the time cultural tourism, 'visiting historic sites, cultural landmarks, attending special events and festivals, watching street performances or visiting museums' (du Cros and McKercher 2020, 3). In terms of unique experiences it also draws on the streets as the 'quintessential sites of public life' (Ladd 2020, 13), representing at once anonymity and stimulation. A metropolis is also a hub, a laboratory – setting trends in contemporary culture while at the same time preserving key aspects of national heritage. Thus, the 2015 edition of *Lonely Planet* provides some telling if uncontroversial reasons for visiting Berlin along these lines: it is 'high on history', a 'cultural trendsetter' and a 'party paradise' (Lonely Planet 2015, 4–5). But, the reputation of a metropolis is also the product of national and international media over time, structuring, embellishing, visualising, promoting and demonising a place by means of journalism, photography, literature, film, promotional material, guidebooks and maps. These will underpin the following predominantly chronological discussion, since they all imbue – be it Berlin or any other metropolis – meaning. They add to the imaginary of metropolises past and present, which in turn directs the expectations and 'the gaze' of their visitors.

Beginnings and the Long Nineteenth Century

For the upper-class traveller of the Grand Tour from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the study of tourist sites in renowned cities formed part of the aspiration to become more educated and to establish networks on the continent. Paris, Geneva, Turin, Florence and Venice were important venues, but Rome was the ultimate destination for the study of classical and

Renaissance art and architecture. Further north, Vienna, Munich, Heidelberg, Dresden and, later, Berlin merited longer stays. In his travel report *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), written well after the demise of the traditional Grand Tour, Mark Twain chronicles his experiences in Europe and the Holy Land from an American perspective. But Rome, still one of the key destinations for travellers, defeats him, despite a well-meaning tour guide:

> Day after day and night after night we have wandered among the crumbling wonders of Rome; day after day and night after night we have fed upon the dust and decay of five-and-twenty centuries – have brooded over them by day and dreampt of them by night. […] I wished to write a real 'guide-book' chapter on this fascinating city, but I could not do it, because I have felt all the time like a boy in a candy shop – there was every thing to choose from, and yet no choice.
>
> (Twain 2021, 272–273)

The traveller is lost among the sights, spoilt for choice, the city is beyond words and it is so despite the relentless efforts of the visitor. The metropolis turns into a challenge and the visitor's frustration is palpable – although the sense of being overwhelmed is arguably part of the modern urban appeal.

Metropolitan travels also triggered comparisons. On approach to Rome, Charles Dickens's anticipation in 1844 had been disappointed since he didn't encounter a unique sight. Two years later he reports with striking emphasis:

> We began, in a perfect fever, to strain our eyes for Rome, and when, after another mile or two, the Eternal City appeared, at length, in the distance, it looked like – I am afraid to write the word – like London!!!
>
> (Dickens 2006, 76)

In 1893, Frederic Harrison observed that Rome was now home to 'avenues, tramcars, electric lighting and miles of American hotels'. Here, the cherished 'old' Rome has made way for a modern metropolis (Harrison 1893, 707). Rome, he states, had within 'twenty or thirty years become like any other European city'; he equates its appearance not unlike Dickens to Turin or Lyon (Harrison 1893, 703). The anticipation of the metropolis is guided by expectations of distinction at times unfulfilled.

From the early nineteenth century, London, Paris and Berlin offered their visitors painted circular panoramas and, later, three-dimensional dioramas with atmospheric displays from other countries such as Egypt and the South Pacific, or 'gasp-inducing natural landscapes and examples of dramatic

architecture' (Lethbridge 2022, 18). 'Other, similar spectaculars went even further', taking natural sensations right into the metropolis:

> The relatively short-lived pleorama, pioneered by Karl Wilhelm Gropius in Berlin during the 1830s, incorporated actual movement. Viewers found themselves seated on a rocking, boat-like contraption in a pool of water representing the Rhine – while scenery moved past them as if they themselves were floating down the river.
>
> (Lethbridge 2022, 18)

For visitors the metropolis is not just a spectacle in its own right, but it turns into a vantage point to view the rest of the world, including natural beauty spots.

This specific appeal also characterised events with a distinctly global outlook from the middle of the century onward: the first of its kind, the 'Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations at the Crystal Palace' in London (1851), brainchild of Queen Victoria's husband Albert, proved enormously successful. Despite the reference to 'all Nations', exhibits from the British Empire dominated – and so did London as the epicentre of the Empire. Seeking to repeat the success of the event, other cities were to follow, including Paris in 1889, where the fourth of overall eight exhibitions, stood out: since the 'Exposition Universelle', the Eiffel Tower has dominated the cityscape as a lasting symbol of French architectural and engineering achievements. Groundbreaking urban architecture remains a draw for visitors to this day, be it particularly beautiful or technologically innovative constructions that significantly reflect national ambitions. The Eiffel Tower became a popular miniature souvenir, which in turn, as a museum exhibit, now serves to illustrate the development of the nineteenth-century nation state and its capital: for example, in an exhibit of souvenirs of the Great Exhibition in the Museum of Burgundian Life in Dijon.

In conscious competition with the French capital, the World Exposition in Chicago of 1893 boasted extensive entertainments, including George Ferris's 'Big Wheel'. In Germany, the 'Great Industrial Exposition' of 1896 put Berlin, capital of the *Kaiserreich* since 1871, on the map. Visitors experienced yet another technological breakthrough, in this case the largest contemporary great refractor. Electrical illumination and a large artificial water basin proved popular. As with all world exhibitions, however, the scope went well beyond industrial advancements; each exhibition allowed its visitors not just to gain insights into the commanding role of the metropolis, but to experience selected aspects of the rest of the world. In Berlin, Venetian gondolas and a

pyramid added exotic flair at a time when travelling afar was still limited to the relatively few. These sites became attractive motifs on postcards to inform others about the visitors' metropolitan adventures *and* the capital's imposing attractions. If the souvenirs of the world fairs are indicative of the need to commemorate such experiences, postcards were the most accessible visual mediators of cultural encounters in the city. What had worked well for other cities was successfully adopted by Berlin too: so-called 'native villages' recreated settlements in Germany's African colonies. The design of 'native villages' highlighted by contrast the 'civilising force' of the European and American metropolis and this, in turn, served to enhance a sense of national superiority. Presenting the world in the metropolis therefore strengthened the imperial nation states' hunger for predominance, be it the United States, the United Kingdom, France or Germany.

The World Exhibition in London had highlighted the need for organised trips to large-scale events. In England, Thomas Cook specialised in excursions first at home, then abroad, minutely planning each aspect of the travellers' journey:

> [He] made it possible for heretofore unheard of numbers of travellers to visit the biggest city in the world. Ultimately, six million people, about one fifth of the population, made the trip. Thomas Cook transported 165,000 of them to London. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a huge success for all concerned and unmarred by any public order problems.
>
> (Zuelow 2016, 65)

With the help of events that promised to widen everyone's horizon and to provide 'once in a lifetime' entertainment, the metropolis had become by the second half of the nineteenth century a desirable and increasingly accessible destination. In the wake of this interest in the big city, maps, panoramas and guidebooks became essential equipment for aspirational visitors. Their visit was now also aided by modern hotels. Together with railway stations, museums and, later, cinemas they enhanced the success of a trip, epitomising coordinated progress and modernity first-hand.

Ways of Seeing

By the late nineteenth century, the growth of cities led to enhanced means of mobility – overground and underground. Maps now served as points of reference for residents and visitors alike, each shaping a distinct perception of the

city, focusing, for example, on transport (including horse-drawn carriage routes, early tricycle and bicycle routes, inner-city rail links) or on tourist attractions.

By the 1840s, the renaissance of cities had gained momentum. Throughout Europe, increasingly confident middle classes began to appreciate bird's-eye views of cityscapes: contemporary paintings and drawings captured these views, widening the visitors' understanding of the metropolis, such as the impact of railway stations with their criss-crossing tracks creating, over time, distinct districts; clusters of chimneys in more industrial parts; and waterways. By the last third of the century, after years of accelerated urban growth, a clear distinction had emerged between the city centre with shops, markets and landmarks and the residential periphery. The publisher Pharus offered maps of Berlin that highlighted – not unlike today's photographic inserts – churches, stations and other landmarks, to guide the visitor through the maze. Other maps were decorated with views of noteworthy buildings printed in the margins (for example, Julius Straube 1896), turning them not only into important tools negotiating one's way through the city but also into souvenirs. In 1902, Johann Aescher's 'Monumental-Plan von Berlin' (Figure 19.1) focused

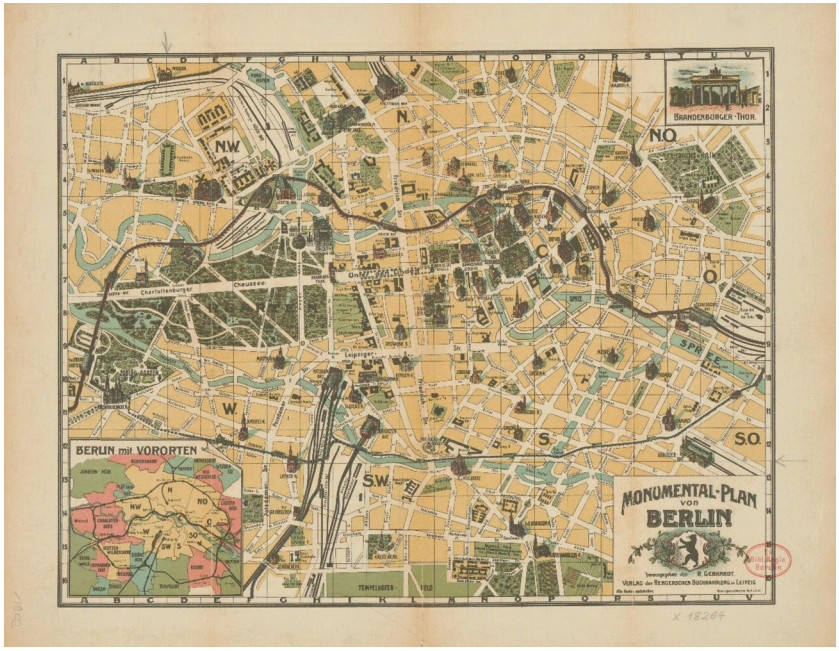


Figure 19.1 Monumental-Plan von Berlin.
(R. Gebhardt, J. Aescher, Leipzig 1902; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

on the city centre but included the suburbs in a separate map, thereby adding perspective to the size of Berlin. The map added colour and oblique images of key sites, including churches and railway stations, and it paid particular attention to the Brandenburg Gate, which had captured the public's imagination ever since Napoleon had taken its crowning quadriga to Paris, from where it was returned after his defeat.

Christian Peip's pocket atlas encompassed the city and its surroundings, and its small size made it particularly practical. Such developments occurred relatively late in Berlin. Basel, by comparison, made provisions for its visitors early on: Heinrich Keller's map of 1832 includes colours and signs to guide visitors to the local attractions (Basel Historical Museum/Barfuesserkirche); the multisensory experience of a city is captured by means of itineraries.

Berlin's *Verkehrsverein*, a forerunner of the modern tourist office, supported the city's ambitions to attract visitors and business alike. This move reflected the historical shift of 1871: since Berlin had become the capital of Germany, visitors from all over the country sought to educate themselves with the help of its museums and monuments. Alongside the travel guides and postcards, the aforementioned and increasingly opulent city maps now served to boost the metropolitan image (Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2007, 23). These perceptions of the metropolis were reinforced by contemporary literature. In Germany, for example, the novels of popular writers such as Theodor Fontane and Georg Hermann associated the city centre of Berlin with the heart and railway lines with blood vessels sustaining the body of the metropolis. In the public's imagination, the metropolis became a living, breathing, at times frightening and formidable entity. Literature and film foster expectations of a metropolis – modern day walking tours based either on novels and films, or protagonists and on individual writers build upon such insights too: Christopher Isherwood's Berlin; Ernest Hemingway's Paris; Charles Dickens's London or Philip Marlowe's Los Angeles and John Rebus's Edinburgh.

Increasingly, modern hotels provided comfortable places to stay and, at the same time, offered the urban experience in miniature. American grand hotels had proved exemplary in terms of luxury, often removing the barrier between the guests and the wider public in their bars. New York's Waldorf Astoria had opened in 1893, offering telephones, private bathrooms and room service. By the 1880s, the number of grand hotels in big European cities had increased too, reflecting a growing engagement with fairs, conferences, exhibitions and other cultural events. Under the management of César Ritz, London's Savoy (1889) developed new standards and, breaking new ground in culinary terms, his chef Auguste Escoffier contributed to the appeal of the



Figure 19.2 Jupp Wiertz, *Berlin at Night.*
(© *Reichsbahnzentrale für den deutschen Reiseverkehr, Berlin c. 1927/1930*).

