

Can Renewed Tensions of Tourist Areas Be Resolved? The Key Issue of Stakeholders' Alignment

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Abstract

Tensions in tourist areas (over-visiting, traffic jams, conflicts of use, etc.) raise fundamental questions about sustainable development, wealth distribution, social justice, cultural identity, and inclusion. Paradoxically, few decisions are taken to resolve these tensions, despite tourism stakeholders' dissatisfaction. This study aims at helping resolving the tensions in tourism areas by identifying a global method for aligning stakeholders. We conducted 72 interviews with tourism stakeholders in two very different tourist areas (Brittany and Bali) and used the concepts of sustainable tourism, stakeholders, and alignment. The results show that (1) the stakeholders, whether in favor of tourism development or not, all agree on the need to resolve the tensions in the tourist areas; (2) obstacles and levers of the stakeholders play a decisive role in their commitment to collectively resolving the tensions in the tourist areas; (3) the existing data on tourist numbers are the subject of debate among the stakeholders and slow down the commitment to concrete action. Our conclusions are encouraging, since tensions in tourist areas constitute a problem like any other, which makes it possible to envisage a global methodology for aligning stakeholders. However, the subject of tourist numbers remains a stumbling block in the project to resolve tourism tensions in these areas. Three avenues of research are proposed to help overcome this dead end: integrating perceived value notion into measures of tourist numbers in tourist areas, mobilizing participatory science to increase the potential of measures of tourist numbers, and adapting the technological acceptance model to tourist numbers.

Keywords: tourism; stakeholder; stakeholder's alignment; overtourism; sustainable tourism; inclusion.

INTRODUCTION

Background

By 2024, global tourism has returned to almost all of its pre-Covid-19 levels. For some, it is a relief to see the country's, region's, municipality's, or household's number one source of revenue restored. For others, it is the resumption of a phenomenon with deleterious impacts, deemed to be growing and out of control, a return to the excesses of the "world before".

Tensions have arisen as a result of these differing points of view on the development of tourism in many areas. Let's take a few examples from the 2022-2023 period either in France (Brittany) and Indonesia (Bali), in both cases in areas where tourism is particularly important. In Brittany (France) in Douarnenez, activists are blocking the disembarkation of a cruise ship (Breton, 2023). On the island of Groix, drinking water shortages are appearing at the height of the tourist season (Agence France Presse, 2022); on other islands in Brittany, questions are being raised about the introduction of quotas (Peigné, 2023), which could threaten revenues that fund local public services. In Carnac, the mayor is facing death threats because he is wrongly accused of having authorised the destruction of part of the cultural heritage (France Info, 2023). In Bali (Indonesia), social networks are abuzz about the disgraceful behaviour of some tourists at sacred sites (Coconuts, 2023), and family-run hotels are worried about the loss of the peace and quiet so dear to their customers (The Bali Sun, 2023).

Within tourist areas, localized tensions like over-visiting, traffic jams, conflicts of use, raise fundamental questions about sustainable development, wealth distribution, social justice, cultural identity and inclusion (Doxey, 1975; Chase, 2023; Kishan et al., 2023; Roodbary & Olya, 2024). Paradoxically, few decisions are taken to resolve these tensions, despite

tourism stakeholders' dissatisfaction (Byrd, 2007; Nguyen et al., 2023; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2023). This research aims at collecting material from two different areas, Bali and Brittany.

Research Objectives

The aim of this research is to contribute to the resolution of tensions in tourism areas, from both an academic (knowledge contribution) and managerial (practical recommendations) perspective. The research has three successive and complementary objectives: to find out how stakeholders perceive the tensions in tourist areas (1), to explain the causes of the differences in stakeholders' perceptions (2), and to identify ways of aligning stakeholders despite these differences (3).

