

**THE DEBATE ABOUT TOURISM AND ITS SUSTAINABILITY IN THE
PUBLIC SPHERE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

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Abstract

During the COVID-19 pandemic, several academics considered that the crisis could be a turning point in the tourism development model and an opportunity for tourism to become more sustainable in the future. It is unclear, however, whether this perception has spread beyond academia and how the pandemic changed the ideology of tourism in society. This article investigates whether the pandemic has boosted and influenced the debate in the European public sphere about the sustainability of tourism. Accordingly, a comparative content analysis of tourism-related newspaper pieces published in five newspapers of different

countries during 2020 was carried out. The findings indicate that the pandemic sparked public debate about the future of tourism. However, the sustainability of tourism was not the primary concern in most of the newspapers analysed. Instead, the public sphere seemed more concerned with the pandemic's negative effects on tourism, emphasising the importance of tourism for destinations. In the various newspapers different approaches to tourism were found, suggesting that multiple sensitivities towards the issue of sustainability in tourism coexist in the European public sphere.

Keywords: Sustainable tourism; Public Sphere; Content analysis; Transition.

Introduction

The final years before the COVID-19 pandemic were characterised by a heightened debate about the negative externalities of tourism growth. Social movements against tourism had erupted in several cities around the world (Clancy, 2020; Milano et al., 2019a, 2019b), the theme of overtourism had gained media attention (Clark & Nyaupane, 2020; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019), and the goal of mitigating overtourism was entering in the political agenda (Nientied & Toto, 2020). Moreover, the scientific literature had been highlighting the effects of overtourism on destinations, local communities, and their cultures, as well as the impact of tourism-related activities on ecosystems and on the levels of greenhouse gases. A growing body of academics argued that tourism should develop strategies to overcome these challenges, i.e., to reduce its social, cultural, and environmental impact, addressing climate change, and improving residents' quality of life, all for reasons related to tourism's long-term viability (Biendicho et al., 2022; Burns & Bibbings, 2013; Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019; Fletcher, 2011; Fletcher et al., 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Hübner, 2014).

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic brought new momentum to this discussion. Several academics emphasised that the global lockdown demonstrated that it is possible to slow down, calling into question the need for and feasibility of continued tourism expansion (Benjamin et al., 2020; Brito-Henriques, 2021; Crossley, 2020; Galvani et al., 2020). However, as Higgins-Desbiolles (2021) points out, this debate was divided in two ‘schools of thought’: those who saw the pandemic as an opportunity to reform tourism, reducing its environmental and social impacts on destinations (linked to the concept of strong sustainability); and those who saw the importance of boosting growth after the pandemic, returning to ‘business as usual’, i.e., to 2019 levels of growth.

It is unclear, however, whether this debate has moved beyond the boundaries of academia into society. The problems discussed in academia require public manifestation to promote discussion about the solutions and changes needed in civil society (Habermas, 1991). This takes place in a free, critical, and participatory public sphere in which these issues can be debated, and the concerns of civil society expressed (Habermas, 1991). Habermas (1991) defined the public sphere as a space of communication between civil society and the state in which citizens can express themselves publicly and actively debate state issues. This is where citizens form a public opinion. Newspapers, according to Habermas (1991), along with other media, formed the public sphere.

Studies on tourism discourses in the media have gained prominence. However, few studies have explored tourism discourses in traditional media, such as journalism, which has a legitimized public opinion (Boager & Castro, 2022; Boeder, 2005; Mínguez et al., 2022). This article aims to fill this gap, by investigating the debate developed about tourism sustainability in the public sphere during the COVID-19 pandemic. It aims to understand what the effects of the pandemic in this debate were. To reach this goal, it develops a comparative content analysis of European newspaper pieces published in 2020, related to

tourism. We are particularly interested in the extent to which Higgins-Desbiolles' theoretical divide has been expressed in newspapers: was the pandemic perceived as an opportunity to reform tourism? Or, on the contrary, has the pandemic increased the urgency of resuming growth, making concerns about sustainability even more secondary? In addition, the similarities and differences between the public and academic debates are highlighted. A sample of five European newspapers from five different European countries was chosen to develop the content analysis. Using content analysis, we developed a quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative approach determined the frequency of topics, while the qualitative approach identified the different opinions expressed. This analysis is contributing to the academic debate about the sustainable future of tourism, and it may provide important insights into future tourism trends following the pandemic.

Literature review

COVID-19 as an opportunity to rethink tourism

Tourism is widely recognized for its positive impact on the global economy, having contributed to 10,3% of international GDP in 2019. It has fostered the economic development of many destinations, generating revenue and promoting job creation. It has also contributed to the creation of infrastructures and enhanced local cultures (Arrobas et al., 2020; Fletcher, 2011; Gössling et al., 2020). In 2020, due to COVID-19 pandemic, most countries in the world were forced to implement strict lockdowns and border restrictions because of the virus. These measures appeared to be highly effective in preventing virus spread, resulting in fewer infections and deaths (Liu et al., 2022). Nonetheless, these policies had a significant impact on economies around the world (Gössling et al., 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on tourism, as well as other economic activities. International tourist arrivals fell by 74%, costing the industry more than

\$2 trillion USD (UNWTO, 2020a). Its consequences were especially severe in more reliant on tourism destinations, i.e., destinations where tourism contributes significantly to GDP (Blanco-Romero et al., 2018; Gössling et al., 2020; Gössling & Schweiggart, 2022). Aside from the negative effects, many scholars believed that this period could be used to reflect on the environmental, social, and cultural impact of tourism in destinations. Local communities, for instance, were able to reclaim their own public spaces, which had previously been threatened by overtourism (Crossley, 2020; Gössling et al., 2020; Mínguez et al., 2022; Niewiadomski, 2020). As a result, tourism degrowth appeared to benefit destinations by reducing the social, cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism (for instance, the decrease of pollution in the lagoon of Venice due to the absence of cruises). Moreover, NASA images showing a reduction in CO₂ emissions in China and Italy because of the shutdown of many economic sectors have further influenced this debate (Crossley, 2020). Although the reduction in pollution was temporary, scholars emphasised that these pandemic-caused episodes could be viewed as an opportunity to reflect on the future of economies (Galvani et al., 2020; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020).