Savoy: outstanding food, be it in restaurants or street food, remains a key metropolitan attraction. Today, the television programmes of the American chef and travel documentarian Anthony Bourdain remain a testimony of twenty-first-century appreciation of big cities and metropolises through the medium of food. Hotel Lutetia in Paris (1910) captured the public's imagination with its art deco bar, now named after one of its most famous regulars, Josephine Baker – perpetuating the 1920s lure. When it opened in 1855, the Grand Hôtel du Louvre was the largest in Europe. The investment in the building was justified, since in the 1860s Paris already attracted about 100,000 international visitors per year (compared to about 19 million per year today).

In *Grandhotels*, Habbo Knoch observes that in the middle of the nineteenth century, of the big cities only Paris was actually a primary destination for the wider public (Knoch 2016, 51). Aware of the competition from other imperial states, Kaiser Wilhelm II supported the building of the prestigious Hotel Adlon (1907), which was quick to adopt the qualities of international hotels and to set new standards. Part of its appeal was its illustrious position next to the Brandenburg Gate in the heart of Berlin. Lorenz Adlon understood that a grand hotel served as a catalyst for metropolitan tourism. This realisation mirrors discussions in specialist magazines and publications at the time. Writing in 1909, Hasso Noorden differentiated for Germany's larger cities between 'tourist hotels', where guests were a mere number, and luxurious establishments that provided home comforts (Noorden 1909, 42–54). Metropolitan grand hotels, Knoch suggests, allowed their guests to handle the chaos of the city thanks to the order within the hotel (Knoch 2016, 385). Hotels, stations and department stores also became meeting places for celebrities, businessmen and tourists. Their opulence drew in the wider public and flattered national ambitions. The grand boulevards, hotels and *magasins* turned into storied places, albeit, for some, at a high price. Ben Wilson observes that Karl Marx 'acidly commented that Haussmann had bulldosed the historic city of Paris "to make a place for the sightseer" ' (Wilson 2021, 241). To this day it is the metropolis that offers specialised hotel experiences, be they based on the arts, heritage and nostalgia or extraordinary technology for the enterprising hotel guest.

Coffee houses also feature(ed) among the metropolitan attractions. Bohemian meeting places with the added bonus of free newspapers, they became landmarks by day and night. In Berlin, examples include Café Kranzler (1834) and Romanisches Café (1902); in Vienna, Café Central (1876) and Café Demel (1888); in 2011 the Viennese coffee house was included on UNESCO's

list of intangible cultural heritage. In Rome, the list of coffee houses includes Antico Caffè Greco (1760); in Paris, Café de Flore (1887), La Coupole (1927) and Café de la Paix (1862); in Zurich, the Odeon (1911). Though these coffee houses have their own national characteristics, they are in all cases a central aspect of successful metropolitan culture. Coffee culture exists in a public–private space – a space for individual choices but within the wider remit of society (Zitzlsperger 2013, 19). The coffee houses facilitate meetings between artists, musicians and writers. It is here that the like-minded in politics assemble, discuss and plot. It is here that tourists hope either to see a famous face or to revel in the knowledge of temporarily sharing a space with bohemians past and present: In Café Tortoni in Buenos Aires, the wax sculpture of the writer Jorge Luis Borges allows for encounters at all times.

By the late nineteenth century, there was no shortage of books guiding travellers through the big cities, often within the wider context of a country or a region. Murray's *Handbooks for Travellers* appeared from 1836; Karl Baedeker's from 1828. In 1846 the series added its star ranking to determine the importance of individual sights. *Bradshaw's Guides* specialised in timetables from 1853, but also included short descriptions of places. As well as providing general advice, other guidebooks introduced the public to specific places, usually based on first-hand experience of the author(s).

Guidebooks also highlighted the national flagship museums that had begun to exhibit national and international treasures. While museums and their collections became established from the eighteenth century onwards, larger-scale excavations of, for example, Egyptian, Greek and Roman sites, combined with a wide variety of artefacts from the colonies, led to the expansion of existing buildings. When in 1920 the entrepreneur James Simon donated the bust of the Egyptian queen Nefertiti to the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, it became one of its most popular attractions. The British Museum (1759) was among those that benefited from a system of 'partage', sharing the finds of excavations between the country of origin and the countries participating in an archaeological dig. When, between 1884 and 1886, the Greek trading centre of Naukratis in the Egyptian Nile Delta was excavated, eight thousand items came to London alone. Metropolitan museums organised the wealth of newly found knowledge, and this became inscribed into grand national narratives which, in turn, were embraced by tourists. The Louvre, the Altes Museum or the Prado were among the 'must-see' places that were part of a trip to Paris, Berlin or Madrid.

In 1910, an English travel guide used a new term to describe the city of Munich. It had joined the growing number of popular destinations in the

early twentieth century: 'The Bavarian capital is *cosmopolitan*' [emphasis mine], the guide observed, 'crowded with adopted children: North Germans [...], Russians [...]; painters, sculptors, musicians, men of learning and idlers' (Wadleigh 1910, 13). The full potential of this 'cosmopolitanism' was to become a metropolitan selling point after the First World War.

Modern Times

Traditional patterns of travel were disrupted by the First World War, and by its end in 1918, the world had profoundly changed. The 1920s saw new means of transport – no longer confined to a compartment on a train, the car provided more travellers with mobility and independence, not least women. The American writer Djuna Barnes depicted women travelling in Berlin and Paris; Erika Mann joined her brother Klaus writing an alternative travel guide. Even if the metropolis – notably London and Paris – had fascinated artists and writers since the nineteenth century, by the 1920s a new, future-orientated urban cityscape fed metropolitan imaginations. When in 1927 director Fritz Lang produced his dystopian film *Metropolis*, the city was transformed into a domineering force. Lang juxtaposes ultra-modern high-rise buildings (a nod towards his first impressions of New York) and the supremacy of technology with references to Christian iconography, including the dance of death, flood and – a genuinely metropolitan topic – crowds. The post-war metropolis was associated both with progress and with lack of control.

Interwar Berlin, from 1919 the capital of a democratic Germany soon haunted by inflation and political unrest, became for the first time in its history a popular destination for international visitors. A new generation of young English travellers was drawn to the city. 1920s Berlin was a cultural hub, a laboratory of modernity, one that had overtaken London and Paris. Christopher Isherwood and Stephen Spender perpetuated in their works the city's reputation for sexual libertinism and a tantalising nightlife, contributing to a 1920s metropolitan myth that still endures. Metropolises came to represent whole countries. 'It would appear', Colin Storer observes:

> that British attitudes towards Weimar Berlin were emblematic of attitudes towards the Republic as a whole, just as the German capital was widely regarded in this period as emblematic both of the country in general and, to some extent, of the *zeitgeist* of the 1920s.
>
> (Storer 2010, 105)

In 1920s Berlin, the feminist writer Cicely Hamilton was impressed with a slot restaurant and the smooth running of operations at the new Tempelhof airport (Hamilton 1931, 158, 160). Otto Kringelein, one of Vicki Baum's characters in her bestselling novel *Grand Hotel* (1929), aware of his imminent death, travels to the city he believes to be the only place where he can experience life to the full. Kringelein finds his wish granted when he is guided through the attractions of the post-war metropolis, including a car race, a boxing match, card games and a tea dance in the hotel. The metropolis facilitates, on the surface, long-held dreams; the dying visitor epitomises the (mis)conceptions of the potential of the metropolis. An ever-growing number of literary, journalistic, photographic and cinematic depictions of the city contributed to the sense that the metropolis granted insights not available elsewhere and was therefore more vital than the provinces. Walter Ruttmann's semi-documentary, *Berlin – Symphony of a Big City* (1927) plays on this image of the modern metropolis: the permanent sense of movement, the masses that render the individual irrelevant, the contrast between work and leisure. Building upon such images, carefully designed promotional campaigns sought to appeal to the national and international public. Famous hotels, extraordinary entertainment establishments such as Haus Vaterland (formerly Piccadilly) and variety theatres advertised their products with a conscious nod towards the appeal of Jazz Age New York, London and Paris. The metropolis had become a place of stimulating entertainment for all.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the graphic designer Jupp Wiertz contributed eye-catching images to advertising brochures and posters promoting travel to Germany. Part of the series 'Germany wants to see you' was an image of Berlin's Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche (1927/1930; Figure 19.2). The poster juxtaposes the relatively dark church with the spectacular and unique characteristics of urban life: the night is illuminated by the headlights of cars and by advertising along the facades of the surrounding buildings. This poster is, arguably, programmatic for a shift in terms of contemporary tourist destinations. 'The city' is not necessarily a beautiful place, but desirable for a modernity that is broken down into distinct phenomena, such as traffic and advertising at central locations along its streets and squares.

1920s modernity became tangible in travel guides too. The 1927 edition of Baedeker informs its readers of the massive (*gewaltige*) traffic at Potsdamer Square and hints at the novelty of traffic lights. The visitor can experience the urban buzz from the comfort and safety of nearby cafés, including the coffee houses Bellevue Konditorei and Konditorei Josty. In the evening, Baedeker advises, the visitor may experience a considerable

amount of advertising (Baedeker 1927, 164) – not unlike the depiction on the poster by Wiertz. At this point Baedeker's travel guides covered only three cities long-term: Paris between 1855 and 1937, London between 1862 and 1930 and Berlin between 1878 and 1936. Reinhard Öhlberger argues that the motivation for this focus was the popularity of events such as international fairs and exhibitions (Öhlberger 1987, 288). To this day, travel guides and apps for big cities provide general introductions, practical advice, a tour of the main locations, maps and images. Advice for travellers with one, two or three days' availability tends to include the most famous sights, leisurely activities (such as the visit to a coffee house) and one trip further afield. For Berlin, this is usually the town of Potsdam with its lakes, gardens and palaces; for London, Oxford or Stonehenge; for Paris, Versailles. Following similar patterns of exploration, today's visitors to Buenos Aires are encouraged to visit the Tigre Delta and San Isidro; a trip to San Francisco may be enhanced by a wine tour in the Napa Valley, and from Sydney to the Black Mountains.

The 'Pharus-Plan' of 1923 offers its users on the back of the map instructions for a range of days in the city – weekends, three days or even five. A brief introduction explains the rationale behind such instructions, since 'the overwhelming wealth of impressions' demands a 'careful plan' if the visitor is to focus on 'important' landmarks. The instructions are for those who pursue a non-specialist interest in Berlin. Thus, a weekend in Berlin in the 1920s entails coffee on its boulevard Unter den Linden; a trip into the more recently developed western parts of the city on the underground; shopping on the Tauentzien; a visit to the observatory and finally dinner. The second day includes a walk to the former royal palace; a guided tour through its museum; a tour through the city in a dedicated luxury car; a walk through the Tiergarten, Berlin's famous park; a bus trip to the former suburb of Charlottenburg; a visit of the exhibition grounds and the radio tower (*Funkturm*); and, after returning to the city centre, a stroll through the popular Leipziger Straße and Friedrichstraße. Strikingly, the visitor is not simply guided to some key sights – modern achievements dominate: public transport, shopping, Germany's exhibition ground and technological advances such as the radio tower. The visitor is made aware of the city's progressive nature. Accordingly, a five-day itinerary also includes the new inner-city Tempelhof airport; the opulent Wertheim department store; and only for the last day do the instructions suggest the visit to the old city centre of Berlin. There is no mention of one of today's most important sights, the Reichstag, which garnered meaning for tourists later on.

If Baedeker instructs the visitors in terms of ways to take and places to stay, one-off publications structure the city along topical themes. In 1928, *Scherl's Magazin* printed a short contribution by the director of the tourism board, Adolf Schick; responding to the success of a new slogan promoting the city, '*Jeder einmal in Berlin*' (Everyone once in Berlin), Schick claims Berlin to be the most active international city (*Weltstadt*) of the continent, a centre of music and theatre, and the metropolis with the most beautiful surroundings (Schick 1928, 602). Hans Erasmus Fischer adds the reasons for visiting the city on the next page. They include the following timeless qualities: Berlin is a 'modern city', 'the heartbeat of Europe', it offers 'frenzied traffic', 'shimmering boulevards', 'pattering jazz' and metropolitan spirit by day and night (Fischer 1928, 603). Both texts skilfully hover between advertisement and information, though the logo of the campaign, showing the instantly recognisable Brandenburg Gate with the inscription of 'Everyone once in Berlin' leaves no doubt about the promotional intentions; they read like a confession to the metropolis. In 1931 Curt Moreck published *Ein Führer durch das lasterhafte Berlin. Das deutsche Babylon* (A Guide Through Seedy Berlin. The German Babylon). Among the 1.5 million visitors that came to the metropolis each year, he addressed those interested in the 'unofficial' pleasures (Moreck 2020, 11). His focus rests specifically on the activities at night (Moreck 2020, 14). If Baedeker is the official side of the modern metropolis, Moreck represents what others – such as the aforementioned fictional Kringelein – hope to set against their daily routine back home. The scale of opportunities in the city now triggered a multitude of specialist guides.

