

Cultural memory and remembering tourism in Spain: the re-imagination of the Spanish Civil War through tourism, narrative and place

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Abstract

Memory is not only considered as an individual or collective remembrance of the past, but also as a social act of reconstructing it. In its diverse forms, memory has the ability to change the way society thinks of itself, the past and of space, therefore also retaining the capacity to develop narratives associated with these three fields. This study investigates the interaction of memory, narrative, and space in Spain's heritage tourism industry to reveal how the Spanish Civil War is represented in contemporary Spain. Through both primary and secondary research, this study reveals how tour narratives have been adapted for both international and domestic audiences to inscribe sites with specific meaning and to provide knowledge on key elements of Spanish heritage. In contrasting the efforts made by independent, unofficial tour guides, and experiences constructed by government agencies, this research exposes the successes and failures of a variety of tourist endeavours, revealing the potential models that could encourage a public confrontation with the past.

Introduction

Eighty years after the end of the Spanish Civil War, debates on the recovery of the past and historical memory, and how remnants of Francoism should be dealt with, remain prevalent across the country. These debates reveal much about narratives and attitudes concerning Spain's recent past, but they also highlight the existence of various means of accessing this past, not only traditional academic 'history', but other outlets such as art, films, literature and television programmes.[1] While memorialisation can occur in all these forums, it can also take place when fixed sites or spaces are assigned specific importance. One obvious, but under-researched means of stimulating public interest and engagement with the memorialisation process is tourism. Arguably, public engagement with memorial sites, and the narratives and images contained within them, as a result of tourism, has the potential to re-define these spaces into 'vectors of memory'.[2] This dissertation will interrogate how tour narratives, monuments and the texts that accompany them choose to recall, or indeed silence, memories of the Civil War and its aftermath. Expanding upon this premise, the project will distinguish between tourist experiences organised on an individual basis, constructed for an international audience on the one hand, and those ventures that are government-sponsored and aimed at a domestic market, on the other. These different approaches to representation of the past will be analysed in terms of their content, ideological framing and awareness of the tourist, ultimately assessing their potential value for the memorialisation process taking place in Spain.

[1] J. Labanyi, "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain," *Poetics Today*, Vol. 28, 1 (2007), pp.89-116; S. Leggott, "Memory, Postmemory, Trauma: The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women," *Fulgor*, Vo. 4, 1 (2009), pp.25-33.
[2] N. Wood, *Vectors of Memory: legacies of trauma in postwar Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2009).

The shift from perception of a national self in history (how a nation identifies itself through a sense the past) to an awareness of self through *memory*, has been a key driver in the burgeoning field of memory studies, a sub-discipline which has gradually expanded to encompass representations of the past in sites or spaces of memory, and the symbols of identity that derive from them.[3] In such studies, memory is not only considered as an individual or collective remembrance of the past, but also as the social act of reconstructing it. In contrast, history, the academic interpretation of the past, begins when memory is no longer operative, suggesting that these concepts do not overlap.[4] In its diverse forms, memory has the ability to alter the way society thinks of itself, the past and the space that surrounds it, whilst also dictating how populations engage with the past to construct narratives. Acknowledging that memory remains in constant evolution, susceptible to manipulations over time and often silenced and subsequently revived, the malleability of the tour narrative suggests that it is a potentially fruitful method of memorialisation.[5] Similarly, a focus upon tourist experiences allows for distinctions to be made between the intentions behind the revival or silencing of certain memories at a particular time, and how the visitor is expected to consume the narrative; that is to say, to interpret the past.[6] The contrast between official memories supplied at government-supported sites and those engrained in the non-official tourist experience will also reveal the intentions of different stakeholders or memory managers.

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[3] P. Nora, *Rethinking France: les lieux de mémoire*, translated from French by Mary Trouille (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p.xxi.
[4] M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[5] P. Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations,* No. 26 (1989), p.8.
[6] P. Aguilar & C. Humlebæk, "Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy," *History and Memory,* Vol. 14, 1/2 (2002), p.123.

To aid the recovery of memory in contemporary society, the development of heritage studies in the late twentieth-century meant that memory and meaning were accorded increased status over artefacts and historical accounts.[7] The heritage product adapted for a tourist experience, and the narratives that are used to describe this product, will inevitably have political relevance, especially when considering the polemical nature of the content under discussion. However, as Tunbridge & Ashworth theorise, every stakeholder involved in delivering (or accepting) these narratives will value the heritage differently, and, as a result, multiple (though nonetheless often still political) messages can be associated with just one heritage space.[8] Within the boundaries of the present work, the preservation of certain aspects of heritage and their transformation into tourist products has resulted in the creation of cultural *spaces* of memory, where space denotes both physical structures and sites, as well as intangible forms such as texts and narratives.[9]

It is for this reason that the present work draws heavily on Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory, in which collective memory becomes engrained in the physical landscape, recalling moments in time when observed. However, a further proposition here is that elements of intangible heritage, such as the tour narrative and the textual representation available at sites, should be included in this definition, since these tourist experiences exist because of the will to remember, the fundamental prerequisite of a *lieu de mémoire*.[10] The spaces of memory under analysis are endowed with various interpretations of the

[7] C. Roberts & P. Stone, "Dark Tourism and Dark Heritage," in I. Convery, G. Corsane & P. Davis (eds.) *Displaced Heritage: Responses to Disaster, Trauma, and Loss* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), p.14.
[8] ibid, p.49.
[9] V. Bajc, "Introduction to Collective Memory and Tourism: Globalizing transmission through localized experience," *Journeys,* Vol. 7, 2 (2007), p.2.
[10] Nora, "Between Memory and History."

past that convey specific memories to those attending the tours. However, the objective of this study is not to ascertain which stakeholder holds the truth or which narrative speaks more accurately to historical versions of events, although this is important, but rather to show how development of these tourist products has led to an effective method of memorialising a past that has struggled to find expression elsewhere. The narratives reveal which memories have been prioritised by different actors, how the past has been interpreted, and what effects the narratives may have on the reshaping of cultural heritage. Chapter one will consider the concepts of memory, heritage and tourism and how the interplay of these concepts has engendered a model that can be followed to further project memory into the public sphere.

The spectrum of Spanish Civil War sites chosen for analysis below illustrates distinct processes of memorialisation that have created various interpretations of the past, dependent on the managers in charge, as well as the visitors for whom the past is being represented. These empirical lenses will offer significant insight into the variability between tours, cities, sites and management, dependent on each area's historical and political context as well as the ways in which the Spanish Civil War is considered socially and politically in the surrounding communities. The primary research trip was conducted in Barcelona in December 2015 to gain insight into existing tourist efforts in the city, followed by a more extensive research trip in March 2016 with visits to Barcelona (including Montjuïc Cemetery), Belchite, Madrid and El Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen).

As far as the localised, independent forms of heritage tourism that exist in Spain are concerned, walking tours in Barcelona and Madrid will be analysed in chapter two to demonstrate how the war is perceived in cities that do not outwardly commemorate events that took place there. Both examples represent tourist products that have been developed for an international market. The chapter will thus observe the domesticized nature of these heritage experiences, whilst assessing the effectiveness of the narratives for an international audience. By contrast, as we will see in chapter three, Belchite and El Valle de los Caídos are examples of locations where attempts have been made to preserve particular and fixed memories of the war through the physicality of the structures. For Belchite, the Aragonese government has established a guided tour that informs the visitor about the dark past of the town, but neglects to uncover many of the controversial events that took place after the war. Similarly, although far more extreme, the monumentality of the Valley of the Fallen is the *only* aspect offered to visitors. Commentary at the site relating to the history of the monument remains evasive and limited. Chapter three will analyse both sites alongside the institutionalised space of Memorial Democràtic (and the Montjuïc Cemetery site that it manages) in Barcelona, reflecting on the effects of a government-sponsored tourist experience, how the narrative is constructed differently for this predominantly domestic audience, and how valuable these experiences are for the memorialisation process. A deconstruction of all the material available at these sites reveals how the war can be construed through the constantly evolving lens of tourism.

As Rivera contends in her own study, examining a constellation of sites, texts and narratives, all intended for tourist consumption, can illuminate which

aspects of culture and history memory managers consider as important for a country's self-presentation.[11] However, it is the contrasting narratives used in the internationally-led and attended experiences in Spain, on the one hand, and those government-sponsored ventures which are arranged for a domestic audience, on the other, that reveal nuances in the ways in which the war and related themes connected are presented. The differences between what is deemed worthy for remembrance and how these traditions of memorialisation are structured will be examined in both chapters two and three.

In so doing, tourism might expose to all Spaniards how silence has, until recently, monopolised social interaction with the war. Whether an interest in the past is due to the death of living memory or a conscious decision made by the current generation, efforts to make tangible these memories through tour narratives, museum exhibitions, or textual representation, will aid future generations to interpret the war. By assessing what is represented in advertising and images; what is interpreted in the narrative and information available at the chosen sites; and what the tourist or public experiences, the basis of understanding Spanish reconciliation with the past will be improved. An understanding of the process of the valorisation of cultural heritage in Spain, combined with promotion of tourist ventures and memorialisation of a difficult past, allows us to postulate that bringing Spain's difficult recent past to the tourist gaze could aid the process of social catharsis.

[11] L. Rivera, "Managing "Spoiled" National Identity: War, Tourism, and Memory in Croatia," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 72, 4 (2008), p.618.

The Spanish Civil War is not examined here in order to reveal new histories or truths about events, but rather as a means to understand Spanish and international attitudes towards this past, using tourism as the necessary means to not only observe these attitudes but also how different actors seek to shape them.

Chapter One

In recent decades, memory has become one of the most significant intellectual and cultural discourses framing both representations and interpretations of the past. The memorialisation process that has taken root in Spain since the early 2000s has found multiple expressions in society including physical memorials and grassroots organisations, as well as entering into political debate. Accompanying these developments, the less celebrated mechanism of tourism has made memories of the Spanish Civil War accessible to an interested domestic and international audience. The process is of course not unique to Spain. According to Misztal, one of the methods by which memories of the past are being brought to the surface is through cultural or heritage tourism, an experience which can educate individuals on the past, inculcate a sense of shared experience and resurrect a historical period that has been left to ruin.[12] This brand of tourism exemplifies a field of activity in which past events are selectively reconstructed, modified, maintained, forgotten or endowed with ideological substance, facilitating a guided relationship between the tourist and the narratives that are being exhibited.

A survey conducted in a variety of countries in 2006 demonstrated that victims of violence value memorialisation of the past as the second most important method of state reparations after a traumatic period, surpassed only by financial compensation.[13] Responding to these findings, Brett and others consider that public memorials (including monuments, historic sites, commemorative events or performances) are critical elements to democratic success, justice,

[12] B. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003).
[13] E. Kiza, C. Rathgeber & H. Rohne, *Victims of War: An Empirical Study on War-Victimisation and Victims' Attitudes towards Addressing Atrocities* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), pp.117-120.

understanding the past and protecting its memory for future generations.[14] The landscape inherited for heritage or memorial purposes has huge cultural significance as it can re-inscribe forgotten or suppressed stories into public spaces, thus impacting on a community's interpretation of history and place. As Wasserman notes, the memorial landscape (in the present work defined as spaces that encourage tourism), can serve emotional, intellectual and communal functions by becoming: a place for memory; a place for mourning; a place for reflection; a place for ceremony; and a place for collective action.[15] It appears then, that the memorialisation process, whether tangible or intangible, can potentially secure various benefits for society by promoting reconciliation, engaging the public in a pedagogical awareness of previous horrors, and ultimately encouraging the construction of a national identity that recognises that a healthy democracy relies on confronting the past. To enrich the definition of what can constitute the memorialisation process, it is proposed here that heritage and memories of the past can be crystallised in Spanish Civil War tourism to convert the memorial exercise into a living memory.[16]

Whilst recognising the powerful conditions that continue to stimulate strongly ideological debates regarding explanations of the Spanish Civil War, this work diverges from the traditional historical framework of understanding of the conflict in order to move towards experiential, spatial and cultural-anthropological analyses. This initial chapter will focus on the theoretical and

[14] S. Brett et al, "Memorialisation and Democracy: State policy and civic action," *International Conference Report* (2007), pp.1-2. For example, the genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda are acknowledged in situ, the repression in Argentina is recognized and visitors can take part in tours at Auschwitz.
[15] J. Wasserman, "To Trace the Shifting Sands: Community, ritual and the memorial landscape," *Landscape*, Vol. 17, 1 (1998), pp.42-61.
[16] Whilst suggesting that tourism can ignite social connection with the past, this work does not deny the many successes that history, of the traditional written variety, has accomplished since the transition to democracy.

methodological elements that have guided this research, drawing from concepts of generational memory and sites of memory and exposing how these themes contribute to the field of heritage tourism by inciting a direct memorialisation of the past.

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Memory is not only considered as an individual or collective remembrance of the past, but also as a social act of interpretive reconstruction of history that sustains local narratives and cultural traditions, activates relationships with distant events, and aids discussions on social attitudes towards the past.[17] In its diverse forms, memory has the capacity to alter the way in which society conceives of itself and how we engage with the past and develop narratives associated with historical events. Recent studies have established that memory is inherently associated with place (encompassing both physical sites such as buildings and streets, and more intangible concepts like historical events) as many of the identities and ideals that people share are derived from, and anchored in, space.[18] Several scholars have considered the role that memory plays in constructing, reforming and altering identities, claiming that the memorialisation of certain histories is an 'active cultural process of remembering and of forgetting that is fundamental to our

[17] F. Ferrándiz Martín, "Exhumaciones y políticas de la memoria en la España contemporánea," in J. Aróstegui & S. Gálvez (eds.), *Generaciones y memoria de la represión franquista: un balance de los movimientos por la memoria* (Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2010), p.301.
[18] K. Baker, "Identity, Memory and Place," *The Word Hoard,* Vol. 1, 1 (2012), pp.23-33; Truc notes the effects that alteration of space has on the preservation of memory, G. Truc, "Memory of places and place of memory: for a Halbwachsian socio-ethnology of collective memory," *International Social Science Journal,* No. 203-204 (2011), pp.147-159; E. Said, "Invention, Memory and Place," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 26, 2 (2000), pp.175-192.

ability to conceive the world.'[19] Remembering is a process in which the individual or collective actively negotiates with the past, and in so doing establishes meanings for historical events determined by present social, political and cultural contexts.[20] Whilst Olick and Richards propose that memory should reveal positive facts about past events or how those events were experienced, this view does not recognise that memorialising traumatic events is equally beneficial.[21] To remedy this, Moore suggests that memorialisation succeeds in offering symbolic justice to victims, educating current generations to ensure the events are not repeated, and bringing about reconciliation.[22]

When considering the value of memorialisation one should recognise, as Huyssen does, that any act of remembrance of the past is rooted in the present and not in the past itself, even though the past is what engenders these memories.[23] Such theoretical developments have sustained the debate between history and memory, with academics either contending that memory and history are inextricably linked because they both comment on the past, or stand at opposing sides of the same spectrum as they cannot function simultaneously. Those viewing memory as unreliable due to its susceptibility to distortion, such as Eley, Tamm and Crane, recognise the link between the two concepts but often privilege history over memory, arguing that memory is only concerned with recording facts

[19] Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, p.1; J. Fentress & C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); A. Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 102, 5 (1997), pp.1386-1403.
[20] Confino, "Collective Memory," p.1386; J. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[21] On the subject of positive memories see: J. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: on collective memory and historical responsibility* (London: Routledge, 2007; M. Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society," *History and Memory,* Vol. 14, 1/2 (2002), pp.93-94.
[22] L. Moore, "(Re)Covering the Past, Remembering Trauma: the politics of commemoration at sites of atrocity," *Journal of Public and International Affairs,* Vol. 20 (2009), pp.47-64.
[23] A. Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: marking time in a culture of amnesia* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.3.

that suit what is being remembered.[24] Those who argue for the distinction between memory and history, such as Halbwachs, Yerushalmi and Friedländer, argue that memory 'disrupts the facile linear progressions of the narration, introduces alternative interpretations, questions any partial conclusion [and] withstands the need of closure.'[25] Fundamentally, whilst it appears that memory and history are terms often used interchangeably, memory differs from history in one sense because it permits the individual to draw relevance from history for their own lives.[26]

One of the major proponents of the idea that memory should stand alone from history is Pierre Nora, who believes that memory is

> less interested in actions remembered or even commemorated than in traces left by those actions […]; less interested in the events themselves than in the construction of events over time […]; less interested in 'what actually happened' than in its perpetual reuse and misuse, its influence on successive presents […] A history that is neither a resurrection […] nor a representation but, in the strongest possible sense, a 'rememoration'- a history that is interested in memory not as remembrance but as the overall structure of the past within the present.[27]

Following this line of thinking, this thesis will demonstrate how, particularly from a touristic perspective, memory has arguably begun to supersede history in cultural analyses of the past through its ability to engrain itself in images, spaces,

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[24] For discussions on the link between history and memory see: G. Eley, "The Past Under Erasure? History, Memory, and the Contemporary," *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 46, 3 (2011), pp.555-573; M. Tamm, "Beyond History and Memory: New perspectives in memory studies," *The History Compass,* Vol. 11, 6 (2013), pp.458-473; S. Crane, "Writing the Individual Back Into Collective Memory," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 102, 5 (1997), pp.1372-1385; Confino values the importance of history over memory, stating that memory cannot exist with history: Confino, "Collective memory"; Nora, "Between Memory and History," pp.8-9.

