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## FROM ANTAGONISM TO HARMONY – A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE TOURISM IN BUKHARA

### Annotation

This article presents a compelling comparative analysis of tourism governance models in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice, aiming to extract valuable lessons for the sustainable development of tourism in Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The author effectively highlights the growing global challenge of urban tourism antagonism, where tensions arise between residents and tourists due to the perceived negative impacts of tourism growth. By examining the governance structures, planning and regulation strategies, community engagement mechanisms, and mitigation efforts employed in each European city, the research reveals diverse approaches to managing tourism and addressing its challenges.

The article's strength lies in its ability to draw insightful connections between the European experiences and the specific context of Bukhara. The author recognizes that while the European models cannot be directly replicated, they offer transferable lessons that can be adapted to Bukhara's unique cultural and socio-economic circumstances. The research provides concrete recommendations for Bukhara, emphasizing the importance of empowering local communities, developing a comprehensive tourism plan, regulating short-term rentals, and promoting responsible tourism practices.

Overall, this article offers a valuable contribution to the field of sustainable tourism and heritage management. The comparative analysis provides a rich understanding of the complexities of tourism governance and the need for context-specific solutions.

**Key words:** tourism governance, sustainable tourism, heritage tourism, overtourism, tourism antagonism, community engagement, destination management, comparative analysis

### Introduction

Tourism has emerged as a dominant force in the global economy, experiencing unprecedented growth in recent decades. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2024), international tourist arrivals reached 1.3 billion in 2023, at 88% of pre-pandemic levels. The release of remaining pent-up demand, improved air connectivity, and a more robust recovery of Asian markets and destinations are anticipated to support a complete recovery by the end of 2024. However, this rapid growth has also generated complex challenges, particularly for historic urban centers (Hall, 2019; García-Hernández, 2021). As tourism numbers continue to rise, destinations face many challenges, including overcrowding, which diminishes the visitor experience and impacts residents' quality of life (Milano, 2019; Bertocchi, 2019). Moreover, tourism-driven gentrification displaces long-term residents, leading to social tensions and cultural homogenization (Kim & Holifield, 2024). Additionally, commercializing cultural traditions and heritage sites can erode the authentic character of destinations (Rodzi et al., 2013). Moreover, increased tourism puts pressure on local resources, generating pollution, waste, and damage to fragile ecosystems (UNEP, 2005; Belsoy et al., 2012; Chandel, 2022). In many cases, these challenges have, fueled a growing phenomenon known as urban tourism antagonism first studied by Doxy in 1975.

Urban tourism antagonism refers to the negative sentiments and tensions between residents and tourists in urban destinations (Novy et al, 2016; Milano et al., 2019), presenting a significant challenge to the long-term sustainability and resilience of these destinations. Tourist influx can lead to resident resentment, fueled by perceived disruptions, changes in neighbourhood character, and the prioritization of visitor needs over residents' well-being (Koens, et al., 2018). This tension manifests in over-tourism protests and negative media portrayals, often stemming from a perceived imbalance between tourism's benefits and burdens, leaving residents feeling "overrun" while not reaping the economic rewards or improved quality of life. Understanding the root causes of this antagonism is essential for developing effective governance strategies that can mitigate these tensions and foster more harmonious and sustainable tourism development.

Antagonism is a multifaceted phenomenon, encompassing economic, social, cultural, and environmental dimensions. Economic antagonism stems from the perceived unequal distribution of tourism benefits, with residents facing inflation and precarious employment (Zervas et al, 2017). Social antagonism arises from overcrowding, disruptive tourist behaviour, and the erosion of community identity (Milano et al, 2019). Cultural antagonism emerges from the commodification of traditions, cultural clashes, and the loss of authentic cultural spaces (Cohen, 1988). Finally, environmental antagonism surfaces due to increased pollution, damage to heritage sites, and the overuse of natural resources. These interconnected dimensions create a complex web of tensions, requiring a nuanced understanding of urban tourism antagonism to inform holistic destination governance. Effective governance must address these tensions by fostering equitable distribution of benefits, managing visitor impacts, preserving cultural authenticity, and protecting environmental resources. Ultimately, the goal is to create a tourism model that benefits both visitors and residents, ensuring the long-term sustainability and resilience of urban destinations.

