



Routledge Studies in Urbanism and the City

TOURISM AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Edited by

Thomas Frisch, Christoph Sommer,
Luise Stoltenberg and Natalie Stors



Tourism and Everyday Life in the Contemporary City

This book explores the phenomena of the urban everyday and *new urban tourism*. It provides a systematic framework and draws on a mix of theoretical and empirical work to look at the increasing intermingling of ‘tourists’ and ‘residents’.

Tourism and urban everyday life are deeply connected in a mutually constitutive way. Tourism has become a key momentum of urban development and affects cities beyond its economic dimension. Urban everyday life itself can turn into a matter of tourist interest for people searching for experiences off the beaten track. Even living in a city as a resident involves moments, activities and practices which could be labelled as ‘touristic’. These observations demonstrate some of the various layers in which urban tourism and everyday city life are intertwined. This book gathers multiple interdisciplinary approaches, a diversity of topics and methodological variety to examine this complex relationship. It presents a systematic framework for the dynamic research field of *new urban tourism* along three dimensions: the extraordinary mundane, encounters and contact zones, and urban co-production.

This book will be of interest to students and researchers across fields such as Tourism and Mobility Studies, Urban Studies, Leisure Studies, Tourism Geography and Tourism Sociology.

Thomas Frisch studied sociology, English and Portuguese, and holds a Master’s degree in Sociology from the University of Salzburg. In his PhD thesis he is exploring digital review cultures, their communities, and their consequences for everyday practices. His major academic interests are tourism and media sociology, the sociology of evaluation, slum tourism and urban studies.

Christoph Sommer is completing his PhD in geography at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. He co-founded the *Urban Research Group New Urban Tourism* at the Georg Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies. His main areas of interest include research on urban policy, governance, the anthropology of policy, tourism and new municipalism.

Luise Stoltenberg is completing her PhD in sociology at Universität Hamburg. For her dissertation project, she is studying the online hospitality networks of Couchsurfing and Airbnb with regard to the notion of dwelling. Her research interests include the sociology of everyday life and of digital cultures, as well as mobility and tourism studies.

Natalie Stors is a PhD candidate and research associate at the Department of Leisure and Tourism Geography at Trier University, Germany. In her PhD project she is investigating the motivations for participating in short-term rental practices via Airbnb and the implications of sharing platforms for the construction of tourism space. Her research is dedicated to urban tourism and the sharing economy.

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**Edited by Thomas Frisch,
Christoph Sommer, Luise Stoltenberg
and Natalie Stors**

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Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>List of contributors</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
1 Tourism and everyday life in the contemporary city: an introduction	1
NATALIE STORS, LUISE STOLTENBERG, CHRISTOPH SOMMER AND THOMAS FRISCH	
2 Ordinary tourism and extraordinary everyday life: rethinking tourism and cities	24
JONAS LARSEN	
3 Inhabiting the city as tourists: issues for urban and tourism theory	42
MATHIS STOCK	
4 Tourist valorisation and urban development	67
FABIAN FRENZEL	
5 Escaping the global city? Gentrification, urban wellness industries and the exotic-mundane	88
JESSICA PARISH	
6 Living with guests: understanding the reasons for hosting via Airbnb in a mobile society	112
NATALIE STORS	

7	Living like a local: Amsterdam Airbnb users and the blurring of boundaries between ‘tourists’ and ‘residents’ in residential neighbourhoods	139
	BIANCA WILDISH AND BAS SPIERINGS	
8	Commensality and ‘local’ food: exploring a city with the help of digital meal-sharing platforms	165
	LUISE STOLTENBERG AND THOMAS FRISCH	
9	Places of <i>Muße</i> as part of new urban tourism in Paris	188
	CLARA SOFIE KRAMER, NORA WINSKY AND TIM FREYTAG	
10	Commoning in new tourism areas: co-performing evening socials at the Admiralbrücke in Berlin-Kreuzberg	211
	CHRISTOPH SOMMER AND MARKUS KIP	
11	You are a tourist! Exploring tourism conflicts by means of performative interventions	232
	NILS GRUBE	
	<i>Index</i>	255

Illustrations

Figures

5.1	Progress of “man”	90
5.2	Boutiquing natural health	99
5.3	“Live younger, longer”	101
6.1	The origin of idling capacity	123
6.2	Rationales for renting out on Airbnb	124
7.1	Mental map drawn by James	147
7.2	Mental map drawn by Priya, with input from Leah, Jay and Nikita	152
7.3	Mental map drawn by George	156
9.1	Overview map of the identified places of <i>Muße</i> in Paris	196
10.1	Evening social at the Admiralbrücke, September 2016	212
10.2	“Oooh Berlin” poster displaying an evening social at the Admiralbrücke	215
10.3	Polaroid souvenir from the Admiralbrücke, September 2016	220
11.1	“No more hipster party pack!”, anti-tourism protest in Berlin-Neukölln, 2016	241
11.2	Experimental group with unexpected turns, Berlin-Neukölln, summer 2015	246
11.3	Performative intervention of an artificial rolling suitcase accident, Berlin-Neukölln, summer 2015	247

Tables

6.1	List of interviewed hosts	121
9.1	The four types of the identified places of <i>Muße</i> in Paris	197

Contributors

Fabian Frenzel is an Associate Professor in Political Economy and Organisation Studies at the University of Leicester, United Kingdom, and a research associate at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. His research interests concern the intersections of mobility, politics and organisation. He has widely published his research on social movement studies and tourism.

Tim Freytag is a Professor of Human Geography at the Institute of Environmental Social Sciences and Geography, University of Freiburg, Germany. His research foci and teaching interests include urban studies, social and cultural geography, and tourism and mobility studies.

Nils Grube is a PhD candidate and research associate at the Department of Planning Theory and Urban-Regional Policy Analysis at the Institute of Urban and Regional Planning, Berlin University of Technology, Germany. He has also worked as a research associate at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and Goethe University Frankfurt. His PhD project is entitled *Governing touristification – Tourism conflict regulation under postpolitical conditions*.

