

THE TURISTIC IMAGES OF THE OTHER: PORTUGAL AND GALIZA

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Abstract

In this paper I analyse the "official" images of tourist promotion in Portugal and Galiza (Spain) since a crosscultural perspective. Special attention will be put on the exchanged points of view between the two territories, because those are privileged areas of fieldwork research and, at the same time are areas of intercultural and transnational exchange, intensified in the final decades of the XX century. Therefore, I am introducing tourist maps as images of political and cultural representation of the anthropologic "other", and using the tourist guides also as important sources of data.

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CULTURES AND IMAGES: HOW ARE DESTINATIONS AND TOURISTS GENERATED?

Such as the French anthropologist Marc Augé points out, the tourism is a search for images, "an illusionary Kaleidoscope" (1998: 14) that only makes sense when the photographs and videos that verify that we were in such tourist destination are taught. For Augé it is important to re-learn how to travel, but also to learn how to see and to observe, since the tourism is a stereotyped show face to which we can recoup the trip, ever since it is understood as the discovery of new landscapes and new human beings. Boorstin (1972) affirmed that to travel it is not the same that to make tourism. This last one has more passivity associated and a wrapped experience that foresees the real contact with the others.

We can, for certain, affirm that the tourism is a dynamic system of production, distribution and consumption of imaginary images. From this perspective, the tourism needs to persuade potential tourist to desire and consume a specific tourist destination and not another one (Quinn, 1994: 66).

To attract tourist images of the thought as "authentic" are created (MacCannell, 1976 and 1992; Urry, 1990: 3; Santana, 1997: 59), such as Disneyworld in Orlando, Euro Disney in Paris, Port Ventura in Tarragona, or the

House of rural tourism “A Travessa” in Montalegre (Portugal). The tourist images are a way of wrapping, to commercialize and to sell those tourist products presented as promises (OMT, 1998: 314). But, far from the searched authenticity, these images are full of reducing stereotypes that do not escape to a critical reading. Tourist pamphlets, brochures and videos present an image of the places of tourist destination that in the majority of the cases occult the social, cultural, politics and economical realities, (Selwyn, 1993). These tourist information fill the paper of cultural mediations between the hosts and the guests (Smith, 1992; Simonicca, 2002) and serve to “sell” the places of tourist destination, through the creation of imaginary tourist that shape the tourist products as if they were real (Crouch and Lübbren, 2003). We can affirm that the tourist images are a type of myths (Barthes, 1972, in Nash 1996: 75; Selwyn, 1990).

This way, the synthetic and “hygienic presentation” of the destinations (Alberts, 1992 in Nash, 1996: 71) create a dichotomy between the imaginary tourist space - created by the advertising messages and the marketing- and the real social space of the places. The result can be a homogeneous quality on the tourist products and a process of acculturation that tries to homogenise the cultural diversity. In this cultural mediation it always has a game or tension between the way the places are seen and the way they would like to be seen, but also between how they are and how they project themselves to the ones from outside the community (Greenwood, 1992).

The role of the tourist brochures in these processes was already demonstrated by authors as Buck (1977) and Dann (1988), but they are not the only elements that participate in these processes. In Portugal the example of Rio de Onor is paradigmatic of the involvement of the anthropology in the construction of imaginary tourist of the community and their promotion of the places. Rio de Onor is a village that stays between Trás-os-Montes and the Sanabria zamorana, divided in the middle by the administrative border Lusitanian-Spaniard. In the 50's, the famous anthropologist Jorge Dias (1981) made a fieldwork that ended with the thesis of the communitarian farming of the people from Trás-os-Montes and describing a community in perfect harmony and in a functionalist balance. The result of its work of field was published and nowadays when some tourist or visitor asks for their way of life they answer exactly as it is in the book of Jorge Dias, already read by the entire community and is appropriate as an official image of how they must behave and project themselves for the exterior of the community. The anthropologist Joaquim Pais de Brito (1996) discovered years later that among the inhabitants of the village there was also conflicts and tensions, as many of them did not talk between them and as the reality of the village was much more complex. We can observe, therefore, from this and other examples, as many times the local communities assume and assimilate the projected image from the exterior, even though this process is not exempt of tensions, rejections and negotiations.