For instance, across Europe, urban tourism antagonism manifests in various ways. Barcelona experiences over-tourism protests, prompting restrictions on accommodations and revealing social and cultural tensions through anti-tourism graffiti (Sarda-Diaz, 2019; Blanco et al, 2020; Honey et al, 2021). Amsterdam combats housing affordability issues with stringent Airbnb regulations, implements tourist taxes, and encourages visitors to explore alternative destinations (Wachsmuth et al, 2018; Fernández, 2019). Venice, grappling with environmental damage and cultural erosion, restricts cruise ships, faces resident protests, and witnesses the decline of traditional businesses catering to locals (Smith, 2017; O'Reilly, 2018; Giuffre, 2020). These examples highlight the growing urban tourism antagonism and the importance of adopting diverse strategies to mitigate those harmful impacts.

While Bukhara (Uzbekistan) has not yet experienced the same intensity of urban tourism antagonism as some European cities, it is crucial to recognize that this phenomenon is often the result of unmanaged tourism growth and reactive, rather than proactive, planning. The European experiences provide valuable lessons for Bukhara, underscoring the need for a forward-thinking approach to sustainable tourism development that prioritizes economic benefits and resident well-being.

Several parallels can be drawn between Bukhara's current trajectory and the challenges faced by European cities. According to the Statistics Agency of Uzbekistan, 6.6 million foreign citizens visited Uzbekistan for tourism in 2023, a 26.6% increase from the previous year. The "Measures for Further Development of Tourism in Bukhara Region in 2022-2026" presents a bold vision for tourism-led economic growth (Table 1).

Table 1

**Development of Tourism in Bukhara Region in 2022-2026**  
**Target indicators**

№	Indicator	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026
1.	Number of Domestic Tourists (million people)	2.4	2.9	3.4	3.8	4.1
2.	Number of Foreign Tourists (thousand people)	450.0	900.0	1,200	1,500	1,800

3.	Export of Services (million USD)	121	200	230	270	300
4.	Number of Rooms in Accommodation Facilities (thousand)	5,399	6,131	6,721	7,336	7,976
5.	Hotel Occupancy Rate (%)	45.0	51.0	61.0	71.0	93.0
6.	Number of Beds in Accommodation Facilities (thousand)	12,147	13,672	14,902	16,182	17,512
7.	Number of Hotels	178	198	218	238	258
8.	Number of Family Guest Houses	264	314	325	335	345
9.	Number of Hostels	55	61	66	71	76
10.	Increase in Internet Coverage (Including 4G and 5G Technologies)	7	8	9	10	11

Source: Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 543 dated 28.09.2022.

However, the sheer scale of projected expansion, coupled with the potential for unevenly distributed benefits, raises serious concerns about the emergence of urban tourism antagonism, mirroring patterns observed across Europe. For instance:

#### 1. Overtourism and Pressure on Infrastructure

Exponential visitor growth targets a staggering 300% increase in foreign tourist arrivals in Bukhara, from 450,000 in 2022 to 1,800,000 in 2026. This surge, combined with the projected 71% rise in domestic tourism (reaching 4.1 million by 2026), creates a potential overtourism within the Historic Center of Bukhara, a designated World Heritage Site by UNESCO, exceeding its carrying capacity and straining existing infrastructure. According to information from the Regional Bukhara Tourism Department, the number of foreign tourists visiting in 2023 reached 1.387 million. This figure surpasses the projected target by 54.1%. Based on the 2023 figures, a goal has been set to reach 5 million foreign tourist visits by 2030. The strain on resources involves the influx of millions of additional visitors, placing immense stress on essential services like water supply, sanitation, and transportation. If left unaddressed, this strain could result in service disruptions, inflated costs, and declining resident quality of life. Echoes of Barcelona highlights a cautionary tale from Barcelona's experience with overtourism. As tourism numbers exploded, the city grappled with overcrowding, strained infrastructure, and resident protests demanding limits on tourism growth (Honey et al, 2021).

