

CONTRASTS OF MADRID: DEVELOPMENTALISM AND CONTROVERSY IN INSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTARIES OF INTEREST TO TOURISTS DURING THE BOOM*

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INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, film historians have associated the evolution of Spanish cinema in the 1950s with a growing interest in realism. It has been argued that “Spanish cinema took to the streets [in this decade] and talked with varying degrees of conviction about the life of the average citizen” (Arocena, 2005: 92). The idea of the camera being in the street is quite literal, as in the second half of the 1950s filming on location became more common, which contributed to the closure of some film studios (Deltell, 2006: 36-37). The high concentration of the Spanish film industry in Madrid favoured the city as a location for many of these new films.

However, historians have pointed out that the hegemonic notion of realism changed considerably during the 1950s, and the projected image of the Spanish capital changed with it. Thus, besides the (sometimes contested) influence of Italian Neorealism, Spanish cinema of that time also incor-

porated elements from the Spanish *costumbrista* literary tradition and the comic theatrical genre of the *sainete* in order to reflect the everyday life, before finally giving in to saccharine depictions of reality that enjoyed significant box office success.

This article explores the attitude of the tourism institutions of the Franco regime towards these changes to Madrid’s image. Its aim is to identify whether these institutions promoted, benefited from, or were indifferent to this significant iconographic and discursive shift in relation to the Spanish capital, given that the tourist boom has been often considered a significant influence on Spanish comedies during Francoist Spain’s developmentalist period. The hypothesis of this study is that the tourism authorities were caught by surprise by the rise of the developmentalist comedies and their box office success; however, they benefited from their new imaginaries and tourist-oriented representations of a modern, cosmopolitan Madrid, including their projection abroad.

This research is framed in film history, and its main sources are the non-fiction films commissioned by the Ministry of Information and Tourism to promote tourism in Spain: specifically, documentaries filmed in the 1950s that focus on Madrid. Despite the importance of pragmatic aspects related to documentaries, and of contextual aspects associated with a historical perspective, this study also integrates a discourse analysis of the films, in order to avoid the paradoxical marginalisation of the film texts themselves that some authors have identified as a shortcoming of Spanish film history (Castro de Paz, 2020; Zunzunegui, 2018).

For this reason, the methodology employed consists of three stages. The first is film analysis, involving the segmentation of the visual, verbal and sound elements of the film, which facilitates the subsequent reconstruction of its underlying narrative, thematic and discursive structures. In this stage, elements are taken from the classical approach proposed by Casetti and Di Chio (2007). The audiovisual sources necessary for this analysis have been consulted at Filmoteca Española and on the website of the RTVE Archives.

It has been considered essential to take into account that the films analysed were conceived according to their planned use: as tourism propaganda for Spain. With this in mind, the second stage draws on Elsaesser's approach to non-fiction film (2009: 23), a historio-pragmatic methodology that seeks to answer three basic questions: who commissioned the film, what was the occasion for which it was made, and to what use was it put/ to whom was it addressed. The need for pragmatic methodologies in the field of documentary has been highlighted by other theorists (Plantinga, 2014: 21), and Elsaesser's system has been adopted by authors who have analysed some forms of useful non-fiction, such as industrial cinema (Hediger and Vonderau, 2009: 46). The documentary sources needed for this stage have been mostly

retrieved from the Spanish government's general archives (*Archivo General de la Administración*).

Thirdly, beyond the communicative act related to a specific title, historical perspectives always entail a wider contextualisation that allows the assessment of the evolution of discourses. There are complementary materials that are useful to explain the networks of meaning surrounding a film, including texts related to its reception. Again, in this case, documents retrieved from the *Archivo General de la Administración* have been especially useful.

To be able to implement this three-stage methodology, it has been necessary to limit the scope of the research to a small selection of titles. The short film *Contrapunto de Madrid* [Contrasts of Madrid] (José López Clemente, 1957) has been chosen because it is representative of the first series of documentaries commissioned by the Francoist tourism authorities, in terms of both its discourse and its production model. Moreover, it is a film whose iconographic and discursive proposal made it the object of a heated controversy that illustrates the priorities, concerns and aspirations of different actors in the Ministry of Information and Tourism.

