FROM BULLFIGHTS TO BIKINIS: TOURISM AND SPAIN'S TRANSITION TO MODERNITY UNDER THE FRANCO REGIME

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INTRODUCTION: SPAIN UNDER FRANCO AND THE END OF AUTARKY

After the end of the Spanish Civil War in September of 1936, Francisco Franco officially became Spain's absolute authority as both its chief of state and head of the government. Those who had opposed him in the war were subject to exile, imprisonment, and execution. Franco led a conservative, Catholic, and authoritarian regime, attempting to "rid Spain of the systems and the ideologies that had 'corrupted' her true identity. Among these were democracy, atheism, and, at least in the early years of the regime, capitalism and a liberal market system" (Balfour 2000: 265). Franco soon became the most absolute and powerful ruler in Spanish history, bound by few laws and regulations "while having at his disposal the powers and instruments of penetration of a twentieth century dictatorship" (Kern 1990: 226). Franco's power rested on three institutions: the church, the army, and Falange, Spain's single political party. Franco, as well as his institutions, invoked common religious, nationalist, and anti-democratic ideologies to support the regime's control.

Through the 1940s and early 1950s, Spain remained largely economically, politically, and culturally isolated from the outside world (Richards 1995:176). Franco believed that Spain could function in a self-sufficient manner, without participating in the international economic arena. This economic ideology, known as autarky, dictated Franco's policies for the first ten years of his regime. Spain's economic plans included a "withdrawal from the world market, the creation of import substitution industries, and state intervention to supplement the weakness of private capital" (Balfour 2000: 266). The regime repressed and isolated its citizens culturally and politically. Franco enforced homogeneity through education, censorship, and cultural repression (Balfour 2000). He

controlled nearly all media forms and educational programs, carefully selecting the messages his citizens were exposed to.

Yet not all of Spain's isolation was self-imposed. As a result of Franco's actions in World War II, Spain became more excluded in the international context. While Spain officially remained neutral during the war, Franco maintained close links to Hitler and Mussolini. In the aftermath of the war, many countries were angered by Franco's alliances and labeled him as the "last surviving fascist dictator" (Kern 1990). By 1946, all major governments, including the United States, had withdrawn their ambassadors from Madrid. France officially closed its borders with Spain and the United Nations declared the Franco regime an international outcast (Kern 1990). Complete diplomatic isolation continued until 1950 when the UN rescinded its ban. In 1953, when the United States sought to gain defensive advantage in the Cold War, it signed the Pact of Madrid offering financial and military aid in exchange for the construction of US military bases in Spain. The same year, the regime signed an official concordat with the Vatican (Balfour 2000: 268).

By the beginning of the 1950s, it was evident that autarky had failed. While surrounding countries experienced rapid industrial growth, Spain's economy was on the verge of collapsing. Inflation had skyrocketed, wages were dropping dramatically, standards of living were on the decline, and the country's balance of payments was in chronic deficit (Balfour 2000; Pinnie 1996). In response to this severe financial crisis, starting in 1951, Franco began a hesitant liberalization of the Spanish economy, but this was not sufficient and the first stirrings of opposition took place. Students began to form

associations and mobilized against the state while workers initiated strikes in protest against their desperate conditions.

Against his will, Franco was convinced to discharge his ministers and "appoint a new cabinet with more pliant Falangists and an economic team made up of neo-liberal technocrats linked to the Catholic lay organization the Opus Dei" (Balfour 2000: 268). Under the pressure of this new cabinet, in 1959, after almost fifteen years of autarky, Franco reluctantly introduced the Economic Stabilization Plan in a move to aid Spain's failing economy and terminate its policies of isolation. The objective was to dismantle financial autarky by opening up the economy without political, cultural, or social liberalization (Balfour 2000). Franco began by lifting economic barriers and vigorously promoting tourism. The plan had a radical effect on the economy. Frequently referred to as the *Spanish Miracle*, after a brief recession, Spain was able to enjoy greater rates of growth than any other western country. Throughout the 1960s, Spain experienced a ten-year period of substantial economic growth, including a significant elevation of living standards that has been attributed, in part, to the increase in tourism (Pinnie 1996). The incredible increase in the amount of tourism to Spain is often known as the tourism boom or *boom turistico*.

The changes for Spain during this time were not merely economic. Between the years of 1960 and 1975 Spain saw the most accelerated, deep-seated social and cultural transformation in Spanish history—in stark contrast to the arthritic grip of the Franco regime (Permanyer 1995: 259). Among the most drastic social phenomenon that occurred was the increased mobility of the population. Beginning in the 1960s, there was rapid movement from rural locations to urban centers. Nearly four million people migrated to

Madrid and Barcelona (Permanyer 1995: 263). This urbanization challenged Franco's intended image of Spain, which promoted rural areas as the country's true heart and soul, while portraying the city as a corrupting influence (Balfour 2006). Franco linked modernization, urbanization, and increased mobility to the evils of foreign presence and feared these forces had the power to undermine his ideological hold on Spanish society. As Spain underwent these transitions, public awareness increased about how democratic societies functioned. The revitalized democratic values posed a threat to the traditional Francoist attitudes, which had successfully governed the society since Franco came to power.

While Franco struggled to maintain ideological control over his population, he continued to face increasing pressure to ease his iron grip of both Church and State. Giles Tremlett, *The Guardian's* Madrid Correspondent, argues that this pressure led to relatively liberal advances during the 1960s, some of which Franco came to later regret (Tremlett 2006: 104). Tremlett contends that the decision to allow bikinis on Benidorm's beaches in the early 1960s serves to illustrate the "loosening of domestic social and political structures" that occurred as a result of tourism. Benidorm, a town on Spain's eastern coast, can be seen as a towering symbol of Spain's tourism boom, receiving large influxes of British and other Western European tourists each summer (Tremlett 2006). Zaragoza, the mayor of Benidorm starting in the 1950s, played an important role in the formation of the regime's tourism policy. In 1959, Zaragoza, who had been appointed as provincial head of Franco's *Movimento Nacional* (National Movement), signed a municipal order sanctioning the wearing of bikinis on Benidorm's beaches. In response, the archbishop started an excommunication process against Zaragoza (Tremlett 2006).

