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Environmental concerns and nature values in the Canary Islands' mass tourism protests

a qualitative media content analysis

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Abstract:

Mass tourism has generated growing concern in the Canary Islands, particularly regarding its environmental and social impacts. As island territories, the awareness of the ecological and social limits also shapes the way ecological conflicts are understood in the region. This study builds on earlier tourism research in geography and draws from environmental movements and media perspectives.

The aim of this thesis is to explore what different nature values reveal about how nature is understood in anti-tourism activism and media discourse, focusing on the environmental concerns raised during the April 2024 protests under the slogan "*Canarias tiene un límite*" (The Canary Islands have a limit).

A qualitative content analysis was conducted on local and Spanish online news articles and protest organizers' publications, including blog posts and Instagram content, to examine environmental concerns and the use of nature values.

The results show that environmental issues, such as environmental degradation, large-scale resource exploitation and water scarcity emerged as central topics alongside social concerns like housing shortage and poverty. A20 organizers and media highlighted slightly different concerns. Analysis of nature values revealed that instrumental views of nature dominated media discussions on tourism's environmental impacts. In contrast, activist communications presented a broader range of nature-related arguments, integrating instrumental, relational, and, to a lesser extent, intrinsic values. Relational values played a particularly important role in both media and activist discourse, contributing to a strong shared narrative linking people and nature.

These findings suggest that while instrumental understandings of nature remain influential, emerging activist discourse articulates a more complex, relational perspective on socio-ecological challenges associated with mass tourism.

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Tiivistelmä:

Massaturismi Kanariansaarilla on lisännyt asukkaiden huolta etenkin sen vaikutuksista ympäristöön ja ihmisiin. Saariympäristönä tietoisuus saaren fyysisistä ja ekologisista rajoista on myös omiaan muokkaamaan tapaa, jolla ekologiset konfliktit alueella ymmärretään. Tämä tutkimus pohjautuu aiempaan maantieteelliseen turismikirjallisuuteen, ja hyödyntää ympäristöliikkeiden ja median näkökulmaa.

Tutkielman tavoitteena on tarkastella, mitä eri luonnon arvot paljastavat siitä, miten luonto ymmärretään osana turismin vastaista aktivismia ja mediakeskustelua. Tutkimus keskittyy ympäristöhuoliin, joita nostettiin esille “Canarias tiene un límite” (Kanariansaarilla on rajansa) -iskulauseen alla pidetyissä mielenosoituksissa 20. huhtikuuta 2024.

Laadullisen sisällönanalyysin avulla analysoitiin ympäristöhuolia ja luonnon arvoja paikallisissa ja espanjalaisissa verkkouutisissa, sekä mielenosoituksen järjestäjätahojen blogi- ja Instagram-julkaisuissa.

Tulokset osoittavat, että ympäristöongelmat, kuten ympäristön ja biodiversiteetin heikkeneminen, luonnonvarojen laajamittainen käyttö ja vesipula nousivat keskeisiksi huolenaiheiksi yhteiskunnallisten huolien, kuten asuntopulan ja köyhyyden ohelle. A20-mielenosoituksen järjestäjät ja media korostivat osittain eri huolenaiheita. Luonnon arvoja analysoitaessa paljastui, että välineelliset arvot hallitsivat turismin ympäristöhuolista mediassa käytävää keskustelua. Sen sijaan järjestäjät käyttivät monipuolisemmin eri luontoon liittyviä argumentteja yhdistämällä luonnon välineellisiä ja relationaalisia eli merkityksellisyyden kokemukseen liittyviä arvoja, sekä jonkin verran myös itseisarvoja. Luonnon relationaalisilla arvoilla oli suuri merkitys niin aktivistien, kuin uutismediankin keskuudessa, minkä avulla luotiin yhteistä tarinaa ihmisen ja luonnon yhteydestä.

Tuloksista voidaan päätellä, että vaikka luonnon välineellinen ymmärtäminen on edelleen hallitsevaa, aktivistien esiin nostamat näkökulmat välittävät paljon monitahoisempaa ja arvoiltaan relationaalisempaa kuvaa turismiin liittyvistä sosio-ekologisista ongelmista.

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Resumen:

El turismo de masas ha generado una creciente preocupación en las Islas Canarias, especialmente por sus impactos ambientales y sociales. Como territorios insulares, la conciencia de los límites ecológicos y sociales también influye en la forma en que se entienden los conflictos ambientales en la región. Este estudio se basa en literatura de turismo en geografía y retoma enfoques desde los movimientos ambientales y los estudios mediáticos.

El objetivo de esta tesis es explorar qué revelan los diferentes valores de la naturaleza sobre cómo se entiende la naturaleza en el activismo contra el turismo y en el discurso mediático, enfocándose en las preocupaciones ambientales planteadas durante las protestas de abril de 2024 bajo el lema "*Canarias tiene un límite*".

Se realizó un análisis cualitativo de contenido de artículos periodísticos publicados, tanto a nivel local como nacional, así como de publicaciones de los convocantes de las protestas, incluyendo entradas de blogs y contenido en Instagram, para examinar las preocupaciones ambientales y el uso de los valores de la naturaleza.

Los resultados muestran que temas como la degradación ambiental, la explotación de recursos a gran escala y la escasez de agua emergieron como preocupaciones centrales, junto con problemáticas sociales como la falta de vivienda y la pobreza. Los medios de comunicación y los convocantes de A20 destacaron preocupaciones parcialmente diferentes. El análisis de los valores de la naturaleza reveló que las visiones instrumentales de la naturaleza dominaron las discusiones mediáticas sobre los impactos del turismo. En contraste, las comunicaciones activistas presentaron una gama más amplia de argumentos relacionados con la naturaleza, integrando valores instrumentales, relacionales y, en menor medida, intrínsecos. Los valores relacionales jugaron un papel especialmente importante tanto en el discurso mediático como en el activista, contribuyendo a una narrativa compartida que vincula a las personas con la naturaleza.

Estos hallazgos sugieren que, si bien las concepciones instrumentales de la naturaleza siguen siendo influyentes, el discurso activista emergente articula una perspectiva más compleja y relacional sobre los desafíos socio-ecológicos asociados al turismo de masas.

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1 Introduction

Tourism, its environmental impacts and sustainability have been widely studied for decades (Butler, 1980, 1999; Cohen, 1978; Holden, 2008). The Canary Islands is a place where the tourism has an enormous impact on the society and environment: it shapes the economy but also drives ongoing social and environmental tensions.

While the archipelago has been known for its beaches and pleasant climate, it has been recognized as globally important place for biodiversity with over 4,000 endemic species (Government of the Canary Islands, n.d.-a). Meanwhile the human pressure on islands have augmented due the mass tourism that has been increasing during decades. In 2023, the Canary Islands received over 16 million international visitors and the number continued to grow to 17,7 million in 2024 (Instituto Canario de Estadística [ISTAC], 2025). Tourism contributes around 35% to the region's GDP (CaixaBank Research, 2024).

Environmental concerns related to tourism are not new in the Canary Islands. The local environmental movement has long critiqued the pressures that rapid tourism-related development places on the region's fragile ecosystems. However, these concerns reached a new intensity in spring 2024 during the mass mobilization known as "Canarias tiene un límite" (*Canary Islands have a limit*), also referred to as the A20 movement. On April 20th, an estimated 58,000 people was reported taking the streets across all eight islands, with supporting protests held in several European cities (Jones, 2024; Morell, 2024). These protests were part of a broader European and global wave of resistance to overtourism in urban and coastal areas, signaling wider discontent with how tourism and economic priorities shape everyday life. The A20 mobilizations, however emerged within the unique geographical and historical context of the Canary Islands, reflecting local concerns.

The slogan "Canary Islands have a limit" resonates with a long-standing environmental critique about the archipelago's carrying capacity—ecologically, socially, and infrastructurally. The movement builds on decades of environmental activism in the region, which has opposed large-scale urbanization projects and the commodification of land (Armas-Díaz et al., 2020, 2024; Brito, 2018). Although the media and some researchers have labeled similar movements as "anti-tourism" or "anti-tourism-industry" (Hughes, 2018; Milano et al., 2024), A20 organizers

emphasize they are not against tourism per se, but rather against an unsustainable tourism model.

The context of insularity adds further weight to these concerns. The field of island studies have explored how islands occupy unique political, ecological, and cultural positions, shaped by their histories of colonization, struggles over sovereignty, and environmental pressures (Mountz, 2015). As island territories, the Canary Islands face specific pressures of limited space and ecological fragility and thus have a heightened awareness of environmental boundaries. At the same time, their peripheral context has made them especially vulnerable to land commodification for tourism (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024). This combination has fostered strong place-based activism and what Armas-Díaz et al., (2024, 2020) contextualized as a call for “right to the island.”

In this thesis, I examine how nature and environmental concerns are represented in the A20 movement and how they are discussed in local and national online news media. The concept of overtourism, popularized by media before entering academic use (Koens et al., 2018) serves here as a useful starting point to understand the tensions at play. Media, as agenda-setters, not only reflect but also shape public discourse and understanding (Schweinsberg et al., 2017). Media can thus shape how we understand nature as part of tourism system and society.

While tourism studies have long addressed issues of sustainability and environmental impacts, less attention has been given to how nature is represented and valued in the context of protests and media coverage. This study examines how both resistance to mass tourism and related media discourse in the Canary Islands reflect and contribute to shaping the understanding of nature in relation to tourism and society.

Therefore, I am asking: *What do different nature values reveal about how nature is understood in tourism protest communication and media discourse?* And more specifically:

- a) What environmental concerns do A20 organizers raise, and how are these concerns conveyed and discussed in local and national online newspapers?
- b) What role do different nature values (intrinsic, instrumental, and relational) play in these concerns?

The term *concern* I use, broadly includes both explicit and indirect worries, statements, problems, issues and arguments raised in the discussion of nature and tourism.

The thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework and key concepts. Chapter 3 presents the context of the Canary Islands and their tourism development. Chapter 4 introduces the research methods. Chapters 5 and 6 present the results and discussion, followed by conclusions in Chapter 7.

2 Literature review: Growing tourism, nature and resistance

In this chapter, I introduce the main concepts and theoretical framework of my thesis. These concepts provide a broader perspective on the struggles in the Canary Islands and serve as the foundation for my analysis. I begin with an overview of tourism, focusing on the current debates surrounding overtourism and tourism degrowth. Next, I explore the concept of nature under capitalism and use the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) framework to conceptualize nature values. Finally, I examine social movements, particularly in the context of environmental resistance and media approach.

2.1 Tourism, mass tourism and overtourism

There are multiple definitions for tourism. Generally, tourism is understood to involve travelling for leisure, however also work and family related travelling can be understood as tourism. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines tourism as a “social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which involve tourism expenditure.” (UNWTO, n.d.).

Holden (2008, p. 11) interprets various definitions of tourism as indicating that it is a complex system involving economic and social changes in travelers’ home societies, which, in turn, impact destination economies, environments, and cultures through the use of natural and cultural resources. Tourism is not a random occurrence but is shaped by societal structures, such as how work and leisure are organized, the availability of disposable income, and the accessibility of travel, including flights. Thus, tourism is not just about what happens at the destination; it is a broader system that facilitates the movement of people. Before the Industrial Revolution, most tourism was driven by religion, health, and education (Holden, 2008, p. 3). In recent decades, the rapid growth of international mass tourism has been a result of societal changes, such as increased incomes, mobility and urbanization (Holden, 2008).

For decades many academics have been concerned about the impacts of too many visitors (see e.g. Butler, 1980; Sinden, 1975) and the idea of overtourism is not new although the use of the term has been increasing and gaining popularity (Koens et al., 2018). For instance, Milano, Novelli & Paolo Russo (2024) have been recently analyzing tourism within the radical political economy suggesting that issues like exploitation, expropriation, and extraction are key to understanding how tourism-driven economies function. They suggest that overtourism should be analyzed not just as an issue of too many visitors but as a symptom of deeper economic and political structures that exploit places and people, contributing to broader crises. They also make an important note that the word “overtourism” in Spanish *sobreturismo*, is not so widely used in the academic literature, nor the public discussion. Instead terms “turistification” (*turistificación*) and “massification” (*masificación*), that refer to the problem of too many tourists, are more common (Milano et al., 2024).

The A20 organizers and the news media often discuss or mention concepts such as a sustainable tourism model or a sustainable economic model. Sustainable is a vague term that has many meanings. Discussions on sustainability traces back to the 1970s when the Club of Rome published *The Limits to Growth* (1972), warning about the environmental consequences of unlimited economic growth and resource depletion (Meadows et al., 1972). This debate contributed to the development of the concept of sustainable development, which was formally defined in 1987 by the United Nation’s (UN) Brundtland Commission in its report *Our Common Future* as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). Today, the UN defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social, and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment, and host communities" (UN Tourism, n.d.).

While discussions on sustainable tourism have been ongoing for decades, much remains to be done. Murray et al., (2023) explore the growing critique of rapid global tourism expansion over the past decades and introduce "touristic degrowth" as a response. Drawing on wider critiques of economic growth in natural and social sciences, they review current degrowth perspectives in tourism. Fletcher, Murray Mas, Blanco-Romero, & Blázquez-Salom (2019) propose that overtourism critiques

highlight deeper issues within capitalism, and that degrowth could support a genuinely sustainable tourism model. In tourism, degrowth has two main interpretations. The first is narrower in focus, emphasizing the reduction of tourism volume and minimizing its harmful impacts. Here, degrowth in tourism seeks to curb visitor numbers and promote sustainability, addressing issues like overtourism, excessive natural resource consumption, and the displacement of local communities. (Fletcher et al., 2019; Murray et al., 2023). The second, broader interpretation views degrowth as a political movement, challenging the capitalist growth model and advocating for radical societal change. This approach seeks to move away from the continuous pursuit of economic growth and explore alternative models for development and well-being. Within tourism, this means no longer treating tourism as the main economic driver but instead developing tourism models that prioritize social and environmental sustainability. (Fletcher et al., 2019; Murray et al., 2023).

Fletcher (2011) shows how international tourism helps sustain capitalism and, even as it faces problems of overproduction and limited resources and other contradictions. He draws on Harvey's concept of the 'spatial fix,' which describes how capitalism expands into new areas to keep growing. Fletcher uses an example of ecotourism and shows how it serves to open previously undeveloped spaces for investment, framing economic expansion as environmentally responsible. This suggests that rather than challenging capitalist growth, 'sustainable tourism' can reinforce it, delaying rather than solving environmental problems. In the field of tourism, the degrowth perspective offers an alternative vision for a more sustainable and just tourism model that considers the well-being of both people and the environment.

2.2 Nature, tourism, and uneven development

Environment refers to both natural and human-made surroundings. However, in this thesis, I am particularly interested in nature within environmental concerns. Given that the Canary Islands are a significantly important region for biodiversity (Government of the Canary Islands, n.d.-b), it is essential to examine the perceived natural values in the current discussions about the islands' limits.

