Spanish Tourist Policy from 1952-2014. Everything must change so that everything can stay the same.

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Abstract

Given its paramount relevance for Spanish economic policy and following several theoretical and methodological recommendations that arise from the study of policy change (Capano, 2009), this work focuses on a case study of the dynamics in tourism policy in Spain. Throughout the entirety of this work, we use a historical time-span to facilitate our analysis of Spanish tourism policy over the long-term. In the first part, we describe the basic elements and facts that define this policy and its specific policy arena. In the second part we will analyze several changes that occur during this time-span, and we will describe how these changes have affected public policy on several levels of analysis: a) the definition of this policy area, b) the structure and content of its policy agenda, c) the programmatic contents (and their policy instruments) and d) the policy implementation tools and procedures. Finally, assuming that the causes of those changes may have multiple origins and are multi-level in scope, I will try to find possible interdependencies between changes that occurred between the previously cited levels with subsystemic changes over: a) policy ideas, b) institutions and c) the policy actors involved.

Introduction

Normally, when taking on an academic project that deals with public policy change, political scientists follow a similar trajectory. First, the author explains the theoretical framework that he or she will adopt later. Afterwards, the specific case at hand is described. Finally, the author arrives at specific conclusions which are supported by the theoretical elements and which allow the author to explain how change was produced in a concrete, sectorial policy.

However, in some cases, the researcher already knows intimately the evolutionary path that a concrete policy has followed before investigating the change. On occasion, she knows the principal actions and key events linked to a policy: when they began, who were the actors involved, when it was modified, etc. The author’s knowledge would also include observed changes in the policy and its arena, and he or she can hypothesize as to whether or not some internal and external policy factors correlate with said changes.

In the aforementioned case, the research process advances in the opposite direction: knowing the evolution and change of a concrete policy, the researcher chooses a theory from a variety of options that attempt to explain the policy change in general. Each theory emphasizes distinct dimensions and proposes different visions and focuses on differing scales. In this situation, the researcher finishes by selecting the theoretical proposal that best fits the case. This strategy is susceptible to the classic methodological problem of selecting the case that replicates the theory, even if it is in reverse: it means that the researcher selects a theoretical framework that perfectly explains the case, known as a “best theory fallacy”.

This paper works on dilemmas of the latter nature. The work has three parts: in the first part, we describe the principal milestones of tourist policy in Spain during a long time period (1952-2014) and fundamental changes are teased out. In the second part, we construct a dialogue between the case study and the principal theoretical proposals regarding policy change. Finally, we try to find some indicators that allow us to observe during what moments these changes were produced. The work ends by presenting some conclusions on the application of a concrete theoretical framework to the case study.
1. Tourist Policy in Spain from 1952-2014

Analyzing such a long period of time in terms of policy change is a hazardous strategy. The multitude of facts, decisions, contexts, norms, etc. that accumulate over 70 years would overwhelm any researcher. However, we have specific circumstances that lead us to consider such an extensive period. First, previous research has been done in this field (Velasco, 2004, 2008). Therefore, we have enough information that allows us to examine the established range of time. Second, tourism became a relevant social phenomenon that piqued governments’ interest, not only the Spanish government, from the 1950s onwards. To consider the complete period will allow us to observe public action from the beginning of the issue until today. Finally, we believe that it is precisely the observation of a long process which can offer key insights as to how best to interpret the greatest paradox in tourism policy: profoundly changing the context, and the tourist and its actions, the “core” of the tourist policy has not changed in its substance in the last 70 years. In order to describe the evolution of tourism policy in our country and its principal components we will utilize the idea of phases, whereby each one of them represents a period of public action characterized by sharing a determined idea of what is tourist policy, what should the role of the government be in developing tourism, and what position tourism has with respect to private actors.

1.1. Initial phase (1951-1962)

During these years of the Franco dictatorship – first years of tourist development in the country – the government was the driving force and played a promotional role, which implied a triple perspective

a. Promotion in the strictest sense: propaganda from Spain directed outwards to attract new visitors.

b. Attempts to convince businesses that tourism is an interesting and profitable sector with good prospects for investment. Due to the youngness of the phenomenon and the statistics on the number of arriving visitors, there were not high hopes in the business sector.

c. Lastly, the government tried to communicate or broadcast to the Spanish society the importance of tourism and the role this phenomenon could fulfill in the economic development of Spain. There were especially intense efforts to raise the awareness in the minds of the public decision makers of other relevant factors. One such factor was the danger that came with contact with other cultures and ideologies.

Moreover, the government assumed a stimulating function, propelling the construction of the first basic infrastructure and approving some financial instruments that allowed the creation of an expanded supply of tourism products (the principal financial instruments utilized were credit given to the accommodation industry that new investors could apply for in order to construct new establishments.

Principal Components:

1) The first important public organs of tourist policy are created within the Spanish administration.

- In 1951, Spain created the first public body dedicated to tourism - the Ministry of Information and Tourism – in addition to a Directorate General of Tourism within the Ministry.

- Other public organisms are created: the Interministerial Tourism Commission which unites ministerial representatives from the various Departments whose activity affects the
development of tourism; the autonomous organisms of ATESA (dedicated to car and bus rental for tourists), a body for tourist insurance policies (in charge of the paperwork and pay scheme of tourist insurance policies), and the public business ATE (that basically heads the operation of tourist accommodations owned by the State).

2) The National Tourism Plan of 1953 is passed which asserts that tourism is able to reinvigorate the Spanish economy. It also states that tourism could have a very positive impact on the balance of payments. Moreover, the arrival of tourists to Spain would be able to favor “the direct knowledge of a disfigured reality by the biased propaganda… the tourists that visit us constitute one of our best means of propaganda” (National Tourism Plan, Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1953:11).

