

ABSTRACT

Spain in the American Tourist Gaze

Madeleine Nicole Sligh

Director: Thomas A. Offit, Ph.D.

The anthropology of tourism is a prevalent section of anthropology that recognizes the important role tourists play not only in their home countries, but also their individual host countries. Tourists are instruments of globalization, as they inevitably affect the economy, people, environment and culture of the countries they visit. In order to compete in the tourism market and attract vital revenue, it is essential that host countries produce an image of a safe and interesting place to visit. In order to distinguish themselves from other destinations, host countries draw on the unique aspects of their culture and market them to tourists, thus distorting once authentic traditions. The result is a marketable, yet highly superficial setting that draws tourists in under the impression that this falsified performance is authentic and genuine. The American film industry has created a precedent that host countries must conform to if they expect to attract tourists. Spain is the perfect example of this, as the American film industry has exaggerated quaint Andalucían traditions and applied them to the entirety of the country, thus corrupting the true regional differences of Spain. The result of this is the romanticization of Andalucía by the Spanish government through commercials. The desperation of the Spanish economy to continue to attract tourists has led to the exploitation of Andalucían culture. In this thesis, through an analysis of the tourist market and my own ethnographical research, I will demonstrate that the image that American media and Spanish tourist propaganda have provided for tourists, thus what American tourists expect, does not coincide with the reality present in Spain.

APPROVED BY DIRECTOR OF HONORS THESIS:

Dr. Thomas A. Offit, Department of Anthropology

APPROVED BY THE HONORS PROGRAM:

Dr. Andrew Wisely, Director

DATE: _____

SPAIN IN THE AMERICAN TOURIST GAZE

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of

Baylor University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Honors Program

By

Madeleine Nicole Sligh

Waco, Texas

December 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	iii
Dedication	iv
Preface	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Anthropology of Tourism	2
Chapter Two: The Influence of American Films and Spanish Commercials on Tourism in Spain	11
Chapter Three: The Reality of Spain: My Time As a Student	23
Chapter Four: My Job as an American Tour Guide: A Far Cry from Authentic Spain	37
Conclusion	46
Bibliography	47
Appendix 1: Citation of Figures	49

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis director, Dr. Thomas Offit, for his dedication and time to my thesis project. Thank you to Dr. Eric Rust and Dr. Paul Larson for reading my thesis and participating on my Thesis Defense Committee. I would also like to thank Dr. Aitor Bikandi and Dr. Brian Goss of St. Louis University in Madrid for providing many of the sources utilized in this thesis. Thank you to Lucas Shapiro for his extensive insight, and to Bailey Green and Sydney Lewis for their editing expertise. Finally, thank you to my parents, Dr. James E. Sligh, Jr., and Mrs. Julie Sligh, for their support of my educational and travel aspirations. I could not have completed this project without them.

DEDICATION

To my parents. Thank you for believing in my dreams.

PREFACE

The work presented on pages eleven, twelve, and seventeen was originally produced for Dr. Candi Cann as a part of the qualifications for BIC 4374, World Cultures V. Pages eighteen through twenty-one were produced as the final project for Dr. Brian Goss, as a part of COMM 450, Global Media and Culture, through St. Louis University in Madrid.

INTRODUCTION

Spain is a tourism superpower, as according to the United Nation's World Tourism Organization, close to sixty-one million people visit the country per year, and the number continues to grow annually (UNWTO 2014). The country maintains its status in the tourism hierarchy due to the fact that Spain has the act of drawing tourists down to a science. Spain has mastered the "fiesta factor," a term coined by *The Economist* to express the manner in which the government promotes the country, drawing on aspects of its culture that are desirable, while hiding the poverty and problems present in Spain today (*The Economist* 2004). By amplifying iconic aspects of traditional Andalusian culture, and projecting them across the entirety of the country, Spain attempts to live up to the superficial ideal created by non-Spanish tourist media throughout North America. Spain intentionally presents a romanticized version of itself to the international community through advertising in order to continue to draw tourists every year; this image, however, does not reflect the reality of Spanish life.

In this thesis, I plan to demonstrate that the combination of the competitive world tourism market and romanticism of Spain by American films has caused the Spanish government to promote a marketed image of Spanish culture to an international audience, specifically, North America. This image is not an accurate representation of Spanish culture. I will begin with a discussion regarding the anthropology of tourism. I will then evaluate American films and Spanish commercials, analyzing what tourists expect when they visit Spain. I will conclude with a presentation of my ethnographic research from my time in Spain as a student and then as a tour guide.

CHAPTER ONE

The Anthropology of Tourism

The Tourist Effect on Culture

Modern tourism represents, “the largest movement of people ever across national borders” (Gmelch 4). Due to the ease of current transportation and immediacy of information, the world is more accessible than ever. As the inevitable and omnipresent force known as globalization slowly meshes the world’s cultures together, countries must bend over backwards to accommodate the growing herds of tourists, and more importantly, their vital revenue for the unpredictable world economy (Gmelch 20). Due to the fact that, “tourism is one of many sources of change impinging upon [host communities]... they must deal [with the growing tourism industry] successfully, for increasingly they are economically dependent on it” (Boissevain 21). As the tourist sector continues to thrive, people are finding more and more reasons to travel. In fact,

“new tourism niches are emerging at a dizzying rate—we now have ‘dark’ tourism to places of human and natural disasters, ‘toxic’ tourism focusing on sites that represent corporate abuses of the environment, a rapid growth in ‘medical’ tourism involving travel for medical treatment, as well as ‘birth’ tourism to countries where newborns will automatically be awarded citizenship in the places being visited by their parents. We even have people willing to shell out small fortunes to become the world’s first “space” tourists” (Chambers X).

Although tourists’ stays in their destinations are often short, tourism has drastic effects on culture, because diverse people unsurprisingly affect and change the worldviews present in the host country. An influx of people leads to an invasion of new ideas, many of which have a radical influence on the host country, as “culture is... invested, modified and revitalized for tourists” (Boissevain 12). The very presence of these tourists inevitably

alters the behavior and cultural characteristics of the host country; this idea is precisely the reason why the anthropology of tourism has developed and spread. In fact, “the majority of anthropological studies on tourism examine some aspect of the impact—social, cultural, or economic—that tourists or the tourist industry have on host communities and regions” (Smith, Pi-Sunyer 187). This effect is irreversible and has a serious impact on the host culture, as tourists often outnumber the citizens of the host country, and during peak tourist season, can double, triple, or even quadruple the country’s population (Gmelch 4). Tourism, however, brings vital revenue to the host country, as the United Nations’ World Tourism Organization predicts that, “by 2020 growth in the tourism and travel industry is projected to reach 1.6 billion tourist arrivals a year with receipts of US\$2 trillion...[thus] many less-developed nations consider tourism as the road to development and prosperity” (Gmelch 4). The booming tourism industry is considered to be the light at the end of the tunnel for Spain’s failing economy, as unemployment stands at an all-time high of 25.1% and the country continues to feel the aftermath of the cultural oppression and economic depression of the Franco regime.

Spain in the Tourist Gaze

International tourism has a large presence throughout Spain. Although it is known as the European beach getaway, I will discuss the aspects of cultural tourism pertaining to American views of Spain. What makes Spain so special? Spain has an endless wealth of cultural diversity, from the sandy beaches of Valencia to cosmopolitan Madrid, from historic Sevilla to groundbreaking Barcelona. In fact, Spain has forty-four sites that are deemed UNESCO World Heritage Sites, second in the world only to Italy

(UNESCO). Spain has an ideal location, a vast history and a variety of attractive features that suit the tourist's, "demand[s for] not only affordable [but also] appealing places (both 'sites' and 'sights') to visit" (Gmelch 4). In addition to remaining interested in the destination, an essential component of tourism is safety. The Spanish people have marketed exceptionally the unique aspects of their country, therefore drawing tourists in while assuring them that they will be safe in their accommodations and sights, aided by their location in Western Europe. To be a successful tourist destination, the host country must, "differentiate themselves from other places.... one way they do so is to market local heritage and culture and any visible cultural diversity that exists" (Gmelch 17). The Spanish government has distorted Spain's view of itself through choosing to apply the regional facets of the southern region, or Andalucía, to the entire culture of the country. Defined by its unique blend of Moorish, Catholic, Jewish, African, and Gypsy ancestry, this environment led to a cultural hub of historic architecture, delectable food and the iconic rituals of flamenco, soccer, and bullfighting.