As far as the tourism is concerned, to promote is to communicate, to create and to project images to persuade the consumer that that destination is the best choice (Quinn, 1994: 62). That's the reason why many tourist brochures present the world as a supermarket (Selwyn, 1996: 16) in which almost everything can be commercialized. The tourism normally creates ambivalent or contradictory representations based on (Crick, 1989) myths and fantasies that generate a false image and a simulacrum (Baudrillard, 2002).

Exceptions to this are the erudite guides and some literature of trips that have as base a deeper and sensitive knowledge of the realities that they describe.

The “tourist place” says Castro (1999), is a cultural construction that is modified with the time, and that can be very well observed in the traveller's guides and in the tourist brochures, in which they not only crystallize the images of the tourism in one determined historical moment but also the thematic narratives. The presence of determined topical and semantic resources that are repeated constantly: “a place with enchantment...” A place to discover...” are resources on the service of the tourism and its processes of creating the tourist imaginary. These clichés over dramatize (Quinn, 1994: 68) and hyper-ritualize (Goffman, 1991) an image that is converted into filmic and static of a more complex reality.

This cultural construction is associated to the creation of an integrated system of meanings and also to the creation of narratives regarding the interest of the “attraction” that can be visited (Dahles, 1996). The image of tourist promotion anticipates the type of experience that the tourist can probably have in the place of tourist destination, giving reply to the tourist ritual process of visiting, to seeing, to eating, making and sleeping. At the same time, this imaginary guides the look of the tourist and mediates between the destination and the potential tourist, but not mechanically, therefore each tourist can make its proper narrative and built its itinerary.

Further more, the images of tourist promotion can be confirmed or not by the images of the experience of the tourist, who can take off its own images and spread out the same imaginary ones or create others. Thus the tourist experiences and its register can also serve to shape and to change negative or stereotyped images. Some authors as Nash and Tarr (1976), Pearce (1982) and Anastasopoulos (1992) demonstrated as in some cases (British tourists in Greece and Morocco, North American tourists in France and Greek tourists in Turkey) the previous images of the tourists had positively changed face to the places of tourist destination.

The register of the memory of the gift carried out by the tourist (i.e.: photographs, videos, narrations, etc.) serve culturally to some social intentions, the first one is to demonstrate that we have travelled and that we were there. This practice also serves to affirm and to confirm the belonging to a specific social group that practises a specific style of life and related to the position that occupies in the social structure. Further more, the image of confirmation of the tourist experience has the purpose of creating the memorandum of our accumulation of tourist capital. Also from the point of view of the tourist system the images of confirmation of the tourist experience - see what they had already seen before in a virtual way- can serve to guarantee the reproduction of the tourist system itself and to win the loyalty of the tourist face to the tourist destination in cause. How? Polluting with the virus of the tourist experience other members of the group where he belongs.

The tourist images can be created by internal or external agents to the tourist destination, by academic experts or by people that “vulgarize” scientific and academic texts that use stereotypes and falsenesses and fakes about the tourist⁽⁰⁾ destinations. The receiving communities of tourists create in some cases anti-stereotypes (Simonicca, 2002: 139) and new stereotypes that can be used as a resistance way, but also as contestation against the tourist overload. Therefore, the tourism can be interpreted as a process of cultural construction

of images about the tourist destinations. These images regulate and construct at the same time the way of looking at and the tourist ritual practices in one determined tourist destination.

“LISBOA IS THE PRETTIEST CITY OF SPAIN”: IMAGES AND TOURIST NARRATIVES OF PORTUGAL AND GALIZA IN THE INTERNATIONAL TOURIST GUIDES

The politics of tourist promotion are an exercise of power confines an ideological conception of the collective identities. A historical example is the Spanish case of the tourist mark "Spain is different", promoted in the years 1960 when Manuel Fraga was minister of the tourism and that served to sell Spain as an homogeneous whole with plenty of sun, bulls and "flamenco", that is, the iconography of the south of Spain (Lois González and Santos Solla, 2000). This chosen image of Andalusia was the one that was converted into a mark of tourist identity of all Spain, with great effectiveness and international symbolic permanence, ignoring the internal cultural diversity of the Spanish state itself. It will be after the democracy and after the creation of autonomous communities that they decentralized the autonomous politics of tourist promotion and the autonomous governments even elaborated their own politics from the inside to the exterior. In the case of Galiza it will be created a public company, the Turgalicia, which will dedicate itself basically to the promotion of the tourist images of the Galiza.