2.2. FASE DE DESARROLLO (1962-1974)

These are the most important years for the creation and expansion of the Spanish tourism model. In this decade, the “tourist miracle” occurs, which is nothing more than an incredibly rapid and sustained increase in the arrival of tourists and visitors. Moreover, the miracle refers to the ability of Spain to create a marked increase in supply that matched the growth of demand. The objective of those years – that is still maintained today- was to reach the maximum grade of tourist development measured exclusively through determined quantitative data: the annual number of arrivals of foreign visitors and the capacity to supply an ample number of hotel beds, camping sites, apartments… The public decision makers believed that mass tourism would guarantee the stability of the whole tourism sector and, therefore, of the arrival of foreign currency

In the year 1962, the Franco regime receives credit from the World Bank on the condition that it is invested in four sectors: infrastructure, education, housing and tourism. Said investments are accompanied by directives that Spain must follow (Report on the Spanish Economy, 1962). The directives to spur the tourist sector in Spain are:

- Improve the infrastructure of communication and public transportation (these were the object of an entire chapter of the Report).

- Promote the growth in the supply of accommodations through better utilization of existing hotels and the construction of new ones. For this, the government considered extending credit to the accommodation industry as an essential instrument.

- It recommends the scrapping of the then existing official system of price control. Instead, it proposes that the hotels themselves should freely establish prices, communicate them to the ministry, and the ministry would be in charge of assuring that it was these prices which were finally applied to tourists.

- It suggests the expansion of hospitality schools, so that workers in the field increase their qualifications and complete their schooling with language education.

- It also points out the necessity of reorganizing the administrative structure dedicated to tourism, indicating that the government should give tourism a preeminent role within the Administration by

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1 “Esto viene a confirmar las características tan diferentes que tiene el turismo, en su moderna concepción frente al turismo clásico, ofreciendo un carácter masivo y organizado, frente al individualizado y personal de otra época. Esta característica es la que determina una estabilidad en el fenómeno turístico y asegura el desarrollo de una auténtica industria de tal naturaleza. El viaje individual, no organizado a través de la comodidad de la agencia, es precisamente el que se retrae ante cualquier coyuntura negativa” (III Plan de Desarrollo. Comisaría del Plan de Desarrollo, 1972:16).
creating an independent organ with greater range, expressly speaking of a Subsecretary (World Bank 1962:82).

- Lastly, it mentions the need to augment spending on marketing and the need to better collect statistics on the activity.

**Principal Components:**

1) The Spanish Tourist Administration reaches the largest size in its history: in addition to the ministerial organs, they created an institute on tourist studies, the Official Tourism School, and strengthened the role of the government as a tourist business (with a hotel business, travel agency, car/vehicle rental business...)

2) Related to the passing of norms, they proceeded to rank the principal subsectors- lodging, restoration and complementary activities-, to the regulation of planning instruments – Law and Regulation of City Centers and Areas of National Tourist Interest-, to the establishment of the regime of infractions and sanctions, to the passing of the law of tourism competition...until forty-three norms of distinct range tried to equip tourist activity with a stable legal structure.

3) Using financial instruments, they revitalized tourist credit and opened specific lines of credit for diverse actions: credit for planning to local corporations based in tourist zones; credit to finance projects in urban centers or zones of interest; or credit to builders or owners of housing areas to finance the construction and sale of buildings to foreigners in tourist areas.

4) The promotional campaigns abroad were intensified, supported by the Tourism Offices, and they started specific promotional campaigns within the country – like the EXPOTUR or the program **Conozca Usted España**

5) Finally, they led various communication efforts. They convened the first National Tourism Assembly, a meeting where public decision makers from all over the country met in order to find out about the tourist policy developed by the Ministry. They also began the Hispanic-Portuguese-American-Philippine Tourism Assemblies, that would meet on three occasions and whose intention was to convert the country into a reference point for research and studies for Latin America. And, lastly, they institutionalized the set of rewards and tourism distinctions, some of which have been maintained until today.

The feature most characteristic of this stage is the development of a tourist model based on the large supply of a product with a low price, which was, in the opinion of the key actors, the only guarantee for sustained growth in the arrival of visitors.


This stage corresponds to the political transition in Spain. The new Constitution determines that the Autonomous Communities have the exclusive right when it comes to the competency of tourism. Therefore, the Central Government no longer has the same central importance in tourist policy (nor is there the same level of extremely high activity as occurred during the earlier stage) so they had to look for their own space in the tourist system in order to maintain influence over the newly disjointed tourism policies.

These first years are a period of transition for tourist policy as well. In fact, the tourist policy of the preceding age is preserved and they begin with the passing of tourist competency to the ten Autonomous Communities.
The tourist model generated in the earlier phase had given alarming signals (about over usage, low quality, little control...). The basic objective of the period was to attempt to rationalize the growth in tourism, incorporating some kind of planning over the out of control development that had always been focused on quantity as opposed to quality. However, it was no longer possible to carry out this planning because the Central Government no longer has direct jurisdiction over tourist policy.

**Principal Components:**

1) The main activity during this time is negotiation, or the conflict between the Central Government and the Autonomous Communities in the presence of a new legal context. The new situation required the construction of new agreements between the Central Government and the Autonomous Communities.

2) The government continues with normative activity in order to maintain better control over the subsectors. They regulate the subsectors of camps, tourist apartments or cafeterias; they establish a procedure to deal with client complaints and inspection books, they regulate the specialized tourist schooling and the declaration of “territories for the preferred use of tourism”. Finally, the government worked on ranking the subsector of travel agencies, the most forgotten subsector within the policy.