#### 2. Gentrification and Affordability

Hotel Boom in Bukhara (table 1) plans the expansion of accommodation facilities, with hotel rooms increasing from 5,399 to 7,976 and beds from 12,147 to 17,512 by 2026. This signals a potential for rapid real estate development and speculation. Without careful regulation, this could fuel gentrification, displacing long-term residents and disrupting community cohesion. The rapid increase in income from tourism will cause property and rental prices to rise (Liang & Bao, 2015). The benefits may not reach all residents, and the influx of tourists along with potential real estate investment, could drive up housing costs, making Bukhara increasingly unaffordable for locals. Amsterdam's struggle with Airbnb-driven gentrification and rising rents offers a stark example (Colomb et al, 2021; Smigiel, 2023).

#### 3. Cultural Commodification and Authenticity

Balancing Growth with Preservation focuses on economic gains from tourism but lacks clear strategies for safeguarding Bukhara's cultural authenticity amidst rapid development. Community Engagement Gap highlights the absence of specific measures for involving residents in tourism planning, heightening the risk of cultural commodification. Local traditions and heritage may be packaged for tourist consumption without meaningful benefit to the community, mirroring concerns voiced in Venice (Pech, 2022).

#### 4. Environmental Impact

Resource consumption surge involves millions of additional visitors, inevitably amplifying demands on Bukhara's water resources, energy supply, and waste management systems, potentially jeopardizing the city's long-term environmental sustainability. Transportation Inadequacy is evident as the plan mentions increased internet coverage but lacks details on sustainable transportation options. Increased reliance on private vehicles and buses, driven by tourism expansion, could exacerbate air and noise pollution, degrading the quality of life for residents and visitors alike (Giulietti et al, 2028).

However, there is a limited understanding of how overtourism and tourism antagonism are emerging in Central Asian destinations, particularly in cities like Bukhara. Moreover, there is a lack of comparative studies that analyze tourism governance models from different regions to inform sustainable tourism practices in emerging destinations. This research aims to address this gap by exploring the following key questions: 1) What are the key characteristics and differences in the tourism governance models employed in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice, and how have these models addressed the challenges of overtourism and tourism antagonism? 2) What lessons can be learned from the European experiences that can inform the development of a more sustainable and inclusive tourism governance model for Bukhara, considering its unique cultural context and development aspirations?

### **Methodology**

This research employs a comparative case study methodology to analyze the tourism governance models and mitigation strategies of three European cities: Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice. These cities were selected due to their prominence as tourism destinations, their diverse approaches to managing tourism-related challenges, and their documented experiences with overtourism and urban tourism antagonism. Their experiences provide valuable insights for Bukhara, which is poised for significant tourism growth and faces the potential for similar challenges.

Barcelona represents a city with a long history of mass tourism. It is currently facing significant overtourism pressures and grappling with resident antagonism. Its decentralized governance model and efforts to regulate accommodation and visitor flows offer valuable lessons. Amsterdam is known for its innovative visitor management strategies, particularly its focus on dispersing tourists and promoting alternative attractions. Its strict Airbnb regulations and community engagement initiatives provide insights into addressing housing affordability and resident concerns. Venice illustrates the challenges of managing tourism in a highly fragile and culturally significant destination. Its focus on access control, particularly for cruise ships, and its efforts to preserve local identity offer relevant perspectives for heritage-rich destinations like Bukhara.

To analyze the tourism governance models and mitigation strategies of each case study city, this research will draw upon a range of primary and secondary data sources. This includes an analysis of official tourism policies, strategic plans, and regulations related to visitor management, accommodation, transportation, and community engagement. Examples of these documents are Barcelona's "Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020," Amsterdam's "Responsible Tourism Action Plan," and Venice's "Sustainable Tourism Strategy." In addition to policy documents, this research will review scholarly articles and research reports that examine tourism governance, overtourism, and urban tourism antagonism in the selected case study cities.