Markus Kip works as a researcher on urban heritage at the Georg Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany. After studying philosophy and theology, he obtained his PhD in sociology from York University in Toronto, Canada. He is the author of *The Ends of Union Solidarity: Undocumented Labor and German Trade Unions* (2017) and co-editor of *Urban Commons: Moving beyond State and Market*, published in 2015 (Bauwelt Fundamente/Birkhäuser). His main areas of interest include architectural sociology, commons, urban heritage, migration and work, and solidarity.

Clara Sofie Kramer is a PhD candidate and research associate at the Institute of Environmental Social Sciences and Geography, University of Freiburg, Germany. Her research interests are in the field of tourism geography, urban tourism and the production of tourist spaces.

Jonas Larsen is a Professor of Mobility and Urban Studies at Roskilde University, Denmark. He has had a long-standing interest in tourist photography, tourism and mobility studies. More recently, he has also written about cycling, running and urban marathons. He is co-author of *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011, with John Urry). His work has been translated into Chinese (both in China and Taiwan), Japanese, Polish, Czech, Portuguese and Korean (in process), and he is on the editorial board of *Mobilities, Tourist Studies and Photographies*.

Jessica Parish completed her PhD in Political Science in 2017 at York University in Toronto, Canada. She is currently a visiting scholar at the City Institute, York University. She is employed by Lancaster House Publishing in Toronto, where she works as a research associate and the book reviews editor of the *Canadian Labour and Employment Law Journal*. She is also an associate editor for an open access Palgrave Communications collection entitled *The Geographies of Emotional and Care Labour*. Her core research interest pertains to the social reproduction of urban inequality.

Bas Spierings is an Assistant Professor in Urban Geography at the Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. His research focuses on the nexus between urban consumption and public space, with specific attention to touristification, retail developments, (cross-border) shopping, walking mobilities and encounters with difference.

Mathis Stock is a Professor of Tourism Geography at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. His work is about tourist practices in a context of widespread mobilities and cities as tourist places. His main research question asks about the differentiated ways people inhabit mobilities and places.

Bianca Wildish is a graduate of the Urban and Economic Geography Master's programme at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Her research focuses on place attachment, feeling at home and belonging in the tourism context, and is specifically concerned with the similarities and differences between locals and visitors.

Nora Winsky is a PhD candidate and research associate at the Institute of Environmental Social Sciences and Geography at the University of Freiburg, Germany. She works on tourist practices and related representations in Freiburg and the Black Forest.

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This book arose out of the conference *Touristified Everyday Life—Mundane Tourism: Current Perspectives on Urban Tourism*, which was held at the Georg Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies (GSZ) in Berlin in May 2017. Bringing together empirical and theoretical contributions from various disciplines, the conference presented a comprehensive approach for addressing emergent phenomena of urban tourism. Its call for papers drew international attention and received a massive number of submissions. Given this success and the interesting discussions during the event itself, the need for further academic debate and research became obvious. As a result, four members of the initiative team of the conference, Thomas Frisch (University of Hamburg), Christoph Sommer (Humboldt University of Berlin), Luise Stoltenberg (University of Hamburg) and Natalie Stors (Trier University), decided to invite contributions to further continue the debate on *new urban tourism*, and the connectedness of tourism and urban everyday life, in an edited volume.

The four editors are part of an interdisciplinary group of young academics based at the Georg Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies (GSZ). The *Urban Research Group: 'New Urban Tourism'* was founded in 2015 by Christoph Sommer and Natalie Stors during their doctoral studies to provide a network for PhD students working at the nexus of tourism and urban studies. Since its foundation, the research group has held several meetings every year for scholarly exchange. This ranges from discussing selected publications and relevant research findings to giving constructive feedback on dissertation projects from group members.

It was in this context of efforts to open up the group's debate on recent developments in urban tourism that the aforementioned conference was planned. We would like to express our special thanks to Silke Laux (Berlin Professional School), Nils Grube, Sara Hohmann, Katharina Knaus (all Berlin University of Technology), Christian Samuel Kirschenmann (Bauhaus-Universität Weimar) and Julia Burgold (University of Potsdam), who were part of the conference board. In addition, we particularly would like to acknowledge the support of Professor Ilse Helbrecht, Director of the GSZ, and the funding we received from KOSMOS (a programme which is part of the Excellence Strategy at HU Berlin) for making the conference possible.

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1 Tourism and everyday life in the contemporary city

An introduction

*Natalie Stors, Luise Stoltenberg,
Christoph Sommer and Thomas Frisch*

The entanglement of urban tourism with everyday city life

Tourism and urban everyday life are deeply connected in a mutually constitutive way. On the one hand, this seems quite obvious, as tourism's effect on the everyday life of local communities has been a topic for tourism research since its very beginnings (e.g., Sharpley 2014, Jurowski *et al.* 1997, Smith 1989, Cohen 1988). On the other hand, the rather restricted idea of cities as 'destinations' inhabited by locals and visited by tourists is an established and persistent one. As such, thinking about tourism beyond "a series of discrete, localized events consisting of 'travel, arrival, activity, purchase and departure'" (Franklin and Crang 2001, p. 6), is still a pressing and promising endeavour for both urban and tourism studies. In order to shed more light on the manifold dimensions of the deeply interrelated connection between urban tourism and city life, this section looks at four aspects of this connection.

First of all, urban tourism affects cities in an often subtle, yet pervasive manner. As a result, the profound ways in which tourism shapes contemporary cities can prove hard to pinpoint. This shaping not only takes place at crowded sights, famous museums and designated neighbourhoods, but pervades the city as a whole. It is worth considering, for instance, the extent to which tourism-related urban economies structure the everyday work of many residents (Spirou 2011, Veijola 2010, Tufts 2006); how urban infrastructures respond profoundly to demands from visitors from far and wide (Law 2002, Le-Klähn and Hall 2015); and even how the daily repetition of activities, structured patterns and rhythms organize the look and feel of major sights (Edensor 1998, 2001). These examples clearly support the argument that "tourist activities are not *so* separate from the places that are visited" (Sheller and Urry 2004, p. 5, emphasis added), but, in fact, are deeply entangled with urban everyday realities. As an inherent part of the city, they are, of course, not solely restricted to use by visitors. In fact, "[t]ourists tend to share their experiences in cities with local consumers and the anonymity of cities means that it can be hard, and in most cases unnecessary, to differentiate the visitor from the rest" (Wearing and Foley 2017, p. 99). Consequently, it seems

inaccurate to hold on to concepts which understand city tourism and urban everyday life as two spheres isolated from each other.