Writing about urban life in Germany, McElligot states that 'before 1914 only Berlin and Dresden allowed electricity for advertising, while Hamburg was planning to introduce it' (McElligott 2001, 159). By 1929, 'Berlin was [...] the self-styled neon capital of European consumerism' (McElligott 2001, 159). With the support of Berlin's city government, a working group named '*Berlin im Licht*' (Berlin in Light) decided in April 1928 to organise a festival of light. Light too was a matter of competitive metropolitan value. One of Berlin's newspapers quotes mayor Gustav Böß's acknowledgement that while Paris, London and New York were still ahead of the game, Berlin was well on its way to overtake them (Böß 1928). The competition and comparison between cities, particularly in terms of tourism, and the juxtaposition of the provinces and the metropolis had by now become a popular theme; other cities embracing comparable events included Prague, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main. For the event in Berlin, special trains brought visitors to the capital. Light – notably the abundance of light – remains an attractive metropolitan feature; indeed, it

epitomises urbanity (Nentwig 2002, 45). Significantly, Berlin began to organise annual festivals of light again in 2006. However, to consider metropolitan nights merely by means of marketing doesn't do them justice. 'With the fall of darkness', Joachim Schlör writes, 'the metropolitan day begins […]. "Paris la nuit", "Berlin bei Nacht", "London by night" – the sound of the words conjures up a broad field of association, images and memories' (Schlör 2016, 7–8). It is these associations that contribute to the distinction of metropolitan tourism.

Interwar tourism was largely motivated by the city's streetscapes. In *Weimar Surfaces* Janet Ward observes that:

> Modern surface culture was experienced as an outdoor 'reading' of the city's commercial life force, namely the street. These streets of surface in which zones of business, dwelling, advertising, and entertainment all simultaneously coexisted and intermingled were naturally located in the city center. City centers like New York, London, Rome, and Paris vied with each other for 'world-city' status.
>
> (Ward 2001, 14)

Spectacular events in the metropolis continued to be of importance for the national agenda too. One such example is the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 in London (Wembley Park), which was, courtesy of its success, allowed to run for a second season in 1925. 'By the end of the season, the visitor total had risen to an estimated ten million' (Ross 2003, 77). The souvenirs are telling: they present London as a vibrant commercial centre of the post-war world. Silk headscarves depict exhibition buildings (including the Ceylon Pavilion, the Palace of Industry, the Palace of Canada, the New Zealand Pavilion) while delicate teacups are decorated with exotic motifs. Berlin, meanwhile, continued to focus on trade fairs. While the first International Automobile Exhibition had taken place in the city's Hotel Bristol with eight exhibits in 1897, when reinstated in 1921, sixty-seven manufacturers displayed their achievements in automobile development. The International Radio Exhibition first took place in 1924; two years later, the radio tower (*Funkturm*) was inaugurated and turned into one of Berlin's landmarks. From 1926, Berlin's 'Green Week', an event displaying the achievements of the agricultural, horticultural and food industries, was based on an initiative of Berlin's tourism office. Contemporary posters paid homage to the city's industrial significance – even displaying smoking chimneys in the background (Siebenhaar et al. 1995, 38). The European and North American metropolis of the 1920s proudly aimed to be the forward-looking, enterprising, intellectual, entertaining and economic focus of the world, luring new residents and tourists alike.

Dictatorships, the Second World War and the Cold War

Fascism, spreading in its various incarnations across Europe from the 1920s onwards, is essentially anti-modern, anti-international and, therefore, anti-metropolitan. Political restrictions aside, the economic hardship experienced in many countries following the Wall Street crash of 1929 limited the appeal and possibility of travel in general and visits to big cities in particular.

The Olympic Games of 1936 provided National Socialist Germany with an unprecedented opportunity for the propaganda-driven management of national and international visitors to Berlin. In preparation for the event, the popular paper *BZ am Mittag* published the aerial map titled *Bummel durch Berlin und ringsherum* (A stroll through Berlin and the surrounding area) (Seeland 1936). The title reflects the double aspect of the map. The obverse shows the city and its overground and underground network as a vague reddish conglomeration within the rural environment and unspecific villages. In addition, this side of the map includes detailed inset small maps of the exhibition fairground, the Olympic buildings and the nearby town of Potsdam. The reverse focuses on the city centre, containing illustrations and a map of venues for evening entertainment. The map excludes synagogues and department stores but highlights new National Socialist buildings and, intriguingly, usually maligned modernist architecture by Erich Mendelsohn and Peter Behrens. Visitors were presented with a thoroughly National Socialist view of the city, but one trying to appeal to a wider international public that still remembered the cosmopolitan spirit of the 1920s.

Two years later, at the inauguration of the building work for 'Germania', the plan that anticipated replacing Berlin's city centre, tourism provided yet again a well-choreographed propaganda tool. *The Times* reported in 1938:

> As he [Hitler] tapped the stone, work started simultaneously at 16 points in different parts of the town [..., as a] 'document in stone of National-Socialist creative will and political greatness'.
>
> Herr Hitler said that it was fitting that the work should be begun by the laying of the foundation-stone of the 'House of German Tourism' [*Haus des Fremdenverkehrs*] for the rebuilding of Berlin would bring an enormous number of tourists to Berlin and to Germany.
>
> (*The Times* 1938)

The 'House of German Tourism' had limited impact, since the Second World War started one year later. It was demolished in 1962. Remarkably, under yet another German dictatorship, the German Democratic Republic (GDR)

opened a 'House of Travel' in 1971 at the central Alexanderplatz in East Berlin. Even though travelling in the GDR was restricted, the regime saw Berlin as a popular destination to showcase the socialist way of life.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s post-war Berlin did encourage visitors to come to the city, which, amid ruins, a broken infrastructure and hills built with the debris resulting from the war provided metropolitan rubble tourism. Nonetheless, from the late 1940s onwards and throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the fault lines of the Cold War hampered attempts to revive city trips. Vienna regained its status as a cultural hub after the withdrawal of the Allied occupation forces in the mid-fifties – albeit with a nostalgic edge. Divided Berlin, meanwhile, remained a symbol of the post-war political status quo until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. While East Berlin served as the capital of the GDR, West Berlin maintained a 'special status'. West Berlin's entry into the jet age was linked to its propaganda role as a Western shop window. When in 1958 Conrad Hilton opened one of his hotels, visitors were able to enjoy an explicitly North American experience second to none in Germany – in line with Hilton's programmatic approach to hotel-building in Istanbul and London. In *Building the Cold War*, Annabel Wharton highlights Hilton's ambition to promote an 'utopian future' (Wharton 2001, 84) by means of architecture and design, visible then first-hand in West Berlin. As in the 1920s, metropolitan tourism thrived thanks not just to culture and landmarks, but to such cutting-edge (and provocative) enterprises.

West Berlin presented advertising posters with colourful collages of metropolitan splendour and entertainment (Siebenhaar et al. 1995). East Berlin promoted its historic city centre combined with prestigious new buildings such as the Palace of the Republic (1976; since replaced again by a reconstruction of the former City Palace) and the Television Tower on Alexanderplatz (1969). If West Berlin sought to highlight a wide range of possible leisurely activities by day and night, East Berlin focused on the achievements of the German socialist state.

In 1985, *The Observer* published a sixteen-page long 'Insider's Guide to Berlin' by crime writer Gavin Lyall in cooperation with British Airways. He comments on the striking similarities between East and West:

> The only good tourist reasons for visiting the East are the Opera and the museums; the rest is a pale reflection of West Berlin.
>
> Except for the pallidity, this is intentional. East Berlin is the showplace of the Soviet Bloc countries – hence the ease of entry – and the only way it can compete on the surface is on West Berlin's terms. You cannot show a good health service, only Western-style hotels; a

> low unemployment rate won't fit into a shop-window, Russian cameras will. And by chance of history they do have the original cultural centre of Berlin.
>
> (Lyall 1985, 11)

In this sense, East Berlin's 'House of Travel' was a necessity to show socialist ambitions in the right light.

Alongside assertions in the text itself, a British Airways advertisement for the air link between London Heathrow and Berlin is indicative of the workings of metropolitan tourism using culture as a reference point. 'Cabaret non-stop', it promises the readers, with an image that emulates Liza Minelli's provocative pose on a chair in the film *Cabaret* of 1972. If the Western half of the city cannot boast the historical centre, it still stands for the 1920s lifestyle as celebrated in a popular musical drama that evokes the 'roaring Twenties'. Nostalgia aside, at this point Berlin represented, for all visitors to experience, an ideological stance.

The Metropolis Since the 1990s

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 came to symbolise what appeared to be the end of the Cold War that had determined the political and economic world since the 1940s. Even though Berlin was the focus of these developments, and even though cheap airlines began to facilitate short city trips in the 1990s, once the initial hype was over, Berlin had to reinvent itself as a go-to destination. While London, New York and Paris benefited from their unquestioned long-term metropolitan status and reputation, Berlin had lost its role as a Cold War showcase. Instead, the role of urban culture for all generations came to the fore. Berlin was now cultivating events that involved large numbers of participants and unusual locations. The 'Long Night of Museums' attracted visitors with special tours; the Love Parade and a distinct club culture, Christopher Street Day and the Carnival of Cultures promoted the cosmopolitan spirit of Berlin; marathons and sports events of international scope unite(d) all age groups. The potential disadvantage of a city rebuilt over the years was turned into an imaginative approach that captured the contemporary desire to experience history in the making. Architecture proved key in this process and benefited from past experiences such as the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992, which served to rejuvenate that city. In Berlin, 'architainment' turned building sites into must-see places. Not just the city's club scene but its subculture

appealed to the next generation, with its sense of new beginnings, by deliberately making use of empty and derelict spaces, particularly in the former East. For nearly two decades, Berlin capitalised on yet another metropolitan quality, the appeal of all things transitional.

The example of Berlin shows that destination metropolis can be tailored to specific needs. 'In order to support the city's transformation into an invoked "European metropolis" ', Claire Colomb observes:

> local policy-makers had to break with the negative images associated with the city's tormented past, reinvent and transmit a new image of the city to three main target groups: potential tourists, visitors and investors; Germans throughout the Federal Republic; and the Berliners themselves.
>
> (Colomb 2012, 3)

And yet the metropolis is also one of the locations where tourism poses pertinent questions, not least how the gentrification of city centres (including the impact of Airbnb) leads to the loss of the unique qualities as advertised by the travelling community on Tripadvisor and similar services.

There is ample coverage of the role of tourists in the city in literature and film. As early as in 1929, the German writer Erich Kästner mocked 'provincial' visitors to Berlin who, overwhelmed by the traffic in the city centre, are eventually run over ('*Besuch vom Lande*' [Visitors from the Provinces]). In 2002, the US-born Argentinian singer-songwriter Kevin Johansen released 'Puerto Madero', an ironic reflection on the tourists' sanitised appreciation of famous quarters in Buenos Aires. In the original film clip that accompanies the music, the tourists' cameras seek to capture every 'typical' moment – in reality an assembly of the best-known tourist sights.[1] In contrast to Kästner's visitors, Johansen's enjoy completely controlled spaces that are a far cry from the reality of the locals who are reduced to the role of helpful 'props' enhancing the tourist experience. The 2017 musical *Ammore e Malavita* (Love and Bullets) plays on the tourists' longing for authentic adventure in the metropolis that will provide for 'stories' to tell back home. In Naples, it is the district Scampia (a commuter town notorious for unemployment, drugs and clan activities), where the robbery of a handbag turns into the treasured 'ultimate touristic experience'.[2] In artistic engagement with metropolitan tourism, the scale ranges from blissful ignorance to voyeurism and the wilful pursuit of alternative, even violent encounters.

Criticism of 'touristification' and 'overtourism' has triggered new initiatives. In 2014, the 'Anti Tourist Agency' promoted a new ('organic') approach for visitors to Berlin.[3] Inspired by the ideas of the Beat Generation, it suggests

immersion in local culture; 'tourism' (the visit to the Brandenburg Gate, the Reichstag or the Television Tower) is replaced with 'travelling' the metropolis and the pursuit of individual encounters. A real understanding of the metropolis requires, so goes the claim, not the pursuit of heritage sites or landmarks such as squares, boulevards or monuments and popular themed and mapped pathways through the city, but doing as the locals do. Inevitably, metropolitan tourism is also about this clash: the desire to take part in urban life while those who actually live in the metropolis struggle to maintain a degree of normality in daily life despite the effects of mass tourism. This fits neatly into the approaches of 'chrono-urbanism' (Carlos Moreno), the promotion of the '15- minute city' that proves successful in Paris and Melbourne. In Berlin, the promotion of neighbourhoods off the beaten track (for example, the borough of Moabit at the western fringe of the city centre) by means of popular culture (walking tours breaking down the thresholds to local hotels and institutions; open air exhibitions; local markets or readings), benefit not only neighbourhoods but also tourists motivated to experience cities in the city.