To answer these questions, we opted for a qualitative approach in two distinct areas, Brittany and Bali, in order to identify the possibilities of a generalizable and replicable methodology for resolving these tourism tensions. We interviewed representatives of all the stakeholders in a semi-structured way (72 interviews) between September 2022 and June 2023. After presenting the theoretical framework, we outline the methodology used. The results are followed by a discussion and proposals for new areas of research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stakeholder Theory for Sustainable and Inclusive Tourism

Stakeholder theory arose out of debates about the purpose of business. In 1970, Friedman (1970) stated that the company's first and foremost priority was to create value to satisfy its shareholders ("Share-holders"). In reference to this statement, Freeman & Reed (1983) propose the concept of "stake-holders": they define a stakeholder as any group or individual who can impact or be impacted by the achievement of an organization's objectives. According to Freedman and Reed, an organization's *raison d'être* is to satisfy

the interests of its various stakeholders (its shareholders, where applicable, but also employees, suppliers, customers, the State, society, etc.). Applying this theory in practical terms to project management involves identifying the stakeholders and agreeing to negotiate with them (1), questioning one's own points of view to take account of the plurality of needs (2), and then building an agreement with the stakeholders (3) based on an understanding of their interests. The stakeholder approach helps to bring stakeholders together, to unite them, and to encourage discussion in order to increase the project's chances of success (ownership, collaboration and buy-in from all stakeholders).

The inclusion and involvement of stakeholders are key to ensuring the development of sustainable tourism (Byrd, 2007). The notion of "stakeholders" is even an integral part of the definition of sustainable tourism by the UNWTO (2016), which defines it as "*tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, meets the needs of visitors, industry, the environment and host communities*": sustainable tourism is tourism that integrates the interests of its different stakeholders. This holistic stakeholder approach, well known and used in regional development projects, is now at the heart of sustainable tourism management (Muzy & Furt, 2022). More recently, Roodbari & Olya (2024) have reaffirmed the relevance of this global approach to tourism transformations, demonstrating that considering the 'sustained perceived value' of each stakeholder is the key to maintaining their commitment throughout the transformation process.

From Sustainability to Inclusiveness: Enhancing Residents' Interests Inclusion

The literature points to an imbalance in the way stakeholders' interests are addressed. The United Nations agenda for the development of sustainable tourism is criticized for primarily serving economic

growth, and failing to address the issues of social inequality and environmental devastation (Bellato et al., 2023). While most stakeholders agree on the economic and employment benefits of tourism, the cultural and environmental impacts are debated (Nguyen et al., 2023). Depending on their context and their relationship with the tourism sector, some stakeholders may see their quality of life improve, while others may see it deteriorate (Chase et al., 2023).

Thus, the quality of life (interest) of residents (stakeholder) in the context of tourism has become both a current research topic and a political issue. Faced with a rise in rhetoric hostile to the development of tourism, or even episodes of tourismophobia, the UNWTO (2018) itself proposes a definition of overtourism, described as "the impact of tourism on a destination or parts of it, which excessively and negatively influences the perceived quality of life of citizens and/or the quality of visitor experiences". In this context, much recent work focuses on the direct and indirect influences of tourism development on residents' quality of life (Hu et al., 2024). In particular, Mahendru et al. (2024) highlight the development of research focusing on sustainable tourism to promote local culture and create jobs, in line with the UN development goals (SDG-12 and SDG-12.b).

The Challenges of Stakeholders' Alignment

Stakeholders' alignment is the collaboration of key players who share a common strategic direction (Sautter & Leise, 1999). The likelihood of cooperation is more likely to be sustained over the long term if the relationships between the stakeholders remain in line with this shared goal. Differences in perceptions and interests persist, but the stakeholders agree on a collective and common mission. Alignment is a continuous, ongoing process that adapts to the dynamics of stakeholder relations. The prerequisite is an in-depth understanding of their respective points of view.

However, it is difficult to grasp the full complexity of stakeholders' points of view (Chase et al., 2023), as well as the impact of tourism development on them. The authors point in particular to the issues of resistance to change, the delicate search for equity and justice, the relationship with institutions and the lack of resources (time, money). Consequently, it is not easy to identify the most appropriate mode of governance for aligning stakeholders. Unfortunately, this is not a priority, because as Rasoolimanesh et al. (2023) have pointed out, research in the field of sustainable tourism indicators (STIs) tends to neglect this dimension of governance. Miller & Torres-Delgado (2023) go so far as to point out the risk of focusing on sustainability measures per se, rather than verifying whether or not these indicators have led to effective and significant policy changes. They demonstrate how monitoring data collection is a form of inclusive research, which rebalances power in favour of society.

