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40. Long-term recommendations for sustainable urban tourism

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1. Introduction

Chapter 40 follows along after the previous one on the short-term outlook by considering the time period up to around 2030.

The future of cities is important to everyone and to every sector of the economy, and not just tourism. Why is this? One reason is that the number of people living in urban areas is constantly increasing. Cities also produce most of the gross domestic product (GDP) in countries. Along with that, they are the greatest sources of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and have the most influence on climate change.

What then are the prospects for cities in the decade ahead? There are so many prognostications on the future of cities that it can be difficult to distil their main points. The authors therefore chose to blend inputs from a variety of sources to produce a commentary on future urban directions. This chapter therefore divides the contributions to this debate into academic and other. Due to word count limitations, the following descriptions are brief.

2.1 Academic contributions

Contributions are being made across the scholarly disciplines on the future challenges and opportunities facing urban areas. For ease of comprehension and reading, the academic contributions were categorised into several main themes.

2.1.1 Urban futures

Zeiderman and Dawson (2022) address the concept of urban futures in their *City* article. These authors suggest that “the future has become a preeminent focus of contemporary urban policy, planning, design, development, and governance” (p. 262). Interestingly, these authors are of the opinion that the smart city concept is the most recent in a long list of visions to make the world a better place, one city at a time (p. 269). They also suggest that the decarbonising of cities could be an opportunity (not a threat) that could be profitable. They

argue against the notion that “the (urban) future is our enemy” (p. 275).

2.1.2 Urban governance

There appears to be a consensus in the academic literature that the governance of urban areas needs to change in the future. For example, da Cruz et al. (2019) wrote about “new urban governance” and suggested that urban governance is rapidly changing as cities have to deal with the many challenges they are facing. The open government (Wirtz and Birkmeyer, 2015), e-government and eLocGov models have been around for several years. In addition to single government agency changes, along with the countless calls for greater stakeholder cooperation in general, there is also a recognition that government agencies at different levels need to engage in more policy coordination (World Bank, 2022).

2.1.3 Sustainable urban transport

There is significant interest among scholars in sustainable transport. With increasing urbanisation in many cities, traffic congestion and greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are worsening. Scholars are contributing with studies to address these challenges, including research on mass rapid transport (MRT), autonomous vehicles and driverless cars (CAVs) (Bezai et al., 2021; Cohen and Hopkins, 2019; and Cugurullo et al., 2021; Ribeiro et al., 2022), urban aerial mobility (Wang and Qu, 2023), and other alternative transportation modes including the hyperloop and urban cable cars (Flessler and Friedrich, 2022; Harris-Brandts and Gogishvili, 2020).

2.1.4 Energy consumption in urban areas

Converting to clean energy solutions is a topic attracting many research scholars. Others focus on the drive by many cities to become net-zero carbon emitters (Seto et al., 2021), while some recommend nature-based solutions (Kabisch, Frantzeskaki, and Hansen, 2022). Rees (2023, p. 5-6) suggests that “governments, including city administrations, should move to reserve fossil fuel use for essential purposes only – food production, home heating, transportation”.

2.1.5 Smart cities

Academics have contributed several thousand articles on smart cities and it is one of the most popular research themes related to urban areas. Albino, Berardi, and Dangelico (2015, p. 4) state that “the concept of the smart city is far from being limited to the application of technologies to cities”, although when reading many academic articles on smart cities, technology is definitely the prime focus. One could argue that smarter or more intelligent cities are those that have sustainable tourism plans or strategies, for example.

2.1.6 Creative cities

The creative cities movement began to sprout in the 1980s and so it has existed for almost 40 years. Simply put, this concept means that urban areas place more emphasis on creativity and the creative industries, and there is a strong cultural connotation. Segovia and Hervé (2022) suggest that the creative city is an approach that urban areas can follow and that is a relatively flexible concept. The idea of event festivalisation can be cited as an example in which creative events are merged with conferences and conventions (Sala, 2015).

2.1.7 Urban inequality

Academic scholars are highlighting the inequalities among the residents of urban areas and suggesting that this is worsening with increasing urbanisation. For example, Nijman and Wei (2020) stated that “income gaps have widened, inter-city disparities have grown, suburbs

have been re-sorted into a wide array on the basis of class and race or ethnicity, and many central cities have assumed a renewed importance within metropolitan areas". There is also the concept of infrastructure inequality within urban areas. For example, Pandey, Brelsford, and Seto (2022) researched infrastructure inequality in India and South Africa and found significant inequalities. The researchers concluded that these differences will present a major barrier to achieving the UN's SDGs.