The Portuguese case presents some differences from the Spaniard; though in the New State the tourist politics was a subject of the State, after the middle of the XXth century and with the increase of the number of tourists the local participation in the promotion of the tourism was each time bigger. This way it was created the Municipal "Tourism Divisions" and the "Tourism Regions" These last ones had been consecrated by Tourism Law 2082 (Lei de Bases do Turismo) from 1956 and served to decentralize the tourist politics, even though with problems and dependences face to the City councils and the Central Government. Nowadays, the tourist politics is integrated in the Ministry of Economy, in which exists a State secretary of the Tourism, who co-ordinates the national tourist politics. Together with the State secretary of the Tourism it coexist the "Tourism Regions" and some municipal divisions. The debate passes by the discussion on the need to promote and to articulate micro regional, macro regional and national politics of promoting the tourist. Among the purposes of the "Tourism Regions" we can enlighten the promotion of the tourist offer, the supervision of the tourist activities, the support of the tourist establishments, the performance of tourist studies, the definition of tourist products and the cooperation with the national tourist politics (Wedge, 2001: 430-436).

After this introduction I want to enlighten how the images of Galiza and Portugal produced from outside these two territories become many times into reduced idealized and stereotyped topics. In some cases they even present factual and interpretation errors, confirming that the conventional tourist guides normally vulgarize and idealize the complex socio-cultural reality of the tourist destinations in question. An example is the virtual guide www.viajar.com that presents a map of Portugal, copied from the guide Lonely Planet, with toponyms from North of Spain (i.e.: "Braganza", "Duero", "Tajo", "Alta Beira",

“Oporto”...) and with narratives in which they forget that the dictatorship only finished in year 1974 and not in 1968:

“Portugal is one of the most economic and fascinating destinies of Europe. It enjoys a rich sailor past, magnificent beaches, melancholic towns and cities and a landscape of olive trees, vineyards and wheat fields. Four decades of dictatorship, between 1926 and 1968, left the Lusitanian (Portuguese) country totally to the margin of the economic progress and away from the European power centres; although having dedicated great part of last the twenty years trying to advance from the periphery, forging new bonds with the rest of the European continent, reconstructing his economy and making an effort to maintain the best thing of his national culture”

The guide “Globetrotter.net” points out that the Portuguese are nostalgic. And the Berlitz guide of Portugal presents Chaves of the following form:

“Chaves, a mere 12 Km (7 miles) from Spain, is a quiet place, when it isn’t being attacked by the Spanish...” (Portuguese Guide Berlitz, 1997: 57)

According to the North American tourist guide “Let’s Go”, besides affirming that Spain is the dream of the traveller, a microcosms of all what Europe offers, also affirms that:

“In Spain people do not use short pants away from the beach specially women. The women cannot wear mini-skirts, and have serious problems to find hygienic bands and contraceptives... The tourists must never admit that they are alone, and “the better is to attend a self-defence course”.

The Australian tourist guide “Lonely Planet” affirms, “the “encaixes” (type of embroideries) from Camarinhas” (in Galiza) “are only to adorn the virgins”. One magazine on Tourism and Trips from the Spanish periodical “El Mundo” (10-05-2003) ignores that we can get to Galiza (and also to the North of Portugal) by highway and affirms that you can only get there through a national road.

The “Rough Guide”, besides defining the Portuguese of the North as Celtic and Germanic and the ones from the South as mysterious and more than the Mediterranean type, it presents the Portuguese agricultural zones as “remarkably” underdeveloped:

“But in its rural areas this is still a conspicuously underdeveloped country, and there are plenty of opportunities to experience smaller towns and countryside regions that have changed little in the last century or so.” (<http://travel.roughguides.com/roughguides.html>)

These examples serve to confirm the lack of severity and the unfamiliarity or superficial knowledge of the promoted places of destination since of the exterior of the Galiza and Portugal. At the same time these images and narratives incur the lack of necessary seduction so that the tourist feels motivated to travel to the destination place and are negative for the captation of new markets. To create an image is to construct the perception of that we want for a mark, in this case a place of tourist destination. But this image must seduce and stimulate the curiosity.