Scholars who shared this perspective agreed on the importance of rethinking tourism's future in more sustainable terms. These authors, according to Higgins-Desbiolles (2021), are 'pro-limits critics'. These are in line with the concept of "strong sustainability" as defined by Arrobas et al., i.e., that tourism growth has had many negative effects on the environment (for instance on biodiversity degradation and on increasing the emissions of Greenhouse gases) (Gössling & Peeters, 2007, 2015; Hall, 2006; Hamilton et al., 2005; Hübner, 2014; Lenzen et al., 2018; Mercer, 2013), and on local communities and their cultures, such as problems like overtourism, gentrification and tourismophobia (Biendicho et al., 2022; Blanco-Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2018; Blanco-Romero et al., 2018; Clark & Nyaupane, 2020; Hughes, 2018; Milano et al., 2019a, 2019b; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019).

Although the sustainability of tourism has been under discussion for several decades, the transition to a more sustainable tourism has been slow and short-sighted (Fletcher et al., 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Niewiadomski, 2020). Authors have for a long time defended the framework of the Triple Bottom Line (TBL), focused on a balance between the three pillars of sustainability (economic, environmental, and social sustainability) to promote the sustainable development of tourism (Stoddard et al., 2012). However, the economic area continues to be prioritized, while little progress has been made in social equity and environmental protection (Stoddard et al., 2012).

The growth of tourism before the pandemic was not considering the urgency of the climate crisis and its challenges for the tourism industry in the future (Burns & Bibbings, 2013; Gössling et al., 2019; Gössling & Peeters, 2015; Hall, 2006; Kocak et al., 2020; Lenzen et al., 2018; Qureshi et al., 2019). Therefore, for reasons related to tourism's own long-term viability, scholars argue that the 'new normal' for tourism should account for its negative externalities on the environment and on local communities and their cultures (Biendicho et al., 2022; Hamilton et al., 2005; Hübner, 2014). In short, 'pro-limits critics' seem to agree with the idea that tourism must "(...) move away from "growth fetishism" and to evolve into a 'strong' sustainability (...)" (Arrobas et al., 2020, p.2) paradigm, i.e., to promote tourism that is more environmentally friendly, less resource-intensive, and more respectful and responsible to local communities and their cultures (Ateljevic, 2020; Benjamin et al., 2020; Brito-Henriques, 2021; Crossley, 2020; Galvani et al., 2020; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020, 2021; Lapointe, 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020; Prideaux et al., 2020).

Although scholars appeared to be optimistic about the future of tourism, many recognised that the path dependency of destinations on tourism will likely create an urgency for many destinations to return to 'business as usual', i.e., to 2019 levels of growth (Brito-Henriques, 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Mínguez et al., 2022). In previous crises, such as

MERS or the 2008 economic crisis, destinations demonstrated an urgent need to regrow, achieving higher levels of growth than previously (Gössling et al., 2020). Therefore, the economic weight of tourism in destinations will likely influence them to regrow after the pandemic, making degrowth perspectives unlikely to happen (Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Mínguez et al., 2022). Some scholars expressed their concern about this possibility, pointing out that returning to ‘business as usual’ would mean ignoring tourism's environmental and social impacts and resuming 2019's unsustainable levels of growth (Galvani et al., 2020; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Ioannides & Gyimóthy, 2020; Lew et al., 2020). Higgins-Desbiolles (2021) identifies those who defend the ‘business as usual’ scenario — primarily tourism practitioners — as ‘pro-industry boosters.’ This group believes that it is critical to return to 2019 growth levels (Butcher, 2021) and that viewing the pandemic as an opportunity to reform tourism is irresponsible, because it ignores the industry's economic crisis.

Tourism scholars and tourism practitioners disagree therefore about which path to take after the pandemic crisis. The UNWTO (2020a), however, has highlighted post-pandemic tourism tendencies that were promoted during this period. The pandemic promoted domestic tourism, short-haul flights, rural tourism, homeoffice and digital nomads. As some have argued, some of these habits encouraged more sustainable tourism practises (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021; Lew et al., 2020). Homeoffice, for example, appeared to be a viable alternative to business or congress tourism, as it avoided many displacements. As a result, these new habits and trends may influence how tourism resumes following COVID-19 (Crossley, 2020; Haywood, 2020; UNWTO, 2020a).

Tourism, media and public opinions

The COVID-19 pandemic has sparked debate among tourism academics and practitioners about the future and sustainability of the industry (Galvani et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Lapointe, 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020; Prideaux et al., 2020). Even though there was a noticeable debate on this topic in the scientific literature it is unclear whether it has spread beyond academia into society. In this article we investigate how the previous issues are reflected in the European public debate. To do so, we follow the concept of “public sphere” created by Habermas (1991).

The public sphere, according to Habermas (1991) consists of a communicational space between the state and civil society, in which citizens can discuss state issues publicly. It is in this space that a public opinion is formed, reflecting the main concerns of civil society (Boeder, 2005; Habermas, 1991; Kruse et al., 2018). Newspapers, other traditional media, and coffee shops formed the public sphere as Habermas defined in 1962 (Boeder, 2005; Habermas, 1991). As highlighted by Garnham (2007), “(...) the public sphere and the institutions of representative democracy, including the media [are] the key locus of a sustainable democratic polity.” (p. 202).

However, the public sphere of Habermas that was previously represented by traditional media, mainly by the press, has been subject to a dramatic change (Boeder, 2005; Iosifidis, 2011; Kruse et al., 2018). With the emergence of the internet, the traditional forms of media were replaced by electronic mass media and social media, which substantially changed the space for public debate (Boeder, 2005; Iosifidis, 2011; Kruse et al., 2018). As argued by Boeder (2005), there seems to be no consensus on how the internet and social media are contributing to a new quality of the public sphere. Some authors argue that the internet and social media can strengthen civil society, offering a unique way of communicating and publishing (Boeder, 2005; Kruse et al., 2018). Other authors, however, argue that besides being a restricted space, it does not promote actual participation of citizens

in public discussions, but rather turns the content and space of public discussions into commodities (Boeder, 2005; Iosifidis, 2011; Kruse et al., 2018). Moreover, the lack of sincerity and authority in social media and the propagation of unreliable information question the existence of a public sphere in these new media forms (Boeder, 2005; Iosifidis, 2011; Kruse et al., 2018).

