



**JOURNAL OF TOURISM,
HOSPITALITY AND
ENVIRONMENT MANAGEMENT
(JTHER)**

www.gaexcellence.com/jthem



GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES IN URBAN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: TOURISTS' PERSPECTIVES FROM PENANG, MALAYSIA

Mariah Darus @ Mat Junus^{1*}, Muhammad Hafiz Abd Razak², Khofizhoah Mohd Karim³,
Nurfadilah Saadul Kurzi⁴, Aidanajwa Sabri⁵ & Siti Nor Latifah Darus⁶

¹Department of Planning and Property Management, School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

 m.darus.mat@uum.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-6387-0352>

²Department of Planning and Property Management, School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

 ihafiz@uum.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7659-6546>

³Department of Planning and Property Management, School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

 fizhoah@uum.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-0071-3282>

⁴Department of Planning and Property Management, School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

 nurfadilah.sk@uum.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0278-8543>

⁵Department of Planning and Property Management, School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

 aidanajwa.sabri@uum.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3814-2528>

⁶Penang Matriculation College, Penang, Malaysia

 snlatifah@kmpp.matrik.edu.my

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-2407-2584>

*Corresponding Author

Article Info:

Article history:

Received date: 08.02.2026

Revised date: 25.02.2026

Accepted date: 25.03.2026

Published date: 31.03.2026

Abstract:

Urban tourism development in heritage cities presents complex governance challenges, particularly in balancing economic growth with environmental sustainability and social inclusivity. This study examines tourists' perceptions of governance-related challenges in Penang, Malaysia, focusing on traffic congestion, environmental pollution, overcrowding management, and accessibility. Using a quantitative

To cite this document:

Mat Junus, M. D., Abd Razak, M. H., Karim, K. M., Kurzi, N. S., Sabri, A., & Darus, S. N. L. (2026). Governance Challenges in Urban Tourism Development: Tourists' Perspectives from Penang, Malaysia. *Journal of Tourism Hospitality and Environment Management*, 11 (43), 577-589.

cross-sectional survey design, data were collected from 233 domestic and international tourists to capture experience-based evaluations of urban governance performance. The findings reveal an uneven pattern of governance effectiveness, where traffic congestion and environmental pollution emerge as the most critical challenges, while overcrowding management and accessibility are perceived as moderately effective but inconsistent. These results indicate that governance challenges are most evident in areas where tourism pressures intersect with core urban systems, particularly transport and environmental management. Drawing on Stakeholder Theory, this study positions tourists as external stakeholders whose perceptions provide valuable insights into governance outcomes. The study contributes to the literature by demonstrating the importance of incorporating user-centred, experience-based indicators in evaluating urban tourism governance. From a policy perspective, the findings highlight the need for improved coordination across transport planning, environmental regulation, and inclusive urban design to support sustainable and competitive tourism development in heritage cities.

DOI:10.35631/JTHER.1143037 **Keyword:**

Governance Challenges, Malaysia, Penang, Sustainability, Tourist Perceptions, Urban Tourism Governance



© The authors (2026). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY NC) (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. For commercial re-use, please contact jthem@gaexcellence.com.

Introduction

Urban tourism has emerged as a significant driver of economic development in heritage cities worldwide, where cultural assets, historical environments, and tourism activities intersect (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Hall & Page, 2014). Beyond its economic contributions—such as employment generation, urban regeneration, and diversification of local economies—urban tourism also enhances the global visibility and competitiveness of destinations (Edwards et al., 2008). However, the rapid expansion of tourism in urban heritage settings has simultaneously generated complex governance challenges. Increasing visitor flows intensify pressure on urban infrastructure, environmental resources, and public services, often resulting in traffic congestion, environmental degradation, overcrowding in heritage areas, and the marginalisation of local communities (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Koens et al., 2018). These challenges not only affect residents' quality of life but also shape tourists' experiences and the long-term sustainability of urban tourism destinations (Dodds & Butler, 2019). In this context, effective urban governance plays a critical role in ensuring that tourism development is managed in a balanced, inclusive, and sustainable manner. Urban governance is increasingly understood as a set of formal and informal arrangements involving interactions between government, market, and societal actors in shaping urban development outcomes (Hendriks, 2014). This perspective is further reinforced by global urbanisation trends, with more than half of the world's population now residing in urban areas (United Nations, 2012; Liu et al., 2023).