“FROM SPAIN WE CAN’T GET NEITHER GOOD WIND NOR MARRIAGE”: IMAGES AND TOURIST NARRATIVES OF GALIZA IN PORTUGAL

I started this point by using a Portuguese popular proverb that expresses well the rhetorical opposition with “the other”. These proverbs condense, in the studied contexts, the crossed visions between “us” and “the others”.

In 1999 Portugal received 27,016,400 from foreigner visitors⁽¹⁾ of which 75.2% were Spanish (General Direction of Tourism, 2001). Of this sum it is necessary to differentiate between 11.632.000 tourists⁽²⁾, 15,119,600 excursionists and 264,700 in maritime transit. We must enlighten that of between the excursionists, 99.1% were Spanish and among tourists 47.2% they were also Spanish. This shows the importance, each time bigger, of Portugal as tourist destination of the Spaniard. Portugal is, each time more, part of the tourist imaginary of the Spaniard, who curiously are the tourists who remain in the country less time⁽³⁾.

Of the many Spaniard who visit Portugal, the Galician have a very important paper while market segment. It is not to find odd that in Galician periodicals as the *Faro of Vigo* we see promoted the hotels of the Portuguese Algarve or the daily cultural events of the Portuguese Minho. Galiza had many historical linking with Portugal (Lopes Suevos, 1987; Pereiro and Silva, 2000; Barros, 2002) and after the entrance of the two States in the European Union there interrelation and the cooperation was intensified in the most varied levels. The Galiza is, of the geographic point of view, the only territory of the peninsular Atlantic façade that does not belong to Portugal. But, being Galiza one of the first tourist markets of Portugal, the image is manufactured by the politics of tourist promotion⁽⁴⁾.

So, the first thing to enlighten is that Galiza is almost inexistent as concept in tourist brochures of the North of Portugal. The references generally are made to “Spain” and only a few times to “Galiza” as an autonomous community territorial and culturally different from the other Spanish communities. This has deep historical roots. In the First Portuguese Colonial Exposition, celebrated in Oporto in 1934 - during the New State -, the promotion was already guided for the Galiza. The campaign to attract Galician visitors represented Galiza as if it was Andalusia - bulls, sun and “flamenco” - (Medeiros, 2001). This phenomenon is characterized by what the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1994) calls of metonymic freezing, that is, a trace of the life of a human group that starts to represent all that human group or another one with which is in contiguity. It means to take to prison an essentialist representation. We must point out also, that the Spanish Mediterranean and the Canarian Islands are the foreign tourist destination more promoted in brochures published by the Portuguese tourist operators (Ruiz Boudrihaye, 1999: 80). That represents well the image that the Portuguese tourists have of Spain and it can help us to better understand the images and the cross looks between Portuguese and the Galician.

In Portugal, from the small ratio of references to Galiza, the road to Santiago is the one most aimed at. Other times, when referring to Galiza, trying to elaborate a narrative of geographic linking or historical they are committed “nice” affirmations that have as base the unfamiliarity of the “other”. Let us see an example of a brochure of the Region of Tourism of the Alto Minho published in 1992:

“Situating between two huge urban centres, the area metropolitan of the Oporto and the Xunta da Galiza, Alto Minho is for fact, a zone of election in this peninsular north western recess place”

A very important aspect of the content of these brochures is the maps, which can be understood as a cultural and politic representation, but also as mediation between the knowledge and the power (Castro Seixas, 1999). In the Portuguese promotion images we can't almost find neither maps of the Iberian Peninsula, nor of Europe, nor of the Galiza, what limits the relational reading and the knowledge of the promoted territory. This also happens in the virtual guides of the Internet (i.e.: www.portugalinsite.pt , www.turismoportugal.com). In the best one of the cases they show national maps of Portugal very generic and with little information. In some cases, as in the maps of the Region of Tourism of the Alto Tâmega and Barroso, the only presented maps are the micro regional ones. This makes it difficult initially the relational promotion with Galiza and other European segments of market.

