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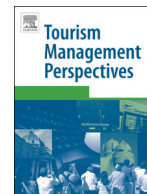
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# Tourism Management Perspectives

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## Reviews in Tourism

# A comparative study of the evolution of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal



Fernando Almeida Garcia\*

*Geography, Faculty of Tourism, University of Malaga, Campus de Teatinos s/n, 29071 Malaga, Spain*

## ARTICLE INFO

### Article history:

Received 23 April 2013  
Accepted 21 March 2014  
Available online xxxx

### Keywords:

Tourism policies  
Development  
Spain  
Portugal

## ABSTRACT

The purposes of this study are to analyze and compare the way in which tourism policy has evolved in Spain and Portugal. Our study covers an extensive period of time, enabling the similarities and differences between the two processes and the effects of the main factors involved to be highlighted phase by phase.

We start by looking at the genesis of tourism authorities, whose principal objective was to promote the countries and improve their external image. We will then see how the onset of mass tourism led to changes in strategy, which now sought to maximize revenue in order to fund national development. The third phase will deal with the restructuring of the countries' respective tourism authorities, whereby policies and planning were tailored to accommodate the changes that had occurred in the sector. We will conclude by suggesting a series of topics for debate, notably the Latin model of tourism development.

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## 1. Introduction

Tourism is a complex product in which economic and political factors combine with those of a geographical and recreational nature (Hall, 1998). As such, tourism policy may be defined as a multidisciplinary field related with the mixed science that is tourism itself (Bote Gómez & Marchena Gómez, 1996; Edgell, 1990; Koster, 1984). In this context, definitions of tourism policy vary, though it is worth noting the view of Hall and Jenkins (1995), who feel that tourism policy is whatever

governments choose to do or not to do with regard to tourism – an interpretation that provides tourism researchers with a wide investigative scope (p. 8). In any event, research into tourism policy must focus first and foremost on those government measures taken with the aim of influencing tourism.

No clear consensus exists regarding the way in which the study of tourism policy should be approached, or the fields of interest that it ought to include. There is an economic angle which considers tourism policy as a branch of the economy characterized by a series of idiosyncrasies (Sessa, 1976). The growing importance of tourism, and particularly its impact on both national and regional economies, has led in turn to an increase in the number of studies into tourism policy (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). These studies have tended to adopt a neutral

\* Tel.: +34 952133252; fax: +34 952131700.  
E-mail address: [falmeida@uma.es](mailto:falmeida@uma.es).

standpoint, focusing on the achievements of tourism rather than on the social and territorial imbalances that it brings (Lea, 1988). The difficulties encountered in generating development contrast sharply with the praise heaped by governments on tourism's contribution to economic development at both national and regional levels (Hillali, 2007; Jenkins, 1980; Lamb, 1998; Williams & Shaw, 1988). In the case of Spain and Portugal, there have been numerous studies into tourism strategy as an area of economic policy (Aguiló Pérez & Vich Martorell, 1996; Bote Gómez & Marchena Gómez, 1996; Cals, 1974; Martins Viera, 1997; Monfort Mir, 2000).

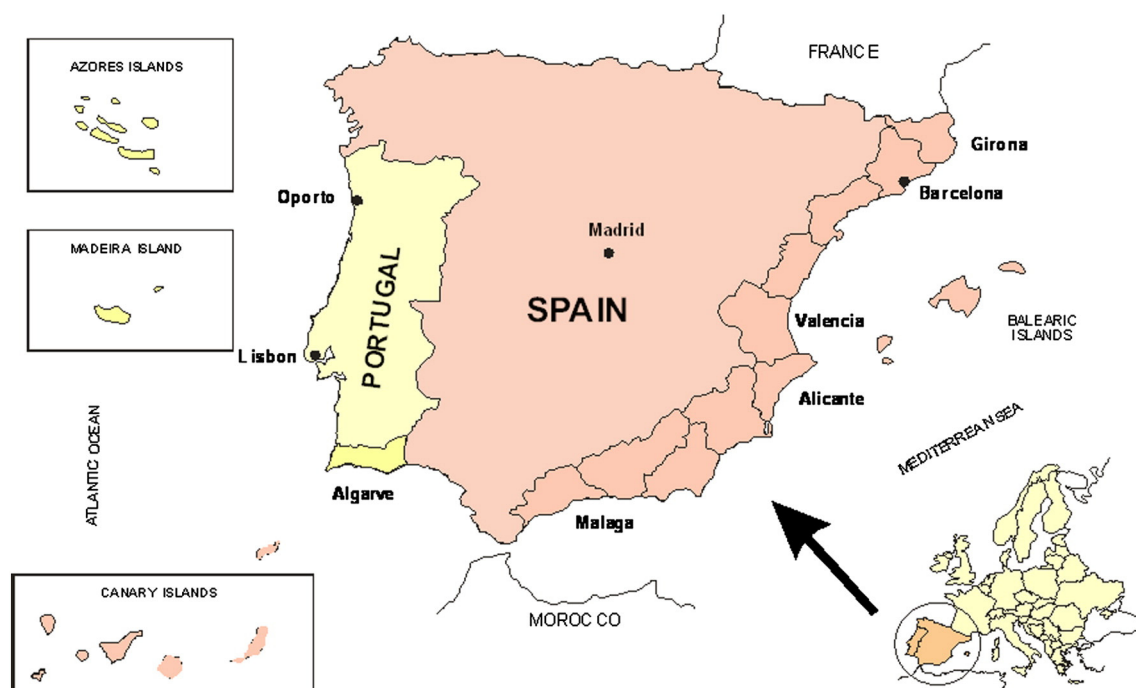
Political science, too, has taken an interest in tourism policy, in spite of its initial indifference to tourism itself (Richter, 1983, p. 313), which it considered a frivolous and superficial field (Hall & Jenkins, 1995, p. 5), and of the difficulties faced by tourism specialists in attempting to define the exact nature of tourism policy. The role played by tourism policy within the larger field of political science has evolved to such an extent that some authors now claim that the former must be viewed separately from the latter (Velasco González, 2005, p. 172). Political scientists have taken a variety of approaches to tourism policy. For example, Velasco González (2004) identifies two different focuses: (i) a general view that analyzes all of the public and private sector measures taken that influence tourism, and which has wider implications for fields lying outside the boundaries of the tourism sector, such as the environment, infrastructure, economy and public safety; and (ii) a narrower angle which focuses only on those governmental measures and decisions that specifically affect areas of the tourism sector itself, e.g. the hotel industry and the catering trade (pp. 66–74). Our study combines these two approaches, albeit with greater emphasis on the second.

Research into tourism policy has generally focused on specific countries, analyzing the subject as a branch of national policy and approaching the task in large, regional blocks (Hall, 1991; Lickorish, 1991). To date, there has been relatively little analysis contrasting the tourism policies of different countries, though several interesting studies have been carried out in Europe (Swarbrooke, 1993). Spain and Portugal, however, have rarely been compared, despite their geographical proximity and the existence of socio-economic processes that are common to both

(Map 1). Most of the references to these countries currently available are to be found either in studies dealing with tourism in Europe in general, Southern Europe or the Mediterranean area (Akehurst, Bland, & Kevin, 1993; Apostolopoulos, Loukissas, & Leontidou, 2001; Jenner & Smith, 1993), or in series of publications compiled by international organizations such as the OECD and the WTO. Worthy of special mention are the analyses of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal undertaken by Williams (1984, 1993) Williams & Shaw (1998), which assess the role played by tourism in both national economic development and regional imbalance; however, none of these studies deal specifically with the two countries alone. Our study of Spain and Portugal adopts a similar approach to the one taken by Williams, albeit with the inclusion of other facets such as the process via which national tourism policy is constructed.

An examination of Spain and Portugal's shared history reveals parallel development as far as tourism policies and models are concerned, although the tourism processes in the two countries also display certain differences due to their contrasting socio-economic development. Spain and Portugal's relationship with tourism has varied over the course of the one hundred plus years studied. The evolution of tourism policy can be divided into the three main stages related to major socio-economic phases identified in this study (see Table 1 and Appendices 1 and 2). These three stages are consistent with the proposal of several authors who have analyzed the cycles of tourism policy (Fayos-Solá, 1996a, 1996b; Garay & Cánoves, 2011).

The pre-Fordist phase: During this first stage, comprising the first years of the 20th century, both countries behaved in an almost identical fashion. Our analysis of this period, which is based largely on administrative and historical factors, reveals an extensive exchange of information between the two countries, despite the reciprocal indifference exhibited by their respective governments (De La Torre Gómez & Vicente, 1998; Halpern Pereira, 1984), who were more interested in the opportunity that tourism provided for raising their countries' profiles abroad than in its economic benefits. The period also saw the establishment of a series of tourism policy procedures that would remain in place for decades to come. This stage has more frequently



Map 1. Location of the study area. Spain and Portugal.  
Source: Elaborated by author.

**Table 1**  
Tourism policy phases in Spain and Portugal.  
Source: Elaborated by the author.

1900–1950	1951–1975	1976–2012
Initiation Pre-Fordist phase	Development Fordist phase	Maturity Post-Fordist phase

been studied in Spain (Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000; Fernández Fúster, 1991; Moreno Garrido, 2007; Pellejero Martínez, 1999) than in Portugal (Cunha, 2009; Pina, 1988).

The Fordist phase: The second stage – between 1950 and 1975 – brought a series of important developments. The Iberian nations now understood that tourism held the key to economic growth. Franco's dictatorship used tourism to improve Spain's foreign image (Correyero & Cal, 2008, pp. 17–21), as did Salazar's in Portugal, although to a lesser extent (Almuiña Fernandes, 2002). This phase also marked the first major divergence between the two countries in terms of tourism policy: whereas the Spanish government committed itself fully to mass tourism as a means of maximizing revenue and investment, the Portuguese opted instead to maintain a more gradual rate of tourist growth. In fact, mass tourism was the dominant theme during this period, and tourism-based development is the facet of tourism most frequently studied by both Spanish and Portuguese authors (Cals, 1974; Cunha, 2009; Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000; Figuerola Palomo, 1999; Martins Viera, 1997).

The post-Fordist phase: During the third stage of our study, Spanish and Portuguese society began to act in unison. The dictatorships in both countries ended in successive years (1974 and 1975), they joined the European Union (1986), adopted the euro (2001) and experienced similar economic ups and downs. However, their respective administrative structures and tourism planning procedures took vastly different paths. While Spain's heavily centralized policy was replaced by a decentralized system overseen by its autonomous communities and the tourist towns themselves, in Portugal, the exact opposite now occurred. This section examines the effectiveness of tourism policies in terms of generating revenue and adapting to the changes in the sector introduced by the post-Fordist model of management based on competitiveness, quality and sustainability (Fayos-Solá, 1996a). Regional policy (Ivars Baidal, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Matos Silva & Vieira da Silva, 2003), the restructuring of the tourism sector (Moreno Garrido, 2007; Vera Rebollo, 1994) and the social and environmental impact of tourism (Cavaco, 1979; Gaviria, 1974; Martins Viera, 2007) are the aspects most commonly identified by authors as the main consequences of the protracted growth of tourism in Spain and Portugal.