Second, urban everyday life itself can turn into a matter of tourist interest. Thriving on the rich variety of city life, urban tourism attracts many people for a broad range of reasons (Ashworth and Page 2011, Hayllar *et al.* 2008). One strong motivation has always been the desire to gain insight into the everyday life of a visited destination (e.g., Maitland and Newman 2009a, Maitland 2013, MacCannell 1976, Frisch 2012)—to experience the ‘real’ Tokyo, San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro or Barcelona. This desire builds on the idea that there is a hidden life happening in cities—hidden insofar as it is difficult for short-term visitors to access. This phenomenon has been referred to as ‘off the beaten track tourism’ in scholarly discourse (e.g., Maitland and Newman 2009b, Maitland 2010, Füller and Michel 2014, Matoga and Pawłowska 2018). However, the appeal of the ordinary, of day-to-day rhythms and normality, is not a novelty in urban tourism at all. What is new though, is that “the current quantitative dimension puts the phenomenon on the agenda of urban and tourism geographies again” (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2015, p. 276). This new extent of tourism, focusing on urban everyday life, calls for the elaboration of adequate theoretical conceptualisations as well as a solid analytical framework.

Third, living in a city as a resident also involves moments, activities and practices which have a ‘touristic component’ (Cohen 1974, see also Diaz-Soria 2017). Especially after moving to a new city, the period of settling in shows striking similarities to what visitors usually do. In order to explore their neighbourhood and get a feeling for its ‘vibe’, newcomers might consult travel guides for recommendations on bars and restaurants, join a city walking tour, or visit famous sights and attractions. However, this is not only restricted to newcomers. Discovering hang-out spots, lingering at urban beaches, showing friends and family around, visiting ‘exotic’ street food festivals, joining a guided tour—all of these activities are somehow informed by tourism (e.g., Gale 2009, Shani and Uriely 2012, Diaz-Soria 2017, Dimitrovski and Vallbona 2018). Their effects on cities are in no way marginal, and support the production and shaping of places for urban adventure and entertainment. As a result, it is possible to argue that residents themselves occasionally switch to ‘touristic’ mode without even leaving the confines of their own city (see also Richards 2017).

The fourth aspect runs transversely to the three already mentioned, and emphasises the influence of technology on the increasing entanglement of urban tourism with city life. For a long time, urban tourists relied on alternative guidebooks and insider tips from friends, as well as their own spirit of discovery if they wanted to explore remote areas of a city. Nowadays they are empowered by digital technology, nearly ubiquitous internet access and online services. If travellers wish to discover the everyday life of a destination, they can easily gain access to this ‘attraction’ by using travel apps, review websites and hospitality networks (Germann Molz 2012, Jeacle and Carter

2011, Guttentag 2015). However, such services are used by long-term residents as well. Mapping apps, for instance, help residents and visitors alike to navigate their way through less known parts of the city. Online platforms and their networks offer new possibilities for connecting locals and travellers, and thus open up aspects of urban everyday life for tourism. Whether those services help users to find accommodation, arrange to meet for a shared meal or organise a joint activity, they bring together various people who are interested in exploring a city regardless of their status of residence. Importantly, these online arranged encounters “are not just happening in fixed public or commercial spaces, but also popping up in off-the-beaten-path neighbourhoods and in the private realms of people’s homes” (Germann Molz 2014). While this feeds into the desire to experience a city beyond its guidebook recommendations, it also influences the everyday life of residents participating in such online networks.

These observations strikingly demonstrate some of the various layers in which urban tourism and everyday city life are intertwined. They all make the case for a closer examination of this complex relationship, as academic literature has so far dealt with their individual aspects a great deal, but has largely ignored their interrelatedness. In contrast, this volume makes extensive use of the term ‘*new urban tourism*’ (Roche 1992, Füller and Michel 2014) and adapts it in order to provide a systematic framework for a dynamic research field. This work thus takes steps towards the convergence of two disciplines, urban studies and tourism studies, which have been staring at each other for too long without talking (Ashworth 2003, Ashworth and Page 2011), yet it is necessary to discuss this to address the phenomena surrounding *new urban tourism*.

This introduction begins by discussing theoretical points of reference which are valuable for developing this emergent research area. Then we propose three key dimensions that characterise *new urban tourism* and serve as an analytical framework for the chapters of this anthology: the extraordinary mundane, encounters and contact zones, and urban co-production. All of these acknowledge the intimate connection of urban tourism and everyday city life. This is followed by a short description of the chapters included in this volume—each one focusing either theoretically or empirically on phenomena related to the three dimensions. The introduction ends with a critical examination of the anthology’s limitations and an outlook on perspectives for future research on *new urban tourism*.

Identifying relevant conceptual points of reference

The aforementioned claims not only exemplify how tourism informs urban everydayness, and vice versa, but also indicate how binary distinctions (‘tourist’ and ‘local’, ‘visitor’ and ‘resident’, ‘work’ and ‘leisure’, ‘production’ and ‘consumption’, ‘extraordinary’ and ‘mundane’) oversimplify the urban–tourism nexus by setting urban tourism and urban everyday life in opposition

to one another. In the following, we briefly describe some valuable concepts which have informed our reflections on *new urban tourism* and lay the ground for the three analytical categories we propose later on. These are the ‘de-differentiation’ of the established oppositional categories of tourism and everyday life (e.g., Rojek 1993, Baerenholdt *et al.* 2004, Uriely 2005, Larsen 2008); the postulated ‘end of tourism’ (Lash and Urry 1994); and the concept of ‘post-tourism’ (Feifer 1985, Urry 1990, Rojek 1993). In addition, we make use of the notion of ‘performance’ (Larsen 2012, Cohen and Cohen 2017) as a conceptual lens to facilitate the integration of an urban studies perspective into our analysis.