Another aspect, related with the previous one is that if in we guide ourselves through the tourist brochures we do not know how to get to the territory in question, not only for the lack of maps as for the absence of reference to airports, public ways of communication and transports. We underline that 80.6% of the foreign visitors in Portugal arrived at the country in 1999 by road (DGT, 2001).

The language is an identity indicator, to speak the same language or different languages are an identity sign. And when we have a map with references of the other side of the administrative border Lusitanian-Galician, the toponyms normally appear translated to the Spaniard (i.e.: Ourense, La Coruña, Puentearreas, La Guardia, Tuy, Caldas de Reyes...) and just a few times in the official Galician language (i.e.: Ourense, A Coruña), and even less translated to Portuguese (i.e.: A Corunha). As far as the idiom with the language of the narratives of brochures⁽⁵⁾, those produced by the Portuguese Regions of Tourism are normally translated into Spanish, English, German and French, who are by this order the languages of the people who more visit Portugal. The tourist promotion of the North of Portugal is not very relational with Galiza, being a region from another country, even so, the processes of mutual approach and construction of an European identity motivate that the Galiza converts into a tourist product for the Portuguese⁽⁶⁾ , accentuated in the years of the Holy saints of Compostela with the trips to Santiago de Compostela.

Nowadays there are also good examples of promotion and territorial market techniques combined and transnational⁽⁷⁾. Among them we must distinguish the peninsular north western Atlantic Axle, which deserves a special attention for the vanguard in the creation of new tourist imaginaries. The Atlantic Axle is an association beyond borders integrated by the 18 more important cities of the North of Portugal and Galiza, that has as general goals to promote the conjoint development of this transnational interstate space. Among there specific goals is the conjoint promotion of the tourism (Pardellas, 2002). Some of its slogans are famous and well significant of this conjoint promotion: “visit two countries in your vacations”, “The cities of the stone and the water”.

“AT LEAST WE WERE LEFT PORTUGAL”: IMAGES AND IMAGES AND TOURIST NARRATIVES OF PORTUGAL IN GALIZA

I started this point by using a southern Galician popular proverb that is used when things go wrong and that resumes some of the ideas here presented. It is positively affirmed the Portuguese neighbour, that in the tourist practices works for the daily routine breaks in a country thought as something “different” and in an “extraordinary” time.

Even being the Galiza a zone aside from the tourism of masses that looked for the sun and the beaches of the Mediterranean, after the years 1990 and with the changes that happened in the tourism it started by affirm itself as a tourist destination. Offers like “Os caminhos de Santiago”, “Santiago de Compostela”, the “Rias Baixas” or the Rural Tourism represent some of the star products that had converted Galiza into a land in which the tourism represent approximately 10% of the GIP. Galiza is at this moment the eighth tourist destination of Spain as far as number of visitors is concerned, behind Andalusia, Catalunha, Balears, Madrid, Canarias, Valencia, and Castilla y León (source: INE -Spanish National Statistic Institute-).

Nowadays most of the tourists who visit Galiza are Spanish (around 85% according to data from the General Tourism Department of Galiza), especially from Madrid. From among the foreigners, the Portuguese occupy the first place, then the French, the Germans, the British and the North Americans. Even though the daily transit of vehicles between the two states of the Iberian Peninsula has increased a lot in the last years, to underline that of the 50 transit points beyond borders between Portugal and Spain, the bordering transit point Valença-Tui is the one that has biggest movement of vehicles of all Lusitanian Spanish⁽⁸⁾ border line.

According to a study of the University of Santiago de Compostela carried through for the public company Turgalicia, in year 2001, 4,041,833 visits of Portuguese to the Galiza were produced. This study demonstrates as the Portuguese excursionists have an average expenditure of 79,12 euros face to the 67.71 of the Spanish excursionists, but also as the Portuguese excursionists repeat with frequency their visits.

This information is important to better understand and to reflect on the images produced in relation to Portugal, is this relational perspective that interests me to analyze in this text. As well as in the previous point, I am not going to make reference to the analysis of the images that the tourist brochures or guides bring to the tourist destination promoted, already analyzed in the Galician case by Nogueira (1998) and in the Irish case and Scottish by Quinn (1994).