3) Although they did not write down a general plan for tourism, they passed hotel modernization plans, whose objective was the renovation of obsolete sites and those of very low quality, and they prepared an inventory of all the tourism resources in all of the provinces of the country.

2.4. INSTITUTIONAL ADAPTATION PHASE (1982-1991)

This stage of tourist policy is characterized by an elevation in the tension between the Central Government and the Autonomous Communities. The new jurisdictional system that the Central Tourist Administration had developed during the previous 30 years created a lot of confusion.

The Central Government did not find its own space within tourist policy. It was limited to maintaining the functions that had been developed earlier.

**Principal Components:**

1) Privatization of the public businesses that directly loaned tourist services (they only maintained public control over the Paradores de Turismo), suppression of various public organisms dedicated to tourism and the creation of the autonomous organism Turespaña, which was dedicated to promotional activities.

2) They put into place some programs that had become over time very successful initiatives: the program “Vacations for Retirees,” the rural tourism programs and joint accords between various Autonomous Communities for supporting tourist routes.

3) They dedicated major efforts to promotion with annual marketing plans and a centralized campaign system.

2.5. INNOVATION PHASE (1991-1996)

Tourism had been converted into a consumption activity more and more sophisticated, and it was subjected to growing efforts to diversify tourism products. Additionally, the tourists' motivations have also become more complex over time, although there was a common element in all of them which was a progressive demand for quality.
During the *innovation phase* there was a maturing of a new model of tourist policy that makes it possible for the Central Government to unfurl a new role in the tourism arena: that of strengthening the coordination and cooperation between all of the publicly and privately agents involved.

**Principal Components:**

1) They approved two basic plans: *Futures I* and *Futures II*. Both try to force the Spanish tourist sector to adapt to new changes. They pursued three objectives:
   - Increasing the competitiveness of the Spanish tourist industry in the face of competitors;
   - Support the modernization of business structures, facilitating the adaptation of all the business to the implementation of new technology and organizational restructuring,
   - And diversifying the supply of tourism products of the country (that previously had been limited to the sun and beach) so that it becomes more attractive and has an overall higher quality.

   All of it was guided by the principles of: sustainability, joint responsibility for all agents involved, concentrated activity by products or destination, and the integration of diverse initiatives (Secretary General of Tourism 1995:10).

2) The financial instruments are renewed, increasing tourism credit and passing subsidies adapted to the objectives foreseen in each one of the plans.

3) The organizational instruments are completed with the reactivation in 1994 of the Interministerial Tourism Commission; the creation of the Sectorial Conference on Tourism (a committee formed of members from both the Central Government and the Autonomous Communities), and with the creation of the Tourism Promoter Board that combines representatives from the public administrations and representatives from the private sector, propelling coordination between public and private initiatives.


The transformations that the tourist sector was undergoing are especially strong in the case of the businesses because in addition to the modifications in tourist behavior, they had to adapt to new business circumstances that affect the entire private sector.

The problems are numerous: the small businesses that worked in tourism, especially in the lodging sector were threatened by the arrival of big foreign businesses in the country and other effects created by globalization; the production process whereby one business produces the entire product begins to be substituted a resulting subcontracting of part of the activities; the intermediation businesses experienced a rapid integration that provoked a massive concentration in demand; or, facing the traditional formulas of commercialization, the emergence of the Internet and other information technologies.

Combating these problems would be the basic objective of the phase of cooperation. The decision-makers consider quality as the key piece for combating their difficulties and the concept of “Spanish tourism quality” as the basic communicative instrument. Quality, as the central idea, is conceived of as a work philosophy that can only be effective if the leadership is assumed by the sector itself, which means empowering private actors and again ignoring the idea of surroundings or of social, environmental or cultural impacts. Only at the end of the period, do they work on the idea of a more participatory quality, through programs working on the quality of destinations.

**Principal Actions:**
1) The Plan PICTE (Integral Plan on Quality Spanish Tourism) is approved which revolves around the idea of bettering quality. In the beginning it worked on sectorial systems of quality assurance, it dealt with developing partially the concept of quality as it applied to each case. After the second, they carried out an inter-sectorial integration movement through the Institute on Quality Spanish Tourism (ICTE) that allows a definition of the system in a more global sense to go forward, the System of Quality Spanish Tourism (Secretary General of Tourism, 2002a) or in the definition of system of quality applied to intersectorial spaces, as destination quality.

2) The approved the Plan of Pushing Cultural and Language Tourism (2002-2004) by the Commission Delegated from the Government on Cultural Issues. Its objectives were: the creation of a tourist product with a cultural nature and the application of new technologies, a marketing plan for cultural tourism, teaching Spanish as a tourism tool and better coordination among agents (Spanish Tourism Institute, 2002).

2.7. STRATEGIC TRANSFORMATION STAGE (2004-2011)

The economic context is favorable and tourism, although it maintains levels of high competitiveness, it suffers from profound contradictions that are convenient to attack. Is the moment of trying to face the problems that the model of Spanish tourism drags since the 1970s.

With that intention, a first descriptive diagnostic was completed of the characteristics and problems of the tourism sector in 2007. In a second phase, they rolled out different techniques of social research with the intention of acquiring important information from diverse groups. To this, they added different initiatives whose objective was to promote debates and make dynamic some reflection spaces that could also enrich the process.

Principal Components

1) The Plan Horizonte 2020 is approved. It describes a plan with a time-horizon very long, the year 2020, and it attempts to concretize through documents that propose actions to complete in four-year periods. The objectives that were necessary to reach in the year 2020 were:
   - Generate a new tourism economy based on innovation, knowledge and the catching and developing of talent
   - Increase the value for clients, pursuing the goal of improving the value offered to the client with tourist experiences that differentiate and boost the personality and positioning of Spain as a tourist destination.
   - Reach a sustainable model, guaranteeing the quality of the natural surroundings and culture that each place, integration and social wellbeing and socio-spatial rebalance.
   - Work towards a culture of shared leadership between the sector and the society.

