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Chapter 13

A More Spanish Spain: The Influence of Tourism on the National Image

Eric Storm

For many foreigners, Spain is the country of flamenco, bullfighting, the Alhambra and sangria. While many Spaniards do not see themselves reflected in these stereotypes, it is clear that the identity of a country is not generated exclusively by the images its inhabitants have of their own nation, nor – we have to admit – is it entirely determined from abroad. The collective identity of a nation is in fact the product of a complex interaction between its native people and those from abroad. And perhaps the field in which this interaction is most immediate is that of tourism.¹ Foreign travellers go to a country hoping that their hosts will satisfy their expectations. At the same time, the tourism sector wishes to attract customers, and in its advertising tries to present an attractive image of the country that takes into account the assumed desires of potential travellers. However, this relationship between visitors and hosts becomes more complicated, because there are also travellers from within the country who have their own demands, and a range of official authorities that intervene in matters associated with tourism, so that political factors begin to play an important role.

In the case of Spain, one can see that this interaction between different actors, each with their own intentions and interests, has been very complex. Foreign tastes for the popular culture of Spain's gypsies, the legacy of Al-Andalus or bullfighting, for example, have not fitted very well with the desire of many Spaniards to see themselves as a civilized western people. Equally, the efforts made by successive governments to encourage cultural tourism in the interior of the country have not been able to prevent tourists from seeking sun and beaches on a massive scale along the Mediterranean coast, where they have also expected to enjoy the cliché Spain of guitars and castanets. Hence, the images that foreign visitors have of the nature, culture and historic heritage of Spain have been very different from those held by its inhabitants themselves. People from outside Spain, moreover, have tended to see it as a uniform entity, while those within the country focus above all on its great internal variety. Nor have ideas on Spanish identity always been the same. There has been a clear historical evolution on this point, and to understand current clichés it is necessary to study this complex and dynamic process in its different stages, beginning with the nineteenth century.

The Nineteenth Century and the Restoration

In the nineteenth century no official body charged with promoting tourism existed, and so, strictly speaking, there was no official tourism policy on the part of the state. Nor were the numbers of travellers very great, and a large part of what 'tourism' did exist did not have any implications for national identity, since it was primarily a cosmopolitan phenomenon. This could be seen, for example, in the popularity of spas, and in the development of the first bathing resorts from mid-century onwards. Their principal clientele was drawn from the

¹ E. Storm. 2014. 'Overcoming Methodological Nationalism in Nationalism Studies: The Impact of Tourism on the Construction and Diffusion of National and Regional Identities', *History Compass* 12(4): 361–373.

aristocracy and international *haute bourgeoisie*, and beach towns – like Brighton, Ostend or San Sebastián – adopted a similar cosmopolitan style, whether in the architecture of their luxury hotels, in entertainment (casinos, balls) or in gastronomy (with French cuisine).

Nevertheless, there was also another tradition of tourism, that of the cultural traveller. Beginning in the Age of Romanticism, British, French, German and American travellers had started to discover the beauty of Spain and its art. What attracted them, too, was precisely those things that distinguished Spain from the international canon: the legacy of Arabic civilization in Al-Andalus, and popular traditions such as bullfights, gypsy dances and religious processions. Through the work of these travellers, as well as through the new travel literature and theatre, opera and painting, the cultural elites of western countries gradually formed their own idea of what Spanish national identity was like. The classic example of this imagining of Spain by Romantic travellers was *Carmen*, which began life as a story written by Prosper Mérimée in 1845 about the passionate tragic love affair of a Seville gypsy. It was adapted for the theatre and then in 1875 by Georges Bizet as an opera, which was immensely successful and created an enduring stereotype of the Spanish woman of the ordinary people.²

Although Spanish authorities and elites tended to be annoyed by this exotic, primitive image of their country, at times they too employed the stereotypes formed by foreign travellers to represent Spain on the international stage. This was seen most particularly in international exhibitions. The Spanish Pavilion in the Paris exhibition of 1878, for example, was clearly inspired by the Alhambra and other masterworks of Moorish architecture in Andalusia. However, portraying oneself as exotic, and identifying Spain with a Muslim past, also had its disadvantages, and for the international exhibition in Paris in 1900 Spain built a pavilion in the ornate plateresque style of the sixteenth century, which, as a Spanish version of the European Renaissance, seemed more suitable for impressing an international audience in a dignified manner. The message was that Spain had taken part in the international modernity of that era (the Renaissance), and given it its own, distinctive national touch (plateresque decoration).³ This solution satisfied public opinion at home, but it was clear that a strikingly exotic building attracted attention much more than a structure that could scarcely be recognized as ‘Spanish’ by the average visitor. At the 1900 show, for instance, one attraction that was far more spectacular than the official Spanish pavilion was *L’Andalousie au Temps de Maures* (‘Andalusia in the Time of the Moors’), an exhibit filling a 5,000-square metre plot that was created by a French private company.⁴

Thus, many of the romantic clichés about Spain, its monuments, landscapes, primitive traditions and its inhabitants that had been formulated during the first half of the nineteenth century continued, to a great extent, to determine the image maintained of the country outside its borders. Although the numbers of travellers had grown considerably thanks to railways and steam ships, and later cars, buses and aeroplanes, its principal attractions were still the traditional bathing resorts like San Sebastián and Santander, the monuments from the Muslim

² L. Charnon-Deutsch. 2004. *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession*, University Park: Penn State University Press.

³ M.J. Bueno. 1989. ‘Arquitectura y Nacionalismo. La Imagen de España a través de las Exposiciones Universales’, *Fragmentos* 15–16: 58–70

⁴ L. Méndez Rodríguez. 2008: *La Imagen de Andalucía en el Arte del Siglo XIX*. Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 114–22.

era in Andalusia, the imperial city of Toledo and lastly Madrid, with the glories of the Prado Museum.