At this time, the Civil Guards had been ordering tourists to cover up when they were spotted wearing revealing swimwear on the beaches. Zaragoza decided to take on the church by making a trip to meet with Franco personally. Franco was convinced by his visit, deciding it was important to encourage tourism and reconfirmed Zaragoza's power as mayor. The archbishop 'got the message' and dropped the excommunication process, thus allowing bikinis to stay on Spanish beaches. "Some see the bikini, at least symbolically, as a defining moment in recent Spanish history. It marked the beginning of timid sexual revolution and helped take the Catholicism out of National Catholicism." (Tremlett 2006:103). Through this example, it becomes clear that tourism, and the economic rewards it brought, was able to trump the hither to unchallenged power of the Church. Tourists "brought not just money, but the seeds of change. They also brought the fresh air of democracy" (Tremlett 2006: 103).

Neal Moses Rosendorf, a scholar of U.S. international history, posits that American tourism in Spain was another major component of the program the regime used to improve its economic circumstances (Rosendorf 2006: 368). In an attempt to sell Spain's image abroad, Franco's regime developed relationships with American companies and media such as American Express, TWA, Hilton, admired travel writers, and popular Hollywood filmmakers. The result was "a potent synergy between American travel, tourism, and entertainment business entrepreneurship and the Spanish political-economic ambitions in an altered international relations environment" (Rosendorf 2006: 368). American tourism made up only a fraction of tourism to Spain, as Europeans vastly outnumbered them, yet the initial impetus for developing Spain's foreign tourism infrastructure came from the US. "The Franco regime saw particular economic value in

cultivating tourists from the world's richest and most powerful nation" (Rosendorf 2006: 369). In contrast to the successful economic boost that American tourism gave to Spain, Franco's efforts to boost his economy "were not cost-free for a government that pushed a socially arch-conservative national agenda" (Rosendorf 2006: 406). Some historians argue that American tourism, similar to the effect of European tourism, was able loosen some of the domestic social and political structures Franco's dictatorship hinged upon.

According to Tremlett and Rosendorf, there is evidence to support the claim that Franco's decision to encourage tourism as part of his economic growth strategy plays an important role in the narrative of the decline of the regime. Franco's promotion of tourism exemplifies the way that Spain's government believed it could advance economic liberalization without challenging its conservative social and cultural basis. Unfortunately for Franco and his ideology, it seems that this assumption was incorrect. Through the examples of Benidorm and the decision to allow bikinis on Spanish beaches, as well as a brief outline of the role of American tourism in Spain, it becomes clear that many scholars believe that tourism to Spain served to weaken Franco's ideological grip over his public.

Tremlett's study of the bikini policy and Rosendorf's analysis of American tourism to Spain make important contributions to understanding how the undermining to Franco's rigid moral and social ideology might have occurred. Both authors further their investigations past standard historical accounts, which merely state that foreign influence affected Spanish values and ideology, by providing specific historical examples that point to places where this process occurred. Yet, they still leave many questions unanswered. While these are the most detailed examples I have found, they are not very descriptive.

They do not explain how the Spaniards viewed tourists. They also do not clarify the process of how the entrance of foreign influence was able to show individuals what they had previously been sheltered from. Access to foreign influence and interactions with foreigners led to great deal of exposure to many things most people in Spain had been isolated from under autarky and cultural repression.

In my paper, I investigate the process of how tourism and the changes it created disrupted the delicate balance between economic growth and cultural stasis that the regime hoped to maintain. I explore how tourism was actually understood at the time it was introduced, before Franco's death and the end of the regime. The questions I ask are descriptive and look for details and clarification of how this occurred and how it was viewed. How did the entrance of foreign presence via tourism, or as symbolized by tourism, influence Spanish identity and lead to an undermining of Franco's power? To what extent was tourism actually understood in this way at the time it was introduced? Is this narrative discernable in documents from the time?

LITERATURE REVIEW: AN EVALUATION OF TOURISM STUDIES

Analyses of the tendencies of social and cultural studies of international tourism may offer a useful framework for understanding the Spanish case. Amanda Stronza (2001) argues that anthropological literature on tourism can generally be divided into two halves, those that seek to understand the origins of tourism and those that focus on its impacts. She believes that what has been produced thus far offers only a partial understanding of the subject, because, in her view, studies which investigate the origins of tourism focus only on the tourists, while research concerning the impacts of tourism

focuses solely on the locals. Malcolm Crick concurs that tourism studies tend to be incomplete. He finds it striking that in many social science disciplines we rarely hear the local voice on these issues. “Without close attention to local voice, our social scientific work risks being descriptively poor and ethnocentric” (Crick 1989: 338).

Stronza argues, that in terms of the work that has been done on the impacts of tourism, rarely have scholars’ opinions about the effects of tourism on host communities been positive. Tourism, she says, has “been blamed for every value transformation under the sun” (Stronza 2001: 268). Crick echoes this claim. His analysis of collective representations of international tourism finds that most academics writing on sociological and anthropological studies have typically adopted a negative stance. Stronza and Crick both plead for a more holistic perspective, which explores how some forms of tourism can generate social, economic, and environmental benefits for local communities and which pays careful attention to the voice of locals.

This negative stance towards the effects of tourism on locals can be seen in Davydd J. Greenwood’s study of the nature and significance of the change wrought by tourism on an Iberian town, Fuenterrabia, in the north of Spain. He examines the economic and architectural effects of tourism, as well as changes in social organization, the role of families, levels of consumerism, attitudes and values. Greenwood argues that the rise of tourism in Fuenterrabia has given rise to major economic growth which has ultimately lead to the decline of agriculture and the development of a variety of special problems (Greenwood 1972). He remains critical of tourism’s effects and claims it has had numerous destructive consequences. When he mentions the effects of tourism on ideology in Fuenterrabia, his findings are somewhat contrary to many historical accounts.

He says the consumer ideology, the emphasis on leisure, and the attitudes toward work held by tourists might be expected to exert a revolutionizing influence on the small towns of Europe. Greenwood argues that in Fuenterrabia, however, there has not seemed to be a change in their basic ideology. Instead, he claims, "the Fundamental Basque values of independence of the individual and the dignity of work have not changed" (Greenwood 1972: 90).

Some scholars, in contrast, contend that tourism to Spain brought positive change to Spain in many arenas including the art world, the role of women, and gay and lesbian rights. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi's collection of essays of Spanish cultural studies, maintains that tourism has had a significant, positive impact on the ideology and values of the Spaniards. Emma Dent Coad contends that with foreign travel becoming easier and with rapidly increasing number of tourists coming to Spain, outside cultural influences inevitably made an impact on the art world (Dent Coad 1995). Similarly, tourism is said to have impacted the role of women in the workforce. Throughout the 1960s much of the increase of women entering into workforce was part of the service industry, particularly tourism, which were deemed appropriate to women's social role and segmented enough to fit around their domestic commitments (Brooksbank Jones 1995). Lastly, these influences also helped to shape gay and lesbian culture in Spain. Contacts with exiles in Europe and North America as well as alternative tourism into Spain (notably at Sitges and Ibiza) meant that the exchange of new ideas and lifestyles was not limited to print (Perriam 1995).