2.2 Other contributions

Other sources include intergovernmental agencies, notable large companies, consulting firms, associations and other industry bodies, think tanks, television broadcasters, and a variety of online sources. One influential source is UN Habitat's *World Cities Report 2022: Envisaging the future of cities*. This report examines a set of future urban issues and challenges, including urbanisation, poverty and inequality, resilient urban economies, greener urban future, urban planning, public health, urban governance, innovation and technology, and resilience. The report (page xv) states that, "sustainable urban futures must prioritise reduction in poverty and inequality; foster productive and inclusive urban economies that provide opportunities for all; adopt environmental policies and actions that mitigate and adapt to climate change, promote clean energy and protect ecosystems; integrate public health into urban development; facilitated by responsive urban planning and governance systems in which with finance, innovation and technology play overarching roles".

The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) produces the *GEO for Cities* reports. In a recent report, the agency identified urbanisation as a major driver of environmental change and a contributor to climate change, pollution, and biodiversity loss (UN Environment Programme, 2021).

The report, *Cities in the world: A new perspective on urbanisation*, produced a variety of useful conclusions about the world's urban areas (OECD and European Union, 2020). Interestingly, it was reported that the population was declining in 30% of metropolitan areas. The report also indicated that many cities suffer from high air pollution levels and inadequate infrastructure, especially in low-income countries.

The BBC has shown considerable interest in the future of cities over a number of years. The broadcaster's accounts are far less wordy and more visually impactful than many of the academic articles on city futures. For example, Evenden (2022) suggests, in a very direct way, future initiatives including creating 15-minute cities, rewilding the city, reimagining the high street, and implementing last-mile solutions (separating people from their cars). All of these ideas have great merit for cities in the next seven to ten years.

3. Co-editor commentaries

Each of the four Co-Editors offered their recommendations for sustainable urban tourism for the next decade.

3.1 J. Andres Coca-Stefaniak

The points made here are anchored in the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in Cities and they include the following social sustainability challenges for tourism cities globally.

- Prioritise safe and greener public spaces where local residents and visitors can engage with the activities and social interactions that form the fabric and binding agent of communities and wider society (e.g., cultural events, food and craft markets).

This will become a key way of delivering authentic visitor experiences, while also transforming local communities through meaningful interactions with visitors and tourists. Early macro-level initiatives to support this include the UN's Human Development Index and the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission, set up by former French president Nicolas Sarkozy. Tourism city strategies should be proactive in promoting and managing safe greener public spaces (Figure 40.1) by contributing with the design and delivery of memorable and transformational experiences for local residents and visitors.



Source: Unsplash.com, Tobi

Figure 40.1 Public green spaces and greenway in Singapore

- Deliver socially resilient urban communities by reducing social inequality and encouraging more sustainable urbanisation processes that adopt the sustainable urban systems science paradigm pioneered by Professor Anu Ramaswami (Ramaswami et al., 2012).

Tourism cities have a challenge to position themselves not only as attractive propositions for leisure tourism, but also for business tourism linked to the knowledge economy that helps to advance this paradigm and apply it to areas of major urban growth in China, India, and the ASEAN region using specialist know-how developed in partnership with the world's leading

economies.

- Co-create better online management strategies with local communities and visitors to deal with growing levels of misinformation online (including fake news), which will increase in scale and importance over the next few decades in terms of their impact on tourism cities globally.

The reputation of major urban destinations will become increasingly fragile as a result of orchestrated and targeted online slander, where the influence of artificial intelligence will only grow over time. The role of local communities in helping to manage these (online) risks and providing an effective, albeit informal, fact-checking mechanism for these online reputational threats will be key to the social sustainability of major urban tourism destinations in the future.

- Lead the way in influencing people's mindsets and behaviours related to environmental sustainability challenges from a vantage position as global tourism cities.

The vast majority of the world's key tourism cities are located in coastal regions likely to be affected by sea level rises and extreme weather events as a result of global climate change. It is time for these cities to take a leading role in educating residents and visitors about these challenges and ways of taking personal responsibility through their everyday actions and decisions.