To conceptualize nature and the values attributed to it, I will use the IPBES framework on Nature's Contributions to People (see table 1), which helps to

categorize nature's valuation into three types: intrinsic, relational, and instrumental (Pascual et al., 2017). The term 'value' can refer to a principle shaped by worldviews and cultural contexts, a preference for a specific state of the world, the importance of something for itself or for others, or simply a form of measurement (Pascual et al., 2017). It is important to note that values are plural and overlapping, and their meanings can often be ambiguous.

Table 1. Nature Values definitions in short by (Himes et al., 2024), foci and examples by (Pascual et al., 2017)

	Core meaning	Foci of value	Examples
Intrinsic	Values of entities expressed independently of any reference to people as valuers (including values associated with entities worth protecting as ends in and of themselves)	Nature	Animal rights, evolutionary and ecological processes, genetic and species diversity
Instrumental	Values of nature entities and other-than-human beings important as means to achieve human ends or satisfy human preferences (in principle replaceable, albeit not always in practice)	Natures contributions to people	Habitat creation and maintenance, regulation of climate, food, energy, materials
Relational	Values of meaningful and often reciprocal human relationships—beyond means to an end—with nature (often specified as a particular landscape, place, species, forest, etc.) and among people through nature	Good quality of life	Physical and experiential interactions with nature, symbolic meaning, inspiration, health, way of life, cultural identity, sense of place, social cohesion

In tourism, nature is curated, transformed, and commodified, aligning with the *instrumental value*, where it is perceived as a resource. Tourism needs the pristine authentic nature for people to experience it. On the other hand, tourism is also a resource intensive industry, demanding land, water and energy. Tourism also intersects with *relational values*, where nature is valued through people's connections to it. There seems to be more explicit connection to these two values in context of tourism, but the intrinsic value lies under the surface.

Tourism is an industry that thrives on the idea of pristine nature. In *Uneven Development* (2008), Smith argues that nature is socially produced. This concept,

known as the production of nature, refers to how capitalist processes reshape "first nature" wild, untouched landscapes, into "second nature," which is physically or conceptually modified to serve economic or social purposes (Smith, 2008).

According to Smith (2008), all nature today is "second nature", meaning it has been shaped by human activity. Tourism exemplifies this transformation, particularly when analyzed through three categories of values:

- Instrumental values: Nature is commodified, whether through the construction of hotels or the marketing of landscapes for consumption.
- Relational values: Nature holds meaning beyond its economic use, as tourists seek meaningful experiences in nature-based tourism, while residents may see it as part of their cultural identity and spiritual practices.
- Intrinsic values: National parks are established to protect nature, yet they often still serve economic or aesthetic purposes. From a tourism perspective, these areas are rarely dedicated solely to species conservation, even if they contribute to it.

Tourism serves as an illustration of the contractionary relationship nature has with capitalist society. Capitalism constantly seeks new frontiers for investment, and tourism functions as what Harvey (1982) and Smith (2008) call a "spatial fix," converting nature into an economic resource. Putting this within the value framework, tourism development prioritizes economic benefits over environmental concerns, reflecting an instrumental value. Armas-Díaz et al. (2024) provide an example from the Canary Islands during the COVID-19 crisis, when regional governments prioritized tourism expansion, often disregarding environmental impacts. This approach aligned with the neoliberal trend in land-use planning, characterized by deregulation, reduced state oversight, and decentralized power (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024).

Tourism can create inequalities when nature's value is determined by economic interests rather than ecological or cultural significance. Locals may experience a loss in relational values, for instance, in the privatization of public space, including beaches (Holden, 2008, p.85). The dominance of instrumental values can lead to

locals experiencing restricted access to resources, such as water (Holden, 2008, p.85), which is particularly evident in the Canary Islands.

Biodiversity conservation is often understood to signal intrinsic value, emphasizing nature's protection for its own sake. However, it can also be framed in ways that reflect different underlying values. For instance, nature is frequently valued instrumentally for the services it provides to humans, such as maintaining ecosystems that support agriculture, clean water, and climate stability. In tourism, conservation efforts may focus not only on preserving biodiversity for its ecological significance but also on its role in attracting visitors and generating economic benefits. This aligns with broader trends in conservation discourse, where concepts like sustainability, environmental justice, and life support systems are used to appeal to diverse audiences with different value frameworks (Elliott, 2020). While these approaches can help build broader support for conservation, they may also shift the focus away from protecting nature for its own sake, reinforcing a human-centered perspective (Elliott, 2020).

2.3 Social and environmental movements criticizing tourism

Kousis (2000) highlights the significant role environmental movements play in promoting tourism sustainability and mitigating its environmental impacts. However, studies on environmental mobilization in the context of tourism remain relatively rare in academic literature, with other social movements receiving more attention. For example, the degrowth movement in Spain directly addresses the challenges of tourism by advocating for alternatives to economic growth. Degrowth agenda aligns with the discourse of many movements that drive political change in tourism models in Spain and southern Europe (Milano et al., 2019). Likewise, the A20 movements literal expressions, like "*Canarias tiene un límite*", have a direct meaning to limit growth.

Milano et al. (2019) claim that both social movements and media narratives have emphasized the urban setting in the concerns of overtourism, overlooking the impacts of tourism in rural and coastal regions. Environmental concerns are important in the resistance of the tourist destinations, but anti-tourism movement is mainly covered in the literature on the urban perspective. They also note a change in the European ways of resisting overtourism in the 1990s (Milano et al. 2019). Earlier

local communities in southern Europe resisted mass tourism in more subtle or private ways through fencing off areas, holding hidden rituals, or even through organized protests and other forms of pushback (Boissevain, 1996). Today, media attention to overtourism has fueled more open criticism and legitimized these concerns in the public discourse (Milano et al., 2019).

2.4 News media perspective on overtourism and social movements

Analyzing news media provides valuable perspectives for studying overtourism and social movements, as media coverage plays an important role in shaping public discourses of tourism impacts and influencing policymaking for local development. This influence stems from news media's agenda-setting power, which has been acknowledged in tourism studies (Hall, 2002; Schweinsberg et al., 2017; Weaver et al., 2010). By framing and constructing narratives around phenomena, news media contribute to defining how issues are understood and prioritized. When topics like overtourism lack well-defined frames or tested solutions, the news agenda determines their prominence, influence public opinion, and fosters community consensus (Hall, 2002; Schweinsberg et al., 2017; Weaver et al., 2010)

Media plays also a crucial role depoliticizing the discourse around tourism and anti-tourism movements and influence public perception and policy definitions (Boager & Castro, 2022). Thus, media coverage can profoundly influence public perceptions and drive social or political responses (Schweinsberg et al., 2017). Studying overtourism from a media perspective, therefore, reveals not only how the issue is presented to the public but also how media narratives may shape broader actions and future policies to address it.

Media coverage not only shapes public discourse on overtourism but also plays a role in the visibility and expansion of social movements. International media attention can amplify local protests and contribute to the diffusion of movements across different contexts. For instance Hughes (2018) studies the anti-tourism movement, focusing on the 2017 protests in Barcelona and argues that media attention helped extend the movement beyond Catalonia.

Pasquinelli and Trunfio's (2020) article, *Overtouristified cities: an online news media narrative analysis*, contributes to the overtourism debate by examining how online news media represent the causes, effects, and proposed solutions of the issue.

Using a narrative approach, they compare media findings with academic literature, critiquing current overtourism discussions through the lens of sustainable tourism principles. This analysis reveals how media narratives either align with or diverge from scholarly perspectives on sustainability. Similarly, Phi's (2020) article, *Framing overtourism: a critical news media analysis*, identifies four main themes from English-language news articles: causes of overtourism (often limited to tourist numbers), impacts on locals, urban contexts, and the growth agenda. Both studies take a critical view of media portrayals, noting that coverage often oversimplifies overtourism by focusing on tourist numbers and residents' negative reactions, overlooking deeper structural causes (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020).

News media coverage of overtourism often sets the agenda by focusing on simplified narratives, primarily emphasizing the high tourist numbers and negative resident reactions (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020). This portrayal frequently frames residents as passive "victims," overlooking their role in the tourism cycle, such as renting homes to tourists through platforms such as Airbnb. Coverage tends to center on urban, island, and coastal destinations, underlining the economic benefits of tourism and promoting solutions like "responsible growth" and tourism taxes to address overtourism, often attributing issues to poor management rather than structural causes (Phi, 2020).

Pasquinelli and Trunfio (2020) also showed that media focuses on protests and "tourismophobia," presenting the social mobilizations as direct responses to the negative impacts of overtourism. Residents' reactions, from moving out of tourist-saturated neighborhoods to joining anti-tourism protests, are depicted as behavioral responses to the pressures of overtourism. Meanwhile, academic perspectives can provide a more nuanced exploration of these dynamics, examining the deeper social, economic, and structural factors contributing to overtourism. (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020).

Beyond tourism, there is existing literature studying climate activism in traditional and social media, that helps to understand how different media narratives and actors shape the discussion. Chen et al., (2023) examine how climate activism, particularly climate strikes, are framed on Twitter, comparing the strategies of news media and climate movement actors. They find that news outlets focus on the political and

economic implications of climate action, while activists emphasize mobilization and collective responsibility.

The study reveals a mutual dynamic within the hybrid media system where both journalists and climate movement actors focus on action: activists frame climate issues through calls to action, while news outlets report on their actions (Chen et al., 2023). This does not imply a causal link but shows how the new and traditional actors interact within the same media system. In recent years, the media framing has shifted from uncertainty and economic consequences to political and policy debates, possibly influenced by activist discourse emphasizing systemic change (Chen et al., 2023; Stecula & Merkley, 2019).

In sum, media coverage can play a crucial role in shaping public discourse on overtourism and social movements, influencing both public perceptions and policy responses. News media can often simplify complex issues by focusing on tourist numbers and resident dissatisfaction. However, media narratives can also amplify social movements, as seen in the diffusion of anti-tourism protests and climate activism through international coverage and digital platforms. The interaction between news media and activist framing highlights the evolving role of media in shaping public debate, where both traditional and new actors contribute to how controversial issues are understood.

3 Context of Canary Islands

3.1 Geographical and societal context

The Canary Islands (*Islas Canarias*) are an autonomous community of Spain, located about 100 kilometers west of the African mainland, near Morocco and Western Sahara. As the southernmost autonomous region of Spain, they are also the most populous outermost region of the European Union, with approximately 2,2 million inhabitants. The archipelago, of volcanic origin, consists of seven inhabited islands, from largest to smallest: Tenerife, Fuerteventura, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, La Palma, La Gomera, and El Hierro. Additionally, smaller islands and islets exist, with La Graciosa being the only one inhabited (See Figure 1).

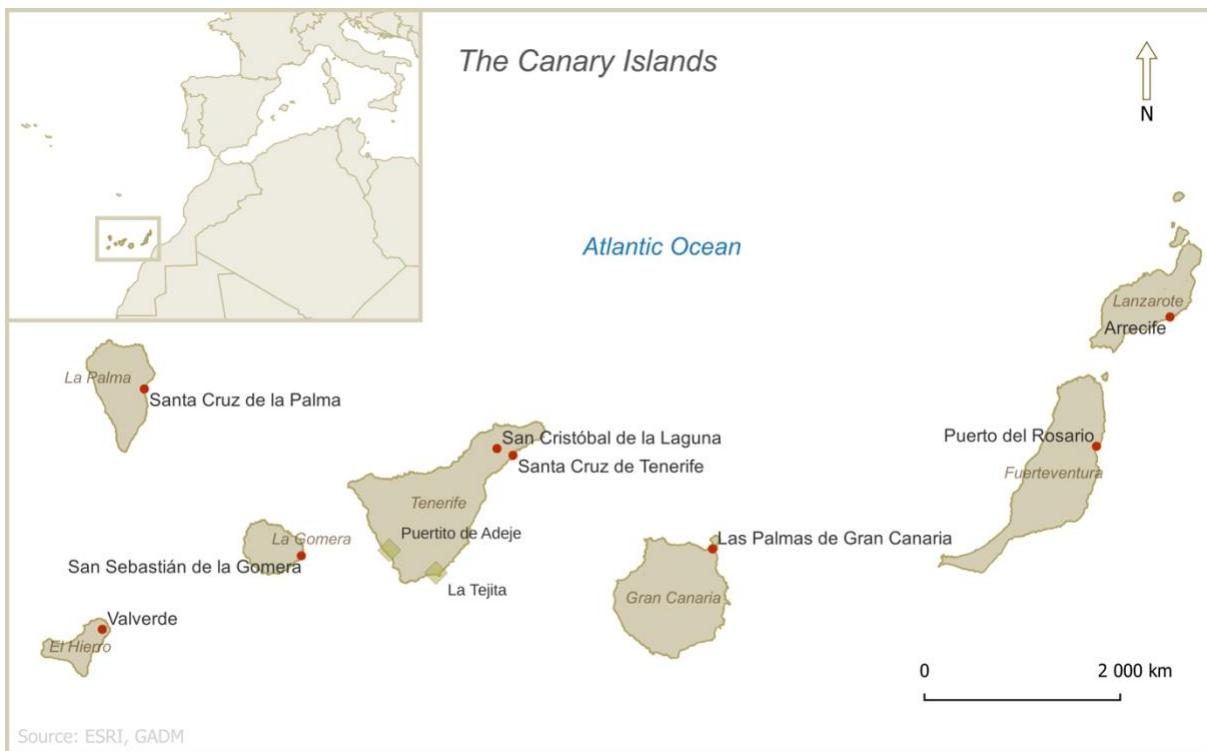


Figure 1. The map of the Canary Islands. (Sources: ESRI, GADM)

The Canary Islands are part of the Mediterranean Basin biodiversity hotspot as defined by Myers et al. (2000), due to their high levels of endemism and significant habitat loss. Within island conservation priorities, they are also considered a top management concern for their diverse and unique ecosystems (Martín et al., 2010). The islands' subtropical climate, combined with their volcanic landscapes and microclimates have resulted in a diverse range of ecosystems. Geographical isolation has fostered the development of over 4000 endemic species, meaning these species

are unique to the Canary Islands and cannot be found elsewhere (Government of the Canary Islands, n.d.-b). On average, the islands have one endemic species per two square kilometers, contributing to their high biodiversity. Overall, more than 20,000 terrestrial and marine species inhabit the archipelago, placing it among the 15 most biodiverse regions on the planet (Tourism Observatory of the Canary Islands, 2023; Government of the Canary Islands, n.d.-a).

Several protected areas are established to support the rich biodiversity.

Approximately 40% of the land area in the Canary Islands is under some form of protection (Gobierno de Canarias, n.d.). There are four national parks, El Teide, Timanfaya, Garajonay and Caldera de Taburiente, that serve for conservation and recreation purposes. The archipelago also includes four UNESCO Biosphere Reserves: La Palma, La Gomera, El Hierro, and Lanzarote. El Teide National Park, located on Tenerife, is also recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (UNESCO World Heritage centre, n.d.). In addition to terrestrial protections, marine reserves such as the Mar de Las Calmas on El Hierro play a crucial role in conserving marine ecosystems. They support populations of endemic species, migratory whales, sea turtles, and fish, contributing to the maintenance of biodiversity.