Several authors maintain that the Fordist period saw the introduction of a uniquely Latin model of development, which was heavily reliant on tourism (Bote Gómez, 1998; Casmirri & Suárez, 1998; Cunha, 2003; Vallejo Pousada, 2002). Spain, Portugal and Italy are representative of this model. This economic development based on tourism began in the early 1950s, while mass tourism was born. After World War II, the investments of Central and Northern European countries found a magnificent place in tourism destinations in Southern Europe. This model has been highlighted by the important role played by the tourism sector as a provider of foreign exchange, compensating trade balances and becoming a major employer. At the beginning of the 1950s these countries had a significant structural deficit in their trade. Tourism and migration played a role in the economic development process of the three countries, and later, in other countries. The revenue generated by the tourism sector funding was allocated to other economic sectors, mainly industrial, which was considered a sector that created "real" development. As such, the tourism sector was an exporter of income to other economic and territorial areas. In Spain, the government never disputed that tourism could be a development factor (Bote Gómez, 1998). The tourism sector was considered a revenue maximizer, hence the obsession quantitative to increase the number of tourists, the

absence of effective regional planning and the location of tourism accommodation in the most profitable areas. These facts are most common to Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece (Williams & Shaw, 1988). In summary, according to these authors the Latin model of tourism development is a pattern of economic growth based on the Fordist production system that considers tourism as the main core of accumulation and economic production. One of the defining features of this model is linked to process of accumulation of financial capital produced by tourism which is destined for other productive sectors (industry) as well as the infrastructure. Besides tourism plays an important role in supporting the balance of payments. In short, this sector is considered as an extractive industry whose profits go to other sectors.

The aims of this study are to compare the paths taken by the evolution of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal, and to examine the interrelationships generated between the two countries in the field of tourism. Its approach interprets tourism policy as a process of governmental measures determined by various economic, social and political factors. Special attention is given to the most significant organizational and rule-making procedures, including tourism plans, and to the main economic variables that affect the tourism sector. The distinctly cross-sectional nature of tourism requires that administrative, economic and social factors be included in its analysis, and the relative importance of these depends on the particular period under examination. Since our study spans a broad timescale, it has not been possible to include all of the elements that have shaped tourism policy in the two Iberian nations over the years.

In addition to being the first ever comparative study of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal, this investigation also explains the way in which tourism policy has been constructed over the past one hundred years. It follows a similar line to the one adopted by previous authors in analyzing tourism strategy and development, and the fact that it ties in with other studies that have identified a Latin model of development based on tourism provides a platform for further debate. The relationship between foreign tourism receipts and tourism policy is also discussed.

## 2. Methodology

The present investigation has been undertaken using a comparative analysis, a procedure not widely used in research into tourism policy (Scott, 2011, p. 32). We use a holistic approach that helps integrate the interrelationships between the factors involved: socio-economic, geographic and institutional. Our research is not experimental in nature; it combines an extensive review of existing studies into aspects of tourism related to government, society and the economy, with an examination of certain statistical sources that reflect the way in which tourism-based activity has evolved.

We opted for a joint analysis of the two countries because many social and economic phenomena are more easily understood when viewed from a supranational standpoint (Casmirri & Suárez, 1998, pp. 1–2; Sassen, 2007; Scott, 2011, p. 20). In the case of tourism in particular, this choice of perspective is even more logical, as the global view provides the best insight into transnational processes (of which tourism is one).

There are a multitude of variables that can be evaluated when studying tourism policy. Some traditional data (e.g. employment) have not been taken into account in our study, nor have we examined domestic tourism, which requires a separate analysis of its own. We have instead concentrated on international tourism in view of the role that it has played in the economic development of Spain and Portugal. The paper has focused primarily on administrative, legal and economic factors. Historical analysis takes center stage in the first part, with statistical analysis coming to the fore in the sections that deal with the maturity and development of the tourism sector. Also, cartographic analysis is used to help explain certain territorial changes caused by tourism.

Our choice of statistical sources was governed by clear criteria: uniform data, similar methodologies and no time gaps. This approach

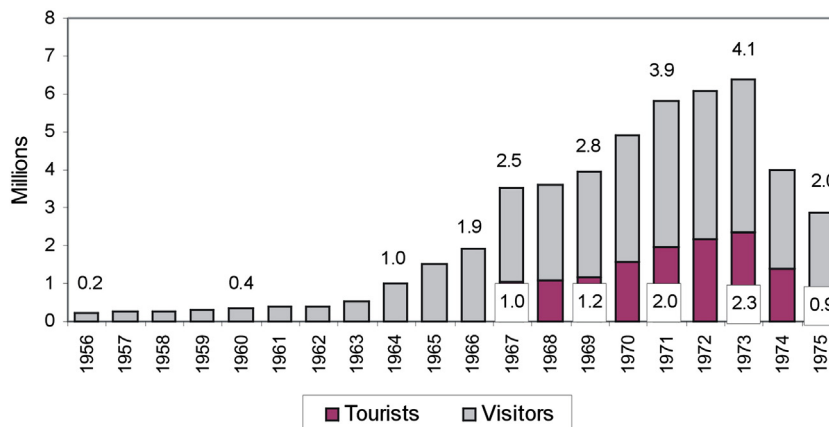


Fig. 1. Foreign visitors and tourists (Portugal).  
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (Portugal) (1963–2008) and Cunha, 2003.

enabled us to compare processes in the two countries under review more accurately. Certain statistical data that failed to meet these requirements was disregarded. Our main source of statistics was provided by foreign visitors and hotel place supply, details of whom combine a broad timescale with reliable methodology.

Tourist data was not used for the entire period covered, however, as the sources are not uniform throughout. Foreign visitors were scrutinized in our study in relation to the evolution of demand (Figs. 1, 2, 4, and 6) and, in conjunction with revenue, to analyze the economic effectiveness of each nation's tourism policy (Fig. 7). Portugal's tourist statistics underwent a methodological change in 2004 and 2010, which accounts for the sharp decline in foreign visitors observed in Figs. 4, 6 and 7. No data for Portuguese visitors or tourists was available for the years 2008 and 2009; therefore, we used hotel accommodation data to analyze tourism supply and to identify regional differences (Tables 3 and 4, Maps 2 and 3). Since the concept of the hotel has become standardized in both countries over time, we included hotels, hotel-apartments, hostels and boarding houses in this analysis. The main data sources are WTO (World Tourism Organization), INE (National Institute of Statistics of Spain and Portugal) and Central Banks of Spain and Portugal.

This research is part of two R&D supported by the Spanish government (CSO2009-08400 and CSO2012-30840). These projects analyze the diffusion processes of international tourism, and its relationship to development and dependency theories. Due to its strong specialization in tourism, the Mediterranean is an area of great interest, and it is also interesting to view the varied responses of national governments in relation to tourism.

### 3. Pre-Fordist phase

This chapter examines the birth of the governmental structure of tourism in Spain and Portugal. In the early 20th century, Iberian governments became involved in tourism, following the general trend of tourism policy in continental Europe. In this period, tourism does not have a major economic impact, but is important as disseminator of national image abroad. At this time, tourism is an elitist activity with a strong cultural aspect (see Table 7).

Though tourism had begun to develop in Spain and Portugal during the 19th century, it was not yet a fully established activity by the onset of the 20th. The growing popularity of thermal tourism in the 19th century had seen the construction of major bath complexes throughout Europe, including in Portugal and Spain. Summer vacations in coastal areas had also become common, on the shores of both the Atlantic (San Sebastian) and the Mediterranean (Majorca). Hiking clubs and geographic societies also played their part in raising the profile of tourism in the two Iberian countries.

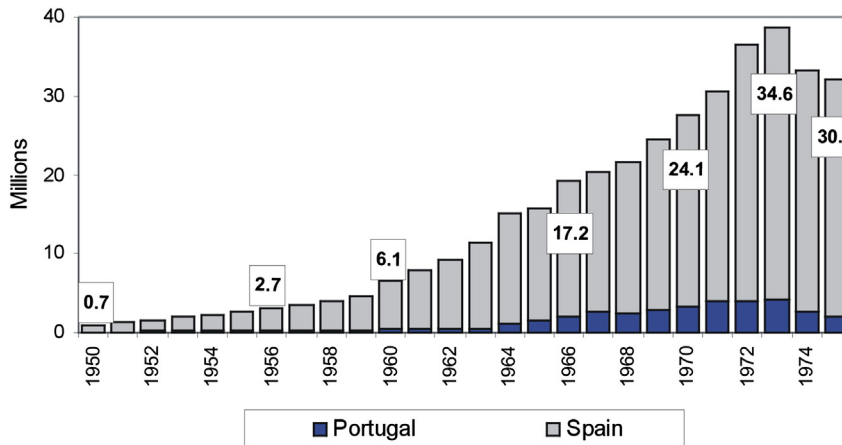
By the dawn of the 20th century, tourism was already an important activity in several European countries, the United Kingdom being the main source of outbound tourism, while Italy, Switzerland and France were the most established destinations. At this stage, Spain and Portugal were still very much on the fringes of the tourism circuit due to their poor land communications, scant promotion of tourist resources and limited hotel infrastructure. In spite of these drawbacks, both nations were fully aware of the growing importance of tourism and the need to take advantage of this new trend. The private sector understood this best of all, and was responsible for most of the early initiative in the tourism sector. Small associations in Spanish and Portuguese cities, such as Malaga in 1898 (Torres Bernier, 1983), followed the example set by France's own tourist initiative associations (Moreno Garrido, 2007, p. 55), making a contribution to the promotion of their local area that should not be underestimated.

In Portugal, the efforts of the *Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal* (Propaganda Society of Portugal), a private institution founded in 1906 to encourage foreign tourism in Estoril and Lisbon and on the island of Madeira, are deserving of mention. This body in turn set up a national network of *Sindicatos de Iniciativa e Propaganda Local* (local tourist initiative associations), who embarked on the key task of promoting local tourism that would later be carried on by the Municipal Tourism Commissions (1936) and the Tourist Regions (1956) (Pina, 1988).

Spain created its own *Comisión Nacional para Fomentar las Excursiones Turísticas* (National Commission for the Promotion of Tourist Excursions) in 1905. As the Spanish government's initial response to the demands of the business community, this focused on both generating revenue and raising the country's profile in the rest of Europe. The Commission was conceived primarily as a publicity tool, with the improvement of tourist facilities a secondary issue. As a result, this measure, although swift, failed to bring about a significant increase in the number of tourists coming to Spain, with its limited budget and the political instability of the time providing further obstacles. Nevertheless, it served as a precedent for the creation in 1911 of the *Comisaría Regia* (Royal Commission), one of the first official tourist authorities in the world (Fernández Fúster, 1991, p. 212).