Cities have thus become key sites of economic activity and critical arenas for addressing complex sustainability challenges (Revi et al., 2014). In tourism-intensive heritage cities, governance capacity becomes particularly important, as policy decisions directly influence urban mobility, environmental quality, accessibility, and overall visitor experiences. Despite growing scholarly attention to urban governance and sustainable tourism, existing research has largely focused on institutional structures and policy frameworks (Hall, 2011; Bramwell, 2011). However, limited attention has been given to how governance challenges are experienced by urban users, particularly tourists, who interact directly with urban systems during their visits. Drawing on Stakeholder Theory, tourists can be conceptualised as external stakeholders whose perceptions provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of governance practices. Understanding tourists' perspectives offers a user-centred approach that reveals how governance gaps manifest in practice and helps identify priority areas for improvement in urban tourism management.

Penang, Malaysia, provides a relevant case study for examining these issues. As a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2008, Penang is recognised for its multicultural heritage and well-preserved historic urban fabric (UNESCO, 2008). While tourism supports urban revitalisation, the concentration of activities within its dense heritage areas has intensified governance challenges related to mobility and environmental management. Issues such as traffic congestion and overcrowding are particularly evident during peak periods (Khoo & Badarulzaman, 2014). In light of these challenges, the primary goal of this study is diagnostic: it seeks to identify and evaluate specific governance gaps by answering the following research question: To what extent do governance-related challenges, namely traffic congestion, pollution, and overcrowding, affect the tourism experience in Penang, and how can these insights inform more inclusive and accountable policy frameworks?

Literature Review

Urban Tourism Governance and Development

Urban tourism development refers to the growth, organisation, and management of tourism activities within urban environments, where tourism functions are closely integrated with infrastructure, public services, and governance systems (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Hall & Page, 2014). Unlike tourism in rural or resort settings, urban tourism operates within complex and shared spaces where visitors, residents, and economic activities compete for limited resources. As such, urban tourism development is not merely an economic process but a multidimensional phenomenon involving social, environmental, and institutional transformations (Sen, 1999; Todaro & Smith, 2015). From a governance perspective, urban tourism development is shaped by the capacity of institutions to balance economic growth with sustainability, inclusivity, and equitable access to urban spaces (Edwards et al., 2008). Effective governance plays a critical role in managing visitor flows, regulating environmental impacts, and ensuring accessibility, particularly in heritage cities where spatial and conservation constraints limit development flexibility (Bramwell, 2011; UNWTO, 2018).

Governance Challenges in Urban Tourism

A growing body of literature highlights that urban tourism intensifies pressure on key urban systems, leading to persistent governance challenges such as traffic congestion, environmental pollution, overcrowding, and inadequate accessibility (Gössling et al., 2021; Koens et al., 2018;

Seraphin et al., 2021). These challenges reflect not only physical capacity limitations but also weaknesses in policy coordination, regulatory enforcement, and cross-sectoral integration (Bramwell, 2011; Hall, 2011). Tourism-related mobility significantly contributes to congestion, particularly in heritage areas with limited infrastructure capacity (Hall & Page, 2014). Environmental pressures, including waste generation, air pollution, and noise, further indicate governance limitations in managing tourism externalities (Dodds & Butler, 2019). Similarly, overcrowding often associated with overtourism reduces residents' well-being and tourist satisfaction while accelerating the degradation of heritage assets (Koens et al., 2018). Accessibility challenges, particularly for older adults and people with disabilities, highlight governance gaps in inclusive urban design and equitable service provision (UNWTO, 2019). Collectively, these studies suggest that governance challenges in urban tourism are interconnected outcomes of broader pressures within urban systems rather than isolated issues.

Theoretical Perspectives: Governance and Stakeholder Approaches

Urban tourism governance can be understood through governance theory, which emphasises the role of institutional arrangements, networks, and multi-actor coordination in shaping policy outcomes (Hendriks, 2014; Hall, 2011). Governance extends beyond hierarchical government control to include interactions among public authorities, private actors, and communities in managing tourism development. In addition, stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) provides a valuable framework for understanding the role of multiple actors in tourism governance. While traditional studies focus on governments, businesses, and local communities, tourists can be conceptualised as external stakeholders whose experiences reflect the effectiveness of governance practices. Their interactions with urban systems—such as transport, public spaces, and environmental conditions offer real-time insights into how governance is translated into lived outcomes. By integrating governance theory and stakeholder theory, this study adopts a perspective in which governance effectiveness is evaluated not only through institutional arrangements but also through user experiences and perceived outcomes.

