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Tourism development in Barcelona. The role of the international events and the local implication.

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INDEX

1. INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY, AND GOALS.....	3
2. THE BEGINNIG OF THE TOURISTIC ERA.....	3
2.1. CONTEXTUALIZATION AND FACTORS THAT ALLOWED THE TOURISTIC DEVELOPMENT.....	4
2.2. FIRST TOURISTIC MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND CATALONIA.....	4
3. KEY ELEMENTS IN THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA	6
3.1. UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION OF BARCELONA (1888)	7
3.2. THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP AND THE CULTURE OF THE SUN.....	10
3.3. THE BARCELONA’S OLYMPIC GAMES (1992).....	12
4. CONCLUSIONS	13
BIBLIOGRAPHY	14

1. INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY, AND GOALS

With the first touristic manifestations appeared the first touristic destinations. Just those who took profit from their resources could success and became popular in the whole world. Barcelona was one of these destinations.

There have been many authors studying the evolution of tourism in Barcelona and it is known that the city had made many efforts in order to position itself in the international context. In fact, there were organized some events that meant a milestone for the tourism in the city. This dissertation wants to have a look backward along the history of tourism and talk about these important occurrences that helped Barcelona to become one of the biggest touristic cities.

The methodology of this academic work is going to be collection and analysis of information relative to the history of Barcelona, specially focusing the investigation in the occurrences that propelled the tourism development, as were the international events. I will try to analyse that information and extract some conclusions about the key factors that allowed the tourism development. My objective is to try to answer one question: Which was the role of the international events in the transformation of Barcelona to an international referent city? I am going to try to give an answer based in the information collected in this study.

With the development of the dissertation, we are also going to see the role of the local administrations and try to analyse if the tourism development could have been possible without its intervention.

Although we are focusing the topic on the city of Barcelona, it is interesting to get a wider view of the issue and start talking about the beginning of tourism in Europe and in Catalonia. That will help us to understand the factors that allowed the tourism development initially.

2. THE BEGINNIG OF THE TOURISTIC ERA

What we understand nowadays as “tourism” has not been part of the human habits until few centuries ago. Although we have evidences of *travel diaries* from previous ages, such as the Greco-Roman Age, these men did not travel just for leisure, which is the main characteristic of the tourism.

Some authors qualified the pilgrimages as the first touristic movements, but I agree with Boyer when he says that “the pilgrimages are immemorial and have other sense” (BOYER, 2002). The displacement of people just for pleasure was something uncommon before the 19th century.

The appearance of tourism took place around the 18th Century, the Lights’ Century, when the reason and the desires to know were expanded among the powerful high classes of the European society.

In order to better understand the causes of the appearance of the tourism, it is good to put ourselves into the context of the 18th and 19th Centuries.

2.1. Contextualization and factors that allowed the touristic development.¹

At the end of the 18th Century in Great Britain took place a radical transformation of the economy and society, known as the Industrial Revolution. It happened thanks to the improvement of the agricultural production and the growth of the population. Soon, it was expanded all around Europe. Was in this age when the factories became the workplace for many people. This was the birth of the capitalism, where the massive production substituted the craft work. It was also spread the usage of hydraulic and steam energies for the productive processes and the transportation.

With the improvement of the roads, the creation of steamships (faster than the sailboats) and the construction of a bigger railway network, the transportation of merchandises and people were now faster and cheaper. This fact allowed the growth of the commerce, even the international one. Moreover, people had the possibility to go from a place to another easily, having more and more destinations connected.

After the industrial and social revolutions at the end of the 18th Century, the society suffered a huge transformation. The European population grew sharply, so do the cities. The bourgeoisie became the most influential social class: they were the political, cultural and scientific elites. This bourgeoisie is going to be very relevant for us, as they were the main propellant of the Illustration, and the first tourists in the history.

The beginning of the 19th Century was marked by the birth of many different social, political and artistic movements. During this century, the reinforcement of the Nationalist movements was very intense: the most relevant ones were those in Latin-America, Philippines, and in some regions of Spain such as Catalonia. It also appeared a cultural and artistic movement called Romanticism, which can be considered one of the bases of tourism, as it led directly to its early development. This movement declared its love for the nature. It was a way to scape and to enjoy with all your senses: watching landscapes, breathing pure air... People wanted to go outside the cities. It was also the time for the exaltation of the mountain as a new destination.

