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RAQUEL PELTA

University of Barcelona

Visit Spain: The image of Spain in the state's tourist poster (1928-1975)

Keywords

Spanish poster tourist poster touristic advertisement National Tourist Board Franco's dictatorship image of Spain

Abstract/

Throughout the twentieth century, tourist posters have played a key role in the transmission of the image of 1. Spath abroad. This article focuses on two periods in which they had a greater role: the end of the reign of 2. Alfonso XIII with the founding of the National Tourist Board and the Franco dictatorship. These two periods 3. are two different ways to show the country's image. The first was an attempt to spread the wealth and diver- 4. sity of Spain, in an effort to break stereotypes that travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had 5. created. The second used many of these clichés in order to gain acceptance of the regime at a time of interna- 6. tional isolation.

The exterior image of a country is always constructed in a specular way and on the intersection between the own projected image and the figure that the 'others' send back; it is determined by the image it has of itself and vice versa: the exterior image informs the 'interior' one. Expectations and beliefs are also influential: what we think that the others see or expect from us acts on the behaviour



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and the image. We contribute to make this image become real in order to adjust ourselves to the others' expectations.

One of the fields in which this fact is most easily perceptible is precisely touristic advertising, because the tourist promotion campaigns are one country's business card abroad and, consequently, essential elements for conforming its international positioning. Their recipients receive a message – with a series of values and benefits and emotionally charged - whose mission is to transmit the charms of the place. Nonetheless, as C. Echazarreta and M. Vinyals i Corney (2011: 46) observe: 'campaigns are not built on nothing, they lean on cultural clichés and stereotypes previously known by the recipients'.

Within the Spanish tourist campaigns, posters have played the chief role as vehicles to spread 11. the country's image, as one of the most broadly used media until the end of the twentieth century. In this article, I will refer to two different periods in the history of Spanish tourism that are fundamental to understand the evolution of its posters: (1) Alfonso XIII's reign (1886-1931) and the Republican period (1931–1939), with the foundation of the National Tourist Board (1928), and (2) Francoism (1936–1975). I will focus on these two periods because they constitute a milestone in the history of tourism in Spain, from its beginnings in a modern sense (1900-1959) until its conversion into a mass phenomenon (1960-1975). Although for different reasons, in these two epochs the transmission of the image of Spain abroad was essential. During Alfonso XIII's monarchy and Second Republic, the State tried to break the stereotypes created by foreigners in the eighteenth century, coinciding with an attempt to regenerate the country after the loss of Cuba (1898), which was the end of an empire that had lasted four centuries. In Franco's age, many of the clichés about Spain, originated in the nineteenth century, were enhanced with the aim of attracting tourism as an important economic resource but also as a way of achieving international acceptance of the regime. 24.

But what public image of Spain did tourist posters project during these two periods? Before speaking about this issue, we should first pose a question how did the stereotypes about Spain appear? Because they shaped the image communicated by these posters during the twentieth century. These stereotypes are rooted in the past and remain almost intact to the present day.

1. Spain: A stereotyped and confused image

Authors such as F. García de Cortázar (García de Cortázar and González Vesga 2004) have indicated that the myth of a different Spain still remains, even in the twenty-first century, in the idea of the country perceived abroad. This myth began to develop in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although its historical precedents come from the European perception of the Medieval heroes, the 36. noblemen from the seventeenth century, the conquerors of America, the Inquisition, the mysticism





- The concept and 1. denomination'Black Legend' was forged in 1914 by Julián Juderías, historian and sociologist, when he published the paper entitled 'The black legend and the historical truth: Spain in Europe'.
- The first edition of the book was published in Vienna in 1855. The quote proceeds from the Spanish translation in 1999.

and Catholicism of Philip II and the Borbon's arrival to an obscurantist country, ultra-Catholic and 1. lost in its material underdevelopment. Over time, the 'Black Legend', a group of negative opinions 2. about Spain, was configured. In fact, in the sixteenth century the rest of the Europeans thought that 3. the Spanish were 'a compendium of negative elements characteristic of fanatic, arrogant, greedy and 4. cruel people' (Burns Marañón 2000: 21), a vision that only partially corresponded to reality and from 5. which a series of archetypes that accompanied to the image of Spain in North America and Europe 6. until the beginning of the Contemporary Era stemmed.

Two centuries later, in the 1800s the Enlightened thinkers like Voltaire, Diderot or Montesquieu 8. saw in Spain everything that the Enlightenment wanted to eradicate: 'For the Enlightenment intel-9. lectuals the map of Spain represented the map of laziness, backwardness, obscurantism and 10. Inquisition' – in García de Cortázar's words (García de Cortázar and González 2004: 187), while 11. they turned their backs on the progress from Charles III's reign, a period when industry and trade 12. awoke, communications improved, education was fostered and the population grew.

On the other hand, the English travellers, influenced by Adam Smith's ideas, considered that the 14. Spaniards' way of being was caused by having been poorly governed and subjugated to an arbitrary power, as Tom Burns Marañón (2000: 22) has stated, for whom the ones to blame 'were not the 16. Spanish people, for being lazy, ignorant and superstitious, but their leaders for being archaic, centralist and dogmatic'.

Although some of the myths and stereotypes from the past did not completely disappear, it should 19. be noted that this perception changed notably during the Romantic era, at the end of the eighteenth 20. century, and was reinforced during the Independence War, a conflict that would transform Spain which up to then, and for the foreigners, had been black and illiterate – into a heroic, fiery and exotic 22. country. During the nineteenth century, the Spanish turned from ignorant and superstitious into proud and noble, with a personality capable of embellishing even the most hideous aspects of their homeland, as the Archduke of Austria (De Austria 1999: 191) affirmed in his book Resie-Skizzen. Als Manuscript gedruckt, because it deserved 'to be seen and admired only by its people'.2

However, the Romantic appreciation originated other stereotypes that have remained. Romanticism painted a fascinating and captivating Spain, of secular traditions, mysterious and full of pure people. A different and differentiated Spain that soon was represented by Andalusia – origin of the Muslim past and essence, from the Romantic perspective, of the Spanish nation – or reduced to the Andalusian area, therefore erasing the Spanish diversity, through an iconography associated 31. with the Arabic past and its architectural and artistic legacy, to the highlands, to the gipsy of voluptuous figure and flaming black eyes, to the matador, to the outlaws, etc. It was also linked to local 33. colour, exoticism, passion, indomitable personality and individualism.

Travellers and writers like Byron, Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand or Mérimée contributed to the 35. diffusion of this mythic image, fascinated by a people that had been capable of rebelling against the 36.

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Napoleonic oppression in 1808. They opened the path to many others who, since the 1830s, felt that treating the 'theme of Spain' was indispensable, leaving to posterity some travel narrations, full of references to the beauty of its women, its defying dancers, the fearlessness of their outlaws, the evil of its friars, bullfighting, parties, laziness and pleasure.