Research Gap and Conceptual Positioning

Despite extensive research on urban tourism governance, existing studies have primarily focused on institutional structures, policy frameworks, and stakeholder coordination, with limited attention to how tourists, as end-users of urban systems, experience governance challenges (Bramwell, 2011; Hall, 2011). This represents a critical gap, as governance effectiveness is ultimately reflected in user experiences rather than policy intentions alone. Furthermore, while issues such as congestion, pollution, overcrowding, and accessibility are widely documented, they are often analysed as isolated challenges rather than as interconnected indicators of governance performance. There remains a need for an integrated, user-centred approach that examines how these challenges collectively shape tourism experiences. Therefore, this study addresses this gap by positioning tourists as external evaluators of governance performance and by analysing governance challenges through experience-based indicators. This approach contributes to the literature by linking governance theory with user perception, offering a more grounded understanding of how governance influences sustainable and inclusive urban tourism development.

Methodology

This study adopts a quantitative research approach using a cross-sectional survey design to examine tourists' perceptions of governance challenges affecting urban tourism development in Penang, Malaysia. A survey-based approach is appropriate for capturing a broad range of visitor experiences and for assessing governance-related issues from the perspective of urban users. The cross-sectional design allows data to be collected at a single point in time, providing a snapshot of tourists' perceptions during their visit. A non-probability convenience sampling technique was employed to recruit respondents, as tourists were selected based on their accessibility and willingness to participate. This method is widely used in tourism research due to the absence of a comprehensive sampling frame for mobile populations. Data were collected from tourists visiting major heritage zones and key attractions in Penang, resulting in a total of 233 valid responses comprising both domestic and international tourists. The sample reflects diversity in terms of age, gender, country of residence, purpose of visit, and duration of stay, providing a broad representation of tourist experiences. Participation in the survey was entirely voluntary. Respondents were informed of the academic purpose of the study, and no personally identifying information was collected. All responses were treated as anonymous and confidential in accordance with standard ethical research practices. The research instrument consisted of two main sections: the first was demographic information, and the second was perception of governance-related challenges.

The governance challenges were measured using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), enabling a structured and quantifiable assessment of perceived issues. The measurement items were adapted from established studies, including Koens et al. (2018), Richins (2011), and Zhang (2024), ensuring content validity. The instrument captures key governance-related dimensions aligned with the study's theoretical framework, namely traffic congestion, environmental pollution, accessibility, overcrowding management and perceived governance improvement. These indicators reflect experience-based measures of governance performance, consistent with the conceptualisation of tourists as external stakeholders. Data were analysed using descriptive statistical techniques, including frequency distribution, percentage analysis, mean scores, and standard deviation. These techniques were employed to identify patterns, trends, and the relative severity of governance challenges as perceived by tourists. Mean score comparisons were used to identify the most significant governance issues affecting urban tourism development in Penang, thereby clarifying key pressure points such as congestion, pollution, overcrowding, and accessibility. This analytical approach supports the study's objective of evaluating governance performance through experience-based indicators, providing empirical evidence of how governance challenges manifest in practice. This study forms part of a broader research project on urban tourism governance in Penang. However, this paper specifically focuses on governance-related challenges from the perspective of tourists. Other dimensions, including governance principles and broader urban development outcomes, are examined separately to ensure analytical clarity and to avoid conceptual overlap.

Results and Findings

Table 1: Descriptives Analysis for Demographic

Demographic Variable	Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Age Group	18-24 years	223	95.7
	25-34 years	3	1.3
	35-44 years	3	1.3
	45 years	1	0.4
	55 years and above	2	0.9
	Below 18	1	0.4
Gender	Female	173	74.2
	Male	60	25.8
Race/Ethnicity	Malay	179	78.6
	Chinese	36	15.5
	Indian	8	3.4
	Other	10	2.5
Religion	Islam	184	79
	Buddhism	37	15.9
	Hinduism	8	3.4
	Others	4	1.7
Purpose of Visit	Leisure	94	40.3
	Cultural Tourism	67	28.8
	Education	65	27.9
	Business	7	3.0
Duration of Stay	Less than 3 days	142	60.9
	3 - 7 days	60	25.8
	More than 7 days	31	13.3

Source: Fieldwork (2026).