Travel Posters

Travel posters are an extremely popular and effective method that the government has employed in order to facilitate Americans to consider Spain as their ideal destination. Below are examples of travel posters produced by Iberia Airlines, created in 1940 and owned by the Spanish government until the company began privatizing in the early 1990s (Iberia). This advertising campaign began in the early 1950s.



Figure 1: Vintage Iberia Airlines Travel Poster (circa 1960)



Figure 2: Vintage Iberia Airlines Travel Poster (circa 1950)



Figure 3: Vintage Iberia Airlines Travel Poster (circa 1950)

After viewing about fifty or so posters, one can easily analyze the trends present in these posters. Primarily, the posters feature a macho bullfighter dressed in very traditional garments, or a beautiful flamenco dancer with her elegant fan and a flower adorning her hair. If architecture is featured, it is almost always a tribute to Gaudi. Often soccer is included as a highlight of Spanish culture. The landscape includes the beautiful mountains or the scenic beach, paired with a glimmering sun. The color scheme always features red, as this color generally represents lust and passion. Why does this matter? Spanish culture, based off these posters, is expected to be a constant parade of fiestas, siestas, soccer, sangria, tapas, music, bullfights, flamenco, passionate Spanish men and ravishing women. Americans go to Spain with the expectation that what they have seen in travel posters is a reality, when in fact it is a drawn out illusion of what is present solely in tourist areas.

The Result of Being an American Tourist Spectacle

Spain has drawn upon its traditional Andalucían roots and transformed these traditions into tourist spectacles. Previous studies on anthropological tourism have found that “when local rituals or celebrations are marketed as tourist ‘spectacles’ by local entrepreneurs or government tourism boards, they can lose their importance to local people” (Gmelch 18). These traditions, such as flamenco and bullfights, believed by the unaware tourist to be authentic, are what bring millions to the Spanish countryside every year. Ethnographers, however, have discovered that choosing facets of culture to showcase, “change[s] the way people and communities think about themselves” (Chambers 33). Spain has chosen aspects of its heritage to market to American tourists, and thus is in danger of trivializing the original meaning and tainting the cultural importance of these traditions. This type of cultural tourism “is [characterized by] the way massive tourist attention often destroys the very culture that visitors come to examine” (Boissevain 8). For example, the *Camino de Santiago*, once a religious gathering, is now a marketable pilgrimage filled to the brim with tourists who participate in the *Camino*, but have no Christian interest in the act. *Carnaval* has taken on an entirely new meaning; rather than the celebration of saints, tourists use this festival as an opportunity to dress up in costume and wreak havoc on Valencia, Cadiz, and other beach towns, as tourists have the ability to, “introduce new or intensified social practices to a region, ranging from different standards of hospitality to prostitution and illegal drug use” (Chambers 56). *La Tomatina*, famously known as the tomato throwing festival, draws so many people that the small, Valencian town of Buñol now charges an entry fee and limits the number of people that can enter for the world famous festival. When,

“festivals and performances become tourist attractions,” it inevitably alters the, “local meanings assigned to these events...as a result of the participation of outsiders” (Chambers 56). The thriving American tourist presence in Spain has changed the cultural significance of traditional rituals.

The Definition of Anthropological Authenticity

The ultimate goal of tourism is to seek out authenticity; “the aim of the tourist is to find something authentic in a world that has become increasingly disconnected and unmanageable” (Chambers 24). It is essential, however, that one understand the true meaning of authenticity in this context. In an anthropological setting, “terms like ‘authentic’ and ‘traditional’ are frequently used with reference to the aspects of culture marketed to tourists. Most tourists like to think that what they are seeing is ‘real’ in the sense of being old and an internally generated part of local culture” (Gmelch 19). Although sites may be genuine, it is important to distinguish that there are almost always parts of any tourist destination that remain behind closed doors, whether it be ruins too fragile to see, paintings being restored, or the actors and dancers resting between portraying scenes (MacCannell 92). Unfortunately,

“culture has become a major commodity in the tourist industry. Besides domestic space and leisure, many other aspects of culture are sold to tourists. Every tourist brochure demonstrates this. History is marketed via calls to visit ancient monuments and heritage parks; colorful photographs advertise carnival and religious ceremonies; illustrations of smiling natives and color street scene promote the character and way of life of host communities” (Boissevain 12).

Only through determining what is truly authentic Spanish culture from the superficial experience that is spoon-fed to tourists can one begin to cut through the falsified, marketable image and begin to discover the true nature of the Spain. While this can be

attempted in any country or culture through ethnographic work, one would have to be originally a part of this culture in order to fully differentiate between a tourist spectacle and real, daily life. That being said, the unfortunately large tourist presence changes the behavior of the host country, due to the fact that, “when local people become objects of the ‘tourist gaze’ and are watched and photographed while doing even the most mundane things, their lives are dramatically altered” (Gmelch 17). Even the presence of an anthropologist changes behavior, even if the point of their research is to study routine and normality in said society. In fact, tourists have, “family resemblance to anthropologists, [as they both] seek access to back regions to understand the hidden dimensions of the cultures they study” (Boissevain 8). While both tourists and anthropologists desire authenticity, the tourist is often complacent with fake attractions, while the anthropologist attempts to break through the barriers of the host culture’s tourist façade.

Conclusion

Globalization has changed the world; how and why one travels is different. What one expects is different. Our interconnected world provides standards that host countries must either conform to or improve upon, even though the result is a superficial experience disguised under the premise of authenticity. Through choosing aspects of their culture to display, “interested parties have [had] an opportunity to determine how... their community, their city, [and] their nation...will be represented to the rest of the world,” thus altering the present Spanish culture (Chambers 33). The world tourist economy has placed an unrealistic standard on Spain, and in order to please tourists, therefore gaining vital income, Spain has catered its culture to American

tourism, thus providing a tired stereotype of Andalusian culture as an authentic representation of the entirety of Spain today.

CHAPTER TWO

The Influence of American Films and Spanish Commercials on Tourism in Spain

American travel media has inevitably shaped Spanish culture, just as Spanish travel media selected by the government reflects submission to the desires of American tourists. The West remains such a large factor in tourist propaganda as, “citizens from just [four of the] five [nations]-- the United States, Germany, Japan, France, and the United Kingdom—account for five out of every ten international trips and half of all global spending on tourism” (Gmelch 4). These wealthier nations control the tourism market, as these countries have citizens who have the leisure time and excess income to spend on luxurious trips.

The Hollywood Effect

As the largest producer of the film and media industry, the world looks to America for much of its entertainment. Hollywood is no longer just a city in California, as it has, “so transcended geography that its name has been appropriated and is now used to describe media capabilities in countries outside the United States...” (Olsen 3). The Hollywood effect is defined as how a global audience, specifically Americans, interprets an idealized version of other cultures as the reality present in that country. The world looks to movies as insight into other cultures, expecting what is shown on the silver screen to be an accurate representation of what that culture is truly like. Therefore, Hollywood has inevitably painted a picture of what Spain looks like for the global public.

This popular diffusion of Spain into the mass media began with the 1959 film, *It Started With A Kiss*. This romanticized version of Spain, combined with the banning of documentaries during Franco's reign, is precisely the reason why Americans remain in the dark about the true poverty and suffering of the country during and after the Franco era. Ironically, American films further fuel American lack of knowledge about Spanish culture.

Vicky Cristina Barcelona

The 2008 Woody Allen film *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* exemplifies the American perception of Spain. In the film, two American women, best friends Vicky and Cristina, spend the summer in Barcelona and meet handsome artist Juan Antonio. He is attracted to both of them, and is very forward about his desire for both women, regardless of the fact that Vicki is engaged. The movie solidifies the image of the impulsive, powerful, charming, and exotic Spanish man. Any American who ventures to Spain after viewing this film expects a beautiful Spanish lover who will whisk him or her away on a private plane to a majestic island. Juan Antonio and his Spanish ex-girlfriend Maria Elena ooze passion and lust, screaming at each other one minute and running into each other's arms the next. Their turbulent relationship is a stark contrast to the American couples present in the film that represent practicality and the boring facets of responsibility in daily life. Vicki's fiancée Doug is the antithesis of Juan Antonio, as he is a typical American: pragmatic, focused on his career, and unable to be spontaneous. The movie hones in on the atmosphere of Spain; it is romantic and alive. Around every corner is the perfect scene for romance and adventure. Director Woody Allen captures the ambiance of

Spain through his mix of charming city shots and open countryside. He also creates the premise that carries throughout the movie: Spain is a place where anything can happen.