This interesting controversy around *Contrapunto de Madrid* makes it necessary to offer a brief description of the film the tourism authorities chose to replace López Clemente's film: *Sobre Madrid* [About Madrid] (Jorge Grau, 1960).

STATE OF THE ART: MADRID AND TOURISM DISCOURSES IN SPANISH FILM IN THE 1950S

The image of Madrid in Spanish cinema during the Franco regime has been analysed in numerous publications, nearly always based on a traditional/developmentalist binary (Aubert, 2013). The 1950s was a period of transition from the hegemony of the former towards that of the later. In the first half of the decade, modernity and urban development were often treated as

synonymous with sleaze, frustration, and moral and physical corruption, following the model of the Madrid depicted in *Furrows* (*Surcos*, José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1951) and also present in works by Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga.

Their association with Italian neorealism was initially one of the main approaches to the analysis of these films, although in recent years it has been pointed out that this relationship is perhaps much more indirect than has traditionally been suggested (Deltell, 2006: 31-32). It has even been argued that the term “neorealist” sometimes constituted a fashion stripped of substance rather than a genuine inspiration (Monterde, 2006: 59). Even *Así es Madrid* [This is Madrid] (Luis Marquina, 1953), a film obviously influenced by the style of the *sainete*, was promoted as “a blockbuster of Spanish neorealism” (Gil Vázquez, 2017: 63). Indeed, the legacy of earlier media forms and traditions like the *sainete* is evident in many comedies of the time, allowing for alternative approaches to this incipient modern trend. Although these films are more stylised, authors such as Cerdán and Castro de Paz (2011: 52) and Gil Vázquez (2017: 64) highlight the presence of ambiguous discourses that are difficult to classify as strictly in line with the regime.

As Deltell (2006: 89-10) points out, the predominance of *sainete*-style realism in the comedies of the first half of the 1950s (*Así es Madrid*) gradually gave way to a more *costumbrista* realism, with hints of the picaresque in films such as *Los tramposos* [The Cheaters] (Pedro Lazaga, 1959) or even the *esperpento* literary style in comedies like *The Little Apartment* (*El pisito*, Marco Ferreri and Isidoro Ferry, 1959). However, by the end of the decade these tendencies coexisted with a series of romantic comedies obsessed with progress and characterised by beautified settings, which have been labelled as “developmentalist comedies”: *The Girls in Blue* (*Las muchachas de azul*, Pedro Lazaga, 1957), *Red Cross Girls* (*Las chicas de la Cruz*

Roja, Rafael Salvia, 1958), and *Las aeroguapas* [Air Beauties] (Eduardo Manzanos and Mario Costa, 1958), among others. The traditional, stereotypical Madrid predominant in earlier films was thus replaced with a Spanish capital where modernity is synonymous with cosmopolitanism, progress, sophistication, and consumerism. Prime examples of the image of Madrid in the films of this period can be found in filmographies such as those of Pedro Lazaga—analysed in depth by Grijalba de la Calle (2016)—and Rafael Salvia.

The energising and modernising elements most representative of the capital are concisely presented in the opening credits to *Red Cross Girls*: new architectural features (skyscrapers such as Edificio España and Torre de Madrid, the Ciudad Universitaria campus buildings, etc.) and leisure facilities (the Hippodrome, the Santiago Bernabéu stadium) that coexist with other elements that can be associated primarily with the rise of tourism (Alcalá Gate, the Royal Palace, etc.). As noted above, the incipient tourist boom was quickly becoming one of the most important themes of developmentalist discourse.

Tourism discourses in Spanish cinema have been analysed in depth in the collective book *La huella del turismo en un siglo de cine español* [The Mark of Tourism on One Century of Spanish Cinema] (Del Rey Reguillo, 2021a). According to Del Rey Reguillo (2021b: 159), in the post-war years, tourism was depicted in Spanish films as an activity of the aristocracy. However, in the 1950s, films would begin falling in line with the government's interest in promoting an activity often presented as synonymous with modernity and liberalisation (Del Rey Reguillo, 2021b).