Drawing on opposing categories when researching tourism has a long tradition. In the first version of his seminal contribution *The Tourist Gaze*, John Urry (1990) rendered the binary differentiation between *work* and *leisure* as the starting point for his reflections on a ‘sociology of tourism’. According to him, binaries are manifestations of the “separated and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies” (Urry 1990, p. 2). By operating in distinctions, in particular, the separation between tourism and the everyday, he refers to earlier tourism research which characterised tourism as “a temporary reversal of everyday activities” (Cohen 1979, p. 181). Similarly, Louis Turner and Ash (1975) argued that the temporary distance from mundane, familiar environments allowed tourists to relax from the affordances of their social roles and norms as well as the Fordist modes of production. As Larsen (2008) and Edensor (2007) pointed out, this understanding resulted in a differentiation between ‘everydayness’ constituting the sphere of “repetition, habitual practices, obligations and reproduction” (Larsen 2008, p. 22) and ‘extraordinariness’, defining life while being away on vacation.

By critically reflecting on these established notions of tourism in his initial version of *The Tourist Gaze*, Urry was already pointing towards a new, post-modern paradigm in tourism studies, which would come to be understood in terms of processes of de-differentiation (Urry 1990, pp. 84–87). Several researchers have taken on this paradigmatic shift, recognising that tourism itself does not take place outside of people’s everyday lives (e.g., Rojek 1993, Lash and Urry 1994, Crouch 1999, McCabe 2002, Baerenholdt *et al.* 2004, Uriely 2005, Hall 2005, White and White 2007, Larsen 2008). They have argued that such a narrow conceptualisation would end up producing “fixed dualisms between the life of tourism and everyday life—extraordinary and ordinary, pleasure and boredom, liminality and rules, exotic others and significant others” (Haldrup and Larsen 2010, p. 20). Larsen (2008) has even prominently called for ‘de-exoticizing theory’ in order to meet the requirements for researching tourism in light of this de-differentiation. Moreover, the various dimensions of the intertwined relationship between urban tourism and a city’s everyday life have already illustrated the limits of operating with theoretical binary categories. Support for the de-differentiation thesis is reflected in the search for more adequate terminologies (Sommer 2018). Attempts to bridge what had previously been considered as antithetical range from the

term ‘host-guest-time-space-cultures’ (Sheller and Urry 2004) to ‘city users’ (Martinotti 1993) or Toffler’s idea of the ‘prosumer’ expanded into tourism (Pappalepore *et al.* 2014). While Sheller and Urry focused on the co-production of places by visitors and residents alike, Martinotti’s notion of ‘city users’ has emphasised that temporary urban populations are constituted of a broad range of visitors (e.g., expats, business travellers, interns and students). This is also reflected in the concept of ‘prosumers’, a term that highlights the role of host–guest interactions and the simultaneity of production and consumption in “prosuming creative urban areas” (Pappalepore *et al.* 2014, p. 227). As these examples show, the recognition of de-differentiation processes paved the way for an orientation towards postmodern conceptualisations within tourism studies (Cohen and Cohen 2012, 2017).

While the acknowledgement of theoretical de-differentiation provides a powerful initial starting point for analysing *new urban tourism*, some of its further implications also prove valuable. The paradigm shift from ‘differentiation’ to ‘de-differentiation’ prompted Lash and Urry (1994) to postulate the ‘end of tourism’. With this claim, they referred to the increasing proliferation of mass media and its effect that “people are tourists most of the time, whether they are literally mobile or only experience simulated mobility through the incredible fluidity of multiple signs and electronic images” (Lash and Urry 1994, p. 259). The ‘end of tourism’ also implies that the ‘tourist gaze’ has lost some of its distinctive character as sights, places or landscapes are detached from certain spatialities as well as temporalities and have become increasingly mobile. They travel into people’s living rooms, and thus leaving home is no longer necessary “in order to *see* many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze” (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 113, emphasis in the original). As a result, “‘the tourist gaze’ is no longer set apart from everyday life” (Larsen 2008, p. 26). At the same time, increasing globalisation and its worldwide digital networks have facilitated a ‘touristification of everyday life’ (*ibid.*, see also Gale 2009). While the ‘end of tourism’ offers fruitful impulses for studying tourism’s interrelations with everyday activities, it has, of course, not completely occurred—after all, people still travel and continue to leave their home for vacation trips. Nevertheless, the concept is valuable for researching *new urban tourism* insofar as it has introduced the idea that technological innovations infuse everyday life with tourist images and practices. As such, Lash and Urry’s (1994) conceptual reflections have pointed to one possible direction of how established oppositional categories can be dissolved.

Another concept emerging from the de-differentiation debate is ‘post-tourism’. Closely related to the idea of the ‘end of tourism’, post-tourism also accounts for travel experiences made while being at home (Ritzer and Liska 2004). While the ‘end of tourism’ emphasises the entanglement of tourism with the everyday, the notion of ‘post-tourism’ is more concerned with the deconstruction of traditional tourist roles. Feifer (1985) introduced the term in the 1980s in order to account for visitors who are highly self-aware and enjoy a broad variety of tourist experiences. Urry (1990, p. 91) then drew on

this perspective and pointed out that post-tourists “are aware of the change and delights in the multitude of choice” and “that tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic experience”. In this regard, cities provide great opportunities to take on different roles for ‘post-tourists’ as they “offer social, cultural, physical and aesthetic stages upon which tourist activity can be played out” (Hayllar *et al.* 2008, p. 7). While earlier work linked ‘post-tourism’ to the idea that the mediated home makes travelling unnecessary (Urry 1990), later contributions have redefined the concept and argued that advances in electronic media have allowed people to casually take in “flows of global cultural materials all around them” (Franklin and Crang 2001, p. 8) and thus combine corporeal and virtual experiences. As Campbell (2005, p. 200) explains: “Post-tourism [...] contests traditional notions of tourist experience offering more than physical travel including, as it does, desire, imaging and mediation in a much more complex and encompassing mobility.”

