

“The crisis shows that degrowth is as necessary as
it is possible”

Coalitions and policy change within Spanish tourism

Author: Amanda Wiberg

Thesis, 15 ECTS (hp)

Political Science with a focus on Crisis Management and Security

Autumn 2022

Supervisor: Dan Hansén

Word count: 14970

List of contents

1. Introduction	3
1.1 Background and research problem	3
1.2 Aim and research questions.....	4
2. Theory	5
2.1 Previous research.....	5
2.2. Resilience theory	7
2.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework	10
3. Method	13
3.1 Research design.....	13
3.2 Material	15
3.3 Operationalization	16
4. Analysis	20
4.1.1 Coalition 1: Sustainability	20
<i>Government</i>	20
<i>Tourism stakeholders</i>	23
<i>The research community</i>	25
4.1.2 Coalition 2: Diversification	26
<i>The research community</i>	26
<i>Media</i>	29
<i>Government (Pablo Iglesias)</i>	30
<i>Civil society: ABTS and the SET network</i>	31
4.2 The path of Spain	33
<i>Intracoalition coordination</i>	33
<i>Coalition dominance</i>	34
<i>Level of conflict between coalitions</i>	35
<i>Coalition resources</i>	36
5. Results and discussion	38
6. Bibliography	41

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and research problem

The COVID-19 pandemic swept across the world in the beginning of 2020, affecting all countries health wise and economically. The virus caused many governments to implement extensive lockdowns to limit the spreading, which in turn induced great damage to prosperity, employment, and growth. Since then, as states aspire to recover, there's a growing belief that the pandemic has opened a window of opportunity to do so (European Commission, 2020).

An evident example of an economically affected country is Spain. The southern European nation has experienced a recession and economic crisis unprecedented since the Civil War in the 1930's. Remarkable drops in income and employment are forcing the government to increase public expenditure. When the crisis hit, Spain was already in a precarious situation. High levels of both public debt and unemployment will likely hinder the country's postpandemic recovery. One of the severely affected sectors in Spain is tourism, which relies on free mobility. The Spanish economy's dependence on the tourist sector has been pointed out as a cause of such economic decline (de la Fuente, 2021: 91-94).

Tourism stood for 11.8% of GDP 2017 and 13.5% of employment as of 2018. The sector keeps growing and setting new records; the tourist arrivals of 2018 reached 82.8 million which was a 1.1% increase from the previous year (OECD, 2020). Spain is the second highest recipient of tourists globally, which made the economic fallout bound to happen. The 10.8% drop in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2020, the highest in Europe, has evidenced the poor diversification of the Spanish economy (Instituto Elcano, 2021).

The European Union's pandemic recovery fund, named Next Generation EU, was launched to help restart the EU-economies post-pandemic. It's an enormous economic investment and Spain is one of its biggest beneficiaries. The Spanish government has launched a comprehensive Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience, which states how these funds will be used. Many see this as an opportunity for Spain to implement major structural economic reforms (European Commission).

The almost total shutdown of the tourism sector during parts of 2020 made the Spanish dependence on tourism remarkably clear. The pandemic has opened a window of opportunity for Spain to enhance the resilience of its tourism sector. This is believed to mitigate the

economic harm on society of future crises. However, the road to resilience is interpreted in different ways.

Stakeholders in Spain are expressing their view on the future of tourism. Some believe that the dependence on tourism should remain, as it's economically beneficial and contributes to employment and growth. Furthermore, they argue that Spain's unique position within global tourism should be protected. They also advocate that in order to cope with the vulnerabilities of the sector it should instead undergo a sustainable transformation as the tourist sector has a big part to play in environmental degradation.

Others see a chance to fundamentally change the role of tourism in Spain and decrease the economic dependence on the sector. This can be done through investments in other sectors to diversify the economy. Relying on tourism makes Spain vulnerable to crises, and the pandemic has just proved it.

However, there seems to be a discrepancy among Spanish stakeholders regarding the future of the tourism sector. The common view is that the sector needs to become more resilient, but how to achieve that resilience is contested. Some believe tourism should remain a dominating sector in Spain, as its continuous growth will recover the Spanish economy and make it more resilient. Perhaps some sustainable transformations are required to deal with future demands and conditions, but largely the sector should remain the same. Others suggest a more fundamental change. That is, diversifying the Spanish economy to make it less reliant on tourism.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The two views described above are the starting point for this thesis. It aims to offer guidance into the current debate within the subsystem of Spanish tourism, and whether this debate is likely to lead to policy change. The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is utilized to divide the positions into two advocacy coalitions. Since both positions are based on different perspectives on resilience, the coalitions are developed around two concepts within resilience theory: sustainability and diversification. The power dynamics and resources of the coalitions are then evaluated to assess the likelihood of policy change within Spanish tourism.

The main contribution of the study is applying ACF on Spanish tourism. The framework is valuable to acquire an overview of the actors advocating for change within Spanish tourism and contribute to understanding the likelihood of policy change. Considering the economic importance of the tourism sector for Spain, policy change in the area could have a large impact on the country as a whole. While several other research papers have studied Spanish tourism policy, no other has done it using ACF or in the context of the post-pandemic window of opportunity. Combining ACF with resilience theory hopes to give the study some originality and provide useful insights into the chosen case.

Since the analysis is divided into two parts, each part has been assigned a research question. Part 1 identifies some of the key members of the coalitions and is guided by the following question:

What key members belong to the two advocacy coalitions within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism?

Part 2 assesses the chance of policy change within the policy subsystem and is guided by the following question:

How likely is policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism?

2. Theory

2.1 Previous research

There are numerous studies discussing Spanish tourism policy, written in both English and Spanish by international as well as Spanish researchers. Several of them examine the evolution of Spanish tourism policy. Datzira-Masip (1998) investigates the strengths and weaknesses of Spanish tourism policy and the reasons for its contribution to economic growth. Almeida García (2014) makes a comparative study of the tourism policy evolution in Spain and Portugal. In another study he explores the historical issue of territorial imbalances in Spain that tourism has failed to enhance (Almeida García, 2013).

A historical perspective is crucial for understanding Spanish tourism today. Knowledge of past conditions is also an important foundation for studies on future policy, which is the aim of this thesis.

One study looks at regional tourism planning in the Spanish autonomous communities. It finds that regional planning has resulted in a diversification of the national tourism model (Ivars Baidal, 2004). Another studies the issue of administrative intervention in tourism. The national tourism policy has during recent decades roughly remained the same, despite political and governmental changes. This has led to tourism becoming the motor of the Spanish economy. In order to cope with the new challenges the sector faces, administrative intervention must remain limited (Guerra, 2014).

The former takes on the concept of diversification and the latter investigates the consistency of Spanish tourism policy. This study will utilize the diversification concept to examine the likelihood of changing Spanish tourism policy. Previous works as these can thus be used as stepping stones.

Several studies on Spanish tourism policy focus on sustainability. One analyzes Spanish policy on climate change adaptation of the tourism sector. The Spanish coastal areas are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change and more tourism dependent as well. The policy is found to concentrate on energy and less on economic and territorial measures (Olcina-Cantos & Vera-Rebollo, 2016). Another emphasizes the importance for involving policymakers when implementing sustainable measures into the Spanish tourism sector. Spain is over-reliant on coastal tourism and must prioritize sustainable policy to maintain competitiveness (LópezSánchez & Pulido-Fernandez, 2014). Dodds (2008) focuses instead on the practical effectiveness of sustainable policy implementation in tourism. Using Calviá in Mallorca as an example, she finds that implementing their 1997 sustainable tourism plan was generally successful. But a lack of involvement from the private sector, the local community and more governmental sectors is likely to prevent the plan from reaching full effect.

While there are good examples of investigating sustainability in Spanish tourism policy, there's a lack of studies looking at the topic in a post-pandemic context. A few articles study Spanish tourism policy in reference to the COVID-19 pandemic, but without the sustainability focus. Duro et al. (2021) suggest several factors that made tourism in the 50 Spanish provinces vulnerable to the pandemic and how policy can mitigate these factors.

RodríguezAntón and Alonso-Almeida (2020) explore initiatives of tourism recovery strategies in five large Spanish hotel chains. Arbulú et al. (2021) propose promoting domestic tourism for Spain's post-pandemic tourism recovery.

It's still early for research investigating Spanish tourism policy post-pandemic, it remains for time to tell. As of yet we can only estimate the nature of the coming policy. Through assessing the likelihood of policy change, study can thus contribute to the field.

2.2. Resilience theory

The following section focuses on the origins of resilience theory. Then, the concepts of sustainability and diversification are introduced and their connection to resilience. The two concepts are later used as the basis for the operationalization and analysis.

Resilience is a prominent theory among disaster research and crisis management studies. The resilience concept is easily adaptable to different levels of analysis such as communities, nations and families (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011: 13). It's also easily applicable to broad fields of study, ranging from psychology to engineering. Van Breda summarizes "...resilience theory addresses the strengths that people and systems demonstrate that enable them to rise above adversity." (Van Breda, 2001: 1).

The earliest studies on resilience, however, did not originate from disaster research or crisis management. The concept became popular when psychologists started moving away from the traditional way of looking at vulnerabilities and what made people and systems susceptible to shocks and damages. Instead, they began looking at strengths and investigating what made people thrive when faced with challenges (O'Leary, 1998: 426). Psychology and disaster researchers then began studying children's responses when facing adversity. They investigated the environmental, psychological, and social factors that contributes to resilience (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011: 12).

Norris et al. (2007), investigating community resilience and disasters, argue that resilience should be viewed as a process of decision making rather than an outcome after a disturbance. They define resilience as: "a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance... we carefully did not equate resilience with the *outcome* but rather with the *process* linking resources (adaptive capacities) to outcomes (adaptation)." (Norris et al., 2007: 130).

Since the nascent days of resilience theory, the concept has developed differently within several fields. While psychology sees resilience as a quality obtained by the individual to live a vital life despite setbacks, trauma and risks, engineering sees it as the ability and speed of a variable to recuperate normal functions or “bounce back” after a disturbance (Matyas & Pelling, 2015: 9-10).