Nevertheless, these images of modernity had to coexist with the picturesque images of Spain that foreigners expected, which were particularly obvious in depictions of Andalusia. As Moreno Garrido notes, in the 1950s almost a third of official Spanish tourism posters had images of flamenco, bullfighting or other representations

of Andalusian folklore as their central features (Moreno Garrido, 2007: 210). This preference was sometimes combined with the common trope of the honeymoon (Del Rey Reguillo, 2021c), for example, in the UK-Spanish co-production *Honeymoon* (Michael Powell, 1959); and by the 1960s it would begin to be associated with a self-consciousness of its own inauthenticity that some authors have connected with post-modern pastiche (Crumbaugh, 2010: 11).

In short, the representation of Madrid spearheaded a developmentalist iconography whose hegemony during the tourist boom should never be overstated, as it coexisted with other more traditional, stereotypical tourist images. This is true of a significant number of commercially successful fiction films of the late 1950s. However, there are far fewer studies of Spanish documentaries of the 1950s, which have tended to be limited to the official NO-DO newsreel production office operated by the Franco regime. In addition to the most important research on this institution (Tranche and Sánchez-Biosca, 2000), there are monographs focusing on NO-DO documentaries (Matud Juristo, 2007), although unlike its stranglehold on newsreel distribution, NO-DO did not enjoy a monopoly on documentary production.

Along with the tourist themes and depictions of popular festivals that were common both in NO-DO documentaries and in non-fiction works by private studios, the image of Madrid in 1950s documentaries was also appears associated with art. For example, Madrid was a key setting in many documentaries about Goya, as pointed out by Lázaro Sebastián and Sanz Ferreruela (2010: 188).

One other important theme associated with the Spanish capital is urban growth. A recurrent theme in 1960s documentaries (Sanz Ferreruela and Lázaro Sebastián, 2013), this issue was already receiving attention by the end of the previous decade. Life in the newly developing suburbs was an interesting topic for student pro-

jects at Madrid's film school, Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía, and the films they made display a social perspective that has been relatively unexplored in studies of the documentaries of this period.

DOCUMENTARIES ABOUT MADRID OF INTEREST TO TOURISTS: A THREE-STAGE ANALYSIS

Selecting a 1950s documentary about Madrid for an in-depth analysis based on its potential interest to tourists is no easy task. Cross-checking data from different sources, such as the database of filming permits at the *Archivo General de la Administración*, the information available in film directories (del Valle Fernández, 1962) and the catalogue of Filmoteca Española, it is possible to confirm that several filming permits were requested each year to make short documentaries about Madrid, with a focus on art (*San Antonio de la Florida*, Santos Núñez, 1957), festivals (*Fiestas de San Isidro* [The San Isidro Festival], Julián de la Flor, 1957), or aesthetics (*Música para un jardín* [Music for a Garden] José María Hernández Sanjuán, 1957), among others. It seems clear that these films in reality had a purpose similar to others overtly presented as tourist documentaries that aim for a more comprehensive image of the Spanish capital.

From this pragmatic perspective, and assuming that the best evidence of potential interest to tourists is the fact that the documentaries in question were used as tourism propaganda, the role of the General Directorate of Tourism becomes particularly significant. Established in 1951 under the purview of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, this office launched a project for a film library of documentaries of interest to tourists in 1956. The two main titles focusing on Madrid during the first years of this film library are *Contrapunto de Madrid* and *Sobre Madrid*.



Image 1. Plaza de España, an iconic developmentalist setting, in *Contrapunto de Madrid*

DISCURSIVE AND ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARIES

Contrapunto de Madrid is a short film by José López Clemente, about twelve minutes long and shot in Gevacolor (although the colour is barely distinguishable in the preserved print). It is a traditional expository documentary with no live sound, so it relies exclusively on music and a voice-over by Guillermo Fañanas. As suggested by the title, the documentary seeks to present Madrid as a city of contrasts between tradition and modernity, which are shown in each of the thematic segments of the film. In order, the themes are transport, accommodation, urban development, shopping, production sectors, education, and leisure. Each segment generally offers a modern, sophisticated vision, usually accompanied by a symphonic ensemble with a predominance of strings, and also a traditional, common vision,

accompanied by music played mainly on the barrel organ, the accordion or wind instruments. Overall, the scenes associated with a modern, sophisticated Madrid take up more footage than those associated with the traditional, common Madrid: for example, in the segment about transport, the “modern” shots last about a minute and twenty seconds, whereas the “traditional” shots barely take up forty seconds.