Domestic tourism followed the same traditional patterns as cosmopolitan tourism. However, the improvement in means of transport did facilitate the emergence of a new phenomenon, *excursionismo*, hiking and discovering the countryside, which began to gain popularity above all in Catalonia and Madrid. While hiking and mountain walking were part of an international fashion, in Spain they also had a clearly nationalistic component, since the main destinations were the most spectacular historic and natural monuments in the country. Little by little the *excursionistas* diversified their attentions, turning towards lesser monuments in villages and typical landscapes, contributing thereby to the building up of new regional and local identities. This relationship with regionalism was most obvious in the case of Catalonia. In Catalan hiking associations, which were not drawn from a restricted elite and for whom, consequently, the principal means of communication was Catalan, the interest shown in the regional and local heritage was intimately linked to the growth of a strong collective identity. This was one reason why the mountain and monastery of Montserrat became established as a sacred location for the Catalanist movement. In Madrid, the Sierra de Guadarrama mountain range north-west of the city became the favourite area for hiking, although Toledo also attracted a growing number of visitors. As a result, both became symbols of a new Castilian identity.⁵

In response to this new demand for whatever was traditional and typical, some of the people in the villages and provincial cities visited by walkers and rural explorers began to offer handicrafts, regional delicacies, accommodation in distinctive buildings and staff in traditional dress. The invention of regional gastronomy, for example, was reflected in cookery books, which from the 1920s began to classify Spanish cuisine according to different regions. The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera confirmed the growing interest in the country's native produce by creating, at the request of wine-growers in La Rioja, Spain's first *denominación de origen* or 'designation of origin' for wines – a system that was itself, of course, a French invention – and by publishing a *Guía del Buen Comer Español. Inventario y Loa de la Cocina Clásica de España y sus Regiones* (Guide to Good Eating in Spain. Inventory and Eulogy of the Classic Cuisine of Spain and its Regions).⁶

In the same first decades of the century the Spanish state had also begun to concern itself with tourism, doing so before the majority of European countries. It was precisely the meagre numbers of foreign visitors that led the government to take measures to encourage a promising sector of the economy and correct mistaken ideas of Spain as a country that was primitive and inhospitable.⁷ Hence, in October 1905 the Liberal government created a *Comisión Nacional para el Fomento del Turismo* (National Commission for the Promotion of Tourism), which in 1911 became the *Comisaría Regia de Turismo y Cultura Artística* (Royal

⁵ A. Moreno Garrido. 2004. 'Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)', unpublished doctoral thesis. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 58-63; J.L. Marfany. 1995. *La Cultura del Catalanisme. El Nacionalisme Català en els seus inicis*. Barcelona: Empúries, 293-307.

⁶ E. Afínoguénova. 2014. 'An Organic Nation: State-Run Tourism, Regionalism, and Food in Spain, 1905-1931', *Journal of Modern History* 86 (4), 743-79; E. Storm, forthcoming. 'La nacionalización del hogar en España', *Hispania*.

⁷ S.D. Pack. 2006. *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 25-27.

Office for Tourism and Artistic Culture). Marquis Benigno de la Vega Inclán was appointed its first Commissioner, and, despite the fact that it had to operate virtually without a proper budget, it succeeded in initiating some significant projects.⁸

Its activities were orientated towards encouraging cultural tourism, and thereby also stimulating Spanish national pride at the same time. This could be seen for example in the creation of the *Casa del Greco* museum in Toledo and the *Casa de Cervantes* in one of the great writer's former homes in Valladolid, both of which can be regarded as educational monuments devoted to two key figures in Spain's cultural heritage. The *Comisaría* also published itineraries for tours of historic cities such as Segovia or Ávila, monuments of the standing of El Escorial or impressive landscapes such as those of the Sierra Nevada. In addition it also commissioned museum catalogues, the production of a great number of postcards and the publication of a collection of small-format books in three languages titled *El Arte en España*, Art in Spain. By means of all these activities it contributed to formulating and confirming the conventional canon of the historical, artistic and natural heritage of Spain, which gave a privileged position to the identification of 'Spain' with Castile and Andalusia.⁹

However, the Royal Commissioner did not only interest himself in a glorious national past, fine arts and majestic scenery, but also demonstrated enormous concern for regional popular culture. Hence, when the Marquis de la Vega Inclán initiated the building of the future Paradors in 1926 – state-run luxury hotels in locations away from traditional tourist routes – it was decided to build several in regional styles so that they might be better suited to the local climate, landscape and traditions. It was also proposed to serve travellers the best of local dishes and produce, and equip the staff with traditional dress.¹⁰

This cultural regionalism, which in this case clearly served to provide local roots for Spanish identity and demonstrate the diversity that could exist within the fundamental unity of the fatherland, also emerged in the renovation of the district of Santa Cruz in Seville, carried out between 1912 and 1920. This historic medieval quarter was in a very bad state, and aroused scarcely any interest. Then, thanks to the intervention of the *Comisaría Regia*, it was made more *Sevillano* than ever. We can even speak of the invention of a tradition: squalid, insanitary alleys were converted into the archetype of a Seville *barrio*. Streets were recobbled and cleaned, with new street lamps and name plaques, and gardens and intimate little squares created, all in the most typical Andalusian style. Even the majority of its newly-built houses, constructed in the new regional style, were more 'typical' than the existing buildings, producing a historical pastiche that in the long term has enjoyed astonishing

⁸ M.L. Menéndez Robles. 2007. *El Marqués de la Vega Inclán y los Orígenes del Turismo en España*. Madrid: Ministerio de Industria, Turismo y Comercio; Moreno Garrido, 'Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)', 108-116 and 151-157.

⁹ E. Storm. 2015. *The Discovery of El Greco: The Nationalization of Culture versus the Rise of Modern Art*. Eastbourne, Sussex Academic Press; Menéndez Robles *El Marqués de la Vega Inclán y los Orígenes del Turismo en España*. 162-231; Moreno Garrido, 'Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)', 204-19 and 240-52.