As noted earlier, Tremlett and Rosendorf identify tourism as a major means by which democratic and western values were able to penetrate Spain's ideologically

isolated society. Tremlett argues that Franco's decision to allow bikinis on Spanish beaches marked the beginning of a gradual sexual revolution and makes the claim that the tourists had the power to combat the church and brought with them the spirit of democracy (Tremlett 2006). Similarly, Rosendorf argues that Franco's decision to allow tourism, especially his promotion of American tourism in an attempt to improve Spain's circumstances, also allowed the tourists to create a loosening of domestic social and political structures (Rosendorf 2006).

Regardless of whatever normative claim one makes about the "westernizing effect" on the local community, it seems that neither Rosendorf nor Tremlett really depict how this process occurred. While both state that foreign influence paved the way for Spain's democracy and locate this decision in historical events, they do not portray how this process operated on a micro level. What they lack is an understanding of how interactions between hosts and tourists occurred and how the presence of "foreignness" transformed Spanish identity. While both authors state their theory that the entrance of tourism and the ideas and values that tourists brought into Spain paved the way for Spain's eventual transition to democracy it is surprising that neither Tremlett nor Rosendorf explain in sociological terms how this operated. In beginning my investigation, I set out to investigate what these authors neglect to elucidate.

Exploring the effects of the introduction of foreigners into Spain under Franco is difficult for a number of reasons. Hardly any sociological or anthropological literature has examined the process, and the literature tends to support the claim that historical texts make about tourism's loosening effects on Franco's power. As there was widespread censorship at the time, there are few personal accounts of Spaniards and their interactions

with tourists. Because such an explanation is virtually non-existent in the literature, in order to document some aspect of local voice as well as attempt to investigate tourism and what it came to symbolically represent in Spanish society, I have chosen to look at three films produced and released in Spain under the Franco regime to see how popular artists of the time understood the influence of tourism. As these films had such extraordinary success, I will argue that the themes and tensions evident in the films resonated with the sentiment of Spanish audiences. While I might not be able to achieve a direct insight into how Spaniards viewed tourism, my research looks at extremely popular cinematic representations of tourism and urbanization to argue that the films played an important role in both reflecting and shaping Spanish opinion.

FILM AS A MEANS OF EXPLORING SPANISH TOURISM:

In the following pages, I justify my research strategy of film analysis by providing an overview of theory written by scholars of media studies and Spanish cinema who argue that film and media studies can help us to understand popular culture. I then analyze three films released under Franco from between 1965 and 1971, all with completely Spanish directors and casts. All of the films were huge hits at Spanish box offices and were three of the largest grossing films during Franco's rule (Faulkner 2006; Jordan 2003). The films were selected for their popularity and relevance to the themes of my investigation. They were fairly difficult to obtain, but I was able to locate the three films and watch them in their original Spanish versions as they were released in theatres. The first film I discuss is called *La Ciudad No Es Para Mí* (City Life Is Not For Me) and is about a man who moves from the rural Spanish countryside to Spain's capital, Madrid.

My second film is *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* (Tourism Is A Great Invention), which is about a mayor of a small village in Aragon who desires to make his humble town a roaring tourist attraction. Third, I analyze *No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto* (Thou Shall Not Covet Thy Fifth Floor Neighbor), which is about a gynecologist living in Toledo who travels to Madrid and cheats on his girlfriend with foreign women.

It is important to note that in 1966, new censorship laws had been passed in Spain moderating the power that Franco and his government had to control print and film media. These changes are reflected in the content of the films and the differing levels of raciness of the films over time. The films may have originally been edited or censored by the regime before they appeared in public, yet there is no available documentation of what parts of the films are censored. I discuss the films in chronological order and argue that each film represents a different and important phase in Spain's transition from an isolated traditional Spanish society into a modernized, Europeanized culture.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Spaniards faced a combination of changes, which included Spain's opening to the values of its more liberal, democratic foreign 'others', particularly the US and millions of tourists from northern Europe. According to Barry Jordan, a scholar of contemporary Iberian cinema, some films of this period reflect the regime's purity and moral superiority in the face of political revolution. However, he argues that many others were "symptomatic of some of the deep stresses and strains, tensions and conflicts between the desires and aspirations of 'ordinary Spaniards' in their own encounter with social change and the outside world and the regime's need to maintain control and a quiescent population" (Jordan 2003: 170).

Until fairly recently, critics and scholars of Spanish Cinema have tended to ignore or dismiss the mainstream popular cinema of the 1960s and 1970s, asserting that such Francoist commercial films are tacky, conformist, and not sociologically relevant. On the other hand, some scholars suggest that these films, which seek to wrestle with Spain's problematic adaptation to consumer capitalism and modern attitudes towards sex and sexual identities, are worth paying attention to. According to Jordan, these popular film forms offered an alternative non-realist approach to developing a cinema of social commentary and mild critique (Jordan 2003). There is no doubt that the vast majority of popular Spanish films in the 1960s and early 1970s were politically conservative. Speaking to this point, Jordan asks, "What else could they have been?" Due to the regime's strict censorship over the film industry, the producers and scriptwriters of the time were forbidden from making any overt or even covert references to 'real' internal political situations or social problems. While many preferred to project a favorable and idealized image of a Spain which enjoyed peace, stability and rising living standards, not all commercial cinema was 'undiluted propaganda' of the regime. Without a doubt, these films may also reflect the tastes, desires, fears, anxieties and problems of the viewers at the time (Jordan 2003).

Spain's version of a sex comedy was clearly a specific response to the circumstances of a faltering dictatorship with increasingly harsh censorship. The last movie I analyze, *No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto* (Thou Shall Not Covet Thy Fifth Floor Neighbor), was the most successful film in Spanish cinema of this genre. Since sexual coupling and moral taboos could not be portrayed or discussed directly, film makers were forced to find alternative and inventive ways of addressing these issues and

satisfying the Spanish audiences' demand for sexual imagery. Such forbidden fruits were displaced in farcical, tacky plots, infantilized characters, crude gender and sexual stereotypes, sexual innuendo and foreign females portrayed as "always-available" sex objects (Jordan 2003: 172). While this genre of film is not particularly subversive, its supposed superficiality allowed it to introduce contradictory attitudes and values which other more serious films could not. Such comedic films provide a social and psychological function by releasing repressed tensions in a safe manner.

