

PHOTOGRAPHY, TOURISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE FIRST FRANCOISM (1939-1959): RAFAEL CALLEJA AND THE *APOLOGÍA TURÍSTICA DE ESPAÑA*

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This paper focuses on the analysis of a very significant book in order to understand the Spanish tourist policy under the first Francoism (1939-1959): *Apología turística de España* (henceforth *ATE*). This work was published in 1943 by the Spanish State Tourist Department (DGT), headed by Luis Antonio Bolín y Bidwell (1894-1969). Rafael Calleja Gutiérrez (1888-1957), its author, was in charge of the Publications and Publicity Section of this Department.

Until now, the researches have hardly focused on the study of this exceptional work. Nevertheless, Calleja's book summarizes and illustrates in exemplary fashion some of the main keys of the official tourist discourse under Franco's regime and Spanish national identity conception. Moreover, the *ATE* could be considered as one of the most important tourist publications in 1940s Spain, not only for its prologue (where the thesis about the «Spanish difference» is developed), but also because the work includes a selection of 439 photos about landscapes, monuments and human scenes and types representing the different Spanish historical regions. These photos were taken by the best photographers in that moment. The success obtained with *ATE* led to Rafael Calleja to create a second edition, known as *Nueva apología turística de España (NATE)*, published 14 years later. *NATE* introduced by a partially different prologue to the *ATE*'s one, included 484 black and white photographs and attached 65 color sheets.

This article aims to emphasize the importance of these singular works conceived and developed by the Spanish tourism administration during the first Francoism. Moreover, it contributes to highlight the figure of its author, Rafael Calleja, whose role as publicist of Spanish tourism through almost thirty years has been underrated so far today.

This paper has been structured in four main sections, apart from the introduction, conclusions and the bibliography. 1. Rafael Calleja's biography and his work within the tourist administration during the Spanish Civil War and the first Francoism. 2. *ATE*'s and

NATE's editorial features. 3. The content of their prologue and their relation with the contemporary tourist discourse, with especial attention to the idea of the «Spanish difference». 4. The analysis of photographs from both publications, as well as their relation to the conception of the national identity during Franco's dictatorship.

This research has included, apart from the graphic and bibliographic sources, the study of the documentation conserved in the General Administration Archive of Spain, where Rafael Callejas' personal file, as well as those from the tourist institutions he worked for, are preserved.

The political and propagandistic dimensions of Spanish tourism during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the first Francoism (1939-1959) have received an increasing attention in recent years. The use of tourism as a tool for political interests was propitiated by the political situation after 1936, but these propagandistic aims had been also shown during the war years, both in the republican side and in the nationalist (i.e. Francoist) one. The decade of the 1940's was a period of great difficulties for tourism development in Spain. Along the first years of Francoist regime, but also in the following decades, the official tourist promotion served to provide an image of peaceful that made easier the attract of foreign investments and the external diplomatic recognition of the dictatorship. In this context, *ATE* and *NATE* were devised by Rafael Calleja as instruments for efficient propaganda.

These works largely exemplify the touristic official discourse in that time, which was directed to minority groups interested in the cultural attractions of Spain. That discourse is based on two main pillars: 1. The emphasis on the richness and variety of Spanish regions; 2. The exaltation of the Spanish difference with regard to Europe.

The tourist official discourse of the DGT (organism in charge of publishing Calleja's works) drew on an imaginary well related to a vision of the national identity promoted by the Franco's regime and to the thesis of the Spanish difference. Rafael Calleja worked about twenty eight years in the Section for Propaganda and Publications of Spain's tourist administration. As chief of this section, he substantiated and developed in a very explicit way the slogan «Spain is different» in the *ATE* and *NATE*. This slogan became a main element of the touristic official propaganda of Franco's regime along nearly two decades before the boom of the Spanish tourism. However, the historiography usually attributes mistakenly that slogan to the period in which Manuel Fraga was Minister for Information and Tourism (1962-1969).