¹⁰ Menéndez Robles, *El Marqués de la Vega Inclán y los Orígenes del Turismo en España*, 178-203. The example given was that of country hotels in California: Moreno Garrido, 'Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)', 119-120.

success. Other cities initiated similar projects, as in, for example, the creation of the characteristic ‘Gothic Quarter’ of Barcelona.¹¹

The nationalism of the *Comisaría Regia de Turismo* was open-minded, liberal and secular. However, under the impact of the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the accelerating mobilization of the labour movement in Spain, this cosmopolitan liberal nationalism lost impetus, and many politicians and intellectuals began to reconsider their position. The growing importance of a National-Catholic ideology also made itself felt in tourism policy during these years. In 1918, for example, Covadonga, where the Asturian King Pelayo was believed to have won his first victory against the Muslims in 722, and Ordesa in the Pyrenees, associated with the beginnings of the *Reconquista* in Aragon, were chosen as Spain’s first national parks. Both areas have exceptional scenery, but perhaps more important than their natural beauty was their historic significance, since both were linked to the beginnings of Spain’s ‘Reconquest’ from Muslim rule, and so could be considered cradles of the Spanish nation.¹²

The central state and the Royal Commission did not act alone. In some cases local authorities and elites also collaborated in the work of promoting cultural tourism – of the kind that involved wealthier travellers – by making Spain more Spanish. Perhaps the best example was, again, the city of Seville. In 1910 a competition for the façades of new buildings was organized, which favoured buildings in a ‘*Sevillano*’ style. It was a great success, and within a few years Andalusian ‘regionalism’ became the dominant style in Seville, and not just in the district of Santa Cruz. Between around 1916 and 1932 something like half of the new buildings erected in the city could be described as regionalist in style. Consequently, thanks to its architects and craftsmen, Seville as a whole became more *Sevillano* than it had ever been previously. Similarly, when in the same year of 1910 the decision was taken to organize an Ibero-American Exhibition in the city – which would eventually be held, after long postponements due mainly to the First World War, in 1929 – Seville’s principal regionalist architect, Aníbal González Álvarez, was appointed to design the main buildings for the event, such as the magnificent Plaza de España, because it was felt that his plans for the project would form ‘an authentically Spanish, and eminently regional, ensemble’. As would equally be very clear in the final results – with the ‘Avenue of the Race’, the Plaza de América and above all the Plaza de España itself, with its benches representing all Spain’s provinces, busts of its foremost national heroes and bridges representing the historic kingdoms of Castile, León, Aragon and Navarre – cultural nationalism could also be made use of as a showcase and a special attraction to draw in the largest possible number of visitors.¹³

However, creating a traditional image of one’s own collective identity was not the only option. The organizers of the International Exhibition in Barcelona, held in the same year as the Seville fair, 1929, chose to follow the opposite path. Catalonia preferred to use the

¹¹ Moreno Garrido, ‘Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)’, 221–29; A. Cocola Gant. 2013. ‘The Invention of the Barcelona Gothic Quarter’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 9 (1), 18–34.

¹² Moreno Garrido, ‘Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)’, 252–71; C.P. Boyd. 2002. ‘The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain’, *History & Memory* 14 (1–2), 37–64.

¹³ E. Storm. 2010. *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 208–15.

occasion to portray itself as a modern and cosmopolitan region. The event had initially been conceived as an exhibition dedicated entirely to the ultra-modern industry of electricity, and had been due to take place in 1917. The majority of the new buildings required were to be built in the new, sober international neoclassical style known in its Catalan variant as *noucentisme*, a play on the double meanings of the word *nou* (both ‘new’ and ‘nine’), as the style of the new century in the 1900s. However, since the organizers understood that they could not compete in terms of modernity with San Francisco, which was due to hold an ambitious international exposition in 1915, they decided to add something that the Americans did not have: the historic and artistic treasures of Spain – which were to be exhibited in the new ‘National Palace’ at the top of the mountain of Montjuïc – and its wealth of popular traditions, which would be shown off in a special avenue devoted to ‘Types of Spanish Life’. In the final design of the Exhibition this avenue became the *Poble Espanyol* or ‘Spanish Village’, a collection of careful reproductions of traditional vernacular architecture from all the regions of Spain that is still today one of Barcelona’s best-known tourist attractions. Unfortunately, by the time it was finally possible to inaugurate the Exhibition in 1929 – since it too had suffered long delays, due to the World War and political problems – *noucentisme* no longer seemed so modern, and it was the Weimar Republic that presented itself as the most advanced of all countries, providing the celebrated Barcelona Pavilion by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, a landmark of the new architectural functionalism.¹⁴ Even so, this evident zeal for presenting one’s community to the world in an ultra-modern style would also be characteristic of democratic Spain during the final decades of the century.

Dictatorship, Republic and Civil War

Tourism did not initially figure in the list of priorities of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, and after he seized power in a coup d’état in 1923 there were few immediate changes in the tourism policy of the government. It was not till two years later that the Dictator decided that the central government should take over the reins of both the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville and the Barcelona Exhibition, since both projects, which had begun as local initiatives, were not making sufficient progress. Subsequently, since the regime then felt itself responsible for the two exhibitions, which could enhance its international prestige, it decided to professionalize the administration of tourism, taking as a model the Italian *Ente Nazionale per la Industria Turistica*. Hence, in April 1928 it replaced the *Comisaría Regia* with the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* (National Tourism Trust), which had its own, proper budget, and even opened seven offices abroad.¹⁵

The creation of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* certainly signified a radical change of course. The new body concerned itself with every dimension of modern tourism: hotels, the training of professional staff, advertising, catalogues, guidebooks, reliable statistics and the creation of official tourist information centres. In addition, instead of focussing solely on the nation’s artistic and historical heritage, it also set out to present Spain as a modern country. In its first report issued in 1930, *Memoria de los Trabajos realizados por el Patronato Nacional de Turismo* (Report on the Projects carried out by the National Tourism Trust), the

¹⁴ Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*, 198–203.