Today, the Canary Islands are highly dependent on tourism. The archipelago is a popular destination thanks to its pleasant, year-round warm climate. Located in a subtropical region yet part of the European Union, the islands are relatively close to mainland Europe, making them easily accessible for travelers, especially those from colder northern countries. During 2024, 17,7 million international tourists visited the islands (Figure 2), Tenerife and Gran Canaria being the top receiving ones. That is about 1,6 million more than in the previous year and the numbers keep growing. In the first two months of 2025 the region has already received 3,2 visitors, that is 0,1 million more than the previous year by that time. (ISTAC, 2025).

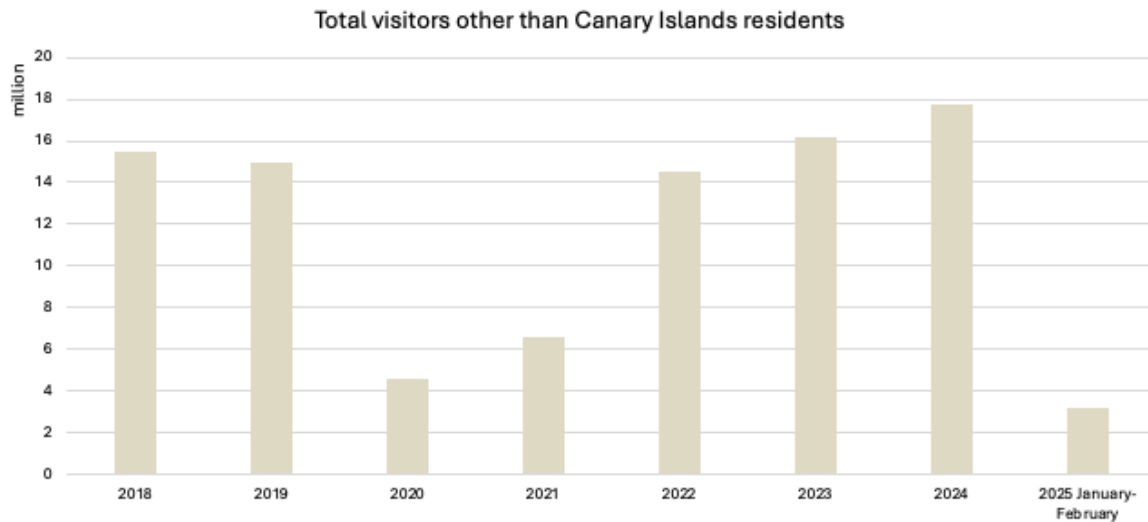


Figure 2. Total number of visitors by plane during years 2018–2025 (Fuerteventura, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, La Palma, Tenerife) except Canary Island residents (ISTAC, 2025).

Over time, the economy of the region had become increasingly reliant on tourism and construction, replacing previous economical model that was based heavily on exporting agriculture and fishing products (Garcia-Herrera, 1987). In 2018, 35 % of the GDP was based directly or indirectly on tourism (CaixaBank Research, 2024). The region's dependence on tourism makes it economically vulnerable, as tourist arrivals are closely tied to the economic situation in European markets.

3.2 Tourism and environmental mobilizations in the Canary Islands

Environmental activism in the Canary Islands has evolved in response to long-standing socio-ecological conflicts, often linked to tourism and land exploitation. This section situates the current conflict within a historical context, highlighting key environmental struggles and their connection to the tourism model's development.

3.2.1 Socio-Ecological Conflicts According to Ben Magec

Ben Magec – *Ecologistas en Acción*, a confederation of local and national ecological groups founded in 1992, has been influential in addressing environmental issues in the Canary Islands (Ben Magec, 2022). In *Cuadernos del Ateneo* (2011, p. 74-76) they identify three major socio-ecological conflicts:

1. Resource exploitation: Historically, the dominant class controlled fertile land for large-scale production, while peasants relied on small-scale agriculture.

2. Displacement for conservation: Reforestation and national park projects from 1954 led to the displacement of rural communities, disrupting traditional livelihoods.
3. Tourism and real estate development: The shift to a tourism-based economy caused environmental degradation, resource overuse, and social inequalities.

These conflicts illustrate how historical patterns of resource control and economic dependency have shaped environmental and social struggles, laying the groundwork for resistance against unsustainable tourism expansion.

3.2.2 Historical development of tourism and environmental mobilizations

The Canary Islands' popularity as a destination surged during the 1960s tourism boom, driven by increased wealth and air travel, until the 1973 oil crisis (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024). This period saw mass tourism initially in Tenerife and Gran Canaria, later expanding to Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. Urbanization accelerated, notably with the Maspalomas-Costa Canaria development starting in 1961 (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024; Morales & Ojeda, 2013).

El Teide National Park, established in 1954, exemplifies the intersection of conservation and tourism. Armas-Díaz et al., (2024) describe how the 1971 cable car construction prioritized tourism over conservation, reflecting Ben Magec's second socio-ecological conflict. Tourism, initially coexisting with agriculture and fishing, gradually reshaped traditional practices. Under Franco's regime, tourism was promoted for economic modernization, a model that persisted into the democratic era (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024).

Although initially constrained by the dictatorship, the Association for Friends of Nature in Tenerife (ATAN), active since 1972, laid the groundwork for future environmental mobilizations. ATAN's mission is to defend the Canary Islands' natural and cultural heritage and promote sustainable resource use (ATAN, n.d.).

The rise of environmental activism during this period highlights the contradiction between tourism as an economic opportunity and its environmental impacts. Early conflicts over land speculation, habitat destruction, and loss of traditional landscapes

set the stage for more organized environmental mobilizations in the following decades.

The second tourism boom (1985-1989) doubled the land allocated for tourism, reshaping island landscapes and intensifying socio-ecological conflicts (Martín, 2000). Large-scale development projects prioritized private interests, deepening environmental degradation and marginalizing local communities. In response, a network of environmental organizations formed, addressing urban speculation and emerging environmental crises (Brito, 2015).

The third tourism boom (1993–2008) saw a shift towards real estate speculation, with second homes and luxury residences proliferating (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024; Morales & Ojeda, 2013). This period also saw significant opposition, with activists pushing to limit new developments. However, a moratorium triggered a rush to build before restrictions took effect, exacerbating the situation (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024). Regional governments restricted public participation in planning, fuelling protests against unsustainable tourism and urbanization (Brito, 2018).

The most recent phase of tourism growth is tied to responses to the 2008 economic crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, reinforcing reliance on tourism for economic recovery (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024). Neoliberal land-use policies prioritized tourism expansion, often at the expense of environmental considerations. The pandemic also spurred growth in rural tourism as travelers sought less crowded destinations (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024).

According to Brito (2018), social movements since 2011, including the nationwide and locally occurred 15M movement, have pushed for grassroots democratization, challenging political and economic power concentrations. Additionally, Sánchez (2015) argues that environmental mobilization has been a significant force, responding to the socio-territorial impacts of tourism and real estate development in Canary Islands. Notable cases include resistance to powerline construction in Vilaflor and opposition to the Granadilla port project (Sánchez, 2015).

Environmental activism in the Canary Islands has been a persistent force, and often the only viable channel for expressing broader social discontent. Each phase of tourism expansion has generated new forms of resistance, shaping a long-standing tradition of environmental activism.

The latest large protest—the focus of this study, took place on April 20, 2024, where tens of thousands of people protested against an unsustainable tourism model simultaneously on different islands and in other European cities. The convening associations included groups from various backgrounds. Environmental organizations ranged from broad ecological groups such as Ben Magec - Ecologistas en Acción and ATAN to more locally focused associations such as Coordinadora El Rincón in La Orotava, Tenerife. Biodiversity conservation efforts were represented by the Asociación para la Conservación de la Biodiversidad Canaria (ACBC, Canary Islands Biodiversity Conservation Association) and The Canary Islands' Ornithology and Natural History Group (GOHNIC). Other participating groups included the Mesa de la Mujer Rural de La Palma (Rural Women's Committee of La Palma), as well as general environmental organizations like Asamblea en Defensa de Nuestra Tierra (ADNT, Assembly in Defence of Our Land), Rebelión Científica (Scientific Rebellion), and Fundación Canaria.

In addition, there were grassroots platforms dedicated for specific environmental struggles such as, Salvar El Puertito de Adeje (Save El Puertito de Adeje) and Salvar la Tejita (Save La Tejita). Social issues also were represented, with groups like Alquileres Justos Fuerteventura (Fair Rents Fuerteventura) and Las Kellys, a hotel workers' collective. These are just some of the many organizations that took part, reflecting the broad participation and multiple underlying motives.

4 Data and methods

4.1 Research material

This study drew from online newspapers, blogs, and social media publications, as they were relatively accessible and served as a mediated reflection of contemporary events. However, these sources must be treated as representations that inherently limit the diversity of voices, opinions, and perspectives presented. The types of texts also varied, from argumentative to more descriptive.

Collecting research material is not a passive process. As Vuori (2021) noted, even when the researcher does not directly influence the material, as in interviews, the selection and definition of data remain intentional decisions. My role as a researcher was to ensure transparency about the decisions behind material gathering.

I limited the material to the protest event on April 20 in 2024 and included coverage from both local and national news media, along with publications from two major protest organizers. I collected the newspaper articles covering the protests between April 19 and 23, 2024, the period shortly before and after the protests on April 20. The timeframe was deliberately limited to capture the immediate media response, aligning with the research objective of analyzing how the event was represented at the time. While this approach excluded later discussions, it allowed for a concentrated analysis of media discourse at a critical moment of public engagement. The selection prioritized diversity by including multiple newspapers to ensure a complete dataset. Expanding the timeframe beyond the selected dates would have led to an unmanageable volume of material.

The dataset of online news included both local Canary Islands publications and major mainland Spanish newspapers (Table 2). This selection ensured an extensive view of media coverage across different geographic contexts, from a more local perspective, and a slightly more distant point of view, aiming to capture different realities and media focuses. In the local context I aimed for geographical coverage and in Spanish news I chose the major news medias including different political stances if possible.

I used the online search tool Media Cloud for collecting the material. The keywords I used to filter the articles about the protests were "*Canarias tiene un límite*" AND (*manifestación OR protesta*). A total of 133 articles were found and later 30

irrelevant articles were manually filtered out. The search was conducted in Spanish, and all sources, both from the Canary Islands and mainland Spain, were in Spanish, a language I am fluent with. A total of 103 news articles were gathered, 15 being from Spain and 88 being from Canary Islands. One large newspaper, Barcelona based La Vanguardia did not result any articles on the topic.

I used judgmental sampling when selecting the publications from the A20 organizers. They were primarily published during the spring of 2024, mostly before the A20 protest, with the main selection criterion being their relevance in explaining and contextualizing the reasons behind the demonstration. The A20 dataset included blog posts from Ben Magec and co-published Instagram posts from ATAN and other protest organizers, which provided background information on the demonstration (Table 3). While the mobilization did not have explicit organizers and various collectives were visibly involved, some selection was necessary, so I focused on these two well-known collective actors. I gathered a total of 5 blog publications and 13 Instagram posts, but for analysis I merged the Instagram publication series into 3 documents.

I downloaded the articles and blog posts in PDF format, which posed occasional challenges in text processing within the coding software. Instagram post text was saved as text form. Media texts are of course multimodal; however, due to technical and time limitations, I analyzed only their written content.

Table 2. List of all used news sources.

Source name and website	Type	Description	Number of articles
Canarias7 (canarias7.es)	Daily (print & web)	Based in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Founded in 1982.	7
El Día (eldia.es)	Daily (print & web)	Regional news. Based in Tenerife and founded in 1939.	34
Canarias Ahora (eldiario.es)	Digital only	Canarian edition of El Diario. Based in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.	9
Diario de Avisos (elespanol.com)	Daily (print & web)	Tenerife and regional news. Based in Santa Cruz de Tenerife.	7
La Provincia (laprovincia.es)	Daily (print & web)	Regional newspaper, based in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, founded 1893.	24

Source name and website	Type	Description	Number of articles
La Voz de Lanzarote (lavozdelanzarote.com)	Digital only	Regional newspaper based in Arrecife, Lanzarote. Founded in 2002.	7
20Minutos (20minutos.es)	Daily (print & web)	Madrid, founded in 2000	2
El Mundo (elmundo.es)	Daily (print & web)	Madrid based, founded 1989	2
El País (elpais.com)	Daily (print & web)	Madrid based, founded 1976	5
ABC (abc.es)	Daily (print & web)	Madrid based, founded 1903	2
El Periódico (elperiodico.com)	Daily (print & web)	Barcelona based, founded 1978	4
Total			103

Table 3. Sources analyzed from the two protest organizers. Some Instagram posts were gathered in same documents if they were clearly published in series. The total post number is in the brackets.

Publisher and URL	Source type	Additional information	Number of publications
Ben Magec – Ecologistas en Accion	Blog publication	Archipelago region and one publication from La Palma	4
ATAN Other collaborative publishers	Instagram post	Instagram campaign explaining the problems and demands of the protest. For analysis this series was combined into one document. Other posts included Tenerife's call for protest and protest manifesto.	3 (13)
Total			7

4.2 Analysis

In this thesis, I analyzed all the material—both the news and organizers publications—in the same way. For the analysis I used Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA), a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data, particularly when interpretation is required (Schreier, 2012 p.2). QCA allows for a structured yet flexible examination of text by identifying and categorizing relevant themes. Importantly, the text itself does not inherently convey meaning; rather, meaning is constructed through the researcher's interpretation. The researcher's task is to highlight and analyze what is relevant in relation to the research questions.

Drawing on Schreier's hand book (2012), I approached QCA as a systematic process in which a large body of text was segmented into smaller units based on specific themes. These thematic segments were then grouped, compared, and structured into distinct categories. In this newly structured, coded form, the material could be viewed from a fresh perspective and could reveal relationships between ideas or how they appear. The qualitative analysis took place at all stages of the process, not just at the end. As Alasuutari (1995 p. 280) notes, the writing process is an important part of qualitative analysis and thinking, where the written text is not merely reporting thoughts but thinking in itself, requiring writing, thinking and re-writing.

Based on Schreier's introduction of the method, (2012 p. 4), focusing only on certain aspects of the material allowed me to see what was important for this study and letting go of parts that were not. However, omitting parts of the text meant that the analysis would not capture the material's full, extensive meaning, and would inevitably overlook some aspects. However, this is also one of the strengths of the method: it prevents getting lost in the vastness of the data (Schreier, 2012, p. 4).

I used the software ATLAS.ti for coding due to its capability to handle large qualitative datasets and facilitate structured thematic analysis. Software worked well for assisting in organizing data, managing ideas and data visualization (Schreier, 2012).

According to Schreier (2012, p. 7), an effective coding frame in QCA should meet six key criteria: reliability, validity, unidimensionality, mutual exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, and saturation. While reliability and validity ensure credibility of the results, the latter four are particularly relevant in shaping the coding frame. The following section reflects on these criteria about the coding process employed in this study.