2) Programa Recualificación de destinos turísticos maduros

It aims at supporting reconversion of the most dilapidated tourist spaces in the country. This programme is built on three important initiatives of the Secretary of State.

In 2005 a state fund was approved to regenerate mature tourist destinations with clear signs of decay. Tourist destinations are considered to be mature when they present at least two of the three following features:
   a) Environmental and urban overload
   b) Lack of new investment
   c) Stabilized tourist offer
   d) Stabilized or declining tourist demand
   e) Obsolete tourist facilities
3) Special projects for upgrading mature destinations. Its objective is to regenerate or upgrade mature destinations of international scope and powerful demonstration effect. These projects are led, implemented and co-funded by all relevant administrations. The private sector is also involved with the aim of setting a tourist model towards the future.

4) Tourist Facilities Renewal Plan (Plan Renove Turismo). It seeks to upgrade the hotel, restaurants and complementary sector offer. It consists of a line of credit to fund investments aiming at increasing the added value of the product. Initiatives focused on energy saving, environmental conservation and enhancement, implementation of quality management systems, accessibility and new technologies are also considered.

2. Dilemmas arising from the theoretical approach to policy change applied to the case

Nowadays there are diverse theoretical approaches whose purpose is to explain change and stability in public policy. It is not the objective of the present work to execute a review of the discipline, therefore we concern ourselves with the four selected epistemological selected by Capano in order to study stability and change (Capano, 2010). The author proposes the following approaches for consideration:

- Multiple Streams Approach
- Advocacy Coalition Framework
- Punctuated Equilibrium Theory
- Path Dependency Framework

2.1. The Multiple Streams approach

The Multiple Streams Approach (Kingdon, 1984) centers around analyzing which issues are placed on the agenda and when as well as which ones are converted into policies.

Kingdon’s description of the moment of policy formation or of the moment of change is very thought-provoking. He utilizes a suggesting image of three streams flowing independently in the world of making political decisions: a problems stream, a solutions stream and a politics stream. The problems stream contains all of the issues that could be the object of government’s attention. In the solutions stream flows the different ideas regarding the problems and ways to solve them. Finally, in the politics stream we find other public factors or events linked to the problem that will influence: the state of public opinion (of citizens), the campaigns of pressure groups or the changes in the governmental actors (Administrative and Legislative turnover).

This scenario remains stable. However, on occasion, the three streams converge and become receptive to what Kingdon calls “Policy windows”. That allow a determined problem to be placed on the government’s agenda, associated with a determined idea about its nature and the way to solve it, in a moment in which other political factors are favorable. And this is the germ of the new public policy or a change in the earlier one.

As we see after that brief description that the Multiple Streams Approach (MSA) centers its attention on the decision-making process and agenda building.

If we observe the epistemological and theoretical choices of the framework in the Table 1, regarding to the epistemological choice, for the MSA the way of event progression is a non-linearity one (ambiguous and unpredictable); the dynamics of development is not prefigured but predominantly evolutionary and the motors of change are partially constrained chance and entrepreneurship (Capano, 2010).
Regarding to the theoretical choices of the MSA, Capano point up the followings. The definition of policy development and change is particularly focused on agenda setting. The type of change (between incremental or radical) is not prefigured even incremental oriented. The causal mechanisms are a random combinative causality mixing exogenous and endogenous variables, but the exogenous ones seem prevalent. The explanatory variables are critical external events (technological change, electoral victory, systemic or international crisis) plus the eventual role of single individuals. And the configurative dimensions are a semi-chaotic mix of 3 dimensions (policy as arena of power, as ideational forum, and as target of political institutions’ influence).

The frame is focused on the agenda building process and the key factor is the role of decision-makers. To be applied to our case we would need to interview different decision-maker and stakeholders who participated in agenda setting decisions for a long period. The approach seems more appropriate to observe one specific decision that long processes.

2.2. The Advocacy Coalitions Approach

The Advocacy Coalitions approach is a proposal whose starting point is different. This theory asserts that each issue has its own policy that generates its own subsystem (policy subsystem) composed of actors that regularly attempt to influence the way in which problems related to that issue are seen and the way solutions are designed to combat those problems. In addition, they propose that each group of actors share: the same core ideas and beliefs about the issue (profound beliefs, closely related to their ideological position); beliefs about what dimensions of the issue are most important and how to address them; and finally beliefs about secondary aspects like the evaluation of specific tool. For its authors, change would be produced through different processes: change in the ideas of the coalition related to learning and accumulation of knowledge (policy oriented learning); brusque changes in key external variables (external perturbations); internal shocks in the coalition (internal shocks) or internal changes to agreements between coalitions on substantive aspects (negotiated agreements).

Regarding to the epistemological choice, for the ACF the way of event progression is linearity (and partially predictable); the dynamics of development are not prefigured and the motors of change are external factors, partisan change and confrontation or learning.

If we try to understand their basic theoretical choices, the ACF definition of policy development and change is oriented to cover the entire process, considering a tripartition of content of changes (based on a tripartition of policy beliefs). The type of change is both incremental and radical. The causal mechanisms comes from a combinative causality — the composition of which depends on the type of change — although the major changes are exogenously determined. For the ACF authors, the explanatory variables are critical events, ideas and beliefs competition and learning. And the configurative dimensions are Focused on the interaction of three configurative dimensions: policy as arena of power, as set of networks and as ideational forum.