An important difference between resilience in engineering versus in other disciplines is the perception of change. Holling compares engineering resilience and ecological resilience. On the one hand, resilience of a system is associated with efficiency, constancy and unpredictability. These attributes are traditionally important when constructing engineering systems. For an engineer constructing a bridge, stability and rigidity is naturally desirable. On the other hand, resilience calls for persistence, change and unpredictability. These attributes are drawn from evolutionary biologists. For a biologist studying an ecosystem, changes and fluctuations are an inevitable and crucial part for its resilience (Holling, 1996: 33).

In disaster risk reduction, resilience concept is also connected to change. When a society is recovering from a disaster, seeking a return to the pre-event state will bring a replication of the same vulnerabilities that led to the disaster. Resilience therefore decreases since there's a risk of falling victim to the same disaster again. These examples show the width of resilience as a theory and a concept, and how the word can be used in many ways within different fields and contexts (Gaillard, 2010: 219-221).

Sustainability

The term sustainability emerged in the 1980's and has since developed into a broad concept of thought in scholars and practitioners. One of the earliest definitions was formed by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. It describes sustainability as activity that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987: 39 as cited in Portney, 2015: 3). Sustainability is frequently mentioned along with its three overlapping elements, also called the three E's. These are economy, environment and equity and are prerequisites for achieving sustainability (Portney, 2015: 6-7).

Resilience and sustainability are two closely related concepts whose relationship can be viewed in different ways. Either resilience is seen as a part of sustainability or vice versa. Others suggest that the two have separate objectives. Marchese et al. (2017) attempt to distinguish the similarities and differences between the two concepts. One similarity is that

they both describe the persistent function of a system over time. They differ when it comes to time perception and preservation. Sustainability is in general utilized more long term than resilience. It tends to refer to the preservation of a system rather than its adaptability when facing disruption. Additionally, while resilience focuses on system features and functions, sustainability rather describes the outcome of said system (Marchese et al., 2017: 1275-1276).

Regardless of the dispute on differences and alternative perspectives, sustainability is a key concept within resilience theory that is consistently taken into consideration by practitioners and scholars (Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011: 13-14).

Lubin and Esty (2010) refer to sustainability as a megatrend to which firms and companies must adapt to ensure future competitiveness. With the rise of environmental issues on the international agenda, sustainability has become an indispensable topic for businesses and organizations to consider in their marketing and actions (Lubin & Esty, 2010).

Within tourism, sustainability has long been an aspiration for scholars who have studied the subject and for destinations and companies promoting it in practice. It is, however, difficult to determine how the requirement of sustainability is met in tourism since the word often is used in marketing purposes (it is what attracts tourists). For example, Espiner et al. (2017) suggest combining the concepts of sustainability and resilience in a complementary relationship to be applied within tourism discourse. Nevertheless, sustainability is a popular concept for tourism practitioners and scholars (Espiner et al., 2017).

Diversification

The idea of diversity as a contributor to resilience is repeated in other parts of resilience theory. It's closely related to the term redundancy. Norris et al. (2007) define redundancy as "...the extent to which elements are substitutable in the event of disruption or degradation." (Norris et al., 2007: 134). Examples for humans include having a large social network or having more than one kidney. Resource dependence can be seen as the opposite of redundancy and makes an entity more vulnerable to disasters and crises. Resilience can in turn be decreased by extreme events such as droughts and infestations because it increases the risk of dependence on certain resources (Norris et al., 2007: 134 & 137).

Within economics and development studies, it's widely held true that broadening the economic base leads to less vulnerability to fluctuations or shocks to the economy, and therefore to more resilient economies (Davies & Tonts, 2010: 223). "The general contention is

that those places with diverse economies are more resilient in socio-economic terms than those with a narrow economic base.” (ibid: 232).

Martin and Sunley (2014) also conclude that there’s a link between economic diversity and resilience. For regions with a narrow economic base, sector-specific shocks hit harder and the opportunities to recover from them are fewer. The sector in which a region specializes is however significant, since the degree to which sectors are susceptible to external shocks varies (Martin & Sunley, 2014: 27).

According to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), economic diversification is a relevant strategy for climate change adaptation in order to move away from a dependence on vulnerable markets. By shifting the economy away from a single income source to multiple sources, it can encourage positive economic growth and development (UNFCCC).

When it comes to excessive tourism, diversification has been suggested as a way to increase resilience through lessening the economic, social and environmental vulnerability. An economy which relies heavily on tourism has been deemed at higher risk of suffering severe damage from crises. Through investing in alternative sectors of the economy, countries develop a diverse foundation to fall back on when external shocks happen. Restructuring an economic model based on tourism is however not an easy task and countries can get stuck in the tourism dependence (Duro et al., 2021; Watson & Deller 2021).

2.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework

The following section outlines the basic principles of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). Then, it describes how the framework will be used as the basis of the operationalization and analysis.

ACF is an established theory of the policy process that has been used widely by scholars from many different countries, universities and institutions. Developed by Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith, and first published in the 1999 version of *Theories of the Policy Process*, it’s used in academic articles by many unique authors and published in a wide range of journals (Pierce et al., 2017: 20-22).

A basic assumption in ACF is that each policy system is divided into several smaller subsystems, where certain stakeholders advocate for their beliefs and desired policies. These subsystems don't involve everyone interested in or affected by the decisions of a policy area. Rather, they are formed by actors who share policy core beliefs and range from representatives from government, the public and private sectors, media, researchers and NGOs. The stakeholders within a subsystem form coalitions to better advocate for their policy. Two coalitions are then often standing against each other, fighting over attention and policy influence (Sabatier & Weible, 2014:189-190). Spanish tourism is the subsystem studied in this thesis and the two coalitions are summarized as Sustainability and Diversification.

Another basic assumption from ACF is that governmental programs, and policy in general, are translations of belief systems. Major policy change requires a change in the policy core beliefs. Change in less fundamental beliefs, so called secondary aspects, can instead lead to minor policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 192 & 201).

Individuals within ACF coalitions are assumed to be boundedly rational. They are motivated mainly by their goals and belief systems which can make them simplify the world and interpret information in a biased way. Individuals tend to remember losses stronger than gains which leads to the "devil shift" and the risk of demonizing opponents (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 190-191). The level of conflict between coalitions also makes individuals prone to irrational behavior. While low or high levels of conflict give low probabilities of crosscoalition learning and policy change, an intermediate level of conflict is optimal since it makes coalitions engage in the issue and receptive to new information (ibid: 199).

Governmental policy is generally stable, according to ACF. External shocks like crises or disasters can nevertheless induce the likelihood of major policy change. However, one or several enabling factors are required, such as public and political attention, and redistribution of coalition resources. As long as the advocacy coalition who introduced the program remains in power, major policy change is unlikely. It's therefore crucial for the minority coalition to mobilize and exploit the external shock (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 202). Coalition resources can also impact the likelihood of policy change. Sabatier and Weible give the following examples: formal legal authority to make policy decisions, public opinion, information, mobilizable supporters, financial resources and skillful leadership (ibid: 198).

Considering this, the pandemic could be an opportunity for policy change in Spanish tourism. Part 1 of the analysis aspires to identify the two coalitions and their members based on policy core beliefs and secondary aspects. Part 2 evaluates the power dynamics and resources the coalitions possess to assess the likelihood of policy change within the subsystem of Spanish tourism.

The ACF, like any framework, doesn't require analysts to include all components and theories that it supports. Rather, the theoretical grounds and basic assumptions of ACF should be used as a guide for a common vocabulary across disciplines (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 189). Considering the scope and limits of this thesis, two aspects of ACF have been opted out or made less visible in the operationalization. These aspects are policy-oriented learning and categorization of beliefs.

ACF covers advocacy coalitions, policy-oriented learning and policy change. This thesis will not cover policy-oriented learning other than as a path to policy change. The purpose of the study is on the likelihood of policy change rather than signs of policy-oriented learning (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 193).

ACF separates between deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs/aspects. The framework has however struggled in differentiating between policy core beliefs and secondary assumptions, which has led to criticism of this assumption. It's common for studies using ACF to not categorize the beliefs held by the coalitions (Pierce et al., 2017: 28). To simplify, the operationalization in this study only distinguishes between policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs of the actors within each coalition. The policy core beliefs are shared by all members in the coalition and constructs its basis. The secondary beliefs are those that further differentiate the coalitions but are not mandatory to be shared by all members (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 192 & 201).

For example, within coalition 1: Sustainability, some actors believe that the Spanish tourism sector should largely remain the same but establish sustainable measures to lessen the negative impact on planet and people. If an actor doesn't express that belief, it can still be placed in coalition 1 as long as the policy core belief of maintaining the fundamentals of the Spanish tourism sector is shared.

The conditions for policy change according to Sabatier and Weible: "Policy Change Hypothesis 1: Significant perturbations external to the subsystem, a significant perturbation

internal to the subsystem, policy-oriented learning, negotiated agreement, or some combination thereof are necessary, but not sufficient, sources of change in the policy core attributes of a governmental program” (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 203)

The hypothesis guides part 2 of the analysis when assessing the likelihood of policy change within the subsystem of Spanish tourism.

Since a policy subsystem contains countless numbers of components such as institutional characteristics, actor attributes, political resources and belief systems a simplification must be made when applying the framework to a case. For this reason, the coalitions are identified in a simplified manner to achieve a general understanding of the members and their belief systems (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 189 & 191). Additionally, it’s common to use ACF in combination with another theory when studying a certain policy subsystem. This study combines resilience theory with ACF which is estimated to increase the utility of the framework on the specific case (Pierce et al., 2017: 30-31).

3. Method

3.1 Research design

This is a single-case study, and the chosen case is the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism. It is a case of crisis induced policy change, the crisis being the COVID-19 pandemic. For singlecase studies the choice of case is particularly important for the ability to generalize. The analyst must motivate why the case is chosen in front of other options (Lamont & Boduszynski, 2020: 86-87). The selection of case is based on the economic weight of Spain’s tourism sector and the damage the sector suffered from the COVID-19 pandemic. While for example Italy could have been chosen for the same reasons, the immense importance of tourism for Spain was decisive.