‘Post-tourism’, understood as tourists being self-aware and having the multitude of choice, offers some interesting parallels to performance theories in the Goffman tradition. Besides post-tourists’ ability to switch roles, the notion of ‘performance’ helps to explain how tourism and everyday life are intimately connected. Edensor (e.g., 1998, 2009) has noted how habitual performative norms (e.g., about how and when to photograph) inform tourist habits and thus breaks with an understanding of tourism as a rupture of everyday practice. Tourist performance “includes unreflexive assumptions and habits but [also] contains moments where norms may be transcended” (Edensor 2001, p. 79). Similarly, the *Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Urry and Larsen 2011) argues in the same direction, seeing tourism as a performed and embodied practice. Following Franklin and Crang (2001, p. 8), tourism performance is a “way of seeing and sensing the world with its own kit of technologies, techniques, and predispositions”. On the one hand, the ‘tourist gaze’ could be understood as part of the everyday perception of residents. On the other hand, the gaze (in its visual, sensual meaning) is directed towards the extraordinary mundane that ‘new urban tourists’ are looking for. In this sense, tourism is “a widespread, protean practice that occurs in mundane settings, everyday routines and home cities as well as in far-flung places” (Edensor 2009, p. 545).

Finally, ‘performance’ illustrates the ‘urban co-production’ and limitlessness of (new) urban tourism places. Because tourist places serve to “organis[e] a multiplicity of intersecting mobilities” (Baerenholdt *et al.* 2004, p. 2), they appear to emerge in dynamic relations rather than to be static entities. Therefore, “[i]t is more profitable to see them as ‘in play’ in relation to multiple mobilities and varied performances stretching in, through, over and under any apparently distinct locality” (Baerenholdt *et al.* 2004, p. 145).

Considering unbounded tourist places as ‘performed’ offers scholars a point of reference for urban studies perspectives on *new urban tourism* phenomena. By building on a *relational* understanding of urban spaces, *new urban tourism* destinations can be seen not as containers; instead, they materialise

where *performed* trans-local processes encounter in a highly condensed way. This approach puts emphasis on an understanding of cities and (urban) space as elaborated by ‘post-structuralist geography’ (see, e.g., Murdoch 2006 for an overview), and even more explicitly by researchers conceptualising cities in terms of ‘urban assemblages’ (e.g., Fariás and Bender 2010). In this, it is worthwhile to note that Urry’s and Larsen’s (2001, p. 116) abstract understanding of tourist places as “economically, politically and culturally produced through networked mobilities of capital, persons, objects, signs and information” had already addressed some basic aspects of these perspectives on cities in general. According to Murdoch (2006, p. 19), urban “space is generated by interaction and interrelations”; similarly, Fariás and Bender (2010, p. 2) describe the city, ontologically, as a “multiplicity of processes of becoming, affixing socio-technical networks, hybrid collectives and alternative topologies”. It is important to note that these abstract approaches explicitly stress that ‘urban assemblages’ need to be enacted in practice and studied *on the ground*. Therefore, the idea of ‘performance’—pivotal in tourism studies and deeply influential in reflection on urban life, e.g., in classics by Simmel, Wirth or Fischer (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2013)—seems to be predestined to build bridges between tourism and urban studies. Insofar as ‘performance’ highlights the idea that actions are not conceivable without taking the stage, décor or props (materialities) into account, this concept can also help to develop approaches regarding the socio-materiality of *new urban tourism* assemblages. Moreover, it is a defining strength of ‘performance’ to turn towards “those under-researched, mundane moments of togetherness that pattern everyday life” (Bell 2007, p. 19 quoted in Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2013, p. 294) in cities. This means ‘performance’ provides a perspective onto what city users—acting as (if) tourists—actually *do* and how these encounters affect urban living together (from hospitality to tourist bashing).

Regarding the diversity of the theoretical concepts which present valuable starting points for approaching *new urban tourism*, technological innovation and digital media are seen as significant enablers in allowing mundane existence to be penetrated by extraordinary experiences and exciting visual impressions (Urry and Larsen 2011, Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier 2009, Urieli 2005). Therefore, *new urban tourism* and its emergent phenomena have to be understood as a de-differentiated collection of performative, embodied and digitally backed practices that structure both navigation through urbanscapes as well as the exploration of them. However, the aforementioned concepts present rather general theoretical considerations. By linking them to city tourism studies as well as urban studies, the next section introduces *new urban tourism* along three analytical dimensions.

Introducing *new urban tourism* along its three key dimensions

The term *new urban tourism* was initially introduced by British sociologist Maurice Roche (1992) during his studies on cultural or sporting mega-events

taking place in cities. Even though he specifically links this type of tourism to local structural changes of so-called ‘micro-modernization’, he identifies large-scale events as the only driving force. Several researchers drew on Roche’s approach, analysing events and tourism in general as a strategy for inner-city regeneration (see Judd and Fainstein 1999, Spirou 2011). However, Maitland and Newman (2004) paved the way for a wider understanding of the term, as they started to investigate urban areas that were not purposefully designed to attract visitors but in which “tourism seem[ed] to have grown ‘organically’” (ibid., p. 339). They labelled these “new tourism areas” (Maitland 2008, p. 340)—places which held a special appeal for so-called ‘off the beaten track tourism’ (Maitland and Newman 2009b). Despite being originally concerned with the types of people engaging in tourism to residential areas (Maitland 2010) and their particular motivation (Maitland 2008, Maitland and Newman 2009a), their contributions also provided in-depth insights into the appeal of everyday life for urban visitors. The next time the term *new urban tourism* appeared in scholarly literature, it was used by two German geographers, Füller and Michel (2014), without referring to Roche’s work, but extensively building on Maitland’s contributions. One reason might be that they defined *new urban tourism* with a much stronger emphasis on urban everyday life, rather than special festivals or events. In their article on tourism in Berlin, they argued that “it is precisely the everydayness and the feel of the ‘ordinary’ and ‘authentic’ life of a city that has become an important marker for attraction to visitors” (Füller and Michel 2014, p. 1306). Such a perspective highlights the appeal of a city’s day-to-day rhythms—an appeal which is not dependent on mega-events. While these two definitions of *new urban tourism* emphasise these two different aspects in city tourism, this volume suggests a broader approach. For this purpose, we put forward three dimensions along which the emergent phenomena of *new urban tourism* can be analysed and discussed: (a) the extraordinary mundane, (b) encounters and contact zones, and (c) urban co-production.