¹⁵ A. Moreno Garrido. 2007. *Historia del turismo en España en el siglo XX*, Madrid: Síntesis. 117–25.

organization insisted on ‘the political importance for Spain that it should be known not just as an immense museum... but also as a modern people open to all kinds of initiatives and suggestions, however advanced they may be’. This was most clearly manifested in the *Patronato*’s advertising posters, which no longer solely portrayed traditional characters in folkloric dress but also modern tourists in the latest fashions. Use was even made of highly modern designs inspired by cubism, futurism and art deco.¹⁶

While the Primo de Rivera dictatorship had tried to associate itself with technological and economic modernization, the Second Republic inaugurated in 1931 wished to show itself to the world above all as a country that was advanced in political and cultural terms. Equally, although the tourism administration had less money at its disposal than a few years earlier, the Republic also introduced certain novelties. In first place, it wished to democratize domestic tourism by organizing trips for schools, and introducing a *cartilla turística* or tourist card that enabled the less well-off to save money by buying transport tickets and accommodation at reduced prices. The new government also proposed to direct travellers’ attention towards less visited regions, and began the decentralization of tourism administration by delegating responsibility for Catalonia to the Catalan autonomous government, the Generalitat, in 1932.¹⁷

Perhaps the most drastic change was in the image of the country that official bodies wished to transmit. What mattered most to the governments of the left was not so much to reach an international audience in order to promote tourism but to address the ordinary people. They wished to fortify the legitimacy of the Republic by showing it to be a modern state that was working in favour of everyone, providing, for example, greater funding for primary education and public libraries. In this they did not only make efforts to enable workers to have leisure time and travel for holidays, but also introduced measures to bring the national heritage closer to ordinary people, organizing the famous *Misiones Pedagógicas* or ‘Educational Missions’ of young volunteers who toured the most deprived regions of the country. Through film and slide shows, a ‘travelling museum’ with copies of famous paintings, concerts and performances by theatre groups such as *La Barraca*, the government introduced the milestones of high culture to even the remotest villages.¹⁸

This recognition of the importance of culture and of extending it as broadly as possible was also visible during the Civil War. The Republican government did as much as it could to protect the artistic and monumental heritage under its control, and even evacuated the greatest artistic treasures from areas close to the battlefronts. It also mobilized avant-garde writers and artists, to endow itself with an aura of cultural and political modernity. In 1937, for example, the Second International Congress of Anti-Fascist Writers was held in a Madrid under siege by Franco’s troops. Picasso was named honorary director of the Prado Museum, and shortly afterwards he painted his *Guernica* for the Spanish Pavilion in the Paris International

¹⁶ Moreno Garrido, ‘Turismo y nación. La Identidad Nacional a través de los Símbolos Turísticos (España 1908-1929)’, 140 and 147; E. Afínoguénova. 2007. ‘El Discurso del Turismo y la Configuración de una Identidad Nacional para España’, in A. del Rey-Reguillo (ed.), *Cine, imaginario y turismo. Estrategias de seducción*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 50–53.

¹⁷ B. Correyero and R. Cal. 2008. *Turismo: la Mayor Propaganda de Estado. España: desde sus inicios hasta 1951*. Madrid: Visión Libros, 181–83, 197–8 and 224.

¹⁸ S. Holguin. 2002. *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Exhibition, in which space was also provided for the autonomous governments of Catalonia and the Basque Country.¹⁹

The rightist or ‘nationalist’ side in the war, for its part, presented itself as a traditional authoritarian state that protected the established order, religion and private property, although it also had fascist aspects. Franco and his supporters paid less attention to the protection of the national heritage, and preferred traditionalist artists to the avant-garde. However, while both warring camps were highly active in promoting their cause abroad, only Franco’s government in Burgos decided to make use of tourism, organizing a set of *Rutas de Guerra* or ‘war routes’ to exhibit the achievements of their ‘National Crusade’ to an international public. In effect, the regime’s new *Servicio Nacional de Turismo* (National Tourism Service) acquired twenty buses in the United States for the purpose, and in July 1938 the first tourists were able to enjoy a guided tour of the battlefields. By the war’s end a few thousand foreigners, in general people already sympathetic to the nationalist cause, had toured these ‘Itineraries of Spanish Heroism’.²⁰

Francoism

With the war over, Franco and his regime did not show any great interest in encouraging international tourism. The *Rutas de Guerra* had been a success and continued in operation, renamed ‘National Routes’. However, with the exception of these organized tours, the propaganda value of which was highly regarded, the government did not look well upon the uncontrolled arrival of foreign travellers. Even in 1950 a Francoist minister still declared his scepticism regarding the benefits that tourism could bring to Spain, asking, ‘Why would we want a few foreigners coming in and showing us their hairy legs’.²¹ What was of most concern to the regime was the potential dangers tourism could bring, for both national security and the moral health of the population. Hence many obstructions were placed in the way of travellers, from strict border controls to rigid regulation of travel agencies and currency exchange facilities and the *tríptico* or three-part form that travellers had to carry with them at all times and show at hotels in order to control their movements.²² Francoist tourism policy thus had many similarities with that of its ideological enemy, the Soviet Union, where Intourist accompanied and exercised vigilance over all foreign visitors.

Nevertheless, the tourism administration that Franco had established during the war continued to function. The *Servicio Nacional de Turismo* became the *Dirección General de Turismo* (General Directorate of Tourism), which remained – following the example of Nazi Germany – part of the Press and Propaganda Sub-Secretariat of the Interior Ministry. Its officials quite soon took their first steps towards professionalizing the tourism sector, and as early as August 1939 they recommended adapting food served in hotels to international tastes,

¹⁹ J. Álvarez Lopera. 1982. *La Política de Bienes Culturales del Gobierno Republicano durante la Guerra Civil Española*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura; A. Shubert. 1999. ‘O Franquismo vai à feira. O regime franquista, as feiras mundiais e as imagens da nação’, *Penélope*, 21, 134.

²⁰ S. Holguin. 2005. “‘National Spain invites you’: Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War’, *American Historical Review* 110 (5), 1399–426.

²¹ Unnamed minister, quoted in a letter from José Luis Ochoa, Spanish Ambassador in Uruguay, 21 April 1970; quoted in Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 43.

²² Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 43, see also 34–35 and 43–57.

avoiding ‘regional concoctions’ with ‘excessively strange characteristics or strong dressings unknown outside of Spain’, though without ceasing to serve classic Spanish dishes such as ‘paella, *cocido madrileño*, or *tortilla a la española*’. At the end of the 1940s and in the first years of the next decade the desire to escape from international isolation and economic necessity – felt above all in the shortage of foreign currency – provided the main stimulus for those who looked at international tourism from a more pragmatic viewpoint.²³

As to domestic tourism, there were no such ideological obstacles, but rather the opposite. In this regard the regime clearly followed the pattern set by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, encouraging *excursionismo* and group tours around the country through the various organizations included in its official *Movimiento Nacional*. In the tours and outings organized by the *Frente de Juventudes* (Youth Front), *Sección Femenina* (Women’s Section) and *Sindicato Español Universitario* (Spanish University Union) patriotic exultation and political indoctrination formed part of the programme. In addition, in 1939 the regime created an organization specifically for the purpose of providing leisure for workers, the *Obra Sindical ‘Educación y Descanso’* (‘Education and Rest’ Union Foundation) which not only concerned itself with sports, theatre performances and concerts but also organized excursions and holidays for its members, which officially numbered over five million. Catholic tourism also enjoyed the support of the regime. Encouragement was given, for example, to the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, especially during the *Años Jacobeos* or Holy Years, when 25 July, the Day of St James, fell on a Sunday. In 1952, also, Barcelona attracted a million visitors to the thirty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress.²⁴

What the regime wished to show off during these years was above all the great monuments of Spain’s glorious past, and its venerable popular traditions. Hence the preferred destinations were the historic cities of the interior, while the tourist calendar was preferentially organized around the main saints’ days and religious or folkloric holidays, with a special focus on *Semana Santa*, Holy Week, and the bullfighting season. Encouragement was also given to excursions into the world of nature. Hunting and fishing, after all, were Franco’s favourite hobbies. This policy was so successful that drastic measures had to be taken on some hunting estates to prevent the extinction of certain species. A different fate befell the bastions of high culture, such as the great art museums and the royal palaces, which from 1950 were opened to the public as part of the *Patrimonio Nacional* or National Heritage. The high cost of admission to the museums and palaces made it clear that the regime had less regard for the country’s artistic treasures, and made no effort to extend knowledge of them.²⁵

If Spain were to escape from its international ostracism, after 1945 it was no longer advisable to place too much emphasis on the regime’s most openly fascist aspects. Folklore and traditional dress, songs and dances, in contrast, offered ideal neutral, depoliticized terrain. In addition, these clichéd images were also what the great majority of tourists were interested to see, as the authorities were well aware. A competition for promotional ideas launched by the new Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1953 made it clear that Spain’s primary asset

²³ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 35, see also 39–57.

²⁴ C. Molinero. 2005. *La Captación de las Masas. Política Social y Propaganda en el Régimen Franquista*. Madrid: Cátedra, 144–151; Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el siglo XX*, 172–80 and 283–87; Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 153–55.

²⁵ Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el siglo XX*, 171–76.

was its *tipismo*, its most traditional character. One of the participants in the competition expressed this with complete candour, declaring that ‘the tourist wants amenities and ease of travel, comfort in hotels, good food at the restaurant, better wine, and *españoladas* [a usually derogatory term for any cliché of Spanishness]: bulls, dance, Flamenco, singing, Gypsies ... Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada... We must resign ourselves, where tourism is concerned, to being a country of *pandereta* [tambourines]’. Consequently, in 1957 the Ministry launched an advertising campaign with the slogan ‘Spain is Different’, associating the country with exoticism. More than ever, folklore, bulls, flamenco and cliché images of Andalusia represented Spain in the brochures and posters distributed abroad.²⁶

The Francoist policy of using tourism to propagate the traditionalist values of the regime while imposing iron control on the movements of foreign travellers eventually failed, since during the 1950s the government found itself obliged to liberalize the tourism industry and its supervision of the flow of visitors. With the devaluation of the peseta in 1959, which more or less coincided with the introduction of the first charter flights and the emergence of mass tourism in the countries of Western Europe, tourism became an economic sector of crucial importance. The number of foreigners visiting Spain initiated a vertiginous ascent in the 1960s, rising from four million in 1959 to 34 million by 1973. The great majority of these tourists, however, were not interested in the kind of tourism promoted by the regime, but only wanted sun and sand, which thanks to the new economic policy were accessible at very competitive prices. The only meeting-point between the new mass tourism and Francoism was in folklore, although this was no longer the main attraction, but only an extra way of passing the time – in the shape of an outing to a typical village, a donkey ride or a flamenco show in a bar – as part of a holiday by the beach.²⁷

The gradual opening-up of the regime entered a new phase with the appointment in 1962 of Manuel Fraga Iribarne as Minister of Information and Tourism. He very quickly began to develop a more active policy for promoting the regime both at home and abroad. In 1964, for example, he oversaw the celebration of ‘25 Years of Peace’ since Franco’s victory in 1939, stressing most of all the order that reigned in the country and the contribution the regime had made to international peace. The Ministry’s programmes also presented Spain as a modern country in which the regime guaranteed stability, effective planning and economic growth, one in which there was no need to democratize the government, since ‘Spain is Different’. Fraga also modernized Spain’s image as a tourist destination. As early as 1961 allusions to Andalusian clichés and exoticism were largely replaced in official promotional material by more specific images of Spain’s regional diversity, although they still primarily portrayed local *fiestas* and traditional customs and handicrafts. In brochures Spain was now presented as a *continente turístico*, a place with so many diverse regions that it offered as wide a variety of experiences as a continent, and one of the Ministry’s publications highlighted the regional diversity of Spanish gastronomy. For the New York World’s Fair in 1964, Fraga not only presented Spain as a country with both folklore and technological

²⁶ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 69, see also 68–72; J. Hernández Ramírez, J. 2008. *La Imagen de Andalucía en el Turismo*. Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 74–82.