This confirms the importance of aligning stakeholders, including residents, to resolve tourism tensions over the long term. Finally, it appears that this theoretical background (stakeholder theory, residents' inclusiveness and stakeholders' alignment) constitutes a relevant, coherent, and circumscribed framework to conduct our research.

METHODS

The qualitative approach was the most appropriate choice for our problem: in accordance with the definition of this approach by Mays & Pope (1995), our study aims to gain a better understanding of a phenomenon (tensions in tourist areas) by focusing on the meaning, experiences and perceptions of the respondents (the stakeholders interviewed).

The aim was to build up an exhaustive panorama of stakeholders' perceptions of tourism and its key issues, a panorama that faithfully reflects the plurality of issues and opinions on these subjects.

Neither the frequency nor the weight of different positions has been studied here: the samples have been drawn up to encompass the full diversity of perceptions, not to calculate the frequency of each opinion. In this respect, the panorama was obtained using the saturation method (Savoie-Zajc, 2006): as new perceptions emerged, new interviews were conducted, with the aim of obtaining a sample representative of the variety of perceptions.

Two research areas were chosen: Brittany (Morbihan) and Bali (Denpasar, Sanur, Ubud, Kuta); both tourist destinations, but on a very different scale and located in clearly distinct cultural and geographical areas. The choice of these sites made it possible to identify ab initio the most common problems and perceptions of tourism, independently of the region of the world and the cultural area. This improves the validity of the results and the replicability of the lines of analysis mentioned in the discussion. There will be three collection periods: from September 2022 to January 2023 in Brittany, all stakeholders except residents and tourism professionals; from April to June 2023 in Brittany, residents and tourism professionals (Houat and Hoëdic islands); in June 2023, all stakeholders in Bali.

The sample consisted of 72 Briton and Balinese respondents, representing all local tourism stakeholders (local authorities, tourism professionals, institutional tourism bodies, residents, tourists, associations) as well as experts (academics or observatories), as shown in Table 1. This sample was designed to ensure the interviews will be a right reflection of Balinese and Briton local communities' diversity of views about tourism. Interviews were targeted to cover all categories of stakeholders. They were accumulated with the objective of collecting an exhaustive range of opinions. The idea was to build a large and objective panorama of stakeholder's views on tourism, not to measure neither the forces in presence nor the balances of power. The sample was 58% male and 42%

female, with an average and median age of around 51. In line with the recommendations of the literature (Miles & Huberman, 2003; Miles & Saldaña, 2014), the sample was drawn up according to the principles of literal replication (several interviews for each stakeholder), and theoretical replication (several types of stakeholders interviewed; two very different fields - Brittany, Bali).

Table 1. Sample of Participants of Both Destinations

Category of Respondent	Number of Interviews
Resident	33
Tourism professional	12
University	8
Tourism institution	6
Local authority	4
Foreign resident	3
Cultural association	2
Observatory	2
Tourist	2

The interviews were conducted face-to-face or by telephone over a period of thirty minutes to one hour, on an individual and semi-directive basis. The interview guide consisted of four parts: (1) a description of the stakeholders (both in Bali and Brittany) and their perception of tourism, (2) the characteristics of tourist numbers and their impact, (3) the measurement of tourist numbers (actual and perceived) and (4) local tourism policies. The questions in each part were essentially a pool of interactions (Verette & Giannelloni, 2001) for each of these four themes. This semi-directive approach seemed to us to be the most appropriate way of setting out the interviews without constraining the interviewees: to bring out their intimate and complex perception of tourism meant influencing them as little as possible. We carried out a manual content analysis, following a vertical analysis of each of the interviews, followed by a horizontal analysis of the themes identified.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result 1 - Stakeholders, whether in favour of the development of tourism or not, agree on the need to resolve tensions in tourist areas

Stakeholders agree that there are tensions in tourist areas, in Bali and in Brittany. In particular, there was unanimous agreement on the problem of localized overcrowding: "During the July-August period, everyone goes to the same beach and the same roads at the same time: this is what degrades the experience and causes tension. Situations become unbearable at a given time and place". Other negative impacts follow: pressure on the natural environment, increased waste, water shortages, traffic jams, reduced quality of life, conflicts between residents and tourists, etc. These situations are widely reported in the media (press and social networks), which generates new tensions: "the press makes a big deal of it [...] which can do a lot of harm [to the area]".