Table 2  
Foreign tourists in Spain by country (June 1928–December 1929).  
Source: Esteve Secall and Fuentes García, 2000.

France	75,386	Switzerland	8499
Portugal	46,902	Argentina	7105
United States	27,672	Belgium	4432
United Kingdom	21,383	Scandinavian countries	3251
Germany	18,306	Other countries	140,267
Italy	9513	Total	362,716



**Fig. 2.** Foreign visitors to Spain and Portugal.  
 Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), (Portugal) (1963–2008) and Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1951–1976), Cunha, 2003 and Fernández Fúster, 1991.

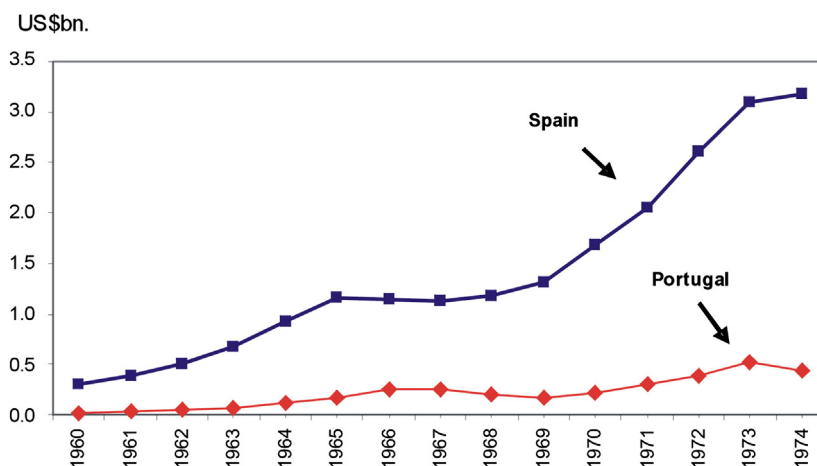
One of the clearest signs that a country's tourism sector was coming of age was the staging of professional congresses. Between 1908 and 1912, five such events were hosted by various cities in Spain, France and Portugal (González Morales, 2005, pp. 25–28). Of particular note among these was the 4th Tourism Congress held in Lisbon in 1911, whose 1475 participants made it one of the best attended of its kind. One keenly debated issue at the event in question was the role that should be played by the government in promoting tourism. France extolled the virtues of its own model of intervention in tourism through the National Tourist Office opened in 1910 (Labarique, 2007). In 1911, as a direct result of this congress, the Spanish and Portuguese governments each set up similar administrative bodies to take responsibility for tourism:

- (i) The *Comisaría Regia de Turismo y la Cultura Artística* (Royal Commission for Tourism and Artistic Culture), an effective continuation of the work begun by the National Commission in 1905, in Spain.
- (ii) The *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional e da Repartição de Turismo* (National Propaganda and Tourism Department) in Portugal.

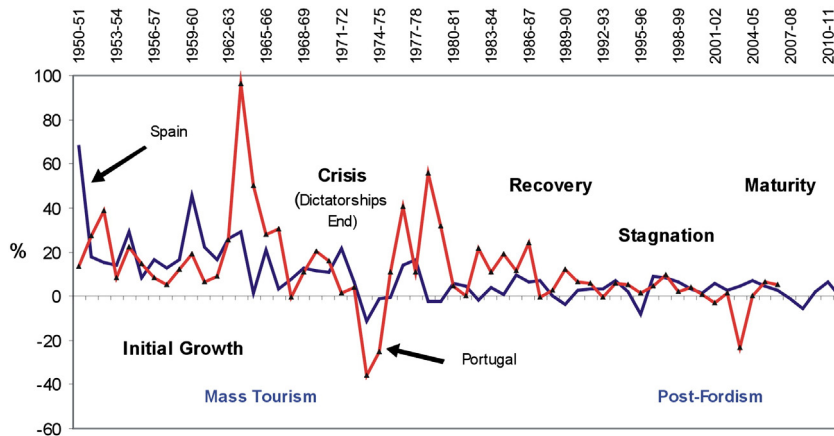
In Spain, the Royal Commission was given a broad brief that involved promoting Spain's artistic heritage, raising the country's profile abroad,

and regulating and improving tourist accommodation, among other responsibilities. The driving force behind the Commission was the Marquis of Vega-Inclán, an aristocrat with a keen interest in Spain's historical and artistic patrimony, whose achievements included the opening in 1910 of the country's first museum aimed specifically at tourists, namely El Greco's House (Toledo). The early years of the Royal Commission's existence brought a series of measures that were to have a lasting effect upon tourism management policy: (i) further museums aimed at attracting tourists were opened, such as Cervantes' House and the Romantic Museum in Madrid; (ii) urban maintenance was carried out to conserve popular and civil architecture in Seville and Toledo; and (iii) the possibility of setting up *Paradores de Turismo* (a chain of state-run hotels) was first mooted. The idea was to provide comfortable accommodation on Spain's roads and preserve the country's architectural heritage. The first *Parador* was opened in 1928 in the Sierra de Gredos. This style of accommodation would subsequently inspire the *Pousadas de Portugal* chain of public hotels in Portugal. Lastly, (iv) the Royal Commission also played a significant propagandist role in promoting Spain's politics and image, with a similar approach being adopted by Portugal's own tourism policy.

Spain's Royal Commission survived until 1928, when the government replaced it with the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* (National Tourism



**Fig. 3.** Tourist receipts (1960–1975) (US\$bn.).  
 Source: Fernández Fúster, 1991 and Organization de Coopération et de Développement Économiques (OCDE), (1955–74).



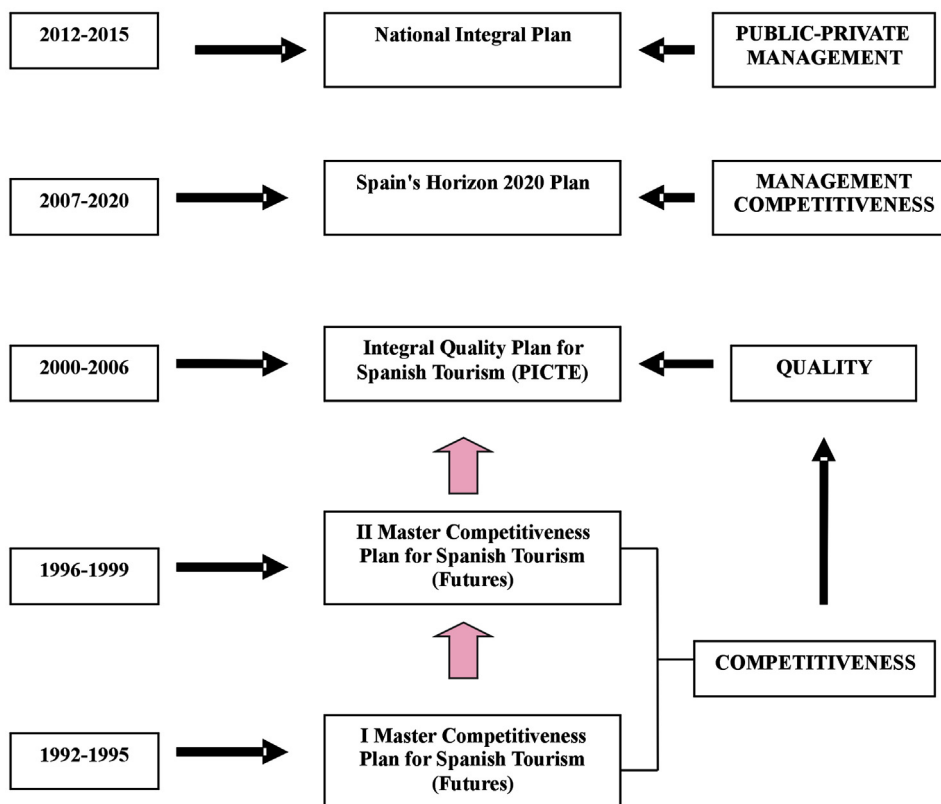
**Fig. 4.** Annual growth rate of foreign visitors of Spain and Portugal. Note: No data for Portuguese visitors in 2008–2011. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (Portugal) (1963–2008), Cunha, 2003, Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1951–1977) and Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo (1977–2010).

Board). The Tourism Board introduced hard-hitting, direct measures, notably in terms of organizing the sector. The fact that it enjoyed greater funding enabled the Board to take more effective action, and it was responsible for staging international exhibitions in Seville and Barcelona. Priority was now given to the promotion of tourism, and a considerable number of tourist offices were opened both at home and abroad. The Board also added to and improved Spain's hotel infrastructure, notably

the network of *Paradores*. In 1929, 362,716 tourists visited Spain (Table 2). During the years of the 2nd Republic, tourist figures stagnated, a trend that subsequently became even more marked during the Civil War and the post-war period (1936–45).

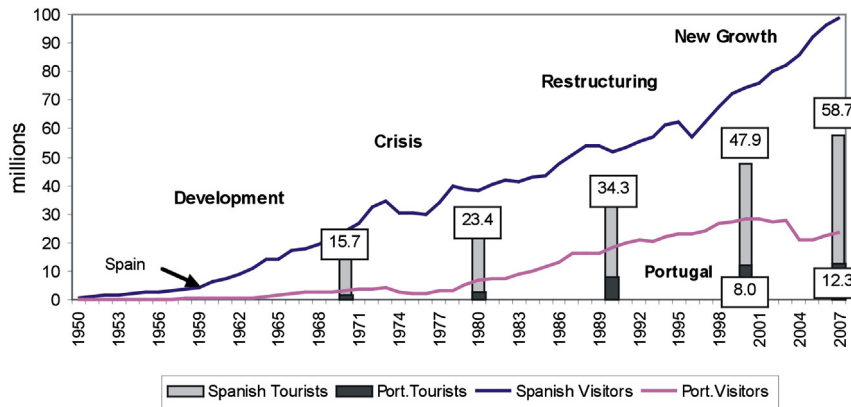
In Portugal, meanwhile, in 1911 the National Propaganda and Tourism Department joined communication and tourism together, emphasizing the close relationship between the two fields. In Portugal

**SPANISH TOURISM PLANNING IN RECENT YEARS**



Source: Elaborated by the author  
Elaboración propia

**Fig. 5.** Spanish tourism planning in recent years. Source: Elaborated by author.



Note: Methodological change en 2004 (Portugal)

**Fig. 6.** Foreign visitors and tourists in Spain and Portugal (1950–2007). Note: Methodological change in Portugal 2004. No data for Portuguese visitors in 2008. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (Portugal) (1963–2008), Direcção Geral do Turismo, (2002–2010), Cunha, 2003, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, (1951–1977), Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo (1977–2010) and Organization de Coopéracion et de Développement Économiques (OCDE), (1955–74).