The Advocacy Coalition approach is a very inspiring proposal. The model contents multiple dimensions and external and internal policy factors, which is very interesting. However, related to our case is difficult to find two clear coalitions with opposite core ideas on tourism policy. The case of tourism policy does not seem to fit into this approach. There are some differences among decision-makers, but those are just symbolic processes of reframing, with not clear different positions on defining the issue, objectives or policy instruments.
2.3. The Punctuated Equilibrium theory

The Punctuated Equilibrium theory or framework (PET) constructs its proposal from two shared assumptions: the stability of the public policy as the norm, and the constant even if occasionally profound changes that are produced in public policy areas. The authors argue that a period of equilibrium with moments of change coexists, this tendency is exacerbated by the political institutions – what they call “venues” of policy action - and by the image of a policy - the relative beliefs and values about the issue -. The proposal is able to integrate political institutions, mobilization of interest groups and the bounded rationality decision making processes. The focus of interest returns to being the setting of the agenda.

The epistemological choices of the PET are the following: the way of event progression follow a disconnected linearity (partially predictable); the dynamics of development is evolutionary (sequence slow/rapid changes) and the motors of change are external crisis, partisan change or conflict.

Regarding to some theoretical choices, the definition of policy development and change is particularly focused on punctuations in agenda setting, in policy image construction, and in legislative behavior.

To explain the type of change (whether incremental or radical), the PET propose a structural link between both types. Speaking about causal mechanisms, they use a combinative causality with the prevalence of exogenous variables. The main explanatory variables are some critical external events; institutional arrangements; cycles of public attention and dynamics of processing information. And, finally, the configurative dimensions they point out that the model involving all five configurations but under the prevalent influence of political institutions.

Therefore, our case seems not to fit with the Punctuated Equilibrium Frame. Tourism is never seen as a problem; rather as an opportunity that governments have to promote. This does not mean that tourism does not create problems and conflicts that should be faced, but its negative impacts have a very weak presence in the social and media debate. It is difficult to find a problem related with tourism that had garnered the attention of the media or had become part of social debate.

In that sense, this approach is also focused upon agenda setting process, restricting the view of the process of public policy to that decisive moment. It is crucial to understand how the tourism agenda is setting, but we also need to pay attention to other phases of the process during the analysis process, as the process of instruments design and its implementation.

2.4. The Path Dependence Theory

La teoría de la Path Dependence es una parte sustantiva del enfoque del institucionalismo histórico. Por esa razón es de aplicación a muchos otros fenómenos de la ciencia política, y no sólo a la observación de la estabilidad y el cambio en las políticas públicas. Pero en este ámbito concreto es también una propuesta muy sugerente.

Para los institucionalistas históricos la estrategia de investigación ha de basarse en la historia, by which they mean “not just looking at the past, but looking at processes over time” (Pierson y Skopol, 695).

Para entender cómo observar la relación entre el paso del tiempo y un fenómeno de la ciencia política acuden a un concepto que tiene su origen en la economía, the “increasing returns”, y a los diferentes procesos que esta dinámica provoca (Pierson 2000a; cf. Mahoney 2000b). En su opinión, a partir de un “formative moment” o una “critical juncture” se producen determinados impactos que trigger feedback mechanisms that reinforce the recurrence of a particular pattern into the future.
Piersons (2000) considera que en los fenómenos políticos podemos encontrar las siguiente cuatro características: “1. Multiple equilibria: Under a set of initial conditions, (...) a number of outcomes are generally possible. 2. Contingency. A relative small events (...) can have a large and enduring consequences. 3. A critical role form timing and sequencing. 4. Inertia. Once an increasing returns process is established, positive feedback may lead to a single equilibrium. This equilibrium will in turn be resistant to change” (Piersons, 2000:263).

The Path Dependency Framework suppose the followings epistemological choices: the way of event progression is non-linearity; the dynamics of development is a disconnected evolution and the motors of change are “increasing returns” or history.

On the other hand, its theoretical choices are the followings. The definition of policy development and change tries to cover the entire process. The type of change are both incremental and radical. Is we speak about causal mechanisms, for the PDF there is a combinative causality between historical paths and “Critical junctures”. They used, as explanatory variables, self-organized innovation, chance and contingency. In addition, the most important configurative dimension is the Institutional configuration.

Therefore, after analyzing the four previous perspectives, we believe this approach is the most consistent with our research objectives. The PDF frame let us focus on a long period of time trying to find an answer to our main question: why there is no change in tourism policy during such a long period?

Moreover, we assume the hypothesis that the institutional dimension is the configurative dimension and the "increasing returns" let us analyze our case with a theoretical tool that improves our understanding.

### 2. Change and stability. Indicators of change

So far, we have described two different dimensions: what happened in the tourism arena and the main theories that try to explain the policy change.

We propose to adopt the framework of the PDF and consider the complete period. We have an initial formative moment (1952, creation of the Ministry of Information and Tourism and approval of the first public plan) and we will analyze when "critical juncture" occurs.

We consider we would face a "critical juncture" when one of these external factors change: change in the basic constitutional structure; changes in the government coalition or crisis in the tourist sector.

Moreover, we will observe if policy changes occurs or it remains stable after that critical moment observing the behavior of these internal factors: changes in tourism policy instruments or reformulation of the objectives.

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A.3. Change in the socioeconomic conditions: Crisis in the Tourist Sector

B.1.3. Normative Instruments
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To describe all that happened, we will utilize the same basic graphic. It is a timeline which we will use throughout the work to represent distinct external and internal elements of tourist policy.

Table 3. Regimen change and Governing coalition changes

(Source: Self-Elaboration, based in Velasco González, 2004)

A. Indicators of the political system

A.1. Regime Change

In the period analyzed, we find two political regimes: the dictatorship of Francisco Franco and the constitutional stage that begins in 1978.