On the other hand, stakeholders differ on the responsibility of tourism in these tensions in the regions. Two categories of stakeholders stand out and are shown in Table 2: in column 1, stakeholders who are rather unfavourable to the development of tourism (SH-); in column 2, stakeholders who are rather favourable to the development of tourism (SH+). Each category of stakeholder presents a specific reasoning. For the PP-, tourism is the main cause of tensions: according to their personal observations, these stakeholders perceive both an increase in the number of tourists and an increase in these episodes of tension. For the SH +, the tensions are generated by over-visiting and other dynamics not exclusive to tourism (demographic increase, inflation, changes in behaviour, etc.): tourism is a scapegoat. According to official statistics from institutional tourism bodies, there are no more tourists than there used to be overall: in Brittany, "over the last 15 years, there were no fewer overnight stays than there are today"; in Bali, tourism has

not returned to pre-Covid levels either. Tensions are more visible because they are more widely publicized than before.

Table 2. Stakeholders Disagree on The Responsibility of Tourism in The Region's Tensions

	SH - Stakeholders unfavourable to tourism development	SH + Stakeholders favourable to tourism development
Synthesis	Tourism is the main cause of tension	Tourism is a scapegoat
Tourism responsibility	Tensions generated by tourism	Tensions generated by visitor numbers and other macro dynamics (demographics, inflation, regional planning, etc.)
Number of tourists	More tourists than before	No more tourists than before
Frequency and intensity of problems	More problems than before	More media coverage of problems (role of the media and social networks)
Assessment sources	Felt, subjective	Statistical, objective data

Stakeholders, whether or not they are in favour of tourism development, both have an interest in working to reduce tensions in the area. The SH- want to reduce or even eliminate the disadvantages attributed to tourism, while the SH+ want to preserve or even increase the benefits of tourism. In both cases, the aim of the stakeholders is to preserve and enhance the area.

Result 2 - Stakeholders' brakes and levers play a decisive role in their commitment to collectively resolving tensions in tourism areas

Each stakeholder presents obstacles and levers to the idea of a collective approach to dealing with tensions in the area (Table 3). These characteristics are summarized in two categories: stakeholders' disincentives (column 1) - what discourages participation in dealing with tensions in the area, the obstacles identified to this discussion process), and their levers (column 2) - what mobilizes them, what gives meaning to their participation. The major factors are in bold.

The obstacles and levers to the idea of a collective approach to dealing with tensions in the area are specific to each

stakeholder. Local authorities want what is best for their constituents and their area, but the subject of tensions is highly sensitive politically and may dissuade them from taking part in the debate; institutional tourism bodies, well aware of the issues facing tourist areas, are aware of the importance of preserving the benefits of tourism, but lack the time to lead a discussion; tourism professionals are aware of the benefits they derive from this activity, but have a different time horizon: in the short term, it is a question of being profitable; residents doubt their impact, but also fear that they will no longer be able to live in the area (e.g. rents too high, inaccessible land, unaffordable cost of living, etc.).

The membership of an actor in a category of stakeholders does not determine whether they engage in the process. The actor compares the respective weights of his brakes and his levers (Figure 1). If his brakes outweigh his levers, his engagement will be minimal. If the levers prevail, he will be the driving force behind the process. For example, a local authority may be convinced of the need to establish tourist quotas to preserve the territory's heritage (Lever: long-term development), but the

declared hostility of traders to this idea stronger (Evaluation) and ultimately dis-
 (Hinder: politically sensitive subject) is suades him from acting (Passive attitude).