The two aspects—environmental concerns and nature values—that I focused on in the analysis were directly based on my research questions. The coding frame was the main tool to reduce and reorganize the material and focus on these two aspects. In the coding frame these aspects were represented with two main categories (Figure 3). Within these categories, multiple subcategories were presented, that answered more specifically on *what* these main categories included. The two main categories differed in essence, because in the first one I used data-driven (inductive) approach, and in

the second one concept-driven (deductive) approach. I ensured the unidimensionality criteria, by making sure that these two categories captured just one aspect each, and did not mix subcategories (Schreier, 2012, p. 72).

Using the main categories as a guide, I segmented or divided the text into smaller segments, also known as units of coding, and then coded them into subcategories. The same segments were used for both main categories, but environmental concerns were segmented and coded first. In the initial segmentation, if a section contained multiple possible subcategories, I either split at a natural break in the text, coded based on the most prominent theme, or, if equally emphasized (such as in a list), coded according to the first mentioned item, with a note taken for reference. Throughout the analysis, I took notes and wrote memos to track emerging patterns and revisit the original research objectives.

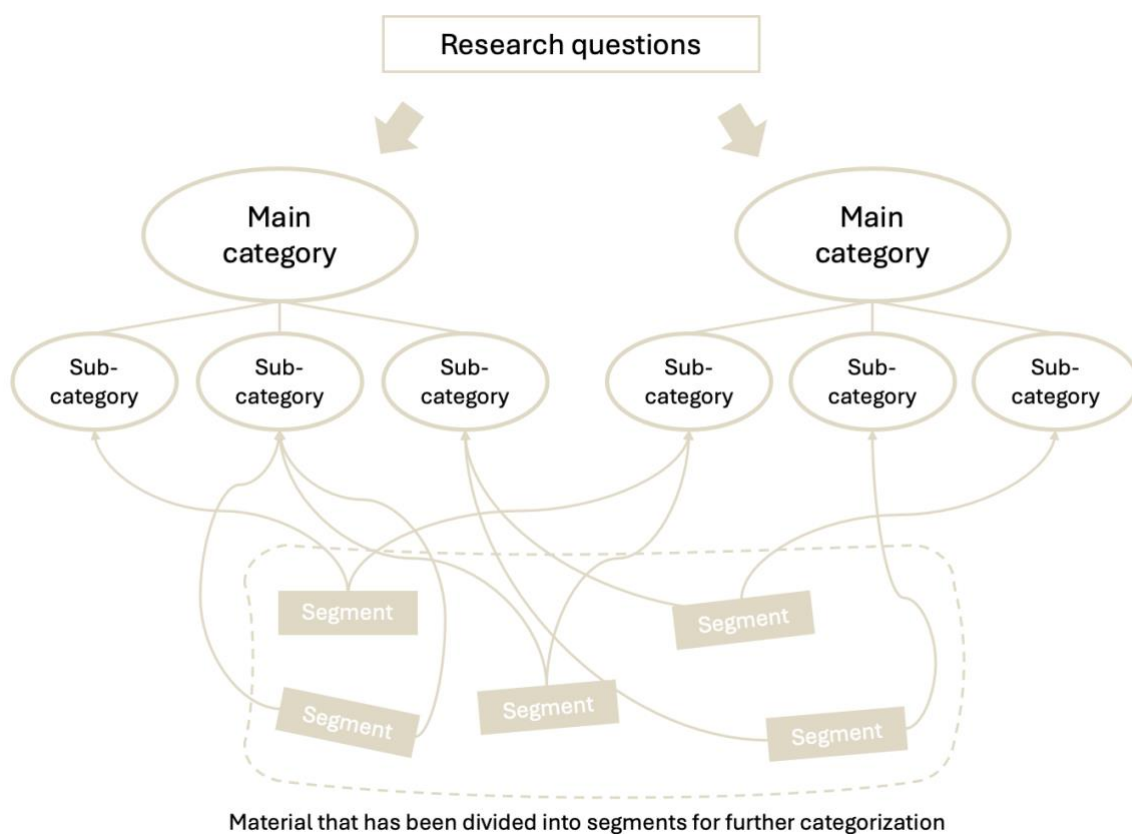


Figure 3. The basic structure of my coding frame with two main categories based on my research questions, and multiple subcategories. Material was divided into smaller segments that were later coded under one subcategory in each of the two main categories.

The first main category captured variety of environmental concerns regarding mass tourism, that were expressed by the A20 organizers and later by the online news. In

this part of the coding process, I used data-driven approach, avoiding the pre conceptualization of the discourse. The second main category contained the nature values in the discussion, reflecting the human nature relationship on the protest discussion. Within this main category, I analyzed what type of values were linked to the environmental concerns and what kind of argumentation the discussed concerns and related nature values reflected. This part of the coding I used concept-driven approach. In both main categories I ensured the mutual exclusiveness of the subcategories, meaning that one segment was coded only into one subcategory.

Human relationships with nature can be expressed in numerous ways, and various philosophical and scientific frameworks exist to conceptualize these perspectives. For this study, I adopted the pre-existing value categories established by IPBES (see Díaz et al., 2015; Himes et al., 2024; Pascual et al., 2017), as they provide a well-supported and widely recognized framework for analyzing how the nature is perceived and valued (see chapter 2.2).

Nature values were thus categorized into the following three primary types: intrinsic, instrumental, and relational. Intrinsic values refer to nature being valued for its own sake, independent of human use or benefit. Instrumental values emphasize nature's usefulness to humans, including its economic, social, or ecological benefits. Relational values focus on the meaningful connections between people and nature, often tied to cultural identity, responsibility, or a sense of belonging. (see chapter 2.2)

Many segments reflected a combination of these values, and in fact, the IBPES framework advocates for a pluralist approach to values (Pascual et al., 2017). However, the QCA method requires mutual exclusiveness, meaning that I couldn't code some segments to include various value types (Schreier, 2012, p. 75). This created a challenge in the coding protocol. For instance, concerns for environmental degradation and biodiversity loss can reflect both intrinsic (valuing biodiversity for its own sake) and instrumental values (valuing biodiversity as a human life supporting system), depending on the framing and interpreted meaning of the segment. In some cases, the underlying value perspective was not explicitly stated, making it difficult to determine a single category, especially when the framework itself suggested that these categories were not rigid but plural.

To address this complexity, I introduced four additional subcategories: instrumental-intrinsic, instrumental-relational, intrinsic-relational, and instrumental-intrinsic-relational (Figure 4). These mixed categories captured instances where nature was valued in multiple ways simultaneously, whether as both inherently valuable and useful (instrumental-intrinsic), as a resource intertwined with cultural identity (instrumental-relational), inherently valuable and culturally and relationally important (intrinsic-relational), or in broader ways that combined all three aspects. With these additions I was able to ensure requirement of mutual exclusiveness within the coding.

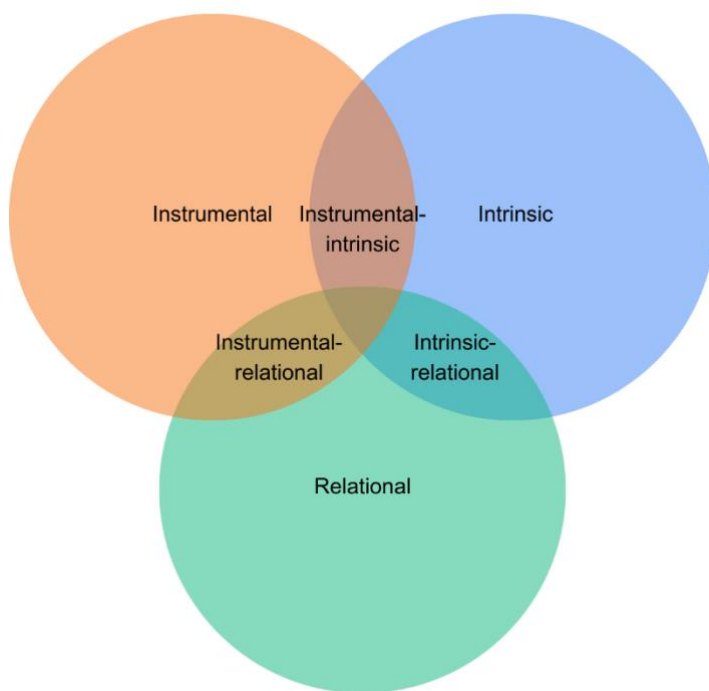


Figure 4. The overlap of the three main value categories (instrumental, intrinsic, relational) created four further mixed value categories (instrumental-intrinsic, intrinsic-relational, instrumental-relational, instrumental-intrinsic-relational).

The process of constructing the coding frame was iterative and, at times, nonlinear, involving continuous adjustments as I engaged with the material. I began by developing and testing different coding frames, refining them based on how well they captured relevant aspects of the texts, ensuring validity. As I read through the material, I simultaneously adjusted the research questions and experimented with different coding structures. Throughout the process, I was guided by the principles of exhaustiveness, ensuring that all text segments were assigned to a subcategory, and saturation, making sure that each subcategory was meaningfully used and not

left empty (Schreier, 2012, p. 76-77). I also introduced subcategories for ambiguous or unclear segments in both main categories when the meaning was not clear or very unspecified. These practices also supported the overall reliability and validity of the analysis. Although I did not double-code the entire dataset, I re-coded parts of it to ensure consistency. Keeping notes on inclusion and exclusion criteria further contributed to a transparent coding process (See details in chapter 5).

For an overview of the coded material, I used metrics provided by Atlas.ti that showed the distribution of codes across different document groups (local news, national news, and A20 organizers). I focused especially on the "groundedness" of the codes (Gr), which indicated how many segments were coded for a specific subcategory within each document group. Since my document groups differed in size, I used percentages to represent the relative frequency within each group, making them easier to compare.

I did the analysis in the original language, but translated the quotes presented in the thesis to English. For readability I sometimes shortened the quotes, "--" indicating for a missing part. Because my material was publicly available, no anonymization was needed. However, I didn't see an added value to bring forward names of regular participants interviewed in the protests, if they didn't represent an organization or come from political background.

4.3 Methodological approach and positionality

This study is grounded in a constructivist epistemology. From this perspective, representations such as news media were not seen as neutral reflections of reality but as active contributors to its construction (Häkli, 1999, p. 147). Accordingly, environmental concerns and nature values were not treated as objective facts, but as socially constructed through language, narratives, and public discourse. Knowledge about tourism, nature, and resistance was shaped by the ways in which different actors—particularly activists and media—framed these issues and attached meaning to them.

As stated by Schreier (2012), QCA is well suited for systematically describing the meanings present in data (p. 2). However, these meanings are not standardized or fixed; as in most qualitative research, interpretation always plays a role in the analysis (Schreier, 2012, p.2). From a hermeneutic perspective, there must be a

cultural connection between the researcher and the subject of study (Häkli, 1999, p. 69). The researcher does not aim to interpret the material from a distant or entirely unfamiliar world but rather draws on their prior understanding of the world and society to make sense of the data (Häkli, 1999, p. 69).

As transparency is a key aspect of qualitative research, my position as a researcher is important to acknowledge. I am not from the Canary Islands, nor have I spent notable periods of times there. This clearly positions me as an outsider to the context I am studying. Approaching the topic with limited prior knowledge of the context allowed me build upon the material through the research process. I have however, lived for some time in Lisbon—a city that also struggles with tourism. This makes me somewhat familiar with the phenomenon in European context. I have also used prior studies from local researchers and the activists' perspectives from their own communication channels, to bring forward the voice of the islanders. I also want to add, that I come from the field of geography, which shapes the way I observe and understand the world. In Finland, my home country, my professional role in a non-governmental organization focused on freshwater conservation has me involved in environmental topics and human-nature relationships in my daily basis.

While this thesis analyzed ongoing media and academic discussions, it was also shaped by them and aims to contribute to them. As such, I acknowledge that my position as a researcher was not neutral; by interpreting and presenting this issue, my work may influence how the A20 movement is understood and discussed in the future.

5 Results

In this chapter I will go through the results that answer my two research questions: a) What environmental concerns do A20 organizers raise, and how are these concerns conveyed and discussed in local and national online newspapers? And b) What role do different nature values (intrinsic, instrumental and relational) play in the concerns?

I will introduce both main categories, the environmental concerns and nature values, in separate sections, first introducing the final coding frames in tables 4 and 6, followed by comparative observations of the material. Finally, I will present the subcategories illustrated with selected quotations.

5.1 Main category - Environmental concerns

The first part of my coding frame directly addresses my first research question. Since this code was developed inductively, its content can be considered one of the main results regarding this aspect of my study (Schreier, 2012). See the table below (table 4) for the final coding frame.

Table 4. Final version of the coding frame of the environmental-related concerns that appeared in protest organizers' publications and in regional and national online news articles reporting on the protest and its topic, along with guidelines for the coding process (inclusion-exclusion examples).

Subcategory name	Definition	Including examples	Excluding examples
Climate change	Tourism's role in climate change.	Tourism as fossil intensive economy that is not secure	Climate change as a driver of biodiversity loss or water scarcity without reference to tourism; land use or resource exploitation that intensifies climate change
Environmental degradation and biodiversity loss	Environmental degradation, including biodiversity loss, habitat destruction, and harm to ecosystems.	Tourism contributing to ecosystem degradation; species loss; biodiversity loss; habitat destruction; harm to protected areas; destruction of natural coast; loss of flora and fauna; threats from construction projects; call for conservation of nature	Construction impacts, unless biodiversity is specifically mentioned; general pressure on natural areas without mentioning ecosystem degradation
General sustainability concern	General concern about unsustainable tourism	Insular reality; carrying capacity; environmentally	Unsustainable tourism model when environmental impacts

Subcategory name	Definition	Including examples	Excluding examples
	growth and its impact on the environment.	unsustainable tourism model when linked to environmental impacts; the islands are collapsed;	are not mentioned; mentions of too many tourists when environmental problems are not discussed; ambiguous or long lists of environmental problems.
Large-scale resource exploitation	Exploitation of land, soil, and energy resources, including large-scale construction.	Construction of hotels, luxury villas, and other large projects; uncontrolled urban expansion; tourism as a resource-intensive activity transforming the territory; energy crisis; rare earth exploration; eco-tax as compensation for resource overuse	Mining and construction projects when explicitly linked to biodiversity loss, species loss, or water scarcity
Misbehavior of tourists	Actions by tourists that disturb people, wildlife or cause harm in natural areas.	Unexpected or disrespectful behavior; direct disturbance or harm to nature	General pressure caused by tourism in natural areas without specific mention of misbehavior
Overcrowding in natural areas and access to them	Overcrowding and excessive human pressure in natural areas and in access to them	Natural areas are saturated; difficult access to natural areas at certain times	General mentions of too many tourists; poor management of tourist flows or vigilance; unrespectful behavior by tourists
Poor management of natural areas	Insufficient or ineffective management and oversight of natural areas.	Discontent with lack of management or vigilance; "paper parks problem"	
Threats to cultural and natural heritage	Threats to cultural and natural heritage of the archipelago	Loss of historical or rural spaces due to tourism; nostalgia for the past; loss of traditions; loss of identity; calls to respect and protect natural and cultural heritage; emotional connection to the land emphasized	
Waste and pollution	Environmental pollution and waste issues caused by tourism.	Litter; waste; pollution; sewage; contamination	
Water resources	Water scarcity and quality	Excessive water consumption due to hotels; water	Sewage

Subcategory name	Definition	Including examples	Excluding examples
		shortages; degradation of water quality; poor water management; unfair distribution of water resources.	
Unspecified or multiple environmental concerns	Vague or multiple environmental concerns related to tourism without a clear focus.	Lists of quoted chants; general environmental impact mentioned but vague or ambiguous; long lists of issues without a clear central concern.	Long lists where some aspect (e.g., biodiversity, water) is specifically highlighted.
Other than environmental	Social, economic, or political issues related to tourism	Demographic problem; displacement; housing; local production; poverty; inequality; traffic; working conditions and salary; public services	Environmental concerns; when social and environmental concern is mentioned together the segment is coded based on the dominant or first concern

5.1.1 Overview of Environmental concerns in protest discourse and media coverage

I begin with a rather quantitative approach to identify the most prevalent concerns in the material (Table 5). This approach is suitable since the subcategories are at the core of my results (Schreier, 2012). The document groups varied in size, making direct comparisons difficult. However, the relative percentages provided a general overview of the distribution of concerns. The analysis of environmental concerns, in both protest organizers' publications and media coverage, showed a nearly equal split between environmental and non-environmental issues. While my analysis focused on environmental concerns, I could not overlook the other half of the protest's motivations. Therefore, at the end of this section, I briefly introduced these other than environmental concerns, as they were deeply intertwined with environmental issues and played a significant role in shaping the movement's demands and media discussion.