After passing the constitution, all of the political parameters were modified. In relation to the tourism arena, moreover, the constitutional text establishes that the Autonomous Communities will be the only relevant authorities for the development of tourist policy. The central government finds a role in tourist policy through other competencies (coordination of economy, exportation...).

Political regime change is a determining factor in the configuration of actors implicated in tourist policy and in the role that the government must assume in tourist policy since then, but not imply a radical change in the tourism strategy, neither in the main goals of tourism policy. Beyond, the tourist policy inherited from the Franco regime remains at the symbolic level at least during the next twenty years.
A.2. Government changes

Within the democratic period we can find five different governments in power. A right-wing government conducted three of the phases and a left-wing one conducted two of them.

We also could analyses the different between having a government that enjoys a majority in parliament and a minority government that is dependent upon support from other parties.

Neither government alternation nor rotation of ruling ideologies are reflected in tourist policy. It is possible that, the indifference of tourist policy to changes of Government reflects an implicit agreement on tourism political objectives among governments and economic interests. That could explain that even controversial and problematic dimensions that were detected since the first public actions, and picked up as reflections in the General Plans, remain without being confronted, limiting the decision process to a homogenous set of issues during the entirety of the period analyzed.

Furthermore, the variation in the different Ministries that have been assigned the competency of Tourist Policy, in those that share institutional surroundings with other spheres of work, does not seem to be a significant variable. Despite that the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Tourism acquired this policy arena in 1991 is the key factor in the modification of the conceptual framework of the decision makers at that moment.

Neither appears significant the arrival of a new Ministry. Nevertheless, it is more important the Secretary of State or Secretary General of Tourism. This figure determines the survival of the existing tourist policy model, his/her values and ideas are reflected in the way of understanding the function and objectives of the Central Government in the material.

A.3. Change in the socioeconomic conditions: Crisis in the Tourist Sector

Through this variable, we attempt to measure if tourist policy accuses the variations that affect at the tourist sector.

We take as indicator of the tourist conjuncture, the number of visitors that arrive in the country per year. The number of visitors supposes a relevant piece of information. If we observe the period, the surprising growing is the most significative data. The number of visitors passed 750,000 in 1951, 60,600,000 in 2013. During the years analyzed, the periods of economic crisis are as follows: 1974, 1975-1976; 1979-1980; 1983; 1990-1995.

When the specialists explain the alteration in the number of visitors, they go over diverse arguments: economic recessions, changes in the motivations, the appearance of new destinations, demand saturation, behavioral changes and political factors that influence the visitors’ perception.

For the years 1974, 1975 and 1976, the experts point to the petroleum crisis of 1973 that adds to the political tension in Spain. Although the tourist sector problems were accentuated by the ageing of the accommodation and the mistakes in the tourist model that had been developed in the 1960s. The reaction from the businesses is overwhelming: they accuse the Ministry of lacking of help. The public decisors approve the “Paquete de Medidas”.

The crisis in 1979 and 1980 is provoked by both the second petroleum crisis, and the political unstable situation that was caused by the regime change, especially in the perceptions of foreign tourists. However, not significant change in the public performance is made: one passes, newly, a supportive iniciative to the hospitality sector – Hotel Modernization Plan III – and they maintain the basic parameters of the tourist policy.
The fall of the year 1983 is explained by the loss of competitiveness of the destination, facing new deals related with the Mediterranean market competitors. The reaction of the responsible public of tourism is to change the promotional actions: Turespaña is created, and the diffusion campaigns are modified, commencing tourism marketing plans.

The crisis of 1990 that the tourist sector businesses qualify as structural generates a massive amount of worry and a parliamentary Commission analyses the problems of the sector. Tourism becomes a part of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Tourism, and in 1992 the Futures Plan is passed, that supposes an important commotion in tourist policy.

After the fall in 1994, provoked by a general economic crises, the government initiates the formulation of the second Futures Plan, in which appear two lines of action that support the internationalization of the business and the recuperation of mature destinations of sun and beach.

We can affirm that, a lowering in the number of visitors, and therefore, in public and private tourism revenues it does have an impact on tourist policy. The action of public decision-makers keeps being validated by the tourism statistics and when they fall, they feel compelled to act.

The impact of the crisis on the tourist policy decisions does seem more evident. Not only in the response through new plans or programs, but in the change of the orientation of the tourist public organizations. During times of recession are oriented to increase the number of visitors and, in favorable circumstances loan greater attention to the social and environmental effects of tourism.

B. Internal policy indicators

B.1. Evolution of the Principal Instruments of Tourist Policy

B.1.1. Programmatic instruments (plans or programs)

Of all the instruments listed above, plans or programs are especially relevant. A plan or program is an ideological framework that allows us to know what idea the government has about tourism, what the principal problems are and what the responses are to those problems.

Programmatic Instruments have the advantage, as a piece of analysis, that they contain a “captured” discourse. The plan contains the political argumentation about the goals of the government in tourism and the main actions developed to reach them. Moreover, the discourse has to be fixed in order to be communicated effectively.

They contain the basic idea of the period and are implicitly driving every action plan until they are replaced by a new basic idea.

- **Plan Nacional de Turismo (1952):** Discovery of tourism by some public decision-makers. They assumed a double role: within the government, to defend the activity, and facing the society, promoting the incorporation of the business owners to the new activity.