Table 3. Stakeholder Barriers and Levers to A Collective Approach to Dealing with Tensions

Stakeholder Category	Brakes	Levers
Local authorities	Politically sensitive subject, to be avoided Limited administrative competence Lack of time	Satisfying the needs of citizens Social peace (reconciling needs) Long-term development of the region
Tourism Institutions	Lack of time Other stakeholders are unfamiliar with the remit of the various bodies (clarity, consistency, disagreements) May appear illegitimate (non-elected)	Preserve and increase the benefits of tourism Promoting data sharing and collaboration (their primary mission) Provide accurate terrain and data on a given territory, exploring blind spots in particular
Professional of tourism	Non-priority subject (business comes first) Varying sense of belonging to the tourism sector ("we don't have tourists here, just sales reps") Occasional impression of being lectured	Maintaining a viable and profitable business at a lower cost Targeted support (e.g. for setting up) Promotion of the business and the professions (e.g. company visits)
Residents	Doubts about their impact Lack of time Lack of commitment	Continuing to live in the area (culture, identity, price, accessibility, frequentation, etc.) Improvement of daily life Civic, community or religious awareness

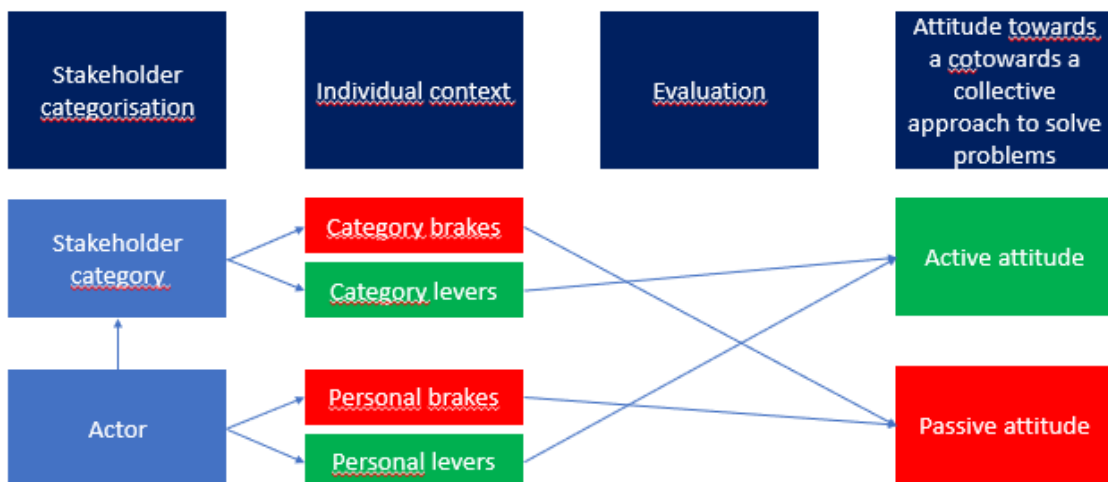


Figure 1. Formation of Actors' Attitude Towards A Collective Approach to Resolving Tensions in Tourist Areas

Result 3 – Existing tourist frequentation data is debated among stakeholders

All stakeholders know that tourist attendance data is already collected. This collection is essentially the work of institutional tourism organizations, which consolidate the sources of other stakeholders and conduct their own analyzes in addition.

Availability and usefulness characterize the tourist attendance data collected. Table 4 below presents a classification on this double scale taken from the technology acceptance model of Davis & Warshaw (1989): in columns a scale of usefulness (use of data, processing, putting into perspective), in lines an availability scale

(accessibility, reading frequency, cost, readability). In terms of data availability, statistics exist at several scales and are consolidated in the form of dashboards available online and on request, but certain information is missing (excursionism, semi-rigid inflatable boats, pleasure craft, residents' feelings). In terms of usefulness, stakeholders only mention data that is available but little used (collected but not processed; processed but not used; collected while awaiting a critical mass for useful processing). Data that is both useless and unavailable has not been mentioned.

Table 4. Overview of Tourist Attendance Data Mentioned by Respondents

		USEFULNESS	
Data...		Often useful	Rarely useful
AVAILABILITY	Often available	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A data collection chain for communities/tourist offices/observatories • Consolidations of data from local sources + targeted surveys • Analysis and restitution of results in the form of reports and multi-mesh dashboards distributed to communities and freely accessible on the internet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensor data not used yet still collected (cost of service and maintenance) • Dashboards functional but not used in practice • Data seems of little use in itself but interesting by accumulating it and cross-referencing it with other data (data repository project)
	Rarely available	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number and impact of excursionists • Number of semi-rigids and associated behaviors • Intensity of boating and practices of boaters • Feelings of residents 	<i>Not addressed by respondents</i>

Satisfied? Careful? Critical? Not concerned? The four positions of stakeholders on tourist attendance data (Table 5). For “satisfied” stakeholders, attendance measurements are sufficient, they do not need more data (neither in quantity nor in quality) to achieve their objectives. For “cautious” players, attendance measurements must be refined to more faithfully

describe the reality on the ground. “Critical” stakeholders are in favor of data collection but warn that attendance measurements are not a management tool in themselves: they are useless without having set a predefined objective. Finally, those “not concerned” are mostly residents who rely first on their feelings (practical, instantaneous and personal).