Media reports will also be examined, including news articles, opinion pieces, and online platforms. These will help to understand public discourse and media portrayals of tourism-related issues in each city. Grey literature, such as reports and publications from NGOs, tourism organizations, and government agencies, will also be reviewed to gain further insights into tourism management practices and challenges. Depending on feasibility and resources, interviews with key stakeholders (e.g., tourism officials, residents, business owners) could be conducted to gather firsthand perspectives on the effectiveness of governance models and mitigation strategies.

A comparative framework will be employed to analyze the data collected from each case study city. This will focus on several key aspects of their tourism governance models. The analysis will identify the key actors involved in tourism governance (e.g., national, regional, local governments, tourism boards, private sector, community organizations) as well as their roles and responsibilities and the level of coordination and collaboration. Planning approaches (e.g., strategic tourism plans, zoning regulations, visitor management plans) and regulatory mechanisms (e.g., accommodation limits, tourist taxes, access restrictions) employed to manage tourism impacts will also be examined. The research will assess the extent to which residents are involved in tourism planning and decision-making processes and evaluate the effectiveness of community engagement mechanisms. Finally, the specific strategies implemented to address overtourism and antagonism will be analyzed, focusing on their aims, implementation, and perceived effectiveness.

The comparative analysis will identify commonalities and differences in the governance models and mitigation strategies of the three cities, highlighting best practices, challenges encountered, and lessons learned. These findings will then be used to inform recommendations for Bukhara, drawing upon successful examples and avoiding pitfalls encountered in the European context.

## Results

This section presents the key findings from the comparative analysis of tourism governance models in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice, highlighting their diverse approaches to managing tourism and addressing overtourism and antagonism. The analysis begins by examining the governance structures in each city, focusing on the key actors involved in tourism decision-making, the distribution of power and responsibilities, and the mechanisms for coordinating tourism policy and practice.

### 1. Governance Structure

#### Barcelona's decentralized approach

Barcelona has undergone a significant shift towards decentralization in its tourism governance structure, aiming to empower local communities and foster more equitable and sustainable tourism development (Blanco-Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2020). A key element of this decentralized model is the role of neighborhood councils (*consells de barri*), which are composed of elected residents and representatives of local associations (Romero, 2017). These councils have been granted increasing autonomy in managing tourism within their respective neighborhoods, allowing for more localized decision-making and a greater focus on addressing the specific needs and concerns of residents (Almirall et al., 2019). This devolution of power aims to address the hyper-concentration of tourism in certain areas, particularly in the historic city center, and ensure that tourism development is more responsive to local contexts.

#### Amsterdam's Centralized model with resident participation

Amsterdam's tourism governance model, in contrast to Barcelona, exhibits a more centralized structure, with the city government playing a dominant role in policymaking and regulation (Koens et al., 2018). The municipality has a dedicated tourism department responsible for developing and implementing the city's tourism strategy, which emphasizes sustainability, resident well-being, and the dispersal of visitors to less crowded areas (Amsterdam Marketing, 2018). While the city government holds significant authority, resident participation is considered crucial in Amsterdam's approach. A formal system of neighborhood consultations is in place, providing residents with opportunities to voice their opinions and influence tourism-related plans and policies that affect their communities (Wachsmuth et al., 2018). This participatory element aims to ensure that tourism development aligns with the needs and priorities of residents, fostering a sense of ownership and reducing the potential for antagonism.