Conclusion

Referring to John Berger's study, *Ways of Seeing* (1972), John Urry and Jonas Larsen argue that 'one's eyes are socio-culturally framed and there are various "ways of seeing" ' (Urry and Larsen 2011, 2). The tourists' gaze is 'directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience' (4). The 'tourist gaze' is 'folded into a world of texts, images and representational technologies' (101) and nowhere more so than in cities: the media pre-organise ways of seeing each city. Cities such as Paris 'emerge as tourist places when they are inscribed in circles of anticipation, performance and remembrance' (119). The visitors' curiosity is based on quarters with a high level of long-term recognition and specific highlights. Postcards and 'Instagrammable' vistas determine *the* view, which, in contrast to sights outside the city, need not be 'picturesque' or 'pretty'.

In the nineteenth century, the insights available in the metropolis went hand in glove with desirable national narratives. By the start of the twentieth century, there was a marked shift among tourists towards individual entertainments and experience of key achievements of the otherwise elusive modernity: a multitude of hotels, cinemas and novelties now highlighted the contrast between the metropolis on the one hand and the provinces on the other. By now, many cities visualise their history – ideally as social, architectural or political history in the making. Today, tourists' desire for 'authentic'

experiences affirms the success of a visit to a city, even – or perhaps in particular – if the resulting imagery is far from the 'neat' impressions we tend to associate with holidays. Such trends are openly fostered by the media: the cinematic and literary narratives we quote; the journalistic assessments that serve our critical attitudes; the glamorous brochures and posters that tempt us relentlessly with easily recognisable images; the maps and guides which preorder our experience, even when they appear to avoid mainstream landmarks.

In the metropolis, highly recognisable tourist hotspots are not limited to their original location (for example, the Brandenburg Gate) but expand in the form of replicas and variations across the city, not least by means of souvenir shops. Recognising 'the place' (the Eiffel Tower; Shanghai Tower; Sydney Opera House) becomes a continuous experience, a constant reminder of one's presence in an extraordinary place. Since 2000 this use of iconic images has included the 'Buddy Bears' in Berlin. The bear is a symbol of the city; its playful combination with the emblematic Brandenburg Gate with its quadriga (Figures 19.3 and 19.4) is directed at visitors and inhabitants alike. The replication of metropolitan landmarks serves a sense of recognition, which suggests that visitors are able to navigate their way through the urban maze – yet another type of ultimate touristic experience in the metropolis.

In his history of London, A. N. Wilson concludes with a praise for 'his' metropolis. Names and sites would, in fact, be interchangeable with those of other cities: 'The standard of London theatres', he writes, 'and supremely of the Royal Opera House and Royal Ballet, the quality of concerts in innumerable venues […] can easily rival, and often outstrip Paris, New York, or Milan' (Wilson 2004, 145). Metropolitan tourism prospers when the city of choice 'outdoes' others. A further marker of success are patterns of consumption: 'Shopping in London could easily be, and for some people is, a full-time occupation. Nightlife caters for every taste' (Wilson 2004, 145). Of note are the architecture and the omnipresence of history: 'Every district of London, whether or not it is on the tourist map, is haunted by memories' (Wilson 2004, 146). This kind of 'blend' is adaptable to circumstances. It has withstood a global pandemic; it provides the timeless foundation of any city's appeal. Metropolitan tourism is, then, characterised by both: multisensory qualities that apply to all places, and at the same time propose specific ways of seeing the past and the present. If, as Zuelow argues, 'tourism is learnt' (Zuelow 2016, 74), metropolitan tourism benefits from the amount of guidance that highlights both timeless sites of the metropolitan brand ('We will always have Paris') and current ('cutting-edge', potentially even 'daring') pathways through the cityscape.



Figure 19.3 These bears were placed at the Kranzler-Eck near Kurfüstendamm on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the redevelopment of the quarter. (*Source:* Author's own, November 2022)



Figure 19.4 The 'United Buddy Bears' in Terminal 1 at Berlin Brandenburg airport symbolise diversity and cultural exchange. These bears can be traced all over Berlin. (*Source:* Author's own, December 2024)

Notes

1. Kevin Johansen, 'Puerto Madero (Official Video)', YouTube, 28 July 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGlunBDvsaw
2. 01 Distribution, 'Ammore e Malavita - Scena del film "Scampia Disco Dance (feat. Andrea D'Alessio & Tia Architto)" ', YouTube, 5 October 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ujYlTbgPoZQ
3. Test Lab Berlin FA13, 'Anti Tourist Agency (Berlin)', Behance, 27 March 2014. https://www.behance.net/gallery/15630205/Anti-Tourist-Agency-(BERLIN)

Bibliography

Baedeker, Karl. 1927. *Berlin und Umgebung*. Karl Baedeker.
Baum, Vicki. *Menschen im Hotel (Grand Hotel)*. 1929. Ullstein.

Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin. 2007. *Stadt auf Papier. Die Entstehung des modernen Stadtplans*. Bibliotheks- und Kulturamt and Mitte Museum exhibition catalogue.

Böß, Gustav. 1928. 'Der umstrittene Weg Berlins zur Lichtstadt'. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 14 October, p. 21. https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/E3EFYRZ33DNDIXVCYNCSOOKJX3472XWD?issuepage=21

Colomb, Claire. 2012. *Staging the New Berlin: Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989*. Routledge.

Curtiz, Michael, dir. *Casablanca*. 1942. Warner Bros. Pictures.

Dickens, Charles. (1846) 2006. *Pictures from Italy*. Penguin Classics.

Du Cros, Hilary and Bob McKercher. 2020. *Cultural Tourism*. Routledge.

Fischer, Hans Erasmus. 1928. 'Darum "Jeder einmal in Berlin"!' *Scherl's Magazin* 4(6): 603. https://www.arthistoricum.net/werkansicht/dlf/85015/16?tx_dlf_navigation%5Bcontroller%5D=Navigation&tx_dlf_tableofcontents%5Baction%5D=main&tx_dlf_tableofcontents%5Bcontroller%5D=TableOfContents&cHash=d944b3741091a463cc55706dbeb05666

Hamilton, Cicely. 1931. *Modern Germanies as Seen by an Englishwoman*. J. M. Dent & Sons.

Harrison, Frederic. 1893. 'Rome Revisited'. *Fortnightly Review* 59: 702–721. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924066515127&seq=714

Image Company (ed). n.d. *Berlin. Third Reich. 1933–1945. Chronicle and Site Plan*.

Knoch, Habbo. 2016. *Grandhotels. Luxusräume und Gesellschaftswandel in New York, London und Berlin um 1900*. Wallstein.

Ladd, Brian. 2020. *The Streets of Europe: The Sights, Sounds, and Smells That Shaped Its Great Cities*. University of Chicago Press.

Lethbridge, Lucy. 2022. *Tourists. How the British Went Abroad to Find Themselves*. Bloomsbury.

Lonely Planet. 2015. *Berlin*. Lonely Planet.

Lyall, Gavin. 1985. 'Insider's Guide to Berlin'. *Observer Magazine*, 27 October.

McElligott, Anthony. 2001. *The German Urban Experience 1900–1945: Modernity and Crisis*. Routledge.

Moreck, Curt. (1931) 2020. *Ein Führer durch das lasterhafte Berlin: Das deutsche Babylon 1931*. Berliner Taschenbuch Verlag.

My London. 2022. 'London outrageously named only world's third most popular city among tourists', *My London*, 6 May, n.p.

Nentwig, Franziska (ed). 2002. *Berlin im Licht*. Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin/G+H Verlag.

Noorden, Hasso. 1909/10. 'Deutsche Großstadthotels'. *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte* 24(1): 42–54. https://archive.org/details/velhagen-klasings-monatshefte-jg-24.1909-10-band-1/page/n61/mode/2up

Öhlberger, Reinhard. 1987. 'Berlin im Spiegel des Baedeker 1842–1940'. In *Die Reise nach Berlin*, edited by Berliner Festspiele, 286–295. Siedler.

Pharus. 1923. 'Pharus-Plan Berlin'. Pharus Verlag.

Ross, Cathy. 2003. *Twenties London: A City in the Jazz Age*. Museum of London exhibition catalogue. Philip Wilson.

Ruttmann, Walter, dir. *Berlin – Die Sinfonie der Großstadt*. 1927. Fox Europa.

Schick, Adolf. 1928. 'Warum "Jeder einmal in Berlin"?' *Scherl's Magazin* 4(6): 602. https://www.arthistoricum.net/werkansicht/dlf/85015/15?tx_dlf_tableofcontents%5Baction%5D=main&tx_dlf_tableofcontents%5Bcontroller%5D=TableOfContents&cHash=b6dfe93aaf71b362732ea7ecd40cc6da

Schlör, Joachim. 2016. *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930*. Translated by Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts. Reaktion Books.

Seeland, Rudolf, cartographer. 1936. 'Bummel durch Berlin und ringsherum'. 48 × 76 cm. Bien & Giersch reprint 1995. Image of map available at https://storage.googleapis.com/raremaps/img/xlarge/42386.jpg

Siebenhaar, Klaus, Thomas Wegmann and Institut für Kommunikationsgeschichte und Angewandte Kulturwissenschaften. 1995. *Berlin wirbt! Metropolenwerbung zwischen Verkehrsreklame und Stadtmarketing 1920–1995*. FAB.

Storer, Colin. 2010. *Britain and the Weimar Republic: The History of a Cultural Relationship*. Tauris.

Straube, Julius, cartographer. 1896. 'Monumental-Plan der Reichshauptstadt Berlin mit nächster Umgebung'. 64 × 50 cm. Julius Straube, Berlin. Image of map available from Wikimedia, last modified 11 July 2022. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Straube_Monumental-Plan_der_Reichshauptstadt_Berlin_1896.jpg

The Times. 1938. 'The New Berlin'. 15 June.

Twain, Mark. (1869) 2021. 'The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrims' Progress'. In *The Complete Travel Writings of Mark Twain*. e-artnow.

Urry, John and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Sage.

Wadleigh, Henry Rawle. 1910. *Munich: History, Monuments, and Art*. T. Fisher Unwin.

Ward, Janet. 2001. *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*. University of California Press.

Wharton, Annabel Jane. 2001. *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture*. Chicago University Press.
Wilson, Andrew Norman. 2004. *London: A Short History*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
Wilson, Ben. 2021. *Metropolis. A History of the City, Humankind's Greatest Invention*. Vintage.
Zuelow, Eric G. E. 2016. *A History of Modern Tourism*. Palgrave.
Zitzlsperger, Ulrike. 2013. *Topografien des Transits. Die Fiktionalisierung von Bahnhöfen, Hotels und Cafés im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. Peter Lang.

Conclusion

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Sébastien Jacquot, Maja Jović and Johannes Novy

The last decades saw metropolitan tourism as a significant driver for economic growth, spatial development and cultural exchange globally. The continued conversations on the pressures of tourism, particularly in metropolitan areas, with over tourism, (ab)use of resources and environmental degradation at the forefront of these, call for innovative solutions to ensure there is urban tourism to speak of in the future. Solutions are put forward – for example, Gössling et al. (2009) highlight the need for destination stewardship and community engagement. As the chapters in this book illustrate, issues of overtourism, congestion and socio-economic inequalities continue to pose significant threats to the sustainability and inclusivity of metropolitan tourism, as well as to the quality of life of metropolitan residents. The problems did not arrive from a single source, so the solution cannot be sought in a singular body – it requires coordinated effort from policymakers, industry stakeholders, local communities, among others. Therefore, there is a need for an interdisciplinary collaboration that acknowledges multifaceted interests, as well as needs and stories.

Nostalgia and the Metropolis

Perhaps it seems counterintuitive to look backwards before we look forwards, but to understand our fascination with the metropolis and all things metropolitan – and ideally find solutions to rising demands – we can acknowledge future projections made in the past and look at metropolitan nostalgia (that Gordin et al. also mention in relation to St Petersburg; see Chapter 3). A sentiment evoking longing or affection for the past within metropolitan environments has emerged as a notable cultural phenomenon in contemporary

society (Wilson 1997). A yearning for bygone eras, experiences, landmarks and practices associated with the metropolitan provides justification for cities' socio-cultural significance today – or even for centralisation of power – and provides solutions to implications of urban identities and developments. Nostalgic sentiments toward historic neighbourhoods, landmarks and architectural styles, and the way these influence preservation efforts and urban planning decisions, show that metropolitan nostalgia can serve as a catalyst for debates around gentrification, authenticity and community identity. The notion of place attachment and identity formation is particularly important here, both among long-time residents and the diasporic communities of metropolises who maintain nostalgic connections to their ancestral urban landscapes or navigate new spatial contexts respectively (Blunt and Bonnerjee 2013; Datta 2013).