The first thing to enlighten in Galician tourist brochures is that Portugal is part of the narratives and tourist images as well as of the tourist interest places promoted. The Galician “sell” Galiza together with the North of Portugal as a strategy of tourist development. This is a form of flowing out the “border” and to recreate a new culture of border, each time more strained and flexible. In the brochures of the borderline with Portugal, this is much more accentuated, since the visit to the “neighbour” country is part of the tourist product offered by the promoter. Portugal not only represents a positive value as a product, but also as segment of potential tourist market for which specific⁽⁹⁾ promotions are destined, trend that does not happen with such a frequency in the Portuguese case.

In the Galician borderline with Portugal, what is promoted is not only the clichés of the thought as “different” (i.e.: landscape, beaches, green, gastronomy, handcraft, cultural heritage, sportive activities, etc.), but also the “resemblance” and the cultural identity Galician-Portuguese. In Galiza it is built an imaginary of the Galician-Portuguese recognized as a positive value, it is pointed out what joins and not what separates:

“Salvaterra here and Monção there are two neighbours very connected, and neither the Father Miño, nor the competitions between noble families, will avoid the bounds of consanguinity and the commercial exchanges. One and the other join all that brings life to both. The opening of the international bridge in 1995 was the final impulse.” (Source: Tourist brochure from Salvaterra de Miño, 2001).

The bridge mentioned on the previous text is promoted in many borderline brochures of Minho as first or second to announcement. The bridge is a metaphor of unity, of the offers and the search that is expected from Portugal:

“Even in the tourist area we will prosper, we only have to work more close to Monção to be a border city” (Arturo Grandal, Lord Mayor of Salvaterra –Galiza-, in Faro de Vigo, 23-11-2003, p. 25).

An Important data is that the maps are normally local and regional and only few point out the promoted territory in the Iberian Peninsula and Europe, even in those potentially guided promotions for the Portuguese market. In the borderline brochures the presence of Portugal in the maps become into something inevitable and also important while iconic image of what is being promoted. We must point out that only a few maps illustrate the ways of communication necessary to arrive at the destination place and to move themselves inside it. We must refer here the information that 80% of those who visit Galiza do it by car (Candela, 1996: 267).

In relation to the language of the brochures, these are each time more concerned with the linguistic questions and offer texts in Portuguese oriented for tourist and Portuguese excursionists who visit Galiza each time with more frequency. However, we cannot prevent paradoxes as in the presentation of Galician toponyms translated to the Spaniard (i.e.: “Isla de la Toja”, “La Guardia”) or to the “castrapo”⁽¹⁰⁾ (i.e.: Punteareas). These paradoxes strengthen the Portuguese ethnocentric vision of looking to a single and homogeneous “Spain” through the mirror of Portugal, that is, a state, an only nation and one only culture. Even tough that all this ethnocentrism can be fought with doses of cultural relativism, we cannot forget that the tourist image can serve to fill and to strengthen the stereotypes on the other. These stereotypes are untwisted images that little or nothing helps to a mutual understanding and knowledge.

CONCLUSIONS

Currently we have more easiness to cross the lusitanian-hispaniard or hispaniard-lusitanian “border”, according to the prisms, and we do that at 120 kilometres per hour. The Iberian democracies, the entrance in the European Union, the new ways of communication and the circulation of euro have

contributed to warp the Iberian borders and the limits that it conserves are studied by the anthropology, the said mental limits.

The above-mentioned factors have allowed not only the erasing of the borders as a process of re-inventing the borderline, beyond border and transnational identities. The tourism and specially the tourist images constitute a field of special importance to observe and to analyze these identities and the processes of identifications. What the tourist promotion politics do is to lock up some ideological conceptions of these identities.

In the case of the tourist images manufactured outside of Portugal and Galiza it was demonstrated its lack of correspondence with the reality, its metonymic freezing and its dreaming ideas (Riemer, 1990). These images point out "the other" in a pre-modern and less evolved than the world of who constructs the images (McCannell, 1992).

In the Portuguese case, Portugal does not offer a specific promotion for the Galician but a generic for the Spaniard. This vision has some ethnocentrism that limits the understanding of the Iberian cultural diversity. Galiza almost does not exist as concept in tourist brochures of the North of Portugal but "Spain" does instead. The Galiza scarcely ever appears referenced in the maps that are very parochial and little relational. When it appears, some toponyms are presented in Spanish and not in the official Galician or Portuguese. The tourist promotion of the North of Portugal is little relational with Galiza and has few examples of transnational and over border joint promotion.