Table 5. Environmental concerns across different document groups: organizers' publications, all news together, local news, and national Spanish news, along with the grounding of codes (Gr) and the number of documents in each group (GS) accompanied with the absolute numbers. The relative values (%) are calculated with Gr within each document group. Unspecified and Other than environmental codes are excluded for clarity.

	A20 organizers Gr=122; GS=7	All news sources Gr=455; GS=103	News Canaries Gr=348; GS=88	News Spain Gr=107; GS=15
Climate change Gr=2	3,17 % (2)	0,00 % (0)	0,00 % (0)	0,00 % (0)
Environmental degradation and biodiversity loss Gr=40	36,51 % (23)	15,09 % (16)	15,48 % (13)	13,64 % (3)
General sustainability concern Gr=18	14,29 % (9)	8,49 % (9)	7,14 % (6)	13,64 % (3)
Large-scale resource exploitation Gr=32	22,22 % (14)	16,98 % (18)	15,48 % (13)	22,73 % (5)
Misbehavior of tourists Gr=3	0,00 % (0)	2,83 % (3)	3,57 % (3)	0,00 % (0)
Overcrowding in natural areas and access to them Gr=14	0,00 % (0)	13,21 % (14)	13,10 % (11)	13,64 % (3)
Poor management of natural areas Gr=18	1,59 % (1)	16,04 % (17)	17,86 % (15)	9,09 % (2)
Threats to cultural or natural heritage Gr=11	4,76 % (3)	7,55 % (8)	8,33 % (7)	4,55 % (1)
Waste and pollution Gr=11	7,94 % (5)	5,66 % (6)	7,14 % (6)	0,00 % (0)
Water resources Gr=21	9,52 % (6)	14,15 % (15)	11,90 % (10)	22,73 % (5)
Totals	100,00 % (63)	100,00 % (106)	100,00 % (84)	100,00 % (22)

The most prominent environmental concerns across the material were resource exploitation, environmental degradation and biodiversity loss, and water issues. In A20 publications, environmental degradation dominated—making up 37% of the coded segments—partly due to one blog post focused entirely on biodiversity. While also relevant in media coverage, it was less emphasized there, ranking among the top three concerns but not leading in Spanish outlets.

Spanish media, by contrast, highlighted resource exploitation more than any other concern. Although A20 texts also discussed this issue extensively, especially in opposition to large-scale construction projects, it was not the top concern. A shared theme across all sources was the critique of an environmentally unsustainable tourism model in a form of general environmental concern, which often framed more specific concerns.

Water issues were widely discussed but received greater emphasis in Spanish media than in activist publications. Other recurring themes included poor natural area management, threats to cultural and natural heritage, overcrowding, and waste—issues regional media covered more than national outlets. Notably, climate change was mentioned in connection to tourism only once, in an organizer's publication.

Concluding the comparative approach among different source types, activists emphasized environmental degradation and biodiversity loss, resource exploitation, water issues, and waste management more than media sources did. Local outlets focused more on saturation and poor management in natural areas as well as waste that was not mentioned in Spanish media at all. Spanish media highlighted resource exploitation and water concerns more than regional media.

In the next sections I will describe all the environmental concerns in more detail. They are presented in the order of importance.

5.1.2 Resource exploitation and large-scale construction projects

The issue of resource exploitation and large-scale construction projects was a significant concern in both activist discourse and media coverage of the protests. However, the way it was framed differed between the two. Activists argued that the Canary Islands' tourism sector was highly intensive in terms of material and energy demands, exceeding the region's capacity to sustain itself. As one publication stated:

“The metabolism of tourism activity in the Canary Islands is highly intensive in its demand for large quantities of materials and energy that we do not have, while simultaneously generating massive amounts of waste and pollutants that our territory is unable to absorb. The ecological footprint of the Canary Islands is 27 times larger than its actual territory. In other words, we would need a land area 27 times greater to meet all the demands of the archipelago's economic model and development. An unsustainable and short-sighted model doomed to failure.” (A1)

News coverage of resource exploitation included topics such as large-scale construction projects, the energy crisis, rare earth exploration in Fuerteventura, and activist actions like the hunger strike against the Hotel La Tejita and Cuna del Alma projects. More broadly, the overuse of resources was also a recurring theme.

Media also highlighted concerns from protest participants, including criticism of excessive tourism growth and its impact on local resources. As one protester expressed in a news report:

"Enough with tourism growth for the sake of growth, and with representatives who compete to bring in more and more people to seize our resources while leaving us with the waste, impoverishing us, and degrading our environment,' stated the Canary Islander". (C21)

However, at least one news article challenged the activists' concerns by arguing that they make broad generalizations and fail to distinguish between tourism-related projects and those intended to support the ecological transition or public services. In doing so, the article attempts to delegitimize the protest by portraying its message as contradictory. It claimed that the activists opposed all forms of construction, not just those linked to tourism.

"And yet, the major projects currently underway or planned are linked to the energy and ecological transition, but some have attempted to lump them all together--" (C1)

5.1.3 Environmental degradation and biodiversity loss

Environmental degradation and biodiversity loss were frequently mentioned in the organizers' posts and media coverage of the protests. These concerns were often framed as one of the main reasons for mobilization, alongside the housing crisis.

However, the way biodiversity loss was framed differed between the media and the protest organizers. Activists emphasized biodiversity loss with concrete examples of species at risk, such as cachalots or the endemic flower *Viborina triste*. They primarily attributed habitat destruction to large-scale construction projects:

"Large-scale tourism projects, many of which are carried out irregularly, directly threaten and destroy the habitat of endangered species without this halting their construction. The most recent example is in Tenerife, where the large-scale tourism project *Cuna del Alma* continues to destroy *El Puertito de Adeje* with impunity, thereby endangering the

habitat of a threatened endemic species: the *viborina triste*. This species is listed in the Canary Islands' catalog of protected species.” (A4)

In contrast, news media generally referred to biodiversity loss in broader terms, often describing it as a negative impact on nature or as part of local concerns about environmental degradation. Unlike activists, the press rarely highlighted specific species or habitats. However, it occasionally drew on statistics shared by protest organizers, suggesting that activist discourse had influenced certain aspects of the media narrative. For example, some articles cited data from universities and official statistics agencies to emphasize the scale of environmental transformation, reporting that more than four kilometers of coastal land are lost each year to construction in the Canary Islands—an example that was commonly used in activist publications.

5.1.4 General sustainability concern – pushing the limits of the islands

A recurring concern, in both organizer and media discussions, was the general unsustainability of mass tourism in the Canary Islands. This concern was often framed as tourism exceeding ecological and social limits, growing uncontrollably and violating the carrying capacity of the islands. Unlike other codes that focused on specific environmental concerns, this category outlined a broader critique of the tourism model itself, emphasizing its long-term unsustainability and imbalance in the physical and social reality. Organizers framed this issue with a sense of urgency and crisis:

“A unity of social collectives and the vast majority of Canary Island citizens will express their conviction that we have already reached the limit of our capacity to bear an activity, tourism, which is clearly unsustainable.” (A1)

Media coverage reflected this framing by introducing the main message of the organizers' manifesto, while also distancing it by portraying it as the opinion of the protesters.

“In the manifesto, they lament that the current tourism model 'ignores the island's reality and the limits of the territory.'” (S4)

Many articles linked this concern to the broader negative consequences of mass tourism, including environmental degradation and declining quality of life for residents. Beyond direct protest coverage, opinion pieces also reinforced the idea that unchecked tourism growth would lead to structural inequalities. One writer criticized

how tourism revenues benefit a few, while straining the islands' resources and public systems.

During the protest, a large cow figure appeared with the message “I can't feed this many people”—a response to hotel industry leaders who defended the tourism model by saying “you have to leave the cow that gives milk alone.” The opinion piece pushes back on this narrative:

“The tourism cow is well-fed. They have been feeding it at laughable prices for decades. Between cronyism, mixed interests, and lack of will – disguised with euphemisms and sweet words – the benefit of a few is destroying everything else. Fair work, health, ecosystems, biodiversity, housing. But uncontrolled growth will always reach a dead end. Either when the population says enough, or when there are no more resources to squeeze.” (C35)

5.1.5 Water scarcity – fight for a just distribution of resources

Water scarcity continued to be a critical issue in the Canary Islands, and both activists and the media highlighted the tourism industry's unbalanced consumption of this resource. However, while activists framed the issue as an urgent environmental injustice intensified by climate change, news media often focused on statistical comparisons and public frustration over the unequal distribution of water.

Activists argued that the overuse of water by the tourism sector was irresponsible, especially in the context of prolonged droughts and declining rainfall due to climate change. They pointed to an imbalance in water access, where residents continued to face restrictions while the tourism industry consumed “irresponsibly” vast amounts of water filling swimming pools and watering golf courses.

News media also frequently highlighted the water issue, often picking up the numerical comparisons to illustrate the disparity between tourist and resident consumption. They created an informative yet confrontational image of the root of the water crisis on the islands. Some news picked up protest slogans that framed the water issue as not just a crisis of drought but one of unjust exploitation. A word play in Spanish “Esto no es sequía, esto es saqueo”, meaning “This is not drought, this is looting” (S5) exemplified the frustration among the residents, when it came to excessive and unjust water use.

5.1.6 Poor management of natural areas

Poor management was blamed on as one of the problems concerning natural areas and tourism. This was mostly brought up in the protest covering news, portraying that people ask for more control and maintenance of natural sites. This topic concurred especially in Lanzarote and La Graciosa, and it was linked to the reduced access to the natural areas due to overcrowding and the feeling that the natural areas did not serve their purpose if it would not mean better management and control.

This concern was not frequently mentioned by the organizers but was still a topic that news quoted from the protest participants. It was also a bit unclear, what was meant by the poor management; vigilance and more control were mentioned but otherwise the concern remained vague.

5.1.7 Overcrowding in natural areas and access to them

Overcrowding and therefore reduced accessibility of natural areas was not a concurring topic among the organizers' publications; thus, it was probably not seen as main concern regarding to tourism and environment. However, based on the news, it was one of the main issues raised by the public. Based on them, the natural areas often became unattractive, particularly on weekends when both tourists and residents crossed their paths. In the media coverage, the situation was exacerbated by insufficient infrastructure and an excessive number of tourists and vehicles. One news article framed the issue as a mobility problem rather than simply a matter of too many tourists. In this view, tourism and overcrowding was seen primarily as a management issue, where infrastructure and management had failed to keep pace with the growing number of visitors.

5.1.8 Cultural and natural heritage in risk to disappear

The media highlighted cases where protesters emphasized the cultural and natural heritage at risk of disappearing. However, the deeper meaning behind these concerns was not always explicitly explained. Nostalgia was a recurring theme, and the primary demand was for respect. as highlighted in the following cases:

“Those who visit us have to value and respect our natural and cultural richness, our resources, and they have to be clear about the rules for their preservation.” (C20)

“--posters have been displayed on which one could read: ‘I miss the land I knew’”. (S6)

However, there was also counter framing regarding this issue. While the preservation of El Hierro’s natural and cultural heritage was acknowledged, some voices argued that protection efforts should not hinder the island’s development. Instead, the writer suggested that tourism should be considered a possible local solution rather than a generalized problem.

“In some cases, we Herreños have been victims of excessive self-imposed protectionism over our territory. Despite being proud of our prestigious designations and quality seals, such as Biosphere Reserve, Marine Reserve, or Geopark, they have brought us little benefit. -- People say that El Hierro has a soul, I won’t debate whether ours is different, but what I do know is that we must take care of it, preserve it, and, why not, share it without hesitation.” (C5)

5.1.9 Waste and pollution

Waste-related concerns, particularly regarding untreated sewage, appeared across all types of material analysed. However, this topic was not among the most prominent and was often discussed in connection with broader themes such as excessive resource exploitation and environmental degradation. The issue of wastewater was often framed in the organizers publications as a health and environmental hazard and was often supported by numerical claims.

The sewage problem gained attention in the media but also drew some criticism for being generalizing. For example, Antonio Morales, president of the Island Council of Gran Canaria, argued that the problem does not apply uniformly across the archipelago downplaying the concern:

“We are increasing the reuse of water, and we are not discharging wastewater into the sea. In fact, this very week we inaugurated the new treatment plant of Guía and Gáldar, one of the main demands of the north as far as water treatment is concerned.” (C1)

5.1.10 Misbehavior of tourists

The news coverage brought up some cases where misbehaving tourists had caused problems in the natural areas. These cases often created a confrontation between residents and tourists. For example, tourists had been reported doing “crazy things”

in the natural sites often trying to find a perfect picture (C79). These examples highlighted why some call for more control and care of the natural areas.

This is a topic that I anticipated more based on previous overtourism media coverage, however it was marginal and not discussed at all by the activists, who clearly wanted to turn the discussion on the general economic model from individual tourists.

5.1.11 Climate change

Although climate change was mentioned in various contexts, it was rarely associated with anti-tourism arguments or was not a concern in the debate on the tourism model. One background segment in the A20 explicitly connects climate change to the tourism economy, framing the issue through a more regenerative lens and acknowledging the broader reliance of the economy on fossil fuels.

“Yes, to tackling the climate crisis, which inevitably means stopping investment in the fossil fuel economy, in this case, tourism, and seeking viable and secure alternatives.” (A2)

In another statement, the organizers connected climate change to environmental degradation and supported the call for restricting new construction with ecological and climate-related arguments.