Metropolitan nostalgia can, at its best, be seen as a form of cultural resilience and provide continuity in a quickly changing environment. Its commodification, however, is an attractive theme in tourism and leisure industries, seen in the commercialisation of nostalgic experiences through themed attractions, retro-themed events, even heritage tourism initiatives, and overall in tourism product development (Schofield 1996; Ramshaw and Gammon 2005; Brunow 2019). It responds to the market demand for authentic and immersive experiences, particularly through digital technologies – social and other media, digital archives – that transforms the way we engage with and reconstruct urban memories. Wee's chapter in this edited volume (Chapter 18) can be placed in a conversation with Bélanger (2002) or later Özkul and Humphreys (2015), Mylonas (2017) and Van der Hoeven (2019) when exploring how digital platforms enable us to share and shape personal narratives, access photographs and stories, leading to a collective memory-making and, again, nostalgia. A metropolis is an account of modern life, made up of interactions, regulation and negation of space and urban form, with stories of displacement and movements. It is a contraption of blurred boundaries with tourists often seen as agents of this blurring process. Tourists are also agents of representation of said metropolises, embalming them through social media posts as a way to preserve and understand them – and even access them when they cannot be accessed, such as during crises. At its worst, and as a warning for the future, this continued (co-)creation can lead to selective narratives of the past, romanticised stories overlooking marginalisation, displacement and inequality by leaving behind less comfortable stories. In its most extreme negative

form, nostalgia carries the danger of hindering efforts in addressing metropolitan challenges of today, or envisioning a more equitable future.

Coming Together

A subject of fascination for centuries, metropolises conjure a palimpsest of references and contradictories. As Garcia-Hernandez and de la Calle-Vaquero argued (Chapter 1), a metropolis can remain intrinsically urban but encompass the complete opposite: the rural, the non-urbanised, almost being defined by that which it is not. Looking further back, T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*'s grim allusions to London, Vienna, Alexandria, Jerusalem, or any other metropolis, serves as a counter-narrative of rural bliss, an urban jungle associated with the negative. This sat on the shoulders of Dickensian dystopias, where the nineteenth century's rapid industrialisation brought about poor living conditions and became a fertile ground for dark imaginaries and darker projections, with cities being seen as homes of the morally decayed. The world was wary and the bleak reviews were in – but the world is growing and with it, the metropolis. The question is: did we prove these projections wrong and, importantly, will we continue to do so?

In the 1962 publication on 'The Future of the Metropolis – How to Improve Its Prospects', Zeidler suggests the problems of the metropolitan areas are two-fold: the physical problems ('which are serious indeed') and the social organisation of society 'based on better philosophical concept of man's role in the unfolding history of the universe' (Zeidler 1962, 105). According to the author, a new philosophy of life was necessary, for this type of development cannot serve the state, nor be created solely for profit, but as a place of cooperation and conviviality as this can lead to sharing of knowledge and, ultimately, benefit. Angotti (1995) also saw the twentieth century as the metropolitan revolution; despite the inequalities within metropolises seen as the core 'urban question', warnings of the demise of the big cities and the threat of new technologies, his study saw it as a durable form of human settlement exactly because of its economic and social complexity. Much has been celebrated when it comes to metropolitan life and conviviality, but de Noronha (2022), for example, warns that focusing only on *coming together* can lead to erasures and lack of acknowledgement of deeply seeded problems of racial inequality. The question our authors in this edited volume ask is whether the future we envisioned for our metropolises is indeed coming, or is it, perhaps, time for some new ones?

'New' Consumers, New Trends

As with their migrational and economic flows, metropolises themselves sit at intersections. Looking at metropolitan tourism futures, the tourism product itself melts with other sectors – wellness, gastronomy, creative industries, to name a few. Authors like Horng and Tsai (2012), Green and Dougherty (2014) and Montanari and Staniscia (2014) examine the role of food tourism, for example, in driving economic development and promoting cultural exchange in urban settings, and this convergence is likely to bring further diversification in metropolitan tourism. Digital technologies are rapidly shifting the way tourists and residents engage with metropolises, through the rise and diversification of mobile applications, VR experiences, social media platforms transforming communication, tourism product, travel experiences and demands as we write (Xiang and Gretzel 2010; Dwityas and Briandana 2017; Stors and Kagermeier 2017).

In addition to technological innovation, we also need to acknowledge changing consumption trends and consumer preferences, where new demographics are reshaping tourism in general but particularly urban and metropolitan landscape. Millennials and Generation Z, for example, show distinct travel behaviours, but there is also an overall shift and preference for authentic experiences, cultural immersion ('living like a local') and more sustainable practices. This shift also influences destination marketing strategies, tourism product and infrastructure developments in metropolises. To remain competitive, cities must adapt to evolving needs. Ged et al. (Chapter 10) showed how China in general, as well as its metropolises, attempt to transform themselves into more innovative and sustainable players, with new strategies in branding and repositioning on a global market.

What If We Do Not Have Peace?

Zeidler wrote his paper on projections of metropolitan futures and – much like this edited volume – on the way global case studies can serve as lessons and cautionary tales. It was written amid the political tensions of the 1960s between the United States and the Soviet Union, posing the question of 'What if we do not have peace?' and at the time of writing this conclusion, this question very much stands, including – but not limited to – similar actors in geopolitical tensions.

Events of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries unequivocally showed metropolitan tourism can play a crucial role in a post-conflict or post-crisis environment, as it nudges groups towards reconciliation and helps socio-economic recovery in affected urban areas. Studies by Causevic and Lynch (2011), Castillo-Palacio et al. (2017) and Dissanayake and Samarathunga (2021) all look at different post-conflict contexts (Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Medellin in Colombia, and Jaffna in Sri Lanka, respectively) but interrogate – and to some degree agree on – the role of tourism in promoting intercultural exchange, tolerance and empathy among residents and visitors. By providing platforms for interaction and shared experiences, tourism initiatives can help bridge divides, challenge stereotypes and build social capital within fractured communities. Khalilzadeh (2018) and Farmaki (2017), however, warn that tourism's multifaceted structure can mean it actually deepens the divide and acts as a beneficiary, rather than helps peace.

Looking at its best iteration, both in conflict and in peace, metropolitan tourism holds the promise of generating employment opportunities and diversifying income, as well as investing in local infrastructure. The other side of the medal, as was argued in this book, is that it often leads to overproduction of one type of product, endangering the rest (so we have seen cases of oversupply of accommodation with heritage buildings put 'to the side'). By now, we know tourism-led regeneration projects can help stimulate economic growth, but to fully be able to harness the economic benefits of tourism in our future metropolises, a careful consideration of leveraging cultural assets, heritage sites and creative industries is needed. Tourism development projects can contribute to the restoration of historic landmarks, cultural institutions and public spaces that have been damaged or neglected during periods of crisis – yes – and cities can foster a sense of (civic) pride and collective memory among residents, laying the foundation for reconciliation and social cohesion.

However, it would be naive to simply consider metropolises as a theatre stage for diverse backgrounds to come together and be given an equal voice without advocating for this; to consider metropolises as exclusive places where this can happen; and to not acknowledge the privilege of these world cities that are often the portfolio of a country's power. The complexities of layered metropolitan areas need to be taken into account in order to remain wary of heritage commodification, cultural appropriation and unequal distribution of tourism benefits. As mentioned above, this exacerbates the existing socio-economic disparities and tensions both within the metropolis itself, as much as within the country as a whole, as in a post-crises environment

they become competitive ends, pitted against each other as unequal tourist destinations.

Metropolises of the past have taught us; we see it today and will continue to see a need – a sine qua non – for a wide range of tourism stakeholders to adopt an inclusive, ideally participatory, approach that prioritises cultural sensitivity and sustainable development principles. While tourism holds a lot of power in allowing for revitalisation, it is essential to prioritise the needs, as much as the aspirations and rights, of local communities in shaping the trajectory of tourism development, which in a complex metropolitan environment can come from and lead to opposing directions. There is also a prominent need to address the impacts of existing tourism on residents' daily lives and environment (Cheung and Li 2019; Lai et al. 2020) and to emphasise the importance of mitigating the negative externalities of tourism, such as overcrowding, noise pollution and rising living costs, which can and do erode residents' quality of life, leading to a sense of place detachment. Some of the solutions can be found in fostering meaningful engagement and empowerment of local communities in tourism decision-making processes.

A (Sustainable) Future?

It is impossible to speak of (metropolitan) tourism futures without acknowledging the burning need for a shift towards sustainable practices that prioritise environmental conservation, community well-being and long-term resilience. Scholarly research on this subject is plentiful and almost unanimous, but it is the practice that often fails to deliver. As world cities continue to assert their prominence and strive to remain competitive tourism destinations, we are likely to see a dynamic evolution driven primarily by technological advancements, changing consumer preferences and shifts in socio-economic trends, therefore calling for innovation, sustainability and experiential authenticity, whether through green infrastructure initiatives, eco-friendly transportation systems, niche experiences celebrating the unique identities and characters of inter-metropolitan destinations, to name a few.

Failing to do so could add a new argument to the existing debate on the 'death' of the metropolis, a nuanced concept debated by scholars, urban planners and policymakers in recent years, likely stemming from the initial, almost romanticised wariness of the nature of these large metropolitan organisms. While considering the 'death' of a metropolis a viable and possible future scenario oversimplifies its dynamic and resilient nature, it is important to

acknowledge the impact of economic restructuring and technological change that, in the past, led to a decline of traditional industrial centres when manufacturing jobs moved overseas or became automated (Frey and Speare 1988; Friedhoff et al. 2010). In a physical sense, suburbanisation and urban sprawl have also led to a level of decentralisation of economic activity and hollowing out centres. We also see changes in demographic trends with ageing populations, declining birth rates, gentrification and subsequent displacement.

The resilient nature, however, is seen in the metropolis's ability to reinvent itself as a hub of innovation and creativity, attracting talent, investment and cultural capital as it has done for decades – through thinking on its feet. Once again, we acknowledge the innate character of a metropolis as a place of focused power – for better or for worse! – that allows it to foster knowledge exchange, social interaction and economic activity... at least on its good day.

Bibliography

Angotti, Thomas. 1995. 'The Metropolis Revisited'. *Futures* 27(6): 627–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/0016-3287(95)00030-Z

Bélanger, Anouk. 2002. 'Urban Space and Collective Memory: Analysing the Various Dimensions of the Production of Memory'. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 11(1): 69–92. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44320695

Blunt, Alison and Jayani Bonnerjee. 2013. 'Home, City and Diaspora: Anglo–Indian and Chinese Attachments to Calcutta'. *Global Networks* 13(2): 220–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12006

Brunow, Dagmar. 2019. 'Manchester's Post-Punk Heritage: Mobilising and Contesting Transcultural Memory in the Context of Urban Regeneration'. *Culture Unbound* 11(1): 9–29. https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.20191119

Castillo-Palacio, Marysol, Rich Harrill and Alexander Zuñiga-Collazos. 2017. 'Back from the Brink: Social Transformation and Developing Tourism in Post-Conflict Medellin, Colombia. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 9(3): 300–15. https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-02-2017-0012

Causevic, Senija and Paul Lynch. 2011. 'Phoenix Tourism: Post-Conflict Tourism Role'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(3): 780–800. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.004

Cheung, Ka Shing and Ling-Hin Li. 2019. 'Understanding Visitor–Resident Relations in Overtourism: Developing Resilience for Sustainable Tourism'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 27(8): 1197–1216. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1606815

Datta, Ayona. 2013. 'Diaspora and Transnationalism in Urban Studies'. In *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, edited by Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, 88–105. Wiley.

Dissanayake, D. M. M. I. and W. H. M. S. Samarathunga. 2021. 'Post-War City to a Tourism City: The Perspectives of Local Stakeholders on Post-War City Tourism Development in Jaffna, Sri Lanka'. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 7(3): 602–21. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-05-2020-0111

Dwityas, Nindyta Aisyah and Rizki Briandana. 2017. 'Social Media in Travel Decision Making Process'. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 7(7): 193–201.