The Cheetah Girls 2: When In Spain

Another insight into the American perception of Spain is the 2006 Disney film, *The Cheetah Girls 2: When In Spain*. The film follows four teenagers, who together form a girl pop group called the Cheetah Girls, as they adventure to Barcelona from their hometown of Manhattan to perform in an international music festival. While there, they befriend a rising Spanish pop star, Marisol, and each find Spanish love interests. It is important to note that each of these teenage boys individually encompasses the spontaneity and romantic perception of Spanish men; they are charming, sophisticated, and cultured. This is contrasted nicely with the American girls, who are seen as uptight, wide-eyed, and innocent. They are the quintessential tourists; one has a video camera, the others a guidebook, a camera and a postcard for every site. The movie also provides a nice parallel to American boys, who appear boring in comparison to their international flings. Similarly, a trained eye can tell this movie is tailored to an American audience, as the typical Spanish two kisses on the cheek greeting, a platonic gesture, shows the audience that these boys are interested in the girls, thus skewing the original meaning of the ritual and applying American norms to it. The girls' final debut showcases their newfound flamenco skills, represented through the Spanish guitar, hand clapping and dance movement, particularly their intricate hand movements and rhythmic stomping, a far cry from their customary pop singing and hip hop movement. The girls adorn a mix of traditional bullfighting jackets, flamenco skirts and the customary flowers above their

ears. Similarly to *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, the director emphasizes scenic city shots to portray the image that Spain is a place where possibilities are endless.

This film truly hones in on the American perception of Spanish culture through the song, “Strut,” and the associated film sequence. The song begins with the girls singing acappella at a stereotypical outdoor Spanish café. A good-looking guitarist begins to accompany them, leading them to sing and dance through all of the iconic areas of Barcelona. One sees them skipping through *Las Ramblas*, dancing by the fountains of *Montjuic*, and bouncing down the stairs of *Parc Güell*. They explore winding alleys brimming with friendly Spaniards who are eager to join in on their musical outburst by dancing with them. Furthermore, they pass several people who have created a career through entertaining tourists: street artists. These Spaniards come in many forms, ranging from traditional painters, jugglers, dancers, caricature drawers, and most iconic, the living statues that one can find lining *Las Ramblas* in Barcelona or *Sol* in Madrid. One can understand the way this song affects Americans through analyzing the lyrics. The song personifies Barcelona, as one can, “breathe in the music the city makes... [as] it comes alive” (Strut). Stereotypical Spanish characteristics are emphasized, such as gypsy influences and the famous artist Picasso. According to the guitarist, the girls must, “learn what adventure means,” something they can only learn in Spain (Strut). This cliché Spanish way of life is bursting with a new opportunity around every corner, where, “passion is the fashion and life is poetry... a world where every heart can beat” (Strut). The song gives the city of Barcelona, and consequently the entirety of Spain, a soul, thus differentiating it from other destinations.

The two conflicts in *The Cheetah Girls 2* arise from the characters embracing the American ideals of ambition and competition. The group almost disbands after the head of the group, Galleria, decides they are enjoying their time in Spain too much, rather than focusing on the competition of the music festival. Their desire to relax and relish every moment are typical Spanish characteristics that the other girls have adopted. This is so infuriating to Galleria that she threatens to leave until the group decides to focus. The second conflict comes from the Spanish pop star and her mother, attempting to embody the American perception of cutthroat competition through any means: in this case, sabotage and deception. However, all of their scheming ends poorly. The film exemplifies the point that Spanish culture is superior in its habits to American culture, thus creating the American desire to travel there.

Barcelona

Whit Stillman's *Barcelona*, set in the early 1980s, focuses primarily on the image of America and American men in contrast to Spain and Spanish women. The film presents two cousins, Ted and Fred, as representations of what two types of American men are like. The film juxtaposes Ted, a practical, boring businessman to the belligerent and pushy Fred, a naval officer. Ted lives a mundane life in which he is blatantly out of place in cosmopolitan Barcelona. While the rest of the city stands proud and walks with purpose, Ted slouches, attempting to blend in but unfortunately standing out due to his bland clothing and lack of confidence. The character himself makes a reference to Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, whose protagonist has a striking resemblance to Ted. Ted

stutters, awkwardly attempting to speak coherent sentences and form interesting thoughts. When he does speak, it is always about his work.

In fact, both men are obsessed with their work; the film demonstrates that their borderline obsession with occupational achievement almost takes over their lives. Fred refuses to take off his uniform, even though the American Consulate advises him that it will make him stand out as a *facha*, or fascist. Fred refuses to discuss, or even listen to negative opinions regarding America or American culture. His obnoxious comments, ignorance, and pro-American speech, lead to an article getting published stating that Fred is in the CIA, which results in his attempted assassination. Fred's utter refusal to adapt and accept any Spanish social customs makes him a constant spectacle.

The two cousins are quite different from Ramón, the Spanish man in the film. He is portrayed as interesting, intelligent, suave, and cultured, much like Juan Antonio and the Spanish men in *The Cheetah Girls 2*. While Ramón takes the time to appreciate the beauty of life and women, Ted runs away from beautiful women, saying they complicate things. Ramón facilitates discussion about political and social issues, while Fred plugs his ears and disregards any opinion but his own. Ramón represents the American perception of Spain, while Ted and Fred epitomize disgruntled views of American culture.

The entirety of the film presents Spanish culture on a pedestal, as according to the film, America is comprised of, "consumerism, vulgarity, loud, badly-dressed, fat people, with eighty channels of television and shopping malls" (*Barcelona*). Much of the film discusses why one would want to ever travel, let alone live in the United States. The Spanish men in the movie, as well as the women, are enticing and

irresistible. In contrast, the American men are horrendously boring or quite obnoxious, sometimes both. The cultural differences between the Spanish and the Americans provide the comedy and the conflict of the movie. In true Hollywood form, both Ted and Fred marry beautiful Spanish women, despite their obvious personality flaws and communication barriers.

Conclusion on American Films

Through a thorough analysis of the Hollywood effect, and consequently American movies set in Spain, one is able to see why Americans come to Spain with such grandiose expectations and rigid stereotypes. American media often serves as the sole source of cultural education for an international audience, thus people mistake Hollywood magic as an accurate representation of Spain's true character. Hollywood ingrains an expectation that Spain is a thrilling cultural hub, where anything and everything is possible, regardless of the improbability of these scenarios. American tourists come to Spain with a romanticized ideal and a powerful expectation that they, too, will find a Spanish lover, sing through the streets, and be whisked away to a tropical paradise, simply by exploring the city as any normal person would. The romanticized version of Spanish culture presented as reality in American media is a serious component of why tourists choose to travel to Spain; American media has taught their audience that adventure is possible for anyone and everyone, regardless of socioeconomic status, race, gender, or even relationship status.

Spanish Media

Spanish media is a blatant reflection of the expectations set forth by American entertainment. American films have influenced the image that Spain has chosen to market to tourists, thus creating a divide between what American tourists expect and what Spain is really like.

Bienvenido Mr. Marshall

One of the best cinematic examples of this is Luis Garcia Burlanga's 1952 satire *Bienvenido Mr. Marshall*. The movie follows, "Castilian villagers enthusiastically prepar[ing] to welcome their American visitors by performing their Spanishness" (Hart 203). In the hopes that Americans will provide wealth and gifts to this rural community, the villagers adopt the customs of Andalucía, because this region is what is considered the essence of Spain. Although a few protest this obvious exploitation, most willingly spend money they do not have in order to impress the Americans. One can see through this movie that,

"tourism has literally taken center stage in Spanish culture; it has traveled from the beachside extremities to the small-town heart of a the nation. The reaction of the villagers is to take in the spectacle not only as a commodity but also as a model for their own self-fashioning. They learn to make a commercial spectacle of themselves" (Crumbaugh 35).

This movie foreshadows what is to come of Spanish culture: the adoption of Andalusian customs by the entirety of Spain.