The extraordinary mundane

Starting from the general observation that urban everyday life and tourism are not two strictly separable spheres, this dimension focuses on moments and situations in which urban everyday life is perceived and produced as an attraction in and of itself. As it has become more complex to define who is a ‘local’ and who is a ‘tourist’ (Cohen and Cohen 2017, McCabe 2005), one possible way to approach *new urban tourism* is to pay close attention to conditions which facilitate a transformation of the mundane into an extraordinary event. Detecting such temporal, situational tipping points requires a sensible and careful analysis of urban everyday life. In order to unravel its complexity, choosing a starting point is a tough decision—researchers have to decide whether to begin by studying the perception and practices of urbanites or by examining the main driving forces which shape a city. No matter which

approach is adopted, both offer valuable insights into the appeal of the urban day-to-day life for various city users.

While it seems relatively easy to think about ordinary everyday situations which might hold some interesting appeal for people who are not used to them, it might be harder to imagine exciting ones for people whose daily routines are made up by precisely those moments. However, in our understanding, *new urban tourism* emphasises that exploring the day-to-day rhythms of a city is not only limited to short-term visitors. City residents can turn into urban explorers “by taking different forms of transport, gazing at the environment from the vantage of different time-worlds [...], and stringing together sequences of monuments, landmarks and events” (Holmes 2001, p. 181). Such activities which can be categorised as ‘touristic’, if they follow more traditional conceptions, enable moments of being a tourist in one’s own city, of ‘transgressing boundaries’, as Pappalepore *et al.* (2010) have put it. This can be an abrupt and rather unplanned experience, such as discovering an unfamiliar spot or trying out a new activity for the first time, but also the conscious decision of showing friends and family around (Shani and Urieli 2012, Larsen *et al.* 2007). Whether such experiences are spontaneous or not, they clearly highlight the inadequacies and limits of a strict theoretical distinction between tourists and locals. Moreover, the experience of the extraordinary mundane is heavily dependent on actors’ motivations as well as their perceptions.

One major driving force that opens up new possibilities for city visitors and its residents alike is digital technology (e.g., Sigala and Gretzel 2018, Munar *et al.* 2013, Germann Molz 2012). With the increasing availability of WiFi at many places throughout metropolises around the world and the widespread use of mobile devices, online services and apps specifically designed for exploring a city are becoming more and more popular. These trends have a fundamental impact on how a city is perceived and produced by its long-term and short-term inhabitants (Zukin *et al.* 2015, Stors and Baltes 2018). In regard to *new urban tourism*, the reason digital technology is so powerful is due to its inclusion of all kinds of users. Even though there are websites, blogs and apps aimed at travellers in particular, their content and services can be accessed and used by everyone interested. At the same time, many online portals and websites often depend on ‘user-generated content’, thus incorporating their recipients into the designing and shaping of content and services available. Compared to professionally curated content by tourism agencies, this inclusion leads to higher credibility among users (Akehurst 2009, Schmallegger and Carson 2008). Research on how to commercially utilise such content in terms of travel and tourism marketing illustrates that user-generated content in blogs and social media can significantly affect the branding of a destination (e.g., Sigala and Gretzel 2018, Munar 2011). By being available to anyone who is looking for recommendations on cafés, restaurants, activities or places, user-generated content introduces new possibilities on how to experience a city. These possibilities not only facilitate

moments of the extraordinary mundane, they also create contact zones where heterogeneous city users can meet and intermingle.

Encounters and contact zones

A key premise for *new urban tourism* is the idea to go ‘off the beaten track’ (Maitland and Newman 2009b, Maitland 2010, 2008). It holds the promise of experiencing a city like a long-term insider would, to get to know its ‘real’ everyday life and—this is especially true for anyone with a limited period of stay—to leave the confined space of the ‘tourist bubble’ (Judd 1999). This desire distinguishes *new urban tourism* from traditional mass tourism and its negative associations, such as ignorance (Pappalepore *et al.* 2014, Freytag 2010, McCabe 2005). By opening up spaces for travellers, visitors, short-term residents and locals, digital technology feeds directly into this desire. Digital technology is the backbone of many *new urban tourism* phenomena. In addition to user-generated content, there are other services which directly connect users with each other for ‘off the beaten track’ experiences. The most famous sharing economy company, Airbnb (www.airbnb.com), allows its users to rent short-term accommodation from other registered users. The lesser known Eatwith (www.eatwith.com) is an online platform where users can book a home-cooked meal at the private dinner tables of other community members. Finally, through the online hospitality network Couchsurfing (www.couchsurfing.org), travellers can meet with residents and spend time together without any exchange of money involved (Bialski 2012, Germann Molz 2012). All these services put a strong emphasis on offering access to local life—Airbnb even claims to enable its community members to ‘live like a local’ at their visited destination (Oskam and Boswijk 2016, Guttentag 2015).

New urban tourism encounters do not take place at crowded tourist sights or well-known hotspots. Instead, they can be found in residential neighbourhoods and places not mentioned in classic travel guidebooks. Travellers looking for these experiences rub shoulders with other city users in little cafés and spend the night in private apartments. Sociologist Jennie Germann Molz (2014) has noted that this interesting combination of online and offline connection “invites us to rethink the taken-for-granted-ness of the spatiotemporal configurations of hospitality and encounters with strangers in everyday life”. While meeting other city users is an important goal for new urban tourists, such encounters do not necessarily have to be organised and mediated by digital technology. As the example of travel blogs has already illustrated, different people can come together simply by enjoying the same place. Regardless of the circumstances which lead city users to meet, such encounters may be attractive but also hold a subtle potential for conflict. This is due to the joint co-production of the city, which has to be (re)negotiated with each new encounter.