2.2. First touristic movements in Europe and Catalonia.

As we already mentioned, it was the bourgeoisie who started to travel first. They had inquisitiveness, and the education was very important for them. For that reason, they started to practice formation travels, known as “le Grand Tour”, which can be considered the first touristic manifestations.

This Grand Tour was popularized in Great Britain in the 18th Century. The bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, as the richer ones, were the only ones who could afford it.

The Grand Tour was a standard rout through France and Italy, normally ending in Rome. This trip lasted several months or even some years. The goals of the

¹ All the information about the contextualization had been taken from the same book (ARÓSTEGUI SÁNCHEZ, GARCÍA SEBASTIÁN, et al. , 2009)

trip were educational - to learn languages, art and different cultures -, and not religious, as occurred during previous centuries with the pilgrimage. Another objective was to distinguish, to stand out. As Boyer said “[Travel] is not about discover, but to recognize the pointed places. The presence in these stations considered *chic* [...] give a superior status.” (BOYER, 2002) Although Spain was not initially in the route of the Grand Tour, Catalonia was included by some Spanish and foreign travellers at the end of the 18th C. (GARAY and CÀNOVES, 2010).

It appeared other kind of tourism in Great Britain at the beginning of the 18th Century. This phenomenon was called the Bath Revolution. It was the popularization of thermal cities in order to enjoy its waters. The aristocracy and the bourgeoisie share also this *affair*. After Great Britain, at the end of the century other places in the continent became popular as thermal destinations, such as Spa, in Belgium, from which we took the common name “spa tourism” (BOYER, 2002).

In the case of Catalonia, it was during the following century (19th C.) when it became an important region for this new trend. The reason why the spa tourism became so popular was because of health reasons. In this epoch, the medicine was not really developed, and many epidemics were expanded within Europe (MOLINA, 2004). The micro medicinal waters of the spas helped to maintain the hygiene and even to cure some diseases. Many doctors and chemists of the epoch theorized these health properties of the water.

There was also a trend factor, as happened with le Grand Tour. The bourgeoisie used to be concerned about their status, and in order to improve it, they had to visit those spas. Of course, some of them spent their vacations in these places just because of leisure. It was a way to relax, going out of the industrialized cities.

Caldes de Montbui and La Garriga were examples of thermal destinations (GARAY, 2008). Both were towns located in the province of Barcelona that became very popular within the Catalan bourgeoisie. They used to spend their summer vacations in these destinations which succeeded because of their thermal waters and the beauty of their roman baths.

The spa tourism led clearly to the popularization of the littoral destinations, since, with the medicine advances, the marine water was also considered to have health properties, so the first marine spas appeared.

Moreover, the success of the spas created the need of providing ancillary services, apart from the lodging and the therapies that they offered (MOLINA, 2004). This was a clear step to the consolidation of the touristic supply. The success of this type of tourism remained stable until its decline at the beginning of the 20th C.

Hiking became also more and more important during this period (19th -20th C.). People started to explore new destinations in the country side and in the mountains (MARTÍ-HENNEBERG, 1996).

The first excursionist societies of Spain were founded in Catalonia in 1876 and 1878.² Both were joined in 1891 under the name *Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (CEC) which can be translated as the Hiking Centre of Catalonia.

² L'Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques (ACEC) y de l'Associació d'Excursions Catalana (AEC), respectively.

At first, the aim of this society was focused on the scientific investigation. However, there were some social and scientific ideologies that later also influenced the objectives of the associations. As Martí-Henneberg noticed, the mixture of ideologies is very visible in the statutes of the ACEC, which he quoted and that said:

“The Catalan Association of Scientific Excursions, with headquarters in Barcelona, decide to go over the Catalan territory in order to know, study and conserve everything notable from the nature, history, art and literature in all its manifestations, as well as the characteristic costumes and the popular traditions of the country; promulgate these knowledges and foment the excursions within our land in order to make it properly known and loved.” (MARTÍ-HENNEBERG, 1996)

It is manifested the aim to investigate (positivism ideology³), but also the interest on the conservation of the heritage and the promotion of the knowledge acquired (conservationism⁴ and romanticism movements). Moreover, the local proud is notable when they say that their land must be loved. That comes directly from the Catalan *Renaixença*, which advocated for the recovery and reinterpretation of the Catalonian identity and folklore.

