WORLD TOURISM CITIES
DEVELOPING TOURISM OFF THE BEATEN TRACK

EDITED BY ROBERT MAITLAND AND PETER NEWMAN

World Tourism Cities

This book presents new research on the capacity of big cities to generate new tourism areas as visitors discover and help create new urban experiences off the beaten track. It examines similarities and differences in these processes in a group of established world cities located in the global circuits of tourism. The cities featured are Berlin, New York, London, Paris, and Sydney.

In these cities experienced city visitors are contributing to the 'discovery' of new places to visit. Many neighbourhoods close to the historic centre and to traditional attractions offer the mix of cultural difference and consumption opportunities that can create new experiences for distinctive groups of city users. Each of the cities included in the book offers rich experiences of the re-imagining and re-branding of neighbourhoods off the beaten track, informative stories of the complex relationships between visitors, residents and others and of the ambitions of public policy to reproduce these new tourism experiences in other parts of the city. *World Tourism Cities* brings together current research in each of the cities and relates the often separate field of tourism research to some of the mainstream themes of debate in urban studies addressing topics such as consumption, markets and spaces.

Drawing on original research in this important group of cities this book has significant messages for public policy. In addition, the book engages directly with a range of important current academic debates: about world cities, about cities as sites of consumption and about the smaller scales at which urban neighbourhoods are being transformed. The range of cities and the messages about the making of attractive places provides a timely resource for those focused in this area and the book will also have an appeal among those experienced and sophisticated city users that it focuses on.

Robert Maitland is Reader in Tourism at the University of Westminster, London. His research focuses on tourism in cities, particularly world cities and national capitals, and on tourism policy. He has led funded research projects, written articles and books and advised government on these themes. Current research examines visitors' role in the creation of new tourist areas in London, and tourism in national capitals.

Peter Newman is Professor of Comparative Urban Planning at the School of Architecture and the Built Environment, University of Westminster, London. He has written widely on European cities, governance and planning. His most recent book is a study of urban planning and city management issues in 'world cities' in North America, Asia and Europe (*Planning World Cities* Palgrave 2005).

Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility
Series edited by C. Michael Hall

Professor at the Department of Management, College of Business & Economics, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand

The aim of this series is to explore and communicate the intersections and relationships between leisure, tourism and human mobility within the social sciences. It will incorporate both traditional and new perspectives on leisure and tourism from contemporary geography, for example notions of identity and representation and culture, while also providing for perspectives from cognate areas such as anthropology, cultural studies, gastronomy and food studies, marketing, policy studies and political economy, regional and urban planning, and sociology within the development of an integrated field of leisure and tourism studies.

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World Tourism Cities

Developing tourism off the beaten track

**Edited by Robert Maitland and
Peter Newman**

For Jane, for being there.

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and national capitals, and on tourism policy. He has led funded research projects, written articles and books and advised government on these themes. Current research examines visitors' role in the creation of new tourist areas in London, and tourism in national capitals.

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1 Developing world tourism cities

Robert Maitland and Peter Newman

INTRODUCTION

Urban tourism has been an inseparable part of the transformation of many cities over the past few decades. The waterfront developments, repackaged culture and heritage and café culture that signalled a new direction for many northern cities have been echoed in east Asia and other global regions. Place wars, imagineering and mega-projects are equally widespread and contribute to new city images that both confirm the urban preferences of those residents and businesses that are winners in urban change, and impact on the choices of visitors.

Tourism has boomed. Whilst there are precise official definitions of tourists and tourism (World Tourism Organisation and United Nations 1994) the conceptual difficulties of distinguishing tourism from other activities in cities and from other forms of mobility have meant that some commentators have referred to 'the end of tourism' as a discrete activity (Urry 1995, p. 150). There has been such a rapid growth in mobilities of many sorts that:

> all the world seems to be on the move . . . there are over 700 million legal passenger arrivals each year (compared to 25 million in 1950) . . . the internet has [almost] 1 billion users world wide . . . new forms of virtual and imaginative travel are emerging [so that there are] diverse yet intersecting mobilities [that] have many consequences for different people and places.
> (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 207)