- **Planes de Desarrollo Económico y Social (1964-67; 1968-1971; 1972-75).** At that moment, the tourism supposed, moreover, a great number of jobs and the acceleration of other economic sectors that give service to the tourist industry. With an accelerated rhythm, a brutal speculation, together with massive construction on a great part of the coasts of the country, the model of Spanish tourism was created. To convert the country into a tourist powerhouse, introduced political factors that kept distorting tourist policy until today: the interest in the quantitative growth of the indicators, forgetting the qualitative aspects and the
abstained of the public decision-makers to intervene in the conflicts that are caused by the tourist model, concentrating their actions on the points that do not provoke controversy with the private sector, ignoring the negative social, cultural, and environmental costs of the activity;

- In 1974 a “Paquete de Medidas” (a set of urgent measures) is approved, and among the measures is the first “Modernization Plan for the accommodation sector” and the incorporation of tourist businesses in one exporting businesses register, which allows them to benefit from the government resources approved for exportation.

- In 1991, Tourism was integrated into a ministry of industry, which put it in the same institutional context as industry. This change turned out to be decisive. Moreover, that same year, the Congress of Deputies created a commission to analyze the problems of the tourist sector. The results were presented in October of 1991 with a report that recommended reorienting the Spanish tourist sector towards a model based on higher quality and more competition. In that moment in Europe, they are deliberating about how best to better the competitiveness in an increasingly globalized environment (European Commission, 1995). All of these questions crystallized in a new idea about what the Tourist Administration should do, and it the immediate consequence was the creation of a new framework for tourism policy that produce a new Plan: Futures Plan (Spanish Tourist competitiveness Plan).

- **Futures Plan I** (1992) and **Futures II** (1996): These two plans fixed a new tourist policy in which the Central Government assumes the role of coordinator of the potential of the tourism of the country. In this new model the Government recovers its leadership capacity. The construction of the model facilities by the change in the image of tourism that has public actors, that which facilitates a change in the definition of the problems, and by a new form of interpreting the relations with the other actors. In the new policy, the consideration of tourism as an industrial sector permits talk of bettering the competitiveness from a wider point of view in which the social, cultural, and environmental surroundings and new coordination tools/instruments facilitate a very productive reorganization of the political arena.

- **Plan PICTE** (2000): The document emphasizes the idea of quality. The standars of quality has to be assumed by the sector itself; the Administration can only promote it from afar. The image of what must be done from tourist policy is, as a matter of fact, that the public action leaves space for private action.

- **Plan Horizonte 2020** (2008). With this new plan, the idea of sustainability was strongly incorporated, even though it was centered/focused on the sustainability of the sector. The 2020 Plan has, as its mail objectives, generating a new tourist economy, to increase the value for the client, obtaining a sustainable model, procuring a more competitive environment and working in a culture of shared leadership. The 2020 Plan is an ambitious plan for many reasons. In the first place because it attempts to modify negative dynamics that have been generated for decades. In addition, it proposed an exceptionally long period for one public policy. And, finally, it contained complex purposes, with a big symbolic component that later would have to be materialized through concrete actions.

The planning documents generated an important adhesion in the sector, especially the Futures Plan that excellently resolved the argumental resource of establishing symmetry between the problem and the proposed solution: the progressive loss of competitive capacity of the sector would have to compete with research efforts, formation, strengthening of business and bettering of tourist product.
The most significant is the maintained problems in the period. Some of the problems that we can find are of an internal character – concentration of tourism offer (sun and beach), concentration of tourism demand (the 80% of tourism are from UK or Germany), the seasonality and the concentration in some spatial areas.

Others are external problems: the consumption of public goods for a private sector; urban problems in areas with high tourist development, the environmental problems, the tensions surrounding the cultural and natural patrimonial goods... Areas of conflict whose solution systematically falls apart. An interesting indicator utilized by policy analysts to observe the non-decision making power.

**Table 4. Plans approved**

(Source: Self-Elaboration, based in Velasco González, 2004)

**B.1.2. Organizational instruments**

Different organizations that allow, using both human and material resources, the government to act on the matter.

In 1952, Spain created the first public body dedicated to tourism, and since then, there has been a public organization dedicated to tourism. During that period the organizational instruments have been subject to continuous modification that reflects a search for the best forms to carry out tourism policy within all possible political contexts. Under the Francoist regime, a group of state run companies directly loaning tourist services reinforced a strong and centralized administrative apparatus. From the 1978 Constitution, the issue has been part of different departments. Coinciding with the general ideas of reducing the size of government and withdrawing from the public sector of the 1980s, an autonomous organism dedicated to promotion/development was created and the state run companies were privatized.

Diverse organizational models have been implemented reflecting the idea of the government in power about the role of the state in social relations, and the position that the decision-makers defend about the functions that the state assumes over tourist policy.

During the Francosit period, tourism belonged to the Ministry of Information and Tourism which settled from 1951 until 1977. From that point onwards, from 1977 to 2014, tourism has belonged to nine different ministerial departments.

In 1985 an autonomous organism was created: Turespaña. Among its functions were the promotion, commercialization and organization of Spanish participation in foreign fairs, expositions and other events in collaboration with the Autonomous Communities, local entities, and representatives from the sector. It has assumed for the past 30 years the promotional programs of Spanish Tourism – on which we will
speak later – and is an organization with a high level/degree of technical competency and tourist knowledge.

Table 5. Organizational instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.1.3. Normative instruments</th>
<th>B.1.4. Promotional Instruments</th>
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</table>
| 1942 | Norms or regulations of a compulsory character, whose basic objective is the creation of rights and the establishment of obligations. Normative instruments were the primary resource of Francoist tourist policy. During the Dictatorship the normative frame of the Spain tourism was approved and keeps structuring today the framework of tourism. Due to the dictates of the new Constitution, each Comunidad Autónoma became the level competent to approve the legislation of the sector. This led a heterogeneous legal system through the country. | Different measures that try to align the goals of non-public actors with the objectives fixed by the policy (fundamentally related with economic incentives, but also honorific). The evolution of the instruments is characterized by:
- Continuity: Since 1942 there has been an open line of credit that is supporting the accommodation sector. The general tendency has been to support financially that part of tourism that has the most tangible results: the accommodation establishments. With oscillations, both in its quantity and its financial objectives, it has been maintained until today.
- Its capacity to reflect the basic idea of the tourist policy that it is attempting to develop: construct more hotels and resorts, modernizing its installations, boosting the growth of businesses abroad; diversifying deals; innovation tourism companies; quality standars…
- Its moderated use. The economists that have worked on aspects related with the impact of financial instruments agree and affirm that the profitability of the sector has allowed the turn to private financing, making little use of the state’s financial instruments. |

Table 6. Promotional instruments
B.1.5. Knowledge Tools
Different ways to improve the knowledge about the issue government is working on.