Qualitative approaches are useful to deep dive into the how and why of social phenomena. When choosing between qualitative methods, the desired outcome of the collected material must be considered. The method must also suit the sources of the material (Lamont & Boduszynski, 2020: 116). This study aspires to acquire an overview of the coalitions advocating for change within Spanish tourism and the likelihood of policy change therein.

The method must be able to identify the coalition affiliation of an actor from the material. It must also be suitable for assessing the likelihood of policy change from the material.

The chosen method is qualitative content analysis. It's a classic choice of method when analyzing text. The analyst systematically describes the meaning of the data through coding and categorization of the material. The categories are often theoretically developed, but sometimes derive from the material itself. The purpose of the coding is reducing the material into the content relevant for answering the research question (Flick, 2014: 429-430).

Qualitative analysis of text is encouraged as a method when using ACF to analyze policy subsystems. Especially if the conduction of an interview-based study with a long timely perspective isn't available to the researcher (Sabatier & Weible, 2006: 132). It's common to combine ACF with another theory to "provide further understanding about the policy process" (Pierce et al., 2017: 30-31). ACF is combined with resilience theory in an aspiration to improve the understanding of the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism, since both coalitions advocate for resilience but through different perspectives.

Another method that could have been suitable is narrative analysis. It's a method of analyzing stories, ideas, the way they are communicated, and by whom. Narratives are socially constructed and an important part of policy processes. While narratives construct reality and can influence policy, content analysis is more suitable in this case. Rather than deriving the socially constructed narrative, content analysis can identify the message from the material (Flick, 2014: 264 & 280-281).

Limitations

In general, aspirations of limited generalization result in more meaningful studies, as it prevents the researcher taking on a commitment too big. But generalizing is still important to give empirical meaning outside of the individual study. Single-case studies are usually hard to generalize and that applies to this one too. Using the basis of the coalitions, one conservative approach and one for radical change, generalization for other subsystems might be facilitated, however. (Flick, 2014: 113-114 & 121).

An important limitation of qualitative content analysis is interpretative faults, meaning that the material can be interpreted in different ways. The categorization must thus reduce the material into that of relevance to the research question. The categories in this study are derived from

resilience theory, ACF and the material itself. For part 1 of the analysis, resilience theory helped develop the two coalitions and ACF assisted in constructing the categories based on belief systems. Table 1 displays the belief system of each coalition. The beliefs themselves are derived from resilience theory and the material. Table 2 demonstrates the coding of material in part 1. For part 2, Table 3 demonstrates the factors indicating a likelihood of policy change. ACF gave the basis for the categories, but they were modified based on the material. Two categories were removed since they couldn't be found in the material and thus were irrelevant to study. This gives one explanatory table and two coding schemes (elaborated in section 3.3).

The COVID-19 pandemic is a recent event and Spain hasn't recovered from it yet. Therefore, it was sometimes difficult finding material to represent the coalitions. The research community in coalition 1 is represented by an article published pre-pandemic. It may be too early for research on the post-pandemic future of Spanish tourism. The texts representing civil society in coalition 2 also date back pre-pandemic. The selected material from before the pandemic may result in a misrepresentation of these members in the coalitions.

3.2 Material

This section explains the reasoning behind the chosen material and finishes with a brief critical discussion.

The material comprises 10 written sources and one short video and represents key members from the two coalitions: three actors from coalition 1 and four actors from coalition 2.

Selecting the material meant finding sources that fit the purpose of both part 1 and 2 of the analysis. For part 1 that means sources that adequately represent how each actor views the present and future of Spanish tourism and can demonstrate why each actor is placed in their respective coalition. For part 2 the sources must enable exploring the power dynamics between the coalitions and the influence they have or may be given over policy. This is to estimate the likelihood of policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism.

The material is in line with resilience theory since it displays how each coalition desires to make the Spanish economy more resilient. The coalitions are developed around concepts significant within resilience discourse. Each source belongs to one of the coalitions

Sustainability or Diversification. Since the material allows identifying the two coalitions, it's also coherent with the Advocacy Coalition Framework.

All the material analyzed in this study is in Spanish, a language that the author grasps to a high intermediate level. All citations in the analysis have been translated from Spanish. An attempt to minimize misinterpretations has been made through carefully translating and examining the material. However, there's still a risk that nuances are not rightfully understood, which could have consequences for the reliability of the findings.

The material in this study is relatively limited. There might be key coalition members that it fails to identify, which could have consequences on the reliability of the conclusions. One could argue for a third coalition as well since there may be actors who don't fully belong to one or the other. Material such as public opinion polls and political party programs would be useful, but it doesn't fit into the scope of the study. The chosen material is still deemed to contribute to knowledge of the coalitions. Further research could include more material for a broader comprehension of the the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism.

Each source is described and critically evaluated in part 1 of the analysis.

3.3 Operationalization

The analysis is executed in two parts. Part 1 is in turn divided into the two coalitions: 4.1.1 Coalition 1: Sustainability and 4.1.2 Coalition 2: Diversification. The purpose of part 1 is to identify the two coalitions and their key members. Identifying all members is unrealistic given the purpose of this study and therefore three members from coalition 1 and four members from coalition 2 are chosen. They represent diverse types of actors from different parts of Spanish society. Since part 2 of the analysis seeks to assess the power dynamics between the coalitions and also how strongly coalition 2 can challenge the dominating coalition 1, a fourth member of coalition 2 is identified. The categorization of each member is done through their expressions coherent with the belief systems of the coalition they're placed within. Each coalition belief system is described with two policy core beliefs and two secondary aspects, displayed in table 1 below.

Table 1. The belief systems of coalition 1 and 2.

Coalitions	<i>Policy core beliefs</i>	<i>Secondary aspects</i>
1: Sustainability	1. The magnitude of Spain's tourism sector or Spain's position as a global leader in tourism must not change.	1. In order to cope with future demand and conditions, Spanish tourism must undergo a sustainable transformation.
	2. Continuous growth of the tourism sector is positive and desirable	2. Tourism dependence makes Spain resilient when facing crises, rather than vulnerable to them.
2: Diversification	1. The magnitude and role of Spain's tourism sector must fundamentally change.	1. The Spanish economy must diversify to cope with the tourism dependence.
	2. Aspiring for continuous growth of the tourism sector is damaging and an evil spiral for Spain.	2. Tourism dependence makes Spain vulnerable to crises.

While the secondary aspects are not mandatory to express, the policy core beliefs must be indicated by a coalition member. Coalition actors usually show more consensus regarding the policy core beliefs than the secondary aspects (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 195). The two coalitions suggest two different routes with the same end goal: making the Spanish tourism sector resilient. Coalition 1 suggests doing this through maintaining tourism's role in the economy and possibly making some sustainable transformations. Coalition 2 advocates for a fundamental change through diminishing the role of the sector in order to lessen the national dependence on it.

It's important to note that the coalitions frequently use each other's language. Coalition 1 often talks about diversification and coalition 2 speak of the importance of sustainability. What differentiates the two coalitions is not the words they use, but the message and beliefs behind them. When coalition 1 actors speak of diversification it can be in terms of expanding the tourism offer and spreading out tourist visits throughout the year. It's not about diversifying the Spanish economy to make it less dependent on tourism.

ACF argues that scientific and technical information is important for constructing the belief systems of coalitions, and therefore material representing the research community from both coalitions has been selected (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 192).

The three members from coalition 1 are: government, tourism stakeholders and the research community. The four members from coalition 2 are: the research community, media, a government individual and civil society through the movements ABTS and the SET network.

A coding scheme has been constructed to clarify the operationalization of part 1 of the analysis, displayed in table 2 below.

Table 2. Coding scheme for identifying coalition 1 and 2 in the material.

Indicators	Operationalization	Example
1: Sustainability	Language and phrases coherent with the belief system of coalition 1: Sustainability.	“The objective is maintaining the leadership of Spain in terms of tourism competitiveness, incorporating the necessary transformations to the model” (Componente 14, 2022: 7).
2: Diversification	Language and phrases coherent with the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.	“...This should be combined with the development of alternative and diversified businesses, so that the economies, in general, are less dependent on tourism” (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 263).

Part 2 of the analysis, 4.2 The path of Spain, aspires to assess the likelihood of policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism. In making the assessment, four factors are taken into consideration. The factors regard the power dynamics between and within the coalitions, as well as the resources they possess. While public opinion and skillful leadership are important resources for coalitions, they’re beyond the scope for this thesis and are therefore not included. Table 3 below describes the selected factors. (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 198).

Table 3. The factors indicating policy change in part 2 of the analysis.

Factors	Description	Example
Intracoalition coordination	The cohesiveness of the belief system and the level of coordination are important factors in a coalition’s ability to achieve collective action. (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 197).	ABTS and the SET network express a desire to coordinate with other tourism degrowth movements to pressure government. In this way the level of coordination in coalition 2 rises.

Coalition dominance	Some subsystems experience a dominant coalition that largely controls subsystem policy and politics, usually because of a resource superiority. As long as the advocacy coalition who introduced the program remains in power, major policy change is unlikely (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 197 & 202).	The Spanish government is categorized as a part of coalition 1, which will likely remain dominant until the event of a power shift.
Level of conflict between coalitions	An intermediate level of conflict increases the probability of cross-coalition learning and therefore policy change. The level of conflict is a coalition's perceived threat to policy core beliefs from the opponents (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 199).	Martínez García denounces the Spanish government and tourism industry for tourism's environmental, economic and social consequences. He perceives coalition 1 as a vicious threat towards his beliefs, thus raising the level of conflict between the coalitions.
Resources	<p>Resources are an important asset for a coalition's ability to influence policy subsystems. The following resources are proposed by Sabatier and Weible and are taken into consideration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formal legal authority to make policy decisions - Information - Mobilizable supporters - Financial resources <p>(Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 198).</p>	Cuadrado-Roura and López Martínez contribute to the scientific information coalition 1 possesses through their academic article, in which they use quantitative data to illustrate the economic benefits of tourism in Spain.