[25] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory;* Y. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish history and Jewish memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996); S. Friedländer, *Memory, History and the Extermination of the Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), p.53.

[26] K. Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, Vol. 69 (2000), p.129.

[27] P. Nora, & L. Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: rethinking the French past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p.xxiv.

objects and gestures.[28] Whilst history engages with representations of the past in academic discourse, memory has the capacity to escape these confines and enter public discourse through popular culture, entertainment and the media. Within any of these disciplines it is impossible to create an unbiased, unaltered version of the past, and whilst historians aim for impartiality, subjectivity in the historical tradition is often seen as 'normal and necessary.'[29]

This is not to say that memory is not inherently problematic. González Vázquez, Kössler and Koczanowicz, for example, have all highlighted the ideological nature of the field.[30] López-Quiñones labels memory as a subjective political tool employed in an attempt to universalise 'official' or controlled versions of the past.[31] This implies that the cultural relevance of memorial strategies has been both overshadowed and influenced by political intentionality. These commentators suggest that, due to its evolutionary quality, memory can remain dormant or silenced for long periods of time, as was apparent in the Spanish case, but can also be periodically revived to satisfy contemporary political or societal demands. The powerful link between politics and memory is challenged when the official memory or narrative that once dominated in society is confronted with the emergence of various other memories (usually surfacing from grassroots origins) which contradict the previously accepted political

[28] P. Burke, "From 'History as Social Memory'" in J. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, D. Levy (eds.), *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.188.
[29] D. Lowenthal, "History and Memory," *The Public Historian,* Vol. 19, 2 (1997), p.32; C. Ealham, "The Emperor's New Clothes: 'Objectivity' and Revisionism in Spanish History," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 48, 1 (2013), pp.191-202.
[30] D. González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística como Mecanismo de Transmisión de Valores," *RITUR*, Vol. 4 (2014), p.36; R. Kössler, "Facing a Fragmented Past: Memory, culture and politics in Namibia," *Journal of South African Studies,* Vol. 33, 2 (2007), pp.361-382; L. Koczanowicz, "Memory of Politics and Politics of Memory. Reflections on the Construction of the Past in Post-totalitarian Poland," *Studies in East European Thought,* Vol. 49, 4 (1997), p.260.
[31] A. López-Quiñones, "Towards a Pragmatic Version of Memory," in C. Jerez-Farrán & S. Amago (eds.), *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: mass graves and the recovery of historical memory in Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), p.209.

narrative.[32] To avoid political authority over society's identification with the past, Ortiz Heras suggests that the voices of distinct groups must be considered, because, when thinking about the process of recovery of historical memory, it is clear that various forms of remembering exist, and these multiple perspectival narratives are what allow for diverse identifications with the past.[33]

One of the more prevalent concepts that explain the inheritance of memory in society is the idea of 'postmemory'. This theory suggests that there exists a received version of the past that is saturated with meaning and understanding of the trials of previous generations, without the inheritor having experienced them first-hand.[34] Most discernible in Holocaust studies, Marianne Hirsch's theory of postmemory explains the generational resurgence of memories of the past, preventing these memories from receding into history:

> Postmemory characterises the experience of those who […] have grown up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are displaced by the powerful stories of the previous generations, shaped by monumental traumatic events that resist understanding and integration.[35]

This idea suggests that identification with an inherited memory, as occurs in the tourist experience, permits a mediated connection with the past that encourages new interpretations and investments, and ensures that the memory of events survives and educates future generations.[36]

The process of social remembering in Spain after the Civil War was conditioned by the monopolising effects of the dictatorship, meaning that the

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[32] P. Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: the role of the Spanish Civil War in the transition to democracy* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2002), pp.30-31.
[33] M. Ortiz Heras, "Memoria Social de la Guerra Civil: La memoria de los vencidos, la memoria de la frustración," *HAOL*, no. 10 (2006), p.180.
[34] M. Hirsch, *The generation of post-memory: writing and visual culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); K. Goertz, "Transgenerational Representations of the Holocaust: From memory to "post-memory," *World Literature Today*, Vol. 72, 1 (1998), p.33.
[35] M. Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust photographs and the work of Postmemory," *Yale Journal of Criticism*, Vol. 14, 1 (2001), p.12.
[36] M. Hirsch, "Past Lives: Postmemories in exile," *Poetics Today*, Vol. 17, 4 (1996), p.659.

post-war generation regarded the war differently from those who actually fought in it. Although saturated with memories, or rather myths, about the war, the second generation was forced to interpret recent events in line with the unilateral narrative imposed from above.[37] As the dictatorship progressed and eventually ended, memory was relegated to the silent realms of familial representation and in some cases was not inherited at all. Perhaps, then, it is only now, after the re-awakening of memory in Spain, that generations significantly distanced from the events can witness and work through these traumas through the narratives recovered from previous generations.[38] The study of this inherited memory that now finds expression in various forms helps to explain how the collective memory of a country develops as new generations progressively take charge of it. As the present study will make clear, one of these forms is tourism, a medium that produces an accessible narrative on the past that can be adapted and made available for different generations.[39]

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The relationship between memory, place and commemoration is most commonly associated with the concept of *Lieux de Mémoire*, theorised by Pierre Nora in 1984 to describe sites that have the capacity to defy the passage of time, 'to immortalise death, to materialise the immaterial.'[40] These sites, all of which are associated with living history, are best seen as spaces where memories converge,

[37] S. Juliá, "Bajo el imperio de la memoria," http://hercules.us.es/~mbilbao/pdffiles/Santos_Julia.pdf [Accessed 02/06/16]; M. Richards, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936* (Cambridge, CUP, 2013).
[38] Hirsch, "Surviving Images," p.12.
[39] Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia,* p.4.
[40] Nora, "Between Memory and History," p.19.

crystallise and define society's relationship with its past, present and future.[41] These sites are not necessarily tangible like memorials, monuments or museums, but can also be extended to include rituals, language and texts.[42] Following Nora's assumption that modern societies no longer sustain previously accepted collective memories, *lieux de mémoire* can be seen to have emerged from this void to allow memory to be accessed through a variety of different mediums and to a variety of different ends, including memorialisation, political statement and educational forums, as will become clear in the subsequent chapters.[43]

From this fundamental concept, it emerges that both tangible and intangible heritage are embedded in sites of memory: from the visible monumental sites such as the Valley of the Fallen and the ruins of Belchite, to the heritage buried within the narratives and language used on walking tours. The thesis presented here is that tour narratives (both verbal and textual) can be defined as *lieux de mémoire* as they have the capacity to make immaterial memory material through incorporating distant memories into discourse. The narrative present in tourist experiences, functioning primarily as a representation of the past, acts as a *lieu de mémoire* because it verbalises and represents a community's heritage. These tour narratives can also be considered to embody memory as they both recover and generate new meanings associated with past events, thriving on their ability to evolve constantly according to current needs.[44]

The continued presence of the Spanish Civil War throughout Spanish life, evidenced by the survival of Francoist street names and monuments to the war that have not been reinterpreted over time, ensures that debates on the memory of

[41] N. Davis & R Starn, "Introduction," *Representations,* Vol. 26 (1989), p.3.
[42] Nora, *Rethinking France*, pp.xix-xx.
[43] Nora, "Between Memory and History," p.7; B. Sion, "Dark Tourism on Fields of Battle," *Humanities and Social Sciences Online* (2008).
[44] Nora & Kritzman, *Realms of Memory,* pp.14-15.

this period of Spanish history remain relevant and in some cases unresolved. Since the transition began, democracy in Spain has been a difficult process of controversy and adjustment, producing multiple pasts designed to meet both social and political aims, none of which were initially intended to encourage reconciliation, but rather resulted in the silencing of the past.[45]

Drawing from Jacobs' theory of Holocaust memorialisation, a three-stage approach can be used to explain Spain's process of remembering.[46] Jacobs notes that in the first post-Holocaust wave, memorials were limited and recognition of World War Two was silenced. Similarly in Spain, those memorials that did exist in the post-war period were explicit reminders of the Nationalist victory, denying any recognition of the losing side. Under Franco, the war became an important focus of memory and the founding myth of the new state. Both sides retained their version of events, but the 'orchestrated depoliticisation of social consciousness' and the programme of repression and humiliation of the vanquished that took place as the dictatorship progressed, meant that non-official versions of the war were denied expression in public spaces.[47] This monopoly over any narrative produced on the war meant that several collective memories came to dominate in society: children were indoctrinated with the view that the war had been fought against foreigners; visual celebration of the victory of good over evil was enshrined in monuments across the country; and the Church once again came to

[45] López-Quiñones, "Towards a Pragmatic Version of Memory," p.210. In a similar vein, after the massacre of Tlatelolco, the Mexican government suppressed official recordings of the event. The turn of the century saw Mexican society reviving memories of this episode to bring closure through remembrance and reconciliation. J. Bixler, "Re-membering the Past: Memory-theatre and Tlatelolco," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 37, 2 (2000), pp.119-135.

[46] For a discussion on this theory of Holocaust memorialisation see the Introduction in, J. Jacobs, *Memorialising the Holocaust: gender, genocide and collective memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

[47] Vázquez Montalbán quoted in, L. Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: memory, materiality and mass graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2011), p.105. For more on imposed collective memories see, N. Russell, "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs," *The French Review,* Vol. 79, 4 (2006), p.792-797.

dominate much of contemporary life and therefore all official narratives about the past.

The second stage of the Holocaust memorialisation process was initiated by temporal disconnection with the events, society becoming emotionally distanced from the tragedy. In the case of Spain during the democratic transition, this period was categorised by an atmosphere of reconciliation stimulated by the dictator's death, but also conditioned by an imposed amnesia and impunity for all involved.[48] The Transition was largely defined by a government uncertain how to manage the past whilst maintaining political equilibrium to establish a democratic system. Prioritising political consensus meant that the new regime attempted to distance itself from the traumatic past and evasive measures were introduced, like the tacit *Pacto de Olvido*, overlooking 'thousands of memories and claims that weren't [sic] convenient to bring up because they could endanger the pact of the Transition.' [49] Described as an 'amnesia programada,' this period in the memorialisation process sought to avoid mentioning the old regime in public discussion to promote democracy.

Dealing with a traumatic event in this second phase of memorialisation can be achieved through denial, mythologisation, repression or silence, but in states where there have been more progressive attitudes towards memorialisation, another option is to set up truth commissions and avoid political amnesties.[50] Having been rebuilt on the premise that past violence should not leave any traces

[48] J. Aróstegui, "Traumas colectivos y memorias generacionales: el caso de la guerra civil," in J. Aróstegui & F. Godicheau, *Guerra Civil: mito y memoria* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006).
[49] Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss*, p.226; Ramón Jáuregui quoted in, R. Mclean, "Spain's Dilemma: To Toast Franco or to Banish His Ghost," *New York Times*, 8 October 2006. For more on the Transition and Pact of Silence see: Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*; O. Encarnación, "Reconciliation after Democratization: Coping with the Past in Spain," *Political Science* Quarterly, Vol. 123, 3 (2008), pp.435-459; Davis, "Is Spain Recovering Its Memory?"
[50] Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths*, pp.10-14.

in the present, the Spanish state felt it required custody of the collective memory that society held, sustaining the view that 'la política recurre al poder de la memoria para poner en circulación el tipo de pasado más acorde con sus intereses.'[51] This hegemonic rule over memory and access to the past provoked an eventual rupture in the politics of memory, a rupture now openly advertised in both academic coverage of the war and social discussions regarding how its legacy should be dealt with.