Both modern and traditional media have been corporatized and commodified by institutions and interest groups, thanks to the emergence of the consumerist culture (Habermas, 1991; Mínguez et al., 2022), or, as Boeder (2005) puts it, the media serve “(...) as vehicles for generating and managing consensus and promoting capitalist culture rather than fulfil their original function as organs of public debate.” (para. 10). However, media, as a cultural producer, has in any case a significant impact on how we define and redefine meanings and reality (Boager & Castro, 2022; Mínguez et al., 2022), or as Solnet et al. (2022) and Mayer et al. (2021) put it, media discourses shape public perceptions. Moreover, although Habermas' public sphere has undergone major changes over the years, it can still be found in the media, namely in the press, which has a legitimized opinion (Mínguez et al., 2022).

In recent years, studies on tourism discourses in the media have gained prominence (Araya López, 2021; Biendicho et al., 2022; Boager & Castro, 2022; Mínguez et al., 2022; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019). However, most studies in tourism have been using social media as their object of study, neglecting other traditional media, such as journalism. Researchers can use traditional media communication analysis to identify dominant discourses in the public debate of these institutions, “(...) [providing] an x-ray of what is happening” (Mínguez et al., 2022, pp.2). For instance, it can provide insights into how the public debate is giving voice to emerging issues such as overtourism, environmental concerns, and the socio-cultural effects of tourism (Araya López, 2021; Biendicho et al.,

2022; Boager & Castro, 2022; Mínguez et al., 2022; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019).

Media coverage of these issues may play an important role in raising civil society awareness and, ultimately, it may impact policymaking by bringing these issues to the forefront of public debate (Araya López, 2021; Boager & Castro, 2022; Habermas, 1991; Mínguez et al., 2022; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019; Solnet et al., 2022). As a result, traditional media studies may provide important insights into how the modern public sphere perceives the development of tourism.

Few studies have been analysing traditional media sources, namely, journalism (Araya López, 2021; Mínguez et al., 2022; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019).

Therefore, this article aims to address this gap by analysing the debate about tourism and the COVID-19 in the European public sphere. Since the COVID-19 pandemic period was interpreted by academia as an opportunity to rethink the industry's future in more sustainable terms, studies on tourism media discourses during the pandemic, as we investigate in this article, may provide important insights into how emerging issues in tourism evolved in the public debate during this period (Mínguez et al., 2022). Moreover, it is expected to find differences in the media discourse during 2020, since there were four different moments of incidence of the pandemic in Europe.

Methods

This research has conducted a thematic content analysis of tourism-related newspaper pieces published in European newspapers in 2020. According to the UNWTO (2019), Europe accounted for half of all international tourism arrivals (51%), making it critical for studying the debate developed in its public sphere about the sustainability of tourism. Cacheux and Laurent (2015), for instance, distinguished the European Union as a global leader in the fight against climate change, committed to meeting the Paris Agreement's goals. As a result, we

chose to examine the European public sphere, because the debate over tourism sustainability may be at a different stage in its newspapers (European Council, 2021).

To select the sample of European newspapers, we firstly chose a group of European Union member countries. Two criteria were used to select the countries. First, the official language of the country was a deciding factor because the newspapers were read by the authors in their original language (the authors are fluent in German, Portuguese, Spanish, English and French). Second, the countries were chosen according to the economic weight that tourism had in their economies in 2019 (contribution to GDP, according to the available reports of WTTC in 2020). We were interested in selecting countries where tourism had a contribution above 10% of their GDP. This is because the contribution of tourism to the economies of countries could have influenced their position in relation to tourism sustainability after the pandemic (Khalid et al., 2021). Moreover, it is probably in these countries that a future reorientation in the tourism development model will be most critical. Taking these criteria into account, a sample of five European countries was selected, as shown in Table 1. In the case of France, a different criterion was used. Even though tourism's economic weight in the French GDP in 2019 was less than the global average of 10 %, France was chosen for the study because it was the first tourist recipient in the world.

After selecting the sample of European countries (Austria, Portugal, France, Spain, and Malta), we chose one newspaper per country. The newspapers were chosen using the criterion of “newspaper of record” (Table 1, third column) of Wikipedia (see Wikipedia, 2021). A “newspaper of record” consists of a newspaper ‘(..) with large circulation whose editorial and news-gathering functions are considered authoritative.’ (Wikipedia, 2021). Table 1 shows the “newspapers of record” selected per country.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

All newspapers were published in the official language of each country, and all were available both in print and online editions: four newspapers are printed daily —*Die Presse*, *El País*, *Times of Malta*, and *Le Monde*—, while *Expresso* is a weekly newspaper, but it publishes online every day. To harmonize the sample, we only used the online format of all newspapers because they all publish daily in this format. The newspapers *El País*, *Le Monde*, *Expresso* and *Die Presse* were available online free of charge for 30 days, by simulating subscription. *Times of Malta* required no subscription.

To select the *corpus* of newspaper pieces, a time interval from January 1st, 2020, to December 31st, 2020, was defined. This interval is relevant to the analysis because it includes four pandemic moments in European countries, which may have an impact on the study's findings. The first period, from January to March, corresponds to the moment when the pandemic was still in its early stages, with few consequences and restrictions in Europe (Financial Times, 2021; UNWTO, 2020b). In the second stage, from March to May, Europe experienced its first COVID-19 wave, with severe lockdowns and border restrictions (UNWTO, 2020b). In third stage, from June to September, Europe saw a decrease in the number of infections and restrictions. Here, tourism had the opportunity to return to some normalcy, i.e., to resume some of its activity (UNWTO, 2020b). Finally, from October to December, the number of infections increased for a new COVID-19 wave filled with restrictions, affecting the Christmas season (Our World in Data, 2022; Financial Times, 2021; UNWTO, 2020b). One hypothesis we can put forward is that the focus of the public debate has changed over time, influenced by the stage of evolution of the virus in Europe.