Todd Gitlin, too, posits the value of media studies. He argues that in order to fully understand popular culture, it is important to see how it is tied to hegemony in a complex social process (Gitlin 1982). He says that tensions within hegemonic or dominant ideology render it vulnerable to the demands of insurgent groups and to cultural change in general. He argues:

> Popular culture is one crucial institution where the rival claims of ideology are sometimes pressed forward, sometimes reconciled in imaginative form. Popular culture absorbs oppositional ideology, adapts it to the contours of the core hegemonic principles, and domesticates it; at the same time, popular culture is a realm of the expression of forms of resistance and oppositional ideology (Gitlin 1982: 242).

In other words, to be ideologically effective, cultural texts must incorporate and recognize dissenting and critical voices, even as they ultimately reconcile these voices with the status quo. Thus, suppression precedes alongside accommodation, sometimes one predominates, sometimes the other (Gitlin 1982: 242).

Sally Faulkner relates this argument to Spain and Franco in her book *A Cinema of Contradiction* where she posits the value of focusing on popular film, specifically commercial film under Franco. She discusses how scholars influenced by cultural studies argue against the view of popular culture as a tool to manipulate a passive public. They

use the concept of 'counter-hegemonic cultural tactics' to adjust the focus to the reception of culture. This approach invests audiences with agency and raises the possibility of resistant, 'counter hegemonic' readings, providing scholars with an intellectual framework in which to take popular culture seriously (Faulkner 2006: 9). In her view, even conservative representations which appealed to mass audiences sustain counter-readings and that "the plural nature of authorship in the popular cinema, therefore, allowed other contributors to express revealing inconsistencies in the film's otherwise conservative messages" (Faulkner 2006: 2). Faulkner points to the first movie I will analyze, *La Ciudad No Es Para Mi* (City Life Is Not For Me), as an excellent example of a movie riddled with inconsistency. She argues that while commercial cinema under Franco has been widely dismissed, there is a complex and possibly contestatory value of these films, which often reveals the very contradictions the films attempt to conceal.

In my investigation, I identify the ways foreign influence and tourism is represented in film. I discuss how representations of foreignness change over time by analyzing the films in chronological order. I examine not only the explicit depictions of tourists but also the more subtle ways the influence of tourism and contact with non-Spaniards is portrayed as influencing the behavior and representations of the individuals in the films. I also identify conflicting voices in the films and consider how they may have served to represent the regime's contradictions in its simultaneous desires to maintain traditional Spanish values while promoting tourism, which brought modernity.

LA CIUDAD NO ES PARA MI (1965):

La Ciudad No Es Para Mí (City Life Is Not For Me), directed by Pedro Lazaga, was the most profitable film during Spain in the 1960s and is still considered a runaway success (Faulkner 2006: 49). The director, Pedro Lazaga was one of the most prolific, yet least studied, directors in Spanish history. Actor Paco Martínez Soria, who plays the main character, earned his fame in Spain as an adored theatre actor. The film responds to the rural exodus that occurred in the 1960s as Spain's period of autarky ended. It tells the story of Tío Agustín (played by Martínez Soria) who moves from a rural Aroganese village, Calacierva, to Madrid, Spain's capital, to stay with his son and daughter-in-law. The movie focuses on the differences between rural and city life, juxtaposing the evils of city life with the peace and affection of life in a rural village.

The film's protagonist is respected and revered Tío Agustín, who is content with his peaceful life in the village. The plot begins as he packs his suitcase, grabs a basket of chickens (a clear symbol of rural life), tucks a portrait of his late wife under his arm and boards a train to visit his son and daughter-in-law in Madrid. Upon his arrival, Tío Agustín quickly realizes that he is not suited for life in the city. He does not understand how to cross the busy street, cannot figure out how to find his son's house, and he inadvertently angers and frustrates every city inhabitant who crosses his path. Tío Agustín soon discovers to his horror that his family has fallen prey to the evils of urban existence (Faulkner 2006: 51). His son Gusti is a workaholic and his daughter-in-law Luchy is on the verge of an affair. Initially, the members of his family are upset to see Tío Agustín and are ashamed of his presence. Luchy even forbids him to interact with

houseguests. Yet, as the film continues, the family bonds with Tío Agustín and they eventually come to love him. After discovering a plethora of problems with city life, Tío Agustín intervenes in the lives of his family members. He successfully shows them the errors of their ways and restores his own definition of order. By the end, Gusti is newly sensitive to his wife's needs and Luchy calls off her potential extra-marital affair. Tío Agustín and his family return to Calacierva where a street-sign is being unveiled bearing his name for all to see. The villagers cheer when they hear his plans not to return to the city and Tío Agustín triumphantly proclaims the title of the film: "¡La ciudad no es para mi¡" (city life is not for me).

If *La Ciudad* is approached as a hegemonic project, its purpose is to resolve the key contradiction of the 1960s: the tension between tradition and modernity. According to Faulkner (2006) the film attempts to reconcile the contradiction between the ideological rhetoric of country values and the economic need for liberalization and urbanization. This is surely a very difficult task. The film's anti-city message may be consistent with how Franco viewed city life. Franco promoted the virtue of the Castilian countryside, while portraying the city as the source of Spain's moral corruption (Balfour 2006: 266). In contrast, *La Ciudad* could also not champion the reversal of the rural exodus by arguing that everyone should return to the countryside. By the 1960s, such a move would jeopardize the Francoist economic boom (Faulkner 2006: 53). While the film seems to take a direct stance on the preference of rural life, it nonetheless presents multiple voices, which compete throughout it. For example, as Faulkner points out, despite its seemingly relentless presentation of city life as inferior, the return of Tío Agustin's family to Calacierva is never suggested (Faulkner 2006: 53) Thus, the tensions

between the regime's simultaneous desire to maintain Spain's traditional values and to promote liberalization are reflected by the competing voices evident in the film.