The voice-over uses the kind of bombastic language identified by Tranche and Sánchez-Biosca in most NO-DO productions (2000: 242), characterised by the inclusion of pompous expressions, hyperbole, epithets, etc. (e.g., “since ancient times we have guarded the most beautiful pictorial relics”). The repeated use of the first-person plural (“our city”) is also noticeable. There is an overwhelming predominance of static full shots, often lasting over six seconds, even when there is minimal action movement in the shot. This slow

TRADITIONS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE ARE PRESENTED AS VESTIGES OF A BYGONE ERA, WHILE MODERNITY IS MORE CLEARLY CONSTRUCTED THROUGH THE PRACTICES OF THE WEALTHY CLASSES

pace is only slightly disrupted in the segment on shopping, which features short takes and superimposed images of shop windows and neon lights in Madrid at night.

As in many documentaries of interest to tourists of the time, the organisation of thematic segments can be understood as chronological in relation to the tourist experience. Thus, the arrival in the city is shown first, then the accommodation, followed by an urban exploration that could be associated with a kind of preliminary walk around the city, then shopping, and finally, perhaps at the end of the hypothetical day of a tourist, sunset (highlighted by the lighting of street lamps) and night-time in the city centre. The second roll of film begins with the first signs of activity around the Plaza de la Villa, before moving onto portraits of production sectors, education, and finally, leisure activities typically associated with the afternoon, such as a bullfight, a football match, a horse race, etc.

However, this temporal organisation is not strictly adhered to and does not feature a specific tourist. In the first scenes, a woman in a red jacket gets off a Talgo train and then hails a taxi to a hotel, but her presence is subsequently less prominent. Thus, the main structure of the filmic text depends not on the tourist experience but on the idea of contrast. The Barajas Airport and the highways and automobiles contrast with the “picturesque” horse and carriage, while the budget trains arriving at the old Goya Station, from which workers disembark hurriedly, contrast with the modern high-speed train models. Similarly, the luxury hotels contrast with the inns, the

street stalls with the elegant stores, the narrow streets of old Madrid and its workshops with the new factories, and so on.

The central motif of contrast is the duality between old and new, which is often made explicit in the voice-over narration (“as a vestige of another era, we still have inns and masons in the old neighbourhoods”). But there is also an explicit association between the old and the working-class (“it is not easy to find workshops as primitive and basic as those sometimes found in the streets of our working-class neighbourhoods”) and between the new and the sophisticated and cosmopolitan (the Ciudad Universitaria is attended, “in addition to the Spanish [students], by more than 1,500 foreign students”).

Developmentalist urban growth is a potentially problematic topic, since it alludes not only to skyscrapers or large flagship projects but also to “the creation of new neighbourhoods, such as La Concepción or San Blas”. The shot that accompanies this statement shows a vacant lot filled with children and their mothers where a merry-go-round has been installed; in the background, newly constructed residential blocks offer a prototypical portrait of the *barrio de aluvión*, hastily built housing developments to accommodate

Image 2. Superimposed images and Dutch angles showing neon lights in *Contrapunto de Madrid*



the growing number of migrants to the city. This is an example of an unusual association of the modernisation of the city with its working classes, beyond certain other details that serve to nuance the cosmopolitanism of the wealthy (for example, the background music in the cocktail bar of the leisure segment: the lounge-style pieces being played on the piano, very typical of such places, are in fact versions of some of the best known *chotis*, traditional Spanish folk numbers). Generally, traditions of the common people are thus presented as vestiges of a bygone era, while modernity is more clearly constructed through the practices of the wealthy classes. This is the strategy López Clemente uses to reconcile the authenticity that tourists look for with the advances of modernity. The intersection, which is offered towards the end of the documentary, is the hospitality of both social classes: “Maybe the secret of Madrid’s charm is carried inside by its inhabitants, who are inclined to social interac-

tion both in common, traditional settings and in more distinguished ones.”