Although more benevolent than previous eras, the Romantic glance did not consider Spain completely European and placed it at the border of the western world, relying to a great extent on the trace that the Arabic civilization had left on the Peninsula and which allowed it to be in contact with the eastern exoticism, so appreciated by the writers from the nineteenth century. The country went on to be known as a country of passion and innocence, untainted by progress and modern materialism.

The cliché of the 'Spain of the tambourine' ('la España de la pandereta', an expression used to refer to cheap commercial folklore) was born from the confluence of visions prior to Romanticism and others surged from it: a country characterized by pride, honour, religious devotion, material underdevelopment, laziness, folklore, exoticism, passion or cruelty among other features. This image was consolidated abroad thanks to the development of printed capitalism [referred to by Benedict Anderson (1993)], and it lead to a canonic vision that served as a model for later imagologic elaborations, which were widely disseminated mainly by the Anglo-Saxon and French cultures.

This canonic vision permeated in the twentieth century through the Spanish Civil War and Françoist post-war because, as Josefa García Naranjo has pointed, the Romantic and noble Spain from the militiaman faced the black and fanatic Spain from the falangist. [...] The regime that emerged from the war's debris recovered the part of the past so criticized by the Enlightened' (2004).

The Spaniards themselves assumed this canonic vision in the end. They have often looked on the mirror of exceptionality with certain acceptation because, according to E. Lamo de Espinosa (1993: 15), once the stereotype has been created and the previous image starts to generate new images that reassure it, the country ends up being what the others say it is, so that 'the foreign images and stereotypes of Spain conform (and confirm) the image that the Spaniards have of ourselves'. The 'Welcome Mr. Marshall effect', as Lamo de Espinosa calls it, follows: we know what the foreigners expect from us, we try to fulfil their expectations and we end up turning the (false) image into (pseudo) reality.

Tourism is one of the fields in which perhaps the 'Welcome Mr. Marshall effect' is best observed. While travellers and travel literature were in charge of building and transmitting the image of Spain abroad until the end of the nineteenth century, tourists, tourist propaganda and advertising fulfilled this role throughout the twentieth century. It could be said that the latter 36. has been the main diffusion source of Spain's image all around the World, developed under a ¡Bienvenido, Mister . Marshall!/Welcome Mr. Marshall! is a Spanish film directed by Luis García Berlanga in 1953 and produced by UNINCI (Madrid) It is considered one of the masterpieces of Spanish cinema. It begins when the local governor announces to the small Castilian town of Villar del Río that the US Marshall Plan Commission are planning to visit them. The inhabitants come up with a plan to impress the foreigners: they recreate the village as a pictureperfect tourist fantasy of Spain (the Castilian village becomes a lively Andalusian small town). The film satirizes the stereotypes about Spain the Franco regime was promoting.







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At the beginning of the twentieth century, several centres like the Tourist Initiative Center in San Sebastián (1903), the Spanish Society for the Promotion of Tourism in Palma of Mallorca (1906) and the Foreigners Attraction Association in Barcelona (1908) appeared. The existing precedents were the **Excursionist Centers** like the one founded in Barcelona in 1890, which already employed posters to advertise its activities.

strategic plan and with the goal of attracting visitors to the country. Although a diverse number 1. of media are currently used, posters have been one of the most important for a long time, as 2. stated above.

2. The tourist poster in Spain

Alan Weill pointed out that since the 1850s 'tourism became an industry, competition became 7. fierce ... so companies turned their thoughts to advertising' (2003: 214). Ads in magazines and 8. brochures were the most common media but, since 1880, the poster entered the picture, conceived 9. as a medium in which images acquire special importance. In Weill's words, 'The point was to create 10. dreams for a public that had never travelled, showing it magnificent landscapes and lively, elegant 11. resorts' (2003: 215).

For Spain, the history of the tourist poster begins at the end of the nineteenth century, a moment 13. when, after the loss of Cuba, tourism began to be perceived as an important commercial factor but also as a means to connect with abroad.

Spanish tourist poster, like in other countries, is linked to official organizations and institutions 16. to a great extent and its goal is to 'sell' the excellences of the territory. The first posters were released by organizations promoting the local holidays of each town (Figure 1) and the local or provincial 18. tourism and by tourist businesses - health resorts, hotels, railroad companies, naval companies (Figure 2), etc.⁴ Following Jordf Montaner (2003: 127), the posters released by the Spanish Government could be classified in four periods that delineate the state history of Spanish tourism during the twentieth century:

- 1. Alfonso XIII's reign (1886–1931), a period characterized as the first time when the State assumed the tourist activity, creating the Comisión Nacional (National Commission) in 1905, the Comisaría Regia (Royal Commissariat) in 1911 and, during the last years of General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, the Patronato Nacional de Turismo (National Tourist Board) in 1928.
- The Second Republic, the moment when the work of the National Tourist Board (NTB) continued and the autonomic bases by which this organization concedes its headquarters in Barcelona to the Oficina de Turismo de la Generalitat (Tourism Office of the Generalitat) were settled.
- Francoism, a period of state control coincident with the development of the mass tourism, especially since the 1960s.
- 4. The democratic period, the period when the problems inherited from the Francoism became 33. visible while new ones derived from the energy crisis and the globalization surged, in a moment 34. of a new configuration of the State with the transmission of the tourism competencies to the regional governments.







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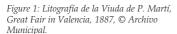




Figure 2: Imprenta Española, ex-convento de las Teresas, Steam Navigation Company to the Pacific, before 1873, © Biblioteca Nacional de España.





General Archive of Administration (AGA) Culture Section. box 12,094, quoted by Correyero Ruiz (2004: 58).

Regarding the poster production, although the foremost tourism organization – the Comisión 1. Nacional Permanente – was born in 1905, the first posters from the Alfonso XIII era – and from 2. the national tourist poster's history – appeared thanks to the creation of the National Tourist 3. Board (that substituted the Comisaría Regia), assigned to the Council of Ministries' Ministry of the 4. Presidency. Its mission would be to establish a 'tourist policy' and a 'preconceived propaganda 5. plan'. The Republic would continue this work and keep the graphic direction established during 6. the previous period.

The Civil War meant a halt in the activities of the National Tourist Board, which limited its work 8. to denouncing the Francoist attacks against the patrimony and promoting the safeguarding actions 9. undertaken by the Second Republic. As the Tourist Board stayed on the Republican zone, the 10. Servicio Nacional de Turismo (National Tourism Service) was created on the Franquist side (Law of 11. 30 January 1938). Among its duties it figured: 'To divulge in all its aspects the knowledge of Spain, organizing in an adequate manner the promotion of its natural, historical and artistic beauties' (Article 1, Project of Regulation and Organization of the National Tourism Service, 9 May 1939).⁵

Once the war finished, Franco's regime created the Dirección General del Turismo/Directorate 15. General of Tourism, an entity that restarted the poster production through its Propaganda and Publications division. By Order on 9 April 1941, a regulation of the publicity with tourist promotional goals was created. This regulation standardized all tourist advertising independently of the 18. employed media, channels or procedures, as well as the spaces designated to its placement. The 19. Directorate General of Tourism also reserved to itself the right to intervene on any advertisement or 20. poster placed outdoors - tourist or not - inside and outside towns and cities, to ban or modify it 21. because the aforementioned Order had the duty to seek the 'protection and respect of tourist inter- 22. ests and places from the Spanish natural or metropolitan landscape which deserve such protection' (Article 3). This measure was justified by stating the need to avoid 'certain advertisements which spoil, decompose and ultimately desecrate precisely those places from the Spanish natural or metropolitan landscape which, thanks to their features, can be object of profiteering with diverse goals'.