The third and final stage of the memorialisation process as described by Jacobs, is characterised by increased media attention (through cinema and newspapers), greater social awareness and literature on the war, breaking the taboo on discussions about the past and making the subject relevant again. From 2000, Spain underwent many political changes, especially considering the influence from increased social awareness and pressure from popular culture. Dulce Chacón (a prominent Spanish author), noted that:

> nosotros, la gente que estamos en los cuarenta o los cincuenta años de edad, somos los hijos del silencio de nuestros padres […] Pero es la hora de romper este silencio en beneficio de nuestros hijos. Tenemos que rescatar la historia silenciada, es una responsabilidad de nuestra generación.[52]

From 2000 onwards, memory began to occupy a larger portion of academic and political debates on the past, old Francoists and revisionists being labelled as enemies of historical memory.[53] Both the Partido Popular and the PSOE governments took steps towards politically acknowledging the need to remember

[51] R. Mate quoted in, González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística," pp.36-37.
[52] D. Chacón quoted in, J. Valenzuela, "El despertar tras la amnesia," *El País* (2 November 2002).
[53] C. Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social* Sciences, Vol. 617 (2008), p.142; For more on revisionism see: J. Gracia, "Revisionism, a necessary evil," *International Journal of Iberian Studies,* Vol. 21, 3 (2008), pp.247-262; Ealham, "The Emperor's New Clothes"; À. Cenarro, "Francoist nostalgia and memories of the Spanish Civil War," *International Journal of Iberian Studies,* Vol. 21, 3 (2008), pp.203-217.

aspects of the past that had been silenced for many years.[54] Although these moves were not always universally accepted across the political spectrum (the Right claiming that, as a democratic state, Spain should not be revisiting the past in political discourse, opening graves or taking down historic symbols), organisations campaigning for historical memory believed that the government was reacting to the swell of public initiatives driving the memory process.[55] According to the Law of Historic Memory, the role of promoting democratic memory (the individual right to the personal and family memory of every Spaniard), and of supporting a search for knowledge of Spain's history would be shared amongst social groups and the government.[56]

The impact of this eruption of memory on Spanish society is unquestionable, following what Todorov described as a European trend that, at the end of the twentieth-century, saw societies entangle themselves with a past that was gradually slipping away, only to try and preserve it in contemporary discourse.[57] The removal of political hegemony over memory broke the previous singularity of narratives sustained under Francoism and the Transition, and stimulated a new self-perception in Spanish society.[58] Since official memory no longer held a monopoly over the interpretation of history, an outpouring of

[54] For example, the government labeled the rebel uprising as unconstitutional in 2002: Ferrándiz Martín, "Exhumaciones y políticas de la memoria, p.314; *Comisión Interministerial para el Estudio de la Situación de la Víctimas de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo* set up in 2004: *Boletín Oficial del Estado,* no. 227, 20 September 2004, https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2004-16360 [Accessed 12/04/16]; Additionally, attempts were made to establish a law to offer victims compensation: C. Valdecantos, "El Gobierno anuncia para junio la ley para reparar a las víctimas del franquismo," *El País* (16 March 2005).
[55] Ortiz Heras, "Memoria Social," p.189.
[56] O. Shevel, "The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A comparison of post-Franco Spain and post-Soviet Ukraine," *Slavic Review,* Vol. 70, 1 (2011), p.143; G. Tremlett, "The Grandsons of their Grandfathers," in Jerez-Farrán & Amago (eds.), *Unearthing Franco's Legacy*, pp.335-336.
[57] T. Todorov, "The Uses and Abuses of Memory," translated by Lucy Golsan in, H. Marchitelllo (ed.), *What Happens to History: the renewal of ethics in contemporary thought* (London: Routledge, 2001).
[58] F. Colom González, "El pasado en el presente: Qué hacer con la memoria de la Guerra Civil," *Res Pública*, Vol. 23 (2010), p.166; Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss,* p.229.

memories could occur and find expression through a variety of mediums, with discourse increasingly privileging memory over history.[59] Simultaneously, in response to this trend, a revival of Francoist narratives was emerging from revisionist groups and pro-Franco organisations such as the Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, whose nostalgic references to Franco and the past have gathered some supporters. This trend is coupled with, and in some cases stimulated by, the gradual death of living memory, creating a sense of urgency to recover memories of the war and post-war whilst they are still accessible, but also symbolising that those able to contest any of the narratives or myths that are being maintained are gradually dying out.

At a time when living witnesses are disappearing, memory of the war has taken on a new dimension through tourism, a simultaneously personal and universalising experience that uses these narratives to establish a standardised form of memory that can be practiced in specific ways.

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As a fundamental part of systems of memory, tourism is now being viewed as an integral tool for the historicisation of cultural, social and public memory. Tourism can be perceived as a 'cultural enterprise that necessarily entails the construction and dissemination of an easily recognizable national identity and national heritage,' that should not just be viewed as a commercial and economic activity, but also as an 'ideological framing of history, nature and tradition.'[60] Combining these two definitions, it is possible that this interpretive framing of history has the

[59] Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, pp.30-31.
[60] F. Cate-Arries, "Frontline Tours and Memories of the Civil War: Luis Bolín's Spain: The Vital Years," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos,* Vol. 24, 2 (2000), p.264
D. MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: the tourist papers* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.1

ability to redesign cultural heritage according to the intentions of each individual tourism manager. The various facets of tourism (organisation, brochures, institutions, professionals) decide what information about a particular country's history and culture is most important for visitors, with academics like Ashworth & Tunbridge agreeing that sometimes historical events are employed just to endow an area with cultural character.[61] The portrayal of history through this medium, and its relationship with sustaining and developing narratives of national identity, now fits into the expanding realm of heritage tourism, an area of study that can reveal the role of tourism in preserving memories of the past.

Lowenthal believes that heritage, in all its tangible, intangible, cultural and natural forms, is not just the past but rather a modern day use of elements of the past to gain or engage with some part of history.[62] Graham expands on this view by arguing that this contemporary use of the past (to maintain connectivity and continuity with history), the meanings of which have been defined in the present, is dictated by the demands of current societies. As a result, the way in which heritage is managed is dependent on what parts of it have most relevance for the present-day audience.[63] Contributing to this trend, every stakeholder involved in the preservation of some form of heritage (for example government agencies, government organisations, local developers or self-employed individuals) will value heritage in different ways and memorialise and communicate the past differently. It should be recognised that heritage becomes intrinsically political and symbolic when it is drawn upon to construct ideas of public memory or historical continuity, indicating that heritage tourism will also be influenced by

[61] G. Ashworth & J. Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City* (Chichester: Wiley, 1990).
[62] D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[63] B. Graham, "Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?" *Urban Studies,* Vol. 39, 5-6 (2002), p.1004.

these factors. What results from the network of heritage actors and receivers has been labelled a 'heritage-scape': the combination of sites, narratives and links to history that can facilitate the process of memorialisation to help understand elements of the present.[64]

The use of heritage has been described as a place-based activity, as 'whether or not heritage is deliberately designed to achieve pre-set spatio-political goals, place identities at various spatial scales are likely to be shaped or reinforced by heritage planning.'[65] However, this narrow definition does not account for the expanding consideration of what heritage can come to constitute, echoing what Nora suggests in his amplification of what can constitute place, for example local songs, forms of speech, and, within the present work, tour narratives. Instead, it is proposed here that heritage is an exercise that takes place at a site: this is not to say that the physical place is not important in the heritage activity, but the physical place should not be considered as the sole constituent of heritage. This proposition is supported by Smith's notion that heritage is a project or an experience because it involves the passing on and acquisition of knowledge in culturally accurate contexts.[66] The proposal here is that the relationship between site, narrative and heritage can be included in the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, the ultimate embodiment of memory that should not be limited to physical structures.

Heritage is extremely valuable to the tourism industry as it can be easily defined, recognised and branded. It is a medium through which historical and cultural specificity can be constructed ready for transferral to an audience, and it is this specificity that often comes to be the accepted perception of a particular

[64] Viejo-Rose describes a landscape littered with stories, characters and narratives: Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain,* p.11; Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* p.44.
[65] G. Ashworth quoted in, N. Johnson, "Framing the past: time, space and the politics of heritage tourism in Ireland," *Political Geography*, Vol. 18 (1999), p.188.
[66] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.46.

country or place.[67] Primarily, heritage tourism, the fastest growing market of the tourism industry, consists of the presence of the individual or audience in spaces (or experiences) exhibiting historic artefacts that also relay narratives on the past and generate a link between the individual and the heritage presented.[68] Fundamentally therefore, in taking part in a memorialisation project based on a country, region or city's heritage, the audience is consuming what society has chosen for portrayal due to current needs or demands.[69]

Consider the successful management of French heritage, where the objectives of heritage tourism- civic education and social development- were achieved through the consistency of the discourse that was provided, combined with government involvement on a fundamental level.[70] This example not only shows the potential successes and benefits that heritage tourism can achieve in the creation of a memory of the past, but can also be used as a comparative tool to measure the progress that other countries have made in their heritage tourism products.[71] This brand of tourism requires a complex past to be packaged and reduced to a set of easily comprehensible characteristics that can be assimilated both into the identity and historical knowledge of the local visitor, but also relatable to the heritage visitor whose knowledge may be more limited.

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[67] Heritage linked to the Holocaust is often immediately associated with Auschwitz or the Holocaust memorial museum in Washington D.C. See Bajc, "Introduction to Collective Memory," p.11.
[68] A. Alzua et. al, "Cultural and Heritage Tourism: identifying niches for international travelers," *Journal of Tourism Studies,* Vol. 9, 2 (1998), pp.2-13; Y. Poria et. al, "Heritage Site Perceptions and Motivations to Visit," *Journal of Travel Research,* Vol. 44, 3 (2006), pp.318-326.
[69] J. Tunbridge & G. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1995), p.5; Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society," p.94
[70] González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística," p.41.
[71] ibid, pp.40-41; J. Guixé i Coromines, "El Memorial Democrático y los lugares de la memoria," *Entelequia,* no. 7 (2008), p.223.

An unavoidable component of the fieldwork conducted to produce the present study, stemming from the variety of producers working in this industry, is the extensive political effect involved in all constructions of a heritage product, resulting in specific narratives that conform to the intention of each producer.[72] Given that tourism is traditionally managed by the state, it has been proposed that political management 'provides an ideal means to mediate ideological processes of state legitimation and politicisation of the past,' and in turn the state can create a collective memory of the past that is accepted by the population and shapes their understanding of a country's present and future.[73] The Spanish experience, however, was previously shaped by the country's desire not to talk about the past and as such prevented this kind of tourism from being exploited until recent developments took place on a national, regional and local level. For this reason, studies on the heritage tourism industry in Spain are lacking.

Spain is traditionally recognised for its prominent leisure tourism industry, the vast range of sites, climates and landscapes providing an appropriate destination for all varieties of tourist. However, the lack of options for those tourists wishing to experience and learn about Spain's more recent historic and wartime past, which in other countries such as Great Britain, France and Germany have comfortably melted into the countries' heritage landscape, reflects just how polemical the subject of the past remains today. When comparing the situation in Spain with the success of site-specific tourism in other countries that have faced war, it is important to appreciate that Spain - a country where much of the landscape had been scarred by the war- could likewise develop sites related to the

[72] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.81.
[73] S. Holguín, "'National Spain Invites You': Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 110, 5 (2005), p.1401.

war in such a way that they become points of interest for visitors. Tourism can then be seen as an exercise in memorialisation of these sites, and the agents involved as memorial entrepreneurs.[74]

The decision of the tourism board not to participate actively in recognising the war is echoed by the broader absence of contemporary memorials throughout the country, almost unique when considering the commemoration that has taken place at other sites that have witnessed grave tragedies.[75] In the majority of tourist centres and cities across Spain, the imprints left by the war are no longer visible (or acknowledged), and, due to the temporal distance from the conflict, efforts to resurrect or install memory centres or experiences have been limited. Therefore the suggestion that Spain is engaged in covering, suppressing or indeed encouraging ignorance of this heritage is not surprising. In comparison with Croatia, a country also generating methods of publicly representing the traumatic past endured during Yugoslav secession, Spain did not actively advertise its new image after the dictatorship, there were no incentive programmes introduced to attract tourists to this specific heritage, and attempts to introduce cultural policies dealing with the management of the country's heritage were never made.[76] However, the existing local or regional attempts to manage this aspect of Spain's heritage should be acknowledged to clarify that in recent years Spain has begun to incorporate the memory of the war into the tourism experience.

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[74] See for example the experiences in Germany: A. Gross, "Holocaust Tourism in Berlin: global memory, trauma and the 'negative sublime," *Journeys*, Vol. 7, 2 (2006), pp.73-100; Singapore: H. Muzaini et al, "Intimations of Postmodernity in Dark Tourism," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 5, 1 (2007), pp.28-45; Croatia: P. Naef, "Souvenirs from Vukovar: Tourism and Memory within the Yugoslav region," *International Interdisciplinary Review of Tourism*, no. 1 (2013), p.5.

[75] The memorials present in Cambodia, Poland and the United Kingdom are just some examples of this.

[76] For more on Croatia's experience combining tourism and memory see Rivera, "Managing "Spoiled" National Identity."

The conversion of sites that played a prominent role in the conflict into tourist destinations and activities has ensured that some physical remains of the war have been preserved with a historic focus. Arjonilla in Jaén has converted the *refugio* that was used during the war into a museum in the Plaza de la Encarnación, and in opening sites like this to tourists, historical knowledge of the war has been made accessible and, as a consequence, locally driven undertakings have promoted the recovery of remains that can memorialise the war.[77] Similar efforts have been undertaken in Almería to open air-raid shelters to visitors, accompanied by video testimonials of men and women who, as children, experienced the fifty-two bombing raids that the town was subjected to.[78] More extensive tourist experiments have been explored in other areas such as Los Monegros, Aragón, which benefitted from financial assistance from the European Union to assist in acknowledging the area's civil war heritage. One example of this is the Ruta Orwell, opened in 2006 both to commemorate the anniversary of the beginning of the war and to preserve the trenches located in the area where George Orwell spent time at the front.[79]

Further developments have taken place within Aragón where the *Amarga Memoria* programme seeks to study, expose and present parts of Spanish history that the organisers believe have been abandoned and forgotten. To achieve this, the programme has compiled oral testimonies, witness statements and information regarding the remains of military architecture into *Lugares de Memoria,* routes

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[77] S. Jaén Milla, "Los vestigios de la Guerra Civil Española: Espacios de interés para la didáctica de las ciencias sociales," *Revista de Didácticas Específicas,* no. 13 (2015), p.8.
[78] A. Campos, "Refugios contra el olvido," *El País* (12 April 2008).
[79]International audiences will also be attracted to the Ruta Orwell as an experience of shared heritage. L. Cartwright-Punnett, *How Spain Sees Its Past: The Monumentalization of the Spanish Civil War*. BA Thesis, Wesleyan University, 2007 pp.174-175; http://www.1936laserenalosmonegros.es/monegros/index.asp [Accessed 26/03/16]; http://www.losmonegros.com/sitios/guerracivil/ [Accessed 26/03/16].

that can be undertaken by the interested visitor. The intentional identification, location, recovery and revaluing of heritage in the three included Aragonese provinces both educates the visitor and promotes the retention and diffusion of this heritage.[80] Two of the most prominent Spanish memorialisation endeavours are found in Guernica and the Ebro region. The Peace Museum installed in Guernica was established in 1998 and has since been reworked, expanded and modernised. It includes various study facilities and exhibitions on the war that are available in multiple languages (although not all information has been translated accurately or in its entirety).[81] The Battle of the Ebro was one of the cruellest episodes during the war. Awareness of this is featured in the project *Consorcio Memorial de Espacios de la Batalla del Ebro* where, through the exposition of both tangible and intangible elements of heritage in the various interpretation centres established, the organisation has crystallised the memory of the war for tourist absorption.[82] These individual memorialising exercises have contributed both to heritage preservation and the improvement of cultural sites, recognising the importance and value of these heritage places for future interpretations of the war.

Despite the popularity of heritage tourism, there remain several issues with the touristic use of memory spaces. Jansen-Verbeke & George propose that the exploitation of certain sites and histories for economic purposes is often the main motivation behind organisation of heritage tours, resulting in the trivialisation of

[80] F. Martínez de Baños & P. Pérez, *Vestigios de la Guerra Civil en Aragón. Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 2008); *Los Lugares de la Memoria*, found online at http://www.patrimonioculturaldearagon.es/temas-monograficos-amarga-memoria-lugares-de-memoria [Accessed 15/05/16].
[81] http://www.museodelapaz.org/ [Accessed 30/05/16]; http://www.dark-tourism.com/index.php/spain/15-countries/individual-chapters/705-gernika [Accessed 10/10/15].
[82] González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística," pp.44-45.

memory rather than prioritising its preservation and diffusion.[83] Furthermore, the main issue with identifying spaces that can be employed for touristic uses is the conflicting intentions that different actors have: as we shall see in the case of Barcelona, for example, state-organised tourism is heavily focused on the entertainment and leisure industry rather than investing in an educational and heritage-based experience, leaving this task to individuals who have no formal qualifications.