Urban co-production

Discovering a city by focusing specifically at its own distinctive pace, its mundane situations and its residents, has a profound influence on the city itself. In the context of tourism, this influence became most obvious when visitors started to venture into edgy, unpolished, creative areas (Maitland and Newman 2009a, Pappalepore *et al.* 2010, 2014). During their stay, tourists no longer are passive consumers of the environment, but rather active (re)producers of the visited neighbourhood. Again, it has to be stressed that this influence is not only limited to travellers or short-term visitors of a destination. Indeed, everyone who is staying and living in a city takes part in shaping it—no matter how long he or she has been there, and regardless of their actual place of residence. In sum, all kinds of different city users co-produce the urban fabric.

An illustrative example of such a joint production is the previously mentioned and relatively recent appeal of residential neighbourhoods as attractive localities. Maitland and Newman (2009b) studied this transition for popular tourism destinations such as New York or Paris, which they characterised as ‘world tourism cities’. Such cities are “multifunctional and polycentric with the capacity to draw visitors off the beaten track and where visitors and other city users may share in the creation of new tourism places” (Maitland and Newman 2009a, p. 12). While city governments are keen to present their cities as destinations worth exploring, bringing together so many heterogeneous actors carries with it constant potential for conflict. As Novy and Colomb (2017) noted in the introduction of their volume *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*, this potential is multifaceted and can be found in cities in the Global North and the Global South. They identified tourism as a key element for recent urban political struggles, pointing out that:

politicization manifests itself in different ways: in some contexts residents and other stakeholders take issue with the growth of tourism as such, as well as the impacts it has on their cities; in others, particular forms and effects of tourism are contested or deplored; and in numerous settings [...] contestations revolve less around tourism itself than around broader processes, policies and forces of urban change perceived to threaten the right to ‘stay put’, the quality of life or the identity of existing urban populations.

(Novy and Colomb 2017, p. 4)

For *new urban tourism*, this potential for conflict becomes visible in a wide range of urban interventions, such as graffiti or stickers highlighting the problem of tourism in specific neighbourhoods, to large-scale mobilisation against tourism-driven gentrification (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, Füller and Michel 2014). However, for as much as these criticisms refer to problematic dynamics and processes, they do not put much emphasis on the

fact that large parts of the local population themselves also participate in urban leisure activities. They travel from one neighbourhood to another to spend the night in a popular bar or club, thus producing a similar amount of noise and waste to those emerging from visitors. Local people also provide much of the infrastructure used: material infrastructure such as local shops, independent restaurants and, recently, Airbnb apartments. However, they also contribute in an immaterial way to the look and feel of neighbourhoods through processes of urban commoning or just by being around. They co-produce hang-out spots that are marked and marketed as insider tips on online platforms. Through all these practices, these locals actively add to the transformation of their neighbourhoods. Notwithstanding this potential for conflict, *new urban tourism* is not conflictual *per se*. Discovering new places and facets of a neighbourhood, engaging in fleeting encounters with others, and taking part in local life can be a rewarding experience for the city users involved.

With the introduction of *new urban tourism* along these three dimensions, the nexus of urban everyday life and tourism can be theoretically conceptualised and empirically researched in an innovative and adequate way. It meets the demands of studying such multifaceted phenomena and is at the same time defined as a heuristic, yet open concept. Insofar as each dimension discussed here is intimately tied to the others, research on *new urban tourism* necessarily refers to all three of them—albeit with a different degree of emphasis.

Studying an emergent field of research—an outline of the chapters in this book

Over the course of ten chapters, this anthology gathers multiple interdisciplinary approaches, a diversity of topics and a methodological variety in order to unravel the complex de-differentiation processes of urban everyday life and city tourism.

Jonas Larsen (Chapter 2) addresses one dimension of the reciprocal relationship between everyday life and tourism in cities by using a twofold perspective. Focusing on travellers, he argues that their practices while on a trip are deeply infused with habits and everyday social regimens. From the perspective of hosts, he points out that their everyday life rhythms and practices are deeply affected by visitors. The actual consequences of this interrelation are discussed in three vignettes drawing on multiple examples of developments in European cities. The first one highlights how personal interests and relationships shape tourism practices; the second one deals with the impacts of the recent desire for local experiences among travellers; the third vignette elaborates on the practical consequences of residents and visitors sharing a city.

In his contribution, Mathis Stock (Chapter 3) understands tourism, especially urban tourism, as a problematic category for contemporary societies and identifies the need for articulating urban theory and tourism theory more closely together. Drawing on the phenomenological concept of dwelling and practice theory, he proposes thinking of (new urban) tourists as temporal

inhabitants of cities with a specific relationship to place. They develop certain spatial competences and a ‘spatial capital’ which allows them to practise the city as tourists. Contrasting the right to mobility and the right to the city, Stock shows how much of the debate on *new urban tourism* is characterised by conflicting narratives which are nevertheless based on legitimate claims on each side. In his conclusion, he argues for thinking about touristification and urbanisation as interrelated processes on a more general level.

From a political economy perspective, Fabian Frenzel (Chapter 4) investigates processes of attraction-making in residential neighbourhoods and its links to (tourism) gentrification. He applies the concepts of labour and praxis to investigate how residents and tourists themselves co-produce (positive) externalities and thus contribute to the value and appeal of a neighbourhood. Tourists, he argues, are significantly involved in production and valorisation processes of urban areas by being present, by altering the place’s visibility, or even by creating infrastructure themselves. Similar to residents, they are involved in practices of commoning that can extend or diminish the quality of life of these neighbourhoods and are far from being irrelevant to the production of profits, which, in turn, are frequently skimmed off by property owners.

In Toronto, Canada, Jessica Parish (Chapter 5) demonstrates how the rise of professionalised self-care facilities can function as a signifier for the ongoing gentrification of an urban neighbourhood. Drawing on empirical research of the neighbourhood of Roncesvalles Village, she is able to show that these emergent ‘new wellness industries’ not only nurture a growing popularity of the area among visitors; by utilising oriental aesthetics, these places also aim to offer their clients a temporary escape from their familiar urban surroundings. In light of these two aspects, ‘new wellness industries’ are critically examined as transforming an initial working-class neighbourhood into an urban tourism area as well as representing neoliberal means of self-optimisation.