In the opening sequence, modern Madrid is portrayed as a hectic, overcrowded, and undesirable place. A montage of shots of the city are played at super-speed and loud drumming music resonates as a voice-over provides condemning and impersonal statistics about Madrid. As the images of the city continue to flash, a frenzied voice begins:

> "Madrid, the capital of Spain, 2,646,243 inhabitants… One birth every 45 seconds. Two and a half weddings per hour and a funeral every minute and a half. And banks, many banks. And houses, houses in construction, mountains of houses in construction. And pharmacies, tons and tons of pharmacies… And parking tickets, too many parking tickets. And supermarkets, so many supermarkets. It is a place where everything happens in a rush. Everything that happens in this city must be done in a rush. " [1]

The camera pans quickly towards the sky, and then begins to come down much more slowly. Images of provincial village life are portrayed leisurely, providing a relaxed viewing experience. The music changes to a calming classical tune and the voice becomes slow and soothing. The voice over sighs and says:

> Thank God that more tranquil places still remain, where the people are less rushed. For example, here, in the very noble Calacierva, province of Zaragoza. A place lost on the map, where the tourists still have not yet arrived… A place whose principle richness is melons and figs and the climate is beautiful.

The voice argues a preference for relaxed and desirable rural life as opposed to the hectic, rushed, and overcrowded city dwelling. It also links tourists to the busy and disruptive qualities of living in the capital, Madrid. The effect of tourism is thus portrayed as

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[1] All quotations in this paper from *La Ciudad No Es Para Mi* and *No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto* are based on my own translations of the Spanish audio into English text.

undesirable and it is lucky that Spain still has places free of this influence. Even though the narrator condemns Madrid, the picture of the city presented by the film is still exciting, dynamic, and lively, accompanied by the fun and trendy music of a young rock band. This depiction challenges the conservative ruralism of the plot, nodding to the tensions within the film from the very start (Faulkner 2006: 69).

Throughout the *La Ciudad*, foreign influence is heavily associated with modernity and city life. Although foreigners and tourists themselves are not depicted in the film, that which is not Spanish is used to symbolize the hip and bourgeois. Luchy personifies this desire to imitate foreignness in order to appear upper class. As Faulkner points out, Luchy, as a daughter of a poor rural family in Calacierva and a former village dressmaker, seems eager to imitate what is foreign to compensate for the pace of her social ascendance (Faulkner 2006: 57). She changes her name from the traditional Castilian 'Luciana' to the Italianate 'Luchy." She drinks tea and spirits instead of Spanish coffee and wine. She also is infuriated by Tío Agustin's attempt to replace her modern Picasso still life with the traditional portrait of his late wife. Luchy's attire in the film also reflects her attempt to appear elegant, wealthy, and confident, all signs of foreignness. Throughout most of the film, she wears glittery cocktail dresses, fur coats, false eyelashes, and carries fancy handbags. By the end of the film, the transformation in her attitude towards modernity and foreignness is reflected in the change of her attire. Once Tío Agustín rescues her from the edge of adultery and the evils of the city, she sheds her elegant, aristocratic clothing, opting instead for a dowdy, hand knitted cardigan, a handkerchief, and an old fashioned broach (Faulkner 2006: 59).

Foreign influence is also apparent in a scene where Tío Agustín's granddaughter takes him with her to a nightclub. The band playing in the club, a Uruguayan band called "Los Shakers," looks and sounds like a Spanish replica of the Beatles, even singing most of their lyrics in English. This makes the Madrid nightclub feel like an imitation of "Swinging Sixties" London. A song by this same band is also used to set the tone of a fast-paced image of Madrid in the opening sequence of the film (Faulkner 2006: 61). In contrast, the film closes, not with a song by "Los Shakers", but instead with the town celebrating and dancing to a slow, traditional Spanish ballad accompanied by a banjo.

The connection between foreignness and modern city life is nearly explicit, appearing on many occasions throughout *La Ciudad*. As city life and modernity are so heavily equated with what is foreign, this rejection of what is modern could also be seen as a rejection of more European, non-Spanish ways in favor of the status quo before tourism. Yet as it is not quite clear what the film advocates or rejects, its stance on tourism is thus equally murky.

TURISMO ES UN GRAN INVENTO (1968):

As indicated in its title, *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* (Tourism is a Great Invention) explicitly discusses the concept of tourism in the 1960s. Similar to *La Ciudad No Es Para Mi* and released three years later, the film is directed by Pedro Lazaga and features Paco Martinez Soria as its protagonist. Both films are remarkably similar in style, structure, and mood. *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* is about Benito Requejo, mayor of a humble Aronganese village Valdemorillo del Moncayo. The mayor is upset with the desolate, out-dated state of his village. The rest of the world has forgotten about the

village; it no longer has visitors, and the youth are beginning to relocate to cities. Benito is devastated when Pilar, the mayor's traditionally beautiful niece, proclaims she wants to move to Barcelona and become a maid. The mayor decides that it's time to change things and turn the town into a tourist destination by throwing out everything old-fashioned and traditional and building a hotel and other tourist attractions to entice foreigners.

Seeking a model of how to modernize the village, Benito and his secretary Basilio gather funds and head to visit the Costa del Sol, a popular strip of touristy beach resorts. The men are impressed and surprised by what they find at their hotel: the women are beautiful and scantily clad, the faucets are shiny, and the prices are exorbitant, all symbols of modernization and foreignness. Benito and Basilio agree they would trade their lives to have a hotel like that in their village. It is not long before the men realize that they are clearly out of place. They try to speak Spanish to American tourists, think the bellhops are stealing their suitcases, and attempt to sunbathe in their formal suits. The men soon befriend a German female group of showgirls called the "Buby Girls." The girls are delighted by the men's rural charm and are dazzled by Benito's stories of his past as a bullfighter, a profession symbolic of traditional Spanish culture. They go out with them for a night of drinking where they sign a contract agreeing to perform in the village.

When the men return home, they find that everyone back in the village is furious with them. The village men are livid that Benito and Basilio have spent the town's money. The women of the village accuse them of being adulterers and womanizers as they have seen newspaper photos of the men with the "Buby Girls." In a desperate and final attempt to get more money, the men head to Madrid to see the Minister of Tourism

but are met with disappointment when they discover they needed to have made an appointment months in advance. When Benito returns home for a second time, he finds he has been replaced as minister due to the funds he squandered in his travels. Yet it is not long before the "Buby Girls" arrive at the village for their performance, and even after they discover there is no money to pay them, they agree to put on a show out of their affection for Benito. The show wins over the men villagers who are seduced by the girl's "expressive dance" and "long legs." The film then cuts to four months later when the Minister of Tourism has sent a letter granting an appointment with Benito. It ends with a celebration similar to the final scene of *La Ciudad*. The town joins in song and dance in front of a sign, which announces that there will be an opening of a new hotel of tourism. The villagers dance and sing, "Long live the mayor! He has proven that he is the best mayor. Well, he built us a hotel and it won't cost a penny. Long live the mayor!"