²⁷ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 83–104; Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el siglo XX*, 207–10 and 240.

advances, but also provided a sensational display of works of art, which even included paintings by Miró and Picasso.²⁸

This policy of presenting the country as a ‘unity in diversity’ was perhaps addressed more to a domestic than an international public, since at this time the Catalan and Basque nationalist movements had been re-emerging with renewed energy. It is possible that it was thought within the Ministry of Information and Tourism that giving recognition to a certain degree of cultural diversity might take away part of the discontent felt at the centralism of the state ruled from Madrid. In the television series *Conozca Usted España* (roughly, ‘Know your Spain’), broadcast with great success between 1966 and 1969, the Ministry explicitly set out to encourage domestic tourism, with the implication that this would stimulate mutual understanding and the integration of the different regions of the country. This policy probably had fewer implications for the image of Spain abroad, since the advertising produced by commercial travel agencies – which was quantitatively far more important than the equivalent material distributed by the Ministry of Information and Tourism – continued to rely on national clichés like bulls and flamenco.²⁹

Nevertheless, the emphasis given to folkloric images had begun to lose ideological weight. For both the regionalist cultural activists of the early twentieth century and the majority of Francoists of the older generation, the popular traditions of the countryside had been a true expression of the spirit of the people, and therefore represented the most authentic part of the nation. This valuable inheritance from the past had to be protected and preserved. However, the reality was very different. In many places around Spain traditions were presented – as in the flamenco shows on the Catalan Costa Brava – that originated in other regions and had nothing to do with local customs. An early demonstration of the fact that many Spaniards were fully aware that they were disguising themselves to appeal to foreigners was the famous film *¡Bienvenido, Mr Marshall!* (Welcome, Mr Marshall!), made in 1953 when the Franco regime was negotiating its first agreement with the United States to receive economic aid in return for providing military bases. Thinking they are going to be visited by some US representatives, the inhabitants of a Castilian village decide to dress up as Andalusians with flamenco dresses and cardboard Cordoban hats and put up fake whitewashed walls, all to satisfy the Americans’ supposed appetite for the exotic. In 1964 the Ministry of Information and Tourism itself admitted openly that folklore had become a mere marketing tool. In a tourist guide that was published in eleven languages visitors were warned that, ‘something that irritates most Spaniards is corny “Spanishery”... Don’t say “toreador” for *torero* or *matador*, or keep on about Carmen and that just to show how well up you are on things Spanish. “Spanishery” is a business mounted by certain Spaniards with an eye to the more ingenuous tourist.’ The preservation of genuine traditions had turned into the commercialization of national stereotypes, which could be seen not only in the huge numbers

²⁸ J. Crumbaugh. 2009. *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 29–33 and 41–67; Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 147–51; E. Afinoguénova. 2010. “‘Unity, stability, continuity’: Heritage and the renovation of Franco’s dictatorship in Spain, 1957-1969”, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (6), 420–4 ; Shubert, ‘O Franquismo vai à feira. O regime franquista, as feiras mundiais e as imagens da nação’, 146.

²⁹ Afinoguénova, “‘Unity, stability, continuity’: Heritage and the renovation of Franco’s dictatorship in Spain, 1957-1969”, 425–6; Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 152.

of flamenco shows or *tablaos* along the coast but also in the conscious adoption of Spanish stereotypes by popular singers like Manolo Escobar and Julio Iglesias.³⁰

For both national and international publics, Fraga Iribarne also wanted to associate tourism with progress and openness. This was applied quite literally in the so-called *destape* – ‘uncovering’, in the relaxation of prudish restrictions on clothing and other areas of everyday life – which was openly favoured by a Fraga who wanted a ‘joyful, miniskirted Spain’. With the enormous success of tourism – by 1964 Spain had become the foremost tourist destination in the world, ahead of France and Italy – this became the symbol *par excellence* of the country’s modernity. Fraga did not fail to take advantage of any opportunity to proclaim the successes of the regime, as when Spain’s millionth tourist was met with cameras and a press reception at the airport. The *NO-DO* or *Noticario-Documental*, the official newsreel that was shown in all Spanish cinemas before the main feature, also began to give more attention to tourism, associating it with an economic miracle and the modernization of the country. The Minister hoped that this would make Spaniards feel proud of their country, one so beloved by foreign visitors.³¹

This peaceful invasion of tourists had unanticipated effects as well. One, for example, was that the expansion and modernization of the tourist sector did away with the local flavour and real character of many localities along the Spanish coast. Picturesque villages like Benidorm or Torremolinos were rapidly transformed into modern cities of concrete. The displacement of tourism from the interior to the coast brought consequences for Spain’s reputation abroad. In place of a country of monumental cities and diverse landscapes appealing to a select number of travellers, its profile was now dominated by the image of Mediterranean costas with beaches full of sunbathers. Paella and sangria replaced the Spanish omelette and sherry, and Don Juan won out over Carmen. While in the nineteenth century European male writers had fantasized about passionate, sensual dark-eyed women like Carmen, in the new era the myth of the ‘Latin lover’ or Iberian *macho* gained ground. This was in part due to the numbers of Spanish men who, drawn by the fame and supposedly loose morals of the *Suecas* – ‘Swedish girls’, though it could be extended to any blonde northern European woman – seduced a Nordic beauty on the beach. Although there were no doubt Spanish women who had relationships with blonde men, the Spanish collective imagination was dominated by the coupling of the Iberian macho and the *Sueca*. This was shown, for example, in the new film genre of ‘Celtiberian sex comedies’, like those featuring Alfredo Landa and Manolo Escobar. Although the apparently daring images they showed of promiscuity, adultery and semi-naked bodies seemed to go against the strict Catholic morality that was still proclaimed by the regime, parodies of the new sexual relationships like *Las Estrellas están Verdes* (The Stars are Green, 1971) or *Manolo la Nuit* (1973) could in a subtle way also feed national pride. In them the Iberian macho generally occupied a lowly position such as that of a waiter or hotel clerk, but managed to invert the hierarchy by conquering the

³⁰ Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*, 8 and 67–86; quote in Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 151.