After defining the time interval, we used keywords to identify the relevant pieces related to tourism in the newspapers. Two keywords were used in the search engines of each newspaper website: 'tourism' and 'travel'. A total of 251 newspaper pieces was selected (see

Table 2). The number of newspaper pieces found in the *Expresso* and *Die Presse* far exceeds those of the other newspapers. In the case of *Expresso*, the public debate about the tourism industry peaked in the months of November and December (concentrating 34 out of the 72 newspaper pieces of *Expresso*), which is probably related to the devastating effects of the travel restrictions during the Portuguese Christmas season. In *Die Presse*, the discussion spiked in the months preceding the Ski season (which runs from December to April), which was certainly related to the travel restrictions that were going to deeply affect the following season.

After selecting the newspaper pieces and organizing them by their typology (opinion pieces, reports, interviews, or news), the *corpus* was ready for the content analysis. Table 2 shows the number and type of newspaper pieces chosen by newspaper.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Content analysis entails several stages of reading a text corpus and doing the codification of the relevant text in topics (Bardin, 2011). Thematic analysis was the appropriate content analysis technique for this research because it aims to identify which themes were being discussed in the European public sphere in 2020 in relation to tourism. The codification was done inductively, i.e., while reading the *corpus*. One author first read all the newspaper pieces to identify the topics being discussed in the newspapers and created a first draft of a tree of codes, to be discussed with the other author. Then, the same author read the corpus a second time to check the codes created in the previous round. Intercoder reliability tests were done throughout the codification. While one of the authors read the entire corpus and did the coding, the other author coded the text by sampling, checking the consistency and coherence of the codification criteria in around 20% of the material. The

code tree was therefore discussed and improved by the two authors over several meetings until they were in complete agreement, considering the coherence and consistency that must accompany the coding process. We used the qualitative analysis software Nvivo 11 Pro to do the codification. It allowed us to build a 'tree' of 54 codes/ topics. The 54 codes are divided into three main categories that group the remaining subcategories: (1) 'Tourism Growth,' (2) 'Effects of the Pandemic Crisis,' and (3) 'Future of Tourism.' The codification criteria for each of these categories are summarised in Table 3.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

Results and discussion

Frequency of content categories in the corpus of newspaper pieces

Table 4 shows which topics received the most attention in the newspaper sample studied in 2020. The most attention was given to the categories 'Future of tourism' (42,9%) and 'Effects of the pandemic crisis' (41,1%). (Table 4). The category 'Tourism growth,' on the other hand, received the least number of mentions. Furthermore, the percentages for 'Future of tourism' and 'Effects of the pandemic crisis' are very close, indicating some tension in the European public debate between these two categories.

When looking at the subcategories, the 'Negative effects' of tourist absence were the most frequently mentioned in the corpus, accounting for 35.9% of the content coded. Furthermore, there appears to be a split and disagreement in public expectations about the future of tourism, between those who express concerns about 'Rethinking tourism' and those who prioritise 'Resuming tourism.' According to the facts presented, there is no agreement on this issue. On the one hand, it's worth noting, and perhaps encouraging, that nearly a quarter

of the newspaper articles discuss the need to rethink tourism's future in a more sustainable manner. It is worth noting, however, that 18.9% of the pieces express a desire or concern for a return to pre-pandemic conditions (Table 4).

To further analyse tendencies in the corpus, we used NVivo 11 Pro to cross categories and learned that when discussing the 'Negative effects' of the absence of tourists, authors tend to discuss the 'Resuming tourism' scenario (49% of newspaper pieces coded in the category 'Negative effects' also discussed the 'Resuming tourism' scenario). This pattern may indicate that when discussing negative impacts, authors also considered the importance of restoring tourism activity to pre-crisis levels (the 'business as usual' scenario). This result could indicate that the effects of the pandemic on tourism may have slowed the transition to a more sustainable future, that was in the agenda prior to COVID-19 (Nientied & Toto, 2020). In contrast, the crises could accentuate the desires for growth of tourism destinations after the pandemic period, as already experienced in previous crisis (Gössling et al., 2020). As we have discussed in the literature review, several authors appeared to be concerned about this possibility, since returning to 'business as usual' would mean ignoring tourism's unsustainable levels of growth in the past decades, and moreover, the urgency of the climate crisis (Brito-Henriques, 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020).

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

As stated in the methodology section of this article, we hypothesised that the various stages of evolution of COVID-19 could influence the topics covered in newspapers and the concerns expressed throughout 2020. Figure 1 illustrates this tendency.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Figure 1 shows that the category 'Effects of the Pandemic Crisis' emerges as the dominant theme in March and remains high throughout the year. It is especially prevalent in the summer, as well as in October and December. Summer and the end of the year (December) are critical times for tourism activity because they correspond to peak seasons for many destinations. These peak seasons, however, were impacted by travel restrictions, resulting in significant economic losses (UNWTO, 2020b). The category 'Future of tourism' tended to gain relevance when infections increased, and countries were facing lockdowns. The absence of tourism in destinations due to lockdowns and high infection rates may have motivated both the need to rethink tourism and the need to resume tourism as soon as possible, sparking the debate on both scenarios. As mentioned in the literature, the discussion about "rethinking tourism" was motivated by the absence of tourists in the destinations, which created awareness on the environmental and social impacts of tourism (Benjamin et al., 2020; Brito-Henriques, 2021; Crossley, 2020; Galvani et al., 2020). On the other hand, the "undertourism" scenarios in destinations motivated the discussion about the need to "resume tourism" as quickly as possible, since these countries' economies are highly dependent on tourism revenues (Brito-Henriques, 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020). Finally, the discussion about the category 'Tourism Growth' was prevalent at the beginning of the year before the emergence of COVID-19 in Europe. This discussion was most likely influenced by the media attention on social movements about overtourism and other negative tourism externalities in European destinations prior to the pandemic, as highlighted previously by Clark and Nyaupane (2020), Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020), Phi (2019), and Valdivielso and Moranta (2019).

Variations in the content of the pieces across the newspapers analysed

Assuming that there may have been differences in the contents of tourism-related newspapers published in different countries, depending on perceptions of its economic importance and impacts, we will now examine the frequency of each main category in each newspaper and the main opinions expressed. The results are first presented in tables by number of words, in percentage, coded for each thematic category in each newspaper, and then, as different opinions are described, we also present the number of newspaper pieces for certain tendencies, to show whether these tendencies were consistent among authors or only minorities. Table 5 illustrates the main three categories of the analysis's discussion trends in all newspapers.