The Directorate General of Tourism also held the mission of 'fostering the installation of billboards for the placement of public tourist advertisements inside and outside the cities, and regulating and inspecting the placement, form and usage of these billboards in the event of being installed by private individuals' (Article 7). Likewise, by Order on 11 April 1941, the maximum size for tourist promotion posters was fixed at 62 by 100 centimetres. As it can be inferred from this regulation that 31. controlled both the content and the placement of the posters, the Francoist State was conscious of 32. the relevance of the poster in transmitting the tourist image of a country, even when the messages 33. were not directly related to tourism.

During its history, the Directorate General of Tourism generated a good number of posters, but 35. if we compare them to the National Tourist Board's production, tourist posters from Franco's Spain 36.

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did not follow a unified thematic direction, or a determined design style. Since the 1950s, a change of direction is outlined on the promotional goals of the Spanish tourism, which from the 1960s made of the sun and the beaches the main attraction of the country. This was a consequence of the appearance of a new kind of middle- and low-class traveller who sought for nice weather and fun instead of art and culture.

This new direction was also linked to the conversion in 1962, by the Decree 2298/1962, of the Directorate General of Tourism into the Subsecretaría de Turismo/Subsecretariat of Tourism and responded to the point of inflexion that the Stabilization Plan from 1959 supposed for the Spanish economy because it meant the beginning of the tourism boom, among other issues. The Subsecretariat of Tourism counted on a team of professionals directed by the senator José García-Ochoa who were 11. in charge of realizing the promotional posters since then and until the 1980s.

In 1984, after Franco's death and already in the democratic era, the Instituto de Promoción del Turismo (INPROTUR, Tourism Promotion Institute) was created, and with it a new era on the tourism promotion. At the end of the decade, INPROTUR, which later would adopt the name of Turespaña, laid out a communication direction around the idea that Spain offered to the visitor much more than sun and beaches as a response to the crisis of the tourism model (massified and mid-low class). This direction continued almost to the current date.

3. The image of Spain: from the National Tourist Board to the Subsecretariat of Tourism

As I have stated above, in this article I will only focus on two of the most important periods for the history of the Spanish tourist poster: the years when the National Tourist Board was running and the long Francoist period, from the foundation of the Directorate General of Tourism until its transformation into the Subscretariat of Tourism.

Similarly to what happened in other countries, the image of Spain projected abroad by its State tourist posters was the result of a process of 'negotiation' between the own perception (internal) and that of the others (external). In this process, economical and political interests that cannot be ignored were involved. Already from the beginning of tourism in Spain, it was perceived that it could provide notable income if it managed to attract the immense wave of travellers from Northern Europe and America 'who invade the Southern countries leaving behind a wake of bank bills on the water picked up by the regions that, aware of the needs from their times, have known to make use of their artistic, historic and natural treasures', as was assured by the Sindicato de Iniciativas Turísticas/Syndicate of Tourist Initiatives of Valencia and its Region in 1906. This marked to a great extent the priorities regarding the image-country of the tourist poster because, as highlighted by B. Correyero Ruiz and R. Cal (2008: 21): 'what it is told about a 36. country is not only to increase knowledge, but also to encourage massive visits'. These massive The headship of these organizations experienced a number of changes throughout their existence, although they did not affect the poster production.







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Regenerationism was an intellectual and political Spanish movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As T. M. González Aja says:

> was almost like a general slogan or watchword which agglutinated the expression of the awareness of a crisis and a failure which had been festering throughout the 19th century and which became more marked in its last decade; [...] An awareness which was bitterly characterized by criticism of almost everything that existed: from the political system and the national institutions to the people themselves or'grass roots', from 'official Spain' to the 'other Spain', where the disenchantment of numerous liberals and republicans at the delay in the modernization of Spain was especially vibrant.

The different currents within the Regenerationism allowed it to be embraced both from the conservative and the liberals. Primo de Rivera appropriated many of Joaquín Costa's proposals, one of most relevant Regenerationist thinkers.

visits can have a considerable economic repercussion and also influence on the customs and 1. identity of the host country.

Thus, tourist posters fulfilled the following functions: attracting tourists, publicising the image of 3. the country abroad and selling the country's benefits. The posters were elements of propaganda 4. used in order to connect with a targeted public and awaken their sense of passion of pleasure. 5. However, the public sphere changed over time, from the initial high-class type, similar to the nine- 6. teenth-century traveller and attracted by the cultural aspects of the destination country, to the visitor 7. born with the democratization of leisure, more interested in having fun and enjoying the nice 8. weather. Therefore, taking into account the specific interests of the different receivers, one image or 9. another of Spain was showcased depending on which identity's features would seem more attrac- 10. tive in each particular case.

On the other hand, when we analyse the tourist poster produced by the State, we need to take 12. into consideration that, besides responding to the conditions described above, it reflects the identity of those who are in power at a given moment.

3.1 The regenerationist poster from the National Tourist Board (1929-1937)

The first tourist posters from the Spanish State appeared in 1929, one year after the foundation of the National Tourist Board, during the final moments of Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. From an intellectualist and political perspective, it was the moment of Regenerationism⁷ and the 20. Generation of 1898 that, although different, were both movements that enquired and reflected on 21. the decadence of Spain and tried to forge – especially the first – a new idea of the country based on authenticity. Their proposals reached the Government bodies – Primo of Rivera considered himself a regenerationist⁸ - and were shared by industrialists and entrepreneurs.

As Ana Moreno Garrido pointed out:

The Regenerationist thinking felt immediately attracted by the advantages that tourism could bring to Spain; on one hand, such a young and emergent sector found on the enthusiastic, regenerative and dynamic tone of the Regenerationism ideas the necessary theoretical framework for the national reflection [...] the Regenerationist discourse gave solid arguments to the tourist, because the new phenomenon indubitably would generate progress and vigour to recover the 'badly damaged homeland'.

(2007:62)

In this context, the tourist posters were targeted to an elitist tourism, eminently cultural, of high social status and purchasing power, not necessarily travelling during the summer time. Therefore,





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the formal language of the artists was refined, very close to painting, far from the most typical advertising techniques of commercial posters and broadly speaking, although within diverse aesthetics – Roberto Domingo (1883-1956) (Figure 3) and Carlos Sobrino's (1885-1978) pictorial regionalism (Figure 4), the Francesc Galí's (1880-1965) Noucentism (Figure 5) and Antonio Guezala's (1889-1956) certain Futurism - close to the Art Déco style (Figure 6), which made the posters modern without being avant-garde.