A total of 233 valid responses were analysed. The sample was predominantly composed of younger respondents, with 95.7% aged between 18 and 24 years, indicating that the findings largely reflect the perspectives of young tourists. Female respondents accounted for 74.2%, while males represented 25.8% of the sample. In terms of travel characteristics, most respondents visited Penang for leisure purposes (40.3%), followed by cultural tourism (28.8%) and educational visits (27.9%). The majority (60.9%) stayed for less than three days, suggesting that the findings primarily capture the experiences of short-term visitors. Overall, while the dataset provides valuable insights into tourist perceptions, the demographic composition indicates a stronger representation of younger and short-duration visitors, which should be considered when interpreting the findings.

Analysis of Governance Challenges

Table 2: Perception of Traffic Congestion

Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	4	1.7
Disagree	6	2.6
Neutral	45	19.3
Agree	108	46.4
Strongly Agree	70	30.0
Total	233	100.0

Source: Fieldwork (2026).

Based on Table 2, traffic congestion was identified as the most significant governance challenge. A total of 76.4% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that congestion was a major issue, while only 4.3% expressed disagreement. This high level of agreement indicates that congestion is a highly visible and consistently experienced problem, reflecting substantial pressure on urban mobility systems in tourism-intensive areas. The relatively low proportion of neutral responses further suggests a strong consensus among respondents regarding the severity of this issue. Compared with other governance indicators, traffic congestion shows the highest level of agreement, indicating that it is the most critical governance pressure point within Penang's urban tourism system.

Table 3: Perceptions of Environmental Pollution

Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	4	1.7
Disagree	8	3.4
Neutral	66	26.3
Agree	109	46.8
Strongly Agree	46	19.7
Total	233	100.0

Source: Fieldwork (2026).

Based on Table 3, environmental pollution was also perceived as a significant issue, with 66.5% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that pollution affected their experience. However, a relatively high proportion (26.3%) selected neutral responses. This pattern suggests that, while environmental challenges are widely recognised, they are less uniformly experienced than congestion. The variation in responses may reflect differences in exposure across locations, in the timing of visits, or in individual sensitivity to environmental conditions.

Table 4: Perceptions of Accessibility for Elderly and Disabled Tourists

Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	2	0.9
Disagree	5	2.1
Neutral	71	30.5
Agree	124	53.2
Strongly Agree	31	13.3
Total	233	100.0

Source: Fieldwork (2026).

Based on Table 4, accessibility for elderly and disabled tourists was generally evaluated more positively. A total of 66.5% of respondents agreed that accessibility was adequate, while only 3.0% expressed disagreement. However, the presence of 30.5% neutral responses indicates that accessibility experiences are not consistently perceived. This may suggest uneven implementation of inclusive infrastructure or limited interaction with accessibility facilities among certain respondents.

Table 5: Perceptions of Overcrowding

Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Disagree	2	0.9
Disagree	5	2.1
Neutral	71	30.5
Agree	110	47.2
Strongly Agree	31	13.3
Total	233	100.0

Source: Fieldwork (2026).

Based on Table 5, overcrowding received moderately positive evaluations, with 60.5% of respondents agreeing that tourist areas were well managed. Nevertheless, a significant proportion (30.5%) remained neutral. This indicates that while governance measures to manage crowding are perceived as effective in some contexts, their performance may vary across locations and time periods. The relatively high neutrality suggests inconsistency in crowd management effectiveness.

Comparative Analysis of Governance Indicators

Based on Table 6, a comparative analysis of all governance indicators reveals clear differences in perceived severity. Traffic congestion emerged as the most critical challenge, with the highest level of agreement and lowest disagreement. Environmental pollution ranked second, although with greater variability in perception. Overcrowding management and accessibility were perceived more positively but showed high levels of neutrality, indicating inconsistent experiences. Overall, the findings suggest that governance challenges in Penang are not uniform across all dimensions. Issues related to urban mobility and environmental management are more consistently problematic, while inclusivity and crowd management reflect uneven governance performance across different contexts.

Table 6: Comparative Analysis of Governance Indicators

Indicator	Agree + Strongly Agree (%)	Interpretation
Traffic Congestion	76.4%	Most critical issue
Environmental Pollution	66.5%	Significant but variable
Accessibility	66.5%	Generally positive but inconsistent
Overcrowding	60.5%	Moderately positive
Traffic Congestion	76.4%	Most critical issue

Source: Fieldwork data (2026)

Synthesis of Findings

Taken together, the results demonstrate that tourists' experiences provide meaningful insights into governance performance in urban tourism settings. The dominance of congestion and pollution as key concerns highlights the pressure placed on urban systems by tourism demand, while the mixed perceptions of accessibility and overcrowding indicate areas where governance interventions are partially effective but require further improvement. These findings support the conceptualisation of tourists as external stakeholders, whose experiences reflect the practical outcomes of governance systems in managing urban tourism development.