Farmaki, Anna. 2017. 'The Tourism and Peace Nexus'. *Tourism Management* 59: 528–40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.09.012

Frey, William H. and Alden Speare Jr. 1988. *Regional and Metropolitan Growth and Decline in the US*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Friedhoff, Alec, Howard Wial and Hal Wolman. 2010. 'The Consequences of Metropolitan Manufacturing Decline: Testing Conventional Wisdom'. Available at SSRN 3799717. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3799717

Gössling, Stefan, C. Michael Hall and David B. Weaver. 2009. 'Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovations'. In *Sustainable Tourism Futures: Perspectives on Systems, Restructuring and Innovations*, edited by Stefan Gössling, C. Michael Hall and David Weaver, 1–16. Routledge.

Green, Gary Paul and Michael L. Dougherty. 2014. 'Localizing Linkages for Food and Tourism: Culinary Tourism as a Community Development Strategy'. In *Local Food and Community Development*, edited by Gary Paul Green and Rhonda Phillips, 53–63. Routledge.

Horng, Jeou-Shyan and Chen-Tsang Tsai. 2012. 'Exploring Marketing Strategies for Culinary Tourism in Hong Kong and Singapore'. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 17(3): 277–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2011.625432

Khalilzadeh, Jalayer. 2018. 'Demonstration of Exponential Random Graph Models in Tourism Studies: Is Tourism a Means of Global Peace or the Bottom Line?' *Annals of Tourism Research* 69: 31–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.12.007

Lai, Hio Kuan, Patrícia Pinto and Pedro Pintassilgo. 2020. 'Overtourism: Impacts on Residents' Quality of Life – Evidence from Macau'. In *Handbook of Research on the Impacts, Challenges, and Policy Responses to Overtourism*, edited by Cláudia Ribeiro de Almeida, Alfred Quintano, Moisés Simancas, Raquel Heute and Zélia Breda, 75–93. IGI Global.

Montanari, Armando and Barbara Staniscia. 2014. 'Culinary Tourism as a Tool for Regional Re-Equilibrium'. In *Tourism, Regional Development and Public Policy*, edited by Nese Kumral and A. Özlem Önder, 23–44. Routledge.

Mylonas, Yiannis. 2017. 'Witnessing Absences: Social Media as Archives and Public Spheres'. *Social Identities* 23(3): 271–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2016.1225495

Noronha, Luke de. 2022. 'The Conviviality of the Overpoliced, Detained and Expelled: Refusing Race and Salvaging the Human at the Borders of Britain'. *The Sociological Review* 70(1): 159–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261211048888

Özkul, Didem and Lee Humphreys. 2015. 'Record and Remember: Memory and Meaning-Making Practices through Mobile Media'. *Mobile Media & Communication* 3(3): 351–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157914565846

Ramshaw, Greg and Sean Gammon. 2005. 'More than Just Nostalgia? Exploring the Heritage/Sport Tourism Nexus'. *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10(4): 229–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/14775080600805416

Schofield, Peter. 1996. 'Cinematographic Images of a City: Alternative Heritage Tourism in Manchester'. *Tourism Management* 17(5): 333–40. https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(96)00033-7

Stors, Natalie and Andreas Kagermeier. 2017. 'The Sharing Economy and its Role in Metropolitan Tourism'. In *Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*, edited by Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand, 181–206. Routledge.

Van der Hoeven, Arno. 2019. 'Historic Urban Landscapes on Social Media: The Contributions of Online Narrative Practices to Urban Heritage Conservation'. *City, Culture and Society* 17: 61–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2018.12.001

Wilson, Elizabeth. 1997. 'Looking Backward: Nostalgia and the City'. In *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, edited by Sallie Westwood and John M. Williams, 133–44. Routledge.

Xiang, Zheng and Ulrike Gretzel. 2010. 'Role of Social Media in Online Travel Information Search'. *Tourism Management* 31(2): 179–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2009.02.016

Zeidler, Frank P. 1962. 'The Future of the Metropolis – How To Improve Its Prospects'. *The Teachers College Journal* 33(4): 101–6.

AUTHOR AFFILIATIONS

Thiago ALLIS	Associate Professor, University of São Paulo
Paulo Tácio AIRES FERREIRA	Cultural agent, Santo André Municipality
Reinaldo Tadeu BOSCOLO PACHECO	Associate Professor, University of São Paulo
Frédéric BOUCHON	Associate Professor, Taylor's University
Manuel de la CALLE-VAQUERO	Associate Professor, Complutense University of Madrid
Camila CARDOSO RIBEIRO	Project manager, Black June Produções and Diadorim Cultura Popular
Pippa CATTERALL	Professor, University of Westminster
Tim FREYTAG	Professor, University of Freiburg
María GARCÍA-HERNÁNDEZ	Professor, Complutense University of Madrid
Françoise GED	Head of the Observatoire de l'architecture de la Chine contemporaine, Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine (Paris)
Mercedes GONZÁLEZ BRACCO	Researcher and Professor, National Council on Scientific and Technical Research / National University of San Martin
Valery GORDIN	Professor, Head of Laboratory for Management in Culture and Tourism, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg

Maria GRAVARI-BARBAS	Professor, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University
Jill Simone GROSS	Professor, Hunter College-City University of New York
Lian HU	School of Architecture, University of Tianjin
Sébastien JACQUOT	Associate Professor, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University
Maja JOVIĆ	Assistant Head of School of Architecture and Cities, University of Westminster
Toshio KIKUCHI	Professor, Tokyo Metropolitan University (TMU)
Anastasiia KORMAN	Researcher of Laboratory for Management in Culture and Tourism, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg
Jie LI	Associate Professor, School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University
Léopold LUCAS	Associate Professor, Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale, Université de Lille, ULR 4477 - Territoires Villes Environnement et Société
Chris McCONVILLE	Lecturer, Victoria University, Melbourne
Johannes NOVY	Senior Lecturer, University of Westminster
Robert PASCOE	Lecturer, Victoria University, Melbourne
Anastasiia POLOMARCHUK	Researcher of Laboratory for Management in Culture and Tourism, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg
Bhagyasshree RAMAKRISHNA	Urban Designers/Graduate Student, University of California, Berkeley

Shruthi RAMESH	Urban Designer and Independent Researcher, Meander Design Studio, Kerala
Eranga RANAWEERAGE	Assistant Professor, Tokyo Metropolitan University
Tim SIMPSON	Associate Professor, University of Macau
Chensi SHEN	PhD candidate, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University and University of Tianjin
Benjamin TAUNAY	Professor of Chinese Studies / University of Aix-Marseille (France) / IrAsia Laboratory
Gustav VISSER	Professor, Stellenbosch University
Florian WEBER	Professor, Saarland University
Desmond WEE	Professor of Communication, Area Studies & Interpretive Methods, Karlshochschule, Germany
Nora WINSKY	Assistant Professor, University of Freiburg
Honggang XU	School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University
Taiyo YAGASAKI	Associate Professor, University of Hyogo
Chunyan ZHANG	Professor, School of Architecture, University of Tianjin
Ulrike ZITZLSPERGER	Associate Professor, University of Exeter

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* refer to tables and figures.

absolute urbanity, 12–13
Abu Dhabi, 297
Aderaldo, Guilhermo, 368, 369
Agnew, John A., 160
Agnotti, Thomas, 509
Airbnb, 61–62, *63*, 210, 216, 230, 263, 356, 498
Aires Ferreira, Paulo Tácio, 29
Allis, Thiago, 29
alternative tourism, 29, 44, 221, 226, 381
Argentina, *161*, 162. *See also* Buenos Aires, Argentina
Arizaga, Cecilia, 161
Ascher, François, 41, 95–96
ASEAN countries, 137, 138
Ashworth, Gregory J, 9
Atlanta, Georgia, 12
Austin, Texas, 12

Baedeker, Karl, 183, 184, 197, 489, 491–92, 493
Bangkok, Thailand, 18, 19, 137, 143, 480
Barnes, Djuna, 490
Barrado Timón, Diego, 50–51
Barthes, Roland, 441, 443
Battleship Potemkin (film), 467, 474
Baudelaire, Charles, 459, 466, 469, 472
Bauhaus, 464, 474
Baum, Vicki, 491
Beam, Abe, 248
Bélanger, Anouk, 509
Benjamin, Walter, 444, 461, 467, 469–70
Benko, Georges, 13
Berger, John, 499
Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt (film), *463*, 464, 491
Berlin, Germany, 445–48, 481–500
Berlin Wall, 446, 496, 497
Berman, Marshall, 453, 454
Beverly Hills, California, *85*, 86, 89, 91, 92–94
Bilbao, Manuel, 160
Bilinsky, Boris, 457, *458*, 462
Blue Guides, 441
Bock, Isabel Angelica, 206, 209
Booth, Charles, 190
Borges, Jorge Luis, 160, 489
Boscolo Pacheco, Reinaldo Tadeu, 29
Botella, Ana, 60
Bouchon, Frédéric, 24–25
Bourdieu, Pierre, 163
Brandenburg Gate, 480, 481, 486, 488, 493, 500
Brantz, Dorothee, 4, 222, 465
Braudel, Fernard, 315

Brazil, 362–63, 371–75, 380. *See also* favela tourism; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; São Paulo, Brazil
Brenner, Neil, 20, 238, 290, 318
Buenos Aires, Argentina, 18, 158–75; Abasto, 159; history of Palermo Soho, 160–63; inhabitants' perspectives of Palermo Soho, 167–74; La Boca, 159; lifestyles, diversity, and tourism in Palermo Soho, 163–67; Mataderos, 159; Palermo Soho, 159, 160–75; Palermo Soho as 'hip neighbourhood,' *170*, 173, *173*, 175; San Telmo, 159
Burrieza, Valeria, 163, 166
business tourism, 378; in China, 276; in Madrid, 57, 65, 69, 70; megaprojects and, 149, 150; in Paris, 222; in South Africa, 121, 122, 123, 128, 129; in St. Petersburg, 104, 113

Cairo, Egypt, 18, 441
Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio, 365, 366
California: Hollywood, 82, 84, *85*, 86, 88, 89, 475; Pasadena, 82, 84, *85*, 86, 91, 92, 94; Santa Monica, 82–83, 84, *85*, 86, 87–88, 91, 92–94; Venice Beach, 83, 84, *85*, 87, 89; West Hollywood, *85*, 91, 92–94. *See also* Los Angeles, California
Calvino, Italo, 475
Cape Town, South Africa, 19, 122, 123, 124, 125–27, 128, 129, 130
Cardoso Ribeiro, Camila, 29
cartography, 164–65, 415, 418, 441, 444, 484–86
Casablanca (film), 480
Castells, Manuel, 315
Castillo-Palacio, Marysol, 511
Catterall, Pippa, 25
Causevic, Senija, 511
central business districts, 123–25, 126, 128, 129, 143, 144, 460
Chaplin, Charlie, 474
Chapuis, Amandine, 356
China, 262–82, 287–308; Beijing Urban Master Plan, *268*; Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei area, 263, 266, 267–70; cultural branding, 273–75; cultural facilities in, 289–92; ecological Management as national strategy, 277–78; five levels of tourist places, 338–39, 341–44; five-year plans, 264, 281, 292; Forbidden City, 279–80; Golden Weeks, 321, 338–39; grand theatres, 288, 294–98, 301–2, 303, 305; Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area, 292–308, 316–20, 323, 325, 326–27n4; infrastructure connectivity and cultural tourism mobility patterns, 298–301; Jing-Jin-Ji region, 263–71, 281; megaregions, 292, 309, 332–37, 339, 346–48; Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 263; National New-Type Urbanisation Plan, 314, 321; Pearl River Delta, 315–20, 332, 333, 336, 347; Shanghai World Expo (2010), 263, 273, 275; social media platforms and images, 278–80; spatial division of labour in cultural activities, 301–4; special economic zones (SEZs), 316, 320–21; tourism cooperation in, 266, 269–74; urban entrepreneurialism in, 289–91; wanghong tourism,