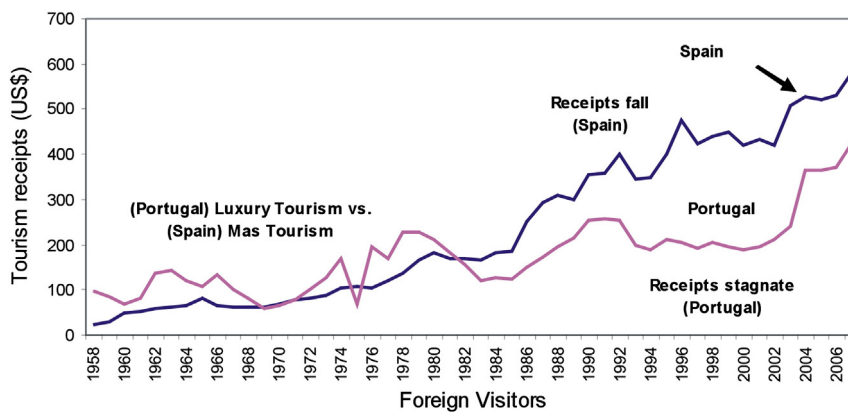
and Spain alike, propaganda and publicity abroad were the goals that convinced the political powers to set up their respective tourism departments, the governments in both countries still viewing tourism per se as a secondary activity. This relationship between tourism and propaganda/image prevailed in the structural organization of tourism administration in both countries for years to come. The *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* (National Information, Popular Culture and Tourism Department) was set up in 1941 and remained virtually unchanged throughout the Portuguese dictatorship until 1974; Spain, meanwhile, created its own Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1951, which likewise stayed in place right up to the return of democracy in 1977.

The aims of the Tourism Department were to earn foreign currency, protect Portugal's cultural heritage, develop the thermal bath resorts to meet internal demand, and promote Madeira and Lisbon abroad. However, a combination of budget limitations and political instability meant that few measures were actually taken. Nevertheless, Portugal gradually began to promote itself as a destination for foreign tourists. In Paris in 1921, Portuguese tourism was showcased abroad for the very first time; in 1930, the Portuguese Commission for the Promotion of Tourism was created with the sole aim of raising the country's profile. The Commission was responsible for the opening of Portugal Houses in both

Paris and London in 1931. The most notable achievement of the period was the gradual consolidation of the Estoril area near Lisbon as a holiday destination. With this aim in mind, a luxury hotel and a casino were built in 1930. Similar measures were taken in Madeira, where another casino was set up in an attempt to establish and encourage tourism on the island.

Though the 1930s saw a slight increase in visitors from abroad, with Portugal welcoming 36,000 holidaymakers to its shores, domestic tourism overshadowed its foreign counterpart (Lewis & Williams, 1988, p. 102). In 1936, the Municipal Tourism Commissions were introduced to provide a fillip for local tourism that would be funded by a tax levied on tourist accommodation. However, the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War all but stemmed the flow of tourists. During the 1940s, the most significant measure taken was the opening of the first of Portugal's *Pousadas* (a chain of state-run hotels similar to the Spanish *Paradores*) in 1942.

In summary, the private sector's tourism policy launched in Spain and Portugal through small tourism associations. Between 1905 and 1911, Spain and Portugal created their first government tourism agencies. The Spanish government took a special interest in the development of tourism, which explains the creation of their government hotel chains and tourist museums. Both governments were interested in mixing



**Fig. 7.** Tourism receipts per foreign visitor.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (1963–2008), Direcção Geral do Turismo, (2002–2010), Cunha, 2003, Ministerio de Información y Turismo, (1951–1977), Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo (1977–2010), Organization de Coopéracion et de Développement Économiques (OCDE), (1955–74) and World Tourism Organization (WTO) (1980–2007).



tourism and communication, and it was treated as an element of national propaganda. The tourist development of the 1930s remained hampered by the Spanish Civil War and World War II.

#### 4. Fordist phase

Following the end of the Second World War, the 1950s brought fresh opportunities for Spain and Portugal in the shape of the onset of mass tourism in developed countries. A key catalyst in the rise of popular tourism was the improvement of air travel, which brought the Iberian Peninsula closer to the main sources of outbound tourism in the rest of Europe (Boyer, 2007; Hernández Luís, 2008).

The growth of tourist activity in Europe as a whole during this time led to a keener interest in tourism on the part of the Portuguese government, which now took steps towards its development. Financial measures such as the Tourism Fund (1956) were introduced, along with others of a fiscal nature, and the Tourism Law was eventually passed in 1956. This regulation replaced the Municipal Tourism Commissions with the new Tourism Regions, which exercised greater influence over tourism management and enjoyed financial independence thanks to the introduction of a local tourism tax. Though eminently regional, this policy failed to bring territorial diversity, and until the mid-1970s tourism was largely confined to the Lisbon area, when the Algarve emerged as a popular destination for foreign tourists. In 1963, for example, 30% of Portugal's hotels were located in the Portuguese capital and 41% in the surrounding region (Table 3). Beyond this established enclave, a lack of hotel facilities and the poor state of the country's roads made it impossible for tourism to take root (Cunha, 2009). Nevertheless, Portugal played host to 232,261 visitors in 1956 (Fig. 1).

While Portugal saw a significant rise in foreign tourism in the 1960s, this increase was considerably smaller and slower than the one enjoyed by neighboring Spain (Figs. 1, 2 and 6, Table 6) for several reasons:

- (i) During the 1960s – a period of expansion for mass tourism – warm beaches were key to prosperity, with the cooler shores of the Atlantic losing out to established Mediterranean resorts in France, Italy, Spain and Greece (Fernández Fúster, 1991). This left Portugal at a distinct disadvantage, as its warmer sands were located in the Algarve, an as yet underexploited region, and the country was better known for its colder Atlantic coastline.
- (ii) Certain deficiencies in terms of basic communications infrastructure (both land and air) and hotel accommodation still prevailed, and these severely hampered the development of tourism. Portugal was still a fringe nation as far as attracting large numbers of tourists was concerned, and heavy government spending on airports would be required to attract more visitors (Cunha, 2003,

pp. 17–23). The fact that the Algarve did not have a single airport until 1965 illustrates just how far Portugal lagged behind.

- (iii) Foreign investment in the tourism sector played only a minor role until the 1990s, accounting for 7.0% of the total for the sector as a whole between 1973 and 1984 (Lewis & Williams, 1988, p. 113) and 8.5% of all investment in city-based hotels between 1967 and 1988 (Câmara, 2009, p. 78). The limited credit available was extended to Portuguese entrepreneurs and companies. Hotel accommodation in Portugal expanded more slowly than in Spain (Table 4), where hotel infrastructure enjoyed a closer relationship with foreign investment (Ramón Rodríguez, 2000).
- (iv) Internal problems were a key factor in the 1960s, notably the Portuguese Colonial War, which required a significant proportion of government spending (an average of 30% of the national budget between 1961 and 1971) to be devoted to the military effort (Lauret, 2011; Rocha, 1977). Investment in both the tourism sector and basic infrastructure in general was inadequate.
- (v) The government displayed remarkably little interest in sun and beach tourism (Fernández Fúster, 1991), favoring instead a more elitist approach that would not involve significant social changes, and which it thought was capable of generating greater revenue than mass tourism (Cavaco, 1979; Lewis & Williams, 1988, p. 101). During this period, revenues by tourist were clearly higher in Portugal than in Spain (Fig. 7).

In short, Portugal's tourism strategy differed greatly from Spain's during the crucial period in which Spanish tourism definitively took off. Prior to this, there had been quantitative differences attributable to the two countries' contrasting geographical and economic characteristics, and Spain was naturally closer to the main source of visitors arriving by land, France. However, it was the radical change of tack adopted by the Spanish government in the 1960s that proved decisive.

Another key influence on tourism policy was the introduction of indicative planning similar to that undertaken in Spain, where the macroeconomic brand of management implemented by the National Development Plans sought maximum economic profitability by adhering to the model provided by the development poles (Richardson, 1976). This approach spread to most of Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece), backed by the World Bank, who managed foreign investment (Ivars Baidal, 2003b, pp. 118–119; Kofas, 1990; Richardson, 1976). Portugal actually adopted this type of planning in the early 1950s, shortly before it was introduced in Spain, in order to administer the funds provided by the Marshall Plan, although it was not until the execution of the Intercalary Plan (1965–67), and more importantly the 3rd Development Plan (1968–73), that economic planning took tourism into account (Martins Viera, 2007). These measures favored sun and sand tourism over its elitist counterpart. Development was now promoted on the Algarve, in Madeira and in Lisbon, with a hotel infrastructure that was insufficient to cater for beach tourism's expansion. The state, aware of the accommodation deficit, increased the number of *Pousadas* and set up a new a public body, ENATUR, to run them.

The 1960s and 1970s saw moderate growth in tourism demand and supply in comparison with Spain (Figs. 2 and 6, Table 4). The main consequences of tourism in Portugal were: (i) the creation of an unbalanced territorial model (Table 3 and Map 2), which had a significant impact on the environment; and (ii) a reduction in the country's balance of trade deficit (Cunha, 2003, p. 19; Martins Viera, 2007), with revenue from tourism accounting for as much as 93.5% of the coverage rate during this period (Cunha, 2003, p. 20). The repercussions of tourism in Spain were similar, albeit more marked.

Spain, meanwhile, would have to wait until the mid-1950s for an upturn in foreign tourism after the decline brought about by the Spanish

**Table 3**

Hotel places by region and major tourist destination.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, (INE) (Portugal) (1963–2008) and Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1951–1976).

% of total hotel places	1963	1973	1983	1993	2007	2012
Lisbon region	41.9	39.4	32.3	24.5	18.7	18.9
Algarve	5.0	19.1	33.8	39.9	36.3	35.9
Madeira Islands	3.3	14.2	10.3	8.5	10.3	9.7
The rest of Portugal	49.8	27.3	23.6	27.1	34.7	35.5
Alicante	3.8	5.9	5.9	4.9	4.9	4.7
Balearic Islands	17.8	30.9	27.2	25.6	14.3	13.1
Barcelona	13.4	8.6	7.5	7.5	6.7	8.2
Canary Islands	5.4	6.8	8.4	8.4	14.9	15.7
Gerona	17.4	10.2	8.8	7.5	4.1	3.8
Madrid	12.6	6.3	5.8	5.1	6.8	7.3
Malaga	4.9	4.8	5.7	5.3	6.0	5.5
Valencia	2.4	1.4	1.6	1.5	2.6	2.5
The rest of Spain	22.3	25.1	29.1	34.2	39.7	39.2
Spanish Mediterranean <sup>a</sup>	59.7	61.8	56.7	52.3	38.6	37.8

<sup>a</sup> Provinces of Alicante, Barcelona, Gerona, Malaga and Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

**Table 4**  
Supply of hotel accommodation in Spain and Portugal (hotel places).  
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (Portugal) (1963–2008), Direcção Geral do Turismo (2000–10), Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1951–1976), Ministerio de Industria, Comercio y Turismo (1977–2010), Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (Spain) (2000–09) and Balearic Islands Tourist Board, 2000–09. Balearic Islands data (2000–09) provided by the Regional Government (Conselleria de Turisme, 2000–09).