[INSERT TABLE 5 HERE]

When comparing the weight of the three main themes identified in each newspaper, there are significant differences. Three of the five newspapers — *Expresso*, *El País*, and *Le Monde* — went into greater detail about the category 'Future of tourism.' The remaining two, the *Times of Malta* and *Die Presse*, went into greater detail about the category 'Effects of the Pandemic Crisis.' The topic of 'tourism growth' received the least attention in all the newspapers examined. As previously stated, this category was mostly present at the start of the year 2020, most likely influenced by the media debate about overtourism and tourismophobia prior to the pandemic, as explored in the literature review (Clark & Nyaupane, 2020; Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2019; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019). The fact that this theme is more prevalent in *El País* (26,3%) than in other newspapers may be explained by the fact that Spain was one of the countries where overtourism was a source of strong social conflict in the years preceding the pandemic, and where it achieved great media and political importance (Blanco-

Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2018; Blanco-Romero et al., 2018; Hughes, 2018; Mínguez et al., 2022).

Tourism growth

Table 6 presents the tendencies of the newspapers when discussing the category 'Tourism growth'. As shown in Table 6, this category was prominent in the newspapers *El País* (26,3%), *Le Monde* (18,5%) and *Times of Malta* (17,0%). Table 4 showed that the opinions coded in this category discussed mostly about the 'Social impacts' of tourism in destinations (8.0% of content coded), followed by the 'Economic impacts' (4.4%) and finally by the 'Environmental impacts' (3,6%), which were the least discussed tourism externalities in the public sphere.

[INSERT TABLE 6 HERE]

When discussing the 'Social impacts' of tourism, opinions emphasised the negative effects of overcrowding in places like Venice, Malta, Mallorca, and Barcelona. Moreover, they examined its consequences for local communities in terms of loss of sense of place and tourism-related processes of gentrification (present in 13 pieces, 5,1% of all newspaper pieces). As argued in the Austrian newspaper, 'before Covid-19, we were at a point where some destinations couldn't cope with the rush' (Kocina, 2020). Overcrowding scenarios in cities were considered by some to reduce residents' quality of life, resulting in poor social standing among residents and tourists (13 pieces, 5,1% of all newspaper pieces). In *Le Monde*, tourists were criticised for failing to connect with local communities and for '(...) exploiting the physical city without making a significant contribution to its inhabitants' (Ratti, 2020). Anti-tourism movements and tourismophobia feelings were acknowledged by the same pieces as the result of unsustainable tourism growth, in which local communities

battle for their ‘homeland’. In *El País* it is further debated that ‘(...) [tourism] expels locals from their cities by turning these very same cities into amusement parks for foreigners in tourist getaways’ (Raposo, 2020). Although a minority, the media discourse on social impacts of tourism highlights several of the aspects mentioned by the scientific literature (Blanco-Romero & Blázquez-Salom, 2018; Clark & Nyaupane, 2020; Hughes, 2018; Milano et al., 2019a, 2019b; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019).

As shown in table 6, the ‘Social impacts’ of ‘Tourism growth’ were prominent in *Le Monde* (16.2%) and *El País* (10.0%). The tendencies in these two newspapers could be attributed to the emergence of pre-pandemic overtourism social movements in cities such as Paris and Barcelona, as we have explored before in the studies of Blanco-Romero and Blázquez-Salom (2018), Blanco-Romero et al. (2018), Hughes (2018), and Milano et al. (2019b). Indeed, France and Spain are two of the top ten tourist destinations in the world with overtourism being a common occurrence (Hughes, 2018; Milano et al., 2019a, 2019b; Phi, 2019). *Times of Malta* also had a significant discussion about the negative externalities of tourism on the environment and local communities (Table 6). The levels of pollution caused by air travel were the most highlighted aspects in this category (present in 4 pieces, 1.5% of all newspaper pieces), perhaps because Malta is an island destination where air transport is predominant. Regarding the ‘Economic impacts’ of tourism, *Expresso* (6,2%, table 6) was the only newspaper where this subcategory was prominent, when compared to the other two. Here, the positive impacts of tourism in economies were highlighted. This trend may result from the path dependency of the Portuguese economy to tourism (17,1%) (Table 1).

Effects of the pandemic crisis

Table 7 shows the tendencies of discussion in the analysed European newspapers, when debating about the ‘Effects of the pandemic crisis’. In this regard, the content analysis we conducted enabled us to confirm that the ‘Negative effects’ of the pandemic were one of

the most prevalent topics in all the newspapers examined throughout the year 2020. It was clearly dominant in the case of the newspaper *Die Presse*, occupying more than a third of the textual space dedicated to tourism and travel issues throughout the year.

[INSERT TABLE 7 HERE]

Only a small number of newspaper pieces reported positive aspects (5,2% of all text on tourism and travel present in the newspapers analysed, table 4). However, the discourse in the newspapers on the positive effects of the lack of tourists in destinations was similar to the discourse found in the scientific literature (Crossley, 2020; Galvani et al., 2020; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Niewiadomski, 2020). The well-being felt by local communities in destinations due to the absence of tourists was mentioned. A small amount of text reported that the pandemic enabled local communities to reconnect with public space, namely in cities that were once suffering with overtourism (3,5% out of the 5,2% of text coded in the category ‘Positive effects’). This discussion was more frequent in the newspaper *El País* (10,7% of the textual space, table 7), in which one third of the content coded in the category ‘Effects of the pandemic crisis’ was coded as ‘Positive effects’. This difference compared to other newspapers was probably influenced by the importance of social movements against overtourism that took place in the Spanish cities before the pandemic, as explored by Blanco-Romero and Blázquez-Salom (2018), Blanco-Romero et al. (2018), Hughes (2018), Milano et al. (2019a), Milano et al. (2019b), Phi (2019).