At first glance, *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* pushes quite different claims than *La Cuidad No Es Para Mi.* It outwardly exults in the joy of tourism, calling it a great invention, which almost directly opposes the conclusion of the other film that rural life without foreign disruption is best. This seems odd as *Turismo* is made only three years after *La Ciudad* and is by the same director and has the same actor as its protagonist. Yet this seems to further reflect the tensions between tradition and modernity at a time of rapid change. *Turismo,* like *La Ciudad,* waivers in its assertions, and upon closer examination the tensions are quite similar. The movie opens with sequence of images of Spanish beaches accompanied by a jovial song whose lyrics hail tourism as a great thing. The lyrics exalt how fun it is to visit new places, forget about one's problems, relax in the sand, leave one's partner, enjoy a bit of flirting, and drink whisky in the chair of a good

hotel, all undermining Franco's conception of traditional Spanish morals. As the credits end, the film's dialogue begins with a sequence strikingly similar to the prologue of *La Ciudad*. The images begin to speed up as a voice explains:

> "Tourism, tourism, tourism. A magic word on everyone's lips today, and though it was already in the dictionary, nobody knew what it meant among other reasons because nobody felt like doing any tourism. And you see, tourism means, among other things, packing suitcases, crowding in the family. These big families! Travel, travel, travel, by car, in a trailer, on tow, being towed, by plane, by boat, in any fashion, on foot if necessary… Seeing new things, very new… All this hurrying, frantic running, for this, just to get some rest… Trying new food and falling in love… Its all very beautiful… Tourism, tourism, tourism, tourism. Definitely, tourism is a great invention. [2]

The image of tourism the prologue portrays is conflicted. The voice presents a hectic picture of vacation life, even pointing out the irony of having something so frantic be an excuse for relaxation. Yet it ends by hailing tourism as a great invention. While busyness in *La Ciudad* was criticized, here a frantic life is outwardly glorified. The comparison is stark as the exact same techniques are used to make the opposing arguments in each film. Furthermore, the techniques are not persuasive as the glorification of the city seeps through in the first film, as the condemnation of tourism is still evident in the latter. The attempt to reconcile the two sides is confused, at best.

Like *La Ciduad, Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* contrasts 'Spanishness' with foreignness and the two concepts interact in a variety of different ways. Sexuality as a theme is used to illustrate this contrast, especially the symbol of the bikini, which serves as a motif as the ultimate symbol of tourists and their

[2] Quotations from *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* are taken from the English subtitles in the film.

sexualized and liberated identities. From start to finish, the village men purport that girls in bikinis would be the greatest improvement to village life. When Benito returns from the Costa del Sol, he brings back his niece Pilar a bikini as a gift. She looks at the suit admiringly, and says that while she loves the gift, she knows it could never be acceptable to wear in the town. Later, after Benito is discharged as mayor, she offers to wear the bikini and walk through the center of town as a sign of protest. While she never goes through with her offer, it is certainly noteworthy that this same symbol that Tremlett discussed as fundamental to the changes in a Benidorm appears in this film as the essential representation of tourism as well as a sign of protest against traditional values, especially those propagated by Franco's regime.

In addition to bikinis, the "Buby Girls" themselves represent idealized, sexualized foreigners who seduce Spanish men at first glance. Benito and Basilio are instantly entranced by the girls' sexuality. When the men see the girls doing a bikini photo shoot at the hotel pool they nearly faint with excitement. Basilio has a fantasy of the women picking him up and then jumping up and down with him on a trampoline. Initially, the men of the village are angry with Benito for spending the town's money and plan to protest the performance. However, once they hear the women's angelic voices, they run to see their show. After only a few minutes of watching the showgirls sing and dance, they are fully convinced that the town should change. The mere sight of these women performing their routine is enough to rid the men of their convictions, illustrating the instantaneously powerful influence that the foreigners were able to have.

The foreign women, in turn, are enticed by the 'Spanishness' of the men. While Benito and Basilio are unattractive parodies of 'Spanishness', the women are charmed and amused by their Spanish charisma. During the photo shoot, they select Basilio to take a picture with them because they want a traditionally Spanish-looking man. When Basilio is camera shy, the photographer says, "Are you Spanish? Well it doesn't show. Embrace her with passion, Iberian style." Later, when the women are having lunch with Benito and Basilio they probe Benito to tell stories of his days as a bullfighter. They tell Benito he must be a "brave, valiant man" while charmed by Basilio, saying he "tickles them." Meanwhile, the men are staring at the women's legs, and Benito comments that he likes this new style. He says, "Where I am from, you have to marry a women to see that much leg… and even then…" The women and their liberated sexuality astound the men. In turn, the women are captivated by the men's traditional 'Spanishness'. Though the film advertises the allure of tourists and their sexuality, it seems to maintain pride in the traditional male identity. It seems quite unrealistic that the beautiful "Buby Girls" would see any appeal in Benito and Basilio, and this adds to the overall lack of credibility and ridiculousness of the plot.

Meanwhile, the women of the village have a violently negative reaction to the tourists, viewing them as evil sex objects who are coming to steal their husbands away. When the women of the village see a photo of Basilio with the "Buby Girls," Basilio's wife exclaims "That adulterer! I can't believe my husband is in the arms of that foreign slut." Upon Basilio's return, his wife charges at him

and has to be restrained. In the next scene, Basilio is bandaged and in crutches and viewers can only assume his wife has physically attacked him. Such drastic reactions from the village women to the "Buby Girls" continue throughout the film. When the girls arrive at the village, the women run towards them, yelling at them and calling them "adulterers" and "tourist whores," and all of the females, with the exception of young Pilar, protest their show in the town. In the end of the film, even when the men decide to go to the show, the women never attend.

Arguably, the most confused and contradictory part of the film is its resolution. The film jumps from the end of the "Buby Girls" performance to months later with the celebration of the opening of the new hotel. This jump is confusing, leaving large gaps in the plot without much explanation. While the crowd celebrates the mayor's success, logically, it seems unlikely that their dream of tourism in the village will pan out. The only progress noted is that the minister of tourism has agreed to meet with them. The village has yet to receive a penny towards changes in the town, yet they rejoice that the mayor will help them build a new hotel without costing them any money. The only concrete change in the village is that there is now a large billboard indicating where the glamorous new hotel will be built.