4. Analysis

4.1.1 Coalition 1: Sustainability

Government

The Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience was put forward by the current second government of Pedro Sanchez in 2021. It declares how Spain will build back better postpandemic, financed by the Next Generation EU grant. The plan has 30 components, describing the actions planned for each sector. The 14th component is the Plan of Modernization and Competitiveness of the Tourism Sector. The component document was first published in 2021 but updated in April of 2022. It's selected to represent the Spanish government in coalition 1 since it describes the way tourism, according to the current Spanish government, should change post-pandemic (Gobierno de España, 2021).

The task of part one of the analysis is to identify key actors of the two coalitions, and therefore only the parts of the component relevant to make that categorization are considered. The 14th component begins with a presentation of the document by the minister for industry, commerce and tourism, Reyes Maroto Illera. It is followed by an introduction and then a presentation of four pillars detailing the changes that should be applied to the tourism sector. The document then accounts for specific actions that will be taken within each pillar and finishes with the financing details. Only the introduction and four pillars are analyzed, as these are the parts deemed relevant to identify the coalition 1 belief system in the document.

The component begins by declaring Spain's position as a global leader in tourism and its World Economic Forum 2015 title of most competitive country for tourism in the world. It is however recognized that the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed unprecedented challenges for the tourism sector. Changes must be made above all in the areas of sustainability and digitalization. The introduction explicitly states that Spain desires continuing as a global power within tourism. "The objective is maintaining the leadership of Spain in terms of tourism competitiveness, incorporating the necessary transformations to the model" (Componente 14, 2022: 7). This expression resembles policy core belief 1 from coalition 1 of not changing Spain's global leader position in tourism. Immense challenges are acknowledged, yet there is no aspiration of coping with these through decreasing the dependence on tourism. Instead, the challenges are to be met by sustainable measures, indicating secondary aspect 1 from coalition 1.

The four pillars of changing the tourism sector are:

1. Transforming the tourism model towards sustainability in triple aspects: Environmental, socioeconomic and territorial.
2. Program of digitalization and tourism intelligence
3. Tourism resilience strategies for non-mainland areas
4. Special actions in the field of competitiveness (Componente 14, 2022: table of contents)

Pillars 1 and 3 are analyzed first, as they mention the words sustainability and resilience in the title. In the description of pillar 1 sustainability is described as threefold, combining environment, socioeconomics and territory. Tourism should respect and coexist with the environment and reduce the pressure it has on territory. Since tourism emissions are predicted to globally rise in the following years, it's crucial for Spain to decarbonize the sector (Componente 14, 2022: 9). Changes regarding social, economic and environmental sustainability are presented as a way of improving the tourism sector. Pillar 1 expresses ideas coherent with coalition 1 secondary aspect 1.

The extensive seasonality of the tourism sector is considered a problem since it puts irregular pressure on working conditions and public and private services of tourist regions. In 2019, 45% of all trips were executed between June and September, which proves one of the shortages in the current tourism model. The same is suggested about the uneven territorial distribution of tourism. There is an aspiration for more territorially balanced economic activity in general, as for now only 4.6% of the population lives inland (Componente 14, 2022: 9-10). Tourism is depicted as an instrument for solving the depopulation of rural and inland areas, aspiring for territorial sustainability.

While suggesting spreading out tourism, the government doesn't indicate wanting to lessen the number of tourists or the sector itself. This is in line with policy core belief 1 from the sustainability coalition. Seeing tourism as a tool for solving demographic issues indicates secondary aspect 2 of tourism making Spain more resilient.

Pillar 3 acknowledges that the extra-peninsular areas are severely dependent on tourism. They are also more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. Therefore, they require specific tourism resilience plans (Componente 14, 2022: 12). Since the component admits that

these areas are tourism dependent and vulnerable to climate change, it would be sequential to suggest lessening the dependence on tourism. Instead, it indicates policy core belief 1 of maintaining the magnitude of Spain's tourism sector.

Pillar 3 gives statistical examples of the extra-peninsular areas' tourism dependence. For the Canary Islands, where 35% of regional GDP consists of tourism, 2020 resulted in a 71.2% reduction of international tourists. "In these island territories, it is essential to develop resilience strategies that consolidate an innovative sector with capacity to adapt to climate change and the foreseeable changes of tourist flows" (Componente 14, 2022: 12). More measures to cope with the consequences of tourism dependence, without suggesting decreasing the dependence itself. It indicates policy core belief 1, as the tourism dependence seems to persist with the content of component 14.

Pillar 2 describes digitalization of the tourism sector as a necessary measure to attract and satisfy the increasingly hyperconnected tourist. Investments in artificial intelligence can increase the added value of tourism activity up to 128%, the European Commission estimates. "The objective of this program is to accelerate the acquisition of new digital technologies for the improvement of destination management and competitiveness of the tourism companies." (Componente 14, 2022: 11). Adjusting to new demands of tourists to keep an attractive market indicates policy core belief 1 and 2 of maintaining the sector and its continuous growth.

To ensure competitiveness, pillar 4 emphasizes that tourism companies must reduce their carbon footprint through energy efficiency and circular economy. Regarding cultural tourism the pillar states that "Additionally, it is essential to improve the capacity of the Spanish historical and cultural heritage to continue attracting tourists throughout the territory." (Componente 14, 2022: 13). Further, it's necessary to diversify the experiences offered to tourists, considering the recent increases in cultural, natural, religious and other alternatives to classic sun and beach tourism (ibid: 13).

The 4th pillar's name implies that the Spanish government doesn't want to reduce the national dependence on tourism. Aiming to enhance the national tourism offer according to the demands of tourists, it depicts continuous growth of the sector as desirable. While every industry must adapt to the market to remain operating, the phrasing of pillar 4 doesn't imply any decrease of tourism dependence either.

After analyzing the 14th component of the Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience, it can confidently be categorized as a part of coalition 1. The plan expresses all four components in the belief system of coalition 1: Sustainability.

Tourism stakeholders

From Spanish tourism stakeholders, two articles from the *Preferente* magazine have been selected. The magazine is a part of the *Preferente* Group, describing itself as a leading publisher of tourism information in the Spanish speaking world. It originates from Palma, Mallorca but has editions for many Latin American countries. The *Preferente* magazine is aimed at tourism professionals, and it partners with many leading tourist groups and stakeholders in Spain (*Grupo Preferente: Quiénes somos*). From their Spanish edition, the two articles are representing tourism stakeholders within coalition 1: Sustainability. The articles are written in reference to COVID-19 and the post-pandemic future of Spanish tourism.

The first article is called “The pandemic is coming to an end and tourism is facing the biggest rebound in its history.” It begins by declaring that tourism now faces its biggest rebound in history, after almost a year of historically low numbers. As the number of infections continues to decline worldwide, the desire to travel is bigger than ever. In the beginning of 2021, when this article was posted, life was slowly returning to normal for many in Europe. Continuing, the writer reports that the rapid vaccination rate in the U.S and the UK is important for Spain, since they together with Germany and Canada are the most important market for Spanish hotel chains. The article describes the pandemic decline in other countries as advantageous for reviving the Spanish tourism sector. It advocates for more political attention and aid to the tourism sector, thus suggesting that the magnitude of the sector must not change. Aspiring to return the sector to pre-pandemic levels indicates policy core belief 1 from coalition 1. Even though the national dependence is acknowledged, no measures to change it are suggested (*Preferente, 2021*).

The article ends on a positive note, by describing a new horizon for tourism as individuals and companies start investing into the sector again. The unprecedented desire to travel, combined with the possibility of working remotely allowing for longer stays at destinations, gives hope for soon returning to the 2019 numbers (*Preferente, 2021*). Seeking to return to the prepandemic levels, the article indicates policy core belief 2 of coalition 1.

The second article is called “The tourism dependence saves Spain from an acute crisis.” It describes economic recovery in 2022 as more successful in Spain than for the European tourism competitors, despite the effects of inflation. The reason is traced to the large rise in tourism, referring to a report by the think tank Funcas. Then an expert from the investment bank Goldman Sachs is cited saying that compared to Germany and Italy, Spain and France are more concentrated on the service sector in which tourism is included. This can ease Spain’s impact from the current energy crisis (Preferente, 2022). The extensive tourism sector making Spain more resilient to crises indicates secondary aspect 2.

The recovery isn’t yet complete, though. As of October 2022, only 87% of the 2019 tourist arrivals had been recovered. “...2023 could be the moment of a full return to the pre-pandemic results.” (Preferente, 2022). This portrays it as obvious that the tourism sector should aim to return to its pre-pandemic state and the article hence indicates policy core belief 1 from the sustainability coalition.

Tourism as a remedy for the energy crisis is then repeated, citing an expert from the finance school AFI. Spain’s substantial tourism income compensates for the amounts it must spend on energy and oil in 2022. The writer then says, “In this way, the great tourism dependence of the country will be what prevents a structural crisis.” (Preferente, 2022). Tourism is connected to resilience again, as the article accentuates the ways in which tourism benefits society and prevents other crises. This is coherent with secondary aspect 2.

The comprehensive tourism sector is described as something positive that distinguishes Spain from other European countries. Even the title of the article suggests that the dependence on tourism is something good, as it “saves Spain from an acute crisis” (Preferente, 2022). Spain’s leader position or the magnitude of the sector must thus not change, as argued in policy core belief 1 of coalition 1.

The two articles from Preferente side with coalition 1 in how the post-pandemic future of Spanish tourism should look like. Preferente advocates for a ‘return to normal’, for additional crisis support to the tourism industry, and emphasizes the importance of tourism for the Spanish economy. The articles express three out of the four components in the belief system of coalition 1: Sustainability.

The research community

In 2015, an academic article with the translated name “Tourism, engine of growth and of recovering the Spanish economy” from the university of Alcalá was published in the journal *Estudios Turísticos*. It is written by researchers Juan R. Cuadrado-Roura and José María López Morales and aims to “...evaluate the evolution of the Spanish tourist sector before and after the economic crisis and its contribution to the economic growth...” (Cuadrado-Roura & López Morales, 2015: 2-3). Despite the pre-pandemic publication date, the article is chosen to represent the research community within coalition 1: Sustainability. It uses the economic crisis in 2008 and forward to disclose the importance of tourism to the Spanish economy.