On the other hand, in *Sobre Madrid* the information is organised around two female protagonists on a visit to Madrid. The film, about twenty minutes long and suffering from colour and audio defects on the print preserved at Filmoteca Española, is also an expository documentary without live sound, but in this case the voice-over is provided by Alfredo Mañas, who gives a more impersonal point of view, and Gemma Mañas, whose comments offer a point of view identified with the tourists, thereby introducing hints of performativity. Gemma’s voice-over implies that the visitors are foreign tourists (“who would think of asking someone without knowing a single word of Spanish?”), and she makes it clear that they have arrived in Spain with certain preconceptions that hint at an Orientalist view of Spain (“And the barrel organ plays, just like in the movies! [...] But it is so exciting to be close to a real organ grinder, like the ones in Hemingway’s novels”) that will be confirmed by their attendance at a flamenco show.

In this case, the chronological order is therefore explicit: the journey is organised over three days. Although the topics are very similar to those in *Contrapunto de Madrid*, the thematic blocks are less marked, and the film is structured mainly around the wanderings of the tourists. Some of the places they visit are conceived of as associated with Spanish tradition (for example, the areas around the Plaza Mayor), and others with the incipient modernity (the Gran Vía); however, unlike López Clemente’s film, *Sobre Madrid* never presents tradition and modernity as two opposing extremes within the same theme. On the contrary, it

Image 3. Lower class neighbourhoods in *Contrapunto de Madrid*



suggests that the modern tourist's gaze can superimpose new meanings on traditional Spanish settings: this seems to be the case with the idealised gaze of the tourists at the El Rastro flea market, a scene accompanied by the Frank Sinatra song "Cheek to Cheek"; and with the sequence that switches between a bullfight, a football match, and a horse race at the Hippodrome, spectacles presented as perfectly equivalent in each of their ceremonial parts.

The two protagonists visit the most emblematic sights in Madrid, but their experience is also marked by situations that involve more than mere gazing. First, they meet an organ grinder, who recovers the handkerchief lost by one of the tourists and returns it to her in a later scene, in a gallant show of chivalry. The tourists will also run into this young man engaged in other street trades, such as selling balloons in Retiro Park. The film will end with this man, who represents the survival of Madrid's most traditional side and whose presence is usually highlighted with barrel organ music, contemplating the sunset from the Toledo Bridge while the tourists depart for home. According to Fuentes Vega (2017: 177-185), foreign visitors in the 1950s expressed in their travel books about Spain an undisguised fascination with the country's beggars, which they even associated with iconographies of Baroque painting (such as the paintings of Murillo). She explains how the regime, which found such images intolerable, replaced the image of the beggar in its photographs and brochures with pictures of various street workers with a traditional air, such as the shoeshine boy, or in the case of Madrid, the organ grinder and the balloon seller.

Secondly, the tourists also meet a more affluent Spaniard. As they travel along Gran Vía in a taxi, the voice-over remarks that "a red light can be the beginning of a new adventure." At that red light, the foreigners strike up a conversation with the young man driving a convertible next to them. In a later scene, the tourists will come across him

again when they carelessly cross the street and he is forced to stop his convertible right in front of them. The young driver gets out of the car, ready to invite the foreigners for a Sunday aperitif. This driver personifies the modern, hedonistic and developmentalist face of Madrid, and as in *Contrapunto de Madrid*, it is suggested that hospitality is the common element defining the customs of both the privileged and the lower classes.

With this more experiential approach, *Sobre Madrid* gives prominence to some activities that are not present in *Contrapunto de Madrid*: for example, the preparation of aspiring bullfighters in the Casa de Campo, a trope whose authenticity is confirmed by the interest it would later arouse in several documentaries of the 1960s, even in films by recognised auteurs (*Torerillos 61*, Basilio Martín Patino, 1962). All this helps reinforce a message present in the film: that tourism is as much about looking for the postcard as it is about bringing it to life.