	1962	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009
Portugal	30,359	49,941	54,624	99,933	108,889	124,436	162,954	177,328	212,606	225,651
Algarve	1712	8179	12,974	19,325	21,018	34,003	41,045	42,517	52,809	54,003
Spain	192,522	545,798	785,339	814,934	843,337	929,533	1,050,074	1,033,011	1,212,598	1,363,934
Balearic Islands	25,908	157,050	225,727	226,525	226,932	252,189	271,737	289,672	288,915	294,840
Canary Islands	3681	34,394	59,781	68,668	71,557	88,730	100,558	123,698	156,930	201,181
Growth rate (%)										
	1962–70	1970–75	1975–80	1980–85	1985–90	1990–95	1995–00	2000–05	2005–09	1962–09
Portugal	64.5	9.4	82.9	9.0	14.3	31.0	8.8	19.9	6.1	643.3
Algarve	377.7	58.6	49.0	8.8	61.8	20.7	3.6	24.2	2.3	3054.4
Spain	183.5	43.9	3.8	3.5	10.2	13.0	–1.6	17.4	12.5	608.5
Balearic Islands	506.2	43.7	0.4	0.2	11.1	7.8	6.6	–0.3	2.1	1038.0
Canary Islands	834.4	73.8	14.9	4.2	24.0	13.3	23.0	26.9	28.2	5365.4

Note: Methodological change in 2000 (Spain).

Civil War and the post-war period that followed (Figs. 2 and 4). The 1950s saw several measures taken to encourage tourism, including: (i) the Ministry of Tourism and Information was created, lasting from 1951 until 1977, and the National Tourism Plan was introduced in 1952; (ii) the same decade marked the beginning of a process of economic liberalization that culminated in the Economic Stability Plan (1959).

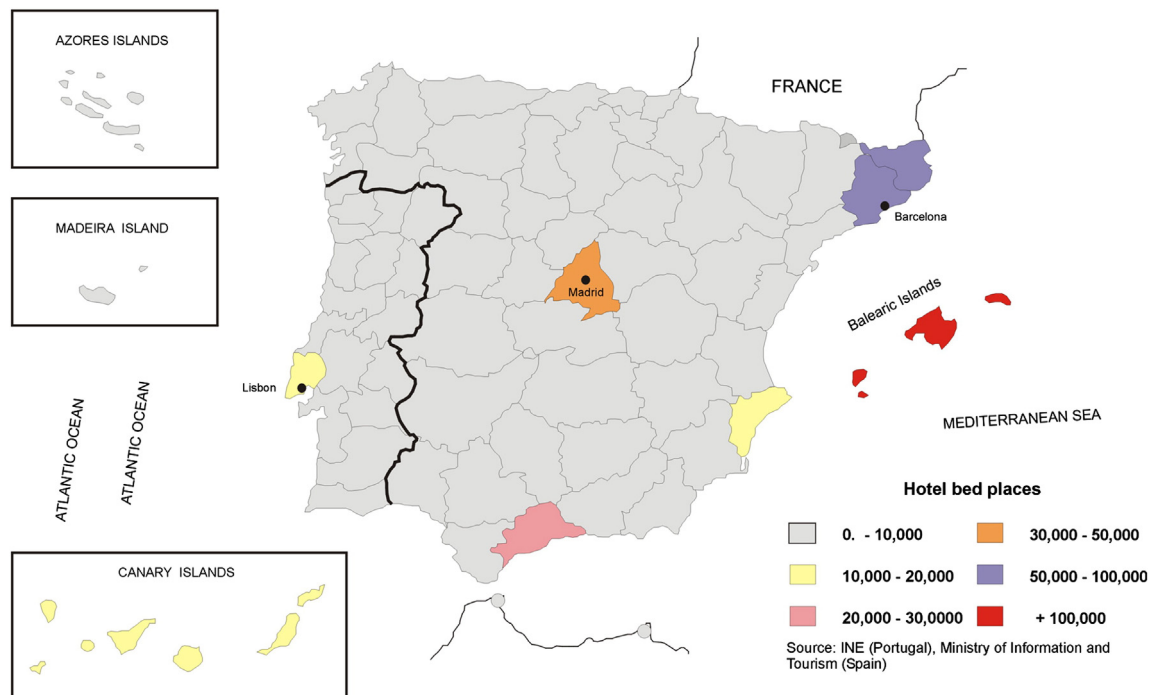
These measures combined with a number of new factors to ensure that the 1960s were a decade of enormous growth for tourism in Spain. The keys to this expansion were:

- (i) The expansion of mass tourism in Western Europe and the USA, and its predilection for the warm beaches of the Mediterranean Sea (Fernández Fúster, 1991).
- (ii) The procurement of foreign currency with which to fund future economic development. Spain's productive infrastructure had been devastated, and the country had been denied the

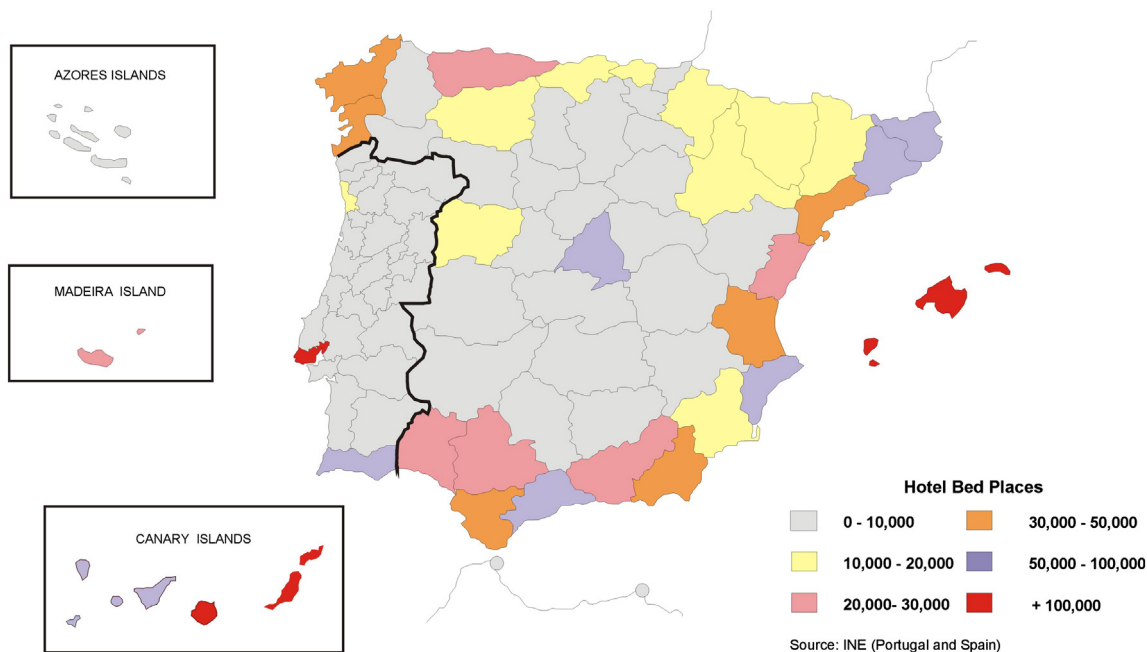
American aid provided by the Marshall Plan (Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000).

- (iii) The need to improve the foreign perception of the Spanish government. Franco's regime had been shunned abroad as a result of its alignment with Germany and Italy during the Second World War (Correyero Ruiz, 2003).
- (iv) The determined attitude of certain individuals, notably the Minister for Tourism, Manuel Fraga, who saw tourism as an alternative to the Marshall Plan – the development factor that the Spanish economy so desperately needed (Sánchez Sánchez, 2004).

In spite of the reticence displayed in certain political quarters, and also by the Roman Catholic Church (Sánchez Sánchez, 2004), Spain remained fully committed to the development of tourism during the 1960s. Certain internal and external factors ensured that the country could hardly do otherwise (Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000),



Map 2. Hotel bed places. Provinces (Spain) and districts (Portugal), 1968.



Map. 3. Hotel bed places. Provinces (Spain) and districts (Portugal), 2009.

though it did exercise choice over the degree to which the process should be pursued, opting for maximum intensity. As in Portugal and other Southern European countries, the model adopted was based on indicative planning designed to generate development and manage foreign investment. Objectives were centralized via the Development Plans, which focused progressively more closely on tourism, though viewing it more as a means of balancing payments than as a strategic economic sector in its own right. Between 1961 and 1969, the revenue generated by tourism covered 72% of Spain's balance of trade deficit; this figure rose to 78% in the 1970s, 95% in the 1980s, and 102% in the 1990s (Vallejo Pousada, 2002). The quest to maximize the number of visitors led the government to control prices to ensure that they were lower than those in rival countries (Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000) (Table 5).

The 1st Development Plan (1963–67) saw tourism simply as a source of currency, and sought almost exclusively to attract the largest possible number of tourists, without taking into account the environmental and social costs that this might entail (Moreno Garrido, 2007). During the period in which the Plan was in force, tourism grew at an annual rate of 16.4%, the highest figure recorded throughout the whole decade, reaching a total of 17.2 million visitors in 1966 (Fig. 2). Hotel accommodation increased by 183.5% between 1962 and 1970 (a yearly average of 22.9%) (Table 4). In 1963, the Law regarding Centres and Zones of National Tourist Interest was passed. The object of this measure was to develop new areas that offered potential as tourist destinations, as well as to expand accommodation infrastructure, as parts of the coast had now become saturated. In order to attract investment, a number of economic incentives were provided and town planning restrictions were relaxed. Between 1964 and 1975, 78 tourist centers covering 22,000 ha were created, offering a total of 890,000 places. Some regard the outcome of this move as negative in view of its urban and environmental impact (Terán, 1982), while others see it as positive, since it succeeded in equating the country's supply of hotel accommodation with the strong demand experienced during these years (Galiana Martín & Barrado Timón, 2006).

In 1963, regulations were introduced to liberalize foreign investment, a step that encouraged the arrival of capital from international tour operators and hotel chains (Williams, 1996), as well as from private investors with an interest in real estate development. Foreign investors could now purchase property and repatriate profits with relative ease

(Esteve Secall & Fuentes García, 2000). Between 1964 and 1973, \$6.06 billion was invested in the tourism sector (Figuerola Palomo, 1999), with Germany representing the biggest investor in Spanish tourism and real estate. A key factor in this regard was the Aid for Developing Countries Law (the Strauss Act), via which the German government rewarded companies investing abroad with significant tax relief. This had a particular impact on the Canary Islands and in certain areas of the Mediterranean coast (Cals, 1974, p.182; González Morales, 2006; Tribe, 1999, p. 304; Valenzuela, 1988, p. 50). The spread of foreign investment to Southern Europe was a common feature of the 1960s and 1970s. In Greece, foreign capital accounted for just 5.21% of the total in 1962, yet this figure soared to 66.15% by 1968, the start of the Colonels' Dictatorship (Leontidou, 1988, p. 85). During this period, the Spanish tourism model was characterized by the arrival of heavy investment from abroad. In 1970, foreign capital accounted for 25% of the total invested in the Spanish tourism sector (Cals, 1974, p. 182). This state of affairs is similar to the ones that numerous authors have identified in developing tourist countries, and is in keeping with the dependency theory (Britton, 1982; De Kadt, 1979; Pearce, 1991).