“Spain is Different”

The influx of tourists, “became a central theme in Spain’s own commercial entertainment, news media, and political rhetoric, as public discourse was increasingly saturated with glossy images of new high-rise hotels, neotraditional displays of folklore, and sensuous blondes in bikinis” (Crumbaugh 2). Although the exploitation of the *fiesta* culture began long before the Spanish Civil War, it was emphasized even more after Franco took control of Spain (Bolaños 134). Franco,

“...saw in tourism an opportunity for political propaganda, which allowed the Regime to counteract... the tendentious image that was offered abroad of the internal situation in Spain, and also to promote the favorable impression of being a cheerful, cheap, and typical country, the one many tourists indeed had of Spain” (Bolaños 134).

Spain was able to capitalize on the international stereotypes of Spanish culture. Under the reign of Franco, the tourist slogan “Spain Is Different” was coined, in the hopes of, “attract[ing] tourists to an “exotic” destination, with interesting local customs and traditions differing from the European norm” (Bolaños 134). Tourists flocked to explore what they believed from tourist propaganda to be a genuine, authentic Spain, rather than a fabricated cultural experience put on solely for the purposes of tourism. The Spain is Different campaign, “tried to emphasize the particular local customs and traditions that, to the regime, defined Spain’s national culture and positioned it outside the European norm: religious festivals, bullfighting, and flamenco.... [which promoted] a stereotyped image of Spanish folkloric backwardness” (Flesler 67). Franco’s tourist propaganda served as a steppingstone to the Spanish government’s modern travel advertising.

"I Need Spain"

This stereotypical image of Spain continues today through one of the most prevalent examples of tourist propaganda, the 2010 advertising campaign from the Institute of Tourism in Spain. This series of commercials titled "I Need Spain" targets people of various ages, genders, and races, in the hopes that viewers will relate to at least one, if not all, of the commercials, and therefore want to travel to Spain ("Marketing"). Each of these commercials explores iconic aspects of Spanish culture and presents an ideal destination for everyone. These commercials are a clear reflection of the expectations set by American films. Three types of consumers are represented in these commercials: a couple, a group of friends, and a family. Each one of these commercials caters to what the individual would normally desire, but expresses that they do not need any of those things; they only need Spain.

The commercial following the couple presents Spain as the place where all of one's dreams will come true, as the narrator states, one does not, "need to sleep in order to dream" (I Need Spain: Couple). This advertisement is filled to the brim with picturesque scenery, specifically of the mountains, countryside, and city of Toledo. According to the commercial, Spain has everything one could ever want, from outdoor adventure to open air markets, from cosmopolitan shopping to great food, not to mention the beautiful sites. In addition to all of these activities, Spain is presented as the perfect environment for love and romance. One can fall in love under the *Sagrada Familia*, or find that special someone along *Las Ramblas*. Not only can one find love, one can find oneself; the narrator implies this with her realization that, "sometimes [one] need[s] to go

far away to find [one]self." In Spain, "life is a journey," and if one visits, one's life will be too (I Need Spain: Couple).

The second commercial observes a group of friends traveling together. One of the most famous monuments in Spain, the Alhambra, is pictured as a representative example of site seeing. These friends also attend a soccer game, another Spanish tradition attended by many tourists and locals alike. The Spanish *fiesta* mentality is embodied, as the narrator states that he does not, "need to think twice" (I Need Spain: Friends). Here, Spain is presented as a land where fun follows everything one does, and one does not, "need to wait for the weekend" (I Need Spain: Friends). The commercial ends with the friends frolicking in the ocean, stating, "I need to return. I need Spain" (I Need Spain: Friends). The submersion in the Mediterranean is seen as a subliminal message that one will be immersed in Spanish culture by doing all of the stereotypical things presented in this advertisement. This clean-cut experience is what young people expect Spain to be like. In reality Spain is crippled by economic turmoil, and the government exploits aspects of its culture in order to create an experience for tourists that they believe is authentic (I Need Spain: Friends).

The final commercial presents the idea that Spain is a location that is fun for the entire family. Parents can relax on the beach while their kids romp in the water. A family can have fun traveling together, so much so that the parents "don't need a babysitter" (I Need Spain: Family). Family meals no longer have to be a fast and hectic ordeal; in Spain, all meals are easy, slow, and relaxed. The idea that Spaniards do not accept fast food separates Spain from typical American culture, making the Spanish custom of long meals appear exotic. According to this commercial, Spain will provide

life-changing experiences. It will so captivate one's entire family that they will want the trip, "to last forever" (I Need Spain: Family).

Conclusion

American and Spanish travel media present Spain as a parallel to the land of the Lotus Eaters in the epic *The Odyssey*. Once one arrives, one will never want to leave. American movies place Spain on a pedestal of cultural superiority. It is the hero and protagonist, portrayed as the promised land, contrasting the drab and problematic America. The Hollywood effect has created an expectation of adventure, romance and beauty that Spain must now live up to. Spanish tourist media, in particular the "Spain is Different" and the "I Need Spain" travel campaigns, have enhanced this image portrayed upon their country through advertisements. In order to meet this expectation and to continue to draw American tourists, Spain has embraced the Hollywood effect and customized its tourist propaganda to apply the regional facets of Andalucía to the entire country thus, capitalizing on the cultural distinctions and providing an image that does not match the reality of its culture.

CHAPTER THREE

The Reality of Spain: My Time as a Student

It is easy to see why such a large misconception remains about Spain when one studies the outlandish American media and Spanish propaganda presented to an audience of potential tourists. Unless one is originally part of the host culture, it is impossible for a person to understand the inner workings of a country. Although millions travel to Spain, rarely is the country studied in a culturally accurate manner. Never stepping outside of the glitzy tourist areas makes it impossible to know a place. From an anthropological standpoint, ethnographical research has proved the best method to uncover the truth about countries or cultures of interest. In the following chapters, I will present my ethnographical research from my time as a student and tour guide, in order to shine light on the inaccurate American tourist perception.

I distinctly remember asking my parents in eighth grade if I could go to Spain after I saw *The Cheetah Girls 2* on television. It was so captivating on screen that my thirteen-year-old self was convinced that I would one day live there. My parents dismissed it as a phase, but when I continued to ask, they knew that one day I would get there. On one of my weeks off in my first study abroad program, I traveled to Madrid. I do not exaggerate when I say that as soon as the plane landed, I was in love. I have lived in and traveled to many places, but never has a city felt more like home almost immediately. Driving through Madrid, I was enchanted by the winding alleys, beautiful architecture, and friendly people. Donning tourist blinders, my traveling companions and

I began to explore the swanky tourist areas. *The Palacio Real*, *Sol*, *Gran Vía*, and the Prado captivated me. When we stumbled upon the *Jardín Botánico* and *San Jerónimo el Real*, I was convinced that I was having my own cinematic adventure.

At this point, I was thinking about studying abroad again, so I did something that a typical tourist would never dare to do. I stepped outside the tourist zone and visited the St. Louis University campus. Located in the Ciudad Universitaria neighborhood of Madrid, I was shocked to discover that this area was seemingly empty of the cute cafés, bars, and shops found where we were staying. This part of Madrid, while charming in its own right, seemed quite boring in comparison to the Madrid I had come to know in my short visit. People dressed differently and buildings looked practical. Gone was the metropolitan glamour, and what remained was clearly where the middle class lived and worked. Needless to say, I was thoroughly confused. Where was the Gaudi-like architecture or the charming alleyways? My guidebook was no help either; this area was, walking distance, an hour at minimum from any of the main tourist sites. If I were dropped into the middle of this section of Madrid, I would have no idea I was in Europe, let alone Spain. My brief time outside of the tourist areas allowed me a small glimpse into the reality of Spain.

I remained so enchanted with Madrid that I decided to study there for five months, and returned a month later to work over the summer for an American company that creates summer trips that take teenagers all over the world to do community service and language immersion programs. Participating in both of these worlds provided me with a unique perspective about American tourism in Spain.