A clear departure both from the traditional representational aesthetic and Art Nouveau was perceivable in these posters. In opposition to these movements, simple lines, basic strokes, twodimensionality and big areas of solid colour predominated. All of these features were linked to the avant-garde geometric abstraction that was generally complemented by modern typefaces predominantly sans-serif and decorative fonts with a strong geometric basis and some calligraphic 12. accents (Figure 7).

Most of the posters were colour printed – except for the photographic – with a discreet freatment 14. of colour, a feature that set them apart both from the Baroque Tenebrism and the colourism that the Enlightened and Romantics associated with the idea of 'Spanishness'. On the other hand, we can perceive in them a desire to show a certain 'local colour' related to the advertised geographic area – 17. Mediterranean luminosity, Castilian sobriety, etc. This fact indubitably responded to an attempt to reflect the 'soul' from the different places, in tune with the Regenerationism's concerns about the national identity and its ideas about achieving the regeneration of the homeland starting from the regional and local sphere.

These posters wanted to disseminate the richness and diversity of Spain not only from the iconographic point of view, but also through the formal treatment of the 'themes', in an effort to break the foreign uniforming stereotypes – schematic and unnuanced images, as stereotypes always are – because the Regenerationism would defend the Spanish diversity, with different gradations and readings – administrative, cultural and political – within a patriotic unity.

Although among these poster artists we could count a few Costumbrist painters, such as Francisco Hohenleiter (1899–1968), the fact that most of the posters were commissioned to artists close to the Avant-garde - Hipólito Hidalgo de Caviedes (1902-1994), Daniel Vázquez Díaz (1882–1969) or Josep Renau (1907–1982), for example - and also to some of the most recognized illustrators from the period like Salvador Bartolozzi (1882–1950), Federico Ribas (1890–1952), Rafael de Penagos (1889–1954), Carlos Sáenz de Tejada (1897–1958), Baldrich (Roberto Martínez-Anidó Baldrich, 1895–1959) or Eduardo Santonja Rosales (1899–1966) does not seem accidental. Many of them had lived in Paris or had international repercussion because, as in the case of Sáenz de Tejada, they collaborated with the most prestigious fashion magazines of the moment, such as Harper's Bazaar or Vogue. From 1930, the photographers Otto Wundelich (1886–1975) and Josep Maria Lladó





36. (1903–1956) became part of this group.



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Figure 3: Roberto Domingo, Parador Nacional de Gredos (Ávila), Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1930, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

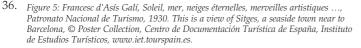


Figure 4: Carlos Sobrino, Santiago de Compostela: the pilgrims' way: Visit Spain, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.





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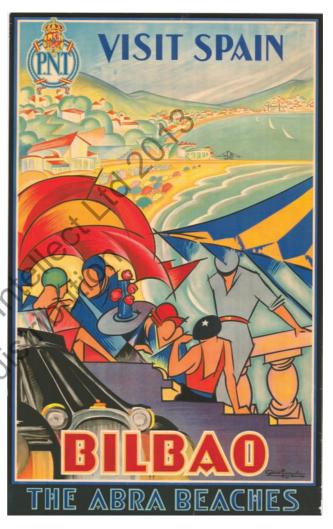


Figure 6: Colde Guezala (Antonio Guezala), The Abra beaches. Bilbao, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.





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Figure 7: Rafael de Penagos, The Valley of Aran: The Pyrenees and the gorgeous landscapes of Garonne's river, 1929, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



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All of them were modern artists and illustrators who had received artistic influences from abroad and were used to work on the new communication media – illustrated magazines, posters and advertising. Although the posters that they created for the National Tourist Board were aesthetically more conservative than most of their usual works for those media, the fact that they were selected to produce these tourist campaigns implies that their institutional client desired to transmit the quality of the Spanish artistic production and its correlation to the modern aesthetic from the time, although avoiding of course the avant-garde radicalism that had not yet been accepted by the general public or by the sectors with more purchasing power who were, at that moment, the main constituents of tourism.

9. Regarding the theme, between 1929 and 1931 – year of the proclamation of the Second Republic – 10. posters showed the charms of the cities, provinces, regions and locations worth including because of 11. their monumental or landscape richness. On the same direction, several posters depicted the recently 12. founded 'Paradores' in Gredos and Oropesa (Figure 8) as their main motifs.

Images were always accompanied by a slogan that summarized the 'essence' of the place: 'Madrid. The Centre of Spain and Court of Its Kings' (Figure 9), 'Granada. Alhambra and Sierra Nevada', 'Barcelona. Capital of the Mediterranean', 'Burgos. Gothic marvel. Land of The Cid', 'Cádiz. Europe's gate', 'Asturias. Scenery, Art, Mountaineering & Fishing', 'León. Poem of light and stone. Tomb of Kings', 'San Sebastián. Incomparable beach. Cosmopolitan city' (Figure 10), etc. In some cases, the slogan 'Visit Spain' was also included.

Although for the most part the images tried to avoid stereotypes, it is worth noting that some of the posters made concessions to Picturesqueness and the Romantic vision, especially in the case of Andalusia. As an example, we can mention a poster about Córdoba (Figure 11) where Sáenz de Tejada represented the Mosque's arcade and the Patio of the Orange Trees but we could also contemplate the figure of a man on the popular costume on the foreground and the tower of the Cathedral in the background. The Romantic glance from the Spantsh themselves was also present in the search of the colonies' picturesqueness, as it was the case of Morocco, for example in the poster realized by Mariano Bertuchi (1884–1955) that showed a daily scene of a street in Tetouan, with the slogan 'Visitez le Maroc. Avec sa vie et types pittoresques (Figure 12).

Additionally, from 1929 and at least until 1935, there were posters that advertised the country in general. Some of the posters represented Spain by the places that reminded of the imperial past 30. (Ávila and its city walls, for example); some portrayed the monumental and artistic Spain, whereas others emphasized its geographic situation. In some cases, the posters were reissues where the slogan had been changed to highlight features such as the beauty of the country; the nice weather, for example on 'L'Espagne est belle toute l'année', a poster by Renau that depicted a Valencian landscape that was reprinted with a different slogan: 'Spain. Glorious Spring' (Figure 13); its Mediterranean orientation – 'Fleurs et fruits de la Mediterranée' (Figure 14), a poster by Antonio 36. Vercher (1900–1934), based on an allegorical landscape rather than a real one; or the modernity of

 The Paradores are a series of high-end hotels situated in emblematic buildings or sites of natural, historic, artistic or cultural interest. The first one was built in the Gredos Mountains in 1926.