³¹ Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*, 94; Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain*, 140–2.

tourist. Moreover, in general, in the end normality was re-established when Don Juan went back to his home village and married a good Spanish girl.³²

Democracy

The economic crisis of 1974, which ended the period of continuous tourism growth in Spain, and the transition to democracy that was initiated in 1975 provided an opportunity to reconsider the tourism model that prevailed in the country. One important change was the decision to transfer responsibilities over tourism to the autonomous regions. Although the new autonomous institutions took some time to function effectively, in general their response to the ending of the first tourism boom was to diversify the range of activities on offer, stimulating, for example, rural and cultural tourism to adapt to a less standardized demand. A modern equivalent was also provided for traditional *fiestas*, and Lloret de Mar, Ibiza and Marbella, each with its own particular public, became new symbols of international nightlife. Overall, however, the area in which the transition brought a total break with the past was the manner in which Spain was presented to the outside world. While the Franco regime had preferred a traditional, folkloric image of Spain, the first democratic governments wanted to give an image of a country that was modern, democratic and cosmopolitan.³³

This desire to present Spain as a modern European country was still more marked during the governments of the Socialist Party, the PSOE, from 1982 to 1996. By 1983 the Ministry of Transport, Tourism and Trade had already chosen an emphatically modern design by Joan Miró as a standard logo for all the tourism promotion of the state, the famous semi-abstract sun in red, yellow and black, with the single word *España* beneath it.³⁴ At the same time, the governments of Felipe González, like the leaders of the Second Republic before them, wished to show off the new face of the country. They did so not just abroad but also in an educational manner to the public at home, most especially by extending facilities to allow access to the achievements of international high culture for the broadest possible public. This modernizing policy culminated in 1992, when Seville celebrated its Expo '92, Barcelona hosted the Olympic Games and Madrid was European Capital of Culture.

The Olympics confirmed Barcelona's new status as an innovative cultural centre, which it had acquired in large part thanks to its policy of urban renovation. Thus, the decaying industrial district of Poble Nou was turned into a stylish Olympic village, and the old port was elegantly reconnected with the city. Some of the main buildings for 1992 were entrusted to international star architects: thus, Norman Foster built the Torre de Collserola tower above the city, Frank Gehry created the *Peix d'Or* or Golden Fish, a striking sculpture outside the Olympic Village, and the Catalan Ricardo Bofill designed the new airport terminal. However, the one figure who in the following years would emerge as another international symbol of this ultra-modern Spain – like Pedro Almodóvar in cinema or Ferran Adrià in cuisine – was the Valencian Santiago Calatrava. His Olympic Communications Tower on Montjuïc is a

³² Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*, 87–108, and M. Nash. 2015. 'Mass Tourism and New Representations of Gender in Late Francoist Spain: The Sueca and Don Juan in the late 1960s', *Cultural History* 4 (2), 136–162.

³³ Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el siglo XX*, 256–66, 314–18, 336–45.

³⁴ Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*, 135–6, note 2.

good example of his spectacular architecture based on futuristic technology. Thanks to all these transformations, Barcelona became a fashionable destination for short breaks.³⁵

The Universal Exposition or Expo in Seville in 1992 was staged to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of America, and like the Barcelona Olympics was characterized by a post-modern aesthetic. The new high-speed train, the AVE, transported passengers in record time from Madrid to Seville, where by crossing over Calatrava's new Alamillo Bridge they could reach the exhibition site on the island of La Cartuja, with its various pavilions which, too, had nearly all been created in ultra-modern styles. However, after the Expo closed the subsequent promised conversion of the island into a technology park was a failure. The best example of the spectacular renovation of an industrial city in Spain was Bilbao. Calatrava and Foster both made their contributions, with a bridge and new metro stations respectively. The icing on the cake, though, in the reconversion of the former industrial zone beside the River Nervión was Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum. This spectacular deconstructivist building transformed the city into an internationally famous tourist destination.³⁶

Moreover, the new democratic Spain did not only present itself to the world as a modern and cosmopolitan country, but also as a very varied whole. The new autonomous regions were now able to create profiles for themselves as separate tourist destinations, and this diversity also came to the fore during 1992. During the Barcelona Olympics, for example, Catalan symbols were omnipresent. In addition, too, Spain's national past was also portrayed in a more diverse manner. With the Expo the government sought to revive and emphasize Spain's historic links with the countries of Latin America, and it also staged a major exhibition of Arab art and culture in Granada, and included a special programme, *Sefarad '92* (from the old Hebrew name for Spain), that gave wide-ranging attention to the country's Jewish legacy through exhibitions, publications, concerts and conferences.³⁷

All of which does not mean that the old familiar Spanish traditions no longer played any part at all. One could say that Madrid managed to improve its international image by appealing above all to its traditions and artistic past. The city was conclusively established as the prime showcase for the national artistic heritage. In 1986 the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía first opened its doors as a giant space for contemporary art, and from 1992 it possessed Picasso's *Guernica*. The same year of 1992 also saw the inauguration of the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza on the nearby Paseo del Prado, so that with the already-existing Prado Museum the three formed a real 'Art Avenue' of stunning art museums, to which would soon be added the renovated Atocha railway station. The Thyssen, the station and later the Prado itself were all subtly renovated by Rafael Moneo, the star architect of the capital. Nevertheless, the Mayor of Madrid for the Partido Popular from 1991 to 2003, José María Álvarez del Manzano, had another idea of tradition, insisting that the municipal orchestra play

³⁵ J. Hargreaves. 2000. *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan nationalism, Spanish identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; C. Adagio. 2004, 'Il PSOE e la Gestione dei Grandi Eventi del 1992', *Spagna Contemporanea* 25, 69-70 and 74-82.

³⁶ Adagio, 'Il PSOE e la Gestione dei Grandi Eventi del 1992', 82-7 and 90-98.