Tourism is described as one of the most relevant activities for economic growth in Spain. Despite some structural problems present within the sector and its related branches, the positive impact tourism has had in recovering Spain from the crisis is significant (CuadradoRoura & López Morales, 2015: 5). When depicting tourism as something assisting Spain in crises, rather than making it vulnerable to them, the article indicates sharing secondary aspect 2 from coalition 1.

The contribution of international tourism demand on the Spanish economy is emphasized. Since it was sustained during the economic crisis, the tourism sector was spared and could recover faster. After a substantial decline during the economic crisis years, the sector has fully recovered and even reached new record numbers of tourists in 2013 (Cuadrado-Roura & López Morales, 2015: 6-10). The authors portray continuous growth of tourism as having mitigated the effects of the economic crisis on Spain, thus indicating both policy core belief 2 and secondary aspect 2 from the sustainability coalition.

Specifically, Cuadrado-Roura and López Morales emphasize the positive impact tourism has had on employment, economic growth and balance of payments in Spain. During the economic expansion phase between 2001-2007 tourism created 500 000 new jobs which increased employment more than the national average, except for in the transport sector (Cuadrado-Roura & López Morales, 2015: 12-13). The Spanish economy is heavily dependent on the tourism sector, and tourism has indirect positive impacts on non-touristic activities as well. Tourism companies produce effects on other companies in the economic system. Tourism employs 5% of the Spanish working population, but 8% if you consider its indirect effects on other sectors (ibid: 18-20).

While acknowledging the dependence on tourism, the article doesn't suggest changing it or depict it as something negative. Emphasizing the positive impacts of tourism on the Spanish economy, the authors seem to suggest that the sector should remain the same, thus policy core belief 1.

Spain also depends on events of its main tourism-sending countries and the political state of the world in general. The recent prosperity of Spanish tourism is also due to a favorable international situation. However, since a downturn in interest rates and GDP levels of France and Germany is predicted, the article suspects tourism's contribution to economic growth in Spain to decrease. The same may be caused by the political instabilities in Russia at the time the article was written (ibid: 20-22). Cuadrado-Roura and López Morales admit that Spanish prosperity is vulnerable to external events and that tourism may face a downturn in the coming years. But since they don't suggest changing this and throughout the article emphasize the positive economic sides of tourism, the article is placed within the coalition. It indicates three out of the four components in the belief system of coalition 1: Sustainability.

4.1.2 Coalition 2: Diversification

The research community

Alba Sud is an association from Barcelona with the objective of serving proposals on transformation and emancipation through research and communication. Its mission is to bring forward critical and rigorous analyses about the world we live in by joining together people from different movements and sectors in the International Cooperation community. Alba Sud has published several critical articles and analysis on tourism (Alba Sud: Who we are).

In the beginning of 2021 they published a book titled *Turistificación Confinada*, translated as Confined Touristification. The book is an analysis of the implications of the pandemic year of 2020 for Spanish tourism, as well as a compilation of texts published on the Alba Sud website throughout the year. These texts try to understand how Spanish tourism arrived where it is today, what happened to the sector during the pandemic, and give proposals on what should be done. The main authors are Ernest Cañada and Ivan Murray, both researchers from the University of the Balearic Islands and associates of Alba Sud. The book is co-written by numerous researchers from Spain and Latin America. The texts are not research articles per se, but rather critical evaluations by the researchers participating in the project. The coauthors

are all active scientists with several published academic articles and works on the future of tourism. The book was published in response to the debate on tourism that rose postpandemic and is considered an adequate representation of the research community within coalition 2 (Alba Sud, 2021: *Turistificación confinada*).

For categorizing Alba Sur as a part of coalition 2, part four of the book, “And now what do we do?”, is deemed most relevant as it expresses views on the future of tourism. Two texts from the fourth part are analyzed to identify the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.

While the book revolves around tourism as a general phenomenon, rather than Spanish tourism specifically, Alba Sud is a Spanish organization and many of the contributing authors are Spanish too. Hence, the texts are interpreted as indirectly referring to the Spanish tourism sector.

The first text is called “Tourism, reduction and the COVID-19 crisis” and written by Robert Fletcher, Ivan Murray, Macià Blázquez and Asunción Blanco. They describe the pandemic as an opportunity for the tourism industry to increase profit by accelerating privatization and raising prices. The phenomenon is called disaster capitalism and was first noticed in the recovery process after the 2004 Asian tsunami. Another sign of disaster capitalism is tourism stakeholders bargaining to captivate as much as possible of the financial rescue packages launched by governments in response to the pandemic (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 260-261). By mentioning disaster capitalism in conjunction with the tourism industry, the authors indicate policy core belief 2 from the diversification coalition.

The crisis can also be an opportunity for the rest of society to take control over the future of tourism through a tourism reduction, which is the primary message of the text. Considering the social and environmental pressure that results from mass tourism, we cannot afford to go back to the pre-pandemic travel habits. A post-pandemic voluntary and society-wide degrowth of tourism must begin (*ibid*). This suggests a fundamental change of Spain’s tourism sector, hence policy core belief 1.

The authors advise diversifying the economy to decrease tourism dependence and the vulnerability of the destinations. “...This should be combined with the development of alternative and diversified businesses, so that the economies, in general, are less dependent on tourism” (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 263). This citation expresses secondary aspect 1 of

coalition 2. Arguing that tourism dependence makes destinations vulnerable indicates secondary aspect 2.

Fletcher et al. vocalize the unsustainability of the current model and describe the pandemic as an opportunity either for tourism stakeholders to strengthen their grip of the sector or for the rest of society to advocate for change. The text expresses anti-capitalistic ideas that span further than the tourism sector and affect the fundamentals of society and economy. Such comprehensive changes are another indicator of policy core belief 1 of coalition 2: Diversification.

The second text is titled “COVID-19: this is the moment to transform tourism” and is an open letter by the Transforming Tourism Initiative directed at the secretary general of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), Zurab Pololikashvili. The Transforming Tourism Initiative is an NGO created in 2017, composed of academics and professionals from the tourism industry demanding a tourism transformation. The letter is signed by Alba Sud among other international associations (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 284).

The letter concludes that the pandemic has exposed shortcomings of the current tourism model. “The crisis proves that the current tourism model isn’t, not even in economic terms, resilient nor sustainable. What’s more, it clearly shows how far it is from making a significant contribution for the future we need and want.” (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 285). Saying that the model isn’t economically sustainable indicates policy core belief 2.

They criticize the way current capitalist society makes us feel obliged to constantly be on the move, and how the global economy depends on that behavior. The tourism change should be structural and global. Fletcher et al. make some suggestions on measures to achieve tourism reduction, for example prohibiting the use of private jets, imposing disincentives on the frequency and duration of travel, and obstructing the dominant tourism companies from maintaining unproportional power (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 262-263). The letter suggests fundamental changes to the tourism sector, indicating policy core belief 1.

It doesn’t explicitly speak of diversity, except in one of the suggested measures. It says that tourism stakeholders must allow diverse and complementary sets of livelihoods to co-exist within tourism communities and destinations (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 286). Nevertheless, the letter expresses both policy core beliefs of coalition 2. Combined, the two texts from Alba

Sud's book *Confined Touristification* indicate all four of the components in the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.

Media

An opinionated article from the Spanish digital media *Nueva Tribuna* is selected to represent how coalition 2 is visible in Spanish media. Founded in 2008, *Nueva Tribuna* is a Spanish digital media of general information. It's committed to a citizenry for the values of freedom, equality and justice (*Nueva Tribuna* 2022). The article was published on April 28th, 2020 and is written by political scientist and left-wing advocate Carlos Martínez García. It's title is translated to "Let's talk about tourism or the fatal dependence" (*Nueva Tribuna*, 2020).

It begins with an analogy where Martínez García compares the Spanish autonomous communities and employers of the tourism sector to "children who beg on the street instead of pursuing an education" (*Nueva Tribunal*, 2020). This seems to suggest that tourism dependence makes Spanish society beg for money from tourists instead of educating the population and controlling its own future. He criticizes that Spain's dependence on tourism makes the country lack in research and development.

Martínez García traces the origins of Spanish tourism to the Franco regime. Back then, tourism exploited the Spanish natural landscapes and the poor, socially vulnerable workers. This laid the basis of the national wealth. He gives Valencia as an example of a region who has faced a multitude of corruption cases because of the exploitation of their territory for tourism activity. The article underlines that tourism only benefits a very few and damages communities and natural territory. It's critiquing the social, political, economic and ecological impact tourism has on Spain (*Nueva Tribunal*, 2020). The language indicates that tourism makes Spain vulnerable to crises, thus secondary aspect 2 from coalition 2.

If Spain's economy can continue being saved in the last minute from tourism, Martínez García predicts that the country will remain reliant on loans and have no reason to invest in research. He argues that this financially saved Spain during the dictator years, too. The industry as well as the health and education sectors have also been neglected in favor of tourism in recent decades. The pandemic has uncovered the failures of the current system and shown that tourism neither can nor should go back to what it was. "Tourism is very fearful and volatile. It is bread for today (yesterday) and hunger for tomorrow (today)" (*Nueva Tribunal*, 2020). The

quote describes tourism dependence as a source of vulnerability, coherent with secondary aspect 2. Describing tourism as an unsustainable basis of a national economic system and opting for drastic post-pandemic change indicates policy core belief 1.

He strongly denounces tourism for the damage it has inflicted on Spain, giving examples such as forest fires, trivializing cultural traditions and harming the ozone layer through plane travel. By focusing on tourism as an easy way out, Spain has missed a chance for getting ahead in sustainable development. Further on, he criticizes tourism employers demanding financial aid after the pandemic disruption of the sector, while avoiding paying taxes or helping with Spain's unemployment issues (Nueva Tribuna, 2020). Depicting the tourism dependence as something that has caused and will keep causing damage to Spain, the article indicates policy core belief 2.