All these ideologies influenced the local implication for the promotion of their heritage. As an example of this implication, they promoted the construction of the *carrilets* which were small trains that connected the city with interesting places in the mountains (GARAY, 2008).

Thus, although Catalonia was a place to visit in order to enjoy its thermal cities and to practice hiking, it was not still perceived as a pure touristic destination, as there were a minority the ones who really practice these activities. The tourism development was slow, very limited. We could talk about an exploration phase of the destination if we use the famous Butler’s evolution model of the development of a touristic destination (BUTLER, 1980).

3. KEY ELEMENTS IN THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA

Once we have contextualized the first touristic manifestations in Europe and Catalonia, it is time to focus the study in the city of Barcelona.

I propose to go through the history of tourism in the city from the end of the 19th century. I want to analyse the events that helped to consolidate it as a touristic destination and also those which interrupted the development process, since I think it is interesting to see not only the positive factors but also the negative ones which slowed down the touristic development.

Thus, we are going to talk about the Universal Exposition of Barcelona (1888), as the first event that served as international promotion and that led for the first

³ Theory that considers that the only way to know is the experience through the senses.

⁴ The conservationism defends the protection of the natural and cultural heritage.

time to the interest for the urban tourism; then we are going to comment the period when the “sun sand and sea” tourism prevailed over that urban tourism; and finally we will comment another international event that achieved the recovery of the tourism development for Barcelona, as it were the Olympic Games of Barcelona (1992).

3.1. Universal Exposition of Barcelona (1888)

In the following paragraphs, I am going to talk about an event that can be considered the first step for the Barcelona’s international promotion directed to all the publics.

In the middle of the 19th century, it became popular in Europe the organization of international industrial exhibitions in their main cities. Above we can see a graph⁵ where these trend is clearly visible, even if we compare it with the celebration of other expositions in the USA or in the rest of the world.