#### Venice's Multi-layered governance and coordination challenges

Venice presents a complex and multifaceted governance structure, reflecting its unique status as a World Heritage Site and its vulnerability to the impacts of mass tourism (Smith, 2017). Tourism governance in Venice involves multiple stakeholders at the local, regional, and national

levels, including the City of Venice, the Veneto Region, the Italian government, and the Port Authority (Giuffre, 2020). This intricate web of actors, while potentially offering diverse perspectives, can also lead to coordination challenges and conflicting priorities. For example, decisions regarding cruise ship access to the Venetian lagoon, a significant source of both revenue and environmental concern, involve protracted negotiations between multiple authorities, often resulting in compromises that fail to fully satisfy any stakeholder group (O'Reilly, 2018).

## **2. Planning and Regulation**

### *Barcelona's strategic plan and regulatory measures*

Barcelona's approach to planning and regulation is characterized by a strategic focus on sustainability and quality tourism, coupled with stringent measures to control the negative impacts of overtourism. The city's "Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020" outlined a vision for a more balanced and responsible tourism model, emphasizing the diversification of tourism offerings, the dispersal of visitors to less crowded areas, and the improvement of resident quality of life (Barcelona City Council, 2016). To achieve these goals, Barcelona implemented various regulatory measures, including a moratorium on new hotel licenses in the city center, strict regulations on short-term rental platforms like Airbnb, and the introduction of a tourist tax to fund tourism management and infrastructure improvements (Blanco-Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2020). Additionally, the city implemented zoning restrictions to limit the sprawl of tourism-related businesses into residential areas, aiming to preserve neighborhood character and mitigate resident displacement.

### *Amsterdam's "City in Balance" approach*

Amsterdam's planning and regulation strategies are guided by the principle of "City in Balance," seeking to balance the economic benefits of tourism with the well-being of residents and the preservation of the city's unique character (Amsterdam Marketing, 2018). The city's "Responsible Tourism Action Plan" focuses on managing visitor flows, dispersing tourists to less-visited areas, and promoting alternative attractions beyond the crowded city center (Amsterdam Marketing, 2020). Amsterdam has implemented strict regulations on Airbnb, limiting the number of nights and properties available for short-term rentals, and introduced a tourist tax to generate revenue for tourism management and infrastructure (Wachsmuth et al., 2018). Furthermore, the city employs targeted marketing campaigns to attract "quality tourists" interested in cultural experiences and sustainability, encouraging off-season travel and discouraging disruptive behavior.

### *Venice's focus on access control and heritage preservation*

Venice's planning and regulation efforts are primarily driven by the need to protect the city's fragile environment and unique cultural heritage from the pressures of mass tourism. The city has implemented various access control measures, most notably restrictions on large cruise ships entering the Venetian Lagoon, aiming to reduce congestion, pollution, and damage to historic structures (O'Reilly, 2018). Additionally, Venice is considering implementing an entry fee for day visitors to manage overcrowding and generate revenue for conservation and infrastructure (Giuffre, 2020). The city also focuses on investing in alternative transportation options, such as water buses and pedestrian walkways, to reduce reliance on private vehicles and promote sustainable mobility. However, the effectiveness of these measures is often hampered by the complexities of Venice's multi-layered governance structure and the need to balance competing interests (Smith, 2017). Table 2 provides a comparative overview of the planning approaches and regulatory measures implemented in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice to manage tourism growth and mitigate its negative impacts.

Table 2.

**Planning and Regulation Strategies in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice**

City	Planning Approach	Regulatory Measures
Barcelona	Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020 - Focus on sustainability, quality over quantity, diversification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Moratorium on new hotel licenses in city center</li> <li>- Strict regulations on Airbnb</li> <li>- Tourist tax</li> <li>- Zoning restrictions</li> </ul>
Amsterdam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- City in Balance principle</li> <li>- Responsible Tourism Action Plan</li> <li>- Dispersal of visitors, alternative attractions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strict Airbnb regulations</li> <li>- Tourist tax</li> <li>- Targeted marketing campaigns to attract "quality tourists" and promote off-season travel</li> </ul>
Venice	Focus on access control and heritage preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cruise ship restrictions</li> <li>- Potential entry fee for day visitors</li> <li>- Investments in alternative transportation (water buses, pedestrian walkways)</li> </ul>