In conclusion, Spain opted for a model that was more open to investment from abroad, a strategy later adopted by other tourist countries, including Tunisia and the Dominican Republic (Poirier, 2001). Portugal, however, was less receptive to foreign capital, choosing instead to protect the interests of domestic entrepreneurs, a case similar to that of Cyprus (Andronicou, 1979).

The 2nd Development Plan (1968–71) set a target of 200,000 new hotel places, plus a further 300,000 in other forms of accommodation, aiming to attract 22.3 million visitors by 1971 (Fig. 2, Table 4). Private investment moved progressively away from hotel development (31.9%) towards the construction of apartments (39.4%) (Figuerola

Table 5  
Average hotel prices 1972 (\$).  
Source: Cals, 1974.

Spain	9.05	Italy	24.72
Portugal	16.33	Yugoslavia	13.76
France	25.26	Greece	14.25

**Table 6**  
Foreign visitors.

	Average annual foreign visitors				Growth rate (%)		
	1955–56	1959–62	1969–70	1972–73	1955–56/1959–62	1959–62/1967–70	1967–70/1972–73
Portugal <sup>a</sup>	217,226	358,392	1,225,050	2,247,950	65.0	242.0	83.0
Spain <sup>b</sup>	2,625,202	6,607,974	22,893,700	33,532,750	151.7	246.5	46.5

<sup>a</sup> Câmara, 2009 and Organization de Coopéracion et de Développement Économiques (OCDE), (1955–74).

<sup>b</sup> Fernández Fúster, 1991 and Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1951–1976).

Palomo, 1999). Investment in apartments and second homes continued to rise in subsequent decades. The 3rd Development Plan covered the period between 1971 and 1975. In the 1970s, both countries endured a sharp decline in the number of visiting tourists due to the 1973 oil crisis, which coincided with political regime change in Portugal (1974) and Spain (1975) alike. The effects of these events were felt more acutely in Portugal than in Spain, the former losing almost 1.5 million tourists between 1973 and 1975, a fall of almost 62% (Figs. 1, 4 and 7). In Spain, despite the loss of visitors, revenue from foreign tourism nevertheless exceeded expectations (\$3.2 billion in 1975) (Fig. 3). The 3rd Plan was more concerned with regional policy, although it still failed to halt the concentration of hotel accommodation in Mediterranean areas (Table 3 and Map 2). Economically speaking, this development model was a success: by the beginning of the 1970s, Spain was the leading recipient of tourism revenue in the Mediterranean region (Fernández Fúster, 1991; Moreno Garrido, 2007).

Certain authors contend that the key role played by tourism in the growth of Spain, Portugal and Italy points to a peculiarly Latin model of development (Bote Gómez, 1998; Bote, Marchena, & Santos, 1999, pp. 181–182; Casmirri & Suárez, 1998; Martins Viera, 2007; Vallejo Pousada, 2002). The considerable revenue generated by tourism (and also by emigration) underpinned both the industrialization processes and the development plans pursued by said nations. These countries also provide the earliest instance of mass tourism playing a key role in socio-economic development, the relationship between the two being particularly marked in Spain. Development based on tourism would subsequently be attempted by other Mediterranean and Caribbean countries, with mixed results in accordance with their differing socio-economic climates (Apostolopoulos et al., 2001; Blázquez & Cañada, 2011; Williams & Shaw, 1988). Several authors highlight the importance of the context (economic, social, political, geographical and technological) in which development takes place in determining its ultimate success or failure in a particular country (De Kadt, 1979; Liu, 1994; Pearce, 1991). The fact that Europe provided the backdrop for the Latin model was probably a key factor in the positive socio-economic development achieved by the aforementioned countries.

Taking stock, the years between 1950 and 1975 were a period of significant growth for tourism in both countries, though the firm commitment to tourism made by the Spanish government, which offered every possible incentive to private enterprise, ensured that its development in Spain was truly spectacular. However, this had a profound

effect upon the environment in this country, with coastal areas of immense natural value becoming built up, and part of the nation's historical heritage being replaced in certain cases by characterless constructions. All of this was done in the name of removing any conceivable barriers to private sector investment and increasing the number of tourists. In 1966, the country's most heavily-developed coastlines were in the Balearics, Gerona and Malaga. Between 1950 and 1975, an estimated 90,000 ha of Spain's total surface area was built on in order to cater for tourism (Casanova, 1970, p. 70). These figures, the source of much concern at the time, were subsequently dwarfed by the immense development projects undertaken in Spain over the following decades, a process which also took place in Portugal, albeit on a smaller scale. A further territorial consequence was the enormous imbalance in the distribution of tourism facilities, which were concentrated on Spain's Mediterranean coast (61.7%) and in Portugal's Algarve (19.1%) (Tables 3 and 4, Map 2).

In this period, a strong growth in tourism occurred, in accordance with the Fordist production model. In particular, mass tourism grew in Spain. The Iberian countries tested the first model of economic development based on mass tourism – the Latin model – which has been widely used since in other countries. This economic development was supported by a strong imbalance in the distribution of tourism and a high environmental impact.

### 5. Post-Fordist phase

In this phase, we differentiate two periods separated by the crisis suffered by the tourism sector of the two countries in the 1990s. There are two salient facts with regard to the first phase: the maintenance of many of the Fordist economic processes; and political and administrative changes introduced by democratic governments, which affected tourism policy. The second stage is characterized by the implementation of a broad tourism planning that introduces post-Fordist processes.

After the crisis of the 1970s and the transition towards democracy, the panorama faced by the tourism administration in Spain changed dramatically. The new Constitution signed in 1978 pushed the state into the background, affording greater powers over the management of tourism to the autonomous communities (Ivars Baidal, 2003a). The state took their time in adapting to the limited role now assigned to it in this field, to which its only major contributions were the promotion of Spain abroad through IMPROTUR (renamed Turespaña in 1990), and its continued overseeing of the country's *Paradores* through the

**Table 7**  
The beginnings of tourism in Spain and Portugal in the early twentieth century.  
Source: Elaborated by the author.

Spain	Key factors	Portugal
Society Propaganda Climate of Malaga (1898)	The first private initiatives	Society Propaganda of Portugal (1905)
Tourist initiative associations		Tourist initiative associations
National Commission for the Promotion of Tourist Excursions (1905)	The first government initiatives	National Propaganda and Tourism Department (1911)
Royal Commission for Tourism and Artist Culture (1911)	1911	IV International Congress of Tourism in Lisbon
1st Tourist museums	Improved hotel accommodation	1st Pousada (State hotel chain) Elvas (1942)
1st Parador (State hotel chain)		
Gredos mountains (1928)		
National Tourism Board (1928)	Other government agencies	Portuguese Commission for the Promotion of Tourism (1930)

public body set up for the purpose years earlier. Meanwhile, the autonomous communities took responsibility for more tourism-related matters, as stipulated by the new Constitution. The progressive expansion of the autonomous communities' powers led to several conflicts with the state, since the former had set up separate organizations to handle promotion at home and abroad – a move that somewhat clouded the foreign perception of Spain as a tourist destination. In order to bring the state and the autonomous communities together in this regard, the Tourism Promotion Board was created in 1995. The decentralization of power has made the existence of a dedicated Ministry of Tourism impossible, while some of the autonomous communities in which tourism is most prevalent have set up their own tourism boards.

During this time, the role of the national government in tourism policy has largely been to ensure coordination and agreement. It serves as a meeting point for the various autonomous communities, providing a similar link between the representatives of tourist resorts (towns, associations, local councils, etc.) and tourism sector entrepreneurs. This necessary cooperation has been further aided by the Tourism Sector Conference, a forum created in 1994 and attended by tourism delegates from the autonomous communities. The tourism plans themselves – which by their very nature require the public and private sectors to work together – have also made a key contribution in this regard.

Between 1980 and 1990, tourism demand rose by 46.6% and hotel accommodation by 14.1% against a backdrop of economic development accelerated by Spain's admission to the EEC (Table 8). In order to limit the severe impact that tourism had been having upon the environment for several decades, a series of new laws were now introduced. Of particular note were the Coastal Law (1988), which enabled certain public domain areas along Spain's coastline to be recovered, and the Conservation of Natural Spaces Law (1989). Although these legal changes initially relieved the pressure on coastal areas, the economic crisis of 1992 dealt a crucial blow. The protective measures taken were powerless to prevent the real estate bubble between 1997 and 2007. Between 1987 and 2006, 74,417 ha of the Spanish coast was built on at a rate of 2884 ha/year from 1987 to 2000 and 6154 ha/year from 2000 to 2006 (Observatorio de Sostenibilidad de España (OSE), 2010, pp. 417–420).

In the wake of the major events of 1992 (the Barcelona Olympic Games and the Universal Exhibition in Seville), Spain was confronted with economic crisis. This time, tourism suffered the consequences directly. The Fordist traditional tourism model had finally been exhausted (Vera Rebollo, 1994). The sector had enjoyed decades of growth, but was now unable to compete with the new destinations springing up throughout the world. The year saw a sharp decline in both the number of foreign tourists coming to Spain and average receipts per visitor (Figs. 6 and 7). Between 1995 and 2000, the growth of hotel facilities was tempered, and the sector underwent a major overhaul involving the closure of less profitable hotels and a change in their categorization (Table 4). This grave state of affairs forced the hands of the hotel chains, who now took advantage of the situation to embark upon a process of internationalization (Ramón Rodríguez, 2000; Such Devesa, 2003), in some cases exporting to the Caribbean sea the same model of tourist colonization suffered by Spain (Blázquez & Cañada, 2011).

The combination of the slump in tourism, the environmental problems that it has created and the new administrative order, in which the lion's share of power now lay in the hands of the autonomous communities, forced the state to publish the White Paper on Spanish

Tourism (1990). This made a series of recommendations that were included in the Master Competitiveness Plan for Spanish Tourism, Futures I (1992–95). The Futures Plan brought about significant changes in tourism policy and planning. (i) The state, whose authority in the field of tourism had been diminished, was now assigned the role of coordinating tourism policy in conjunction with the other public administration bodies (national, regional and local) and the private sector (Brunet, Almeida, Coll, & Monteserín, 2005, p. 210). (ii) The objective was now to restore the competitiveness of the older tourist destinations, and enable them to compete on the international stage again by employing techniques similar to those used to revitalize ailing industrial zones (Ivars Baidal, 2003b; Moreno Garrido, 2007). (iii) Planning now dovetailed with the incentives given to local and regional development over this period, during which the tourist resorts themselves were handed a key role in stimulating the economy (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). (iv) Tourism policy had to take into account the role of territory and environment (López Palomeque, 1999). These changes were in line with the new post-Fordist production processes (Fayos-Solá, 1996a).