In short, *Sobre Madrid* reflects the foreigner's point of view and does not focus on the opposition between tradition and modernity, although it does make explicit the existence of these two complementary sides of the city.

PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARIES

Spanish tourist authorities had been using documentaries for promotional purposes since the 1920s (Soto Vázquez, 2021). However, despite some pioneering projects such as the two series *Estampas Españolas* [Spanish Postcards] and *Ciudades Españolas* [Spanish Cities], budget limitations kept this type of propaganda from being used in any systematic way until the creation of the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1951.

In 1956, the General Directorate of Tourism announced a competition for short film scripts for tourism films. One of the main reasons for the creation of this contest was to meet the needs of

Spain's International Tourism Offices (*Oficinas de Turismo en el Extranjero*, or OTE), a tourism diplomacy network created before the Civil War that by 1955 already had offices in Brussels, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Stockholm, London, Mexico, New York, Rome and Tangiers, after a very marked decline during the Civil War and the years immediately after it. According to Jesús Romero Gorriá, one of the politicians responsible for the National Tourism Plan, these offices "continuously and repeatedly" demanded films that they could screen in private sessions for travel agents, businessmen and workers, associations or students of Spanish (AGA (3), 49.001 21/5709, 25-5-54, Letter from the director of the Department of Works of the National Tourism Plan to the Minister of Information and Tourism).

In the 1956 contest, twelve submissions were successful, including *Contrapunto de Madrid*, a script submitted by Salvador Vallina and Gonzalo Rodríguez Castillo. The production of the twelve selected texts was paid for by the Ministry of Information and Tourism, but the work was entrusted to NO-DO, in order to create a tourism documentary short film library that would meet the needs of the OTE offices. NO-DO took on this responsibility but outsourced some of the work to small studios while reserving for itself the production of documentaries that were "more complicated to carry out, and at the same time, more costly and difficult" (AGA (3), 49.001 21/5710, 24-12-55, Letter from the director of NO-DO to the Minister of Information and Tourism).

The filmmaker commissioned to make *Contrapunto de Madrid* was NO-DO contributor José López Clemente, who had a small production com-

PAGE 8: THE FILMS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN SPAIN, BUT ESPECIALLY INTERNATIONALLY, THROUGH OTE (INTERNATIONAL TOURISM OFFICE) LOANS



Image 4. Travellers getting off the train at Goya Station in *Contrapunto de Madrid*

pany named Studio Films. Despite the outsourcing arrangement, the film crew was largely the same as the regular NO-DO team, including cinematographer Manuel Rojas and editor Rafael Simancas. The project accumulated cost overruns until its budget exceeded 230,000 pesetas (AGA (3), 49.002 9780, 11-4-57, Letter from the director of NO-DO to the Minister of Information and Tourism).

By 1962, there were about 2,000 copies of the twelve titles resulting from the Ministry's short film contest in circulation, in different languages (English, French, German, Swedish, Italian and Spanish) (AGA (3), 49.010 40063, 15-11-62, List of twelve 16mm colour films owned by the DGPT). The films were distributed in Spain, and especially internationally, through OTE loans to travel agencies, companies, schools and even television networks all over the world, which at the time were consolidating their programming schedules and looking for material to fill them.

While the circuit was being consolidated, the OTE offices claimed that they needed films that were better adapted to the purpose of attracting tourists. In Madrid, the film library was viewed as a more complex tool for foreign relations, but

the OTE request was met in any case, channelling the tourism department's film production activity towards purchases from private studios that were better than NO-DO at adapting to the latest trends. It was in this context that *Sobre Madrid* was acquired from a studio named Procusa. It was subsequently sent to numerous OTE offices and started to appear on the lists of documentaries kept at these offices (AGA (3), 49.010 40063, 15-12-65, List of the films in the Warehouse on the current date, with an indication of those on loan by order of the Tourism Propaganda Service).