Source: Author

**3. Community Engagement***Barcelona's empowerment of neighborhoods*

Barcelona's decentralized governance model, with its emphasis on neighborhood empowerment, has fostered greater community involvement in tourism management. The city's 73 neighborhood councils (consells de barri) serve as vital platforms for residents to voice their concerns, propose solutions, and influence tourism-related policies at the local level (Almirall et al., 2019). These councils have a formal role in the city's planning processes, providing input on tourism development projects, zoning regulations, and strategies for mitigating negative impacts (Romero, 2017). Furthermore, Barcelona has implemented participatory planning processes, such as the "Pla Estratègic de Turisme 2020" (Strategic Tourism Plan 2020), which involved extensive consultations with residents, businesses, and other stakeholders to develop a shared vision for sustainable tourism (Barcelona City Council, 2016). While challenges remain in ensuring equitable participation and addressing power imbalances between different neighborhood groups, Barcelona's decentralized approach has created more opportunities for residents to actively shape the future of tourism in their communities.

*Amsterdam's Emphasis on resident involvement*

Amsterdam places a strong emphasis on involving residents in tourism planning and decision-making. The city recognizes that successful tourism management requires collaboration and a shared understanding of the challenges and opportunities that tourism presents. Neighborhood consultations are a key mechanism for gathering resident input on a wide range of tourism-related issues, from visitor management strategies to regulations on short-term rentals (Amsterdam Marketing, 2018). For example, in 2016, the city conducted extensive consultations with residents in the De Wallen (Red Light District) area to develop a plan for addressing overcrowding and improving the quality of life for residents (Wachsmuth et al., 2018). This participatory process led to the implementation of measures such as restricting tourist groups, promoting alternative routes through the district, and increasing enforcement against disruptive behavior.

*Venice's challenges in engaging residents*

Community engagement in Venice faces unique challenges due to the city's particular circumstances. The high percentage of tourism-related businesses, the limited resident population, and the historical tensions between residents and tourists make fostering meaningful dialogue and collaboration difficult (Smith, 2017). However, recent initiatives have aimed to bridge this gap and involve residents more actively in tourism management. For example, the "Venice Resilience

Strategy," adopted in 2021, includes provisions for strengthening community engagement through participatory budgeting processes and the establishment of a "Citizen Observatory" to monitor tourism impacts and provide feedback (Comune di Venezia, 2021). However, the effectiveness of these initiatives remains to be seen, and ongoing efforts are needed to overcome the historical challenges and build a more collaborative approach to tourism governance in Venice.

**4. Mitigation Strategies**

*Barcelona's mixed results with regulatory measures*

Barcelona has implemented a range of regulatory measures to mitigate the negative impacts of overtourism, with mixed results. The moratorium on new hotel licenses in the city center has helped to slow the growth of accommodation supply, but it has also led to a rise in illegal tourist apartments and the displacement of tourism-related businesses to surrounding neighborhoods (Blanco-Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2020). The strict regulations on Airbnb, while aimed at curbing the negative impacts of short-term rentals on housing affordability and neighborhood character, have also faced challenges in enforcement (Wachsmuth et al., 2018). The tourist tax, introduced in 2012, has generated significant revenue for tourism management and infrastructure improvements, but concerns remain about its equitable distribution and whether it effectively addresses the root causes of overtourism.

*Amsterdam's success with visitor dispersal and community initiatives*

Amsterdam has achieved notable success in managing visitor flows and mitigating overtourism through a combination of strategies. The city's efforts to disperse visitors to less crowded areas, promote alternative attractions, and encourage off-season travel have helped to reduce congestion in the city center (Amsterdam Marketing, 2020). Furthermore, Amsterdam's focus on community-based initiatives has empowered residents to play a more active role in shaping tourism in their neighborhoods. For example, the "I amsterdam" campaign, launched in 2015, encouraged residents to share their favorite local spots and experiences with visitors, fostering a sense of connection and authenticity (Fernandez, 2019).