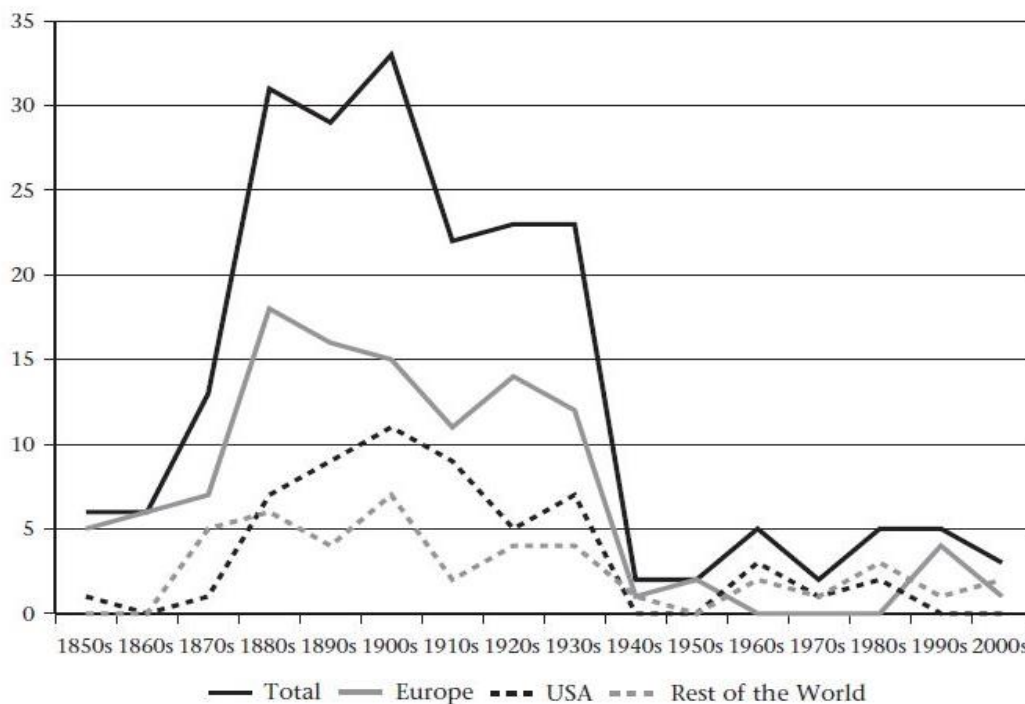


Figure 1.1 Number of international expositions held in Europe, the USA and the rest of the world per decade between 1851 and 2010²⁰

The first industrial and manufacturing expositions took place at the end of the 18th C. and the beginning of the 19th C., most of them in Paris. These first examples were important, but they did not achieve the relevance that the Universal Expositions had. These exhibitions were organized in order to deal with other merchants and to show the progresses of the cities’ industries. It is good to remember that, with the Industrial Revolution, all the industries experimented huge advances and the world was ready to share these knowledges.

⁵ Source: (GEPPERT, Alexander .C.T, 2013).

The first recognized Universal Exposition was celebrated in London in 1851, followed by the Universal Exposition of Paris in 1855. After these expositions, the image of both cities changed drastically. They were perceived as cities of modernity and globalization icons. Soon, many cities pursued the same objective. The following Universal Expositions took place each time more frequently: London 1862, Paris 1867, Wien 1873, Philadelphia 1876, Paris, 1878, Melbourne 1880, Barcelona 1888, Paris 1889, Chicago 1893, Brussels 1897, Paris 1900, etc.

As we can see, Barcelona was the first Spanish city that organized such an event. This fact gave Barcelona a great advantage in the international commerce.

For the preparation of the event, during the decade of 1860, almost the whole city of Barcelona suffered an infrastructure and urbanistic transformation: the Plan Cerdá⁶ was performed, the old wall that surrounded the city was demolished, the port was renovated, lights systems were installed within all Barcelona and the railway networks were broaden (GARAY, 2008). However, already in the eighties, the economic and financial recession stopped this modernization process.

Due to this crisis, the celebration of Barcelona's Universal Exposition in 1888 had not the support of everybody in the city. In fact, the organization of the event was proposed at first by a single person, the major of Barcelona at that time, Rius i Taulet, after a private initiative that failed.⁷

I think it is interesting to have a look to some documents from the epoch in order to understand the perception that people had from the city and the objective they pursued with the celebration of the exposition. I found a newspaper cover where the journalist mentions other foreign newspapers which talk about the Universal Exposition of Barcelona. There, we can read about Barcelona sentences like "*we cannot say that Barcelona is currently, under the foreign opinion, 'the flower of the beauty cities in the world' as Cervantes call it; but, however, and what is more important nowadays, it is the first manufacture city in the Iberian Peninsula and the industrial capital city of Spain.*"⁸

It is clear that the city itself had not a special attractive, even in the eyes of the locals, but its objective was not to be beautiful. With the celebration of the Exposition, Rius i Taulet wanted to show to the world that the city was looking forward to prosper and to grow in the international context, recovering its economy from the recession process.

He decided that Barcelona was a good candidate for hosting the event because of the importance of its port in the international commerce. Moreover, when the industrial revolution arrived to Barcelona, the city became a powerful example in the textile industry.

⁶ The engineer Ildefonso Cerdá developed a reform and expansion plan for the city of Barcelona (1860). L'Eixample was taken into practice with a square structure, very characteristic nowadays of the city.

⁷ [without author] *Un gran esdeveniment: L'Exposició Universal de 1888*. Teaching document elaborated by the Town Hall of Barcelona [no date].

⁸ Cover from the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, nº 164, April 9th 1888.

The Exposition was located at the Parc de la Ciutadella, an old military territory that was relinquished under the condition that it had to be built for public use. The whole area was rehabilitated. Gardens, new buildings, paths and monuments were built. However, as the budget for the constructions was limited, they had to take advantage of some old buildings such as The Chapel, The Arsenal and the Governor's Palace.