The Overexposure of Andalucía

A very prominent example of the romanticism of Andalucía is the traditional dance of flamenco. Gypsy flamenco originated at the peak of Andalusian culture: Sevilla in the seventeenth century. Only through the unique combination of the location of Sevilla and the presence of Romani people was there evidence of the development of flamenco dance. Flamenco became so famous due to the fusion of singing, guitar, hand clapping and dance, which led to impromptu shows, or *juergas*, on street corners. Now these gatherings of culture, music, and dance are lost, and “authentic” gypsy flamenco is advertised on every corner. Flamenco is potentially one of the most overexposed dances, as one can see this show on a stage, in “authentic” gypsy caves, or in practically every Spanish city, regardless of the distance from the Andalusian countryside of its origin. During my time in Spain, I saw four flamenco shows in three different cities, and I participated in one myself. Every show was different, from the professional fusion with hip-hop, to the overly corny and borderline cartoonish gypsy caves. Tourists are so eager to see what they believe to be a real flamenco show that every performance is full. In the numerous hostels and hotels I stayed in across Spain, I found that every one advertised multiple genuine flamenco *espectáculos*.

Along these same lines, one can see a bullfight in any major city. Although most of the northern cities do not kill the bulls anymore, the southern cities remain true to this iconic ritual. Bullfighting originated in the south, and has become a standard for all Spanish cities to provide as an option for tourists. Emphasizing the rituals of Andalucía has caused bullfighting and flamenco to be a staple tourist attraction in any Spanish city, regardless of the irrelevance of these traditions outside of Andalucía.

The Three Types of Tourists

During my work and studies abroad, I developed a typology of tourists. Type one is the stereotypical, tacky tourist. This person is willing to pay absurd amounts of money for their vacation to go precisely as he or she planned. Type ones are obsessive, and when things do not go their way, they get extremely volatile. They are likely to hang on every word the tour guide says and, frankly, they do not particularly care if the site they are observing is authentic and genuine. This type of tourist believes that if someone implies it is authentic, then it must be, and that is all the explanation they require. However, “not all tourists care about tradition or authenticity... many are perfectly happy with completely artificial environments and activities as long as they are clean and entertaining” (Gmelch 19-20). This person wants the flashy lights, the red carpet, and a spectacle that showcases the best aspect of every facet of the country’s iconic culture, as they “actually seek out inauthenticity, the more glaring and kitschy the better” (Gmelch 20). Typically this traveler is on vacation with their significant other or family members, and their blatant disregard for cultural authenticity often influences their traveling companions.

Type two has a guidebook in one hand, a map in the other, and hopes of finding the good, cheap, local food in the forefront of their mind. Their main desire is an authentic experience on a strict budget. They will hit the highlights of every city they go to, including the extensive nightlife. While local people intrigue them, this tourist is only passing through on the way to the next city. Their version of sampling the local culture is more along the lines of a taste of an appetizer, instead of the entire entrée. Often they are more interested in interacting with other travelers than they are with native people. It is

highly unlikely that they will leave the encompassing bubble of the main tourist area they are in, although they will swear that they experienced the local lifestyle and explored all of the hidden gems of every city experienced. Though, “touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction... [it is often] very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic” (MacCannell 101). Type twos desire authenticity, but generally they are not around long enough to know the difference. This traveler tends to be a student, either studying abroad in Europe or taking an extended trip to prolong adolescence, putting off responsibilities waiting at home. This traveler is known to be reckless, adventurous, and eager to experience anything and everything.

The third type of traveler wants to experience and acclimate to the host culture. Their main objective is to immerse themselves in the culture; they want to live with a family, eat local food, and essentially, become one with the culture. This takes time, patience and adaptability, three traits that not many tourists have the time or dedication to develop. Although some would argue this is achieved through study abroad or working a job in the host country, it is obtained solely through one’s experiences. One can live in a country and never explore it. During my time in the Netherlands, I discovered that it is all too easy for travelers to get caught up in the accessibility of travel to other places, therefore transforming themselves into types one or two. I never truly explored the Netherlands, but rather focused on traveling to other places and stayed in my bubble when home in Maastricht. In order to attempt to experience authenticity, one must live in a place long enough to determine what is genuine and what is a tourist spectacle. This involves branching outside the tourist sites, bars, restaurants and hubs, and

expanding into the actual parts of the city where native people live. Types one and two deem this boring, but type three thrives here. In seeking out genuine culture, one is able to cut through the superficiality of tourist areas. This is especially prevalent in Spain, as one could spend all of one's time on *Las Ramblas* or in *Sol*, and never branch out into the intimate neighborhoods of Barcelona and Madrid. Through my time living in Madrid, my apartment in Malasaña, and attending school in Chamartín, I was able to experience where people lived rather than remain in the packed and fake tourist area.

These three tourist types are essential to understanding the mentality of tourists. Through understanding the people that transform culture, one can understand how they change cultural habits. Although these types of tourists are extremely different, they all affect the host culture, as, “mass tourism indirectly affects everyone in a small community, including other tourists who seek to get away from the beaten path and those who make a conscious effort to learn local ways” (Smith, Pi-Sunyer 188). As discussed in chapter one, the primary goal of cultural tourism is to find authenticity. However, type ones and type twos provide examples of tourists that, “are unconcerned that authenticity has been staged, providing that the fake is a good fake and they are able to enjoy themselves” (Boissevain 12). Breaking through the tourist barrier is extremely difficult, hence the rarity of type threes.

The Tourist Entitlement Mentality

An often unexplored facet of tourism is the mentality American tourists obtain whilst traveling abroad; this mentality stems from the Hollywood magic presented to them as reality. Tourists feel as though no rules apply to them as they are on vacation

and have spent their hard earned money to experience another culture. This is their time of leisure; the pinnacle moment they have looked forward to for some time and saved money to enjoy. They have worked hard for an opportunity, a rare chance to be free of all obligations, including societal and cultural responsibilities. Typical norms no longer apply to them, as this period is a time in their life that is not conventional. Tourists are not located in their home city; they do not stay at their house or participate in their traditional activities. They are freed from all of their usual commitments of daily life.

Tourists linger in an international limbo, in which the norms of their host culture are not applicable to them, primarily because they have stepped outside the boundaries of their country of residence. The norms of this new culture, however, are not applicable to them either, as they are visitors, therefore outsiders to this new culture. They have no obligation to abide by the norms of either culture, thus leaving them in a transient state in which they feel they have the right to do whatever they want, whenever they want. This mentality stresses the relationship between the working class of the host country and the upper elite tourists who visit, as, “the boundaries between host and guest, often expressed in terms of variety of privileges that are associated with having the opportunity to travel, become blurred in this larger context of both temporary and permanent displacement, which becoming unsettled in one way or another seems to have commonplace” (Chambers 7). This displacement can actually allow for typically more middle class families to feel like upper class elite, thus generating an environment to create power hungry and demanding tourists who expect everything to go their way, even if that means bending the laws of the visiting country in order to accommodate their demands.

A specific example amongst the younger crowd are the laws regarding the consumption of alcohol; vacationers expect to indulge in alcohol whenever and wherever they want, regardless of if they are the proper age or in an inappropriate location to do so. Furthermore, tourists expect compliance to their demands in a timely manner, neglecting an understanding of if the culture at hand is prompt, or laid back. Spain has attempted to fight this inherent expectation of promptness by developing and promoting the idea of 'siesta', which allows tourists to relax and go with the flow. Nevertheless, many tourists do not understand this notion, creating controversy between the Spanish and the foreigners. It is typical Spanish custom to arrive a half-hour late to everything, and meals generally take two to three hours, as service is slow and limited. This does not meet typical American standards, causing tension between customers and businesses. While the Spanish do have American fast food, they also have their version of fast food in *Cerveceria 100 Montaditos*, a sandwich chain known for a quick, cheap bite. However, sitting down at almost any café or restaurant guarantees one's fate of a meal lasting no less than two hours: that is the Spanish way. Spaniards would rather sit and enjoy each other's company than rush off to do other things. They prioritize people and the act of celebrating life over ambitious work achievements. Eating dinner together and enjoying the company of friends and family is such an important part of their culture that they have built their work schedule around eating long and late meals. Siesta allows for long lunches and relaxation at a café or at home, and eating dinner at nine or ten o'clock is compensated by a morning that does not begin until around nine the next day. While Americans live to work, Spaniards work to live.