“But above all, to reestablish the tourism moratorium and, in the current state of climate emergency and the collapse of our natural habitats, to prohibit the consumption of even a single additional centimetre of land for the service of the tourism industry and other speculative purposes.” (A1)

5.1.12 Other than environment related concerns

The protest organizers and the media discussed a wide range of other issues as well. The housing problem was the most discussed concern categorized as an other than environmental issue and was often connected with the vocational housing impacting the housing market. The second most discussed issue was poverty and the unequal distribution of tourism benefits, since the tourism revenues are not perceived to benefit residents. Local news covered this topic more than national outlets, and A20 organizers emphasized it even more than the housing issue. Traffic was also a concern, linked to excessive number of vehicles, collapsed roads, and the need for better public transport. This issue was often discussed alongside the poor

management and overcrowding of natural parks and in broader context of insufficiency in public services and infrastructure.

A topic that closely related to the challenges that Canary Islands have with the economy highly dependent on tourism was the local food production. This included worries over the decline of local agriculture and the increasing import of products. This was linked to tourism, because big hotel chains were claimed to import products while the local agriculture had become incompatible.

Other concerns included working conditions, salaries, displacement and demographic issues like immigration, from refugees to wealthy Northern Europeans and so-called digital nomads. Immigration was associated with the collapse of public services and the housing crisis, which was mentioned more in the news than by organizers. All these issues were of course highly connected and reflect a broader socioeconomical problem, that many news articles analysed to be the main reason of the protests and general discomfort.

Some articles went beyond listing the demands and offered broader reflections on the situation. One newspaper, for example, suggested that a significant portion of the population was calling for change for the overall model, with tourism as the main economic driver. This was framed as a critical turning point in public sentiment:

“And the most important thing, which I believe is at the core of the mobilizations, is that tourism growth is no longer perceived as the way to increase the income and welfare of Canarian society in its broadest sense.”
(C1)

5.2 Main category - Nature values

The second part of my coding frame captured the aspect of nature values among the environmental concerns and argumentation (Table 6). This part of the coding frame was carried out deductively, using pre-established categories, that were further divided into hybrid categories (see chapter 4.2).

Table 6. Final version of the Nature values coding frame presenting nature values as subcategories and hybrid codes capturing plural nature values, along with guidelines for the coding process.

Subcategory name	Definition	Including examples	Excluding examples
Intrinsic	Nature is valued purely for its inherent qualities independent of any utilitarian or human-centered benefits.	The uniqueness of nature; biodiversity conservation aimed at species survival; protecting ecosystems for their own sake	Biodiversity conservation for human survival or benefits, coded as instrumental or instrumental-relational
Instrumental-intrinsic	Nature is valued both for its inherent worth and its instrumental value to people.	ecological crisis when the value of nature is not explicitly defined; other segments that reflect a combination of intrinsic and instrumental values	ecological crisis focusing on human survival or health
Instrumental	Nature is valued primarily for its usefulness to humans including the direct or indirect benefits it provides for human well-being and functioning.	Social and economic benefits; natural resources; ecosystem services, climate regulation; functional approach (e.g., 'Carrying Capacity'); islands as a tourist destination; human survival framed as dependent on nature's function	Historical framing that focuses on collective action and identity, or when nature's value is framed in terms of community or socio-cultural aspects rather than human utility, coded as relational
Instrumental-relational	Nature is valued for its usefulness to people and its significance in cultural or community connections.	Environmental justice; Local agriculture (when it ties to community and cultural significance); Nature as a means to preserve or enhance community identity; other segments that reflect a combination of instrumental and relational values	Solely instrumental; solely relational values
Relational	Nature is valued for the meaningful relationships it fosters, either with specific places, people, or communities.	Cultural and intergenerational relationships with nature; appreciation and respect for the land; territory; collective effort to protect the land; caring for life; call for responsible relationship with the land; collective identity; care-based relationship; local stewardship of protected areas	Historical framing focusing on practicalities; environmental well-being as a part of business responsibility

Subcategory name	Definition	Including examples	Excluding examples
Intrinsic-relational	Nature is valued for its inherent worth and its meaningful connections to people or place.	Natural patrimony; other segments that reflect a combination of intrinsic and relational values	Solely instrumental values; solely intrinsic values without any cultural or relational connection; solely relational values without recognition of inherent worth
Instrumental-intrinsic-relational	Nature is valued for all three aspects.	Segments that reflect a combination of all values	Solely instrumental, relational, or intrinsic values

5.2.1 Overview of Nature values in protest discourse and media coverage

To provide an overview of the broad distribution of nature values within the environmental concerns, table 7 presents a summary of the values identified across all segmented material. For broad understanding of the weight of the values, the individual codes had been grouped into three wider categories: **instrumental and mixed** (including solely instrumental, instrumental-relational, instrumental-intrinsic, and instrumental-intrinsic-relational codes) **intrinsic and mixed**, and **relational and mixed**. While this approach inevitably created some overlap, it served to highlight extensive patterns and provide a clearer overall picture. Figure 5 aims to further visualize the distributions and the overlapping the code groups in all three document groups. I note that segments coded as instrumental-intrinsic-relational were few and analytically ambiguous; although they were included in the summary metrics, they were not further analyzed in the results, as they did not yield much additional value.

Table 7. Nature values (grouped codes) across different document groups: organizers' publications, all news together, local news, and Spanish news, along with the grounding of codes (Gr) and the number of documents in each group (GS), accompanied with the absolute numbers. The relative values (%) are calculated with Gr within each document group.

	A20 organizers Gr=122; GS=7	all news sources Gr=455; GS=103	news Canaries Gr=348; GS=88	news Spain Gr=107; GS=15
Instrumental and mixed Gr=58; GS=3	29,03 % (18)	39,22 % (40)	39,47 % (30)	38,46 % (10)
Intrinsic and mixed Gr=36; GS=4	38,71 % (24)	11,76 % (12)	13,16 % (10)	7,69 % (2)
relational and mixed Gr=70; GS=4	32,26 % (20)	49,02 % (50)	47,37 % (36)	53,85 % (14)
Totals	100,00 % (62)	100,00 % (102)	100,00 % (76)	100,00 % (26)

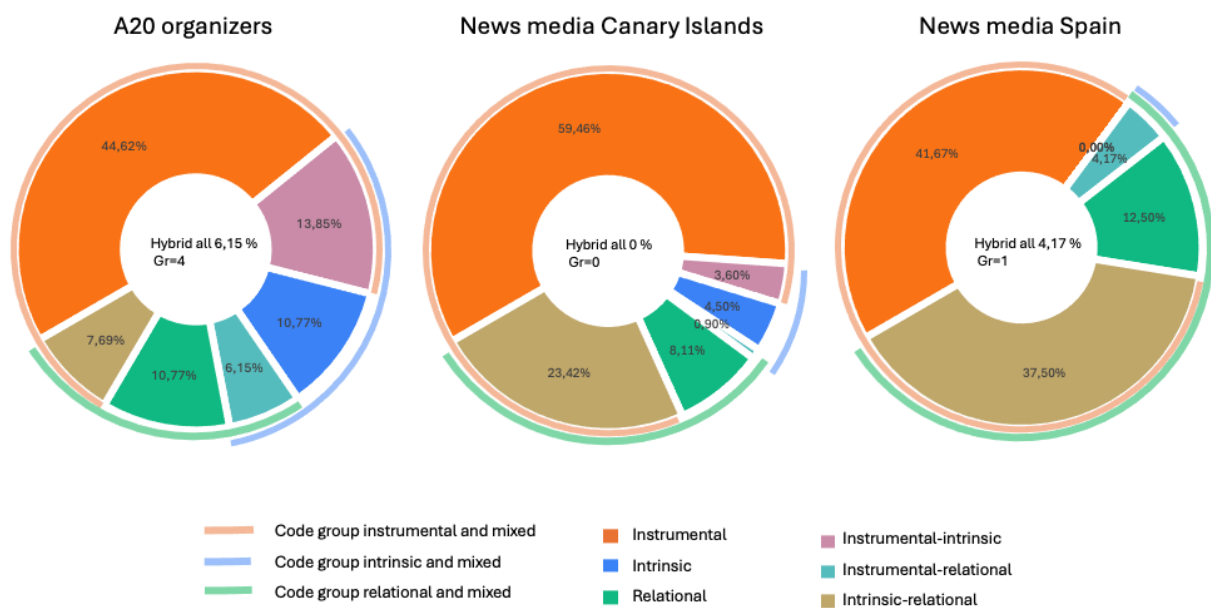


Figure 5. Distribution of nature value types across document groups (A20 organizers, Canary Islands news, and Spanish national news). The outer rings represent the grouped values (instrumental, intrinsic, and relational, including their mixed forms) and demonstrates how these groups overlap. Gr = number of coded segments per document group. The relative values (%) are calculated with Gr within each document group.

Overall, A20 organizers' posts framed environmental concerns across all three value groups. Intrinsic and mixed, relational and mixed, and instrumental and mixed concerns were nearly equally represented, with a slight emphasis on intrinsic and mixed values. In the media coverage, on the other hand, relational and mixed

concerns were most frequently highlighted, followed by instrumental and mixed concerns, with fewer segments focusing on intrinsic and mixed values.

Looking at more detailed level solely instrumental nature value dominated in both media and organizers publications. In the media the second highest type is concerns with instrumental-relational value and the third solely relational, leaving the rest value codes with less weight. In A2O organizers publications the rest of the values were distributed more equally with a slight weight on instrumental-intrinsic, intrinsic and relational.

5.2.2 Instrumental

Evident concerns that reflected instrumental nature value included resources such as water and other forms of resource exploitation, particularly construction projects. These topics were widely discussed across all material types.

The A2O organizers frequently employed numerical data to highlight environmental issues, framing nature as a resource. For example, the following passage discussed the decline in fish biomass as a measurable problem:

“-- in the 90% of fish biomass we have lost in the last 50 years, or in the fact that we have the lowest ratio of environmental agents in all of Spain --” (C19)

However, also calls for ecosystem conservation within A2O publications were sometimes framed in terms of instrumental values, as direct benefits for the society:

“Restoration and recovery projects for our ecosystems, as they can provide long-term, quality jobs. Investing in the recovery of our landscapes is investing in ourselves.” (A7)

On La Graciosa, particularly, concerns often centered on the poor or nonexistent management of the natural park, signaling an instrumental perspective. The emphasis was not only on conservation but also on the failure to regulate resources effectively. One news article highlighted this issue through directly quoting the manifesto read in the protest:

"This situation is called in scientific jargon *Paper Park*... only on paper." For better management of the Archipiélago Chinijo natural park, for the defence of natural resources, for the regulation of tourism activities and

the living conditions of the people of La Graciosa, we from La Graciosa say, *Canarias have a limit --*"(C75)

5.2.3 Instrumental-relational

The concern over unsustainably growing tourism often reflected both instrumental and relational values. In media, the march appeared to stem from worries about not only the physical and economic impacts of excessive tourism but also its cultural and environmental consequences for the islands. Similarly, the notion of "quality of life" encompassed more than just instrumental values.

A20 organizers emphasized an intergenerational perspective when highlighting the ongoing transformation of the archipelago:

“The difference today is that there are many indicators showing that life on the islands, as it has been known and lived by our mothers and grandparents, is at risk of disappearing. Too many limits are being surpassed, and we find ourselves in a risky situation.” (A5)

In the argumentation against mass tourism and large-scale development projects, the media also framed the issue through an instrumental-relational value lens. For instance, endemic species were used as metaphors for Canarians resisting these transformations, linking the protection of nature to both cultural and regional identity as well as the broader impacts on the islands' livability and resources.

“-- of a truly sustainable future or the halting of projects like Cuna del Alma or the La Tejita hotel, what has really been done is a shout of ‘enough’, an awakening, a fist on the table, a warning, a *tajinaste*¹ that doesn't bend, a sceptical complaint for many, or a relief full of pride and hope in the form of three signs: 20A. --” (C3)

5.2.4 Relational

The organizers viewed the influx of tourists as a threat to their right to live in peace and hold the government accountable for permitting and even encouraging further tourism expansion. In this context, the organizers emphasized the relational value of tourism, focusing on respect and cultural connection rather than the more prevalent instrumental approach, which prioritized economic benefits such as revenue generation from tourists, as expressed in their manifesto:

¹ *Tajinaste* is a generic name for specific endemic plants.

“We demand a more sustainable tourism. The quality we need does not come from the amount of money a tourist has in their wallet, but from how respectful they are towards the islands and the way they come to experience our culture and its people.” (A7)

In Spanish media, relational values were also conveyed through personal perspectives. For example, one article quoted a protesting resident from Tenerife, who, while carrying his child, explained:

“-- Having children, one wants the places where they've been swimming to remain intact -- It's not against tourists -- we just want the little that we still have to be preserved. --” (S14)

5.2.5 Instrumental-intrinsic

Concerns that related to the health and well-being of ecosystems were often framed with both instrumental and intrinsic values. Waste and pollution could be framed as harming both human and non-human health. The consequences of environmental degradation were understood to be practical and concrete.

“Take immediate action to stop the millions of discharges into the sea, which are not only harming our marine ecosystems but also putting the health of everyone at risk.” (A7)

Additionally, some concerns were backed with quantitative data, yet they still reflected intrinsic values tied to nature's inherent worth. For instance, the activist campaign highlighted the rapid loss of natural coastline, noting that 20% of the archipelago's coast was already artificial and, if current rates of destruction continued, the islands would lose all remaining natural coastline within a few centuries (A6).

5.2.6 Intrinsic-relational

Some segments presented arguments that intertwined the intrinsic value of nature's uniqueness with a relational connection to the land. The organizers emphasized nature's inherent value while also acknowledging how it served a key component of islanders' identity, strengthening their right to call for more sustainable tourism.

“A model that has completely destroyed the quality of life in the Canary Islands and the reasons that made the islands unique: its biodiversity, our landscapes, its people, and the identity of what we were.” (A5)

5.2.7 Intrinsic

Finally, the solely intrinsic value, that focused on the inherent value of nature, was not frequently mentioned in the news, in Spanish media it did not appear at all. The organizers used it to some extent, they were worried about disappearing species, invasive species and degradation of nature in general. Defending nature for its own sake was not a primary message but was instead intertwined with more human-centred perspectives that still acknowledged nature's value.

“The Canary Islands are the autonomous community with the highest number of critically endangered species. According to the distribution of species assessed in the IUCN Red List (International Union for Conservation of Nature), there are a total of 93 critically endangered species and 109 endangered species in the Canary Islands. In both categories, the most abundant group is plants, representing around 50% of the total in each case.” (A4)

6 Discussion

6.1 Environmental concerns raised by A20 and conveyed to newspapers

The media covered many of the concerns raised by the A20 protests, including environmental degradation, housing problems, and criticism of mass tourism. In some ways, the coverage helped give the protests legitimacy and supported the idea of a turning point in public debate. However, the engagement with these concerns was often shallow. The media mostly described the issues without exploring their deeper causes or questioning the dominant model of tourism growth, which continued to shape the region's development.