Discussion

This study examined tourists' perceptions of governance challenges in urban tourism development in Penang, with a particular focus on traffic congestion, environmental pollution, overcrowding management, and accessibility. The findings reveal an uneven pattern of governance performance, indicating that different dimensions of urban tourism governance are experienced with varying levels of effectiveness. Traffic congestion emerged as the most critical governance challenge, with a substantial majority of respondents identifying it as a significant issue. This finding is consistent with existing literature, which highlights congestion as one of the most immediate and visible consequences of tourism intensification in heritage cities (Hall & Page, 2014; Koens et al., 2018). In the context of Penang, structural constraints such as limited road capacity, narrow heritage streets, and conservation regulations restrict infrastructural expansion. From a governance perspective, congestion reflects not only physical limitations but also coordination challenges across transport planning, tourism management, and land-use regulation. This supports the argument that urban mobility is a key governance pressure point, where fragmented policy integration can directly undermine visitor experience and destination competitiveness (Bramwell, 2011; Le-Klahn & Hall, 2023).

Environmental pollution was identified as the second most significant challenge, reinforcing the view that tourism growth places increasing pressure on urban environmental systems. The findings align with previous studies that associate tourism intensification with rising levels of waste, air, and noise pollution (Dodds & Butler, 2019; Gossling et al., 2021). However, the relatively high proportion of neutral responses suggests that environmental conditions are not uniformly experienced across the city. This indicates spatial variability in governance performance, where environmental management effectiveness depends on local implementation capacity. From a governance standpoint, this highlights the need for stronger regulatory enforcement and better integration between tourism development and environmental management systems. In contrast, overcrowding management and accessibility were perceived more positively, although both dimensions exhibited considerable neutrality, indicating inconsistent experiences. The moderate evaluation of overcrowding reflects broader debates on overtourism, where governance interventions may be effective in certain locations but insufficient at the city-wide level (Koens et al., 2018; Seraphin et al., 2021). This suggests that current governance responses are partially effective but lack consistency, particularly in managing visitor flows across different urban spaces. Similarly, accessibility for elderly and disabled tourists indicates progress in inclusive urban design, but the mixed responses highlight uneven implementation. This supports the argument that inclusivity in urban tourism governance often remains selective rather than systemic (UNWTO, 2019).

Taken together, the findings demonstrate that governance challenges are most evident where tourism pressures intersect with core urban systems, particularly transport and environmental management. By applying Stakeholder Theory, this study conceptualises tourists as external stakeholders whose perceptions provide experience-based evaluations of governance performance. These findings reinforce the importance of moving beyond institutional or policy-based assessments to include user-centred indicators, which capture how governance outcomes are experienced in practice. In this regard, the study contributes to the literature by demonstrating that governance effectiveness in urban tourism is not only a function of policy design but also of implementation quality, coordination, and user experience.

Conclusion

This study examined tourists' perceptions of governance challenges in urban tourism development in Penang, focusing on traffic congestion, environmental pollution, overcrowding management, and accessibility. The findings reveal an uneven governance landscape, where traffic congestion and environmental pollution emerge as the most critical challenges, while overcrowding management and accessibility are perceived as moderately effective but inconsistent. By positioning tourists as evaluators of governance performance, this study provides a user-centred perspective on how governance challenges are experienced within urban tourism systems. The findings highlight that governance effectiveness is most visible in areas where tourism demand directly interacts with urban infrastructure and public services. This underscores the importance of strengthening governance capacity, particularly in transport coordination, environmental management, and inclusive urban design.

From a theoretical perspective, the study contributes to urban tourism governance literature by integrating Stakeholder Theory with experience-based indicators, demonstrating how external stakeholders can provide meaningful insights into governance performance. From a policy perspective, the findings suggest that improving transparency, accountability, inclusivity, and equity in governance practices can enhance both visitor experience and long-term destination sustainability. For future research, several directions are recommended. Comparative studies across multiple heritage cities would provide broader insights into governance variability across contexts. Longitudinal approaches could examine how governance perceptions evolve over time, particularly in response to policy interventions. Additionally, integrating qualitative methods would allow for a deeper understanding of stakeholder experiences and governance dynamics.

Acknowledgements: The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Universiti Utara Malaysia for providing the necessary resources and support throughout the course of this research. Special appreciation is extended to colleagues and peers who contributed valuable insights and constructive feedback, which greatly enhanced the quality of this paper.