According to Martínez García, the tourism sector doesn't offer safe and fair employment for people. Spain should prioritize other sectors that urgently need thousands of jobs such as public health, nursing homes, education and agriculture. The article ends claiming that the working-class needs to stop depending on rentier capitalism (Nueva Tribuna, 2020). He opts for diversifying the Spanish economy and investing in other sectors, coherent with secondary aspect 2. In total, the article indicates all four of the components in the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.

Government (Pablo Iglesias)

The next actor placed in coalition 2 is Pablo Iglesias from the current government of Pedro Sanchez. He was the leader and founder of left-wing party Podemos and second deputy prime minister in the coalition government until his 2021 resignation. Iglesias held the position of minister of social rights and Agenda 2030. During the presentation of the Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience on October 7th, 2020, he made a statement. It's retrieved from a short 1-minute video from the presentation along with a brief article summary published by Spanish news agency Europa Press' tourism edition Europa Press Turismo (Europa Press Turismo, 2020).

Iglesias argues that the current production model is too dependent on international tourism. The key for the plan is reforming the structure of the Spanish economy, and not only distributing the EU money. He describes the lack of investments in research, health and

education as other weaknesses of the Spanish economic model (Europa Press Turismo, 2020). The fundamental change Iglesias is proposing indicates policy core belief 1. When describing the lack of investment into other sectors as a weakness and opting for diversification, he indicates secondary aspect 2.

For Iglesias, it's key to transform the economic model, or the Agenda 2030 will remain on paper. In the video he says "International tourism will always be important for a country like Spain, you have to take care of it and strengthen it. But Spain has to diversify its economy to not depend only on an economic sector that when a crisis like the one COVID-19 is causing comes, reveals the vulnerabilities of our structure." (Europa Press Turismo, 2020).

He categorizes tourism dependence as a weakness for Spain and demands a more diverse economic model, which indicates secondary aspect 1. Criticizing the vulnerabilities of the structure revealed by the pandemic is coherent with secondary aspect 2. Unless the economic model is transformed and the tourism growth model stopped, Iglesias argues that Agenda 2030 won't be feasible. The model is depicted as an evil spiral, indicating policy core belief 2. In the statement and article, Iglesias appears to share all four components in the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.

Civil society: ABTS and the SET network

The selected material from civil society movements ABTS and the SET network is from before the pandemic (2019 for ABTS and 2018 for the SET network). Therefore, the texts don't talk about the topic of post-pandemic change. This isn't considered an issue since both organizations are still advocating for tourism degrowth. They are considered adequate representations of the Spanish civil society in coalition 2: Diversification.

While ABTS is mainly active within the policy subsystem of tourism in Barcelona, its collaboration with national actors combined with its far-reaching policy demands that probably require national decisions, qualifies it as an actor within the Spanish national tourism subsystem too.

Barcelona has experienced the consequences of mass tourism for many years, which the local population criticizes. Particularly on the excessive renting of apartments for tourists through agencies like Airbnb since it obstructs the housing market for locals. This made citizens of some of the most tourist intense neighborhoods in Barcelona to form the organization

Asamblea de Barrios por un Turismo Sostenible (ABTS), in English named Assembly of Neighborhoods for Sustainable Tourism. It's a coordinating body for several smaller movements of the neighborhoods. Since 2015 they have been advocating for tourism degrowth in Barcelona to mitigate the social, economic and environmental effects of mass tourism (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019).

On Barcelona's city council's website, ABTS have published a text describing their organization and mission. The text is part of marketing for an audiovisual online exposition held during the spring and summer of 2019 during the Barcelona Creative Commons Film Festival (BccN, 2019).

ABTS has put forward a proposal for tourism degrowth to the city based on despecialisation and diversification. The organization aspires that the proposal will help avoid a crisis of tourism influxes that will inevitably come. As long as Barcelona is heavily dependent on tourism there's a risk for a crisis since indefinite growth is impossible. Such a crisis would disproportionately affect the lower classes. ABTS would rather see a controlled degrowth of tourism through economic diversification that is gentler on the city and citizens. Urban planning, infrastructure management and environmental legislation are policy areas that must contribute in achieving tourism degrowth. ABTS collaborates with a research group who are exploring economic alternatives to tourism (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019). Proposing tourism degrowth through diversification, ABTS indicates secondary aspect 1 from coalition 2. Warning about the inevitable crisis, they express both policy core belief 1 and secondary aspect 2. A process of tourism degrowth is interpreted as a fundamental change to the role of tourism, therefore a sign of policy core belief 1.

While the Barcelona city council thus far only has mentioned tourism degrowth in their urban plan, ABTS underlines the attention that the movement has received in just a few years. Mass tourism is blamed for social inequality, job insecurity, saturation of public space, environmental problems such as air quality and hyper-consumerism. They clarify who their adversary is: "This is a struggle not against tourists, but rather against the industries that get rich off them and against the public administrations that allow and/or encourage this urban model of tourism." (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019). The risks following from tourism dependence can be viewed as vulnerability to crises, thus coherent with secondary aspect 2.

ABTS advocate using art, demonstrations, political debates and civil disobedience in Barcelona. During their second neighborhood forum on tourism in 2018, Southern Europe

against Touristification (the SET network) participated. The SET network is comprised of tourism degrowth movements from 20 southern European cities, 13 of which are Spanish (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019).

In their founding manifesto, the network bases its formation on issues caused by major touristification processes. The issues that the SET network members share are similar to those highlighted by ABTS. Some examples are gentrification, pollution and unsafe working conditions (SET network, 2018). This suggests that tourism dependence makes Spain vulnerable to crises, secondary aspect 2.

SET describes the purpose of the network as sharing experiences and knowledge between local tourism degrowth movements in southern Europe, with the common goal of pressuring authorities to change the tourism model. De-touristification of city the economy, differentiated fiscal policies and limiting the tourism industry are ways of achieving their goals. Through raising awareness of the damages of touristification, they hope to internationalize the struggle to facilitate further action and mobilization (SET network, 2018). The goals described by SET are characterized by a fundamental change to the tourism sector, in line with policy core belief 1. Taken together, the representatives of Spanish civil society express all four of the components in the belief system of coalition 2: Diversification.

4.2 The path of Spain

The two coalitions and their key members have now been identified. The next step is to assess the likelihood of policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism. This is done with a discussion using the factors from Table 3 based on the ACF.

Intracoalition coordination

Starting with the level of coordination, it appears to be higher within coalition 2 than 1. The desire to coordinate and strengthen the coalition is present especially within civil society. ABTS and the SET network express an urge to develop their collaboration. The SET network was even formed on the basis of several tourism degrowth movements wanting to internationalize their common struggle (SET network, 2018). In the open letter aimed at the UNWTO secretary general and signed by Alba Sud, the strive for coordination is obvious too. They demand a stronger leadership from UNWTO in uniting tourism degrowth advocates,

such as organizations from civil society. Thus, Alba Sud indirectly supports actors such as ABTS and the SET network. The many organizations behind the letter also indicate a strong coordination, albeit not only in Spain (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 284-287).

The cohesiveness of beliefs also appears strong in the Diversification coalition. All actors express at least three out of the four components in the policy belief system. Iglesias and Martínez García express many of the same ideas on how and why Spain must diversify from tourism. They both advocate for more investments into research and development, health and education (Europa Press Turismo, 2020; Nueva Tribuna, 2020). The coalition members agree that diversification is a good strategy for coping with Spain's tourism dependence.

For coalition 1, the level of coordination found in part 1 of the analysis is low. The actors don't directly mention each other or express a desire for coordination. While they all share the two policy core beliefs, only the government expresses the secondary aspect of sustainable transformation. Cuadrado-Rouna and López Morales depict tourism as making Spain resilient to crisis, a belief they share with the second Preferente article. Component 14 also suggests tourism as a tool for dealing with demographic challenges and thereby making Spain more resilient (Cuadrado-Rouna & López Morales, 2015: 18-20; Preferente, 2022; Componente 14, 2022: 9-10).

It must be noted, however, that these findings depend on the selected material. If, for example, more sources from tourism stakeholders were analyzed, perhaps a high level of coordination would be visible there too. The same applies for shared beliefs; perhaps the idea of sustainability is much more present in coalition 1 than this study found. It remains for future research to investigate.

Coalition dominance

It's hard to contest that by categorizing the Spanish government as a part of coalition 1, it gains a considerable power advantage over coalition 2. It makes major policy change unlikely if the coalition remains in power, since the government has the formal legal authority to make policy decisions (discussed below) (Sabaiter & Weible, 2014: 202).

The Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience is on the one hand only a representation of what the current government wants to do with the tourism sector and cannot be viewed as a guide on what will happen in Spain. The government may be replaced, perhaps after the next general elections in 2023. On the other hand, coalition 1 has dominated the subsystem for a

long time which makes it harder for coalition 2 to influence policy (ibid: 197). The plan is financed by the EU and set to be accomplished by 2026, making it more likely for the following government to follow it as well (European Parliament, 2022).

Considering the financial possessions of the tourism industry combined with the governmental power, coalition 1 is termed the dominating one. Their level of dominance could explain their lack of striving for coordination. They have been in power for so long that either the coordination is already well established and not clearly visible in the material, or the need for coordination is less since they already have legislative authority.

It's also possible that coalition 1 is expressing irrational behavior. Since advocacy coalition members tend to over-simplify the world and excessively rely on their beliefs, the government may be stuck in a position of aspiring for 'normality' of the tourism sector post-pandemic. What is considered normal is not questioned and their belief system may continue to unconsciously guide their policy decisions towards tourism growth and expansion (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 190-191).

Level of conflict between coalitions

Some representatives from coalition 2 use a radical left-wing, almost revolutionary language. Martínez García talks about the working class being trapped by capitalism, which also is responsible for the 'fatal' tourism dependence. Fletcher et al. from Alba Sud suggest tourism degrowth as a measure to achieve post-capitalism and advice for prohibiting private jets and obstructing travel for the richest people (Nueva Tribuna, 2020; Cañada & Murray, 2021: 261-262). This harsh language could be an indication of bounded rationality, leading to demonization of the opponent. It makes them simplify the world and interpret information in a biased way. These coalition 2 members are perhaps exaggerating the need for change and the risk of non-change, which heightens the level of conflict between the coalitions (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 190-191).