In the Galician case, the Galiza carries through a specific promotion oriented to Portugal. Especially in the borderline between Galiza and Portugal, the visit to the "neighbour country" is offered as a product and a positive value of Galician tourist offer. The image and the narratives use a strategy of affirmation of the Galician-Portuguese similarity and not of the difference, as it is done in Portugal. To offer this image of two countries in one only product strengthens the idea of a bigger daily routine break in an extraordinary leisure time proper of the tourist practice.

These images imply a proximity game and mutable distances according to times and spaces. Not all tourists are strange; some are less strange than others and have bigger or smaller compatibility between cultures and human groups (Nash, 1996: 48).

For the Galician, Portugal being the "neighbour" can have two connotations (Mairal, 1998): By one hand, the immediate neighbourhood, that is, the one that has as base the physical and social proximity, the confidence, the intimacy, the reciprocity, the friendship and the communication in the same cultural codes. By the other hand, the one of formal neighbourhood, that is, of mutual recognition of ancestors, a common origin and the conviviality in a delimited space of relations. This redefines and relativizes the same notion of tourist and shades the vision of the same one as strange; to integrate it in a category of proximity that redefines one cultural continuum.

For the Portuguese, that the Galician and the Spanish are "nuestros hermanos" or "our brothers" as they normally say, it can mean a relation of attributed fraternity more than acquired or chosen, another one with which we are obliged to deal without many choices, therefore we share similar spaces and times. This rhetoric of conviviality with the other obeys since my point of

view the deep constructions of identity anchored in the history of the Iberian meeting and meeting failures.

The administrative-territorial limits can have associated a physical segmentation, but the social limits affirm and define belonging and exclusion categories that confirm or contradict the administrative limits. In the case that we approached we can conclude that the distinguishing administrative identity is still stronger than the cultural identity of proximity, what is well expressed in the analyzed tourist images. We also conclude that in a Europe "without borders" the administrative identity gradually breaks, but the cultural identity still creates mental limits that organize a complex diversity in a globalise world.

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⁽⁰⁾ An example was what happened with the webs from the Tourism Secretary State of the Spanish State www.spain.info e www.tourspain.es in the year 2002. The mistakes and the untruthfulness about Galiza and other Spanish autonomous communities provoked a reaction that that forced to improve the contents. Among the mistakes we can enlighten the ones from the toponyms: “Arxuá” instead of the official “Arzúa”, “Mugía” instead of Muxía, “Viana del Bollo” instead of Viana do Bolo, etc. In this internet address it was affirmed that the International Celtic festival of Ortigueira was celebrated in Corunha instead of Ortigueira (more than 100 Km away). A curious data is the information given about the party of the “Dia da Pátria Galega”, organized by the Galician nationalists on the 25th of July in Santiago de Compostela. It is classified in the mentioned webs as one of the most ancient festivities of Galiza, when in the reality it does not have more than 80 years old.

⁽¹⁾ Nr foreign visitors in 1999

20.507.400	Spanish
1.969.500	British
979.800	Germans
763.400	French
483.400	Dutch
307.100	Italian
282.100	North-American
239.000	Belgian
141.600	Danish
131.000	Suedish
130.200	Icelandic
107.600	Swiss
106.700	Brasilian

Source: DGT (2001)

In 2001 the number of visitors was 28.2 millions, from which 12.2 millions of tourists, what represents more than 1% than in the year 2000. These amounts place Portugal in the 16th place of world tourist destiny. The incomes of 2001 were 6.1 million Euros, what means an increase of 10.9% in the period between 1996-2001 (DGT, 2002). It is to enlighten that in an investigation conducted by the sociologist Amando de Miguel (2000) more than half of the ourensanos (Galician from Ourense) recognize that they visit Portugal at least once a month. To better understand the change occurred in the last decades, we must enlighten that in 1963 the number of foreign visitors in Portugal was around 514.069 (132.805 Spanish) and in 1981 was 7.227.000 (5.226.900 Spanish). (Source: INE)

⁽²⁾ Nr. of tourists in 1999

Spanish	5.321.300	47,2%
British	1.868.100	15%
Germans	1.010.200	8,9%
French	778.600	6,9%
Dutch	487.200	4,2%
Italian	312.700	2,5%