Loss of competitiveness and environmental problems were more acute in the older tourist destinations. With these resorts in mind, the 1st Futures Plan devised the Tourism Excellence Plans (*Planes de Excelencia Turística*), a series of social, economic and environmental measures executed in conjunction with public and private sector agents in the locations in question. These were similar to the environmental recovery and urban redevelopment measures taken to transform many of Europe's former industrial cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Williams, 1993, p. 18). The success of the plan led to its extension as Futures II (1996–99), whose main innovation was the acknowledgment of emerging tourist areas, for which it introduced new Tourism Stimulation Plans (*Planes de Dinamización Turística*) while retaining the earlier Excellence Plans for already consolidated destinations (Fig. 5).

The continuity of this tourism planning strategy was achieved through the Integral Quality Plan for Spanish Tourism (PCTE) (2000–06). The PCTE redoubled the efforts to improve tourist destinations and products using the same methodology employed previously: joint participation on the part of administration and private enterprise, combined with diversification of the products offered, albeit with greater emphasis on the quality of tourism. Plans which had proved successful in their particular destinations (Tourism Excellence and Stimulation) were retained. The most notable innovation was the creation of the SICTED (Integral Spanish Tourism Quality System for Destinations), whose main aim was introducing a single system of quality control for all of the elements (accommodation, restaurants and bars, shops, etc.) that make up a tourist destination. Like the plans devised for the destinations themselves, the plan required public and private agents to work together in order to rectify any deficiencies in quality in their particular destination. By the end of 2011, 127 tourist resorts were involved in this system (Foronda Robles & García López, 2009; Instituto de Turismo de España (Turespaña), 2011).

Spain's Horizon 2020 Plan (2008–12) has not yet brought about radical change to a planning process that has retained part of the PCTE strategy, principally its inter-administrative coordination. Certain aspects have, however, been given greater priority, among them destination management and the involvement of the private sector, the dissemination of new technologies, and environmental sustainability

Table 8

International tourists.

Source: World Tourism Organization (WTO) (1980–2007) and (2001–2011).

	International tourists							Growth rate (%)				
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2007	2012	1980–85	1985–90	1990–95	1995–00	2000–07
Portugal	2730	4989	8020	9511	12,097	12,321	7701	22.59	60.75	18.59	27.19	1.85
Spain	23,403	27,477	34,300	34,920	47,898	58,666	57,701	40.74	24.83	1.81	37.16	22.48

Note: Methodological change in Portugal after 2007.

(Foronda Robles & García López, 2009). An emphasis on the competitiveness of Spain's tourist areas has been retained through the Tourism Competitiveness Plans (Tourism Excellence and Stimulation Plans), while new facets such as sustainability in all processes and tourism innovation have been introduced. Also, Special Intervention Plans (*Planes de Recualificación*) have been created for the more established tourism zones. The final piece in the tourism planning jigsaw was National and Integral Tourism Plan (2012–2015). This plan emphasizes the importance of public private collaboration, but the basis of the policy planning of tourist destinations is maintained.

All in all, the way in which Spain's tourist destinations have been managed has varied little since the 1990s, in spite of the political changes (Instituto de Turismo de España (Turespaña), 2013; Valenzuela, 1988). This statement refers to the local tourist destination involved in those plan destinations.

Although in 1980s the state had devolved the powers to the autonomous communities, the policy developed by the state for tourist destinations has remained the same over time. This planning was born from the state's need to maintain their presence in the national tourism policy, and in this way, managed to find its place in the administrative coordination. In the 1990s, the success of these plans has been linked with the principles of tourism governance, which is coincident with the philosophy of these destination plans (Mirabell Izard, 2010). This fact is the main contribution of the tourism policy of the state in the post-Fordist period. Both the national government and the regional governments have remained in time the same planning model local destinations. However, regional governments have developed their own tourism policies, which are sometimes conflicting with state tourism policy. But these regional policies have integrated state planning of destination plans. It is worth noting that between 1992 and the end of 2010, 253 Spanish tourist destination plans were executed at a cost of €646.6 million (Instituto de Turismo de España (Turespaña), 2011b).

Within the context of Southern Europe, there has been an increase in both the number of tourists visiting Spain and the country's tourist and visitor receipts (Tables 8 and 9, Fig. 7). Since the mid-1980s, Spain has been earning more current and constant income per tourist and foreign visitor than Portugal (Fig. 7), a statistic that suggests an overall improvement in the country as a tourist destination and a shift away from the low-cost tourism model. Portugal enjoyed a substantial increase in the number of tourists visiting its shores during the 1990s, with a marked stagnation in income per tourist and visitor between 1980 and 2000, followed by a recovery in 2007 (Table 9).

The political transition in Portugal was accompanied by severe - social, economic and political instability, which had far-reaching implications for the tourism sector. The remarkable recovery that took place from 1975 onwards owed more to the progressive normalization of the political situation than to an increase in activity (Fig. 4).

In 1986, the introduction of dedicated planning in the shape of the National Tourism Plan signaled a change in tourism policy. The aim of this global plan was to ensure that tourism played a key role in the country's economic development (Martins Viera, 2007). Its objectives included the reduction of territorial imbalance, the promotion of training, the protection of the country's natural and cultural heritage,

and the development of cultural tourism. It also sought to reorganize Portugal's tourist regions, making a clear distinction between consolidated areas and those with potential. It should be noted that the actual number of tourist regions had been rising since the inception of the 1956 Tourism Law, to the extent that, by the 1980s, they accounted for the lion's share of Portuguese territory. While it is fair to say that the Plan did not enjoy the success hoped for (Cunha, 2003, p. 21), it was nevertheless responsible for such noteworthy measures as the building of new hotel management schools in Estoril, Lisbon and Coimbra, the creation of the Tourism Promotion Institute and the establishment of a non-refundable aid system.

By the beginning of the 1990s, tourism supply and demand in Portugal had grown significantly thanks to the country's consolidation as a medium-sized power in the sector (an increase of 60.7% in the number of tourists between 1985 and 1990, and a rise of 31.0% in accommodation facilities between 1990 and 1995) (Table 4). This growth concealed certain weaknesses, such as the stagnation of revenue per tourist and visitor (Table 9 and Fig. 7), which was attributed to the arrival of lower income tourists (Corfu, Breda, & Costa, 2006, p. 24). In order to alleviate this situation, the *Livro Branco do Turismo* was published in 1991. This white paper analyzed the sector and identified a series of problems, including: (i) excessive reliance on a small number of markets (the UK, Germany and Spain) and foreign tour operators; (ii) poor town planning and harmful effects on the environment (the Algarve and the Lisbon area), with an excessively close relationship between tourism and the real estate trade; (iii) the clear exhaustion of sun and sand tourism; (iv) a lack of variety in the product offered; and (v) a heavy concentration of tourism on the Algarve, as well as in Madeira and Lisbon (Ministério de Comércio e Turismo, 1991) (Map 3). Many of these problems were also faced by Spain, though with differing intensity. While the economies of both countries were hit by the crisis of the early 1990s, the repercussions for the tourism sector were milder in Portugal than in Spain. This may explain why the Portuguese tourism sector did not replicate the major overhaul undertaken in Spain, or consider a change in tourism planning and policy.

Having witnessed the success of events held in Spain, such as the Way of St. James, the Universal Exhibition in Seville and the Barcelona Olympics, Portugal realized that promotional showcases of this kind held the key to the consolidation of both the country's tourism and its image abroad. Consequently, the 1990s saw the Portuguese government begin to stage a series of major events that would continue into the following decade, notably Lisbon's year as European Capital of Culture (1994), the Lisbon International Exhibition (1998), Oporto's own tenure as European Capital of Culture (2001) and the UEFA European Football Championship (2004).

In 2006, during a period of economic dire straits leading up to the 2008 crisis (GDP growth had been poor since 2002), state administration in general, and tourism management in particular, underwent a major overhaul. The Portuguese Institute of Tourism (ITP) now took responsibility at the national level, sharing power among several different bodies, as well as taking control of the lion's share of regional affairs. The tourism regions now became mere figureheads after 80 years of promoting local and regional activities (Cunha, 2009, p. 439). Furthermore, 2008 saw a reduction in the number of

**Table 9**

International tourism receipts (\$US bn)<sup>a</sup>. Receipts per tourist (\$).

Source: World Tourism Organization (WTO) (1980–2007) and (2001–2011).

	Receipts 1980	Receipts per tourist	Receipts 1985	Receipts per tourist	Receipts 1990	Receipts per tourist	Receipts 1995	Receipts per tourist	Receipts 2000	Receipts per tourist	Receipts 2007	Receipts per tourist
Portugal	1.147	420	1.137	228	3.555	443	4.39	456	5.43	524	10.175	826
Spain	6.968	298	8.151	297	18.593	542	25.388	727	30.979	782	57.734	984

<sup>a</sup> Original figures in \$US million converted to \$US billion.

tourism regions from 29 to 11 (five regional areas and six development poles).

The National Strategic Plan for Tourism, the most recent blueprint for tourism policy management in Portugal, was introduced in 2007. The plan comprises a series of ideas and schemes designed to make Portuguese tourism more competitive in the medium term, seeking in particular to address the loss of the country's international market share (2000–05), the stiff competition provided by Spain and Portugal's excessive dependence on a limited number of foreign markets (*Ministério de Economia e da Inovação, 2007, p. 20*). It also set a specific target of reaching 20 million tourists by 2015, seeking to achieve this goal by diversifying markets and ensuring that quality becomes a key facet of tourism in Portugal. The plan follows a tourism management model similar to the economic-based regional planning method, using a system of zones of tourist interest and tourism development poles to implement measures in the destinations concerned. It also offers a series of fiscal incentives and subsidies to encourage the renovation of tourist resorts, the creation of new tourism products and other such enterprises (*Ministério de Economia e da Inovação, 2007*). However, some of the measures proposed by the strategic plan are proving difficult to carry out in view of the economic crisis currently endured by the country.

In territorial terms, the post-Fordist stage is manifested in Spain by increasing the hotel supply in coastal areas of the Mediterranean and Atlantic sea, in addition to dissemination to inland mountainous areas (Pyrenees and Cantabrian Mountains). In Portugal, supply has remained concentrated around Lisbon and the Algarve, and to a lesser extent in Porto and Madeira Island (*Map 3*).

It is worth noting an observation made by *Cunha (2003)*, which sums up the main difference between tourism policy in Portugal and Spain:

Over the past thirty years, the tourism policies adopted have not once looked further ahead than four years, and have changed whenever the government or head of tourism have done likewise [...] in contrast to Spanish policy, which has maintained the same strategy for the last fifteen years.