DEVELOPMENTALISM AS A DEBATE GENERATOR: THE DISCUSSION BEHIND THE EVOLUTION OF THE DISCOURSE

Developmentalist comedies focused on characters who belonged to Madrid's wealthier classes. They abandoned the *sainete* and shifted away from

more traditional settings, such as the Las Vistillas gardens, to more iconically modern locations, such as the Plaza de España. They also embraced lighting and saturated colours (Deltell, 2006: 37, 103-104). As noted above, a canonical example of this style is the successful film *Red Cross Girls*, shot practically at the same time as the documentary *Contrapunto de Madrid*. The notable contrast between the image of the capital projected in these two films was probably the line of thinking behind the complaints of various OTE offices. There is evidence of these concerns as early as 1959, when the head of the Chicago office expressed his first reservations about the scene shot at the Goya Station: "There are a few shots showing a shabby train loaded with workers on the running boards and jumping from the train in motion. This scene is too long and seems to us inappropriate, ugly, and potentially misleading, and we request permission to eliminate it" (AGA (3), 49. 010 40064,

Image 5. The old inns in *Contrapunto de Madrid*



14-1-59, Letter from the head of the Chicago OTE to the Director General of Tourism).

A few years later, the OTE in New York claimed that López Clemente's documentary often disappointed its audience (AGA (3), 49.010 40065, 2-21-63, Letter from the head of the New York OTE to the Undersecretary of Information and Tourism). The Puerto Rico office complained that it was the worst documentary in the film library and yet it was the most requested: "It gives the impression of being old, the colours are poor and it fails to give a positive impression of the contrast it tries to make between the old Madrid or the common people's Madrid and the modern part" (AGA (3), 49.010 40064, 2-14-63, Letter from the head of the San Juan, Puerto Rico OTE to the undersecretary of Information and Tourism). The Copenhagen office stated flatly in 1966 that it did not include *Contrapunto de Madrid* in its catalogue because "screening it would harm rather than help our promotional work" (AGA (3), 49.022 45954, 24-2-66, Letter from the head of the Copenhagen OTE to the Minister of Information and Tourism). In his explanation, the head of the office criticised the images of poverty shown in the poorer parts of the city: inns and taverns, carriages, *corralas*, and so on. In the same vein, the Marseille office explicitly pointed out that "the footage of the poor neighbourhoods, while trying to be picturesque, end up being squalid" (AGA (3), 49.010 40065, 7-12-62, Letter from the head of the Marseille OTE to the undersecretary of Tourism).

These opinions had begun reaching Madrid spontaneously by letter, but with the reorganisation brought about by the arrival of Manuel Fraga at the Ministry, the OTE offices were explicitly asked what tourism promotion documentaries should be like. A document titled *Points of View of the OTE Offices on our Documentaries* (AGA (3), 49.010 40063, ca. 1963) summarises some of the most frequent suggestions from the offices. The two most prominent were the following:

The documentaries should be based on the life and events awaiting tourists in Spain, choosing precisely what attracts and pleases them the most. They should be shown comfortable luxury hotels, the technical progress our country has made in tourism, beach scenes, restaurants, swimmers, swimming pools. [...] Artistic elements should be combined with typical features, but always striving to ensure that the typical, whether it be bullfighting or gipsy or flamenco dances, is always framed in a beautiful setting, avoiding squalid gipsy huts or shabby flamenco stages.

It was thus decided that the film library of the new General Directorate of Tourism Promotion should use a film like *Sobre Madrid*, which better fulfilled these intentions and whose performative touches seemed to connect with the imaginary of the developmentalist comedies. However, even this documentary did not arouse widespread enthusiasm in the OTE offices, which also considered Grau's film insufficient to give "an appropriate image of the city" (AGA (3), 49.010 40065, 22-2-63, Letter from the head of the Toronto OTE to the Undersecretary of Information and Tourism). The offices would have to wait until this collective imaginary was consolidated and the collaboration between the General Directorate of Tourist Promotion and NO-DO was reestablished years later to receive a film that portrayed the best side of developmentalist Madrid: *Madrid y sus alrededores* [Madrid and Its Surroundings] (José Luis Tafur, 1969).