The hotel industry of Barcelona was not really developed. Until that moment, there were just two kind of lodgings. On the one hand, there were some inns oriented to humble people that had to travel to Barcelona for some reason, normally professional motives. On the other hand, there were luxurious hotels that started to gain prominence. Two perfect examples of these elite's hotels were the ones built specially because of the Universal Exposition that were the *Hotel Internacional* and the *Hotel Colón*.⁹ Both hotels had the latest technologies of the epoch - such as electricity- , and they were decorated with a modernist style. They were thought in order to provide the maximum comfort to their guests (MONTANER, 2002).

The Exposition was inaugurated on May 20th 1888. To the occurrence assisted many people from the high society and even members of the Spanish royal family. By that time, the national and international press and the public opinion had spread the expectations of a great event, and it did not disappoint them.

The most remarkable of the exposition was the monumental sculptures and the urbanistic reforms -the areas of the Parc de la Ciutadella, the Born or the Passeig de Colom, among others- . Then it became very popular the called Font Màgica - which stood out because of the play of lights and water - , the roller coaster, the free concerts, and many other recreational shows.¹⁰ All these attractions were thought with the aim of complement the exposition, but they became an important part of it.

Talking about the participants of the Exposition, many producers from various nations brought there their best products and their ultimate technologies. Most of them were Spanish, English, French and German. According to the official catalogue of the Exposition (EXPOSICIÓN UNIVERSAL, 1888) it participated merchants from many different industries such as pottery, textile, toy, construction, furniture, editorial, and a long etcetera.

The presence of so many different industries from different nations gave it a clear globalized character and made that the event were a complete success.

The Universal exposition finished on the 9th December 1888. By that time, Barcelona had achieved its initial objective and, moreover, the image of the city had changed: Barcelona was then seen as a modern and worthy visiting city.

⁹ Both hotels do not exist currently. The Hotel Internacional was demolished after the Universal Exposition and the Hotel Colón disappeared in the 40's.

¹⁰ It is known that there was a huge hot-air balloon that could rise 350 meters. There was also a dwarf circus, something very normal in the epoch. Other attractions were the exhibition of a 4'5 meters tall bull, poetry recitals, or the performance of theatre plays.

During the second part of the 19th century, after the celebration of the exposition, the *Renaixença* gained strength again in the entire Catalonia. This movement, joined with others already existent as were the Conservationism and the Romanticism, led to the implication of the local agents in the promotion and administration of the city as a touristic destination. Its objective had changed: now they wanted to attract tourists and to show them the real beauty of the city. In this first moments, the locals gave importance to the mountains of Barcelona as a main attractive: el Tibidabo, la Vallvidrera, el Montserrat or la Ribera were worth destinations for them, from where it was possible to have a breathtaking view of the whole city.

The implication of the local administrations in the touristic promotion and as infrastructure providers was key, as it meant a great advance in the consolidation of the first touristic movements in the city. The urban tourism appeared for the first time in Catalonia.

During this period, as I already said, the image of Barcelona was of a modernist and monumental city. Barcelona was on the map.

Nevertheless, this success lasted just few years, as the international conflicts paralyzed the touristic movements all around the world.

During almost the whole 20th century, the city of Barcelona lost its prominence as touristic destination, not only because of the war consequences, but also because of the strategy on touristic promotion that the government of Spain executed.

3.2. The Spanish dictatorship and the culture of the Sun

In 1905, the Spanish Central government created a National Commission dedicated to the encouragement of excursions in the country (PELLEJERO, 2004). This was the first time that the National government intervened in the management of the touristic activity. In 1911 it was substituted by the *Comisión Regia de Turismo y Cultura Artística*. This organ promoted Spain beyond its borders. It was also in charge of taking care of the national heritage.¹¹

During the period that goes between the creation of these commission and 1936 (the beginning of the Spanish Civil War), the touristic development was slow and mainly national, marked by the unfortunate consequences of the I World War (1914-1918). The touristic flows to Barcelona followed the same trend.

In the thirties, the Spanish Civil War broke out (1936-1939) and the tourism in the entire territory of Spain was obviously paralyzed.