In terms of the ‘Negative effects’, all newspapers expressed concerns about the economic losses that destinations faced due to the pandemic. Here, they emphasised the importance of tourism to businesses and jobs in destinations. The hegemonic weight of this topic in the examined newspapers most likely reflects the dependency of the economies of the

countries chosen for this study on tourism. In the case of *Die Presse*, the economic losses due to travel restrictions felt in Tirol and other localities where mountain tourism and ski holidays are important were prominent. Moreover, it is highlighted in *Times of Malta* that the absence of tourists ‘(...) is having dramatic social and economic consequences and puts millions of jobs and businesses at risk’ (AFP, 2020). Still considering economic losses, newspapers give further attention to the impacts felt in the hospitality industry (10,8%) and in airline companies (4,1%) (Table 4). The economic difficulties experienced by airlines such as TUI, Lufthansa, TAP, and Iberia are among the newspapers' concerns (more present in *Times of Malta*, Table 7). Moreover, the absence of tourists in the hospitality industry provokes abrupt losses in tourism revenues putting medium and small enterprises (MSE) in vulnerable situations (more present in *Die Presse* and *Expresso*, Table 7).

Notwithstanding, a less dominant point of view (6,8% out of the 35,9% of text coded in the category ‘Negative effects’, table 4) further considered the consequences of depending on tourism, expressed mainly in the newspapers *El País* and *Le Monde*. It was highlighted that: ‘In this context, it is the economies in which tourism occupies a privileged share of their GDP which are particularly affected by the negative effects of the falling activity’ (Maskariano, 2020). COVID-19 is seen by some as a lesson to destinations who live in a ‘tourism monoculture’. In *El País*, for example, tourism monoculture in Spanish cities was criticized (present in 8 pieces, 3,1% of all newspaper pieces): ‘(...) Our leaders have always opted for the tourism sector instead of the other business sectors, and the consequences are what we find today’ (Cabeza, 2020).

To summarize, the concern about the harmful consequences of the pandemic on tourism was the dominant tone found in the newspapers, despite some marginal reflections that considered the pandemic a lesson on the risks and disadvantages of being overly dependent on tourism. The importance of tourism in the countries selected for the analysis

likely influenced the dominance of this category in the discussion. Only *El País* did not exhibit such hegemonic tendencies. This tendency was highlighted by several authors in the literature, such as, Brito-Henriques (2021), Gössling et al. (2020), Higgins-Desbiolles (2021), Niewiadomski (2020).

Future of tourism

Table 8 shows the tendencies of discussion in the different European newspapers under the theme ‘Future of tourism’. Significant differences were found among the analysed newspapers, being worth mentioning: first, the category ‘Future of tourism’ captured little importance in the Austrian newspaper (28,3%) compared to the ‘Effects of the pandemic crisis’ (Table 7); second, *Expresso* (53,0%) discussed more about this category than the previous one. However, analysing Table 8 we conclude that *Expresso* discussed more about the subcategory ‘Resuming tourism’ (30,5%) rather than ‘Rethinking tourism’ (22,5%). This tendency in *Expresso* might be reflecting the importance that the tourism industry has in the Portuguese economy (17,1% of GDP, Table 1). The remaining four newspapers — *Die Presse* (14,5%), *El País* (24,8%), *Le Monde* (31,7%) and *Times of Malta* (22,6%) — discussed more about ‘Rethinking tourism’ than ‘Resuming tourism’. In relation to *El País* and *Le Monde*, the topic ‘Rethinking tourism’ is clearly more present than the ‘Resuming tourism’. In *Die Presse* and *Times of Malta*, even though ‘Rethinking tourism’ is more present, the differences between the subcategories are subtle, revealing some tension in the debate.

[INSERT TABLE 8 HERE]

The discussion about ‘Rethinking tourism’ in more sustainable terms after the pandemic represented 24% of all content coded from newspapers (Table 4). Newspaper pieces discussed mainly about environmental (11.3%) and social (10.4%) sustainability, as shown in table 4. In contrast, ‘Economic sustainability’ had little importance in the public debate (2,3%) (Table 4). Several strategies to achieve social and environmental sustainability were highlighted in the different newspapers, mostly in *El País* (24,8%) and *Le Monde* (31,7%), where this category had relevance.

When considering ‘Environmental sustainability’, the topic of tourism transportation and alternative ways of mobility was highlighted, especially in *Le Monde* (8 pieces, 3.1% of all newspaper). Diverse viewpoints were found in the public sphere related to this topic. In *Le Monde*, it is considered that ‘(...) the ecological transition and responsible tourism are incompatible with the massification of travel’ (Collectif, 2020). Still in *Le Monde*, alternatives to air transport are debated, where the importance of investing in the railway, high-speed and night trains is considered. One piece suggests that trains could be a viable alternative to domestic short-haul flights, especially regarding that ‘(...) half of air passengers in Europe travel distances can be travelled by night train’ (Razemon, 2020). Besides considering the importance of using more sustainable transports, it is still highlighted in *Le Monde*, (2 pieces, 0,7% of all newspaper pieces), that the COVID-19 era could allow us to envisage new types of international mobility, namely ‘reasoned travel’ where people spend more time in the same place, rather than running from one city to another’ (Ratti, 2020). In *El País* a piece adds that ‘(...) the era of massive air travel must come to an end for the health of the planet’ (Altares, 2020). Still in the Spanish newspaper, one article considers carbon taxes on airline passengers to be an intriguing possibility for discouraging tourism massification (Álvarez, 2020). In contrast, in *Expresso*, it was argued that implementing these measures after the pandemic ‘does not consider the situation in which the sector lives’ (Campos, 2020a,

2020b). Further increasing tension in the debate, in *Times of Malta* an article acknowledged that what aviation needs is government's '(...) investment in new innovative technologies like alternative combustion technology or hybrid/electric aircraft.' (Micallef, 2020).

When discussing about 'Social sustainability', mostly in *El País*, it was argued (8 pieces, 3,1% of all newspaper pieces) that the pandemic may be an opportunity to end tourism massification and bet on a tourism '(...) of quality, without massification associated to an invasive tourism and of quantity' (Pereira, 2020). Considering scenarios of overtourism lived in cities like Venice and Barcelona, in *El País* two pieces considered that '(...) measures of degrowth were already necessary before, but now it is an absolute priority' (Losada, 2020). Strategies to avoid tourism overcrowding and massification were indeed explored in the public sphere, such as the implementation of entrance taxes to tourists in cities (13 pieces, 5,1% of all pieces), namely in *Expresso* and *Le Monde*. Finally, the well-being of local communities was considered a priority by some after the pandemic in newspapers such as *El País* (4 pieces, 1,5% of all pieces) and *Le Monde* (3 pieces, 1,1% of all pieces).