Funding Statement: No Funding

Conflict of Interest Statement: The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper. All authors have contributed to this work and approved the final version of the manuscript for submission to the Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Environment Management (JTHER).

Ethics Statement: This study did not involve any human participants, animals, or sensitive data requiring ethical approval. The authors confirm that the research was conducted in accordance with accepted academic integrity and ethical publishing standards.

Author Contribution Statement: All authors contributed significantly to the development of this manuscript. Mariah Binti Darus @ Mat Junus and Muhammad Hafiz Abd Razak was responsible for the conceptualization, methodology, and overall supervision of the study. Siti Nor Latifah Darus and Khofizhoah Mohd Karim handled data collection, analysis, and interpretation of results. Nurfadilah Saadul Kurzi and Aidanajwa Sabri contributed to the literature review, drafting, and critical revision of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript prior to submission.

References

- Ashworth, G. J., & Page, S. J. (2011). Urban tourism research: Recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism Management*, 32(1), 1–15.
- Barber, B. R. (2013). *If mayors ruled the world: Dysfunctional nations, rising cities*. Yale University Press.
- Baud, I., Scott, D., Pfeffer, K., Sydenstricker-Neto, J., & Denis, E. (2021). Digital and spatial governance in cities: Emerging approaches. *Urban Studies*, 58(4), 691–709.
- Bevir, M. (2015). *Governance: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Booth, D., & Cammack, D. (2013). *Governance for development in Africa: Solving collective action problems*. Zed Books.
- Bramwell, B. (2011). Governance, the state and sustainable tourism: A political economy approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4–5), 459–477.
- Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2011). Critical research on the governance of tourism and sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4–5), 411–421.
- Dodds, R., & Butler, R. (2019). *Overtourism: Issues, realities and solutions*. De Gruyter.
- Edwards, D., Griffin, T., & Hayllar, B. (2008). Urban tourism research: Developing an agenda. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(4), 1032–1052.
- Gossling, S., Scott, D., & Hall, C. M. (2021). Pandemics, tourism and global change: A rapid assessment of COVID-19. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 29(1), 1–20.
- Hall, C. M. (2011). Policy learning and policy failure in sustainable tourism governance. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4–5), 649–671.
- Hall, C. M., & Jenkins, J. M. (2004). Tourism and public policy. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall, & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A companion to tourism* (pp. 525–540). Blackwell Publishing.
- Hall, C. M., & Page, S. J. (2014). *The geography of tourism and recreation: Environment, place and space* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Hampton, M. P., & Jeyacheya, J. (2015). Power, ownership and tourism in small islands: Evidence from Indonesia. *World Development*, 70, 481–495.
- Hendriks, F. (2014). Understanding good urban governance: Essentials, shifts, and values. *Urban Affairs Review*, 50(4), 553–576.
- Khoo, S. L., & Badarulzaman, N. (2014). Factors determining George Town as a city of gastronomy. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(3), 330–345.
- Koens, K., Postma, A., & Papp, B. (2018). Is overtourism overused? Understanding the impact of tourism in a city context. *Sustainability*, 10(12), 4384.
- Kooiman, J. (2003). *Governing as governance*. Sage Publications.
- Le-Klahn, D.-T., & Hall, C. M. (2023). Urban transport and tourism. In C. M. Hall & S. J. Page (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of tourism cities* (pp. xx–xx). Routledge.
- Liu, Z., et al. (2023). Urbanisation and sustainability transitions. *Sustainability Science*.
- Pierre, J., & Peters, B. G. (2000). *Governance, politics and the state*. Macmillan.
- Revi, A., et al. (2014). Urban areas. In *Climate change 2014: Impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996). The new governance: Governing without government. *Political Studies*, 44(4), 652–667.
- Richins, H. (2011). Environmental, cultural, economic and social sustainability in tourism. *Tourism Management*.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Seraphin, H., Sheeran, P., & Pilato, M. (2021). Over-tourism and the fall of Venice. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 9, 374–376.
- United Nations. (2012). *World urbanization prospects: The 2011 revision*. United Nations.

- United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). (2008). *International recommendations for tourism statistics*. UNWTO.
- UNWTO. (2018). *Overtourism? Understanding and managing urban tourism growth beyond perceptions*. UNWTO.
- UNWTO. (2019). *Accessible tourism for all*. UNWTO.
- World Bank. (2012). *Governance and development*. World Bank.
- Zhang, Y. (2024). Urban tourism governance and sustainability transitions. *Tourism Management Perspectives*.