Environmental degradation, biodiversity loss, and other ecological concerns featured in both the A20 organizers' publications and news media coverage, making them central to the public portrayal of the protests. This suggests that activists successfully connected the environmental impacts of mass tourism with broader societal concerns, with the work of environmental organizations clearly reflected in the media discourse. At the same time, social issues, such as the housing crisis and perceptions of unfair tourism revenue distribution played a key role in mobilizing public support. While environmental groups have long warned about tourism's ecological costs, mass mobilization appears to have required the convergence of these environmental concerns with pressing social criticisms.

Through these aspects, the organizers—and later the protest—successfully articulated a widely questioned model of tourism development: one that causes environmental degradation, exploits natural resources and landscapes, and offers little benefit to residents. As the environmental organization Ben Magec put it, this model represents a new form of monoculture (Ben Magec - Ecologistas en Acción, 2011).

Environmental degradation was discussed much more frequently than the other major crisis, namely: climate change. Somewhat unexpectedly, climate change was not a central topic in the local protests, despite being a clear challenge for the islands' nature and economy, and despite aligning with the agenda of the degrowth movement. The issue is also emphasized in the Canary Islands' Tourism Observatory's publication, where it is stated that the Canary Islands are one of the Spanish regions most vulnerable to climate change, mainly due to their geographical

location, external dependence and the importance of tourism in their economy (Canary Islands Tourism Sustainability. Progress Report 2023, 2023).

As shown in previous studies, news media coverage of overtourism often sets the agenda by relying on simplified narratives, primarily emphasizing high tourist numbers and negative resident reactions (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020; Phi, 2020). This pattern is partly confirmed by my results. The media discourse tended to narrow the scope of the protests, often reducing the activists' concerns to a general sense of “discomfort.”

While environmental degradation and other ecological concerns were acknowledged as significant reasons for the protests, the coverage largely remained superficial. Although many articles backed these concerns with statistics, they mostly listed the issues raised by organizers without engaging in a deeper discussion of their meaning or implications and therefore distancing themselves from the concerns. Additionally, the frequent use of direct quotations further suggests that journalists aimed to maintain a neutral stance by simply reporting what was said, which can create a false sense of objectivity.

Boager and Castro (2022) show that media often depoliticizes overtourism by promoting simplified, expert-led narratives that push aside opposing views. However, they also find that “yes...but” discourse—acknowledging tourism’s benefits while hinting at its downsides—can create space for more critical discussion within dominant narratives. In the case of the A20 organizers, they emphasized in their publications that they are not against tourists or tourism in general; they anticipated the “turismophobia” narrative as a depoliticization strategy.

Additionally, the news media picked up many of the protesters’ concerns and only occasionally questioned them directly. The media even highlighted the legitimacy of the protests by adopting the organizers’ framing—calling them historical and multitudinous—and comparing them to earlier major environmental demonstrations. This replicates the findings of Lee (2014) and others, that news coverage of protests is no longer consistently delegitimizing and marginalizing. At the same time however, the media distanced itself from the cause, often describing what the activists’ arguments were, rather than fully endorsing them. The findings of Lee (2014) also suggest that the form of protest can influence how much space protesters’ voices

receive in media coverage. As Lee (2014) notes, protests involving marching tend to result in coverage that includes more direct input from protester-sources, possibly because this format makes it easier for journalists to approach participants, which was also the case in A20 protests.

As previous literature has shown, the A20 protest discourse included concrete proposals such as an eco-tax and improved tourism management. These topics appeared in both organizer publications and media coverage. However, unlike in other contexts described by Phi (2020), the “responsible growth” agenda was not a dominant theme in Canary Islands media, though it appeared in some articles. For instance, some news highlighted concerns about poor management in sensitive areas like national parks, reflecting a partial adoption of the “responsible growth” frame. This suggested that tourism’s negative impacts could be addressed through better governance rather than limiting growth. However, these concerns were less central to the organizers, whose motivations were more clearly rooted in a degrowth perspective that emphasized social and ecological limits.

In some cases, the media’s focus on management issues may have softened the protest’s critique, shifting attention toward technical solutions and away from systemic change. Still, the strong degrowth framing of A20, along with its direct emphasis on the islands’ physical and ecological limits, contributed to a shift in the discussion. As Armas Díaz et al. (2024) suggest, this awareness of limits fueled spontaneous public responses and helped frame the protests not as overreactions, but as acts of defence—of the islands, its people and the nature.

6.2 Use of different nature values (intrinsic, instrumental and relational) in the concerns and argumentation strategies

6.2.1 Instrumental values: Concrete externalities of tourism are easy to communicate

A20 organizers and news media framed nature values in different ways. While A20 organizers used all three nature value perspectives (intrinsic, instrumental, and relational) in their arguments, news media primarily focused on instrumental and relational values.

This difference may stem from the nature of the texts and the backgrounds of those producing them. A20 organizers, who came from various grassroots organizations,

framed their arguments with strong ecological perspectives. In contrast, news media prioritized aspects that resonated with a broader audience, often emphasizing concrete and measurable consequences of tourism. Instrumental and relational framings, supported by statistics, practical and relatable concerns, might have been more effective at capturing public attention than purely ethical arguments focusing on the ecology and nature. Instrumental framing emphasized the concrete and measurable consequences of tourism on the environment, such as limited resources and waste. Highlighting issues with numbers, percentages, and health-related impacts made the arguments more influential and easier to take in.

6.2.2 Relational values: Identity, natural heritage, and the right to the islands

Beyond a materialist and practical approach to environmental concerns, the discussion extended to deeper connections between people, nature, and identity. Activists emphasized their relationship with the islands and nature as integral to Canarian identity, for instance by using a metaphor of an endemic flower that will not bend in front of the tourism pressures. This narrative also echoed in the news media, it strengthened the argument and made the story more interesting also outside the archipelago. Media again highlighted the relational values by bringing up the importance to take care of the nature for future generations.

Relational values played a crucial role in framing the struggle as a broader fight for rights, such as the right to nature and the right to the island. The "right to the island", frame highlights how island communities tend to be more aware of ecological limits compared to continental territories (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024). Such framings draw from broader island studies literature, that emphasize the unique political, ecological and cultural dimensions of islands and their entanglement with histories of colonization, sovereignty disputes and environmental pressures (Mountz, 2015). This awareness is reflected in the direct and spontaneous ways in which islanders debate limits to growth (Armas-Díaz et al., 2024).

Concern about the loss of cultural and natural heritage was reflected in calls to respect both the environment and the people. The legitimacy for the protests was grounded in the historical continuity of environmental movements in the Canary Islands. This framing was emphasized as an important message, both for Canarians demanding structural change and for outsiders seeking to understand the protests.

The fight against the unsustainable tourism model and its extractivist aspects is part of a long-standing struggle for self-determination and sustainable economic management (Ben Magec - Ecologistas en Acción, 2011; Brito, 2024).

Local biodiversity was used as a tool for resistance, as shown in the cases of the endemic plants *Viborina Triste* (Figure 6) and *Tajinaste*. Recently, *Viborina triste* has become a metaphor of the fight against tourism-driven urbanization projects. Its legal protection enabled activists to halt construction of the Cuna del Alma, a luxury home complex in Puertito de Adeje in 2022, demonstrating how biodiversity arguments can be used as a tool to resist large-scale construction projects, combining intrinsic values with the strong relational connection with the nature. (Canarias Ahora, 2022)



Figure 6. *Viborina triste* (*Echium triste* subsp. *nivariense*) is an endemic plant that plays a role in the opposition of large-scale construction projects. From *Ecoescuela Mediateca* by Gobierno de Canarias (2023), https://www3.gobiernodecanarias.org/medusa/mediateca/ecoescuela/?attachment_id=8199 Licensed under. CC BY 4.0.

Although the images were not part of the material analysed, I would nevertheless highlight the organisers' poster as an interesting example of the power of symbols in protest communication. In the call poster below (figure 7), the nature and people of the islands are symbolised by a canary bird being strangled by possibly a real estate

investor, in reference to a criticised tourism model and capitalist contradictions. The canary bird could stand for both the islands people and nature.



Figure 7. Protest call poster for "Canarias tiene un límite." From Ecologistas En Acción (2024), <https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/315049/canarias-tiene-un-limite-moratoria-turistica-y-ecotasa-ya/>. Reproduced for academic purposes.

6.2.3 Intrinsic values: present but rarely standing alone

Unlike instrumental and relational values intrinsic values played a minor role in the discourse surrounding the A20 protests. Although they appeared in the organizers' arguments, they rarely featured in the news media, and even in activist publications they were seldom used alone.

This suggests that intrinsic values alone may not be considered politically or rhetorically effective in the current context. In most cases, they were intertwined with instrumental or relational values, as in arguments highlighting both the uniqueness of local biodiversity and its role in recreation, shaping Canarian identity, or threats to endangered species framed in conjunction with warnings about broader environmental degradation affecting human well-being.

This mixing could reflect a strategic choice. While the ethical claim that "nature has value in itself" is philosophically strong, it may not resonate as widely in public discourse unless it is linked to human interests or emotional and cultural attachments. For example, highlighting the disappearance of natural coastline due to

urbanization frames the issue quantitatively (instrumental) but hints at a deeper loss (intrinsic) of something irreplaceable.

In the few examples where nature's intrinsic value was invoked directly, such as the concern for critically endangered species, the message remained subtle, often part of a broader argument rather than a standalone justification. This indicates that ethical appeals alone may not be convincing unless reinforced by more concrete or relational arguments, especially in political contexts where public support and media visibility are key.

In an article about the concepts and terms used for framing the conservation efforts, Elliott (2020) argues that the concept of biodiversity is often tied more closely to intrinsic value. However, to engage a broader audience, different values and terminology may be necessary. The article mentions examples such as life support systems and sustainability, as well as more specific concepts like environmental justice and food security, which are all either directly mentioned or implicitly used in the argumentation around A20 protest. This supports the idea that using different values simultaneously could be a strategic approach to reaching wider audiences.

While my data does not allow direct access to the intentions or beliefs behind these framings, a recent interview-based thesis on environmental activists in Tenerife helps fill this gap. According to the study, all interviewees agreed that valuing the Canary Islands for their nature and culture is a necessary condition for achieving sustainable development (Brodtrager, 2023) This finding supports the interpretation that the way different nature values are balanced in activist communication is not just a argumentation strategy, but grounded in genuine environmental concern and a valuation of nature for its own sake.

6.3 Understanding nature in protest discussion

Nature played a dual role in the discussion on tourism and the environment in the Canary Islands. It was valued both for its own sake (intrinsic value) and for the ways it supported human life and identity (instrumental and relational values). At the same time, environmental concerns often served as a platform to question the tourism model and call for better and more democratic systems of development. It was less clear, however, whether the values expressed in A20 publications and media coverage reflected broader societal understanding of nature or whether they

were mainly used as strategic arguments. As discussed earlier, the media and activist discourses differed in how they framed nature, shaped by their aims and audiences. Yet a question remains: how do these narratives influence how people value nature more generally?

As outlined in the literature review, Chen et al. (2023) showed how media and activists co-constructed narratives around climate protests in a hybrid media environment. While their study focused on climate strikes, a similar logic might apply to the framing of environmental concerns in tourism protests. Activist narratives can shape media coverage, and in turn, influence how the public perceives the role of nature in these debates. Media framings that center on human impacts and political consequences may gradually shape more human-centered understandings of nature. This aligns with Van Der Leeuw's (2020) view that narratives are central to how societies form values and imagine futures. Depending on whether nature is framed as a fragile ecosystem, a source of cultural identity, or a limited resource, different forms of action become possible or legitimate. Emphasizing intrinsic or relational values, for instance, may open new ways of thinking about sustainability and development beyond economic growth.

In the Canary Islands, activist communication sought to challenge dominant narratives—not only to protect biodiversity or landscapes, but to question who benefits from tourism and what kind of future is being shaped. In this way, nature values were not just environmental claims, but also reflections of political and societal visions.

6.4 Limitations of the study and suggestions for future research

The study has methodological limitations. First, the data related; many of the analyzed news articles were highly similar, often originating from the same media conglomerates. Some were near-identical copies published across different local newspapers, which can amplify certain perspectives while limiting distinct narratives. In future studies, a different news sampling strategy would likely enhance representation and diversity of perspectives, mitigating source dominance. In this study, different news media were sampled for their different geographical and political position, but this aspect was not analyzed any further. At some point I aimed to compare news from other European countries, such as Great Britain, Germany and

Finland, to gain understanding of the international discourse in both sides of the tourism system. Because of time limitations I decided to not explore this further.

Another methodological limitation was that the dataset was asymmetrical. The analysis focuses mainly on news media, with protest organizers' perspectives primarily represented through Ben Magec and ATAN publications, due to data availability and clarity. This may underrepresent other organizer viewpoints. To deepen the understanding the nature value perspective in the protest, a study using sources beyond news media to examine activists' or protest participants valuation of nature in arguments, motivations, and discourse would be highly interesting.

In this study the data sample was limited by a short period of time around the protest. It revealed the immediate reaction and the first analysis of the protest, inevitably leaving out the analysis of longer-term discourse shifts. While writing this study, the protests have continued in the archipelago in October, when protests reoccurred on the islands (Vega, 2024). The tourist numbers have stayed the same or even increased from the previous year (ISTAC, 2025). Meanwhile, the activists remain calling for a larger structural change, and new protests are being planned on this spring. To expand on my study, the evolution of the protest movement and shifting narratives is something that future research could investigate.

As with any QCA, this study has method related limitations. Systematic QCA always leaves something out, which can make it harder to connect some topics. Since coded segments are taken out of context, some nuances in meaning may be lost. The reduction and summarization of material inevitably come at the cost of losing some of its multiple possible meanings. This method does not always fully capture the fluid and interconnected nature of the discourse around tourism and environmental concerns. Software-assisted analysis can lead researchers to become detached from the process of making interpretations and active decisions. Moreover, overfocusing on systematization and overlooking ambiguity, flexibility, and creativity can also be a pitfall of QCA, which Richards (2002) refers to as 'coding fetishism.' I have done my best to stay critical while making interpretations and conclusions from coded material.

The study does not systematically track who said what but rather focuses on what is said in general. For instance, the news media repeat the activists' lines, but they

represent them in different ways, sometimes highlighting the argument, sometimes opposing it. Although the news media essentially has the agenda setting power (see Hall, 2002; Schweinsberg et al., 2017; Weaver et al., 2010), the narrative also matters (Boager & Castro, 2022). While multiple voices appear in the news, their prominence and influence are not analyzed in detail, limiting insights into actor representation in the discourse.

At times, the distinction between actual activist practices and their media representation is blurred in coverage. This raises the question of how accurately and selectively the media constructs representation of socio-environmental concerns.

7 Conclusions

Studying environmental resistance to tourism through news media and local environmental organizations' public statements gives an overview of the complex socio-environmental issues associated with tourism in the Canary Islands. The island context offers a unique lens to examine the impacts of global tourism. Insularity intensifies both biodiversity pressures and economic dependence on tourism but also fosters a heightened awareness of ecological and social limits.