*Venice's ongoing struggle with access control*

Venice continues to grapple with the challenges of managing visitor numbers and protecting its fragile environment. Cruise ship restrictions, implemented in 2021, have significantly reduced the number of large vessels entering the Venetian Lagoon, but concerns remain about the impact of smaller cruise ships and the need for stricter regulations (O'Reilly, 2018). The proposed entry fee for day visitors, while potentially effective in managing overcrowding and generating revenue, has faced opposition from some businesses and residents who fear it could negatively impact the local economy (Giuffre, 2020). Venice's efforts to promote alternative transportation options, such as water buses and walking, have been somewhat successful in reducing traffic congestion, but the city's unique infrastructure and limited space pose ongoing challenges to sustainable mobility. Table 3 provides a comparative overview of the strengths and challenges of community engagement and mitigation strategies employed in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice.

Table 3

**Comparative Strengths and Challenges**

City	Community Engagement: Strengths & Challenges	Mitigation Strategies: Strengths & Challenges
Barcelona	<i>Strengths:</i> Decentralized governance empowers neighborhoods, active resident involvement through consells de barri, participatory planning processes. <i>Challenges:</i> Ensuring equitable participation, addressing power imbalances between neighborhoods.	<i>Strengths:</i> Strategic plan focused on sustainability, regulations on accommodation and zoning. <i>Challenges:</i> Enforcement of regulations (e.g., illegal apartments), displacement of tourism impacts to other areas.

Amsterdam	<i>Strengths:</i> Strong emphasis on resident involvement through neighborhood consultations, resident-led initiatives, campaigns to foster resident-visitor connection (e.g., "I amsterdam"). <i>Challenges:</i> Balancing tourism growth with resident quality of life, particularly in the historic city center.	<i>Strengths:</i> Effective visitor management strategies (dispersal, alternative attractions), strict Airbnb regulations, community-based initiatives. <i>Challenges:</i> Housing affordability issues.
Venice	<i>Strengths:</i> Recent initiatives to strengthen community engagement (e.g., participatory budgeting, Citizen Observatory). <i>Challenges:</i> Historical tensions between residents and tourists, high percentage of tourism-related businesses, complex governance structure.	<i>Strengths:</i> Cruise ship restrictions, investment in alternative transportation. <i>Challenges:</i> Balancing economic dependence on tourism with heritage preservation, opposition to some access control measures (e.g., entry fee).

Source: Author

## Discussion

### *Lessons for Bukhara*

The comparative analysis of Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice offers valuable insights for Bukhara as it navigates the challenges of balancing ambitious tourism growth with heritage preservation and resident well-being. While the European experiences cannot be directly replicated, they provide a framework for identifying transferable strategies and adapting them to Bukhara's unique context.

One key lesson is the importance of **empowering local communities** in tourism governance. Barcelona's decentralized model, with its emphasis on neighborhood councils and participatory planning, demonstrates the potential of giving residents a greater voice in shaping tourism development that directly affects their lives. Adapting this approach to Bukhara could involve strengthening the role of existing community institutions, such as mahallas (neighborhood committees), in tourism planning and decision-making processes. This would require providing these institutions with the necessary resources, training, and authority to effectively represent resident interests.

Another crucial lesson is the need for **proactive planning and regulation** to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism growth. Amsterdam's "City in Balance" approach, with its focus on managing visitor flows, dispersing tourists to less crowded areas, and regulating short-term rentals, provides a valuable example. Bukhara could benefit from developing a similar comprehensive tourism plan that prioritizes sustainability, resident well-being, and the protection of its cultural heritage. This plan should include specific measures to regulate accommodation supply, manage visitor access to sensitive sites, and promote sustainable transportation options. However, adapting such strategies to Bukhara's context would require careful consideration of the local housing market, the role of traditional guesthouses, and the existing transportation infrastructure.