Urban tourism is a vital part of this growth in mobility, yet it is increasingly difficult to see tourists as separated from other urban processes. In this book, we take up the challenge of understanding the interactions of visitors, residents, city workers and other city users in processes of urban change. We aim to explore systematically themes in tourism research about the discovery and creation of new urban places and the intersecting mobilities and urban preferences that may be shared between different groups. We relate discussion about the impacts of visitors and their concern with the quality and authenticity of urban experiences to the broader debates in urban studies

about a middle class return to the city, about consumption and everyday life, and a new concern with quality of life and amenity in attracting and retaining residents and workers. These broad themes about class, social values, consumption, and creativity help account for change in many cities and have their visible impacts on public policy as city leaders chase a creative class, advertise quality of life attributes and seek the apparent benefits of a visitor economy. In many ways, such approaches have become typical of old industrial cities and the transformation of central European cities and also find their echoes in more established, historic tourist cities, and growing tourist cities in east Asia. These are important processes in the cities we examine in this book. However, we argue that some of these processes are pronounced in the group of cities that we term world tourism cities (WTC). These are large polycentric cities offering a range of experiences and, as visitors move between and around established centres, they offer apparently seamless opportunities for adding new desirable places to explore to already crowded and diverse tourism possibilities. They are multi-functional cities well located in global circuits of both money and people. The idea of the world tourism city contrasts, however, with monocentric, less diverse but equally well known and well connected cities such as Venice or Las Vegas. Our idea of world tourism cities – we examine five in this book, London, Sydney, New York, Paris and Berlin – includes cities with substantial historical assets and iconic buildings, that are also centres of cultural excellence and, arising from their roles in global business networks, generate large numbers of business visitors in addition to those tourists attracted by tradition and cultural images. This group of cities is relatively rich, polycentric, multi-functional, culturally diverse and enjoys large flows of visitors. These are 'post colonial' cities, accommodating flows of migrants and where diversity can also be a marketing asset.

The characteristics of world tourism cities have another important consequence. The multiple social, physical and economic assets and polycentric spatial structures open up opportunities for tourism to develop away from traditional attractions and for visitors to discover new attractions off the beaten track. We argue that it is through the interactions of their multiple assets that world tourism cities have a considerable advantage over other cities in this ability to *produce* attractive places. Experienced urban tourists have an important role in enhancing the assets of world tourism cities. We suggest that it is through the work of visitors, residents and workers that these cities *produce* new localities and add to their already substantial advantage in the competition for reputation and visitors. These interactions between city users – visitors, residents and others – form an important dimension of our analysis in this book. Of course, the attractions of recently 'discovered' neighbourhoods can fade, and we expect experienced urban visitors to move on and continue to define new desirable locations within these large polycentric cities. Routes off the beaten track can become well trodden and may also change their character with the daily rhythms of the city. For example,

a characterful street with charming local restaurants may seem too far off the beaten track as it transforms into a local drinking venue in the evening. Visitors and residents alike can become concerned at the loss of local distinctiveness. Two recent newspaper headlines, for example, bemoan the threat of the wrong sort of visitors to one well established (Champs Elysées) and another developing (Rue des Rosiers) tourist street – 'Sex, crime and brand names overwhelm the Elysian fields', 'For Paris's Jewish quarter, a fight to save its soul'.[1] Our expectations, preferences and use of the cities change. Some cities are better placed to respond to change and this capacity for change marks out our group of world tourism cities.

The chapters in this book explore a range of different experiences in a group of world tourism cities. These experiences expose the interaction of visitors with other groups in the, often complex, ways in which cities produce new urban experiences. Our aim in this chapter is to set the scene for those city studies. We outline the overall approach taken in the chapters and begin by attempting to show the links between themes in the wide range of work in tourism research and urban studies. Firstly, we examine changing understandings of the urban tourist. We argue that visitors have a vital role in making new urban experiences. We then develop the idea of the world tourism city as offering particular potential for interactions between groups of city users and then draw some linking themes from debates about what visitors want from cities and how residents express their urban preferences. Finally, we outline how these themes are followed through in the five cities.

CHANGING VIEWS OF THE TOURIST

The rapid growth of mobilities that we discussed at the start of the chapter gives the background to attempts to understand contemporary urban tourism. There is wide agreement that tourism has been affected by global economic restructuring that has changed the use of time and space (see discussions in for example Harvey 1989 and Meethan 2001). Clear demarcations between leisure and work places, leisure and work activities, and leisure and work time are being eroded, and with them the delineation between host and visitors, touristic and non-touristic activities. We should not exaggerate. In some cases, it remains possible to make clear, or at least workable, distinctions between hosts and visitors, places of work and residence and places of play to which people travel as tourists, and between touristic and non-touristic behaviour. Torremolinos in Spain is still primarily a holiday resort; visitors to The Gambia or Bhutan are unlikely to be confused with locals. However, in many destinations distinctions have become hazy and tourism cannot be seen as a separate activity confined to particular areas or to particular times (Franklin and Crang 2001). It is more pervasive and divisions between tourism and everyday life in the city have blurred. As spending on leisure rises, some cities become centres for entertainment and cultural consumption. At the same time, they