China (*Continued*)
278–80; World Heritage Sites in, 269; Yangtze River Delta, 271–76, 281. *See also* Hong Kong; Macau; Shanghai, China
Chinese National Tourism Administration, 334
Ciccolella, Pablo, 158–59
Citroen, Paul, 457, *458*, 462, 474
clusters, tourist, 101–14
coffee houses, 488–89, 491, 492
Colomb, Claire, 498
community-based tourism (CBT), 378
complexity, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10
Conan Doyle, Arthur, 181
convention and visitors bureaus, 240; in Los Angeles, 84, 87, 91–93; in New York, 245
Cook, Thomas, 7, 484
COVID-19 pandemic, 10; cross-border cultural tourism and, 300; cultural collectives and, 375; remote work post-COVID, 153; Madrid and, 60, *61*, 65, 68, 69–71, 73; mitigation policies, 348, 442; New York and, 253–56, 257; Olympic Games and, 387; Paris and, 216; regional collaboration and, 253–56; resilience and, 433n4; South Africa and, 126–27; St. Petersburg and, 107, 110; sustainability practices and, 153; tourism governance and, 211
Cruikshank, George, 190
culinary tourism, 18, 486, 488
culture-based tourism, 393–400, 407, 408
Curtiz, Michael, 480
Dagorn, René, 12, 13
D'Andrea, Tiarajú Pablo, 365–66, 368
dark tourism, 44
Davezies, Laurent, 13
day trips and day trippers, 57, 66–67, 69, 71, 84, 278, 322, 391, 400, 408
de Certau, Michel, 472
de la Calle-Vaquero, Manuel, 22, 509
Debord, Guy, 184
Defoe, Daniel, 181, 182–83, 184
deindustrialisation, 45, 139, 221, 429
Deleuze, Gilles, 320
Delgado Ruiz, Manuel, 163
Deng, Xiaoping, 271, 314, 315, 320
density, 2, 12, 13, 14
depollution, 45
deregulation, 162
destination marketing organisations (DMOs), 470, 475
deterritorialisation, 5
Dickens, Charles, 190, 192, 199n1, 482, 486
diffuse cities, 20
digital nomads, 21, 139
Disneyland (Orange County, California), 83–84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 93
Disneyland Paris, 206, 215, 228
Disneyland Park (Shanghai), 263, 276
Dissanayake, D. M. M. I., 511
diversity, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10–14
Dougherty, Michael L., 510
Dredge, Dianne, 205–6
Dubai, 18, 19, 138, 355, 418, 428, 480
Dublin, Ireland, 448–51
Duhamel, Philippe, 216
Durán, Valeria, 162
Durban, South Africa, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127–30
Dwivedi, Sharada, 415

ecotourism: in China, 250, 252, 267, 277–78, 281; in India, 418, 427–28, 430; in New York and New Jersey, 250, 252; in Tokyo, 406–7
Egypt, 319–20, 482, 489. *See also* Cairo, Egypt
Eiffel Tower, 8, 32, 216, 480, 483, 500
Eisenstein, Sergei, 467, 474
Eliot, T. S., 509
endless cities, 20
eugenics, 363
expatriates, 21, 124

Fainstein, Susan S., 86
Farmaki, Anna, 511
Farrell, Bryan, 423
fascism, 448, 495
favela tourism, 17, 19, 353, 371
FIFA World Cup, 106, 221, 243
Fischer, Hans Erasmus, 493
Fitzpatrick, Doris, 446
flexopolis, 140, 143
flight: capital flight, 123, 125; white capital flight, 127; white flight, 247
Flyvbjerg, Bent, 138, 143, 146, 149
food tourism, 510
Forsdick, Charles, 460
Frankenstein (Shelley), 189
Freyre, Gilberto, 382n1
Freytag, Tim, 26
Füller, Henning, 215, 222
fuzzy objects and boundaries, 3, 68

García-Hernández, María, 22, 509
Gateway region (New Jersey), 235, 236, 241–43, 247, 252–54
gateways, 43, 122, 347
Gathorne-Hardy, Gathorne, 186
gaze, tourist, 182, 184, 354, 420, 422–23, 431, 459, 464, 470, 472–74, 499
GDP, tourism and, 19; in China, 264, 271, 314; in Dubai, 19; in India, 415; in Southeast Asia, 137
Ged, Françoise, 27, 510
Generation Z, 510
Genosko, Gary, 327n6
gentrification, 17, 42, 44, 443, 498; in China, 336; in Dublin, 449; in London, 197; in Madrid, 60, 62, 63, 64; megaprojects and, 149; nostalgia and, 508; in Paris, 214, 218, 222; in South Africa, 124, 126
Gladstone, David L., 86
global cities, 20, 137, 143–49
global urban policy, 15
globalisation, 6, 42, 43; megaprojects and, 138–39, 147, 148, 149, 150–52, 153; rationale for, 150–52; terrestrial globalisation, 312–13, 319
Goldberger, Paul, 453, 454
González Bracco, Mercedes, 25
'good living,' 161
Gordin, Valery, 23, 507
Gössling, Stefan, 507
gourmetisation, 65
governance, tourism, 14–17, 205–11; COVID-19 pandemic and, 211; good governance, 208–9, 210; Los Angeles and, 84, 87, 91–94; Malaysia and, 143, 145–47, 148; Mumbai and, 416; New York City and, 244–53; Shanghai and, 331–48, *346*, 346–47
Grand Hotel (Baum), 491
grand hotels, 18–19, 486, 488
Grand Tour, 481–82
Gray, Thomas, 182
Great Recession, 60, *61*
Green, Gary Paul, 510
Gross, Jill Simone, 27

Guattari, Felix, 320, 327n6
guidebooks, 441, 443, 489–90, 491–92; Baedeker's, 183, 184, 197, 489, 491–92, 493; to London, 180, 181, 182–83, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192–93, 195–98; nineteenth-century, 484, 489

habitus, 163
Hall, C. Michael, 56, 69, 139, 413
Hamilton, Cicely, 491
Hannigan, John, 139
Harrison, Frederic, 482
Harvey, David, 290, 365
Haussmann, Baron, 8, 488
heritage tourism, 57, 67, 424, 508. *See also* UNESCO World Heritage Sites
Himanen, Pekka, 380
Hitchcock, Alfred, 196, 197
homo economicus, 324
Hong Kong: consumerism and, 320–25; Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area, 292–308, 316–20, 323, 325, 326–27n4
Horng, Jeou-Shyan, 510
hospitals: in Kuala Lumpur, *142*, 143; in London, 187, 188; medical tourism and, 2, *142*, 143; thanatourism and, 187
hotelisation, 62
hotels, 459, 482, 484, 486, 491, 496, 499; in Buenos Aires, 166–67, 168, 170, 173; in China, 278, 331; grand hotels, 18–19, 486, 488; in Kuala Lumpur, 140, 142, *142*, 143, 149, 152; in Los Angeles, hotels, 80, 82–83, 85, 88, 90, 93, 96n2; in Madrid, 54, 57, 60, 61–62, 64, 65, 66–67, 69, 70; in Mumbai, 415, 416, 428; in New York City, 235, 243–45; in Paris, 215, 216, 223–25, 228–29; in South Africa, 127, 128; in St. Petersburg, 103, 108, 112; in Tokyo, 391
Houston, Texas, 12
Hu, Lian, 27
Humphreys, Lee, 509
hypercentre, 42–43

Industrial Revolution, 8
industrialisation, 8, 17, 45, 52, 314, 333, 509
Istanbul, Turkey, 18, 50, 80, 480, 496

Jakarta, Indonesia, 139
Jansson, André, 471
Japan, 395–96, 399–402, 404–6. *See also* Tokyo, Japan
Jasanoff, Sheila, 465
Johannesburg, South Africa, 122–25, 126, 127, 129, 130
Johansen, Kevin, 498

Kästner, Erich, 498
Kerbel, Lev, 448
Khalilzadeh, Jalayer, 511
Kikuchi, Toshio, 30
Kim, Sang-Hyun, 465
Knafou, Rémy, 12, 81, 216
Knoch, Habbo, 488
Kollwitz, Käthe, 446–47
Koolhaas, Rem, 317–18, 467
Korman, Anastasiia, 23, 507
Kowarick, Lúcio, 368
Kracauer, Siegfried, 459, 465, 470
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 137, 139–40, *141*, 142; golden triangle

area, 140, 142, 143, 147, 148, 152; Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC), 141, 143, 146, 148, 149, 150; Petronas Twin Towers, 143, 145, 149; tourism infrastructure distribution, *142*
Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan (KLSP), 147, *148*
Kühne, Olaf, 216

Lacerda, João Baptista de, 363
Lang, Fritz, 457, *458*, 462–63, 464, 467, 474, 490
Larsen, Jonas, 499
Law, Christopher, 80
Lazzarotti, Oliver, 13
leisure tourism, 42; in China, 279, 281, 301; in Madrid, 54, 57; megaprojects and, 149; in Mumbai, 418; in New York, 246, 247; in South Africa, 121, 122, 123, 125
Lethbridge, Lucy, 482–83
Lévy, Jacques, 14
LGBT tourism, 56
Li, Jie, 28
Liberties, Dublin, Ireland, 448–51
liminality, 412–13, 414, 418, 432
Loisy, Marine, 218
London, England, 180–98, 480, 482–84, 486, 490; Bunhill Fields, 183; cemeteries and burial sites, 181–83; Cenotaph, 196–97; churches and churchyards, 181, 182, 183, 184, 188; East End, 181, 190, 192–94, 195, 196, 197; executions in, 184–87, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 198; Great Fire of 1666, 185, 187–88; guidebooks, 180, 181, 182–83, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192–93, 195–98; hospitals in, 187, 188; Jack the Ripper, 181, 193–96, 197, 198; judicial deaths in, 184–87; Kensal Green cemetery, 183; memorialisation of dying, 187–88; murder and violence, 190–92; museums, 188–90; Newgate Prison, 184, 185, 186, 187, 192, 198; slum tourism, 192–93; thanatopography and, 196–97; thanatourism and, 180, 182–98; Tower Hill, 184, 193, 197, 198; Tyburn, 184, 185, 186, 187, 198; Westminster Abbey, 182
Lonely Planet, 415, 481
Los Angeles, California, 79–96; Chinatown, 86; city centre, 81, 90, 95; Convention and Visitors Bureaus, 84, 91–93; distribution of accommodation industry in LA County, *85*; history of, 82–83; polycentricity and, 79–80, 82–90, 94–95; top attractions in LA County, *86*; tourism governance, 84, 87, 91–94
Lucas, Léopold, 23
Lucas, Raymond, 443–44
Lyall, Gavin, 496–97
Lynch, Kevin, 441–46, 448, 449, 450, 451–54
Lynch, Paul, 513

Macahdo, Maria Helena P. T., 382n4
Macau, 311–26; casino gaming industry, 311–12, *313*, 315, 317, 321–25, 326; consumerism and, 320–25; Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macau Greater Bay Area, 292–308, 316–20, 323, 325, 326–27n4; history

Macau (*Continued*)
of, 311–12; megamachine concept and, 319–20, 326; Pearl River Delta and, 316–20; urbanisation of China and, 312–16; Venetian Resort, *325*
Macau Tower, 311–12, *312*, 315, 326
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 184, 197, 198
Madrid, Spain, 50–71; administrative organisation of, 51; city centre of, 52, 56, 58, 62, 65, 70; COVID-19 pandemic and, 60, *61*, 65, 68, 69, 71, 73; domestic tourism, 54–55, *56*, 66–69; dynamics and recent changes in metropolitan tourism, 58–69; functional organisation of, 51–53; historical towns in, 52–53; inbound tourism, 54, *55*, 59–66; interstitial territory of, 53; metropolitan area (metropolitan crown) of, 52; metropolitan tourist region of, 58–69, *59*; municipality of Madrid, 50, 51, 52, 57, 67; population of, 51, 52, 53; Region of Madrid (Comunidad de Madrid), 51–54, 59, 67–68, 71; spatial configuration of tourism, 55–58; territorial organisation of metropolitan tourism, 51–58; tourist flows in, 53–55, *55–56*; urban peripheries of, 52, 57; urbanisation and, 53, 58; World Heritage Sites in, 54, 57, 67
Magnani, José Guilherme Cantor, 368, 376–77, 381
Maitland, Robert, 10, 11, 131n2, 152
Malaysia, 137, 138, 140, 143, 146–52; Economic Transformation Programme (ETP), 144–45, 147; Genting Highlands, 143, 152; megaprojects, 149–54; Ministry of Tourism, 145–46; tourism governance, 143, 145–47, 148; urban tourism and nation-building, 147–49. *See also* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Manila, Philippines, 139
Mann, Erika, 490
maps, 164–65, 415, 418, 441, 444, 484–86
Marx, Karl, 183, 199n8, 488
Marxism, 143
Marzano, Giuseppe, 205, 207
Massey, Doreen, 4
MasterCard Global Destinations City Index, 18, 480
Matsui, Keisuke, 396, 397
McConville, Chris, 31
McElligot, Anthony, 493
McFarlane, Colin, 325, 327n6
medical tourism, 2, *142*, 143, 146
megamachine, 319–20, 326, 327n6
megaprojects, 138, *141*, 142–54, 290, 428; corruption and, 149; Genting Highlands (Malaysia), 143, 152; Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC), 141, 143, 146, 147, 149, 150; Merdeka 118 (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia), 150, *151*; sustainability and, 150–52, 153–54
megaregions, 20, 292, 309, 332–37, 339, 346–48
Mehrotra, Rahul, 415
Merton, Joe, 247, 248
metacities, 20, 110, 315, 317–20, 336, 342, 344, 346–47, 428
metacity regions, 16, 346
metapolis, 23, 95–96
metrics, 12, 13, 14