Pablo Iglesias is an example of a cross-coalition interaction with the potential of lowering the level of conflict. At the time of the statement, he was a member of government but still expressed diversification beliefs. This could indicate an open climate where coalition members aren't afraid of expressing their beliefs when surrounded by opponents. Or, Iglesias is an exception and the level of conflict between coalitions is actually higher than visible here (Europa Press Turismo, 2020).

It's difficult for this study to make a reliable estimate of the level of conflict between the coalitions. However, the language expressed by coalition 2 about their opponents is more aggressive than the other way around. This could be explained by coalition 1 being partly made up by the government and researchers, less likely to use emotional and informal language. Many of the coalition 2 members could be considered as activists, more prone to using dramatic and upsetting language.

Coalition resources

Formal legal authority to make policy decisions

This resource is possessed by the Spanish government, and therefore coalition 1. Nevertheless, Pablo Iglesias from coalition 1 was also a member of government at the time of his statement. This makes him and his party in possession of the formal legal authority to make policy decisions, too. Even though Iglesias is no longer in the government, the ideas he expressed are likely shared by others in Podemos who remain in power and thus can influence policy. This hypothesis would be interesting to investigate in further research. If more politicians who share Iglesias' beliefs are elected, it could mean a redistribution of resources from coalition 1 to coalition 2, increasing the likelihood of policy change (Europa Press Turismo, 2020).

Furthermore, it's surprising that the ideas expressed by Iglesias aren't visible in the 14th Component document. He had an important position in the government during the development of the plan and his ideas are likely shared by other government members.

Information

Scientific and technical information are integrated into belief systems and an important aspect of coalitions' strategies when advocating for policy (Sabatier & Weible, 2014: 192). Both coalitions possess information, especially from their representatives in the research community. Cuadrado-Rouna and López Morales (2015) use many quantitative data to demonstrate the importance of tourism on the Spanish economy. From coalition 2, Alba Sud (2021) has gathered a plethora of researchers with knowledge on the negative consequences of tourism dependence.

Alba Sud also express knowledge on the behavior of coalition 1 members, namely tourism stakeholders and the government. Fletcher et al. describe the pandemic as a cause for disaster capitalism, where coalition 1 exploits the opportunity of tightening their grip on the tourism sector. They accuse tourism stakeholders of demanding large sums from the pandemic financial rescue packages, which the first Preferente article actually does (Cañada & Murray, 2021: 260-261; Preferente, 2021). ABTS also prioritizes scientific knowledge through collaborating with a research group who are exploring economic alternatives to tourism (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019).

Information about the behavior of the other coalition could be useful when choosing advocacy strategies. If coalition 1 is aware of the rising critique on the unsustainability of the tourism model, it could influence them to incorporate resilience and sustainability concepts into their advocacy strategies. This could be what the government has done in Component 14. By appearing to resemble coalition 2 beliefs while not adopting diversification or degrowth measures, coalition 1 might be trying to remain in power (Componente 14, 2022).

Mobilizable supporters

The development of ABTS and the SET network is based on the mobilization of coalition 2 supporters. The extent of these relatively new movements is notable and may affect the ability of coalition 2 to achieve policy change. It's unclear whether coalition 1 contains a similar amount of mobilizable supporters but there is no doubt that this public engagement is a valuable asset for coalition 2.

Financial resources

The government controls the national financial resources and the Next Generation EU recovery fund. The tourism industry earns immense amounts of capital every year. These financial resources controlled by coalition 1 are probably very influential on their ability to remain in power and continue advocating for their policy.

The financial resources of coalition 2 are hard to examine in this study but since several of the coalition members are voluntarily based organizations, the resources aren't expected to be particularly large. If more actors from the private sector were to align themselves with coalition 2, the rise in financial assets would likely increase their influence over policy.

5. Results and discussion

The following section presents the results from the analysis and answers the two research questions. This is followed by some critical comments and suggestions for further research.

What key members belong to the two advocacy coalitions within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism?

The key members of coalition 1: Sustainability are

- **The Spanish government**, represented by the 14th Component from the Plan of Recovery, Transformation and Resilience
- **Tourism stakeholders**, represented by two articles from the *Preferente* magazine
- **The research community**, represented by the article by Cuadrado-Roura and López Morales

The key members from coalition 2: Diversification are

- **The research community**, represented by two texts from the book *Confined Touristification* by Alba Sud
- **Media**, represented by an opinionated article in *Nueva Tribuna* by Carlos Martínez García
- **Government**, represented by a statement from former minister and leader of Podemos, Pablo Iglesias
- **Civil society**, represented by two texts from tourism degrowth movements ABTS and the SET network

How likely is policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism?

- The intracoalition coordination seems relatively strong in coalition 2, and almost nonexistent in coalition 1. This may however be caused by the selected material which covers more voluntarily based movements from coalition 2 that rely more on coordination. The cohesiveness of beliefs is also stronger in coalition 2, which could give a unified and stronger force against coalition 1.
- Coalition 1 is the dominant one which is likely to obstruct coalition 2 in advocating for their policy. But factors such as the general elections coming up in 2023 and the

presence of coalition 2 actor Pablo Iglesias in government present some hope for coalition 2.

- The level of conflict between coalitions is uneven since coalition 2 uses a more harsh and dramatic language compared to the relatively modest coalition 1. This may again be caused by the selected material, but still gives an indication of bounded rationality and devil shift from coalition 2.
- Coalition 1, through the government, possesses the formal legal authority to make policy decisions. Pablo Iglesias is an exception and could challenge the possession of this resource with the help of likeminded representatives in government.
- Both coalitions have scientific information they can integrate into their belief systems and use when advocating for policy. Coalition 2 has information on the behavior and strategies of coalition 1 which may be useful in the strive for policy change.
- The representatives from civil society in coalition 2 demonstrate a strong ability to mobilize supporters, which can make a significant difference in their fight for policy influence.
- Coalition 1 possesses more financial resources and thus influence over policy. Coalition 2 may overcome this by attracting members from the private sector.

Considering the conclusions from part 2 of the analysis above, the likelihood of policy change within the policy subsystem of Spanish tourism is medium high. Coalition 2 faces challenges related to accessing policy decision arenas, financial assets and boundedly rational behavior by demonizing the opponent. They however possess passionate supporters, scientific information and cohesiveness which may help them challenge coalition 1.

Major policy change is still out of reach for Spanish tourism, but minor policy change may happen within the foreseeable future. Depending on how the concept of resilience is viewed, Spanish tourism may be heading in a good direction, or towards darker times. It stands clear that the debate on tourism is engaging many and policy change may come as a result, perhaps even in conjunction with the 2023 general elections. Resilience is mentioned by many of the coalition members in their opinions on Spanish tourism. It's clear that the concept is being used by the coalitions to advocate for their views. Resilience theory has proven to be a useful basis for describing the two coalitions.

Further research could take public opinion into consideration. Evaluating how Spain is divided between the two coalitions could give a better estimate on the likelihood of policy

change. Knowledge on coalition coordination would also be interesting to develop, which would give more insight into the coalitions' ability of collective action. Even though Pablo Iglesias is no longer in the government, the ideas he expressed are likely shared by other members of Podemos. This would be interesting to investigate in further research. Using more material is required for a broader comprehension of the coalitions within the subsystem. A more comprehensive study, perhaps with quantitative elements, could accomplish this.

6. Bibliography

- Ajuntament de Barcelona (2019) *Touristification/Tourism degrowth. Assemblea de Barris per un Turisme Sostenible*. [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/lavirreina/en/online-exhibitions/touristificationtourismdegrowth/374#:~:text=The%20Assembly%20of%20Neighbourhoods%20for,currently%20in%20force%20in%20Barcelona>
- Alba Sud. #TourismPostCOVID19. Turistificación confinada. [Online](Accessed 14/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.albasud.org/publicacion/es/103/tourismpostcovid19-turistificacionconfinada>
- Alba Sud. *Who we are*. [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.albasud.org/en/quienessomos>
- Almeida García, F. (2013) Tourism policy and territorial imbalances in Spain. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, 22, 7-19. [Online](Accessed 18/12-2022) Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258881834_Tourism_policy_and_territorial_imbalances_in_Spain
- Almeida García, F. (2014) A comparative study of the evolution of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 11, 34-50. [Online](Accessed 15/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S2211973614000178>
- Arbulú, I., Razumova, M., Rey-Maqueira, J. & Sastre, F. (2021) Can domestic tourism relieve the COVID-19 tourist industry crisis? The case of Spain. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 20. [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212571X21000160>

- Barcelona Creative Commons Film Festival (2019) *Turistització / Decreixement turístic*. [Online](Accessed 22/12-2022) Available at: <https://bccn.cc/en/event/turistitzacio-decreixement-turistic/>
- B. R. (2021) La pandemia se acerca al fin y el turismo encara el mayor rebote de su historia. *Preferente*. 13 February. [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.preferente.com/rss1/la-pandemia-se-acerca-al-fin-y-el-turismo-encara-elmayor-rebote-de-su-historia-307146.html>
- Cañada, E. & Murray, I. (2021) #TourismPostCOVID19. Turistificación Confinada. Barcelona. *Alba Sud Editorial*. [Online](Accessed 13/12-2022) Available at: <http://www.albasud.org/publ/docs/98.pdf>
- Chislett, W. (2021) Challenges and opportunities for Spain in times of COVID-19. *Real Instituto Elcano*. [Online](Accessed 26/12-2022) Available at: [https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/work-document/challenges-and-opportunitiesfor-spain-in-times-of-covid-19/#:~:text=The%20economic%20impact%20was%20also,Europe%20\(see%20Figure%202\).](https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/work-document/challenges-and-opportunitiesfor-spain-in-times-of-covid-19/#:~:text=The%20economic%20impact%20was%20also,Europe%20(see%20Figure%202).)
- Cuadrado-Rouna, J.R. & López Morales, J.M. (2015) El turismo, motor del crecimiento y de la recuperación de la economía española. *Estudios Turísticos*, 200(2) 19-38. [Online](Accessed 26/12-2022) Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/58911054.pdf>
- Datzira-Masip, J. (1998) Tourism policy in Spain: An overview. *The tourist review*, 53(1). [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/eb058267/full/html?skipTracking=true>
- Davies, A., Tonts, M. (2010) Economic Diversity and Regional Socioeconomic Performance: An Empirical Analysis of the Western Australian Grain Belt. *Geographical Research*, 48(3) 223-234. [Online](Accessed 27/12-2022) Available at:

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2009.00627.x>

- De la Fuente, A. (2021) The economic consequences of Covid in Spain and how to deal with them. *Applied Economic Analysis*, 29(85) 90-104. [Online](Accessed 28/12-2022) Available at:
<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/AEA-11-2020-0158/full/html>
- Dodds, R. (2008) Sustainable Tourism and Policy Implementation: Lessons from the Case of Calviá, Spain. *Current issues in Tourism*, 10(4) 296-322. [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2167/cit278.0>
- Duro, J.A., Perez-Laborda, A., Turrion-Prats, J. & Fernández-Fernández, M. (2021) Covid-19 and tourism sustainability. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 38. [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at:
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211973621000325>
- Espiner, S., Orchiston, C., Higham, J. (2017) Resilience and sustainability: a complementary relationship? Towards a practical conceptual model for the sustainability–resilience nexus in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(10) 1385-1400. [Online](Accessed 25/12-2022) Available at:
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669582.2017.1281929>
- European Commission. *Spain's recovery and resilience plan*. [Online](Accessed 27/11-2022) Available at: https://commission.europa.eu/business-economy-euro/economic-recovery/recoveryand-resilience-facility/spains-recovery-and-resilience-plan_en
- European Commission. (2020) *Recovery plan for Europe, Introduction*. [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at:
https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/recovery-plan-europe_en

- European Parliament. (2022) *Spain's National Recovery and Resilience Plan: Latest state of play*. [Online](Accessed 26/12-2022) Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI\(2022\)698878#:~:text=Spain's%20National%20Recovery%20and%20Resilience%20Plan%20\(NRRP\)%20is%20one%20of,caused%20by%20the%20coronavirus%20pandemic](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI(2022)698878#:~:text=Spain's%20National%20Recovery%20and%20Resilience%20Plan%20(NRRP)%20is%20one%20of,caused%20by%20the%20coronavirus%20pandemic).
- Europa Press Turismo (2020) Iglesias considera una debilidad la dependencia del turismo internacional y aboga por diversificar la economía. [Online](Accessed 22/11/2022) Available at: <https://www.europapress.es/turismo/nacional/noticia-iglesias-considera-debilidad-dependencia-turismo-internacional-aboga-diversificar-economia-20201007193403.html>
- Flick, U. (2014) *An introduction to qualitative research*. Fifth edition. London: SAGE Publications.
- Gaillard, J.C. (2010) Vulnerability, capacity and resilience: Perspectives for climate and development policy. *Journal of International Development*, 22(2) 218-232. [Online](Accessed 24/11-2022) Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/jid.1675>
- Gobierno de España. (2021) *Plan de Recuperación, Transformación y Resiliencia. Políticas palanca y componentes*. [Online](Accessed 5/12-2022) Available at: [Políticas palanca y componentes | Plan de Recuperación, Transformación y Resiliencia Gobierno de España. \(planderecuperacion.gob.es\)](https://www.planderecuperacion.gob.es/politicas-palanca-y-componentes)
- Gobierno de España. (2022) *Plan de modernización y competitividad del sector turístico*. [Online](Accessed 13/12-2022) Available at: https://turismo.gob.es/es-es/estrategia/06_doc_CORTO_pmcst_abril_2022.pdf
- Grupo Preferente. *La editora líder mundial de prensa turística*. [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at: [GRUPO PREFERENTE – Editora líder mundial de prensa turística](https://www.grupopreferente.es/)

- Guerra, R.P. (2014) La intervención administrativa en el sector turístico español. *Revista Aragonesa de Administración Pública*, 43, 396-413. [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at:
<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5080173>
- Holling, C.S (1996) “Engineering Resilience versus Ecological Resilience”. In *Engineering Within Ecological Constraints*, edited by Schulze, P. 31-44. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press [Online](Accessed 22/11-2022) Available at:
<https://nap.nationalacademies.org/catalog/4919/engineering-within-ecologicalconstraints>
- Ivars Baidal, J.A. (2004) Regional Tourism Planning in Spain: Evolution and Perspectives. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(2). [Online](Accessed 17/12-2022) Available at:
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0160738303001361>
- Lamont, C. & Boduszynski, M.P. (2020) *Research Methods in Politics & International Relations*. London: SAGE Publications.
- López Sánchez, Y. & Pulido-Fernández, J.I. (2014) Incorporating sustainability into tourism policy: A strategic agenda for Spain. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 7, 57-78. [Online](Accessed 14/12-2022) Available at:
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287500183_Incorporating_sustainability_into_tourism_policy_A_strategic_agenda_for_Spain
- Lubin, D.A., Esty, D.C (2010) The Sustainability Imperative. *Harvard Business Review*. May edition. [Online](Accessed 30/11-2022) Available at:
<https://hbr.org/2010/05/the-sustainability-imperative>
- Marchese, D., Reynolds, E., Bates, M.E., Morgan, H., Spierre Clark, S., Linkov, I. (2018) Resilience and sustainability: Similarities and differences in environmental management applications. *Science of The Total Environment*, 613, 1275-1283.

[Online](Accessed 28/11-2022) Available at:

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0048969717324282>

- Martin-Breen, A & Anderies, M.J. (2011) Resilience: A Literature Review. *The Bellagio Initiative*. [Online](Accessed 8/11-2022) Available at: <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/3692>
- Martínez García, C. (2020) Hablemos del turismo o la fatal dependencia. *Nueva Tribuna*. [Online](Accessed 12/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.nuevatribuna.es/opinion/carlos-martinez-garcia/hablemos-turismo-fataldependencia/20200428190137174143.html>
- Martin, R., Sunley, P. (2014) On the notion of regional economic resilience: conceptualization and explanation. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 15(1) 1-42. [Online](Accessed 27/12-2022) Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/joeg/article/15/1/1/960842>
- Matyas, D. & Pelling, M. (2015) Disaster Vulnerability and Resilience: Theory, Modelling and Prospective. *Foresight, Government Office for Science*. [Online](Accessed 7/11-2022) Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/275349237_Disaster_Vulnerability_and_Resilience_Theory_Modelling_and_Prospective
- Norris, F.H., Stevens, S.P., Pfefferbaum, Betty., Wyche, K.F., Pfefferbaum, R.L. (2007) Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1-2), 127150. [Online](Accessed 22/11-2022) Available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10464-007-9156-6>
- Nueva tribuna. (2022) [Twitter] 28 December. (Accessed 28/12-2022) Available at: [nuevatribuna.es #Igualdad på Twitter: "Os dejamos la portada de @Nuevatribuna con información continua y análisis para una ciudadanía comprometida con los valores de](https://nuevatribuna.es/#Igualdad_p%C3%A1_Twitter:_%22Os_dejamos_la_portada_de_%40Nuevatribuna_con_informaci%C3%B3n_continua_y_a%C3%A1lisis_para_una_ciudadan%C3%ADa_comprometida_con_los_valores_de)

libertad, igualdad y justicia. <https://t.co/ZFtYJqS6Um>  <https://t.co/5WPcD8tWpQ>
[/Twitter](#)

- Olcina Cantos, J. & Vera-Rebollo, F.J. (2016) Cambio climático y política turística en España: diagnóstico del litoral mediterráneo español. *Cuadernos de Turismo*. [Online](Accessed 11/12-2022) Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311244607_Cambio_climatico_y_politica_turistica_en_Espana_diagnostico_del_litoral_mediterraneo_espanol
- O’Leary, V.E. (2010) Strength in the Face of Adversity: Individual and Social Thriving. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54(2), 425-446. [Online](Accessed 24/11-2022) Available at: <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1998-11979-011>
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2020) *Spain, Tourism in the economy*. [Online](Accessed 27/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/8ed5145ben/index.html?itemId=/content/component/8ed5145ben#chapter-d1e90998>
- Pierce, J.J., Peterson, H.L., Jones, M.D., Garrard, S.P., Vu, T. (2017) There and Back Again: A Tale of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. *Policy Studies Journal*, 45(1) 13-46. [Online](Accessed 28/12-2022) Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/psj.12197>
- Portney, K.E (2015) Sustainability. Cambridge, Massachusetts. *The MIT Press*. [Online](Accessed 20/12-2022) Available at: <https://mitpress.mit.edu/9780262528504/sustainability/>
- Rodríguez-Antón, J. & Alonso-Almeida, M. (2020) COVID-19 Impacts and Recovery Strategies: The Case of the Hospitality Industry in Spain. *Sustainability*, 12(20). [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at: <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/12/20/8599>

- R.P. (2022) La dependencia turística salva a España de una crisis aguda. *Preferente*. 23 November. [Online](Accessed 16/12-2022) Available at:
[La dependencia turística salva a España de una crisis aguda | Noticias de Hoteles | Revista de turismo Preferente.com](#)
- Sabatier, P.A. & Weible, C.M. (2014) *Theories of the Policy Process*. Third edition. Philadelphia: Westview Press
- SET network (2018) *Statement. Founding manifesto of SET network: South Europe cities facing touristification!*. [Online](Accessed 10/12-2022) Available at:
<https://www.iut.nu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/RED-SET-Manifesto-Ing1%C3%A8s.pdf>
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. *Economic Diversification*. [Online](Accessed 27/12-2022) Available at:
[Economic diversification | UNFCCC](#)
- Van Breda, A. (2001) Resilience Theory: a Literature Review. *South African Military Health Service*. [Online](Accessed 10/11) Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/download/40718148/resilience_theory_review.pdf
- Watson, P., Deller, S. (2021) Tourism and economic resilience. *Tourism Economics*, 28(5). [Online](Accessed 25/12-2022) Available at:
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354816621990943?journalCode=teua>
- Weible, C. & Sabatier, P. (2006) “A Guide to the Advocacy Coalition Framework.” In *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis*. New York: Routledge.