The discussion about the category 'Economic sustainability' was the least mentioned in the 'Rethinking tourism' scenario (2,3% of spatial text, Table 4). Here, a minority discussed the importance of diversifying economies dependent on tourism (more present in *El País*, table 8).

As noted, the discussion about the environmental and social sustainability of tourism are in line with some of the ideas explored in the literature review (Biendicho et al., 2022; Burns & Bibbings, 2013; Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019; Fletcher, 2011; Fletcher et al., 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Hübner, 2014). The predominance of the category 'Rethinking tourism' in *Le Monde* was probably influenced by France's role in tackling climate change, as it is one of the European countries with more involvement in

environmental policy. Opinions in *El País* oscillate between ‘Environmental sustainability’ and ‘Social sustainability’, even though the ‘Social sustainability’ was dominant. This tendency was probably influenced by the reasons mentioned above, namely the levels of overtourism experienced in Spanish places such as Barcelona, several cities in Andalusia, and Mallorca, as well as the anti-tourism movements that resulted from it (Hughes, 2018; Milano et al., 2019a, 2019b; Phi, 2019).

Despite the above references to the need for a renewal of tourism, a significant part of the newspaper pieces was dedicated to discussing the prospects for a resurgence of tourism and the solutions capable of allowing a return to pre-pandemic levels of activity. Opinions on ‘Resuming tourism’ (focused on the urgent need to regrow) were dominant in the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso*, which clearly exceeded the ones concerned with ‘Rethinking tourism’ in a more sustainable way. In *Die Presse* and *Times of Malta*, these concerns have occupied a space equivalent to that occupied by visions of renewal and re-foundation of tourism. Newspapers were used to express opinions that called for putting ‘(...) everything needed on the table to help the sector’ (Belinchón, 2020), specifically, financial support from governments and EU. *Times of Malta*, *El País* and *Expresso* highlight the need to financially support airline companies, since ‘It would be unwise to let air transport networks disappear because of a disaster’ (*El País*, 2020). The discussion in *Expresso* revolves around the Portuguese airline company, TAP Air Portugal. On the one hand, financial support for the company is defended because bankruptcy would mean the loss of an important hub, affecting Portugal's main export activity. On the other hand, the risks of entering a severe economic crisis because of financial assistance were emphasised. Finally, when discussing the ‘Resuming tourism’ scenario, a minority in *El País* considered the importance of modern technologies to improve tourism offer in the post pandemic period.

The priority expressed in the public sphere about this topic is indeed to get back to ‘business as usual’ as soon as possible. Furthermore, the weight of tourism activity in the Portuguese economy may have influenced *Expresso's* tendency to discuss more ‘Resuming tourism’ than ‘Rethinking tourism’, demonstrating the strength of path dependency and the difficulties it poses to a change of trajectory in the future of tourism development, as expected by several authors in the literature review (Brito-Henriques, 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021; Niewiadomski, 2020;).

Conclusion

Based on the findings presented in the preceding section, we conclude that the tourism crisis caused by the pandemic was the dominant topic in the public sphere. Tourism was described in the newspapers as a strategic sector that was threatened and a victim of the pandemic. The consequences of reduced demand in tourism employment and the risk of business bankruptcies dominated the published material. Concerns about the sustainability of tourism and the need to rethink its future in more sustainable lines were present in some opinions but are a minority, when compared with the negative effects of the pandemic. There are also significant variations in the opinions published in the various newspapers, with a critical perspective in relation to mass tourism being more visible in *Le Monde* and *El País*, and more subtle in the others, especially *Expresso*. Tourism’s economic weight in the GDP of the countries selected might have been a key element influencing the hegemonic discussion about ‘Negative effects’ in the newspapers, in *Times of Malta*, *Expresso* & *Die Presse*. In the remaining two newspapers, environmental priorities, in the case of France, and social movements in the years before COVID-19 were possible elements influencing the discussion about rethinking tourism in more sustainable terms.

This analysis reveals an ambiguity and a dilemma in the European public sphere between acknowledgment of the need for tourism reform and the urgency of resuming tourism. Some of the theoretical divide between rethinking tourism and resuming tourism identified by Higgins-Desbiolles (2021) was expressed in the European public sphere. However, considering the research question of this article, it seems, inappropriate to speak of a clear awareness of the need to reverse the trajectory of evolution of tourism, as argued in the academic literature. Therefore, these findings curb expectations regarding the possibility of COVID-19 having been an opportunity to a more sustainable and different tourism in the future. They suggest, on the other hand, the urgent need of resumption to 2019 levels of growth. Several authors were concerned with this tendency, since returning to “business as usual” means to ignore the environmental and social problems of tourism and to continue promoting tourism’s unsustainable levels of growth (Brito-Henriques, 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2021; Niewiadomski, 2020).

Considering the methodological limitations of this analysis, it would be interesting to include other European countries and a different timeline to better understand whether this debate persists or fades in the years following the pandemic. This study provides important insights into future trends emerging in the tourism industry following the pandemic, which may be useful to tourism stakeholders. This analysis also reveals important insights into the various priorities of tourism stakeholders (academia vs press institutions) in relation to tourism sustainability after the pandemic, more precisely, our findings show a clear divorce between the debate that took place in academia and the sensibility that dominated in the public sphere. Academia sees the COVID-19 as an opportunity to rethink tourism in more sustainable terms, whereas the public sphere considers urgent to resume 2019 levels of growth. In fact, the different priorities found among tourism stakeholders about the future of

tourism might have been accentuated by the COVID-19 pandemic, since the pandemic has created severe economic problems.