Natalie Stors (Chapter 6) offers insights into the manifold reasons of Airbnb hosts in Berlin for listing their apartment online. Airbnb is the most popular sharing economy company for short-term rental accommodation, and its success is associated with serious impacts on Berlin’s neighbourhoods. Therefore, hosting via Airbnb is regulated by a strict municipal legal framework and has been accompanied by a heated public debate. In a detailed study of Airbnb hosts’ reasons for subletting their dwellings, Stors reveals that users are driven by a broad variety of different motives. She emphasises that hosts’ mobility practices contribute to the idling spatial capacity rented out, and that their rationales for engaging in short-term rental practices are closely related to their personal living circumstances. Ultimately, subletting via Airbnb turns into individual strategies of actually securing the currently inhabited living space.

Bianca Wildish and Bas Spierings (Chapter 7) address how the dissolution of boundaries between tourists and residents plays out in everyday

practices and lived experiences of Airbnb users in residential neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. By empirically building on interviews and mental maps, the chapter applies a novel lens to *new urban tourism* by focusing on familiarisation processes and the feeling of insideness/outsideness. They explore two key aspects of boundary blurring—that of tourists and residents through participating in ‘local life’ and visiting particular neighbourhood spaces, and that of insiders and outsiders through feelings of belonging and being at home in the neighbourhood. The authors show that guests experience feelings as though they were residents and insiders by familiarisation of and with the physical and social setting of the private Airbnb accommodation, certain service encounter dynamics in semi-public spaces and the development of walking routines in public space.

Luise Stoltenberg and Thomas Frisch (Chapter 8) analyse digitally arranged social eating experiences, using the meal-sharing platform Eatwith as an empirical case. Conceptually, the authors bring together two originally separate research strands, the sociological discourse about commensality and research on food and tourism. On this basis, the chapter draws on content analysis and netnography to examine Eatwith’s strategies to brand its services as commensal events enabling experiences of the local. Stoltenberg and Frisch identify three key characteristics of meal-sharing platforms: they frame a rather everyday activity as an exceptional event; they open up private homes for tourists and mobile city users; and they connect people who temporarily share the same geographical location. Finally, the authors suggest considering these characteristics as distinctive qualities of many other *new urban tourism* phenomena.

Clara Kramer, Nora Winsky and Tim Freytag (Chapter 9) introduce the concept of *Muße* (Latin: *otium*) in *new urban tourism* research. They conceptualise the experience of urban *Muße* places, such as parks and museums but also department stores and restaurants, as spatio-temporal sequences that allow visitors to temporarily escape and recover from traditional, often stressful tourist activities. Using the example of Paris, they investigate representations of *Muße* places in travel guides and provide a typology of cultural, extensive, green and culinary places. Afterwards, the authors select a set of places identified in both travel guides and online blogs and analyse how such places operate when being visited by travellers and residents alike. They find that the experience of *Muße* seems to be related to the notion of authenticity, defined by the presence of locals in opposition to tourists—rising visitor numbers might thus be a threat to *Muße* places themselves.

Guided by their interest in tourism as constituent of urban life, Christoph Sommer and Markus Kip (Chapter 10) inquire about what emerges when tourists and other city users rub shoulders. Building empirically on happening-like summertime gatherings at a popular bridge in Berlin, they call for understanding such events (which exist in other cities alike) as ‘hang-out commons’. In contrast to conventional commons-thinking, the commons

here is constituted by a group whose constituency changes significantly every evening with several newcomers arriving, and others leaving the scene. To address this choreography of stability and mobility, the chapter draws on the ‘New Mobilities Paradigm’ and the concept of ‘Performance’. As a result, the authors frame the constitutive potency of tourism-related encounters of highly mobile people, objects, imaginings and immovable material components as *rhythmic (re-)enactment of temporary socio-material gatherings*.

The ambivalent and controversial figure of the ‘tourist’ inspired Nils Grube (Chapter 11) to conduct a series of intervening field experiments with the aim of learning more about tourism and its impacts on everyday situations. Based on Goffman’s accounts on symbolic interactionism, performative approaches from tourism studies and artistic space projects, he describes the set-up and results of his experiments in the Berlin district of Neukölln, a place known for much anti-tourism criticism. Grube’s contribution demonstrates the complexities of the role of the ‘tourist’ and the necessity to perform it in front of an audience in order to create social reality. The method of intervening field experiments proved an innovative and productive tool, yet also revealed risks and limitations, such as their unpredictable outcome.

Limitations and avenues for future research

The ten chapters featured here indicate that *new urban tourism* is a powerful driving force in shaping urban everyday life. Moreover, when taking into account the fact that urban tourism takes place in countries all over the world (e.g., Spirou 2011, Selby 2004, Law 2002) and that the networks of digital media are almost infinite, *new urban tourism* must also be considered as a worldwide phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is also characterised by a broad diversity of paces and qualities, depending on the individual features of a city. *New urban tourism*, its impacts and effects, change according to various urban destinations. While this heterogeneity is the reason why this emergent phenomenon marks an extremely interesting field of research, it also presents challenges for a uniform definition which can respect and account for its idiosyncratic forms and faces. On this account, the research presented in this volume can only provide insights into the nexus between urban everyday life and tourism in selected Western cities. Future research which focuses on other (non-Western) cities is needed in order to further expand the understanding of *new urban tourism*. This shift in perspective would be promising in several regards. It would enrich knowledge about the various facets of ‘distinct ordinariness’ of urban day-to-day life in new tourism areas. Then, varying ways of ‘seeing like a tourist city’ (Sommer and Helbrecht 2017) could be compared, i.e. to analyse administrative problematisations of conflict-prone *new urban tourism* as urban political processes shaping the future of city tourism. Finally, a deeper understanding of the entanglement of the urbanscape with tourism, and its related conflicts, could inform city authorities worldwide trying to