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Figure 8: Eduardo Santonja, Parador de Oropesa (Toledo), Old castle of constables, 1930, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



Figure 9: José Robledano, Madrid. The centre of Spain and court of its kings, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929, View of Madrid from Toledo's Bridge. In the bçackground, the Royal Palace and San Francisco el Grande, two of the main monuments of the city, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

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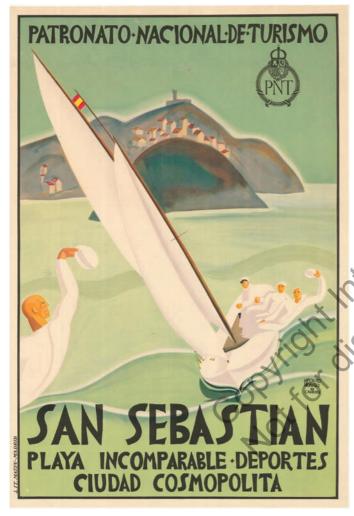






Figure 11: Carlos Sáenz de Tejada, Cordoba, heart of the caliphs, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929, Córdoba's Great Mosque and Orange Tree Courtyard, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet. tourspain.es.



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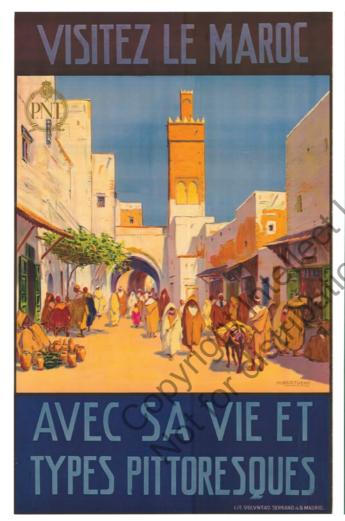


Figure 12: Mariano Bertuchi, Visit Morocco with its life and colorful characters, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929. View of a street of Tetouan when Morocco was a Spanish colony, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



Figure 13: Josep Renau, Spain, Glorious Spring, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1929. 'Barracas', two popular buildings characteristic of Spanish Levante, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet. tourspain.es.

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36.



Figure 14: Antonio Vercher, Flowers and fruits of the Mediterranean, Visit Spain, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1930, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



- 10. The same slogan appears again in a poster by Francesc Galí published around 1930 (see Figure 5). There is another poster with the same image but different text that highlights the amplitude of the Spanish tourist offer by means of its diversity: 'Soleil, mer, neiges éternelles, merveilles artistiques ...: tous les attraits du tourisme en un seul pays: l'Espagne'.
- 11. 'Regeneration' and 'Europeism' aligned with the interests of the power elite who, as Sasha D. Pack (2008) observed, soon started to think about tourism as a regenerative force from the economic and social perspective. Spanish entrance in the European tourist routes was perceived as a means for integrating it in the continent and modernizing it, on a programmatic attempt to overcome the national decadence, either real or perceived

the country's lifestyle as opposed to the cliché of the backwardness and the poor conditions of the 1. trip that dated from centuries. 'Cordoba, Cour des caliphes', created by Sáenz de Tejada in 1929 2. would be reused some time later with the sentence 'Emotions of art and history. Pleasant and easy 3. modern life'10 and, even later, partially responding to the foreign perception that Spain – or more 4. specifically Andalusia - was more eastern that western, accompanied by the text 'Le Confort de 5. l'Europe, la luxuariance de l'Afrique vous attendent en Espagne' (Figure 15). This last idea reap- 6. peared on the photographic poster by Lladó that depicted a view of the Alhambra's Gardens of the 7. Generalife, in Granada, with the motto 'The Romance of the East with the comforts of the West'. On 8. some occasions, Spanish diversity was emphasized: 'L'Espagne a mille visages ...: en toutes saisons, 9. vous en trouverez qui vous souriront' (Figure 16) on a poster by the painter Vázquez Díaz with a 10. view of the Alcázar of Segovia. In others the Romantic vision was present: 'Spain: typical and pictur- 11. esque, exuberant and delightful', as in the case of a poster with an image of the Alcázar of Segovia 12. by Vázquez Díaz, but this time photographic. Therefore, it seems clear that the members of the 13. National Tourist Board were very conscious of the image of Spain abroad and how it should be 14. handled for the tourists, moving between clichés and realities.

A common characteristic to all of the posters produced by the institution was that landscape 16. played a fundamental role, even in the one depicting a modern scene at a terrace in front of the Abra beach in Bilbao designed by Guezala (see Figure 6). Although the main topic was the leisure moment 18. experienced by the characters in the poster, the beauty of the background landscape is essential to understand their feeling of enjoyment. Cities were also portrayed by their landscape. For instance, 20. Robledano pictured Madrid (see Figure 9), already a major city, from the Bridge of Toledo, looking at the Manzanares river and showing, hidden within the vegetation, two of its most emblematic 22. monuments: the Royal Palace and the church of Saint Francis the Great.

The landscaping approach of these posters responded to the concerns of the Regenerationist intellectuals whose ideas had driven, in part, to the foundation of the National Tourist Board.11 Aware of Spain's decadence, they disagreed on the stereotypical image transmitted over time by the foreign descriptions. According to them, they denigrated the Spanish character and its essence. Critical of their own country's faults, they enquired about their causes and they moved between tradition and modernity while looking for a foundation on which to base the Spanish national identity, the regeneration of the country and its integration in Europe. In order to find them, they looked at the Spanish history, the local heritage, culture, art and landscape.

They thought that they had found in the latter [the landscape] the essence of the Spanish being, as reflected by the repeated presence of nature in the regenerationist imaginary. Therefore, the 33. Spanish landscape, also in relation to 'Spain's sickness', was an inspirational motif in the scientific, literary and technical activities of some of the most prominent representatives of the Regenerationism 35. such as Joaquín Costa (1846–1911), José Macpherson (1839–1902), Ignacio Bolívar (1850–1944), Lucas 36.



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LE CONFORT DE L'EUROPE LA LUXURIANCE DE L'AFRIQUE VOUS ATTENDENT EN ESPAGNE

Information gratuits: PATRONATO NACIONAL DEL TURISMO (Office National Espagnol du Tourisme). Madrid: Medinacell, 2; Paris: 12, Boulevard de la Madeleine. Informations et billets: dans toutes les Agences de Voyages.

36. Figure 15: Carlos Sáenz de Tejada, The comfort of Europe, the exuberance of Africa await you in Spain, 1930, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



Figure 16: Daniel Vázquez Díaz, Spain has a thousand faces ... In all seasons, you will find someone you smile, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1935, view of Alcázar in Segovia, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



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Mallada (1841–1921) or Hernández-Pacheco (1872–1965), who considered that the love for nature 1. was the civic and educational stimulus that would guide the country to an authentic regeneration.

Landscape and nature were recurring themes among artists like Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945) and 3. writers from the Generation of 1898 such as Azorín (1873–1967), Antonio Machado (1875–1939) and 4. Unamuno (1864–1936), who had created literary images of the Spanish landscape that were repre- 5. sentative of the modern vision of nature proposed by Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839–1914), founder 6. in 1876 of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Education Institution). Thus, it is logical that 7. landscape and nature – two of the basis of the Regenerationist patriotism on a reencounter with the 8. national territory – were present on the posters from the National Tourist Board, the medium that 9. would spread, especially abroad, a new image of Spain, more authentic and less stereotypical.