Metropolis (Citroen), 457, *458*, 462, 474
Metropolis (film), 457, *458*, 462–63, 464, 467, 474
metropolis, use of the term, 3–5
metropolisation, 41–42, 353, 416–18; in Brazil, 364; in China, 287, 291, 306, 333; definition of, 41, 433n6; 'Grand Paris' project, 221; impact of, 5; megaprojects and, 138; of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 7; as product of tourism, 13–14; as spatial dynamic, 41–42; tourism as product of, 11–12; tourism resilience and, 414; urbanisation and, 5
metropolitan age, 6
metropolitan century, 1
metropolitan nostalgia, 106, 113, 507–8
Mexico City, Mexico, 17
Michel, Boris, 215, 222
micro-geographies, 9
Mignaqui, Iliana, 158–59, 162
Millennials, 510
Montanari, Armando, 510
Moreck, Curt, 493
Mottiar, Ziene, 101
multiculturalism, 150, 163, 164, 167, 356, 416–17, 429
Mumbai, India, 17, 412–32; city imagery, 428–31; coastal landmarks and reshaping, 425–31; colonial heritage of, 417–18; Dhobi Ghat, 421–23; Irani cafes, 423–24; as liminal city, 412–13, 414, 418, 432; multiculturality in, 416–17; Portuguese urban villages, 424–25; subaltern tourism and, 418–25; tourism governance, 416; tourism resilience and, 414, 418–25, 431, 432; urban peripheries, 418; urban spatial transformation, 418–21
Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), 412–13, 416, 418, 420, 421, 430
Mumford, Lewis, 319, 320, 326, 327n6
Mylonas, Yiannis, 509

Nascimento, Abdias do, 363
national parks, 66, 400, 401
nation-building, 147–49
nature-based tourism, 120, 129, 393, 400–406, 407, 408
neoliberalism, 128, 248, 289, 324, 365–66, 378, 420, 429
Neom project (Saudi Arabia), 19
new urban tourism (NUT), 9, 214, 216, 217, 218, 222, 226, 229
new urbanism, 142–43
New York City, 234–57; Association for a Better New York (ABNY), 247–49; COVID-19 pandemic and, 253–56; economic impacts of tourism, *237*, *238*; fiscal crisis, 247–53; superstorm Sandy, 256; tourism governance, 244–53; tourism infrastructure, 241–44. *See also* Gateway region; Port Authority of New York and New Jersey
New York State, 234, 249, 251
Newman, Peter, 10, 11, 131n2
Nikolić, Mila, 102
Nolan, Christopher, 473
Noorden, Hasso, 488
nostalgia, 106, 113, 404, 423, 449, 496, 497, 507–9

Öhlberger, Reinhard, 492
Oldridge, Darren, 194

Olympics Games, 228, 250, 263, 266, 267, 387, 391, 393, 495, 497
Oropeza, Mariano, 163–64
overtourism, 46, 51, 59, 65, 68, 70, 71, 103, 107, 109–13
Özkul, Didem, 509

Page, Stephen J., 139
pandemic. *See* COVID-19 pandemic
Paris, France, 214–30; central tourist district (CTD), 216; Eiffel Tower, 8, 32, 216, 480, 483, 500; Est Ensemble, 218, 223–25, 226, 229; Grand Paris Express, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229; greater Paris tourism, 218–29; Île-de-France region, 227–29; inner-city tourism, 216–18; Louvre Museum, 216, 489; Métropole du Grand Paris, 215, 218, 219–23; Plaine Commune, 218, 223, 225–27, 230; tourism accommodation trends, *217*, *219*; touristification in, 216–18
Pascoe, Robert, 31
peer-to-peer platforms, 61–62. *See also* Airbnb
Pereira, Alexandre Barbosa, 368
peripheral tourism, 45–46, 112, 381
periphery, use of the term, 366
Phillips, Todd, *471*, 472
planetary urbanisation, 20
Poe, Edgar Allan, 459, 466, 467
Polomarchuk, Anastasiia, 23, 507
polycentricity, 4, 23, 26, 53, 79–80, 82–90, 94–95, 230, 413
Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ), 241, 243, 246, 250, 255–56
postmetropolis, 5, 23, 79
potentialities, 12, 13–14
practice turn, 356
Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin, Germany, 445–48
Purciarello, Jorge, 166

racism, 128, 372, 380
Raimundo, Sílvia Lopes, 368
Ramakrishna, Bhagyasshree, 30
Ramesh, Shruthi, 30
Ranaweerage, Eranga, 30
rankings, international metropolitan tourism, 18, 480
reality tourism, 417, 420, 423, 431
Reeh, Henrik, 459, 465
Reijnders, Stijn, 471
relative urbanity, 12, 13
remote work, 65–66, 127, 153
resistance tourism, 371–72, 378–79, 381–82
reterritorialisation, 5
Richards, Greg, 207–8
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 19, 353, 364
Rogerson, Christian M., 119
Rogerson, Jayne M., 118, 119–20, 122, 124, 127, 129
Rome, Italy, 444–45, 481–82, 489
Rosa, Allan da, 372
Ruiz-Gallardón, Alberto, 60
Ruttmann, Walter, *463*, 464, 491

Sader, Eder, 368
Sadowski, Piotr, 467–68
Samarathunga, W. H. M. S., 511
Sante, Luc, 454
São Paulo, Brazil, 361–82; Agências Queixadas, 370–74, 376, 378, 380, 381–82; Comunidade Cultural Quilombaque, 369–75; peripheries, 361, 362, 365–69, 370–72, 375–78, 381–82; *quebradas*

and, 361, 363–69, 377, 378–80, 381; social movements, 368–69; Territories of Cultural and Landscape Interest (TICP), 369–70; urban history and tourist development, 363–65
Sassen, Saskia, 234
Saudi Arabia, 19
Schick, Adolf, 493
Schmid, Christian, 20
Scobie, James R., 160–61
Scott, Noel, 205, 207
screen tourism, 470–71
secondary cities, 120, 126, 342, 348
self-reflexivity, 475
semi-migration, 21, 127
Shanghai, China, 18, 331–48; metropolises, governance and tourism in, *346*, 346–47; as multi-metropolitan megalopolis, 336–37; tourism governance and, 331–48
Shanghai Tower, 500
Sheller, Mimi, 375
Shelley, Mary, 189
Shen, Chensi, 27
Shinkai, Makoto, *471*, 472
shopping tourism, 2, 145
Simmel, Georg, 4, 442, 453, 459, 464, 466, 467, 472
Simpson, Tim, 28
Singapore, 18, 137, 145, 147, 149, 152, 156, 354, 467, 480
slavery, 371–72, 382n4
Sloterdijk, Peter, 312–13
slum tourism, 17, 18, 124, 190, 192–93, 353, 362, 414, 417, 468
Slumdog Millionaire (film), 417
social tourism, 417
Soja, Edward, 5, 140
Solnit, Rebecca, 444, 453
Soró, José, 371, 372, 373
South Africa, 118–31; Cape Town, 19, 122, 123, 124, 125–27, 128, 129, 130; central business districts, 123–25, 126, 128, 129; Durban, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127–30; Johannesburg, 122–25, 126, 127, 129, 130; metropolitan tourism and, 119–20, 122, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130–31; VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism, 121, 124, 129
Southeast Asia, 137, 143, 152, 154, 387
Spain, 50, 60; Ávila, 52, 54, 57, 61, 67; Guadalajara, 52, 54; Segovia, 52, 54, 57, 61, 67, 71, 72n3; Toledo, 52, 54, 57, 67, 71. *See also* Madrid, Spain
spatiality: creative spaces, 110–12, 114n1; metropolisation as spatial dynamic, 41–42; scale and spatial organisation, 106–13; spatial configuration of tourism, 55–58; spatial division of labour in cultural activities, 301–4; thick spaces, 10, 444, 453, 465; urban spatial transformation, 418–21
St. Petersburg, Russia, 100–114; city centre, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 113; creative spaces, 110–12, 114n1; cultural institutions, 102, 105, *107*; golden triangle tourism cluster, 103, 108, 110; grey belt tourism cluster, 103, 104, 110–11, 113–14; history of, 104–6; imperial capital influence, 104–6; New Tourist Geography of St. Petersburg, 104; peripheral tourism clusters, 112–13; scale and spatial organisation, 106–13; suburbs tourism cluster, 109–10; tourist clusters, 101–4

Staniscia, Barbara, 510
staycations, 139, 152, 154
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 181, 195
Stierli, Martino, 461, 462
Stock, Mathis, 13
Storer, Colin, 490
subaltern tourism, 418–25
suburbanisation, 122, 127, 453, 513
superstar cities, 20
sustainable tourism, 44, 46, 378
Sydney Opera House, 500

Taniguchi, Jiro, 468–69
Taunay, Benjamin, 28
Taut, Bruno, 448
Tenet (film), 473
Thackeray, William, 185–86, 187
Thailand, 137. *See also* Bangkok, Thailand
thanatourism, 180, 182–98. *See also* London, England
thick spaces, 10, 444, 453, 465
Tokyo, Japan, 387–408; cherry blossom viewing culture, 398; culture-based tourism, 393–400; distribution of tourism resources, 391–93; ecotourism, 406–7; Edo Castle, 391, 395, 396–97; Edo culture, 395–400; Edo food culture, 395, 398–400; modern towers, 393–95; Mt. Takao and nature hiking, 400–402; nature-based tourism, 400–406, 408; Ogasawara islands, 406–7; political geography, 388–91; temple towns, 397–98; Totoro Forest and rural experiences, 402–6; transportation, *390*, 390–91, *394*, 444; urban core, 388, 393, 406, 408
Tokyo Disney Resort, 393
tourism and convention bureaus. *See* convention and visitors bureaus
tourism bubble, 2
tourism resilience, 414, 418–25, 431, 432
tourism tertiarisation, 62–64
tourismphobia, 60
tourist agency, 473, 498
tourist city, tourist metropolis *versus,* 79–81, 95, 96
tourist clusters, 101–14
touristification, 43, 51, 60, 62–64, 71, 139, 214–18, 223, 225, 229–30, 355, 431
Trastevere, Rome, Italy, 444–45
travel guides. *See* guidebooks
Troitiño Torralba, Libertad, 51
Troitiño Vinuesa, Miguel Ángel, 51
Tsai, Chen-Tsang, 510
Tussaud, Marie, 189–90, 195, 198
Twain, Mark, 482
Twining-Ward, Louise, 423

UN World Tourism Organization, 262
undertourism, 65–66, 71, 214
UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list, 488–89
UNESCO sustainable development goals, 24
UNESCO World Heritage Sites: in China, 269; in India, 430; in Macau, 312; in Madrid, 54, 57, 67
United Arab Emirates. *See* Abu Dhabi; Dubai
Universal Exhibition (1900), 8
urban agglomerations, 10, 16, 52, 81, 292, 327n6, 339, 341, *346*, 363

urban exploration (urbex), 44
urban peripheries, 42–45, 52, 57, 241, 355, 418
urban sprawl, 16, 43, 82, 96, 138, 141, 147, 148, 281, 413, 424, 513
urban wastelands, 44, 45
urban-tourism nexus, 6–10
Urry, John, 6, 32, 354, 375, 473, 499

Van der Hoeven, Arno, 509
vertical metropolises, 462–63, 465–70
vertical recreation, 459, 461–75
vertical travel, 459, 460–62
VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourism, 121, 124, 129
visas, 139, 317
visitors bureaus. *See* convention and visitors bureaus
Visser, Gustav, 24

Walking Man, *The* (Taniguchi), 468–69
Walpole, Horace, 182
Ward, Janet, 494
Weber, Florian, 26
Wee, Desmond, 31
Wharton, Annabel, 496
Whitaker-Wilson, C., 196–97
whitening policies, 363
Wiertz, Jupp, *487*, 491, 492
Wilson, A. N., 500
Wilson, Ben, 460, 488
Wilson, Julie, 207–8
Winsky, Nora, 26
Wirth, Louis, 314
workations, 139, 154
world cities, 10, 11, 20, 24, 147, 181, 512
world expositions, 216, 483–84
World Heritage Sites. *See* UNESCO World Heritage Sites
world tourism cities, 10–11, 131n2, 216
World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), 415
Wu, Liangyong, 264

Xi, Jinping, 264, 270, 271, 273, 277
Xu, Honggang, 28

Yagasaki, Taiyo, 30
Yangtze River Delta Urban Agglomeration Development Plan, 273

Zeidler, Frank P., 509, 510
Zhang, Chunyan, 27
Zitzlsperger, Ulrike, 32
Zukin, Sharon, 139, 163, 290