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Research on the tourist is varied and largely dependent on a determination of the intentions and motivations of the individual, for example whether they are traveling for leisure, pilgrimage or for cultural reasons. Previous surveys within this field have been oriented towards analyses of the length and purpose of tourist experiences, but have been limited in a secondary analysis of the narratives supplied to tourists. Such analysis permits an improved understanding of the heritage that the narrative comments on, and how tourists can act as a vehicle for this national memory.[84] Therefore, an empirical study on the interpretations made available to tourists during their attendance at heritage sites, and a further comparison of how these narratives are assimilated by the native and international tourist, is invaluable in determining how heritage-based narratives can be used to

[83] M. Jansen-Verbeke & W. George, "Memoryscapes of the Great War (1914-1918): A paradigm shift in tourism research on war heritage," *Via@*, Vol. 2, 8 (2015), p.3; González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística," p.37.
[84] E. Cohen, "The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 10 (1984), p.376.

memorialise elements of both the tangible and intangible past.[85] A study of the narratives aimed at the foreign and local tourist demonstrates the extent to which tourism managers recognise and react to the different levels of knowledge and familiarity that distinct tourist groups will have, as well as the diversity of reactions and desires of the tourists: motivations may be educational, sentimental or emotional.[86]

The sites chosen within this research constitute a carefully constructed spectrum, the value of which is polysemic, interpreted differently depending on the group (for example Spaniards, veterans, lay tourists, International Brigade volunteers or relatives), and it is the priority of the site manager to ensure that interpretations satisfy the expectations of at least one of these groups.[87] It is important that guided tours especially be inclusive of the audience present, domesticize the heritage (relate it to the audience's background), and fundamentally guarantee that the audience recognise that this is Spanish history finding expression through the memorialising function of heritage tourism. Overall, as will be confirmed in chapters two and three, we might expect that the domestic audience is more likely to seek an empathetic or emotive connection to the events of the past because the history on offer represents part of their national heritage, whilst the international audience is more likely to seek an educational experience.[88]

Many accounts of tourist/heritage professional relationships have focused on the process of narration and communication of knowledge as one-directional,

[85] C. Cameron & J. Gatewood, "Seeking Numinous Experiences in the Unremembered Past," *Ethnology*, Vol. 42, 1 (2003), p.56.
[86] A. Biran et al, "Sought Experiences at (Dark) Heritage Sites," *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 38, 3 (2011), p.825.
[87] T. Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
[88] Cameron & Gatewood, "Seeking Numinous Experiences," p.57.

assuming that visitors are not active in the assimilation of the information. However, in order for a tour narrative to become a site of memorialisation, it is imperative that this relationship becomes reciprocal to allow this form of memory to enter into public discourse, and interpretations on the war to find expression where they had not before.[89] Therefore,

> if meaning at heritage sites […] is mediated through constructing and engaging with a plausible experience, rather than simply through presenting and reading the facts on interpretive panels, the heritage visitor becomes intimately concerned with decoding the meaning of those experiences.[90]

The multiplicity of means by which the tourist can assimilate the same memory or information due to differing ideologies and expectations, obliges the tourism manager to shape the narrative appropriately, but also recognise that an homogenous interpretation within the Spanish or international community will be unlikely.

Those responsible for the promotion of a heritage tourism product are faced with the issue of becoming involved with the debates over whose history is to prevail in the narrative and who and what is to be forgotten or remembered, consequently holding the ability to preserve or destroy certain memories of the past.[91] In line with Nora's position on the recovery of memory, the study of how things are remembered in terms of the manager in charge of the construction – or absence – of narratives can highlight many nuances in the uniqueness and purpose of certain memories; why they have endured, why they may have been altered and how they can constitute and contribute to national identity.[92] Ultimately, what

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[89] Smith, *Uses of Herita*ge, p.67; N. Abercrombie & B. Longhurst, *Audiences: a sociological theory of performance and imagination* (London: Sage, 1998).
[90] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.70.
[91] V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, "Commemorating a Difficult Past: Yitzhak Rabin's Memorials," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 67 (2002), pp.30-51.
[92] D.P. Jordan, "Introduction," in P. Nora (ed.), *Rethinking France.*

tourists engage with 'are the values and meanings that are symbolised or represented at and by these heritage sites,' highlighting that the meanings, messages and memories received by the tourist are almost entirely dependent on the tourism manager who creates and spreads the narrative.[93]

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Confronting the past in Spain is an activity that dispels the ghosts which have previously haunted individual or collective subjectivities. However, López-Quiñones proposes that it is the recovery and prolongation of memory that is an act of responsibility for the current generation in acknowledging the events of the past and providing knowledge for the future.[94] Within the culture of remembering, forgetting and memorialising, the introduction of narratives and interpretations of heritage has contributed to the on-going process of reconnecting peoples, spaces and memories, attracting attention from inter-disciplinary perspectives that question the motivations and expectations of remembering the past. In this vein, tourism can be considered as a method to work through trauma by providing a socially accessible dialogue on events previously only expressed through historical accounts, politicians and media outlets. By bringing the events of the past alive and instigating discussions on the past that propel memory into discourse, tourism linked to the Spanish Civil War counters the historicisation of the war or a socio-political view that the events are distant and impossible to confront.[95]

[93] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* p.56.
[94] López-Quiñones, "Towards a Pragmatic Version of Memory," p.212.
[95] ibid, p.216.

We cannot understand the impact of making memory spaces available through tourism without first observing the various memorialising tourist experiences that exist in Spain. These experiences are directed both at a domestic and an international market, yet analyses of the content and attitudes expressed through these two brands of tourism reveal stark contrasts in the intentions and motivations of each tourism manager. First, then, an investigation into the international Civil War tourism market in Spain will reveal a geopolitical point of view on the war that is dispersed into the global community, acknowledging how internationally-oriented historical representations are negotiated, selected, presented and related to.

Chapter Two

Whilst historic interpretations of the Spanish Civil War are extensive, less attention has been paid to how the heritage of this conflict is perceived.[96] Gradually, studies are beginning to consider how memories of an event can become enshrined in historic sites or landscapes, these memories being visited and re-visited through heritage experiences. Experiences aimed at the international market reveal the impact that elements of foreign heritage have on the non-native tourist, and how the information presented is adjusted to aid tourist understanding. This chapter will consider two unofficial, independently-led, tourist experiences, based in Madrid and Barcelona, and their value in the memorialisation of events of the Spanish Civil War through mobile site interpretation and narrative discourse. The chapter will demonstrate how two studied, unofficial guided tours, because they are uninfluenced by the political agendas of local authorities, can package Spanish heritage into a mobile tourism product and how this can provide a model for similar domestic endeavours.

Unofficial representations of the past, or tourist experiences led by self-employed tourism managers, often diverge from the sanctioned transmission of site representations that state-agencies traditionally maintain, and constitute a more accessible form of heritage that the public can engage with.[97] Within Spain, these informal cultural products are capable of constructing narratives about the past that steer the visitor away from these cities' traditional associations with

[96] J. Casanova, "La guerra civil española en el reñidero de Europa," *El País* (18 July 2016); R. Conde, "Las grietas de la memoria," *El Mundo* (18 July 2016); F. Jiménez Losantes, "Mitos del inicio de la Guerra Civil," *Libertad Digital* (18 July 2016). The date of these publications is relevant, anniversaries linked to the conflict often producing a wave of new commentaries in the media.

[97] C. Strange & M. Kempa, "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island," *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, 2 (2003), p.391.

leisure, art and culture. It is also important to note that those who construct these commentaries are acting within their own individual value systems, aligning with Waitt's assertion that there can be no one simple 'authentic reconstruction of history […] [for] all involve various kinds of accommodation and reinterpretation.' [98] In the internationally-based tourist experiences under investigation, the memory of the Civil War is not accessed in an ideologically or stylistically homogenous manner. The narratives rely instead on the specific version of history which the memory manager considers as fact. This not only demonstrates the importance of the narrative in tourist understanding of the past, but also reveals how, if narratives are to be considered as *lieux de mémoire*, their content could represent a form of memory that will be inherited by future generations.

Without doubt, one of the most important aspects of the tourist experience is the narrative, an intangible form of heritage that attaches meaning to specific sites and ensures that determined messages come to memorialise them. All spaces, be they public, private, formal or accidental, are subject to interpretation. Whether the narratives attributed to these particular spaces are accepted, resisted or denied is dependent on their perceived importance within the community. In this case, the individual directing the unofficial tourist experience retains the ability to endow a space with their own narrative, informed by their own understanding of the events, thus ensuring the survival of some memories and the destruction of others. However, since the final interpretation of the narrative on offer is a co-

[98] G. Waitt, "Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity," *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, 4 (2000), pp.841-843; J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 2011), pp.155-156.

product of deliverer and receiver, the transmission of memory is reliant on both tourists and memory-managers.[99]

The international exercises in Civil War tourism observed here suggest that tours oriented to this market will domesticize the heritage on offer, in the sense that they associate that heritage with the visitor's own culture. This not only implies a degree of selectivity when constructing the narrative, but also suggests that the international visitor will use the memory engrained in the narrative in different ways from Spanish tourists, and from every other nationality that experiences the tour. The process of domesticizing the narrative opens up the history of the Spanish conflict to a global audience by incorporating elements of the visitors' own heritage. Most notably in the cases of Barcelona and Madrid, discussions on the involvement of the International Brigades dominate. The narratives produced in these unofficial tours can generate a widely accepted form of memory, however a local interpretation of these internationally-oriented messages is likely to cause dissonance between the local tourist and this heritage. This dissonance is created when the narrative presented differs from the generally accepted national identity that the local tourist associates with.[100] For this reason, it has been stressed that narratives linked with locations of historical relevance need to be sensitive to this history, without 'omitting or obscuring the "truth".'[101]

For the international visitor, the tour narrative becomes an interpretive tool, which simultaneously memorialises the Spanish experience while engaging the visitor through references to their own culture. Although the narrative is a fundamental tool in the attribution of meaning to a heritage location, there are

[99] N. Glover, "Co-produced Memories: Mapping the Uses and Narratives of History in the Tourist Age," *Public Historian*, Vol. 30, 1 (2008), p.113.
[100] Tunbridge & Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage.*
[101] L. Beck, & T. Cable, *Interpretation for the 21st Century- Fifteen guiding principles for interpreting nature and culture* (Champaign: Sagamore Publishing, 2002), p.75.

several limitations that should be considered. Biran suggests that a tour narrative that solely aims to educate the visitor on the history of a site succeeds only in providing the visitor with a limited understanding of that site.[102] In emphasising education over memorialisation, the tourism manager also treats the tourist group as an homogenous entity with matching expectations and preferences. Therefore, particularly when studying Spain, where the heritage tourism industry attracts audiences with a broad variety of expectations and prior assumptions on the heritage of the war, there is a need for tourism managers to supply equally broad tourism experiences that not only inform on the past, but also recognise that interpreting the past using tourism is a fundamental way to memorialise this history.

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The Spanish Civil War walking tours on offer in Barcelona and Madrid are, following Samuel, examples of 'theatres of memory', in which setting and landscape play a mnemonic role whilst the accompanying narratives are what allow for the transmission of knowledge and history, and as a consequence stimulate the embodiment of memory.[103] Although extensively affected throughout the wartime period, the vast cityscapes of Barcelona and Madrid now retain few recognisable scars or symbols left by the war, and fewer still are acknowledged by the government or the general population. In addition to this, these two metropolitan destinations primarily attract visitors who do not intend to

[102] Biran, A, "Segmenting Future Visitors to Heritage Sites: Perceptions, Motivations and Expectations," *Revista de Análisis Turístico,* 2 (2006), p.23.
[103] R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Volume I: Past and present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).

explore the cities' heritage related to the Civil War, further highlighting that the majority of international visitors actually taking part in these tours are specifically interested in the topic. The walking tours examined here, and the sites visited along the tour, perpetuate memories through the communication between narrative and visual space, and irrespective of the audience's origin these tours are constructed with the intention of memorialising the war for future generations.[104]

Any version of the past that exists within society, whether it be offered on a political level, or packaged for tourist consumption, contains messages and interpretations that originate from the conscious election of certain resources and narratives chosen based on a series of subjective ideals. It is therefore important to analyse not only the content (or absence) in the narrative, but also *how* this narrative is incorporated into the memorial project to help us understand what version of the past is intended to survive. Theorists contend that by 'combining spatial and chronological concepts of framing' it becomes possible for the distant time period being studied to be 'extended into cultural spaces of memory and the heritage objects within them.'[105] This view not only supports the concept of the tour narrative functioning as a *lieu de mémoire* or a space for memory to evolve, it also suggests that tours can be considered as a viable exercise in memorialising the past.

Catalonia is not only Spain's most visited international tourist area, but tourism has also become the most economically important industry for the region.[106] Whilst the region's capital is perhaps most famed for its architecture and beaches, and although the topic of the Civil War is less suppressed in

[104] M. Ramblado-Minero, "Sites of Memory/ Sites of Oblivion in Contemporary Spain," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos,* Vol. 36, 1 (2011), p.37.
[105] Bajc, "Introduction to Collective Memory, p.10.
[106] L. Garay, & G. Cànovas, "Life Cycles, Stages and Tourism History: The Catalonia (Spain) Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 38, 2 (2011), p.652.

Barcelona than in other cities across the country (due to the region's stated willingness to engage with this difficult past), there are few physical reminders of the conflict that took place eighty years ago. Instead, the Civil War walking tour that takes place there, conducted by a British expatriate who runs tours to key sites across the city centre, recognises this city's wartime history through a narrative that juxtaposes this metropolitan city and its darker history.