During the first period of the Franco's regime (1939-1960), Spain disconnected any relationship with its neighbour countries. However, its government made some regulation in matter of tourism; the most remarkable one was the price control of the lodging and other touristic activities (PELLEJERO, 2004). The touristic promotion was focused again on the national tourism making accent in the Spanish historical and monumental heritage and in activities such as the

¹¹ Many museums were built, conservation tasks for the monuments were developed, official tourist guides were edited and many libraries were opened.

hunting (SÁNCHEZ, 2011). However, there were still the aristocracy and the elites the only ones who could afford travelling.

In the second part of the 20th century, when the dictatorial government of Francisco Franco finished its international block, it was created again a touristic organ within the government. This time, it was a Ministry. The objective of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, leaded by Gabriel Arias Salgado and later by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, was to attract foreign currencies, as they thought that it was essential in order to overcome the miseries that the war had left. Thus, the dictatorship wanted to achieve the maximum touristic growth (PELLEJERO, 2004). This was the origin of the mass tourism. A marketing campaign was launched, with the slogan "Spain is Different", in order to attract again tourists to the country.

The strategy was to promote Spain as a county within a modernization process, and in the middle of the economic growth. However, apart from that progressive image, there was a message that drew Spain as an exotic place, very stereotyped. The Spanish image projected to the rest of the European countries was based on the sun, the bars, the catholic religion, the flamenco and the bullfights. All the territory of Spain shared this image, and the different identities of the single regions of the country were suppressed in the promotion messages (SÁNCHEZ, 2011). In the case of Barcelona, it was now known because of its beaches in the Costa Brava, and the image of monumental and modernist city vanished into thin air.

The touristic flows were concentrated just in the Mediterranean coasts, which were the destination par excellence. Moreover, since most of the tourists came for summer vacations, the seasonality of the tourist arrivals was accented.

Most of the tourists arrived to the Costa Brava were French. They chose it because of its proximity - the main transportation means in this period were by road, as the airplane was still very expensive-, the good weather conditions and the low prices (SÁNCHEZ, 2011).

Nevertheless, the most remarkable tourists received were Nordic, which caused a great impact and surprise within the locals due to their open-minded behaviour in contrast with the oppressive regime they were suffering.

The "Sun, Sand and Sea" tourism brought more and more tourist each year.

The number of tourists that arrived to Spain grew sharply between the fifties and the seventies: it received 750.000 tourists in 1950. At the beginning of the sixties the number of tourists received grew until 6 million and, at the end of the same decade, the figure rose until 24 million tourists arrived to Spain (LAVAINA, 2006).

If we talk about the province of Barcelona, as we can see in the following chart,¹² the trend was even higher if we compare the variation from a year to another.

¹² Source: (BATISTA TERRONES, E. et al., 2006-2007)

AÑO	VISITANTES	%VARIACIÓN
1959	140.577	
1960	177.844	0,27
1961	218.334	0,23
1962	425.871	0,95
1963	600.583	0,41

Tabla 1: datos para Barcelona

Fuente 1: anuarios estadísticos de la ciudad de Barcelona

The fact is that, although the tourism growth was undeniable, these tourists did not visit the city of Barcelona; they used its roads in order to arrive to the coast. We can say that Barcelona's touristic development at this point was actually blocked. The Central Government efforts were concentrated in the promotion of the "sun, sand and sea" tourism, and it was practically the only touristic manifestation that occurred during this epoch. It was at the end of the 20th Century when another event redirected again the touristic flows to the city.

3.3. The Barcelona's Olympic Games (1992)

In 1986, and after three failed attempts (in 1924, 1936 and 1972), Barcelona was awarded with the Olympic Games for 1992. Its candidature won the ones from Amsterdam, Belgrade, Birmingham, Brisbane and Paris (VILLA, 1992). From the very first moment, the candidature for the project was supported by all the government institutions: the town hall of Barcelona, the Govern de la Generalitat, and even the Royal approval. The enthusiasm within the Barcelonese society was huge.

The city needed to get ready only in seven years. Again, Barcelona went through an urbanistic transformation: the Vila Olímpica was built in a deteriorated area of the city, that was restructured; the terminal B of the airport was extended and there were built the terminals A and C; the highways were improved; some new sport infrastructures were built, such as the Palau Sant Jordi or the Olympic Harbour; and many new hotels were opened in the city. In fact, as the hotel network of Barcelona was not enough for the expected arrivals, the investments on hotel construction increased a lot, even deriving in the over-supply of hotel beds.