While Venice's focus on access control offers potential insights for managing visitor numbers in Bukhara's historic center, implementing similar measures could be more challenging. The city's reliance on tourism revenue and the lack of well-developed alternative transportation options might limit the feasibility of implementing entry fees or strict visitor quotas. Furthermore, cultural differences and political contexts must be taken into account when considering the transferability of such strategies.

### *Recommendations for Bukhara*

Informed by the comparative analysis of European examples, this research offers several concrete recommendations to guide the development of a more sustainable and inclusive tourism governance model for Bukhara. These recommendations prioritize feasibility, effectiveness, and long-term sustainability, taking into account the city's unique cultural and socio-economic context.

First, Bukhara should consider establishing neighborhood tourism councils, similar to Barcelona's consells de barri, to empower residents in decision-making and ensure that tourism development aligns with local needs and priorities. These councils could be formed within existing mahallas (neighborhood communities) or through the creation of new participatory structures. They would provide a platform for residents to voice their concerns, contribute to tourism planning processes, and monitor the impacts of tourism on their communities. To ensure effectiveness, these councils should be granted formal authority, provided with adequate resources, and supported by transparent communication channels with city officials.

Second, Bukhara needs to develop a comprehensive tourism plan that outlines a clear vision for sustainable tourism, sets limits on tourism growth, and incorporates specific measures to manage visitor impacts, regulate accommodation, and promote responsible behavior. This plan should be developed through a participatory process involving residents, businesses, tourism operators, and heritage experts. Taking inspiration from Amsterdam's "City in Balance" approach, the plan could include strategies to disperse visitors to less crowded areas, promote alternative attractions beyond the historic center, and encourage off-season travel. To ensure feasibility, the plan should consider the existing tourism infrastructure, transportation capacity, and the carrying capacity of key heritage sites.

Third, Bukhara should proactively address the potential for negative impacts from short-term rentals, drawing lessons from the regulatory approaches in Amsterdam and Barcelona. While recognizing the economic benefits of platforms like Airbnb, the city needs to establish clear guidelines for short-term rental operations, including limits on the number of listings, registration requirements, and potential zoning restrictions to protect residential neighborhoods. To effectively implement these regulations, Bukhara would need to invest in monitoring mechanisms, collaborate with platform providers, and engage with residents to address concerns about housing affordability and neighborhood character.

#### *Limitations of the Research*

This comparative analysis, while providing valuable insights into tourism governance models and strategies for mitigating overtourism and antagonism, has some limitations. The research primarily relied on policy documents, academic literature, and media reports, which may not fully capture the nuances of local contexts and stakeholder perspectives in each case study city. Furthermore, the analysis focused on three European cities, which, while offering relevant lessons, may not be directly transferable to the Central Asian context due to differences in cultural norms, political systems, and economic conditions. Future research could benefit from conducting in-depth stakeholder interviews in both the European cities and Bukhara to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of residents, businesses, and tourists, as well as the challenges and opportunities of implementing various governance models and mitigation strategies in different contexts.

#### **Conclusion**

This comparative analysis of tourism governance models in Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Venice has revealed valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities of managing tourism growth in historic urban destinations. While each city has adopted distinct approaches, common themes emerge, such as the importance of decentralizing power, engaging residents in decision-making, implementing proactive planning and regulation, and diversifying tourism offerings. The research highlights the crucial role of context-specific strategies, recognizing that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to mitigating overtourism and fostering harmonious relationships between residents and tourists.

The lessons learned from these European experiences offer valuable guidance for Bukhara as it seeks to harness the economic benefits of tourism while preserving its unique cultural heritage and ensuring resident well-being. By adapting successful strategies from other destinations and learning from their challenges, Bukhara can chart a path toward a more sustainable and inclusive tourism model. However, this requires proactive planning, collaborative governance, and a

commitment to prioritizing long-term sustainability over short-term gains. The future of tourism in Bukhara, and indeed in destinations worldwide, hinges on embracing innovative solutions, empowering local communities, and fostering a shared vision for a tourism industry that benefits both visitors and residents alike.

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