Barcelona's experience during the war was primarily characterised by two phases. In the first, a strong revolutionary environment was created by various activists, with workers' groups mobilising to protect working-class communities in the face of the military coup. Divisions within the Republican camp (with many republican groups feeling threatened by the armed power and burgeoning popularity of the anarchist movement in this revolutionary moment) culminated in the 'May Days' of 1937. In the second phase, after May 1937, revolutionary activity was reigned in by both central and regional government, prioritising (as they saw it) the prosecution of the war over the need for social and political revolution. On the face of it public order appeared restored, but at the cost of widespread disillusionment amongst the popular classes. Meanwhile, as the military fortunes of the Republic worsened, the city was subject to mass aerial bombardment and the impending approach of Francoist troops. Barcelona eventually fell to the rebels in January 1939.[107]

Analysis of the web-based advertisement for this tour of Barcelona provided a primary insight into the perspectives on the war that would be portrayed to an international audience. The website immediately recognises the fact that George Orwell was involved with the war effort in Barcelona and

[107] For a detailed account on Barcelona and the war see C. Ealham, *Class, Culture and conflict in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (London: Routledge, 2005), ch. 8; G. Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 2000).

produced one of the few international accounts on the war in *Homage to Catalonia*, immediately introducing the idea that the war was not only fought by Spaniards, and relating the content to a well-known figure. The guide responsible for the organisation of these tours states that the aim is to take the tourist on a chronological story of war in Barcelona featuring key themes such as anarchism, the May Days fighting and the International Brigades.[108] Although not overtly ideological in its content, the website, only available in English, targets an international audience who may not be aware of the ideological weight that this subject often carries in international public and political debates. Nevertheless, the guide's efforts to produce one of very few locally available memorial experiences have been recognised by the local press, which in some cases have questioned the absence of other touristic approaches to memorialising the war in Barcelona.[109]

Acknowledging the growing interest in historical sites within the tourism industry, the guide has established a four-hour guided route through the centre of Barcelona to encompass and explain the most prominent events that occurred in the city during the war. Almost exclusively experienced by an international market, these visits have attracted tourists from over sixty nations, but most notably British and American audiences. The fact that George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* is one of the first references made within the narrative is indicative of the international orientation of the experience. This does make the tour less accessible for tourists unfamiliar with this work, but the use of a well-recognised figure succeeds in integrating the international visitor within this foreign, and, for

[108] http://iberianature.com/barcelona/history-of-barcelona/spanish-civil-war-tour-in-barcelona/ [Accessed 01/10/15].
[109] For example see, C. Cols, "Barcelona condena al turismo de la guerra civil a la clandestinidad," *El Periódico Barcelona* (3 June 2012); P. Subirón, "Algunos turistas buenos," *Districte15* (23 November 2015); http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/el-verano-en-radio-5/ruta-turistica-barcelona-guerra-civil/3193418/ [Accessed 05/02/16].

some, unfamiliar location. The guide, who is an ex-teacher, and his Irish colleague, who spent time studying the Spanish Civil War at University, have formulated a route that nostalgically immerses the tourist in the past, propelling memories of the war into public discourse through the narrative supplied and the discussion engendered throughout the tour.

Tourism managers working outside traditional tourist attractions and museums have the ability to approach history and memory in a manner unconstrained by institutional expectations, and for this reason they are able to design and portray history in line with their own acquired knowledge of the past. What is perhaps most remarkable about the walking tour in Barcelona is that it is co-ordinated and managed by two non-native tourism managers who cannot claim that the heritage they attempt to represent is their own. When interviewed, these tourism managers remarked that it is rarely considered strange that a 'guiri' (a Spanish term used to describe foreign tourists) is giving these tours, and they attribute this to the fact that the majority of the accounts of the war available to date had been written by historians from Britain, the United States and France (failing to acknowledge the wealth of Spanish accounts now available). The fact that it is not necessary for tour guides to undergo any formal training or obtain a permit to be able to conduct tours in Barcelona indicates that the narratives supplied by these foreigners are not sanctioned or dictated by any form of local government, but nor are they influenced by the political agenda of local authorities.[110]The route, adapted organically over time as new developments occur and new histories become of interest, takes the tourist through Plaça Catalunya, the Ramblas, and the Gothic Quarter, finishing at a themed bar.

[110] The only restriction placed on tour guides that perform across the city is that they are not allowed to take tourists into official buildings or monuments.

In addition, depending on the content of the exhibitions on display at the politically-organised memory space of Memorial Democràtic, the tour may include this institution, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Beginning at the centre of Plaça Catalunya, the tour guide opens the tour by asking the audience their nationality and their motivations for attending. The relevance of tourist nationality becomes clear when the guide makes references intended for individual tourists during his discussion of the International Brigades and the statistics on the number of fighters who came from each nation. Despite the guide stating that the content of the tour in Barcelona would differ from that of Madrid, which would be a tale of 'heroic resistance' and the International Brigades, the choice to make frequent references to the International Brigades in Barcelona demonstrates that this tour is not an exercise in memorialising the past for Spaniards (and even less so for Catalans), but rather intends to incorporate the heritage of the international visitor. The reasons behind tourists entering upon such a memorialising experience are also of relevance, although their motivations are likely to be varied. During the initial research trip conducted in December 2015, it was noted that some of the tourists in attendance desired to be educated on the general history of the Spanish Civil War, whilst one participant was considering developing their own tour for other tourist groups. Another was involved with various memorial projects in South Africa, and wanted to experience other brands of memory tourism to observe how they were developed for the tourism market.[111] During the second research field trip in March 2016, further motivations emerged: some tourists stated that they wanted to attend a

[111] For more on the South African experience where struggle tourism and apartheid tourism are prominent see, "National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy," http://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Branches1/domestic/Documents/National%20Heritage%20and%20Cultural%20Tourism%20Strategy.pdf [Accessed 30/01/16]; L. Findley, "Red and Gold: A Tale of Two Apartheid Museums," *Places* (February 2011).

memorial exercise that mirrored their political leanings combined 'with a desire to be at the centre of the revolution.'[112]

The narrative begins with a discussion of the atmosphere in Barcelona leading up to the war, providing necessary background information on working conditions that leads into the role that anarchism played in the city during the conflict. Whilst detailing the composition of the unusual brand of politics that made up the Left at the time, scant attention is given to the history of the Second Republic, and even less towards the growing feelings of tension between the Left and the Right as the summer of 1936 approached. Rather than observe and analyse the various factors that led to the outbreak of the war, at this point the narrative concentrates instead on a political portrayal of the 'left-wing', the importance of several buildings in the square (the Telephone Exchange, Hotel Colón), and individuals, like Marina Ginestà.[113] The comparison of the political situation in Spain to the general European experience at the time, simultaneously encourages the international visitor to assimilate the Spanish experience into their pre-existing knowledge, and detracts from the 'Spanishness' of the history being portrayed.

Moving towards the Ramblas, the narrative shifts to analyse the collectivisation that took place in response to the coup, the guide also returning to the subject of anarchism and the government. As the tour moves to the Church of Santa María del Pi, the discussion moves from an ideological appraisal of the political atmosphere at the beginning of the war, to a comparative assessment of the violence conducted in the Republican and Nationalist camps. Visual aids are

[112] Anonymous statement made during tour on 14 March 2016.
[113] Ginestà was a French non-combatant who moved to Barcelona in the early 1930s and joined the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia. She was photographed by Juan Guzmán in 1936, the photograph becoming one of the most emblematic snapshots of the war.

employed to demonstrate the progression of the war in terms of territorial gains, engaging the audience and simplifying the content. Here, the guide references contemporary recognition of the war in Barcelona, stating that there is very little graphically left across the city, echoed by the lack of political discussion on the subject. Whilst pointing out the inscription of *Plaça del Milicià Desconegut* on the side of the square, the tour guide attributes the minimal discussion over the war that takes place in Barcelona partly to the lack of visual reminders of the war, but also to the lack of public awareness of this history. The narrative moves on to encompass the distinct forms that violence took on each side, how institutionalised Francoist violence became from the outset of the war, and how foreign involvement and non-intervention determined the shape of the war.

Tour guides such as this one, free as they are from academic and professional conventions are able to create exciting histories and interact with the past as a living, malleable resource. Their outsider's view on Spanish attitudes and actions towards recovering the past offers a valuable insight into the way in which foreigners view the war, its aftermath and how it is dealt with within Spain now. Interviewing these tourism managers on their attitudes towards memorialisation in Spain helped to uncover their motivations in choosing particular aspects of the conflict to discuss, why the route they had chosen was of specific importance and ultimately, what elements of the past they considered of sufficient value to include in a four-hour narrative on the war. Both tour guides in Barcelona considered that it was imperative for there to be an official recognition of the war by Spain's national government, but that such a recognition would not happen in the near future. One also stated, unsurprisingly, that Catalonia would not put up much resistance when faced with a government-led memorialisation of

the war as all Catalan nationalist parties 'wear the mantle of anti-Francoism' and so would push for such measures to be included in government.[114]

When questioned about the relevance that memorialisation would have for Spaniards, the tour guides suggested that such a process would permit those Spaniards who so wished to access this part of their history without fear, and promote resolution with this past. The act of commemorating the dead and offering them a dignified burial was considered the most important measure that could be supported by government, necessary for any modern state or human society to undertake. This indicates that issues concerning the past resound beyond memory of the past, and have also entered into debates about their impact on contemporary political and social relationships. In doing so, history can be taken out of context and manipulated to ignite passion within politics and the population. Considering this to be a destructive attitude to take, the tour guide insisted that history be dealt with outside of the political realm.

The next stop on the tour succeeds in highlighting one of the most prominent dangers of an ill-informed tourist narrative. Whilst stopping in the Plaça Sant Felip Neri, the tourist learns that the damage noticeable on the walls of the square was due to bomb damage caused when an Italian aerial bombardment took the lives of 42 people who had taken shelter in the square and the church. Mythologised under the dictatorship, it has been believed that the pitted holes on the walls of the squares were caused by Republican firing squads when executing Francoist supporters during the war. The damage that this myth can cause is highlighted when it is revealed to the group that there are still those who consider

[114] Fairhurst, Interview with N. Lloyd, 13 March 2016, see Appendix 1, p.105.

the Francoist version of events to be true.[115] In the past, few individuals would have questioned these memories because there was no way in which they could determine that what they were being told was false. The plaque on the floor commemorating the event is easily missed, perhaps only recognised if one is alerted to its presence, but more damaging is the fact that other tour guides have been heard still providing the mythologised version of events to groups of tourists unaware that they are becoming vehicles of falsely transmitted information.[116]

During the tour observed in the initial research field trip, the group also visited the memory space Memorial Democràtic, where an exhibition on *Vencedors i Vençuts* was taking place.[117] When interviewed, both tour guides professed that they had no official relationship with the organisation, but when relevant material features in the memorial space, the tour group is brought there to discuss representation of memory in Catalonia. It must be noted at this point, however, that the information panels included in this exhibition were only written in Catalan, and almost all of the comments in the visitor's book referenced this fact and stated that the space would have more impact if it incorporated a broader international and national audience. Also included in the exhibition space were images, video footage and audio testimonies, and artefacts recovered from the conflict. As will be expanded upon later, the production of such an exhibition within a governmentally-organised memorialisation project symbolises the steps that the Catalan region has taken to rupture the silence imposed over the vast majority of Spain in a tangible manner.

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[115] For example, see https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g187497-d592217-r336873568-Placa_Sant_Felip_Neri-Barcelona_Catalonia.html [Accessed 01/05/16]; http://www.barcelonalowdown.com/dark-history-placa-de-sant-felip-neri/ [Accessed 01/05/16].
[116] C. Howley, *Civil War Tour of Barcelona*, 14 March 2016.
[117] An in-depth discussion of this institution will be made in chapter three. Note that this exhibition had closed by the second research trip.

To conclude the tour, the audience is taken to La Llibertaria Café, a restaurant decorated with replica posters of Republican efforts in Barcelona primarily featuring anarchist slogans and images. It is here that the narrative covers a variety of topics, such as women's involvement in the war effort in the city, the exile of Spaniards sent to concentration camps outside Spain, and how surviving members of the International Brigades were eventually awarded Spanish citizenship. Most interestingly, both tour guides take this opportunity to explain how it was that they came to organise such an experience for tourists and what motivated them to do so. The founder of the company noted that his interest in the events of the war began when he noticed a small plaque to Francesc Boix that was located near his home in Poble Sec.[118] This simple encounter led to his research into the war through the study of history books, articles and an investigation into how the local government had made an attempt to recognise the events of the war in public discourse. When interviewed, both guides stated that they believed the political efforts to recognise the war throughout Spain were insufficient, and it was only the more progressive attitude of the Catalan government that had meant more steps had been taken to incorporate the war into public space and discussion.[119]

Due to its composition, the narrative that accompanies this particular tour, organised by non-native guides and oriented towards an international audience, has become focused more on performance than presenting the heritage that the narrative purports to interpret. When considering the attention that has been dedicated to George Orwell or the International Brigades throughout the tour, one could conclude that the narrative is limited and domesticized, providing the tourist

[118] N. Lloyd, *Civil War Tour of Barcelona*, 15 December 2015.
[119] Fairhurst, Interview with N. Lloyd, 13 March 2016, see Appendix 1, p. 105; Z. Fairhurst, Interview with C. Howley, 14 March 2016, see Appendix 2, p.107.

with a romanticised, superficial view of the past, which in turn can be damaging for the memory of the Civil War.[120] Nonetheless, the Civil War tourism experience available in Barcelona offers the interested visitor a chance to witness first-hand a series of sites that played an important role in the development of the war, ensuring that a memory of the war remains available in the public sphere. This experience is also a valuable model that could be translatable to a tourism project appropriate for a domestic audience, highlighting that there is sufficient content that can be incorporated into a mobile tour for Spaniards.

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Investigating the limited options available to those wishing to experience the history of the Civil War in Madrid, one discovers a few projects that have been established from the ground up in response to the lack of institutional attempts to supply citizens with a centre for memory on the war. Grassroots organisations such as *Lugares de Memoria* and *Gefrema,* generally focused on memorialisation efforts not necessarily associated with tourism, have been established to offer specialised exercises for a local audience desiring to access this part of history through viewing tangible heritage left across the city.[121] Contributing to this field, and perhaps the most salient of these exercises, is *Across Madrid Tours*, a

[120] R. Sharpley & P. Stone, "(Re)presenting the Macabre: Interpretation, Kitschification and Authenticity," in R. Sharpley & P. Stone (eds.), *The Darker Side of Travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism* (Tonawanda: Channel View Publications, 2009), p.114.

[121] *Lugares de Memoria*, funded by the Spanish government, is a series of three tours operated during *La Semana de las Ciencias*, aimed at providing the interested audience with a creative and dynamic account of the war that stimulates discussion on this history http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/traslarepublica/node/230 [Accessed 30/05/16].
In contrast, *Gefrema (Grupo de Estudios del Frente de Madrid)* is an organization funded by the Rivas-Vaciamadrid town council, and dedicated to the investigation, restoration and conservation of national heritage related to the war through guided tours, conferences and publications offered to members. http://gefrema.org/otras_publicaciones/asociacion.htm [Accessed 14/01/16].

company designed and managed by a native *madrileña* who takes the interested tourist across Madrid to 'reconstruct what the city centre looked like in the war' and tell 'the story of the International Brigades.'[122] As the capital of Spain, possession of Madrid was key to both sides from the outset of the Civil War. Controlling the city when the war broke out, the Republicans faced an onslaught of attacks from the Nationalist army, but repeated failed attempts to enter the city resulted in the Battle for Madrid becoming one of the longest and most contested episodes of the war. The pressure from frequent bombing raids and the imminent threat of rebel troops entering the city resulted in the rapid removal of the seat of government to Valencia, leaving the army to install a Junta de Defensa to defend Madrid. To aid this process, the city saw the arrival of the largest unit of fighters from the International Brigades. This fearsome resistance characterised the war effort in Madrid until its defeat in March 1939, and in the post-war period the city became a key site of symbolic and political repression under the dictatorship, hugely affecting the morale of those left in the city.[123]

Currently, knowledge of these events is restricted as a result of the silencing that took place in and after the dictatorship, and many of the affected sites and monuments still in existence across the city (such as the Arco de la Victoria) lack historical interpretation, furthering the general ignorance of the public. Without a conscious institutional effort to promote and actively recognise the history of these sites, they seem destined to become sites of oblivion rather than of memory.[124] *Across Madrid* offers a way in which this history can be

[122] https://www.acrossmadrid.com/en/tours/madrid-in-spanish-civil-war.html [Accessed 20/02/16].
[123] O. Muñoz-Rojas, *Ashes and Granite. Destruction and Reconstruction in the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), p.33.
[124] For example, consider the current site of the Templo de Debod, originally the Montaña del Príncipe Pío barracks, the relevance of which is not inscribed in any form of plaque or information

conserved verbally, promoting the history of these invisible or unrecognised sites, memorialising both the location and the narrative that go along with them. Enshrined in this tour is a discussion of suffering, nostalgia, grief and disorder that is articulated through an entirely Republican discourse, unashamedly politically influenced, thus similarly shaping the visitor interpretation of the narrative, as will become evident.