A recent UN report forecast that 60% of the population living in cities by 2030 will be below the age of 18; nearly four billion people below the age of 30 will live in cities by the end of this decade. However, although cities remain key attractors in terms of jobs and urban tourism, younger generations are getting squeezed out of city centre living by rising leisure prices as well as ever-increasing house prices. As younger generations seek more peripheral (and cheaper) urban locations for their leisure activities (e.g., rave parties in industrial estates) and cities continue to focus on children and older generations, but not teenagers, this demographic group is increasingly looking for their own place to meet either in cyberspace (e.g., the metaverse) or alternative physical spaces. As a result, there is a growing demographic group that is becoming disenfranchised from the sense of place and belonging that town and city centres have provided since the advent of the Agora of Ancient Greece.

Smart cities should capitalise on this as an opportunity by developing a better nexus between the virtual world and the physical one. Some authors have referred to this as phygital spaces (e.g., Silva and Cachinho, 2021; Batat and Hammedi, 2023; or Neuburger et al, 2018 in the context of tourism). Tourism cities in the future will need to blend seamlessly the physical with the digital by, for instance, offering autonomous charging points for mobile phones with Wi-Fi and augmented reality options. This is also a generation for whom sustainability is a non-negotiable goal, so tourism cities will need to incorporate this into their offer to remain competitive. Sustainable zero-emissions public transport solutions, clean air targets, recycling facilities, zero-waste retail offers, and similar initiatives will cease to be outliers and become commonplace. In Malaga (Spain) a pilot urban development project - the Zeta District Project - is currently under development with a target launch in 2025: this will be a part of the city that will boast facilities to attract the post-Millennial generation, including augmented reality public spaces that allow for gamification options, mobile phone re-charging points, urban gardens, intergenerational play areas, theme parks for dogs and even bug hotels.

3.2. Cristina Maxim

An important aspect to consider when thinking about long-term projections for sustainable urban tourism is the role that tourism plays in urban development in general (Bærenholdt & Meged, 2023). Scholars have long called for a better integration of tourism activities in the wider urban agenda (Maxim, 2019), with the UNWTO noting that this could contribute to “inclusive, resilient and sustainable cities” (UNWTO, 2020, p. 4). Therefore, several trends related to sustainable city destinations and urban development are considered.

- Place greater emphasis on sustainable urban tourism

One of the trends identified by the Deloitte's Smart City Solutions Center (Antunes et al., 2021) in their report *Urban future with a purpose*, is the provision of green public spaces. This is also one of the indicators used to measure SDG 11 “Sustainable cities and communities”. Urban destinations are usually characterised by high population density and infrastructure developments that are meant to accommodate increasing numbers of residents and visitors, thus putting pressure on the limited resources available (Morrison & Maxim, 2022). Planners and managers therefore need to consider how city destinations can better tackle the challenges posed by the desire to develop additional infrastructure to accommodate an increased number of visitors, while protecting local communities, green spaces, and the built environment (González-Pérez, 2020; Leonard et al., 2020), and progressing toward reducing carbon emissions (Gössling & Higham, 2021). While not an easy task, however, as seen in Chapters 10, 20 and 21 of this Handbook, there are ways forward towards promoting more sustainable and greener city destinations.

- Address carrying capacity issues

A question that has been around for the past few decades and will continue to be relevant for urban destinations for the foreseeable future, is how many tourists a destination can accommodate in a sustainable way (Butler, 2019). Nowadays this question is particularly relevant, as we are going through the recovery stages following the COVID-19 pandemic, and it seems that many urban destinations are switching back to “business as usual” and the pre-pandemic tourism growth approach. Using Berlin (Figure 40.2) as a case study, Tokarchuk et al. (2022) developed an emotional index that managers can use to measure the carrying capacity of a destination. The index is based on positive and negative emotions and is derived from online reviews posted by tourists on Tripadvisor. The index can help city destination managers identify when tourism numbers reach unacceptable levels and interventions may be needed to avoid degradation of tourism experiences and possible conflict between visitors and hosts.