The research on tourism has as its first objective to understand/know/find out the statistical magnitudes of the phenomenon. It deals with analyzing the basic data (number of arrivals, source countries, length stay, average expense...), even though they have not pushed for deeper studies on the tendencies and problems of tourism.

B.1.6. Communicative instruments
These deal with sharing information. Related to tourism we can find the tourism promotion campaigns and instruments that raise awareness among civil society of the importance of tourism or about some of the problems that tourism could lead.

Concerning tourist promotion programs, they have advanced hand in hand with the advances in marketing. The experts have constructed promotional systems from the destination “Spain” increasingly sophisticated, but, the political aspects of these programs is important. In the first place because, through promotion, they pursue prioritized objectives of tourist policy. It is the medium/way to achieve more disperse destinations, looking for a more balanced development, modifying the seasonality, or boosting new products, through diversification.

The government and the business both believe in the causality between promotional campaigns and the number of visitors. Moreover, the evaluation of the result has converted, by its own tendency to consider the number of visitors as an indicator of tourism success, into an indicator of the efficiency of tourist policy. For these reason the quantity of public resources invested in promotion is always an argument employed in the political arena, in favor or against the decision-makers.

B.2. Evolution of the problems
Since 1952, different governments and distinct institutional political actors have formulated action plants to support the development of tourist in Spain.

In each one, the decision-makers have selected the problems that, in their opinion, were important to the future of tourism and, consequently, have proposed different actions with the intent to solve said problems. There is an evolution in the discourse argued in the plans. The problems identified changes over time, and these modifications could be related to multiple factors: changes in the tourist market or to the solution of some questions.
However, a significant percentage of problems that appear in the first approved plans, keep appearing today. They are redact very similarly from the beginning and still seen as the conflicts to solve. This interests us especially. No the problems that have disappeared, but those that remains. Because the tourist phenomena, the tourist market, even the tourist has changed much in 70 years. Nevertheless, some elements of public analysis of problematic issues are immutable.

These issues are the problem of the low formation of the tourism workers; the lack of planning instruments; the lack of control over the public services in tourist destinations or environmental problems.

In the next table we can see the problems than appears in the different plans. Some of them disappears while others remains.
<p>| TABLE 9. EVOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF TOURIST INDUSTRY ACCORDING TO THE APPROVED/PASSED PLANS (1953-2006) |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| TOURISM | Border policies | Border policies | Border policies | | | | | |
| Environmental Policies | Weak Accommodation Capacity | Weak capacity to accommodate | Too Small Hotels | | | | | |
| Weak Accommodation Capacity | | | | | | | | |
| Weak juridical environment | | | | | | | | |
| Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak and Obsolete Business Structures | Weak and Obsolete Business Structures | Weak innovations in information technology | Low incorporation of technology | |
| Consumer protection | | | | | | | | |
| Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | Concentration of supply (sun and beach) | |
| Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak Business Structures | Weak and Obsolete Business Structures | Weak and Obsolete Business Structures | Weak innovations in information technology | Low incorporation of technology | |
| Need to establish Foreign Markets | | | | | | | | |
| Little presence of Spanish businesses abroad | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESTINATION</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT</th>
<th>Quality Deterioration</th>
<th>Lack of Quality</th>
<th>Quality Improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication Network</td>
<td>Transport Infrastructure</td>
<td>Transport Infrastructure</td>
<td>Lack of planning public services</td>
<td>Infrastructure and services problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Planning instruments</td>
<td>Lack of Planning instruments</td>
<td>Lack of Planning instruments</td>
<td>Lack of Planning instruments</td>
<td>Lacking better planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low number of destinations promoted</td>
<td>Low number of destinations promoted</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Improve promotinal campaigns</td>
<td>Necessity of imoping campaigns</td>
<td>Better promotion</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Negative impacts on the environment</td>
<td>Negative impacts on the environment</td>
<td>Negative impacts on the environment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of public coordination</td>
<td>Lack of public coordination</td>
<td>Lack of public coordination</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Little social conscience</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of relevant information and data</td>
<td>Lack of expert knowledge</td>
<td>Lack of expert knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lacking cooperation</td>
<td>Lacking cooperation</td>
<td>Lacking cooperation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Velasco González, 2008)
4. Conclusions

It is possible to complete a case study of a descriptive character of tourist policy, observing the evolution of seven instruments:

In tourist policy, one can pinpoint differentiated periods that respond less to radical changes in strategy than to modifications in the underlying ideational framework that structures public decisions.

Changes in the frameworks that organize tourist policy based on different phases cannot be explained by only one variable. Rather, they reflect multifactorial tendencies in which, during distinct moments, one concrete factor seems to assume a primary role with respect to other factors. In this way, the innovations that modify the policy area or the objectives pursued by politicians’ designs are influenced by (with varying levels of intensity): the change of government, the crisis of the sector, or modifications in the adjoining institutional context. But we cannot find any changes link to the ideological political change.

Those matters that question the social distribution of social goods and whose beneficiaries are of tourist activity are, repeatedly, isolated from public decisions.

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