To advertise her tours, the owner of *Across Madrid*, a native Spaniard with degrees from British universities, has established a website that is primarily accessible in English, but is also available in Spanish.[125] This confirms that the tour guide wishes to target an international audience but indicates an understanding that a local market also exists, supported by the fact that the tours are advertised to be conducted in English, Spanish and Italian.[126] The website explains that after receiving constant questions about the dictatorship, the guide established this company to 'freely express the truth about the Spanish Civil War' through an educational experience.[127] The guide's choice to use the word 'truth' in this instance indicates her own perception of events, having based the narrative on research conducted through history books and investigations into her family's involvement in the war.

This example of history given by a non-official tour guide aligns with Filene's very generalised assertion that this brand of tourism professional may not realise how the narrative can have broader implications for an understanding of

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panel (the sculpture present that is dedicated to those Nationalists who died in the siege of the barracks is also not referred to).

[125] Two tourists in attendance on 18 March 2016 stated that they had come across the tours through searching 'Spanish Civil War museum in Madrid' into Google.

[126] https://www.acrossmadrid.com/es/ [Accessed 31/05/16]. Note that the website is not offered in Italian.

[127] https://www.acrossmadrid.com/en/blog/143-press-coverage-of-our-work-on-the-spanish-civil-war.html [Accessed 15/10/15].

the past, and is instead compelled to produce a narrative that resonates emotionally, suggesting that such endeavours must be handled with care.[128] This fundamental definition is echoed in the guide's online reference to the fact that she wishes to base the foundation of her tour on accounts of her family's involvement in the war. By including personal narratives as a form of evidence, tours that refer to familial experiences use these particular stories to comment on, and guide the tourist through, individual sentiments regarding the events under discussion. Such experiences are also said to create an understanding between the narrator and the listener, enriching the experience for both parties.[129] Her experience in interviewing war veterans and survivors, as well as relatives of both, has resulted in a personal tour that invites the visitor to experience Madrid through the eyes of real testimonies that lead to new interpretations of Spanish Civil War history. Similar to the tour in Barcelona, the website makes clear from the outset that the tour narrative will be heavily focused on the experience of the International Brigades in Madrid. The tour guide's involvement with the *Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales* (AABI) is indicative of the key importance that this aspect of the war takes in her tour narrative. Whilst the production of a narrative to include this international perspective echoes the example encountered in Barcelona, the fact that the narrative in Madrid is organised by a native Spaniard is notable.[130]

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[128] B. Filene, "Passionate Histories: "Outsider" history-makers and what they teach us," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 34, 1 (2012), pp.11-33.
[129] M. Maynes et al, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).
[130] For more on the AABI see, http://www.brigadasinternacionales.org/ [Accessed 25/03/16] This tour is also endorsed by the Friends and Family of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the *Associazione Italiana di Combattenti Volontari Antifascisti di Spagna* and the Orwell Society, https://www.acrossmadrid.com/en/tours/madrid-in-spanish-civil-war.html [Accessed 31/05/16].

The route taken by this tour was designed to be an archaeological exploration of Madrid, a chronological passage through the key sites of the conflict, aided by the use of photographs and artefacts.[131] This tour spans a general history of the Second Republic, the effects of that period and the war, and then proceeds to offer an extremely ideological assessment of the idea of historical memory in contemporary Spain. The tour begins at the administration building of the Comunidad de Madrid in Puerta del Sol, the historical importance of which (a site of post-war torture conducted by the Francoists) is stressed by the guide.[132] It is also here that the ideological emphasis that the tour will take becomes clear. The guide states that she is a Republican and has organised the tour to align with this ideology because 'the Francoists did more horrible things than the Republicans,' and as a consequence, that side 'should not be awarded a memory.'[133] Much of the narrative content produced in the Puerta del Sol concerns the installation of the Second Republic, the reforms imposed during that period and the rise of the Popular Front, contrasting sharply with the timeline covered in Barcelona which only stretched back to the beginning of the war. It is here too that the bombing of Madrid is mentioned and almost instantly the narrative shifts to discuss the post-war trafficking of children, temporally confusing the visitor and emotionally distorting the narrative.

Moving down towards Calle Mayor, the guide brings the visitors to view surviving scars caused by the bombing whilst revealing her opinion that it is disappointing that the government has not been active in recognising these sites of physical reminders of the war. In fact, she describes the process that Spain is

[131] Z. Fairhurst, Interview with A. Cros, 18 March 2016, see Appendix 3, p.108.
[132] In one interview a woman details her experience in the building, A. Tejeda, "Pilar Claudin, una vida contra la injusticia," *La Jornada* (22 April 2002).
[133] A. Cros, *Civil War Tour of Madrid*, 18 March 2016.

currently going through as a 'cover-up' of the past.[134] The tour guide also reveals her resentment towards both central and Catalan government efforts to recognise the war when she states that Memorial Democràtic is a short-sighted project that has not carried out sufficient activities in bringing the memory of the past to citizens today. Her critique of this project raises questions regarding the potential that any of these tourist endeavours may have with regards to memorialising the war for the public. Nevertheless, each experience that has been studied produces valuable tangible representations of the past that are not necessarily found within historic discourse, demonstrating their probable worth. Such passionate displays of emotion detract from the quality and potential of different memorial projects. Whilst in this same location, the guide displays some wartime photographs taken where the visitor stands, simultaneously juxtaposing images from the present and the past and repopulating inanimate landscapes with people from the present, connecting the contemporary audience with these memories from the past.[135]

Understandably, as discussed in the case of Barcelona, tours aimed at an international audience are more likely to incorporate elements of the visiting nationalities' heritage, but, remarkably, this tour, which is also made available to a Spanish audience, rarely deals with aspects of the war that are *not* associated with foreign heritage.[136] Whilst the narrative memorialises those foreign fighters who contributed to the war effort, the truly Spanish nature of the war is forgotten (not including the coverage of the period of the Second Republic), which is even more surprising when considering the fact that the tour guide herself is Spanish. This tour narrative is successful in detailing the chronology of the war, its effects

[134] Cros, *Civil War Tour of Madrid*.
[135] Filene, "Passionate Histories," pp.20-23.
[136] In email correspondence, the guide explains that the tours have the same content regardless of what language they are given in, A. Cros, Personal Communication, 10 March 2016.

and, in part at least, how it is viewed within Spain now, although a domestic audience may be surprised to find that there is limited coverage of the Spanish perspective. Here tourism is seen to create something that history cannot: an encounter with representations of heritage that rely on local representations and visitor expectations, culminating in a product that juxtaposes memory with physical locations. Moving towards Gran Vía the audience is shown what the guide incorrectly claims to be the only physical memorial to the war in Madrid- a plaque on the side of Hotel Gran Vía, which remarks that Ernest Hemingway resided there during the fighting. Here, too, the audience is told of the important role that the foreign press played in communicating news of the war abroad. Additionally, the tourist is told of the significance of Robert Capa and Gerda Taro, both also foreign photographers, in their contribution to photographically documenting the events of the war.

To conclude the tour, the guide makes a trip to the Arco de la Victoria and Ciudad Universitaria. Contrasts are first drawn between the grandiose structure of the Arco de la Victoria, the relevance of which is not mentioned in any information panels or guidebooks related to the subject, and the memorial to the International Brigades which is placed within the University and at the time of visiting had been defaced. The guide comments passionately upon the lack of government action to reinterpret the larger structure or to complement it with a small narrative explaining that its origins lie within the dictatorship, and criticises the limited memorial space that has been given to the International Brigades. The inclusion of these physical structures not only offers the visitor a tangible site that is linked in some way to the war, but they also demonstrate how a lack of narratives to accompany such monuments can cause their true representation to

fade into the landscape without being memorialised. Whilst visiting the University City the tourist is invited to touch the bullet holes etched into the building edges, to imagine the frontlines across the area, and finally to hold a Fascist or Republican bullet from this particular battle. In inviting the tourist to touch these historic artefacts as evidence of the past (not offered in Barcelona), the guide offers a transparent way of observing the interplay between the narrative and the physical artefact, ultimately giving both meaning.[137] This final exercise completes a five-hour tour that carries the tourist across the city that was most affected by the war, but leaves them uncertain of the development or outcome of many episodes due to an overtly emotional and ideologically-biased narrative.

A consideration of both the reception and delivery of the narration of history within the heritage industry reveals that diverse forms and uses of narratives exist. Pitching the tour according to client knowledge and nationality, as the *Across Madrid* experience claims to do, results in a specialised narrative that combines the guide's personal investment in the content with a perceived notion of what the tourist will want to hear. As a consequence, the narrative stops being an attempt at a complete representation of the past, and instead morphs into a hybridised version of events that aligns with what this independent tour guide wishes to portray.[138] This attitude may be due to the fact that, in the last year, only four Spaniards have taken part in this particular tour- the guide states that conservative voters are completely uninterested in the subject, and others are keen but not willing to pay the price of the tour. Aside from this international orientation, there is also a danger that her political narration of the war will cause

[137] Refer again to Alzua et. al, "Cultural and Heritage Tourism."
[138] Glover, "Co-produced Histories," pp.105-106.

dissonance within this heritage product and with the more objective versions of history available.[139]

It was not until her return to Madrid in 2008 (having spent time studying abroad) that this guide began to research the war, realising that she was unaware of much of the history and relevance of this period. Her return to Spain came at a time when memorialisation of the war was making progress due to the recently passed Law of Historical Memory, which encouraged Spanish citizens to accept the recovery of memory and begin to discuss it more openly in public discourse. When reading more about the war, she began to develop an historical route that would lead the tourist through the key events of the war, and given the fact that, as in Barcelona, tour guides in Madrid no longer require a permit or formal training to engage in this profession, she was able to create, develop and sustain her own specific narrative. When questioned on the importance of making a narrative on the war accessible for the public, the guide explained that she believes it is appropriate only for a native Spaniard to lead a tour of this kind because non-natives should not comment on a heritage that is not their own.[140]

Without doubt, one of the more interesting aspects of this particular tour is that the narrative supplied contains references to the guide's family's experience during the war, bringing a new perspective to the history of the war usually told through factual or statistical analysis. Rather than produce a broader meaning like those found in professional historical accounts, this use of family in the narrative memorialises the individual and recognises the effect that the war had on normal members of society.[141] Exemplified in Dulce Chacón's 2002 fictional tale *La voz*

[139] For example, instances of Francoist violence are referred to throughout the tour, whereas Republican episodes are not detailed.
[140] Cros, *Civil War Tour of Madrid*, 18 March 2016.
[141] Filene, *Passionate* Histories, p.19.

dormida, a narration on the suffering of women in the post-war period, the inheritance of notebooks and subsequent reading of these accounts, as occurred in this tour guide's case, becomes key to a individual's sense of identity, a connection with their relatives, and can cause the reader to embrace the owner's political ideals.[142] Having employed these stories to create a more personal tourist experience, the non-official tour guide not only becomes a participant in developing history but also uses it to engage and connect with an audience.[143]

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As it stands, monuments, sites and even cities cannot alone induce the visitor to remember, instead there is a need for an accompanying interpretation of these spaces, and it is this interpretation or narrative that comes to constitute memory. The will to remember in Spain has eventually produced two tourist experiences that lead the visitor through two distinct portrayals of the events that took place during the Civil War, but constructed and performed for an international audience. These narratives have become lenses through which the international tourist can view Spain and the sites visited, simultaneously informing them on the Spanish experience and familiarising them with elements of their own heritage. The analysis of these tours has revealed what is intended for remembrance in the global perception of the war, how the narrative can be altered depending on who is in attendance and ultimately why they can contribute to a memorialisation of the war. Both of the guided tours investigated convey the idea that endeavours not informed by local political influences are free to construct selective imageries of

[142] D. Chacón, *La voz dormida* (Madrid: Punto de Lectura, 2002). Discussed in Leggott, "Memory, Postmemory, Trauma," p.30.
[143] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* pp.66-67.

the past. Whilst this could be a useful model for independent domestic projects to follow, the uninfluenced narrative can also result in one-sided accounts of the events being produced. To balance this, it is necessary to observe existing institutional attempts to memorialise the war to assess which brand of tourism is more successful in ensuring the survival of the memory of the Civil War, or indeed whether the infrastructure of the mobile guided tour could become the basis for a domestic model.

Chapter Three

Tourism is a phenomenon understood by its economic, cultural and political implications, factors that combine to determine the success that a potential tourist export can have. However, the relationship between tourism and politics is a relatively under-analysed aspect of tourism studies, even though there are multiple examples of how political interest has affected the direction of tourism development.[144] Not only do politics influence the way in which a location prepares itself for the tourism industry, it can also play an instrumental role in defining and supplying the theme and content of the interpretations that are presented at a particular heritage site, and can determine whether any interpretation takes place at all.[145] In those cases where the local, regional or national government manages the tourist product, it has been assumed under newer interpretations of Marx and Engel's 'Dominant Ideology Thesis', that heritage interpretations will be loaded with messages that the government wishes to project in order to legitimise their position.[146] Abercrombie and Turner propose that in most societies there is a principal set of beliefs that dominate all others, designed to prevent political upheaval. As such, this theory can be readily applied to the narratives and interpretations that were made on the past during Franco's dictatorship. However, the current role that regional and national Spanish governments have with regards to tourism is less controlling. Nevertheless, it can

[144] Consider, for example, how the events of 11 September affected spheres of travel, insinuating that political change has an impact on how tourists receive, and indeed are received by, a country or place.
[145] H. Smith, "Seventy Years of Waiting: A turning point for interpreting the Spanish Civil War," in C. Ryan, *Battlefield Tourism: history, place and interpretation* (London: Elsevier, 2007), p.148.
[146] N. Abercrombie & B. Turner, "The Dominant Ideology Thesis," *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 29, 2 (1978), pp.149-170; Tunbridge & Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage,* p.47.

be noted that any form of political involvement in a heritage experience intended for a domestic audience will have a notably different approach to memorialisation from the individual efforts considered in the previous chapter. For example, it has been suggested that a politically informed narrative will focus on presenting readings of the past that mark moments of achievement or heroism, or construct a nationally binding identity.[147]

Tourism managers 'may assume the role of marketer of cultural meanings, [attempting] to make a statement about national identity by promoting [through tourism] […] selected aspects of a country's cultural patrimony.'[148] When the memory manager in charge of a domestic heritage product is linked to politics, a different type and form of memory is evoked: the memory tends to be less personal and less involved with individual representations and instead aims to depict or involve the memory of the whole nation.[149] Considering the impact of associating heritage with the nation as a whole, heritage can be used as a political resource to construct a particular collective memory that chimes with the discourse that the managers wish to maintain, and, as a consequence, instructs how the visitor should perceive and understand the content in terms of their own identity.[150] Consequently, examining a variety of sites and narratives designed for tourist consumption by Spanish governments from various different regions across the country can clarify which features and versions of history and culture

[147] Strange & Kempa, "Shades of Dark Tourism," p.397; G. Stockey, *Valley of the Fallen: The (n)ever changing face of General Franco's monument* (CCCP: Nottingham, 2013), p.61.
[148] L. Cano & A. Mysyk, "Cultural Tourism, the State, and Day of the Dead," *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 31, 4 (2004), p.880.
[149] P. Cassia, "Tradition, Tourism and Memory in Malta," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. 5, 2 (2009), p.259.
[150] R. Lumley, *The Museum Time Machine: putting cultures on display* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.2.

have been chosen for Spain's self-representation, and, conversely, which have been avoided or downplayed.