An even more perplexing omission is that the movie lacks an explanation as to what has propelled the women to be part of this celebration. While the movie does show the transformation in opinion of the men as they were dazzled by the performance of the showgirls, there is no justification for why the women are now in favor of tourism. Such a gap in rationalization furthers the interpretation that

the film maintains an ambivalent stance towards the change. What the film manages to illustrate is just how drastic of an effect the tourists are able to have on the village. After the women appear in the village and perform, the villagers somehow are convinced to resolve all of the drama that has been established throughout the film.

NO DESEARÁS AL VECINO DEL QUINTO (1970):

No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto, (Thou Shall Not Covet Thy Fifth Floor Neighbor), directed by Ramon Fernandez in 1970, was by far the highest grossing film in Spain between 1965 and 1973 and was a conscious and deliberate response to the absence of banned European sex films in Spain. Released in 1971, four years before Franco's death, it quickly became a massive hit attracting attention with its risqué and explicit portrayal of taboo subject matter (Jordan 2003: 177). The film focuses on Pedro Andreu, a handsome gynecologist living in the small, provincial city of Toledo. Pedro is in a constant struggle for clients, as many women are forbidden to see him based on fears and prejudices of their boyfriends or husbands. His neighbor, Antón, is successful in the fashion business as he pretends to be gay and can thus attract a female clientele whose husbands and families are not threatened by him. Both men meet up unexpectedly in Madrid and end up spending the week partying and sleeping with (mostly foreign) women in Antón's apartment. Meanwhile, Pedro's mother and girlfriend, alarmed at his disappearance, travel to Madrid to discover his whereabouts, and mistakenly confirm their suspicion that Pedro is having a gay relationship with Antón. Upon returning to Toledo, Pedro pines for the liberating climate of Madrid and decides to return. Pedro's

girlfriend, Jacinta, decides to rescue Pedro from his "gay condition" and offers him sex outside of marriage, but Pedro refuses these advances, accusing her of immorality. Jacinta joins forces with Antón's estranged wife and the two plot to seek joint revenge. They pose as French and English flight attendants, seduce the men, and then reveal their true identities. Once everything returns to normal, Pedro and Jacinta marry in secret and Pedro decides to take Antón's advice and use a gay persona to attract business. In the end, a gangster who has sent his wife to Pedro, who is now an internationally acclaimed doctor, exposes Pedro's secret. The gangster remembers seeing Pedro during his sex-crazed week in Madrid, and at the thought of Pedro drooling over his naked wife, he attacks Pedro, beating and shooting him. The film comes to an end with Jacinta and Pedro in the hospital.

The bulk of the film is a long flashback in which Jacinta explains what has happened to a doctor. After she consults with the doctor, the film cuts to a montage of images of provincial Toledo with a voice over of Jacinta explaining that the violence in the film is in response to the impact of modernity and confrontation between old and new ideas (Jordan 2003). She says:

> "Today, living in the capital of a province is difficult. Everything is complicated…There is a tremendous confusion of ideas, of preferences, of opinions. The modern air contrasts with old values. The outdated traditions intermix with revolutionary tendencies. In the end, we are too provincial to be modern and too modern to be provincial. We have a complex. Its fundamental that you understand it."

This quotation articulates the tensions that were apparent in the previous two films, namely the confusion of ideas and the contradiction between provincial and modern. The contradictions in Spanish society, which continued from the 1960s into the early 1970s, are illustrated in this film through the portrayal of foreignness versus 'Spanishness'.

Through the representations of tourists in *No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto,* the tensions between modernity and traditional values are elucidated.

The first scene in which tourists are depicted occurs when Pedro and Antón meet in Madrid and spend the night sleeping with women they have met in a bar. When they wake up, Pedro says he is going home. Antón convinces Pedro that needing this week to sleep around doesn't make him a bad person; he argues this necessity is "only a fault of the society they live in." Here, he implies that his promiscuity is a result of the repressiveness of the regime. Antón insists that Pedro takes a break from his pathetic life of playing Parcheesi with his mother and girlfriend and tells Pedro he has "something to teach him." He brings Pedro to his balcony where he keeps the telescope he uses to spy on a neighboring apartment, always rented by female flight attendants. They see two Swiss, beautiful, blond, women wearing bikinis, and Antón says, "these women like the sun, oranges, and Spanish men like you." When they arrive at the apartment, the shorter, less attractive Antón tries to use Spanish oranges to attract the women. The blond, bikini-clad woman begins to shut the door until she sees dark and handsome Pedro and invites the men in. The women speak only English and cannot understand the men, but they demonstrate with hand motions that they are sexually available and want to be touched. Soon they split off into couples and the audience hears sexual noises as the scene fades to black. Previously in the film, it has been implied that Pedro and his girlfriend do not have pre-marital relations, yet Pedro is very easily persuaded by Anton's preaching of sexual liberation. The fight attendants serve as ideal sexual targets for the men. They are foreign, available, beautiful, easy, and free of commitment. Not only do these women represent a sexual freedom that is difficult to locate in Spanish women, but also it is guaranteed that

they will only be here for a night and thus will not want to form attachments. To Pedro and Antón, these foreign women mean casual, easily attainable sex.

The initial conversation between Antón and Pedro is indicative of the oppressive lifestyle they live. Because in Toledo the men are so sexually repressed, Antón states that he is essentially forced to take a week off each month and casually sleep with women in Madrid. Here, like in the earlier films, the contrast is made between a provincial city like Toledo where only traditional values are accepted and the urban capital of Madrid where sexual subversion is possible. The comparison between peaceful, moral Toledo and immoral, sexualized Madrid is not only made in the opening monologue of the film, but occurs throughout the narrative. When Pedro initially decides to go to Madrid, his overprotective mother is terrified at the prospect of Pedro going to the overwhelming, overcrowded, big city. To her, and to many others in Toledo, Madrid is an unknown place, filled with foreigners, and is thus a place to fear. While for Anton, and now Pedro, it is a place where they release their sexual frustrations and live secret and free lives of promiscuity.

What is additionally interesting in the scene with the flight attendants, and which appears in several scenes in the movie, is Anton's attempt of using traditionally Spanish symbols and objects to seduce the women. He later brings a bull-fighting hat and cape as well as the Spanish oranges to 'pull' the flight attendants. These touristy clichés fail at the first go, suggesting that the aging signs of traditional Spanish identity now need a supplement (Jordan 2003: 185). This seems to indicate that in order to perform Spanish-ness successfully with these flight attendants, they rely on Pedro's seemingly "non-Spanish, modern, continental, European charm and attractiveness" (Jordan, 2003 185). In

these scenes and many others, the film demonstrates a clear tension between traditional Spanish macho identity and a more modern European conception of a desirable man. This appears in contrast to *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento,* where Benito's experience as a bullfighter impresses the German showgirls. It seem that in the three years between when the films were made, Spanish identity has further lost its allure and for both Spaniards and tourists, a more foreign, European image is preferable.