Table 5. Attitudes Towards Attendance Data

Attitudes	Description	Verbatims
Satisfied	Attendance measurements are sufficient, there is no need to collect more	<i>“There are already variables that we know, we are able to anticipate, to know when everything will be saturated”</i>
		<i>“Enough to make an overall assessment of the season, the press will have its gift package”</i>
		<i>“We don’t need more. If necessary, we order a targeted analysis”</i>
Careful	Attendance measurements must be refined to better reflect the reality on the ground	<i>“There is a need for specific data for our territory”</i>
		<i>“The atmosphere has become tense between cruise lines and other [stakeholders] and they no longer share data”</i>
		<i>“We would like to have feedback from residents precisely [on the perception of tourism] and clearly distinguish the resident from the secondary resident”</i>
Critical	Attendance measurements are not a management tool in themselves: they are useless without a predefined objective	<i>“Big Data creates tools rather than problems”</i>
		<i>“It’s fashionable, we have fun, we have dashboards made in all directions”</i>
		<i>“There is no point in building gas plants, locally or nationally, if the data does not reflect the needs of the sector!”</i>
Not concerned	The attendance measure used is primarily a feeling	<i>“Sometimes there are 50 boats at Canot beach”</i>
		<i>“From July 10 until the end of August we are overwhelmed, we go to 2 or even 3000 inhabitants”</i>
		<i>“There are more and more zodiacs”</i>

Discussion

Tensions in tourist areas constitute a problem like any other

The first step in problem solving has been completed: there is consensus among stakeholders on the need to resolve tensions in tourist areas. Therefore, following the process described by Simon (1960, 1977) for problem solving, the completion of this first step of “defining the problem to be solved” (Intelligent phase) is excellent news. Indeed, this achievement opens the way to the continuation of the process conceptualized by Simon. It establishes a discussion space favorable to the construction of solutions (Design phase), one or more of

which will be retained at the end of the process (Choice phase).

In view of this consensus, existing tools and theories of project management and collective action can be mobilized. The question of tensions in tourist territories does not call for a specific treatment methodology. It simply invites us to integrate its complexity and the weight of its issues into the parameters. The literature describes the treatment of problems including a multiplicity of stakeholders: for example, Vroom & Yetton (1973) are interested in the most appropriate management style for each problem depending on the context, from the autocratic approach to the collaborative approach.

The brakes and levers of the stakeholders are classic, identical in the different tourist areas studied: a “global / local (global)” alignment methodology is possible

The types of brakes and levers identified are similar between the territories (Brittany and Bali). The cultural factor does not seem to impact the perception of tensions in tourist areas. A local manager, whether he administers Vannes (Brittany) or Ubud (Bali), seeks to reconcile the well-being of residents and social peace; a tourism professional wants to increase his profit, whether he is a baker or a masseur in an institute; a Balinese resident has the same concerns as a resident of the islands of Houat and Hoedic. This similarity in residents' concerns has also recently been confirmed by recent literature. Kishan and Joshi (2023) list the aspirations of local communities: to be taken into account by other tourism stakeholders, to benefit from the benefits of tourism, to be reassured about the preservation of heritage, culture, and the environment.

A global method of aligning stakeholders seems possible, considering these similarities of points of view in the different territories. Ideally, this would involve developing a reference method, generic and replicable in various territories, whatever their size. Indeed, on the one hand the problem resolution process is classic, and on the other hand the brakes and levers of the stakeholders are significantly similar in the different tourism contexts.