Obviously, the preparation was not a bed of roses. Many problems and conflicts appeared: political disagreements, harmful effects, terrorist attack's threats, delays in the construction of the infrastructures, labour tensions, etc. (VILLA, 1992).

In spite of these problems during the preparation of the event, the celebration of the Olympic Games on July 25th 1992 was a complete success.

The ceremony of inauguration was followed by around 2.000 million TV viewers. It participate many international artists, as the opera singers Mònica Caballé and Plácido Domingo, among others. The Spanish Royal family also developed

a leading role in the ceremony, since the prince Felipe de Borbón, carried the Spanish flag in the opening parade as member of the Spanish sailing team. To the Games assisted almost 10.000 athletes from 169 different countries, included South Africa, that was absent since 1960 due to the apartheid; and Germany, that participate for the first time as a unified country after the fall of the wall in 1989 (AGUARÓN, without date).

After the development of the Games, the president of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) by that time, Juan Antonio Samaranch, declared that it had been the best Olympic Games in the history. In fact, Barcelona became a referent for the following Olympic cities; not only because of the well managed event, but also because of the profitability the city took from it. It is documented that the organization of the Games costed 6.728 million euros to the city, and its economic impact was of 18.678 million. Barcelona went through a huge structural transformation and a great touristic development. The number of tourists received in Barcelona grew amazingly from 1'7 million tourists in 1992 until almost 8 million by 2007 (MATEO, 2012).

An important issue is that, with the pretext of the Olympic Games, the visitors stayed in Barcelona for many days and they could enjoy the charm and beauty of the city (SHUETT and PRAT, 2011). People visited examples of *Modernisme* as were, for instance, the buildings designed by the architect Antoni Gaudí. They also visited big monuments such as those built for the Universal Exposition: the Arc del Triomf, la Font Màgica, the monument of Colom, etc. Barcelona recovered its local proud as a city, since it was again seen as a worldwide referent.

4. CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that the development of both events, the Universal Exposition and the Olympic Games, served as a shopping window for the city of Barcelona and achieved the popularization of the urban tourism attracting thousands and thousands of tourists each year. Even after a civil war, and a period of forgetting, the city gathered strength and positioned itself again in the international scope.

Now is time to come back to the question I proposed at the beginning of this dissertation:

Which was the role of the international events in the transformation of Barcelona to an international referent city? This question is difficult to answer. We would need to analyse the touristic development of other cities that had never organized such an event but that had achieved the same popularity as Barcelona. Moreover, there are some cases of cities that have organized international events and that precisely this fact had destroyed its economies. A clear case could be the Olympic Games of Athens in 2004, which some economists consider to be one of the causes of the current Greek financial and economic crisis, because of its elevated cost and the actual disuse of the infrastructures built for the occasion.

The celebration of such international events is not easy. In fact, we can conclude that the success of Barcelona comes from its good management before, during and after the celebration of the events. What we can say is that

the international expositions had worked as publicity for the city. Barcelona has been able to take profit of its resources and to create an attractive destination visible and accessible to everybody in the world.

If we analyse the role of the local administrations in the tourism development and try to know if it could have been possible without their implication, we can extract some thoughts: Tourism development is always possible if there is an element that attracts the touristic flows. When this attractive is natural, such as a water fall or a beautiful beach, the administration's implication is not always needed. In the case of a city, it is completely different. The local administration's implication in Barcelona has been essential for its touristic development. The provision of transport infrastructures, the support to the urbanistic transformation and modernization, the maintenance of the heritage, the investments on promotion, the interest in the organization of international events... All these activities could only be performed by the administrations. We have also seen that when the administration efforts went against the promotion of Barcelona, in favour of the "sun, sand and sea" tourism, the tourism development of the city slowed down.

Without any implication, neither positive nor negative, perhaps the tourism development would have been produced anyway, we cannot know it, but I am pretty sure that the international projection would not have been possible without the administration efforts.

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