The poster production of the National Tourist Board finished at the end of the Spanish Civil War 11. but, until its outbreak, the Republic continued the line drawn in 1929, reissuing some of the posters 12. from that period and adding some - although very few - new ones.

Only four posters survived from the war period, all of them dated 1937. They focused more on 14. war propaganda than on tourism, denouncing the attacks of the fascist air force against the Spanish 15. artistic heritage'. ['Spanish Art is a target for the fascist aviation' (Figure 17) by Ramón Gaya] They 16. showed the active role played by the Republic in defending art('Spanish Art, "the International 17. Fascism's bounty", is defended by the Republic' by Rivero Aguirre); or responded to mottos such as 18. 'In order to save Spanish Art, Fascism must be destroyed' and 'The Spanish Art's ruins are one more 19. accusation against fascism'. The latter are anonymous photographic posters. Moreno Garrido 20. (2007: 140) has observed that the 'elegant and careful style of the tourist propaganda during the 21. years of the National Tourist Board now was limited to moving political documents about the drama and cultural pillaging in times of war'.

Franco's victory and the end of the war – April 1st of 1939 – closed a cycle on the History of the 24. Spanish tourism and a particular way of understanding and transmitting abroad the image of Spain. During the first years of the dictatorship, the country closed the borders and firmly controlled the access, fearing the infiltration of opponents to the regime. The borders were reopened in the 1950s, although this time for a different kind of tourism, very dissimilar to the previous period: mass tourism. Spain entered a new era where 'the sun bathing replaced the wave bathing, and masses became fond of the Mediterranean, its warm waters and sunny beaches' (Moreno 2007: 136).

3.2. Spain in the Francoist tourist poster

One of the most characteristic notes of the Françoist period was the State's monopoly on tourism. As Moreno Garrido (2007: 152) expresses: 'conceived as a phenomenon of national value with important ideological connotations, only the State was allowed to practice tourism, individuals did a different thing: organize trips'.







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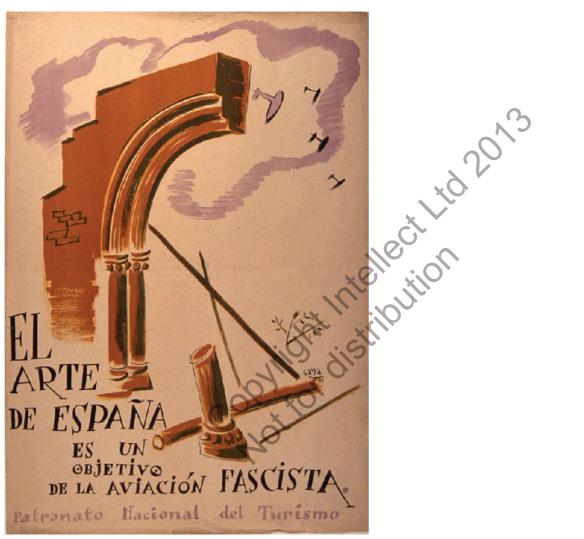


Figure 17: Ramón Gaya, The Art of Spain is a target of fascist aviation, Patronato Nacional de Turismo, 1937, © Biblioteca Nacional de España.



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For Franco's State, the Directorate General of Tourism - since 1962 the Subsecretariat of 1. Tourism – was 'a most important part, in Spain and abroad, on the reconstruction and national 2. improvement work currently undertaken in our Homeland', as stated the Memoria sobre los trabajos 3. extraordinarios a realizar por la Dirección General del Turismo durante el año 1940 (Correyero and Cal 4. 2008: 373). Its labour was

essentially propagandistic - but high-end propaganda and with a great practical value dedicated to show the best of what there is in Spain to our people and abroad: the landscapes of our regions, the Art treasures from the past generations and the actions from the current generations.

(Correyero and Cal 2008: 373)

For this matter, the institution had a Sección de Propaganda (Unit of Propaganda), which commissioned and created all the tourist posters that spread these ideas. The Unit had consistent budget problems because the post-war period was very difficult for the Spanish tourism history. Scarcity, the lack of infrastructures and the administrative restrictions paralysed the evolution of tourism and even made it go back several decades.

If we speak about the posters from the whole Francoist period, we should note that, despite of 18. the monopoly and control from the Administration, they do not seem to be informed by a clear and 19. defined aesthetic direction. If we put aside the series based on photographs of monuments, popular 20. architecture and folklore and popular traditions - which included folk characters images - we will 21. find almost as many styles as authors. For example, the posters created by Josep Morell (1899–1949) for series such as 'Summer in Spain' (Figure 18) - whose collection included 'Beaches from the 23. North and North West of Spain', 'Beaches from Andalusia and the Canary Islands', 'Beaches from Levante and Balearic Islands' - had completely different formal qualities from the Ortega's series dedicated to Spanish art, both published the same year – 1940 (Figure 19).

Among the poster designers, they counted on some of the most relevant figures from the 1920s and 1930s, such as Josep Morell, Teodoro Delgado (1907–1975), Lau Miralles (1911–1993) or Serny (Ricardo Summers Ysern, 1908–1995), and others like Ortega (José García Ortega, 1921–1990), Ortiz Berrocal (1933–2006) and Ricard Giralt Miracle (1911–1994) (Figure 20), who collaborated sporadically. Since 1947, the French artists Guy Georget (1911–1992) and Bernard Villemot (1911–1989) participated occasionally as well.

Francoist tourist poster did not feature the work of illustrators, nor artists because, since the 33. 1940s, the use of photography became gradually predominant. In the 1950s, there already were 34. posters with colour photographs that practically substituted illustrations. Among the photographers 35. who regularly worked with the Directorate General of Tourism, it is worth mentioning José Ortiz 36.







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Figure 19: Ortega, Arab art. Spain, Dirección General de Turismo, ca. 1940, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.





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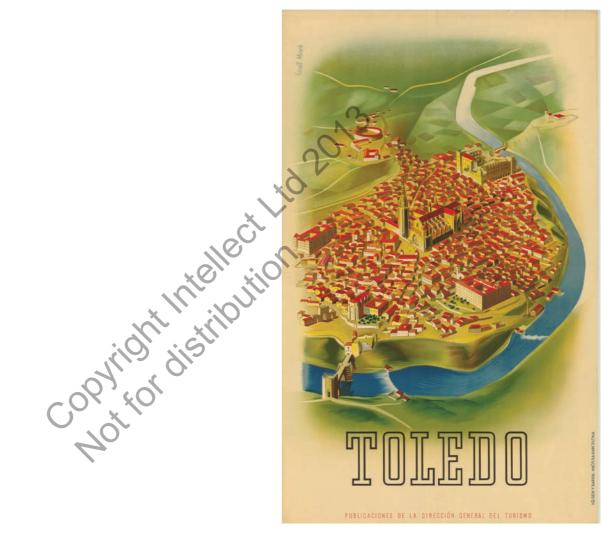


Figure 20: Ricard Giralt Miracle, Toledo, Dirección General de Turismo, ca. 1945, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

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Echagüe (1886–1980), Sibylle von Kaskel (1905–2005), Kindel (Joaquín del Palacio 1905–1989) and, since 1960, Francesc Català-Roca (1922–1998).