Source: *Unsplash.com, Florian Wehde*

Figure 40.2 Popular sites like the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin often suffer from overcrowding

- Embrace the circular economy concept

Another future trend identified in the report produced by Deloitte is the rise of the circular economy and local production in cities (Antunes et al., 2021). Promoting circular economic models is also a key priority for the European Union's European Green Deal strategy and should be a priority for city destinations too. This needs to be based on: A healthy circulation of resources; implementing the principles of sharing, reusing, and restoring; limiting waste production; and promoting local products.

Seoul, South Korea is one of the world city destinations that have implemented such an initiative since 2012 – the *Sharing City Seoul Project*, and over the years has certified about 50 sharing projects. Examples include local car-sharing companies such as SoCar and websites such as Billiji that help people share things with their neighbours (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, n.d.). Similar initiatives were implemented for the visitor economy, with platforms such as My Real Trip and Play Planet connecting tourists with local guides and Local Stitch sharing local tourism resources around local hotels.

- Develop smart and sustainable buildings and infrastructure

Developing smart and sustainable buildings and infrastructure is an aspect that urban destinations cannot overlook as it plays an important role in their journey towards becoming more sustainable. Such initiatives can help reduce carbon emissions in cities, in particular when considering the pressure on these destinations to act on climate change (Antunes et al., 2021; Utkina, Otto, and Churkina, 2023). As of March 2023, 29 major cities from different parts of the world had signed up to the World Green Building Council's *Net Zero Carbon Buildings Commitment*. This initiative calls for cities to reach net-zero carbon operation by 2030 for all buildings they control, and to encourage all other buildings to become net-zero by 2050 (World Green Building Council, 2023). Major city destinations that have signed the

initiative include London, New York City, Paris, Los Angeles, Sydney, Toronto, Copenhagen, Johannesburg, and Tokyo. Singapore is a good example, as one of the earlier cities to adopt green architecture initiatives, such as the *Green Mark Certification Scheme* introduced back in 2005. The city has set an ambitious goal in that at least 80% of the buildings are expected to be green by 2030.

3.3 Jonathon Day

Reflecting on the chapters of this book, I am heartened by the insights of our fellow authors yet concerned about the magnitude of our challenge. As we face the existential challenges of the 21st century, we must remember Einstein's insight: "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them." To fully achieve the promise of tourism, particularly urban tourism, to contribute positively to the poly-crises, we must change how we think and the mental models on which we base our actions. Paradigm shifting is always challenging, but here are a few suggestions on newer ways to approach existing problems. As we move forward, we must:

- Embrace systems thinking

Tourism is a complex adaptive system. It is comprised of many subsystems – destinations, enterprises, groups of people and it is part of larger systems, such as the urban city-systems and the broader socioeconomic and environmental systems in which we live. It is time that we work to understand the linkages between these systems and recognise that sustainable tourism cannot be achieved until it is embraced throughout the system. We must also recognise that sustainable tourism requires action from outside the tourism system (Day, 2020).

- Recognise that sustainable tourism must be addressed at every level

Social scientists often use three levels – macro, meso, and micro – to address social problems. Too often, our conversations about sustainable urban tourism focus on a single level of analysis without recognising the many interconnections between the levels. Corporate social responsibility (meso-level) is rarely discussed as a critical component of city-level sustainable tourism (macro-level), and yet it is critical that the businesses that comprise the system operate sustainably for the destination to be sustainable.

- Stop talking about sustainable tourism as a monolith

Sustainable tourism requires a portfolio of actions at each level of the system. For example, the widely adopted GSTC system identifies 38 criteria for destinations (macro-level) (GSTC, 2019) and 29 criteria for tourism businesses (meso-level) (GSTC, 2016). Even at the micro-level, a range of behaviours constitute responsible travel by the individual. Using this mental model, rather than asking if sustainable tourism has been achieved, we can explore the adoption of each specific action and examine the often-differing reasons one technique is adopted, and others are not.

- Recognise that tourism can contribute positively to communities and to the SDGs, but this does not happen automatically.

The mere presence of tourism in a city does not improve the destination community's quality of life. Tourism must be conducted sustainably for the benefits so often touted by tourism advocates and the tourism industry itself to be realised.

- See sustainability as dynamic

Although it is necessary to codify sustainable tourism practices to improve performance, it is important to be open to new ideas and ways of thinking and doing that achieve sustainability objectives. Regenerative sustainability is breathing new energy into the practice of sustainable tourism (Chapter 5). As we continue through the century, we must be open to new approaches and new techniques to achieve our goals.