At the local level, the key point of the alignment method requires understanding the trade-offs between stakeholders' brakes and levers. Thus, following the prescriptions of Roodbari & Olya (2024), we have highlighted how the perceived value (Rivière & Mencarelli, 2012) of each of the stakeholders is an essential element for identifying the conditions of engagement of actors in a collective process of resolving tensions in tourist territories. As explained by Barnard (1995), the environment of the actors strongly influences individual decision-making: each tourism

stakeholder takes a position according to its context and what it perceives as its interest (Crozier & Friedberg, 1977). Also, the balance of power between the brakes and levers of each stakeholder calls for differentiated mobilization strategies (Sautter & Leisen, 1999).

The dead end of the subject of attendance data for tourist areas, which slows down commitment to concrete action

Existing tourist attendance data does not constitute an objective reference shared by stakeholders. They are not considered as a common basis for discussion. Our results show that there is no consensus among stakeholders on the sufficiency of existing tourist attendance data. However, according to Simon (1960, 1977), problem solving requires defining shared criteria and indicators (Design phase).

Therefore, we must avoid focusing the decision-making process exclusively on tourist attendance data. This concern delays stakeholder alignment and slows down the decision-making process. Asking stakeholders to first recognize the objectivity of the available data is to stop the alignment process by passing judgment on the perceptions of the actors. However, the trust placed in statistics matters just as much as their objectivity (Holt, 2008), even more so in a digitalized society (Allin, 2021). Focusing on the quality of data seems the ideal pretext to postpone the moment of decision and the associated risks: postponing the choice is the most likely strategy in a context of high tension, as demonstrated by Tversky & Shafir (1992). Making the creation of a common data repository a prerequisite for the process of collective resolution of tensions in tourist territories is an unconscious form of resistance to change (Coch & French, 1948).

However, the development of a common framework remains an essential project. Once this reference framework is obtained and shared, it is a facilitator of long-term stakeholder alignment. Tourism statistics are necessary for decision-makers

to make informed, but also political, decisions, with biases (Pratt & Tolkach, 2018) that are not ignored by stakeholders. At a minimum, producers of tourist attendance data can improve its availability and

usefulness depending on their characteristics. Table 6 suggests four data enhancement strategies to bring stakeholders together towards a repository.

Table 6. Data Valuation Strategies

		USEFULNESS	
Données...		Often useful	Rarely useful
AVAILABILITY	Often available	<i>COMMUNICATE BETTER</i>	<i>PRECISE NEEDS OR DEPRIORITIZE</i>
	Rarely available	<i>LOOK AFTER BLIND SPORTS</i>	<i>VIGILANCE: DO NOT COLLECT (Time saving, economy, digital hygiene)</i>

From this perspective, stakeholders can work to collectively build a new independent data repository. The participatory science approach seems relevant to us, defined as scientific research conducted with the active participation of the population (Vohland et al., 2021) in all or part of the process (collection, analysis, even definition of protocols). The potential for participatory science is established (Swanson et al., 2016), with proven methodologies for producing quality data (training of volunteers, statistical adjustments, accessibility, standardization, and simplification of protocols to facilitate their appropriation, etc.).

Limitations of The Study

This research has two main limitations linked to carrying out interviews outside the tourist season (1) and the low number of tourists in the sample (2).

Firstly, the interviews were carried out outside the tourist season on both sites. There may therefore be a bias in the speeches of stakeholders, which are different in periods of lower tension in the territory. In the middle of the tourist season, perceptions could vary. However, given the intensity of tensions in these tourist

territories, we can assume that in high season the speeches of stakeholders unfavorable to tourism would simply be more radical, while the speeches of stakeholders favorable to tourism would be more cautious. Stakeholders should be interviewed during the tourist season to verify that conclusions remain similar or if perceptions change significantly.

Second, while we interviewed many residents, at this stage few tourists were interviewed. However, the interests of tourists are generally already defended in the speeches of institutional tourism organizations. Better still, tourists also side with residents regarding certain disadvantages of tourism, both out of interest (satisfactory tourist experience) and altruism, the two sometimes coming together. A complementary study focused exclusively on tourists would be interesting to explore this observation and lift the sample limit.

Research Agenda

Our research allows us to identify three research priorities to extend reflection on resolving tensions in tourist areas (Table 7).