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Tables

Table 1. European countries and newspapers selected for the study and the corresponding weight of tourism in the countries' economies

Countries	Tourism weight in GDP (%)*	Newspaper of record (Foundation year)
Portugal	17,1	<i>Expresso</i> (1973)
Spain	14,1	<i>El País</i> (1976)
Austria	11,0	<i>Die Presse</i> (1848)
Malta	15,9	<i>Times of Malta</i> (1935)
France	8,5	<i>Le Monde</i> (1944)

*Source : WTTC (2019)

Table 2. Newspaper pieces that form the *corpus* of the research per newspaper and type of newspaper piece

Newspapers	News	Opinion pieces	Reports	Interviews	Total
<i>Times of Malta</i>	19	12	3	0	34
<i>Le Monde</i>	17	13	12	3	45
<i>El País</i>	18	16	4	1	39
<i>Expresso</i>	47	20	2	3	72
<i>Die Presse</i>	42	9	6	4	61
Total	143	70	27	11	251

Table 3. Coding criteria for the main categories of the content analysis

Codification criteria		
1. Tourism Growth	1.1. Environmental impact	Excerpts discussing (1) GHG emissions, (2) resource depletion and (3) pressure on ecosystems.
	1.2. Social Impact	Excerpts discussing (1) overtourism, (2) social malaise, (3) the transformation neighbourhoods and (3) social exclusion.
	1.3. Economic Impact	Excerpts discussing (1) job creation and (2) wealth and Development.
2. Effects of the pandemic crisis	2.1. Positive effects	Excerpts discussing (1) environmental and (2) social impacts of the lack of tourism in destinations.
	2.2. Negative effects	Excerpts discussing (1) impacts on airlines companies, (2) impacts on tourist accommodation and (3) impacts on tourist destinations
3. Future of tourism	3.1. Rethinking tourism	Excerpts discussing (1) Environmental sustainability, (2) social sustainability, (3) economic sustainability.
	3.2. Resuming tourism	Excerpts discussing (1) financial support, (2) technological innovation and (3) resurgence.

Table 4. Frequency of main content categories and subcategories in the newspaper pieces *corpus* from 2020

Categories	No of words (n= 62197)	No of words (%)
1. Tourism growth	9975	16,0
1.1 Environmental impacts	2265	3,6
1.2 Economic Impacts	2724	4,4
1.3 Social Impacts	4986	8,0
2. Effects of the pandemic crisis	25523	41,1
2.1 Positive effects	3241	5,2
2.2 Negative effects	22282	35,9
2.2.1 Airline companies	2521	4,1
2.2.2 Hospitality industry	6685	10,8
2.2.3 Tourism destinations	13076	21,0
3. Future of tourism	26699	42,9
3.1 Rethinking tourism	14894	24,0
3.1.1 Environmental sustainability	7006	11,3
3.1.2 Economic sustainability	1440	2,3
3.1.3 Social sustainability	6448	10,4
3.2 Resuming tourism	11805	18,9

Note. The values in the first column correspond to the length of text (in number of words) coded in each thematic category and subcategory through content analysis.

Table 5. Main categories mentioned in the newspaper pieces about tourism and travel in the analysed European newspapers from 2020

Categories	<i>Espresso</i> (%)	<i>Times of Malta</i> (%)	<i>El País</i> (%)	<i>Le Monde</i> (%)	<i>Die Presse</i> (%)
1. Tourism Growth	12,0	17,0	26,3	18,5	10,2
2. Effects of the pandemic crisis	35,0	43,0	33,8	35,2	61,5
3. Future of tourism	53,0	40,0	39,9	46,3	28,3

Note. The values presented correspond to the proportion of text length measured by the number of words coded in the different categories.

Table 6. Importance of the theme “Tourism growth” and its subcategories in the newspaper pieces about tourism and travel in the analysed European newspapers from 2020

Categories	<i>Expresso (%)</i>	<i>Times of Malta (%)</i>	<i>El País (%)</i>	<i>Le Monde (%)</i>	<i>Die Presse (%)</i>
1. “Tourism growth”	12,0	17,0	26,3	18,5	10,2
1.1 Environmental Impacts	2,6	6,8	8,8	0,6	4,1
1.2 Economic Impacts	6,2	3,9	7,5	1,7	3,9
1.3 Social impacts	3,2	6,3	10,0	16,2	2,2

Note. The values presented correspond to the proportion of text length measured by the number of words coded in the different categories.

Table 7. Importance of the theme “Effects of the pandemic crisis” and its subcategories in the newspaper pieces about tourism and travel in the analysed European newspapers from 2020

Categories	<i>Expresso (%)</i>	<i>Times of Malta (%)</i>	<i>El País (%)</i>	<i>Le Monde (%)</i>	<i>Die Presse (%)</i>
2. Effects of the pandemic crisis (Total)	35,0	43,0	33,8	35,2	61,5
2.1. Positive effects (Total)	3,8	6,7	10,7	4,7	3,3
2.1.1. Environmental	1,4	0,6	3,1	1,3	2,0
2.1.2. Social	2,4	6,1	7,6	3,4	1,3
2.2. Negative effects (Total)	31,2	36,3	23,1	30,5	58,2
2.2.1. Airline companies	4,1	10,3	2,8	2,8	4,0
2.2.2. Hospitality industry	15,4	3,5	1,4	9,6	16,0
2.2.3. Destinations	11,7	22,5	18,9	18,1	38,2

Note: The values presented correspond to the proportion of text length measured by the number of words coded in the different categories.

Table 8. Importance of the theme “Future of tourism” and its subcategories in the newspaper pieces about tourism and travel in the analysed European newspapers from 2020

Categories	<i>Expresso (%)</i>	<i>Times of Malta (%)</i>	<i>El País (%)</i>	<i>Le Monde (%)</i>	<i>Die Presse (%)</i>
3. Future of tourism (Total)	53	40	39,9	46,3	28,3
3.1. Rethinking tourism	22,5	22,6	24,8	31,7	14,5
3.1.1- Environmental sustainability	8,1	14	9,1	17,7	6,3
3.1.2- Economic sustainability	2	2	5,2	1,6	2,1
3.1.3- Social sustainability	12,4	6,4	10,5	12,4	6,1
3.2. Resuming tourism	30,5	17,4	15,1	14,6	13,8

Note. The values presented correspond to the proportion of text length measured by the number of words coded in the different categories.

Figures

Figure 1. Evolution of the main content categories in the newspaper pieces throughout 2020