- Understand the significance of climate change on all aspects of city life and urban tourism
Weaver (2011) asked whether climate change would overwhelm other aspects of sustainability in tourism. The opposite may be the case. Climate change may supercharge sustainability as the severity of climate crisis impacts grows, and we more clearly recognise that climate change is intersectional with many of the other environmental and social issues we face.

- Focus on how sustainable tourism is achieved, not just what must be done
Sustainable tourism requires collaboration and cooperation. It requires aligning the actions of independent actors to achieve common goals. It requires a commitment to communication and engagement, and all these things must be done over the long haul. Building skills and capabilities to undertake this type of relational work for mutual benefit is important.

- Commit to building destination community assets
Much of the attention on sustainability has focused on the immediate transactions of the triple bottom line. Our focus has been drawn to the short-term focus of reducing negative impacts and increasing the benefits as tourism takes place. While this approach has a place, we must also focus on the long-term assets we steward for the destination community (Chapter 20). Our cities will be enriched and more resilient with a focus on building back better.

Some of these new ways of thinking have been with us for some time, while others have emerged in recent years. Nevertheless, taken collectively they offer an alternative path to some of the common approaches to sustainable urban tourism. One way or the other, we must recognise that time is of the essence. There is a need for urgency in our actions. It is easily overlooked that the completion date for the SDGs is 2030. The SDGs are an ambitious commitment to the future of society and our environment. While imperfect, the SDGs represent an optimistic roadmap to addressing many of our existential problems. The ability of cities to contribute is fundamental to successfully achieving the goals. Tourism also has an important role to play in meeting the goals. The challenge has been set forth, and it is critical that urban tourism leaders play their role.

3.4 Alastair M. Morrison

The focus here is on sustainable transportation in cities, often referred to as urban mobility. Already there have been major innovations in this area; however, these are expected to accelerate even faster in the next seven to ten years. Chapter 14 discussed some of the innovations, including bike-sharing, scooter-sharing, and Mobility as a Service (MaaS). The transportation changes ahead will affect urban residents and visitors, preferably in a positive way.

- Implement fossil-fuel-free modes of urban transportation
Previous chapters have emphasised climate action and the need for cities to deal with the twin challenges of traffic congestion and air pollution. Over the next decade, we are going to witness much greater adoption of various forms of vehicles that do not use fossil fuels.

Connected and autonomous vehicles (CAVs) are expected to have a large impact on the tourism industry in future, particularly in cities, influencing where, when, and how tourists (and residents) move. They have the potential to significantly disrupt and “dramatically change the way people live, work and travel in cities” (Cohen and Hopkins, 2019, p. 33). Established car manufacturers such as Nissan and Volvo, as well as new entrants such as Google, Apple and Uber are working towards developing fully automated vehicles. Ribeiro et al. (2022) looked at the visitor acceptance of autonomous vehicles in travel and tourism and found that perceived performance and perceived risk are important factors that travellers take into account when deciding to use or not use such services. Heathrow Airport in London is involved in several CAV experiments, such as the Heathrow Airport *Pod Parking*, claimed to be one of the cheapest and most convenient ways to park your car at the airport and get from there to the airport building (Ryder, 2022). The *Heathrow Pods* are another example, consisting of a “fleet of automatic driverless electronic vehicles which transport customers between London Heathrow Airport's Terminal 5 and the Thistle Hotel in just five minutes” (Thistle London Heathrow T5, 2023). Saving time and reducing carbon emissions are considered among the key advantages of implementing CAV technologies.

Aerial mobility also seems to offer promising solutions for cities in the next ten years. The applications of drones within urban areas for delivery and other services has already become somewhat commonplace. In the near future, electric vertical-takeoff-and-landing (eVTOL) vehicles (“flying taxis”) (Figure 40.3) are primed to help ease traffic congestion in cities. Wang and Qu (2023, p. 1) of Tsinghua University, Beijing suggest that eVTOLs will “drive the era of urban aerial mobility (UAM), a more convenient, efficient, and sustainable urban commuting option, moving future mobility off the road and into the air”.