The image of Spain portrayed by the Françoist tourist posters was closely linked to the 'themes' that they represented. Thus, similarly to the National Tourist Board, the Directorate General initially opted for the promotion of the historic-monumental and artistic heritage (Figure 21) and took advantage of the ethnologic richness of the country (Figure 22) as it aligned perfectly with Francoist archetypes (tradition, religion, picturesqueness) and almost did not cost any promotional effort because they were internationally accepted images – thanks to stereotypes. Ethnology was also very useful because it allowed organising the Spanish tourist calendar around the patron saints celebrations, religious - especially Easter (Figure 23) - or folk holidays, the bullfighting season and the 11. summer.

During the 1940s, the end of the 1950s and the 1960s, several posters with art as the main theme were designed. However, among all the featured styles Arabic (Figure 24), Romanesque (Figure 25) and Gothic were the favourite. The three styles were representative of the two characteristics that the travellers from the past had linked to the Spanish archetypes: Orientalism and religiousness. Additionally, the works by El Greco (Figure 26), Velázquez and Goya were promoted. The three painters formed part of the symbolic capital of the Spanish cultural tradition, appropriated by Falangism and Francoism with the intention of nurturing Franco's imperialist chimera, which constituted, in Jorge Carrión's words (Carrión 2011: 273), 'the archive of the icons from an era when Spain was an European power and a metropolis that dominated the major part of the Americas'.

The majority of the monuments that appeared in posters were religious, the cathedral and the 22. church of Veracruz in Segovia (Figure 27), the Monastery of the Escorial and the Monastery of Guadalupe, for naming only a few examples from a series of 60 posters. If we follow J. Jiménez Campos (1980: 125–145), we could say that a rational or legal legitimization was rejected in favour of justifications of traditional and religious nature - Spain was a nation chosen by God whose mission is to defend Christianity. Religion was perceived as a basic factor for building and keeping the social order and as a unifying element, while the essence of the Spanish nationality was identified with Catholicism. Tourist posters must convey this identity that, on the other hand, coincided completely with the Enlightened vision of an obscurantist and religious to the extreme of fanaticism people disseminated by the foreigners and also nourished by the most conservative segments of the country, since the eighteenth century and until Franco's dictatorship.

It is noteworthy that none of the civil monuments represented in the posters dated from the 33. nineteenth or twentieth centuries, and the majority of the chosen ones were buildings from medieval Spain - Arabic or Christian: The Alcazar of Segovia, the Alcántara Bridge (Toledo) or the 35. Alhambra of Granada, among others. Francoism 'abused the medieval past to anachronistically 36. legitimize the caudillo and his policy' (Carreras 2007: 26), establishing a parallel between, in







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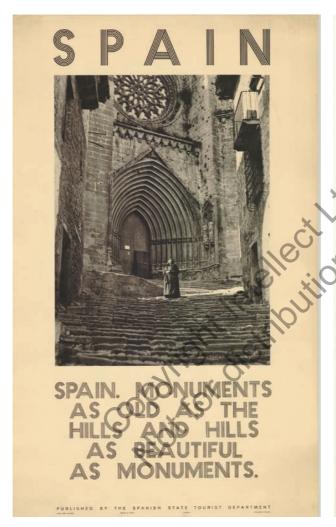


Figure 21: José Ortiz Echagüe, Spain, monuments as old as the hills and hills as beautiful as monuments: Spain, c. 1945, Photography of Valderrobres (Teruel), © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



Figure 22: Guy Georget, Spain, Dirección General de Turismo, c. 1947, Cobijadas, women dressed in traditional costumes of Vejer de la Frontera (Cádiz), © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

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Figure 24: Kindel, Sevilla, Spain is beautiful and different, Visit sunny Spain, Dirección General de Turismo, c. 1950, Giralda of Seville, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet. tourspain.es.





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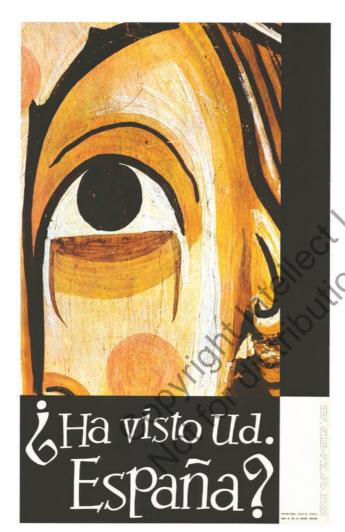


Figure 25: Francesc Català Roca, have you ever seen Spain?, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1962, Section of a Romanesque wall painting preserved in the Museum of Art of Catalonia, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



Figure 26: Dirección General de Promoción del Turismo, Spain, 1968, Ministerio de Información y Turismo. Section of Greco's painting The Nobleman with his Hand on his Chest, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

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on distribution SPAIN, WHERE DIVINE AND NATURE ALMOST HUMAN

36. Figure 27: José Ortiz Echagüe, Spain, where art is divine and nature almost human, Dirección General de Turismo, c. 1946, view of Veracruz Church in Segovia. In the background the Cathedral of the city, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



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nineteenth century's terminology, the National Rising – against the Republic – and the Reconquest 1. against the Arabs. During the first half of the twentieth century, this last fact turned into one of the 2. main originary myths created by the Spanish nationalism and was amply used by the Francoism. 3. Franco was the driving force of a new 'crusade', therefore comparable to Don Pelayo or The Cid, the 4. three 'caudillos of Spain' and founders – in the Francoist imaginary – of a patriotic salvation move- 5. ment.

The photographic posters did not lack Roman architecture – Aqueduct of Segovia, the Roman 7. Theater of Mérida, etc.– which had a special meaning for Franco's regime, because his ideologists 8. had reflected on and theorized about the idea of an empire bound to personal power and to the 9. notion of a universal state concretized in Rome, as a model of civilizing imperialism of which Spain 10. felt heir, via the Austrians' Empire.

However, these motifs were only 100 among many other posters dedicated to popular traditions 12. and architecture (Figure 28), folklore (Figure 29), religious tourism, Andalusia and its women (Figure 30) and later on, especially since the 1960s, to the Sun and the beach (Figure 31). On these 14. posters, the Spanish tourist institutions appropriated many of the Romantic stereotypes.

One of the most accepted clichés – and later projected to the exterior thanks to the posters – was 16. Andalucism (Figure 32) because, as Ucelay (Noya 2002: 57) has observed, 'it stayed partly because it 17. was accepted and retained by the Spanish cultural market itself as a vocabulary of images that 18. delighted to consume and perfectly connected with Mérimée's Carmen and the exoticism of 19. Flamenco, bullfighting, gypsies and the Muslim cultural heritage.