North-American	261.300	15,3%
Belgian	240.600	
Danish	138.300	
Suedish	136.800	
Icelandic	125.000	
Swiss	97.400	
Brasilian	94.900	

Source: DGT (2001)

⁽³⁾ General Average of permanence's: 1993-1999

Canadian	15,1
Dutch	14,8
Suedish	13,0
Norwegian	12,4
German	12,3
Finnish	11,8
Irish	11,3
Swiss	11,2
Danish	10,7
British	10,6
Brasilian	10,5
Belgian	10,2
French	9,1
North-american	7,6
Italian	6,8
Spanish	3,0

⁽⁴⁾ We must point out that the expenses on tourist promotion in Portugal were in 1997 of 2.425.000 euros (Source: DGT). By the same date the Spanish region Canarias had an expense of 9.500.000 euros. Consequently the catastrophe of the boat "Prestige", that happened in November 2002, the Board of Galiza will invest 5.600.000 euros in a huge tourist publicity campaign. This points out the importance of the tourist images in the tourist promotion of the brand, something that gets intensified in crisis situations to correct negative images.

⁽⁵⁾ About 50 brochures elaborated by Tourism Regions, City Halls, and Municipality Associations of the North of Portugal were analysed. We must point out that some translations, like the ones from the brochures of the tourist Region of Alto Tâmega and Barroso, are an example of how we should not translate a text into the Spanish language.

⁽⁶⁾ It's the case of the company "Templar-Rotas e Destinos Turísticos, Lda." (www.templar.online.pt), with Head Office in Tomar, that in 2002 offered a product called "Galiza 2002" that integrated lodging, meals and a tourist adventure programme (rafting, canoeing, motto4 circuits, etc). Another example is the tourist-cultural itinerary "O Românico em Portugal" from the project "Museu sem Fronteiras" (Museum without frontiers). The circuit I offers the product "O Minho/Miño. Entre a Galiza e Portugal", that invites the visitor to visit monuments of Romanic origin in the riversides of the Minho river. See Magazine Turismo-Património nr. 4 (May 2002).

⁽⁷⁾ A good example is the guide "Guia da Raia pola beira do Miño en Galicia e Portugal", edited by Xunta de Galicia and by the commission of coordination of the North Region in Portugal. It's author is the Galician geographer Xosé Manuel Santos Solla (1999). Another good example is www.portugalicia.org and www.portugaliciahoteles.org, a hotel group from Galiza and North of Portugal that have as turist slogan "visit two countries for the price of one". This grouping intends to create a cluster. Some other examples can be observed in the Internet. The

Portuguese portal www.agroportal.pt/Turismo/regioes.htm integrates also a guide from Galiza: www.galice.net together with all Portuguese tourism regions.

Another example of conjoint promotion is the web portal on the Caminhos Portugueses de Santiago de Compostela: <http://www.caminho-portugues.quap.pt/eures-001.htm>

(8)

Beyond border transit points	Vehicle traffic 2002
Valença-Tui	12.597 daily
Caia-Badajoz	6.777 daily
Monte Francisco-Ayamonte (Huelva)	6.353 daily
Vilar Formoso-Fuentes de Oñoro (Salamanca)	4.799 daily

Source: Beyond Border observatory Spain-Portugal (See: La Voz de Galicia, edition of Vigo, 8-12-2003, p. 12). See also Ruiz Boudrihayé (1999: 93).

(9) Some examples are the ones of the pontevedreses municipalities of Baiona, Sanxenxo and O Grove. In the case of this last two, they elaborated brochures in the Portuguese language that are strongly promoted in portuguese fairs like the Tourism fair of Lisbon and Porto.

We can observe in the Internet examples of places of Turgalicia and Xacobeo.

Another example is the Galician company Secchi (Tourist and Cultural Services), with Head Office in Santiago de Compostela, that offers among its guided visits a itinerary of a all day by the Portuguese Baixo Minho and Portugal.

(10) The “castrapo” is a hybrid among Galician and Spanish. So, for instance, Ponteareas, an official Galician toponym, that being translated literally to Spanish would be “Puente de las Arenas” (bridge of the arenas).