Although the slogan remained and was frequently used during Fraga's period, the discourse, the propaganda and the official iconography of the Spanish tourism were considerably renovated and modernized to be adapted to the great demand of «sun and beach». In fact, the changes introduced from *ATE* to *NATE* are symptomatic of the growing concern of Franco's administration, as from the mid-fifties, to promote an image of modernity of the country and a wider and renewed tourist offer. This offer included the traditional touristic demands (landscapes, historical-artistic heritage, traditions, folklore, scenes and human types) and other more modern resources, spaces and activities, like gastronomic, ludic and sportive ones.

The well-known slogan has appeared and been used in different ways, both in different decades and within the same period. In Franco's period, the motto was used not only with

a political perspective as an expression of both distinctive and national values of Spain with respect to the rest of the world, but also linked to the concept of «beauty». In this case, the slogan meant that the difference of Spain lies in the abundance and beauty of the tourist resources, which was summarized in the trilogy of «Nature, Art and History». In relation to previous periods, the slogan contained some aspects of the tourist image created by romantic travellers around Spain in the XIX century. Moreover, the slogan was used in the tourism promotion campaigns previous to the Franco's regime. For example, the appeal to that trilogy already existed in the discourses of The National Tourist Board (1928-1936), where Rafael Calleja started its professional career as a publicist of the Spanish tourism. To sum up, «Spain is different» is one of the slogans that has survived –and still survives– in the memory, both of the Spaniards and the foreigners. In fact, it has become a sort of an interpretative key of the Spanish national identity that has been repeated in many characterizations of Spanish society.

Within the propagandistic dimension of the Calleja's works, this article remarks the role played by photography in the official tourist discourse in the first two decades of the Franco's regime. Photography became a key element of the official tourist iconography at the end of the forties and the books examined in this paper largely illustrate this importance. They were published, firstly, thanks to the interest of their author to bring them to the light and to use them as a propagandistic instrument; secondly, due to the efforts made by a wide group of photographers that worked for the Franco's tourist administration.

The selection of pictures chosen by Calleja obviously responds to the conception that both the administration he worked for and himself had about which tourist values should be promoted. As indicated above, these values were based on the «Nature, Art and History» trilogy. The contents of *ATE* and *NATE*'s photographs, the majority of which are black and white, were focused on the folklore, costumes, historical cities, rural areas, natural landscapes, religious patrimony and castles' heritage. In addition, these pictures are closely linked to the tourist administration poster-design at that moment, which had the same aesthetic and thematic perspective of Calleja's works.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of both the *ATE* and *NATE*'s prologues and photographs allow us to draw some conclusions on the features of Calleja's works: 1. The iconographic prominence given to certain historic regions (Andalusia and the two Castiles), landscapes (historical cities, picturesque towns), monuments (notably cathedrals and churches), and typical aspects (especially popular celebrations); 2. The particular relation established with the tourist space, understood as a kind of a natural sanctuary or historical-artistic museum that the visitor could enjoy in personal way; 3. That prominence largely reflects the conception of the Spanish difference developed by Calleja, and more widely, by the official touristic discourse of the Franco's regime closely related to the spread of its traditional values and its vision of the national identity.

To conclude, the purpose of the Calleja's works was to make known the «exclusive singularities» that characterized Spain and differenced it from the rest of Europe, through a literary and photographic journey through its regions. This journey was composited by the exaltation of the regional diversity, the richness and variety of the Spanish landscapes, the abundant historical-artistic heritage, the Spanish traditions, the costume portrait and the exotic human types.

In any case, we should remark that Calleja's works compile and promote an idea of Spain that exalts the regional diversity of the country as one of its more important values, as well as its more prominent and distinctive tourist attraction.

Finally, these works are important as valuable documentary sources for the study of Spanish territory in the 1940s and 1950s, insofar as many of the places and landscapes represented in *ATE* and *NATE* have drastically changed as a result of the transformation that started at the beginning of the sixties in relation with the second stage of the industrialization and with the tourist boom experienced by Spain along those years.