The Tension Caused By Tourism

Although those who work in the tourism industry tend to be more accommodating of demanding visitors, many Spaniards are disturbed and perturbed by the influx of people crowding public transportation and walking around as if they run the country (Boissevain 14). Spain and the Spanish people have had difficulties adjusting to the demands of being a vacation destination, because in places, “where tourism constitutes a major new source of revenue within a community or region, it might contribute to increased social distance and inequality between those members of the community who directly benefit from tourism and others who do not” (Chambers 56). The dependence on tourism by the Spanish economy only further divides its people between those who work in the tourist industry and those who do not. Many disagree with the use of Andalusian culture as tourist advertising, for it would, “be a serious mistake to think of natives passively submitting to tourist influences” (Boissevain 14). In fact,

“national and regional tourist authorities usually commoditize and market local cultures without consulting the inhabitants...this can lead to tension between the tourists, who not surprisingly demand access to the sites and events they have been promised and have paid for, and the inhabitants whose culture, often unbeknownst to them, has been sold to visitors” (Boissevain 7).

This divide is even greater in Spain, as there are tiers within those who work in the tourism industry, ranging from beggars to owners of tour companies. The tourist industry is a serious cause of conflict in Spain; tourists feel they are entitled to their own slice of Spanish culture, those who work in the tourism industry reap the benefits of their coming, and the rest of the population fights to preserve their space in the job market.

My Experiences in Malasaña

While studying in Madrid, I lived in a neighborhood outside the tourist areas, frequented obscure restaurants and bars, and went to school in an area that, as stated earlier, no tourist would dare explore. No amount of American films or travel posters could have educated me about anything outside the glitzy tourist area. Living in the neighborhood of Malasaña allowed me to see a completely different side of Madrid. Known for being trendy and full of young people, Malasaña is located a few metro stops away from the tourist hub Sol, just north of the cosmopolitan Gran Vía. It is packed with bars, shops, and restaurants that are unique and intimate. A few blocks away is the neighborhood of Chamartín; students from around the world frequently live and work here, as Chamartín is placed exactly in the middle of Ciudad Universitaria and the center of Madrid nightlife, Sol. A block in the other direction is Chueca, the notoriously LGBT-friendly section of Madrid. The surrounding neighborhoods' influences created an interesting mix of people in Malasaña. During the day, the population generally consisted of a mix of families and working people in their twenties and thirties, and the beautiful architecture reflected the fact that it was within half an hour walking to tourist destinations.

At night, however, an interesting fusion of international students and native Madrileños frequent this neighborhood. Many drag queens, transvestites and prostitutes walk these streets, as it is located precisely in between Chueca and Sol, their main sources of income. These people must pass through Malasaña to get to either area, due to the fact that a good number of their potential customers are tourists that frequent the surrounding neighborhoods of Malasaña. Thus, Malasaña has developed into a refuge

where these people can take their smoke breaks and get away from their two main sources of work. Here, they often people-watch as the international student crowd bar-hops. Seeing this usually exclusive faction of people off the clock led to an interesting atmosphere in which both those who participated and those who worked in nightlife could enjoy themselves, as opposed to the usual divide between those who work and those who play (Chambers 56). Rather than a polarizing environment, in which these two groups do not associate, Malasaña provides an accepting ambiance in which these two groups treated each other with respect. As soon as one left Malasaña, this equality disappeared: it was back to business as usual. Living in the heart of this area allowed me the rare opportunity to see them when they were relaxed; rather than treating me as a client, they treated me as a person. This respect was mutual, and understood or learned quickly by all.

The Impoverished Amongst Working Class Madrid

Passing through these different neighborhoods on a daily basis allowed me to understand the depth of diversity within Madrid. This also let me witness firsthand the amount of impoverished people forced to beg for money. A far cry from the façade of Hollywood, unemployment in Spain encompasses about a fourth of the population, and many must work multiple jobs if they have any hope of meeting the cost of living in the city. On my walk to school, I saw the same four beggars every day. These four women had very different approaches; one had her two children with her, two repeated the same sentence, moaning incomprehensible Spanish. The final woman just stuck her hand out with her head down, clearly ashamed. They stood outside grocery stores and coffee

shops, often asking for food rather than money. Similarly, I can recite word for word the speech from the man with one leg that I saw when I took the metro to school. The beggars in the working neighborhoods are quiet and very respectful of the hardworking people who live in these areas.

Begging and Performing on the Street: A Source of Employment

There is a noticeable difference between the people that choose to beg for money in the outer neighborhoods versus the large number of people and their respective begging strategies present in tourist areas. Contrasting the meek and subtle approach of the beggars in the working areas, beggars in the tourist areas regularly approach tourists, hoping that by making them uncomfortable they will earn money quickly. They weave through tables at restaurants, often being so persistent that a manager must come outside to shoo them away. If they have a disability, they display it proudly, often over exaggerating it in hopes of getting noticed. Similarly, the beggars who work tourist metro lines are loud. They address the entirety of the car, contrasting the soft approach of the people who beg at metro stops where real Madrileños live.

In tourist areas, one of the most popular ways to make money is street performing. Although street artists can be viewed in the films discussed in chapter two, they are presented as people enjoying a hobby rather than as their sole source of income. Varying from traditional singing and dancing performances, street artists dressed up in odd costumes swarm tourist areas, hoping to capitalize on the tourists' tendency to take pictures. They perform magic that deceives tourists into believing that they levitate off the ground. Some take pride in their ability to scare tourists, sitting silently as a display

until they scream in their faces. Personally, I think the most horrifying is the crying baby in a carriage with an adult face. Many use a whistle or talk through a device that makes them sound strange, in hopes of attracting attention and selling that device for a profit. Many dress up as Mickey, Minnie, Dora the Explorer or SpongeBob, utilizing American cartoons in the hopes that tourists will want to take pictures, and then they can charge for their services. Even looking at a spectacle for too long will cause someone to walk up to the confused tourist and ask them for money. Often Spaniards in normal clothes offer to take pictures for tourists in front of sites, and then demand payment for their services. They refuse to give the camera back, or they run off with the camera and sell it. The performers and the collectors work in teams, maximizing their profits.

The Pickpocketing Problem

Many make their living through scamming tourists. Outside churches, unassuming women hand out blessings, prayers or herbs. Then they demand money for their gift, saying it was a service. This trickery often results in the women following tourists around, or refusing to let go of their arm until the foreigner gives them the amount of money they want. Another method often employed by beggars in tourist areas involves children. They are perceived as innocent, often asking for signatures on a form while swiping whatever phone or wallet is left on a table. A group of children can easily distract tourists while one grabs their phone or wallet. Similarly, a group of unassuming people in matching uniforms ask for one's opinion on a survey while another person, pretending to take the survey, steals one's personal belongings.

There is an entire business revolving around pickpocketing tourists. Although many choose wallets for cash, currently the trend is stealing iPhones, as they are easy to grab, hack and then sell. The newest iPhone is often not available in Spain until at least a year after it is released in America. When available, they sell for about one hundred euros more. Black market iPhones, especially when that model is not yet released, can be sold for six to seven hundred euros. Unfortunately about three-fourths of my friends studying abroad in Spain got their phones stolen, including myself. We developed a saying to console us, that in order to prove one actually studied abroad in Spain, one had to get one's cell phone stolen. It is such a frequent act that some of my colleagues had two phones stolen. This is why many Spanish youth use flip phones circa early 2000, or have two phones, a flip phone and a smart phone that they use only when staying in areas they know are safe. Flip phones are cheap, disposable, and not the target of pickpockets.

Conclusion

My time living amongst real Madrileños allowed me to see Spanish people and culture in an entirely different light. Rather than succumbing to the falsified image promoted by American media and the Spanish government, I was able to witness the cultural realities present in Spain. By living and studying in the outer *barrios* of Madrid, I was able to distinguish tourist propaganda from everyday Spanish life.

CHAPTER FOUR

My Job as American Tour Guide: A Far Cry from Authentic Spain

My job leading a sheltered group of American teenagers provided a stark contrast to my previous adventures as a student avoiding tourist areas. Taking fifty-one fifteen to seventeen-year-olds to Spain reveals a lot, about not only American culture, but also Spanish culture. As one of six leaders for these American teenagers, I stayed in upscale hotels, visited every tourist site known to man, and only went to the touristy restaurants located in grand plazas. Accepting a job as one of the leaders of the large, obnoxious tourist groups I previously abhorred proved a challenging transition. I was now in charge of a rambunctious and loud group that created a scene almost anywhere we went.