³⁷ Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan nationalism, Spanish identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*, 97-106; T. Morgan. 1999. '1992: Memories and Modernities', in B. Jordan and R. Morgan-Tamosunas (eds.), *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*. London: Arnold, 58-68.

pasodobles and *zarzuelas* (tunes from Spanish operettas) in the opening ceremony of Madrid's season as European Cultural Capital.³⁸ This **intervention** well reflected the change that had taken place in the perception of Spanish folklore. While at the beginning of the century it had been progressive intellectuals who had salvaged and promoted popular traditions, by the 1990s they had become commercial products that appealed above all to certain right-wing politicians, as well as to a substantial ordinary public.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can say that the field in which there has been most continuity with regard to perceptions of Spain from outside has been in the expectations of foreign tourists. The role of pioneers was played by the travellers of the Romantic era, who set out looking for a country that was exotic, primitive and different, and found a European Orient in Andalusia with its Arab monuments, gypsy dances and strange celebrations. Flamenco and bulls, the *alegría* or joy of the *fiesta* and picturesque traditional villages in large part still define the country's image for foreigners. Nevertheless, in the course of the last hundred years there have been certain changes. There has been a clear growth, for example, in the interest shown in the folklore of other regions, which to some degree has diversified the image of Spanish popular culture. There has continued to be a certain predilection for the monuments of Al-Andalus, but other landmarks of Spain's historic and cultural heritage have also seen a rise in foreign interest. Recently, in addition, avant-garde culture, from *Guernica* to the Bilbao Guggenheim, has attracted a growing number of foreign visitors. However, the one area that has seen the most profound transformation has been the radical change in the type of leisure that tourists prefer. Until the middle of the twentieth century a select number of travellers visited, above all, the traditional bathing resorts of the north coast and the historic cities of the interior; from around 1950 onwards, in contrast, huge masses of people began to head towards the Mediterranean coast in search of heat and pleasure. From a rather exotic European country with an interesting historic heritage, Spain became a cheap destination for sun and sand.

Within Spain this demand from abroad produced a variety of reactions. While they did not focus exclusively on the cliché Spain of the *pandereta* or tambourine, the different Spanish authorities understood that it was advisable to present a traditional picturesque image of the country if they wanted to attract the largest number of foreign visitors. At the same time, however, the interest shown by domestic travellers in the popular culture of the countryside was also clearly increasing, beginning with the *excursionistas* or hikers at the turn of the century. People no longer visited only the great monuments of the past or the most spectacular landscapes, but also wanted to see characteristic villages, handicrafts and folk traditions and enjoy regional food. With the creation of the state-owned chain of Parador hotels, the encouragement given to regional architecture, the renovation of the old quarters of cities, the introduction of designated origins for wines and the publicity given to regional gastronomy and folklore the various authorities of the first decades of the century acknowledged the importance of these trends. It was from this point on that Spain began to become more Spanish, Andalusia more *Andaluz* and Seville more *Sevillano*...

³⁸ Morgan, '1992: Memories and Modernities', 65.

Until Franco's arrival in power, this new interest in folklore also had a clear participatory element, since it included popular culture and those who produced it as an integral part of the Spanish nation, which up to that point had been defined principally by reference to great works of its high culture and historic heritage. During the Second Republic and in the democratic era that began in the 1970s recognition has been given to the fundamental diversity of the country, with a decentralization of tourism administration and an effort to make international high culture and the landmarks of the national heritage reach the widest possible public. Under Franco, in contrast, the only regional diversity displayed in public was in folklore, which lost, in addition, its dimension of free expression.

As to the historic heritage, the different regimes did everything they could to satisfy the foreign taste for the exotic, facilitating access to the main monuments of Spain's Islamic past. However, they also sought to preserve and publicize other aspects of the historic legacy, generally those connected with the medieval *Reconquista*, the Discovery of America or the *Siglo de Oro*, Spain's 'Golden Age' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. New sites were even invented to evoke historical memories, as in the Casa del Greco and the Casa de Cervantes. In this regard the preferences of conservative regimes like that of Franco were very different from those of democratic governments, which in 1992, for instance, gave attention not only to the feats of Columbus but also to Spain's Muslim and Jewish legacies. There were also major differences in the ways contemporary culture was employed to promote the country abroad. While the Second Republic and later democratic governments used avant-garde art to give a modern image of the country, the Restoration and the Franco regime placed more emphasis on tradition.

Another matter that has always concerned Spanish authorities has been the image of Spain as a backward nation. Every government, without exception, has wished to correct this harmful representation by demonstrating the modernity of the country. However, this could be done in very different ways. The *Comisaría Regia* of the Restoration wished to meet the new cultural tastes of a select cosmopolitan public. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera focussed above all on improving infrastructure in order to give an image of technological modernity. The Second Republic preferred to present Spain as a country that was advanced in the fields of politics and culture. From 1957 Franco followed once again the model of Primo de Rivera, showing off an efficient modernizing regime, while after 1975 the new governments returned to the republican model, presenting Spain as a democratic country fully integrated in Europe and combining adventurous architecture with the innovative urban renewal schemes of Barcelona or Bilbao.

However, what has been the ultimate impact of all these changes on the image of Spain? The most striking aspect of the era that lasted up until the 1940s was that the national imaginary of Spain was produced by and for the western cultural elites. The vision of Spain held by foreigners was determined above all by travel literature, novels, theatre, the opera and the press. Travellers also played their part, confirming many of the existing clichés. Those Spanish intellectuals and politicians who attempted to modify or to some extent adapt these images formed part of the same cosmopolitan European elite, and in large part shared the same tastes and fashions.

From the 1950s the masses arrived. From then on it was this mass tourism and the new communications media, radio, cinema and television, that largely determined the image of Spain. If previously it had above all been intellectuals who had invented and propagated the principal national and regional myths and symbols, now it was business and marketing. And, while in the earlier period many intellectuals had believed in the existence of a national character that it was important to preserve and cultivate, nowadays the great majority of their contemporary equivalents disdain banal stereotypes. Today it is the mass public that has begun to consume and show their preferences for national clichés, both the foreign tourists who buy typical souvenirs and the large sector of the public within Spain who sing the kitsch anthem *¡Que viva España!* to celebrate victories in sports.

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