If the Romantic foreigners had praised the country's underdevelopment against the soulless industrialization, Francoism exploited to the maximum extent on its posters the image of a Spain from the past, full of little white houses, of 'uncivilized' landscapes (Figure 33) and men and women dressed with regional costumes, where the traditions from a much pleasant and peaceful past remote for the average European – remained almost intact.

All these subjects stayed over the years, even during the 1960s and 1970s, when Spain had already begun a modernization process and the country distanced itself from the image expected by the foreigners and projected by the State. New posters appeared with new landscapes – Torremolinos, Puerto Banús and many other places that were born from speculative building – and new customs – golf (Figure 34), sunbathing, etc.

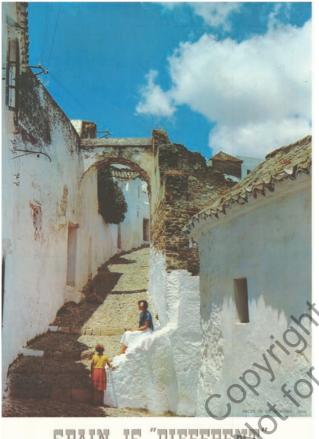
As for the slogans that accompanied the images, during the 1940s, most of them continued the 31. direction initiated by the National Tourist Board, highlighting qualities such as the importance of the 32. artistic heritage and nature 'Spain, every type of Art, every phase of nature' and 'Spain, where art is 33. divine and nature almost human'), the beauty of the monuments, architecture and landscapes 34. ('Bellezas de España' – Beauties from Spain), the nice weather ('Spain, when the sun shines and life 35. smiles' and 'Spain: the Summer's Winter quarters') besides the known 'Visit Spain'. There were also 36.







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34. 35. 36. Figure 28: Fournier, Spain is 'different'. Visit Spain, Dirección General de Turismo, c. 1950, Street of Arcos de la Frontera (Cádiz), © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.

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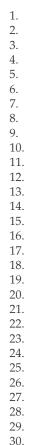


Figure 29: Design: José García-Ochoa; Photo: Ciganovic, International year of the woman, Visit Spain, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1974, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www. iet.tourspain.es.

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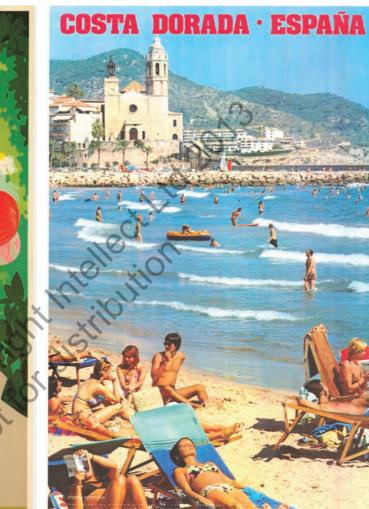


Figure 31: Francisco Ontañón, Costa Dorada, Spain, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1975, Sitges beach, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



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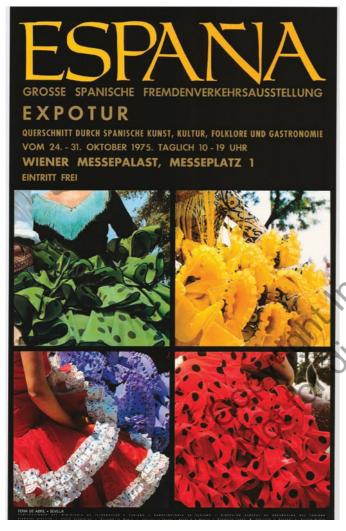


Figure 32: José García-Ochoa, April Fair, Sevilla, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1975, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.

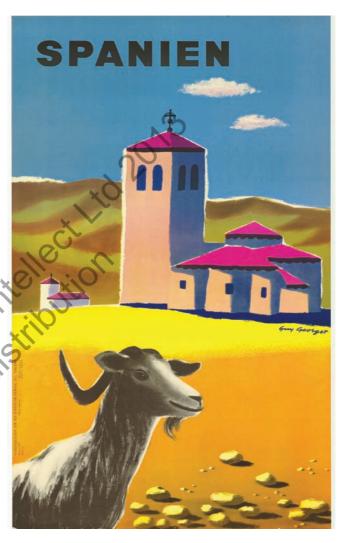


Figure 33: Guy Georget, Spain, Dirección General de Turismo, 1947, © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.



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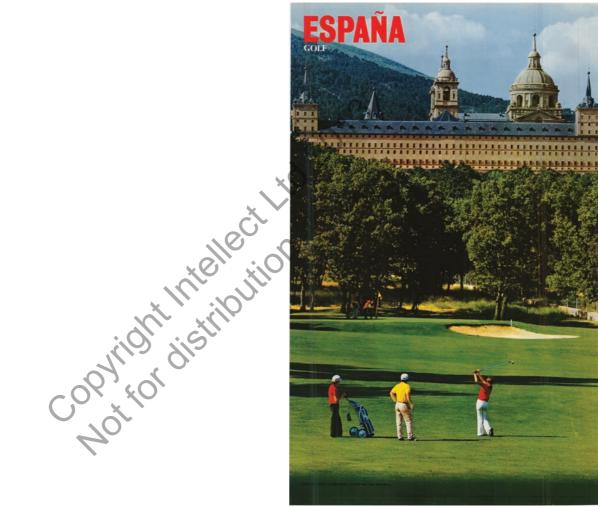


Figure 34: Design: José García-Ochoa; Photo: Arnáiz, Golf, Spain, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, 1972, Golf club, la Herrería, San Lorenzo del Escorial (Madrid), © Poster Collection, Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Estudios Turísticos, www.iet.tourspain.es.





some allusions to the country's modernity, of course without losing the essence: 'L'Espagne progresse mais conserve so charme du vieux temps' – Spain advances but keeps the charm from old times. In 1948 the slogan 'Spain is beautiful and "different". Visit Spain' appeared for the first time. It is worth noting that the quotation marks specially highlighted the word 'different', once again in tune with the heritage of the Romantic vision. The sentence was used during the 1950s, and at the beginning of the next decade it turned into 'Spain is different', which reflects perfectly how Francoism appropriated many of the stereotypes from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries while promoting what the foreigners wanted to find: beauty, singularity, originality and purity.

After Franco's death, some of those clichés disappeared, but, above all, the 'old' poster designed by artists, illustrators and photographers was left behind to give way to the international campaigns 11. developed by advertising agencies. Although in democratic Spain a number of things have changed, many of those stereotypes still remain. 12.

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| Contributor details | 22. |
| Raquel Pelta is a Historian of Design, holding degrees in History and Geography and Audio-visual Communication, and a Ph.D. from the College of Fine Arts at the University of Barcelona. She is a professor at the University of Barcelona. She has previously taught at the Elisava Graduate Design School in Barcelona, where she was also Head of the Humanities Department. She is Co-director of <i>Monográfica</i> magazine (www.monografica.org) and Board member of the Spanish Design History Foundation. | 23.
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| Contact: Alcalá, 124 – 5° D, 28009 Madrid (Spain). | 30. |
| E-mail: raquelpeltaraquelpelta@ub.edu | 31. |
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