Source: Airbus

Figure 40.3 CityAirbus NextGen eVTOL

Another urban transportation solution being applied by some urban areas is the cable car system. These systems have been developed in several cities in the Americas, including Medellin (Colombia), Mexico City (Mexico), Caracas (Venezuela), and Guayaquil (Ecuador) (González et al., 2021). Flesser and Friedrich (2022) prepared a systematic literature review of 54 sources on aerial cable cars and they noted that “cable cars have been an established and technically proven mode of transport for decades, offering advantages against other modes of transport, especially in mountainous regions” (p. 1). For example, an urban cable car system was developed in Tbilisi, Georgia in the 1950s during the Soviet era (Harris-Brandts and Gogishvili, 2020). Also known as aerial tramways, according to the World Bank they “are coming into increasing use in urban transit systems in large cities as a way of connecting up nearby locations separated by steep gradients or mountainous terrain” (The World Bank Group, 2020, p. 8). From the tourism perspective, these can function as public transportation and sightseeing attractions, e.g., the Emirates Air Line in London (BBC, 2022).

- Put greater emphasis on public transport

In reading the academic literature, there is some doubt about the future of urban public transport and especially due to the impact of COVID-19. However, as Ceder (2021) emphasises, efforts will continue to reduce the use (and adverse impacts) of private cars in urban areas. The same author concludes that “we are on the verge of a dramatic change in urban mobility” (p. 22).

The evidence on the ground is positive on the expansion of the supply of public transportation. For example, there has been a major expansion of subway and MRT systems in cities around the world. This growth has mainly occurred within Asia and particularly in China, India, and Indonesia, as well as in Iran and Brazil. The new Jakarta MRT system will greatly ease the public’s movement within a city traditionally plagued with serious traffic congestion. Above the ground, China has developed the largest high-speed rail system in the world, at around 40,000 kilometres (Jones, 2022). According to CAPA (2023), there are many new airport construction projects underway, and other projects to expand and improve existing airports. The majority of the new airports are in Asia-Pacific, Latin America, and Africa. Urban cable car systems as public transportation were mentioned above.

- Accept telecommuting as a permanent state

The telecommuting movement (or working from one’s home) significantly increased during the COVID-19 pandemic as a result of the strict restrictions on travel (Fatmi, Orvin, and Thirkell, 2022). Telecommuting can reduce daily trips and traffic congestion, cut air pollution, enhance productivity and efficiency, offer greater schedule flexibility, and create a better work-life balance (Harpaz, 2002). The research evidence suggests that telecommuting reduces traffic congestion and its associated problems including air pollution (Liang et al., 2023; Shabanpour et al., 2018). A complete return to pre-COVID work-life patterns is unlikely during 2023-2030 (Guyot and Sawhill, 2020; Liang et al., 2023); it may become a permanent state for many years to come.

- Create more urban greenways

Providing alternatives to using private cars also includes creating paths and trails for bicycling, walking, and other non-automobile modes of transport. Some of these are called urban greenways, which are defined as “corridors of land recognised for their ability to connect people and places together. These ribbons of open space are located within linear corridors that are either natural, such as rivers and streams, or manmade, such as abandoned railroad beds and utility corridors” (Greenways, Inc., 2023). These paths and trails ease

transportation issues, as well as offering a valuable and healthy amenity for local residents and visitors. Singapore provides an excellent example of a linked and integrated urban greenway system, as one element of its biophilic urban design strategy (Sini, 2020).

Innovations in urban transportation must have a high priority in the next decade and beyond. This chapter section has presented some excellent solutions; however, the complexities involved in their implementation must not remain unmentioned. Some of the technologies are not yet perfected (e.g., eVTOLs and the hyperloop), and require on-the-ground arrangements to be made as well as effective integration with existing transport modes and systems.

4. Conclusion

It is relatively straightforward to enumerate the major challenges that urban areas will confront in the next ten years; it is much harder to predict what cities will do and how the individual challenges will interact. Rather than trying to predict a highly uncertain future, this chapter provides reasonable recommendations to enhance urban sustainable tourism for the next decade.

Looking across the globe, the caution must be made that not all urban areas are the same. Cities in developing countries are facing greater challenges in dealing with urbanisation and correcting inequalities. Also, solutions to challenges will vary in effectiveness from city to city. Although rather a bleak forecast, it is possible that many of the urban challenges will not be solved in the next decade; in fact, some may deteriorate further.

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