The Logistics of the Fifty-One Teens

The teenagers in my group were predominantly Caucasian. A good amount came from the surrounding areas of New York City, although a handful traveled from Dallas, Miami, and San Francisco. Their parents were definitely white collar; many spent more money the first few days than I made the entire summer. They were dressed head to toe in expensive clothing, some of the girls carrying designer bags that cost more than their international plane ticket. Although not all of them acted like it, many were well aware of their wealth and often attempted to use that to impress other campers and

staff. The group was split about half and half on those who had traveled outside the country before and those who had never been abroad.

I learned very quickly that American teenagers expect a certain standard of living. They want free Wi-Fi everywhere, regardless of if that is logistically possible. In fact, many snubbed quality hotels for their slow Wi-Fi. They demanded interesting and entertaining sites, but they complained often, no matter what we were doing. They desired authentic food, but not too unusual as to freak them out. They expected comfort food when necessary. They were the perfect example of the type ones. They often felt entitled to do whatever they wanted because their parents paid for them to have the summer of a lifetime. The example I gave earlier about underage drinking definitely spurred from them. Although they obviously were not supposed to consume alcohol or drugs on the trip, anyone who has worked with teenagers knows it is impossible to have eyes on fifty-one campers at all times, especially when the program dictates that we give them a certain amount of free time. Although not applicable to about a third of the campers, the other two-thirds were drinking at lunch when they were not required to be with a staff member, during free time, or sneaking it into the bathroom at the teen *discotecas* we went to. Later they would say they had a headache or a stomachache, but we both knew the truth.

The Food Problem

My campers were particularly picky when it came to food. They loved Starbucks, but often scoffed at the traditional Spanish *café con leche*. Many of them had no desire to try any authentic food, even the famous *paella*. One of the staff nicknamed

three of the girls on our trip the French Fry Triplets, as all they seemed to eat was French fries and ice cream. The staff had to go out of the way to find restaurants that would serve Italian or American food that could accommodate our large group. When we often split into smaller groups for lunch or dinner, finding a restaurant that was not ridiculously priced and had food that they would eat was sometimes impossible. Most of the time they went to Starbucks, McDonalds, or Burger King when they had a choice in the matter. As a staff, we learned that watching the campers to make sure they were eating was crucial, especially due to the vulnerability of girls at this age to develop eating disorders. One thing they all adored was gelato. I cannot count the amount of times we raised group moral from exhausted and frustrated to excited and energized with gelato. Similarly, pizza was always a big hit. Spanish food was practically impossible for us to get them to eat, with the exception of *churros con chocolate*.

Extreme Social Media

American culture is one that obsesses over documenting finite details of daily life and blasting them over the social media sphere. The selfie, or picture one takes of oneself, has taken American youth by storm, and this particular group was no exception. The group of teens I led absolutely adored taking selfies, so much so that they created games revolving around them. Their favorite game consisted of taking selfies with any and all Spaniards, the objective being to see who could get the most selfies with different people by the end of the trip. Thus, any time we saw a decent looking Spanish guy, which was quite often, mayhem ensued. Often every girl would try to take a selfie with him on her phone. With forty-four girls on a trip, this can take a considerable

amount of patience on a Spaniard's part, and a lot of disappointment when the group had to keep moving.

The Spanish and American Fascination with the Other

American and Spanish youth are mutually obsessed with the other. While Spanish boys flock to American girls, American boys flock to Spanish girls. Spanish culture places America on a pedestal, so anything remotely American is cool and exciting to Spanish youth. American girls have an expectation of Spanish men; they are exotic, exciting, and passionate. For this reason, the idea of an American girl is irresistible to a Spanish male, and vice versa. However, Spanish girls are less enthused by American boys. They are used to being pursued, and have mastered the art of playing hard to get, something American boys see as standoffish and rude. When American boys give up instead of trying again, the girls move on. This is due to the fact that present in Spain today is the archaic idea of *machismo*, which creates a society of males who believe they must be powerful, and have no problem insistently pursuing a girl. To American girls, this comes off as creepy, but it is a norm in Spanish society. It defines the male and female relationship.

The "Spaniard" Social Experiment

One of the most interesting parts of my trip revolved around a counselor whom I will call Roberto. I met Rob at staff training about a month before we were to travel to Spain together. He was from Manhattan, and had just graduated college with plans to attend dental school the following fall. He was about six feet tall, with blonde

curly hair and bright blue eyes. He dressed like a typical New Yorker, and was clearly American. He was hired for the trip because of his practically fluent Spanish and experience studying abroad in Madrid. He had also spent many of his summers as an adolescent with the same host family in Sevilla. As a result of this he had grown very close to them, and had mastered the quirky *Sevillana* accent. He also had past experience working on a trip with teenagers, so he seemed like the perfect fit for the job.

Rob came up with the idea at training to pretend he was from Spain, and he spoke absolutely no English. He knew the point of our trip was for participants to learn and practice Spanish, and he had seen firsthand on his other trips that American teenagers were simply uninterested in speaking Spanish with anyone they knew could speak English. Rob's plan was to start the trip speaking only Spanish, just to see how long it would last. He was going to claim he was from the small town of Dos Hermanas, the small village directly outside of Sevilla where his host family was from. He told the rest of the staff to roll with the punches and give strategically vague answers to any campers with questions. The staff actually had bets on how long this charade would last. I gave it a day, but some gave it up to a week. Rob told me after our trip ended that he only expected 'Roberto' to last about three days.

What happened next no one could have predicted. Roberto introduced himself to parents and campers at the airport, squeaking out a horribly mispronounced *Hello, my name is Roberto. I speak English only little.* He over enunciated his J's and R's, resulting in many puzzled looks and confused whispers amongst campers and parents. A few immediately called his bluff, yet Roberto held strong and pulled a very convincing blank stare whenever English was spoken to him. When I "translated" to him

what they were saying, he assured them in quick Spanish that he was from Sevilla, and was excited to work with Americans. Next came the overwhelming number of questions from parents. *How was he hired? How did he find out about this company? Does he understand American safety standards?* The parents were split down the middle between those who were excited for their kids to have this opportunity to practice their Spanish, and those who were slightly concerned he was foreign. The heads of the company went along with the charade, saying Roberto was more than qualified for this job and that their children were in good hands.

The campers' questions came next. They asked the other staff where he came from and why he was here. They asked him anything and everything they could think of about Europe and Spanish culture. The worst, however, was yet to come. From the moment the girls on the trip heard he was from Spain, he had a fan club of forty-four love-struck girls, and seven mesmerized boys. They idolized him, believing anything he said. Once the campers believed his charade, there was no turning back. The campers said anything they wanted, regardless of how profane and inappropriate, to Rob's face. I am still amazed that he managed to keep a straight face. The girls hung on his every word, professing their love for him first to each other, then to other staff, and then finally to him in English. He simply stared back at them, taking in every word yet unable to react without blowing his cover.

One of the kids' favorite games was teaching Roberto about America. They educated him about New York City, which was hilarious to the staff, as Rob had grown up in Manhattan. They loved teaching him inappropriate English phrases and giggling as he intentionally pronounced them wrong. They would ask him about

American pop culture, celebrities, music and trends, excitedly explaining things he would claim not to understand in their broken Spanish. Rob was able to invite some of his Spanish friends to meet the campers, adding to the already crazy environment.

Although there were a lot of benefits to Roberto, there were a few downsides no one could have anticipated. The staff loved that our campers were enthusiastically practicing their Spanish with him, and their shenanigans provided a lot of humor for the staff. However, there were a lot of things that we did not expect and really could not control. It was really hard on Rob to continue his character, especially because he was not bonding with the campers who spoke no Spanish. Often the girls would treat him like their personal Spanish toy, and once they were tired with him, they would ignore him. Sometimes the campers treated him like an animal, disregarding his feelings and opinions because he did not speak English. When they were frustrated with him, they would talk in rapid English, spouting their anger towards him, leaving him in a position where he was unable to respond.

There were plenty of opportunities for the campers to discover Rob's secret. One girl saw his American passport going through security, and did not question it. Rob spoke to a particularly concerned parent in English at the airport, explaining his intentions behind the charade. This parent told his daughter, and she did not believe him. At one point in the trip, the campers found his New York driver's license, which he explained away by saying they gave it to him because he had worked in the company's New York office for a month. Even when the staff flubbed up and dropped blatant hints, the campers were so consumed by the charade that they refused to acknowledge the truth.