Integrate the notion of perceived value into measurements of visitor numbers in tourist areas (Priority 1). Today, the measures in place are essentially purely accounting. We measure flows of people like we measure goods, an animal population or money in circulation. However, tourism is not only a matter of management, but also of human and social sciences, where behavior, perceptions and feelings have a determining impact (McCabe et al., 2016; Petr & Caudan, 2023). It is appropriate to enrich attendance measurements with a subjective dimension, the value perceived by each of the stakeholders. Initiatives to take feelings into account exist, such as the residents' irritation index (Doxey, 1975), or the reference indicators from the company TCI Research, but this type of tool, although growing, remains relatively little mobilized by the territories.

Mobilize citizen science to increase the potential of tourist attendance measurements (Priority 2). From a political point of view, citizen science would make it possible to move from vertical, top-down and centralized information to horizontal,

bottom-up and decentralized information, while taking into account perceived value. Citizen science is a facilitator of alignment of stakeholders, by involving them in the construction of the repository (Petr et al., 2023a). From a practical point of view, citizen science makes it possible to collect data on a larger scale, in time and space, at lower cost. The data will be more useful, more reliable and more consensual.

Adapt the technological acceptance model to tourist attendance data (Priority 3). Even if tourism development levels and tourism types are different between Bali and Brittany, the content of existing data is not necessarily known to stakeholders. Their consultation, understanding and appropriation are not self-evident. In both areas, DMOs developed statistics and provide dashboards (Briton "Centre Régional du Tourisme" and Bali Tourism Office). However, very few stakeholders mentioned regularly using it. It is necessary to study how to make these statistics easy to use and useful for stakeholders (Petr et al., 2023b). Developing a sophisticated statistical tool is pointless if it is not used.

Table 7. Future Research Agenda to Cope with Renewed Tensions of Tourist Areas

Priority 1 - Integrate the notion of perceived value into measurements of visitor numbers in tourist areas	
<i>Concept to mobilize</i>	<i>Research objectives</i>
Perceived Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Integrate perceptions and feelings into reflections on the management of tourist attendance - Understand the mechanics of forming perceptions and attitudes - Convert these perceptions into indicators
Priority 2 - Mobilize participatory science to increase the potential of tourist attendance measurements	
<i>Concept to mobilize</i>	<i>Research objectives</i>
Citizen science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Involve stakeholders in the collection framework and process - Build a common measurement framework and thus facilitate the alignment of the parties - Collect data continuously - Compare data from one period to another to generate more robust analyzes and models

Priority 3 - Adapt the technological acceptance model to tourist attendance data

<i>Concept to mobilize</i>	<i>Research objectives</i>
Technology acceptance model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Better communicate on existing data to encourage their consultation - Adapt data presentation formats to facilitate their readability and appropriation - Develop tools to facilitate the use of raw data by stakeholders - Identify the most relevant indicators on a daily basis for stakeholders

CONCLUSION

This research work made it possible to identify the first bases of a global method of aligning stakeholders to resolve tensions in tourist territories. In accordance with the initial objectives, our research was an opportunity to describe the perceptions of tensions in tourist territories by the different stakeholders. This allowed us to propose a first explanation of the gaps in perception, and to consider avenues for aligning stakeholders to bridge these gaps. Thus, it appears that tensions in tourist areas constitute a problem like any other, which makes it solvable as long as an appropriate approach is initiated. Even if the current tensions seem renewed and amplified since post-Covid, it turns out that the brakes and levers of the stakeholders ultimately remain classic. They do not differ from the difficulties usually encountered when it comes to supporting the development of a territory and the changes that this implies for the individuals who live there, work there and govern it.

This first observation is encouraging for managers of tourist areas struggling with the challenges of managing tensions. Another encouraging point is the observation that we obtain the same typology of brakes and levers of stakeholders in the two study areas. This opens the way to collaborative work between tourist territories and the use of benchmarking approaches, between on the one hand the spaces and perimeters (sites, cities, region, countries) more advanced in the management of

tensions, and on the other hand on the other hand, the spaces which have more recently discovered these difficulties. Finally, as our results on the evaluations between brakes and levers have shown, the implementation of the generic alignment method that we recommend requires each time being adapted to the local context. And, to make this adaptation as successful as possible, it is appropriate to study the individual decisions of the actors as a priority. Thus, contrary to what is often done, we should not focus on obtaining attendance data but on the way in which attendance is perceived and evaluated in the light of these decisions.

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