This chapter will use three case studies – Belchite, El Valle de los Caídos and the Catalan government-organised project of Memorial Democràtic – to interrogate whether these tourist experiences constructed for memorial practice contribute to a process of reconstructing the past for the consumption of contemporary visitors, or whether there are different motivations that cloud the memorialisation process and make it more ideologically oriented. Each of the three sites can be categorised in the more traditional sense of *lieux de mémoire* as they are all physical sites that retain narratives on the past. Given that guided tours, narratives and informative visual interpretation make material what is immaterial (i.e. the past), memory can become focused through these means by relaying visions of the past to visitors. The sites under examination here have become spaces for the production and consumption of memory because different levels of government have been involved in the process of attributing certain histories to them.[151] In other words, following Halbwachs' theory, a collective memory is projected onto a tourist space so that that space, as well as the narrative, becomes a place of memory where the past is articulated as a reconstruction of events that have come to pass.[152]

In contrast to the previous chapter, therefore, the present chapter will focus upon government-run tourist experiences across Spain, from the small and local experience of the walking tours of Belchite, to the institutionalised memory space of Memorial Democràtic and finally the intriguing case of El Valle de los Caídos. In contrast to the internationally-oriented experiences in Madrid and Barcelona,

[151] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain,* p.9.
[152] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory.*

these spaces can be said to have been assimilated into the tourism industry because Spaniards may have a desire to be exposed to their country's heritage, causing Spanish-oriented tours to become more personal tourism products. Moreover, the Spaniard visiting these spaces will be experiencing heritage as part of their national identity, therefore differences in the tone and knowledge-assumption of the narrative will be expected.[153] Finally, the chapter will recognise that, in constructing memory spaces and the narratives that accompany them, specific memories can be recalled for future purposes, prolonging the memorialisation process and ensuring the continued recognition of the events of the Civil War.

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One of the most fruitful and emblematic case studies associated with Civil War tourism in Spain remains Belchite, where ruins of an old town destroyed during the war are immortalised. Swiftly falling to the military rebels in the summer of 1936, this town witnessed one of the major battles of the Republican offensive on the Aragonese front, suffering progressive destruction caused by continuous efforts to recapture the town. Responding to the Republican capture of the town in 1937, the Nationalists retook the town in March 1938, triggering more destruction that would ultimately leave the town in ruins. However, the post-war decision to leave the town in its ruinous state, following the rhetoric often employed by Francoist officials to mobilise the ruins of war to instil lessons about the war for future generations, ultimately prevented the reconstruction of the lives of its

[153] For more on heritage as identity see, Glover, "Co-produced Histories," pp.105-124; Johnson, "Framing the past," pp.187-207.

inhabitants and established a partisan version of Spain's history.[154] Instead, a new town was constructed just five hundred metres away, the juxtaposition between the old and the new establishing the regime-organised memory of 'barbarism and culture, of misery and Empire […] of the anti-Spain defeated and the victorious and eternal Spain.'[155]Although Belchite became a symbol of the dictator's power and intentions to memorialise the victors of the war, the choice to conserve the ruins eventually led to its transformation into a tourist product.

The more conventional definition of a *lieu de mémoire* (a monument or physical location that is endowed with memory and meaning) is particularly apposite when considering the ruins of Old Belchite. Although this established heritage site retains its capacity to leave the onlooker with questions concerning its origins, without the application or contribution of a narrative, this memory space would fade into oblivion because the democratic Spanish state has not sought to establish a narrative in the way that the previous regime certainly did. In other words, a site formerly pregnant with narrative/ideology was rendered largely meaningless by a combination of passage of time and regime disinterest in preserving or reconstructing a narrative for the site. This is evidenced by the fact that one Spanish tourist from Barcelona observed upon their visit to Old Belchite that had it not been for them seeing the ruins whilst driving through, they would not have known that the site existed, and that, until the tour began, they did not know anything of the history behind the town's involvement in the Civil War. In

[154] See *Noticiarios y Documentales,* no. 616B, (25 November 1954) [Accessed 14/06/16].
[155] Gómez Aparicio, *Reconstrucción,* no. 1, (1940) pp.6-9, cited in Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain,* p.89. This reconstruction was dealt with under the regime's creation of the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones,* an organisation that supervised the plans for, "reconstruction of the damage suffered in the villages and towns that were the bloody scenario of the […] victorious liberation crusade," (Anon.), "Organismos del Nuevo Estado. La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones," *Reconstrucción,* 1, (1940), p.2, cited in O. Muñoz-Rojas, *Ashes and Granite* p.25.

the case of Belchite, a remarkable example of a memory space that was imposed by the dictatorship and sustained in subsequent generations, the narrative accorded to the ruins has ensured the retention of memory.

The touristic potential that this small town had was noted by one cleric in the post-war period who stated that,

> If the destruction of Belchite were not so profoundly tragic, we would say that the ruins of this town represent a touristic objective. Spanish pilgrims, with time, would come to see the old Belchite […] When the war ends national schools will be obliged to organise excursions for the older children and presentations by teachers on the symbolism of these holy and precious ruins.[156]

Responding to this line of thought, it is important to note that any heritage experience, monument or site that has had its history carefully constructed or reconstructed, is in danger of passing into oblivion unless the historical relevance of that place is continually shaped and managed, as occurred in the case of Belchite after the dictatorship ended.[157] The more recent regional political initiatives made towards heritage organisation in Belchite have updated the way in which the site is remembered and portrayed to an outside audience.

The architectural importance of the heritage offered at Belchite resulted in the site being designated as one of UNESCO's sites of cultural interest in 2002, demonstrating the internationally perceived value of the ruins that led to their protection.[158] The choice to convert the ruins into an area that was only legally accessible through a guided tour changed the nature of political involvement in the town to encourage improved management and protection of the heritage and provided profit that would stimulate new economic growth locally. As the town

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[156] Centellas et al. (2006), cited in, Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain,* p.86.
[157] W. Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* Vol. 41, 2 (2002), p.192.
[158] "Conjunto Histórico de Belchite," http://www.patrimonioculturaldearagon.es/bienes-culturales/belchite-conjunto-historico [Accessed 14/06/16].

came to be used as a tourist product to remember the war, there was also a significant increase in the number of visitors to the town, with roughly 11,300 in 2013, 13,800 in 2014, and figures in 2015 reaching 18,500, suggesting a palpable increase in awareness of the site.[159] In 2015, a new mayor belonging to the Partido Popular, supported by the Partido Aragonés, was elected in Belchite, replacing the socialist administration that had been in place up until that point. Developing the foundation for this administration, Carmelo Pérez, the new mayor, intended to create new businesses and an economic upturn in the town by making use of the tourism industry to fund development, and as the destroyed town is a living testament to a contentious period in Spanish history, the use of tourism is possible.[160]

Vital to visitor experience, a tourist information centre is useful for facilitating visitation to an area, providing effective information on the site in question and creating a positive experience by engaging with the tourist. The tourism office located in the new town of Belchite was founded with a clear recognition of the potential that Old Belchite has for the industry. As detailed by the tourism office, the centre is

> una creación del Ayuntamiento de Belchite y depende directamente de éste, estando sometido a la normativa del Departamento de Patrimonio del Gobierno de Aragón sobre seguridad y mantenimiento [y] conservación de las ruinas, entre otros aspectos, puesto que se trata de un monumento declarado patrimonio de la humanidad por la UNESCO.[161]

[159] M.T.F. Zaragoza, "El pueblo viejo de Belchite ha recibido más de 43.000 turistas desde que se implantaron las visitas guiadas," *Heraldo* (03 March 2016).
[160] Europa Press, "Carmelo Pérez (PP) será alcalde en Belchite con el apoyo del PAR en la investidura," *20 Minutos* (12 June 2015).
[161] Stated in email correspondence on 27 April 2016.

Given that the local government directs the office, it is apparent that any funding necessary for the project will come directly from this source, but it can also be assumed that the government will influence any narrative supplied along the tour.

Crucial to the content of this case study is the analysis of publications available from the tourist office, written, designed and organised by the local government. Like most research, qualitative document analysis is interpretive and can allow for the identification of emphases and consequently an evaluation of certain meanings, which can be used to demonstrate what information is deemed essential for tourists and what has been omitted or avoided. Various leaflets are available for collection from the tourist office, one of which informs the visitor that 'las ruinas de Belchite son un testimonio del trabajo de nuestros antepasados, de las raíces y huellas de un pueblo y una cultura.'[162] This same brochure goes on to note the importance of the Moorish influence on the architecture of the town, however there is no explicit mention of the Spanish Civil War at any point. Instead, the author generalises and states that 'las guerras han mutilado formas y creado un paisaje expresionista.'[163] Focusing instead on describing the buildings that can be visited in the old town, the lack of information about the war is an example of a narrow politically-constructed narrative that prevents the reader from developing an account of the more recent events that took place in the town.

A second brochure explains that the damage caused in the old town was due to fighting during the Carlist Wars and the Wars of Independence, but states that the most important and destructive episode was that of the Civil War.[164] A short, but accurate, background on the battle is included, explaining that most damage was caused when the 'tropas sublevados' returned to re-take the town.

[162] *Belchite Viejo* Brochure.
[163] ibid.
[164] *Belchite: Espacio para la Paz* Brochure.

The vocabulary used is not inflammatory, and, interestingly, this phrase is indicative of a non-conservative narration.[165] Although it is noted that the new town was constructed with its own architectural style known as 'arquitectura de regiones devastadas,' there is no mention here, or in any of the literature obtained, that the dictator intentionally decided to leave Old Belchite in its ruinous state and make it a monument to the war.[166] Given that the post-war history of the town is a hugely symbolic part of the town's history and narrative, the absence of this information in any tourist literature, and in the tour narrative, suggests that it is almost intended to be forgotten.

In another brochure, it is noted that the data given during the tour 'han sido recopilados y contrastados con toda la bibliografía y documentación existente, incluidos los partes oficiales de ambos ejércitos, tradición oral y documentación inédita recuperada en 2012,' therefore claiming that the tours are an unbiased exercise in evaluating the events from the point of view of both sides.[167] Although these leaflets are only available in Spanish, the fact that they recognise that 'la historia de esta zona […] ha dejado fragmentos arquitectónicos que se han convertido en interesantes recursos turísticos' promotes the memorialisation of the past in this town.[168]

Questioning the purpose of tourism and the guided tour in Belchite, one commentator has described the experience as 'BelchiteDisney,' blaming the commodification of the area on the Aragonese, stating that they are capable of 'lo

[165] Further information on the war can also be found at, http://www.descubrecampodebelchite.com/organiza-tu-viaje/que-hacer/cultura/patrimonio-de-la-guerra-civil/, a website included in the *Descubre Campo de Belchite* Brochure, including a list of the sites associated with the war that can be visited in the region [Accessed 18/04/16].
[166] For more on the reconstruction of towns in the post-war period see, Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain.*
[167] *Fragmentos te impresionará* Brochure.
[168] ibid.

más sublime y también de lo más cutre.'[169] However, this assertion does not consider how engaging and informative the available tourist product has become, verbally capturing the memory of a ghostly town where the memory of the war had become shrouded in silence. Four years ago, guided tours were established by the local government in the town due to a desire to protect the heritage on offer and to protect visitors from falling rubble. During peak seasons there can be up to sixty people attending a single tour, and it is the capital gained from this enterprise that maintains the economy of the neighbouring New Belchite. Additionally, all of the tour guides employed in Belchite are local to the area, and as such, a unique experience is created as the tour guide can offer the tourists an account of how their family experienced the war and the post-war in the town.[170] In contrast to the use of family during the Madrid tour, however, this tour's predominantly domestic audience will share in this heritage and be able to forge a more personal connection with the narrative, whilst international visitors in Madrid may be unable to do so. Notably, the English, French or German audio-guide that is on offer for foreign audiences does not detail any of these individual histories, suggesting that it is believed by the tour managers that these visitors will not find personal stories relevant.

The tour begins at the Arco de la Villa, where the visitor is invited to ascend into the adjacent building and read the information panels (written in Castilian) that have been positioned there. Starting with the original construction of the town, the Castilian-literate tourist learns about the history of the town from the Middle Ages to its gradual destruction through the Independence and Carlist

[169] J. Domingo, "La Guerra Civil Española y Las Ruinas de Belchite," *Lagarto Rojo* (22 June 2014).
[170] For example, during the tour attended on 15 March 2016, the tour guide pointed out the ruinous building on Calle Mayor in which her brother was born.

Wars, explaining that it was the Civil War and post-war that made the town infamous. Most importantly, these information panels deal with the current uses and representations of Belchite, and most notably the fact that the ruins, 'nos enfrentan a la terrible fatalidad de las guerras y a su naturaleza destructora,' and that the town, 'nos ofrece un inestimable espacio educativo para reivindicar la Paz y promover las acciones y valores que la hacen posible […] valores que constituyan los cimientos de un mundo más justo y comprometido por la PAZ.' These considerations are invaluable when analysing the educative potential of memorialisation, but also demonstrate in written form how valuable the local government perceives the tourist experience to be, and also how they wish to protect and project this memory to visitors.

Beginning the walking portion of the tour, the visitor is briefly informed about the battles that took place during late 1937 and early 1938, but the narrative is dominated by information about the individual histories that go along with many of the buildings that are pointed out. Despite the personal, familial connection that the tour guide had to the events, what stands out from the oral narrative is its objectivity. As has been suggested in academic writing, commemorations may be purposefully neutral or abstract to allow groups with divergent attitudes towards an event to share the same commemorative space.[171] This impartiality is exemplified by the terminology used throughout the tour, for example, 'tropas nacionales, nacionalistas, Falange', greatly contrasting with the politically-charged narratives that were evident in both Barcelona and Madrid. This more objective stance could be attributed to the fact that a government body has approved the narrative offered in Belchite (whereas in Barcelona and Madrid

[171] R. Wagner-Pacifici & B. Schwartz, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 97, 2 (1991), pp.376-420.

the tour guides were unconstrained in their depiction of the war), however the tour guide's emotion and resistance to Francoism became clear in Belchite as she would not use Franco's name, referring to him instead as 'he' or more generally as 'Spain'. Remarking on the history of Belchite during and after the Transition, the tour guide mentioned that the town continued to be taboo because of its links to Francoism, referring also to the impressive force with which Germany tackled its recent contentious past, stressing that Spain should have done the same.