Three of the girls found out by eavesdropping on a conversation between Rob and I, but he convinced them to keep the secret until he told everyone later.

Three weeks into the trip, the time came for Rob to come clean. He got up to address the bus and make announcements as usual, this time explaining that he had something very important to tell them. The next sentence out of his mouth was in perfect English. As he was explaining this character, mayhem ensued. The campers were on the emotional spectrum from hysterically crying to thoroughly embarrassed. They had believed that he understood none of what they said, so they had no problem talking about anything and everything in front of him. One girl in particular had developed quite the obsession with him, latching on to him randomly and screeching whenever she saw him. Little did she know that they lived a few blocks from one another, and their brothers went to the same university.

Roberto vs. Rob: The Results

As soon as it was revealed that Roberto was actually Rob, many of the girls decided immediately that he was no longer the “Greek god” he was before. His nationality changed his level of attractiveness to them in the blink of an eye. Teenagers are taught by American films to believe foreign guys are more attractive. As soon as he fell back into the American stereotype, he was exempted as their foreign fling, therefore no longer on their radar. On the other hand, many of the campers who had previously disliked Roberto, due to their lack of desire to speak Spanish, actually got to know Rob and really liked him. In fact, many commented on the completely different personalities of Rob and Roberto. One of the biggest noticeable differences was his voice, as Roberto

talked about an octave lower than Rob did. Rob loved to sleep, often snoozing on a park bench at the meeting spot. The kids dismissed this as his literal ‘siesta’ period, and were then confused when it was revealed he was not Spanish. His wardrobe was completely American, yet no one had questioned why he did not dress European. Unfortunately for Roberto, once he was American, he lost his celebrity status amongst the campers. Many claimed they would not tell their friends about the real Rob in order to avoid embarrassment; plus, they wanted a good story to tell their friends and family when they got home. Saying they spent all summer with an authentic Spaniard was a better story than recapping how an American fooled them for weeks posing as a Spaniard. Rob was right about one thing; once he was American, any and all Spanish spoken with him was over.

Conclusion

My experiences as a student and as a tour guide in Spain allowed me to witness firsthand the stark contrast between the tourist areas of Madrid and the real Madrid. American and Spanish media do not portray the real Spain, as they advertise the cultural heritage of Andalucía, rather than the reality present in Spain. The real parts of Spain are worlds apart from the tourist areas; the way the people act, the way the buildings look, and the types of attractions are completely different. While my time as a student allowed me to see that the reality of Spain is nothing like what is presented to the international community, my job as a tour guide served as an excellent way to observe the American preconceived notions about Spain interact with the government’s tourist image.

CONCLUSION

The anthropology of tourism is a rapidly growing field, as tourism remains an important facet of analyzing change in cultural norms and traditions today. In order to create a desirable destination for international tourism, host countries must provide a safe environment and distinguish their culture from competing destinations. As the third most visited country in the world, Spain has a longstanding reputation as a leader in the world tourism market. In order to maintain this reputation, Spain intentionally presents a romanticized version of itself to the international community through amplifying characteristics of Andalusian culture. This cultural expectation, created by American movies, is supported through Spanish tourist propaganda in order to draw millions of people to Spain every year. However, this image does not coincide with the true nature of Spanish culture, as one can see through my research. By amplifying iconic aspects of their culture, Spain is able to live up to the superficial ideal, rather than creating an authentic experience. However, this image portrayed in American films and Spanish tourist propaganda, then reflected by tourist areas, is not the true Spain. The high tourist presence has caused Spain to cater to the American perception of what Spain is like, rather than embracing the regional differences of the country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afinoguénova, Eugenia, and Jaume Martí-Olivella. *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008. Print.
- Barcelona*. Dir. Whit Stillman. Perf. Taylor Nichols and Chris Eigeman. Castle Rock Entertainment, 1994. Amazon Instant Video.
- "Bienvenido Mr Marshall - Americanos." YouTube. YouTube, 26 Apr. 2009. Web. 06 May 2014. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6qbPazY5hAI>>.
- Boissevain, Jeremy. *Coping With Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*. Providence, RI: Berghahn, 1996. Print.
- Bolaños, Maria. "Modern Art Museums during the Franco Regime: Routine, Isolation, and Some Exceptions." *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*. Ed. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008. 129-50. Print.
- Chambers, Erve. *Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 2000. Print.
- Crumbaugh, Justin. *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*. Albany: SUNY, 2009. Print.
- The Economist*. "The Second Transition." *The* 26 June 2004: 56. The Economist Newspaper, 26 June 2004. Web. 04 Nov. 2014. <<http://www.economist.com/node/2764840>>.
- Flesler, Daniela, and Adrian Perez Melgosa. "Market Convivencia: Contemporary Tourist Appropriations of Spain's Jewish Past." *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*. Ed. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008. 63-84. Print.
- Gmelch, Sharon. *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 2004. Print.
- Hart, Patricia. "Toppling the Xenolith: The Reconquest of Spain from the 'Tourist Invader' in Iberian Film since World War II." *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*. Ed. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008. 187-218. Print.

- Houston, Jamie, Drew Seeley, and Raven-Symoné. *Strut*. The Cheetah Girls 2. Walt Disney Records, 2006. *Youtube*. Web. 28 Oct. 2014.
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rZpSOSfymV4>>.
- "Iberia (Spanish Airline)." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Encyclopedia Britannica, 6 Mar. 2014. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.
<<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/280567/Iberia>>.
- "I Need Spain English - Couple (Pareja)." YouTube. YouTube, 22 Mar. 2010. Web. 06 May 2014. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UTaGG69uU9Q>>.
- "I Need Spain English - Family (Familia)." YouTube. YouTube, 22 Mar. 2010. Web. 06 May 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKlkO_XCDjk>.
- "I Need Spain English - Friends (Amigos)." *YouTube*. YouTube, 22 Mar. 2010. Web. 06 May 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHonN_3z_10>.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken, 1976. Print.
- "Marketing." *I Need Spain: Marketing*. Gobierno De España, n.d. Web. 06 May 2014.
<<http://www.tourspain.es/en-us/Marketing/Paginas/default.aspx>>.
- Olson, Scott R. "The Globalization of Hollywood." *International Journal on World Peace* 17.4 (2000): 3-17. *JSTOR*. Professors World Peace Academy, Dec. 2000. Web. 15 Nov. 2013. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20753277>>.
- Pi-Sunyer, Oriol. "Changing Perceptions of Tourism and Tourists in a Catalan Resort Town." *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Ed. Valene L. Smith. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1989. 187-220. Print.
- Sligh, Madeleine N. "Tourism and Media in Spain." *Final Project for Communications 450*. St. Louis University Madrid, 6 May 2014. Web. 04 Nov. 2014.
<<http://maddiesligh.wix.com/comm450>>.
- "UNESCO Spain." *Properties Inscribed on the World Heritage List*. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d. Web. 04 Oct. 2014.
<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ES/>>.
- "UNWTO Annual Report 2013." *World Tourism Organization*. The United Nations, 2013. Web. 04 Oct. 2014. <<http://www2.unwto.org/publication/unwto-annual-report-2013>>.
- Vicky Cristina Barcelona*. Dir. Woody Allen. Perf. Rebecca Hall, Scarlett Johansson and Javier Bardem. Medusa, 2009. Youtube.

APPENDIX 1:
CITATION OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Page 5

Spain Original Vintage Travel Poster Iberia Bullfighter. Ca. 1960s. N.p.: n.p.,
n.d. N. pag. *David Pollack Vintage Posters*. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.
<<http://www.dpvintageposters.com/cgi-local/detail.cgi?d=4843>>.

Figure 2: Page 5

Iberia Constellation Spain Original Vintage Travel Poster. Ca. 1950s. N.p.: n.p.,
n.d. N. pag. *David Pollack Vintage Posters*. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.
<<http://www.dpvintageposters.com/cgi-local/detail.cgi?d=4831>>.

Figure 3: Page 6

Spain Original Vintage Travel Poster Iberia Dancer. Ca. 1950s. N.p.: n.p.,
n.d. N. pag. *David Pollack Vintage Posters*. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.
<<http://www.dpvintageposters.com/cgi-local/detail.cgi?d=4844>>.