This study showed how A2O organizers highlighted the environmental and social unsustainability of the current economic model, as well as the environmental degradation caused by large-scale tourism and construction. Other environmental concerns, such as water scarcity and waste, were also part of the debate.

Environmental topics became central alongside issues like housing and poverty. While the media did not lean into the sensationalist narrative of "tourismophobia," it focused more than the organizers did, on issues like poor management of natural areas, overcrowding, and the behaviour of individual tourists.

The analysis of environmental values in the public discourse reveals that instrumental views of nature continue to dominate media discussions on the environmental impacts of tourism. In contrast, activists employ a broader range of nature value arguments, including intrinsic and relational values, although purely intrinsic standpoints are rare.

Both the media and the organizers emphasized relational values, often portraying islanders as defenders of the natural environment. In these arguments and framings, nature moved beyond being just a physical environment and became part of the island identity.

Focusing on nature values in the context of environmental activism and tourism helps illuminate how we understand our relationship with nature. The way media represents this relationship can shape public perception and set the agenda for future discussions. However, the economic status quo remains, the situation on the islands has not changed, and protesters continue to take to the streets in pursuit of change.

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Declaration of generative AI

In the process of writing this thesis, I used the University of Helsinki's Copilot AI tool to help condense a section on the history of tourism and resistance in the Canary Islands (3.2). The original text was written by me and shortened using the tool without altering its meaning or references. I also used Open AI ChatGPT-4 language model to support the writing, refine the grammar and structure, as well as translating some quotations. In all cases, after using the tools, I edited and reviewed the content. I take full responsibility for the content, interpretation, and final form of the thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of analyzed material; News articles from local and Spanish news selection and organizers' publications (S=Spanish news media, C=Local news media, A=organizers publication). Document reference numbers are the ones referenced in this document.

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
S1	2	Canarias tiene un límite'_ manifestaciones multitudinarias contra el modelo turístico en las islas	6	El Periódico
S2	3	Clavijo asume que _las cosas tienen que cambiar_ tras las movilizaciones de 'Canarias tiene un límite'	2	El Periódico
S3	4	El turismo agita a Canarias	3	El Periódico
S4	5	Mallorca se une a las protestas contra la masificación turística _Es hora de parar_	2	El Periódico
S5	6	Manifestaciones masivas en Canarias contra el turismo actual en las islas __Tenemos un límite_	12	20Minutos
S6	7	Miles de canarios se manifiestan para protestar contra el turismo de masas	14	20Minutos
S7	1	El Cabildo de Tenerife apoya cobrar por los espacios naturales y defiende una revisión del modelo turístico _Actualidad Económica	3	El Mundo
S8	8	Decenas de miles de personas protestan en Canarias contra los excesos del turismo de masas _Actualidad Económica	10	El Mundo
S9	111	Canarias desborda las calles de las ocho islas en una movilización histórica contra el modelo turístico.docx	6	ABC
S10	112	Clavijo aboga por.docx	1	ABC
S11	113	Canarias se planta con manifestaciones multitudinarias contra el turismo masivo.docx	6	El País
S12	114	Canarias se pone en pie contra el turismo de masas.docx	20	El País
S13	115	Las islas canarias se unen para protestar contra la masificación turística.docx	5	El País
S14	116	Las razones para una manifestación histórica en Canarias.docx	13	El País
S15	117	No va contra el turista.docx	4	El País
C1	9	¿Un punto de inflexión en el modelo turístico_	20	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C2	10	Canarias, a las puertas de una protesta histórica que aspira a cambiar el modelo de desarrollo en las Islas	17	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C3	11	El 20 de abril, "nuevo" Día de Canarias	17	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C4	12	El día que Canarias exigió el fin del turismo masivo e hizo historia en las calles_ "Queremos ser anfitriones, no esclavos"	14	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C5	13	El Hierro y los herreños también tienen un límite	16	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
C6	14	La protesta 'Canarias tiene un límite' llega a Madrid_ "Vivo en un archipiélago donde gobiernan para el turista y la gente se muere"	3	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C7	15	La turismofobia, la turismofilia y los límites de lo político	5	Canarias Ahora (El Diario)
C8	16	La vivienda asoma como tótem del 20-A	6	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C9	17	Mírame Televisión ofrece este sábado un especial informativo sobre las manifestaciones del 20A	1	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C10	30	Canarias se manifiesta masivamente por un cambio en el modelo económico de las islas	8	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C11	31	La canaria que llenó Barcelona de carteles de la manifestación del 20A_ _El turismo masivo es insostenible_	0	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C12	32	La ola del descontento provoca que una marea humana desborde calles y plazas de Canarias	8	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C13	33	Las protestas salen de viaje_ Madrid, Barcelona, Berlín, Londres... las demandas traspasan los límites de Canarias	6	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C14	34	Una marea humana recorre las calles de Santa Cruz de Tenerife al grito de _Canarias tiene un límite_	0	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C15	35	_El agüita pa' las papas, no pa'l golf_, la creatividad y el humor de Canarias se deja notar en las pancartas del 20A	2	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C16	36	20A en Tenerife_ tranvías _a reventar_ y, por primera vez, alegría por un colapso en la TF-5	2	El Diario de Avisos (El Espanol)
C17	37	¿Cuánta gente ha ido a la manifestación del 20-A 'Canarias tiene un límite' en las Islas_	0	El Día
C18	38	20A LA GOMERA_ Curbelo pide «escuchar a la gente» pero aclara que el problema no es el turismo	3	El Día
C19	39	20-A MANIFESTACIÓN CANARIAS_ Canarias inflamada por su modelo turístico	11	El Día
C20	40	20A TENERIFE_ Rosa Dávila propone cobrar a los visitantes por el acceso a los espacios naturales -	4	El Día
C21	41	ASISTENCIA MANIFESTACIÓN TENERIFE_ Baile de cifras en el número de manifestantes que acudieron a la marcha del 20-A en Tenerife	4	El Día
C22	42	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ Manifestación del 20-A en Tenerife_ así te hemos contado la marcha del 20-A por las calles de Santa Cruz	0	El Día
C23	43	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE MADRID_ En Madrid, la movilización partió de Puerta del Sol	2	El Día
C24	44	CANARIAS TIENE UN LIMITE_ Coalición Canaria, tras las manifestaciones del 20A_ _Es una oportunidad de caminar juntos_	2	El Día

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
C25	45	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ Las pancartas de la manifestación del 20 de abril en Tenerife	0	El Día
C26	46	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ Multitudinaria manifestación en Tenerife contra el modelo económico canario	6	El Día
C27	48	IGNATIUS MANIFESTACIÓN 20A_ No es un grito sordo_ el 'Mencey en el exilio' que cantó _¡Canarias no se vende, se ama y se defiende!	0	El Día
C28	49	LIMITE TURISMO_ Los empresarios abogan por sentarse a trabajar sobre el modelo turístico	2	El Día
C29	50	MANIFESTACION 20A CANARIAS _ Clavijo asume que _las cosas tienen que cambiar_ tras las movilizaciones de 'Canarias tiene un límite'	2	El Día
C30	51	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS _ El '20A canario' cuenta con apoyo en Barcelona	0	El Día
C31	52	MANIFESTACION 20A CANARIAS _ La manifestación 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite' recorre las calles de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	3	El Día
C32	53	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS _ Lanzarote y La Graciosa no fallan en la cita del 20A	10	El Día
C33	54	MANIFESTACIÓN TENERIFE _ El alcalde de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, sobre el 20A_ _Creo que hay que ponerle un tope al crecimiento turístico actual_	2	El Día
C34	55	OPINION_ Algarabía, manifestación y el petróleo de Canarias	3	El Día
C35	56	OPINION_ Canarias tiene un límite_ este modelo debe cambiar	5	El Día
C36	57	OPINION_ No a la turismofobia. No al enfrentamiento por el enfrentamiento	3	El Día
C37	58	OPINION_ No hay cama pa' tanta gente	1	El Día
C38	59	OPINION_ Sin complejos	5	El Día
C39	61	VÍDEO 20-A CANARIAS_ Las maniobras de un hidroavión sorprenden a los manifestantes de 'Canarias tiene un límite'	0	El Día
C40	62	VÍDEO 20-A CANARIAS_ Los sonidos de tambores, bucos y silbos ponen la nota folclórica a la manifestación	0	El Día
C41	63	VÍDEO 20A_ Ignatius Farray, en la manifestación del 20A en Madrid	0	El Día
C42	64	VÍDEO 20-A_ Manifestación 20A en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	0	El Día
C43	65	VÍDEO MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ Unas 9.000 personas se manifiestan en Lanzarote el 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite'	1	El Día
C44	66	VIDEOS _ Manifestación 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite', en Lanzarote	1	El Día
C45	67	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ Persiste la huelga de hambre de los activistas de 'Canarias tiene un límite' en demanda de un cambio urgente en el modelo turístico	0	El Día
C46	106	OPINION_ El malestar	2	El Día

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
C47	107	OPINION La caja de Pandora	6	El Día
C48	108	OPINION Manifestaciones y diálogo	4	El Día
C49	109	OPINION Tres observaciones	5	El Día
C50	110	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ El turismo agita a Canarias	22	El Día
C51	68	Fuerteventura responde al llamamiento del 20A	1	La Provincia
C52	69	HIDROAVIÓN MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ El hidroavión 'en prácticas' que provocó el aplauso de la manifestación 20A	0	La Provincia
C53	70	IGNATIUS MANIFESTACIÓN 20A_ No es un grito sordo_ el 'Mencey en el exilio' que cantó_ ¡Canarias no se vende, se ama y se defiende!	4	La Provincia
C54	71	MANIFIESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ Coalición Canaria, tras las manifestaciones del 20A_ _Es una oportunidad de caminar juntos_	4	La Provincia
C55	72	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ El '20A canario' cuenta con apoyo en Barcelona	0	La Provincia
C56	73	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ En Madrid, la movilización del 20A parte de Puerta del Sol	3	La Provincia
C57	74	MANIFESTACION 20A CANARIAS_ La manifestación 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite' recorre las calles de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	3	La Provincia
C58	75	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ Lanzarote y La Graciosa no fallan en la cita del 20A	6	La Provincia
C59	76	MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ Manifestación 20A_ aparecen pintadas en el aparcamiento del Roque Nublo apoyando el cambio de modelo turístico	0	La Provincia
C60	77	MANIFESTACIÓN CANARIAS_ La prensa internacional se hace eco de las protestas en las calles de Canarias	0	La Provincia
C61	78	MANIFESTACIÓN TURISMO_ Clavijo asume que _las cosas tienen que cambiar_ tras las movilizaciones de 'Canarias tiene un límite'	0	La Provincia
C62	79	TURISMO CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ Los empresarios abogan por sentarse a trabajar sobre el modelo turístico tras la manifestación del 20-A	7	La Provincia
C63	80	VÍDEO 20-A CANARIAS_ Las maniobras de un hidroavión sorprenden a los manifestantes de 'Canarias tiene un límite'	0	La Provincia
C64	81	VÍDEO 20-A CANARIAS_ Los sonidos de tambores, bucos y silbos ponen la nota folclórica a la manifestación	2	La Provincia
C65	82	VÍDEO 20A_ Ignatius Farray, en la manifestación del 20A en Madrid	0	La Provincia
C66	83	VÍDEO 20-A_ Manifestación 20A en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	0	La Provincia
C67	84	VÍDEO MANIFESTACIÓN 20A CANARIAS_ Unas 9.000 personas se manifiestan en Lanzarote el 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite'	0	La Provincia

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
C68	85	VIDEOS _ Manifestación 20A 'Canarias tiene un límite', en Lanzarote	0	La Provincia
C69	86	20-A MANIFESTACIÓN CANARIAS_ Canarias inflamada por su modelo turístico	4	La Provincia
C70	87	CANARIAS SOSTENIBLE_ Morales defiende que Gran Canaria ya está en la senda de la sostenibilidad	4	La Provincia
C71	88	Canarias tiene un límite	2	La Provincia
C72	89	CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE_ La tinerfeña plaza Weyler se tiñe de amarillo en una manifestación que clama contra el modelo económico canario	5	La Provincia
C73	90	DIRECTO TURISMO 'CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE'_ Las reacciones a la manifestación del 20A	0	La Provincia
C74	91	DIRECTO TURISMO 'CANARIAS TIENE UN LÍMITE'_ Reacciones a la manifestación del 20 de abril en Canarias	0	La Provincia
C75	92	La Graciosa sale a la calle por la manifestación 20A contra el turismo masivo	6	La Voz de Lanzarote
C76	93	La manifestación "Canarias tiene un límite" parte de un diagnóstico erróneo de la realidad económica	7	La Voz de Lanzarote
C77	94	Lanzarote protesta para pedir el fin del turismo de masas _ Si Manrique levantara cabeza	5	La Voz de Lanzarote
C78	95	Las manifestaciones canarias en contra del turismo masivo recorren la prensa internacional	1	La Voz de Lanzarote
C79	96	¿Y ahora qué_ (tras el 20A)	11	La Voz de Lanzarote
C80	97	Cerca de 10.000 personas se manifiestan este 20A en Lanzarote contra la masificación turística	12	La Voz de Lanzarote
C81	98	Jessica de León_ No a la ecotasa, hay que exportar el modelo Lanzarote a otras islas	3	La Voz de Lanzarote
C82	118	Agua, vivienda, paisaje, tierras raras, torretas- Fuerteventura, ahíta de todo, sale a la calle.docx	10	Canarias7
C83	119	Canarias se echa a la calle para protestar contra el turismo en masa.docx	0	Canarias7
C84	120	Clavijo asegura que la protesta del 20A es una oportunidad para cambiar a mejor.docx	4	Canarias7
C85	121	Gran Canaria vive un 20A difícil de olvidar.docx	4	Canarias7
C86	122	La protesta tomó la calle y aguarda la respuesta.docx	6	Canarias7
C87	123	SOS Maspalomas apoya la manifestación del 20A.docx	0	Canarias7
C88	124	Un punto de inflexión en el modelo turístico.docx	0	Canarias7
A1	19	Canarias tiene un límite_ moratoria turística y ecotasa ¡ya! • Ecologistas en Acción	22	Ecologistas en acción Blogs
A2	22	Sí a todo • Ecologistas en Acción	13	Ecologistas en acción Blogs

Document Ref. No.	Atlas.ti Ref. No.	Name	Quotations	Media source
A3	23	Territorio limitado, turismo ilimitado • Ecologistas en Acción	13	Ecologistas en acción Blogs
A4	27	Canarias_ un modelo económico en contra de la biodiversidad • Ecologistas en Acción	9	Ecologistas en acción Blogs
A5	28	Instagram posts - call for protest	31	Instagram sources ATAN
A6	29	ATAN Instagram banner campaign before the A20 protests	10	Instagram sources ATAN
A7	105	ATAN manifiesto A20	24	Instagram sources ATAN