CONCLUSIONS

Before the Ministry of Information and Tourism even existed, NO-DO shot a documentary titled *Así es Madrid* [This is Madrid] (Joaquín Soriano, 1949), a couple of years before the fiction film of the same name was made. Besides the spots that would continue to be the usual points of interest a decade later (Gran Vía, the Santiago Bernabéu stadium, Retiro Park, etc.), the most striking fea-

ture of this film is a flashback, framed through the daydreaming of an old man napping on a bench, to an open-air celebration in Madrid, with a traditional folk dance to some of the most famous *cho-tis*, with the dancers dressed in regional costume. In a similar vein, Hermic Films' *El pulso de Madrid* [The Pulse of Madrid] (Santos Núñez, 1945) portrays the Spanish capital through the imagery of the grand old houses of the La Mancha region.

At a time when the General Directorate of Tourism began engaging systematically in film production, the big discursive shift in 1950s documentaries about Madrid involved eschewing traditional stereotypes. It was a discourse that only became acceptable when it was expressed with no more *costumbrista*, folkloric or pseudo-ethnographic expectations than the tourists themselves harboured. In general terms, developmentalist Madrid, modern, cosmopolitan, and associated with the wealthier classes, won the day.

Despite the central role of tourism in this shift, it is clear that to produce their promotional films the tourism authorities followed the most successful trends at the box office. Although the Ministry and the production studios seemed to share nearly all the same interests in developmentalist comedy, to describe the regime as the driving force behind the circulation of new discourses would be to undervalue the intrinsic power of certain representations and trends, such as consumerism, and to simplify the network of actors involved, including the expectations of foreign visitors. However, this was precisely what laid the foundation for the institutional discursive successes of the Ministry of Information and Tourism in the 1960s, when a projection towards the future coexisted with a tradition often turned into a commodified pastiche. ■

NOTES

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CONTRASTS OF MADRID: DEVELOPMENTALISM AND CONTROVERSY IN INSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTARIES OF INTEREST TO TOURISTS DURING THE BOOM

Abstract

In the 1950s, the General Directorate of Tourism began systematically using short documentaries for tourist promotion purposes. The image of Madrid in these films soon left behind the traditional nativist stereotypes of Spain characteristic of the first half of the decade to embrace the icons, discourses and notions of developmentalism, as was the case in Spanish fiction films. This article analyses the first two documentaries about the Spanish capital that were widely used by the tourist authorities, *Contrapunto de Madrid* (José López Clemente, 1957) and *Sobre Madrid* (Jorge Grau, 1960) with the aim of identifying the official stance in relation to this change (promoters, beneficiaries, opponents, etc.). In addition to a discursive analysis of the films, the article presents a pragmatic study of the documentaries, considering how they were used and the reasons for their production, as well as a contextual analysis, which seeks to explain the terms of the controversy that led to the withdrawal of more traditional iconographies and discourses of Madrid in tourism promotion.

Key words

Documentary; Madrid; Tourism Boom; Developmentalism; Traditionalism.

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CONTRAPUNTOS DE MADRID: DESARROLLISMO Y POLÉMICA EN EL DOCUMENTAL INSTITUCIONAL DE INTERÉS TURÍSTICO DURANTE EL BOOM

Resumen

La Dirección General de Turismo comenzó, en los años cincuenta, a utilizar documentales de cortometraje de forma sistemática con fines de promoción turística. La imagen de Madrid en estas películas pronto dejó definitivamente atrás el casticismo imperante en el cine del primer quinquenio de la década para acercarse más a los iconos, discursos y propuestas del desarrollismo, al igual que sucedió en el cine de ficción. Se propone el análisis de las dos primeras películas sobre la capital utilizadas profusamente por esta institución, *Contrapunto de Madrid* (José López Clemente, 1957) y *Sobre Madrid* (Jorge Grau, 1960), con el fin de detectar cuál fue la postura de las autoridades turísticas en este cambio (patrocinadores, beneficiarios, opositores...). Además del análisis discursivo de los films, se realiza un estudio pragmático de los documentales, atendiendo a sus usos y los motivos de su realización, y un estudio contextual, en el que se explican los términos de la discusión que terminó por marginar las iconografías y discursos más casticistas sobre la capital en el ámbito turístico.

Palabras clave

Documental; Madrid; Boom turístico; Desarrollismo; Casticismo.

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