[p. 109]

In this third phase, some facts can be highlighted. The major tourist planning of this period was a tool to overcome the deep crisis of the tourism industry in the 1990s and to adapt to post-Fordist production processes. Likewise, we observed a strong concentration of hotels in coastal areas on the Iberian Peninsula, and a general trend toward convergence in tourism revenue in Spain and Portugal (*Table 9*).

## 6. Conclusions and discussion

An analysis of more than a century of tourism management in Spain and Portugal reveals their respective policies to have been subjected to the same influences. A series of external factors (e.g. initial isolation from the flow of tourists, negative foreign image, compliance with the recommendations of the World Bank) and domestic circumstances (e.g. periods of political instability, dictatorships, social and political reticence, lack of funds, poor infrastructure) are common to the two countries and have led to similar policy decisions being taken in both. At the same time, contrasting governmental decisions affecting the rate of growth, the opening up or protection of the tourism sector and the evolution of tourism management structure have created clear policy differences and similarities between the two nations. Among the aspects examined here, several stand out as topics for further debate.

The first is the fact that both countries paid a high price – socially and environmentally speaking – for the contribution made by tourism to their economic development in the Fordist period. The respective

tourism-based models adhered to were different: whereas the Spanish government opted for rapid growth underpinned by low-cost, mass tourism involving foreign investment, their Portuguese counterparts preferred a more gradual approach based on a higher quality brand of tourism and the protection of domestic enterprise. However, the choices made by both were heavily influenced by a series of circumstances at home and abroad.

In the post-Fordist period, Spanish tourism's structure maintained some of the Fordist processes and replaced others. On the one hand, Spain's sun and sand tourism sector has continued to grow, generating sufficient economy of scale to keep its production costs low. The internationalization of the country's hotel chains, notably in the Balearic Islands, represents an exportation of this continuous process of growth and the search for low costs. On the other hand, the Spanish tourism industry has been made more flexible, diversified and segmented into their production structures, with new cultural and environmental tourism products among the alternatives now joining the sun and beach holidays. Portugal, meanwhile, has turned its back on luxury tourism and is now belatedly exploiting the sun and sand market instead, though strenuous efforts have also been made to develop cultural and nature tourism. The Portuguese tourism sector remains more Fordist aspects than the Spanish model, but has not yet reached the level of territorial spread as its neighbor (*Map 3*).

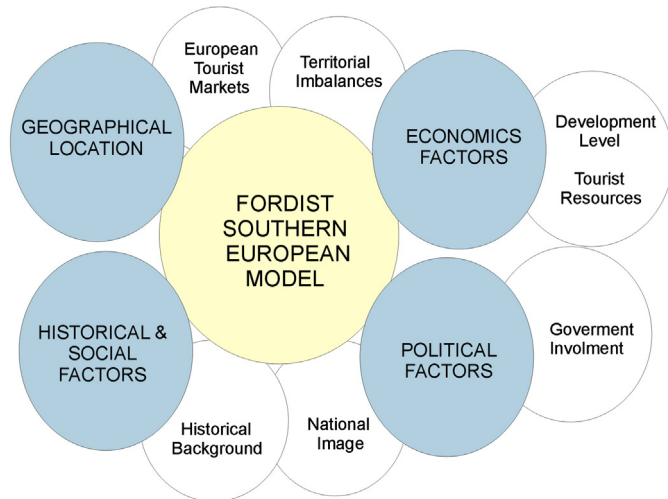
Secondly, certain authors highlight the existence of a Latin model of development based on tourism (*Bote Gómez, 1998; Casmirri & Suárez, 1998; Cunha, 2003; Vallejo Pousada, 2002*). However, the existence of a specific model of economic development is questionable. From an economic point of view, this model shows the same processes that have been observed in other tourist regions in the Mediterranean basin (*Alipour, 1996; Dritsakis, 2012; Gocovali, 2010; Pablo-Romero & Molina, 2013*), the Caribbean sea (*Archer, 1995; Bryden, 1973; Singh, 2008*) or Asia (*Jin, 2011; Kim, Chen, & Jang, 2006; Oh, 2005*), and generally in countries with developing tourism (*Brohman, 1996; Ekanayake & Long, 2012; Schubert, Brida, & Rizzo, 2010; Sinclair, 1998*). The main economic issues discussed by previous authors are basically consistent with the analysis and results advocated by the Latin economic model: job creation, foreign investment, economic growth, tourism revenue, improving the balance of payments, multiplier effects, and economic dependence. These economic issues are the same in development processes in southern Europe and in other tourist regions (Caribbean, Southeast Asia).

The literature defends the existence of a model of development and economic growth based on tourism (*Pablo-Romero & Molina, 2013; Song, Dwyer, & Zheng Gao, 2012*), as the initiation and development are similar in almost all countries or tourist regions. A strong global economic activity, as tourism is a major source of similar patterns of operation anywhere in the world (*Hjalager, 2007*).

In fact, some authors point out that this process of development based on tourism is strongly conditioned by geographic, social, political and technological factors (*De Kadt, 1979; Liu, 1994; Pearce, 1991*). Achieving development through tourism depends on a variety of factors and situations beyond the control of the sector itself. Most studies agree that the main factors in determining a country's level of development are: (i) its level of development before the arrival of tourism (*De Kadt, 1979; Pearce, 1991*); (ii) its geographical size (*Schubert et al., 2010; Singh, 2008*); (iii) the degree of social adaptation to changes (*Erismann, 1983; Vargas, Porras, & Plaza, 2011*); (iv) the intervention of the state (*Ivars Baidal, 2003b; Jenkins, 1980*); and (v) the existence of tourism planning (*De Kadt, 1979; Hall & Jenkins, 1995*).

The Latin model of development based on tourism can have specific characteristics in relation to economic factors. Factors that provide identity to the Latin model of tourism development include:

- (i) Chronological period: In the 1950s and 1960s, Spain, Portugal and Italy recorded the first trial of economic development based on mass tourism.



Source: Author

Fig. 8. Fordist South European model. Source: Elaborated by author.

- (ii) Geographical location: Proximity to the major European tourist markets.
- (iii) Political facts (e.g. integration in the EEC and EU): This is significant compared to what happened in other tourist peripheries such as the Caribbean-USA.

- (iv) Diversity of tourism resources (monuments and natural spaces).
- (v) Historical background: The development process in Spain, Portugal and Italy began with industrialization in the 19th century, not in the middle of the 20th (Casmirri & Suárez, 1998; Prados de la Escosura & Zamagni, 1992). Early intervention on tourism was carried out by the government (Pre-Fordist phase).
- (vi) Regional imbalances: Mass tourism generated a very uneven regional development both in Spain and Portugal (analyzed in this study) (Almeida García, 2013) and in Italy (Barucci & Becheri, 1990).
- (vii) National image. The governments of the two countries studied and Italian tourism saw an effective tool in shaping national image. Government interests were changing in each of the phases of tourism policy. Dictatorships of the three countries made use of tourism as external propaganda (Almuiña Fernandes, 2002; Correyero & Cal, 2008; Faraldo & Rodríguez-López, 2013).

From an economic standpoint, the Latin model is a process of Fordist growth, in which non-economic factors give the model its identity. As such, further research and discussions should focus on the non-economic aspects and the extension of the concept as South European Fordist model (Fig. 8).

**Acknowledgments**

The author is grateful for the financial support received from the project (CSO2012-30840) *Geographies of crisis: analysis of urban-tourist areas of the Balearic Islands, Costa del Sol and major tourist destinations in the Caribbean and Central America*, National Plan R + D, Ministry of

**Appendix 1. Phases of tourism policy in Spain and Portugal. Key issues and common factors. Source: Elaborated by author**

	Pre-Fordist phase	Fordist phase	Post-Fordist phase	
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Commission for the Promotion of Tourist Excursions (1905)</li> <li>• Royal Commission for Tourism (1911)</li> <li>• National Tourism Board (1928)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ministry of Tourism and Communication (1951)</li> <li>• Key political role of tourism in the 1960s</li> <li>• Rapid tourism growth.</li> <li>• Specialization in mass tourism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Devolution of tourism powers to the Autonomous Regions</li> <li>• Restructuring of the tourism sector in the 90s. Crisis.</li> <li>• Change in tourism planning: focus on destination (Futures, SICTED, etc.)</li> </ul>	Common factors
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Projection of a positive national image abroad</li> <li>• Creation of chains of state-run hotels and inns in Spain and Portugal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indicative planning</li> <li>• Tourism receipts offset the balance of payments</li> <li>• Territorial disparities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restructuring</li> <li>• Economic and political convergence towards Europe</li> </ul>	
Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secretariat for National Propaganda and Tourism (1911)</li> <li>• Portuguese Commission for the Promotion of Tourism (1930)</li> <li>• Local Tourism Commissions (1936)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of the Tourist Board in the 60s</li> <li>• Slower growth of tourism in the 1960s</li> <li>• Little interest in tourism development in the 1960s</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Tourism Plan (1986)</li> <li>• Hosting of major events (1994–2004)</li> <li>• Stagnation in revenue per tourist and visitor in the 1990s.</li> <li>• Concentration of tourism powers in State hands</li> </ul>	
	Initiation	Development	Maturity	

**Appendix 2. Development of tourism in Spain and Portugal (1950–1975). Source: Elaborated by the author**

Spain	Key factors	Portugal
Creation of the Ministry of Information and Tourism (1951)	1950s	Adoption of laws and economic incentive to boost tourism
1st Development Plan (1963–67)	1960s indicative planning	Intercalary Plan (1965–1967)
2nd Development Plan (1968–71)		3rd Development Plan (1968–1973)
3rd Development Plan (1971–75)		
– 17 million tourists in 1966.	Strong growth in tourism	– Opening of Faro airport (1965). Algarve's great tourist area.
– Absolute commitment to mass tourism.		– Progressive commitment to seaside tourism.
– Strong foreign investment		
– Significant environmental and social impact.	Effects	– Development of Portugal as a middle power of tourism.
– Stability of the balance of payments.		– Stability of the balance of payments.
– Limited diversification of tourism.		– Limited diversification of tourism.



Science and Innovation, Spain. I would like to thank Ph.D. Licinio Cunha (University Lusofona de Lisbon), Ph.D. Enrique Navarro, Ph.D. Laura Moniche and Ph.D. Antonio Mora (University of Malaga), for their assistance, suggestions and criticism.

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**Fernando Almeida Garcia** is an Associate Professor at the University of Malaga (Spain), Department of Geography, Faculty of Tourism. His research is focused on tourism and regional planning and urbanism, sustainable development, economic development and tourism policy. He has published many papers on these subjects. He has collaborated in several international projects with European and Latin American universities. Also, he worked as tourism manager for the regional and local Government in Santiago de Compostela and Melilla (Spain).