In a later scene, more of this tension is depicted as four beautiful Spanish women try on lingerie in a dressing room. They discuss how their husbands like them better when they are more sexual. One says it is hypocritical of their husbands to criticize them when their husbands are bald and ugly. They conclude that it is time to become "more European." The women are confused as to their own sexual identities and how they should be performing for their husbands and decide that it is time to move forward and be more like the rest of Europe. This foreign influence, which society had been previously sheltered from, has clearly seeped into the Spanish mentality as a result of tourism.

The climax of the film is a scene of confrontation between the girlfriends and their partners who are cheating, and this scene culminates in many of the tensions and elements I have discussed previously. When Antón and Pedro's girlfriends find out what their men have been up to, they concoct a plan catch them in the act and "give them a lesson they will never forget." They rent the flight attendant apartment and the men, who quickly spot them with the telescope, wave their bull-fighting cape and shout, "we are Spanish, we are coming over to say hello." They grab more Spanish oranges as Antón says, "they know what nationality we are, but they will like the details." The women lie in bed and beckon the men, calling greetings in French and English, and the men strip off

their clothes but leave on their traditionally Spanish hats. In an attempt to project an image of Spain that is favorable to foreigners, Antón advises Pedro, "Smile, without fear, and show happiness. Let's make sure the women don't think our country is sad." They jump into bed with the women kissing and groping them for a moment until the women turn on the lights, one pulls out a gun, and they chase the men down the hallway and out of the apartment. As the men exit the door, two nuns have appeared at the door asking for a donation to help orphans "to contribute charity and the goodness of humanity." Gunshots are heard, clearly serving as a threat to the men, and the men run away. The contrast in this scene is stark. Spanish identity is jumbled and riddled with conflict. The women pose as foreign women, a guise they know will seduce their boyfriends. The men are using their Spanish-ness to try and entice women, a plan that has continued to have limited success. During this scene filled with trickery, deceit, sex, and potential violence, emerge nuns representing Catholicism, goodness, and purity. As the film comes to a close, the future of Spanish identity remains muddled and conflicted.

TENSIONS IN SPANISH IDENTITY:

Through the lenses of these films, it is clear that tourists and foreign influence added to the tensions between modernity and tradition present in Spanish identity. From the late 1960s to early 1970s, Spain was rapidly changing from an isolated, traditional, rurally based society into a modernized, industrialized, more European country. At this time, Franco was providing the Spanish people with conflicting messages. He simultaneously projected the image of a rural, traditional, and Catholic Spanish identity while promoting tourism and thus encouraging the penetration of foreignness into Spain.

These foreigners, with their flashy bikinis and modern, city-like ways threatened the sexually repressed, male-dominated, Spaniards who took pride in their bullfights and small villages. These films show how tourism effected a cultural change as they were portrayed not only symbols of change, but also as the agents of change themselves.

The increased presence of tourism is visible in the progression of these three films. Spain faced dramatic social changes from 1960 to 1971 and moved from a traditional, rural society to a modernized, urbanized country. Each film reflects these changes that tourists created as their presence became more and more visible and influential. In the first film released in 1965, the audience doesn't see a real foreigner, but apprehends their presence via the Spaniards who mimic them. In 1968, in the second film, the Spaniards see that interactions with tourists create changes in village life. By the third film, in 1971, the audience watches Spaniards traveling into big cities and sleeping with foreigners. The theme of city life and its association corruption and foreignness is not only visible in all three films, but progresses as time goes by and Spanish society changes drastically.

In *La Ciudad No Es Para Mí*, foreignness was associated with the new urbanization, corrupt with the evilness of modernity while extolling the peace and virtue of the traditional Spanish countryside. Yet the film still points to the allure of city-style modernity, portraying it not only as hectic and immoral, but also flashy and enticing. Moreover, it did not fully promote a reversal of the rural exodus. Three years later, *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento* beautified tourism, while providing a similar ambivalence towards its implications for Spanish life. It addressed how the appeal of foreignness seduced many Spaniards, particularly the youth, making them want to leave their boring,

rural towns for more adventurous lifestyles. The film seems to promote tourism's entrance to rural Spain, advertising the glitz and glamour of foreigners and how they could enhance traditional life. Yet it also implies that the clash between tradition and modernization produced conflict. It made wives jealous, even violent. It caused the village to squander all of its money. It moved the men to border on adultery. When, in the end of the film, tourism's arrival is celebrated, no realistic explanation for a change in attitude is provided, adding to the lack of conviction in the film's message. *No Desearás al Vecino del Quinto*, released three years after *Turismo Es Un Gran Invento,* the tourists not only illustrated but also caused the confusion and conflict in Spanish sexual identity. Such tensions caused the creation of false identities, adultery, and violence. Yet western lifestyles were still glamorized and the film makes modern Madrid seem much more fun, exciting, and overall more appealing than small, traditional Toledo.

CONCLUSION:

Regardless of whether the films sought to criticize or glorify the Westernization of Spain, the same themes recur in all three films. Franco promoted rural life and heavily associated this with traditional, Catholic, Spanish identity, an image he encouraged his citizens to embody. While many Spaniards still valued this identity, city life, foreign influence, and sexuality remained enticing. Sexualized foreigners created problems in Spanish lives, causing tensions in their families, relationships, and even identities. The liberalized, sexualized identities of foreigners posed as threats to the status quo that had existed under Franco. Spain was changing, for better or for worse and tourism and all that it came with sped up these changes. Foreign influence allowed Spaniards to truly reflect

upon their lives: to see what they had and what they lacked. It helped them to see the conflicts and tensions in Spanish life and in how Franco promoted Spain.

Those who don't know much about Spanish history might imagine Franco as having held an iron grip over Spain until the day he died. They might believe that the transition to democracy did not begin until Franco died in 1975. Yet, as can be seen through the progression of the three films I investigated, it seems that Franco's grip over Spain gradually loosened earlier than the official end of the Franco regime. Spain's transition to democracy is undoubtedly much more complicated than simply the death of its dictator. It seems that Tremlett was correct when he argued that tourists brought more with them to Spain than just money. With the tourists came "seeds of change and the fresh air of democracy."

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