Whilst suggesting how the practice of tourism in Belchite is actively preserving the memory of the war and the events that occurred in this town, it is also imperative that the tourist (both local and international) be considered in the analysis. Remarking that he had come on the tour 'por casualidad', one Spanish tourist noted that he had not learnt anything about the war in school and had been driving past when he saw the ruins of Belchite and decided to enter the town to see what they were. The tour guide responded that this was a common reaction and motivation for visiting the town, due to the fact that Belchite is rarely mentioned in texts, books or the media. The tour guide also indicated that it is normal for groups (usually on their way to Zaragoza), to stop outside the entrance to the old town, take photographs and then leave. This un-narrated glimpse of the town not only leaves the visitor ill-informed of what Belchite represented or still represents (comparable therefore to the Arco de la Victoria), but also stunts the memorialisation process, preventing the site from expressing its potential as a *lieu de mémoire*.

On the other hand, what is more surprising is the reduced objectivity that can be observed in the English script, the factual yet subjective phrase 'rebel troops' being used where the Spanish guide used 'tropas nacionales', indicating

that this translation is perhaps less preoccupied with ideological inferences or offending the visitor. Nevertheless, the majority of the audio guide available in English is informative rather than argumentative, and ranges from a history of the town's more remote past to that of the war, but restricts discussions of the post-war period to one small segment. Some areas that are visited during the walking tour, for example the Monument to the Fallen and the mass grave, are absent in the English narrative, with the result that the foreign tourist is left to wait while the tour guide explains the area to other tourists. Whilst the foreign visitor may notice these artefacts, they may not recognise their significance, whilst a local audience aware of the import of such monuments would expect an explanation here. The limitations of the English script and audio guide demonstrate that the quality of the tourist experience that is offered for a local, Spanish audience is more elevated, validating the idea that tourism related to the Spanish Civil War *does* attract a local audience, and therefore could be a valuable method to successfully memorialise Spanish heritage.

To conclude, the fact that Belchite was kept in its ruinous state in the post-war period provides evidence that heritage planners were at work even at that time, but the fact that Belchite has retained its value as a historic site suggests that the various cultural and political conditions that are necessary for its continued preservation and interpretation remain effective.[172] The study of Civil War tourism in Belchite reveals the lack of information that is available to locals (especially in guidebooks and history books), and that existing memorialisation that has taken place is aimed at a restrictive academic level. The fact that tour guides with a personal link to Belchite are employed suggests that Spanish

[172] Strange & Kempa, "Shades of Dark Tourism," p.397.

tourism experiences are more emotional simply because what is being discussed between the local guide and local audiences is an element of shared heritage that has affected the majority of Spaniards. There is therefore a clear distinction between the consideration of the domestic and international tourist in this case, the enhanced quality of the Spanish experience (through the oral and visual narrative) implying that the local perspective is perceived as the more valuable market. Ultimately, this experience has produced a valuable memorialising product that reminds the visitor of events that form part of their own heritage, demonstrating the positive effects of governmental support in creating a narrative, tour and memory of the past.

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The museum is traditionally understood as an institution dedicated to the preservation of valued heritage and the education of the public, yet sparking contention when national histories and personal memories are presented and interpreted differently.[173] The twenty-first century museum has become a memorial space where 'individual expectations and institutional, academic intentions interact,' providing the public with access to a range of living memories and a concrete place where personal memories can enter into historical consciousness and survive in a physical form.[174] The abundance of memory in museums presents these institutions as valuable spaces in which memory can thrive, interpreted by the public in accordance with their own cultural expectations, suggesting that this form of memorialisation could provide the

[173] For more on the museum and opposition see, S. Crane, "Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum," *History and Theory,* Vol. 36, 4 (1997), pp.44-63.
[174] ibid, p.46.

Spanish public with a forum for discussion of the memory of the Spanish Civil War. Such efforts have been made in some towns across Spain, the Guernica Peace Museum and the Museum of the Battle of the Ebro representing two of the more successful cases; however the foundation of Memorial Democràtic in Barcelona triggered the widest and most active memorialisation work in the country.[175]

The Catalan experience can be considered different from that of the rest of Spain: representing one of Spain's largest industrial centres, its historic desire for independence has continuously fuelled both political and social debates. This ambition is exemplified by the active political and institutional aid that the recovery of historical memory campaign has gained in the region, resulting in a politically organised network of virtual and physical memory spaces, the first endeavour of its kind in Spain that has such touristic potential.[176] Catalonia's relationship with the recovery of historical memory began in the 1990s when the region began the process of asking for the return of 'items of cultural interest held in state museums,' that related to Catalonia's role in the war.[177] As the status of historical memory became more established across the country, projects intended to memorialise the war also increased and eventually resulted in the Catalan government-founded organisation of Memorial Democràtic, the mission of which was the

[175] Note that the Association of the International Museum of the Spanish Civil War have initiated plans for a new independent and self-sustained museum in Barcelona to cover all aspects of the war. The project boasts a reputable board of organisers, including Paul Preston, Julián Casanova and Francesc Torres. For more on this project see, http://amigce.org/en/ [Accessed 22/06/16]; J. Coman, "Campaign for Barcelona museum to tell at last full story of Spain's civil war," *The Guardian* (29 May 2016).
[176] Guixé i Coromines, "El Memorial Democrático," p.220; González Vázquez, "La Práctica Turística," p.36.
[177] S. Holo, *Beyond the Prado: museums and identity in democratic Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp.24-25.

> Recovery, commemoration and dissemination of democratic memory in Catalonia (1931-1980), particularly the Second Republic, the Republican Generalitat, the Civil War and victims for ideological, conscientious, religious or social reasons […] the recovery of the memory of the attempts to eliminate Catalan language and culture, of values and actions supporting freedom […] focusing on personal dignity, democratic values and respect for human rights to avoid a repetition of these atrocities, here or elsewhere.[178]

Coupled with the intention of recognising the importance of recovering historical memory, the organisation would also create an institution that would consider 'the plurality of memory, the establishment of the truth and moral and symbolic restitution.'[179]

Whilst promoted as a civic-cultural institution that would spread democratic values (rather than a museum or academic institution), the exhibition space that was created houses physical artefacts from both camps, oral testimonies of victims of both sides, and a collection of documents relating to the war and post-war period.[180] The importance of this memorial space cannot be discussed without recognition of the political involvement in its production, the fact that the necessity of such a place was written into law making it both viable and institutionalised. Featuring in Article 54 of the Autonomy Statute (proposed at the same time as the Spanish Law for the Recovery of Historical Memory), the Catalan government was entrusted with ensuring that the historical memory of Catalonia was maintained as 'a patrimoni col·lectiu que testimonia la resistència i la lluita pels drets i les llibertats democràtiques.'[181] The aims that the institution must comply with are: recognition of those who worked and work for democracy;

[178] Agreement of the Governing Board of the Memorial Democràtic, *Generalitat de Catalunya*, Barcelona 01 October 2015, p.1.
[179] ibid, p.1.
[180] LLEI 13/2007, DOGC no. 5,006, 45175.
[181] LLEI 13/2007, DOGC no. 5,006, 45172.

political condemnation of General Franco and the dictatorship; and the request for the annulment of the court-martial of President Companys.[182] Fundamentally, this memorial space would provide a framework in which a Catalan government-organised narrative would sponsor the basis for the formation of a collective Catalan memory.

As part of the analysis of this case study, an exhibition entitled *Vencedors i Vençuts* was visited at the memorial space in Barcelona. Whilst only open for six months, this exhibition was divided into five sections that covered the military occupation of Catalonia, the expulsion and exile of victims, the victors, the vanquished and conflicts between these groups. Having only presented this content in Catalan, a factor that was frequently commented on in the visitor's book, this exhibition was only completely accessible for a local or Catalan-speaking audience, reducing its capacity to reach a larger audience, but demonstrating the fact that the organisation considered the local audience to be their target market. Although this exhibition presented information that represented the post-war atmosphere for both victors and vanquished, the narrative presented is clearly subjective, evidenced by the use of terminology such as 'les tropes rebels' and the emphasis placed on the limitations that Francoism imposed on Catalonia. This exhibition, organised to both educate visitors and remember the victims killed for ideological, religious or social reasons, was a successful memorialising effort that provided physical and personal resources, accompanied by a political perspective that prompts the proposition that the institutionalisation of memory on a local level can result in a successful tourism product that actively recognises memory, a democratic right of citizens.

[182] Agreement of the Governing Board of the Memorial Democràtic, pp.2-3.

Not only does this organisation provide a physical memorial space where visitors can attend exhibitions, listen to the oral testimonies of victims and visit the archives, the *Xarxa d'Espais de Memòria Democràtica de Catalunya* was another project established to promote tourist practices at sites of memory across the whole region. These sites are highlighted in an interactive map that comprehensively groups and categorises surviving sites that contain traces of the war to prevent the gradual disappearance of collective heritage in the region.[183] Having made this heritage valuable and accessible for tourism, the project differs from any other tourist experience in Spain in its extensiveness and ability to include all kinds of heritage (sites of fighting, air-raid shelters, trenches, mass graves) in one overarching memory space available online. One such memory space under the direction of Memorial Democràtic and the *Espais de Memòria* campaign is the Fossar de la Pedrera mass grave found at the Cementiri de Montjuïc. In this mass grave

> reposen els qui foren afusellats en el camp de la Bota i altres indrets per les forces feixistes des de l'any 1939. De molts d'ells no en sabrem mai el nom, però el nostre homenatge és per a tots.[184]

The restoration of this location, transforming a quarry into a memorial space, was due to the efforts of l'Associació Pro-Memòria als Immolats per la Llibertat a Catalunya, a group that brought the space to the attention of Barcelona City Council and the Town Hall, an indication that political involvement has been key from the conception of the site and throughout. To aid tourists, the Town Hall has established a monthly, complimentary guided tour of the space led by their official chosen British guide (who also runs the Barcelona city tours).

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[183] ORDRE IRP/91/2010, http://legislacion.derecho.com/ordre-irp-91-2010-18-febrero-2010-departament-d-interior-relacions-institucionals-i-participacio-2484829 [Accessed 24/06/16]; the network of sites (presented in Catalan, Castilian, English and French) can be found at, http://memorialdemocratic.gencat.cat/ca/espais_de_la_memoria/ [Accessed 24/06/16].
[184] "Visitar al Fossar de la Pedrera," *Cementiris de Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona*, p.2.

Despite his official employment, the tour guide himself constructed the narrative that he supplies to tourists through the use of history books and news articles, also adapting it after general encounters with local citizens who offer personal memories of individuals who are buried in the mass grave. At first glance, the organisation of these tours seems appropriate given the guide's six-year experience directing Civil War tours in the city, but in fact what distinguishes this particular tour is that it is conducted in Catalan and directed to a local audience. Therefore, given that the tour guide is acting as an international memory manager providing *local* history to *local* citizens, questions arise regarding the reasoning behind this choice: does the tour guide being foreign make the tour and the memory under discussion more accessible, necessarily distancing the local audience from a difficult past? Has he been chosen due to his perceived superior knowledge of the site? With the success of his internationally based tours, is he the only competent option for selection?

When interviewed, the tour guide mentioned that a domestic audience would naturally have more family association with the heritage on offer, and specifically defined the city tour as a *tourist* tour*,* unconsciously dividing the domestic and international audience in relation to the tour content. He also iterated that the narrative which he provides is *appropriately* designed to appeal to these different audiences: the international tourists are provided with a general and statistical overview of the war experience in Barcelona, whilst those visiting the mass grave hear personal stories of individuals and how the events affected the people of Barcelona.[185] The general dialogue offered along the tour is a memorialising journey that both evaluates the damaging effects of Francoism and

[185] Fairhurst, Interview with N. Lloyd, 13 March 2016, see Appendix 1, pp.105-106.

stresses the importance of individualising accounts on the war to make the narrative personal and relatable to a local audience. Opening up the narrative to events outside of the Civil War, tourists visit the Holocaust memorial that is present at the site, the guide explaining the inclusion of the memorial by drawing comparisons between Francoism and the Holocaust.[186]

Partially repeating what is said during his tour of the city, the guide once again explains the involvement of Francesc Boix in the recovery of Nazi photographs taken at Mauthausen, prompting the researcher to suggest that the guide bases much of the narrative on subjects that interest him. Additionally, and perhaps inappropriately, a major portion of the narrative is dedicated to an explanation of the experience of the International Brigades during the war. Acknowledging the memorials to various groups of international volunteers that can be found at the site, the guide uses their presence to initiate a narrative on a general history of the Brigades that may not be of relevance to a domestic audience. Where much detail is given on the different nationalities that are commemorated through a variety of memorials, the memorial graves of only one Catalan family are mentioned, suggesting that an internationally led tour for a domestic audience may place bias on subjects that accord with the tour guide's own preferences.

This tour, although limited in its approach to some of the subjects covered throughout the narrative, is generally an appropriate and fluid commemoration of both the events that took place in Barcelona during the war and post-war, and how the population was affected (and indeed is *still* affected) by Francoism. This

[186] Note the fierce debate stimulated by Paul Preston regarding the use of the term Holocaust to refer to Spain, P. Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century* Spain (London: Harper Press, 2013); J. Ruiz, "Historia militante y Guerra Civil: *El holocausto español* de Paul Preston," *Revista de Libros*, 05 June 2014.

highlights how tourist endeavours that engage an audience and supply it with an oral or visual narrative on the past, can initiate the crystallisation of memory (or conversations on memory) through experience, a process that other forms of more static memory, such as literature or film, cannot achieve in the same way. The political decision to establish such memory spaces highlights the extent to which the Autonomous Government values Catalan heritage, and how they believe that the expression of memory in such a manner is necessary to comply with the democratic rights of citizens, and to memorialise those who fought for rights and freedom in the region. The written and verbal narratives provided at the cemetery and memorial institution embody a structured representation and interpretation of the war from an institutional point of view, an endeavour that is unparalleled in any other tourist experience in Spain. Fundamentally, this case study contributes to the notion that narratives associated with specific memory spaces can be defined as *lieux de mémoire* as they are often the only manner by which the tourist audience can access the past in a country where many of the physical traces of war have disappeared. Furthermore, as would also be true of Belchite, and as can be observed by the case of the Arco de la Victoria, without featuring a narrative at this location, the site can merely be recognised as a space, doomed to fall into oblivion. It is therefore appropriate to conclude by stating that the Catalan government's decision to create and manage memory spaces that can be used for touristic purposes has encouraged and aided the recovery of democratic memory in Catalonia. However, instances in which government agencies have become involved in the management of memory spaces have not always produced similar success, as will become evident when discussing the Valley of the Fallen.

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Modern tourism is a sociological, economic and political phenomenon that has gradually become more globalised and complex, often benefitting from sponsorship from national authorities or political development.[187] When regarding those experiences that are managed by state-sponsored or government-sponsored agencies, questions arise regarding the ideological influence present in the presentation of the heritage and the manner in which this heritage will be understood by certain parts of the population. Under Franco's regime, a unilateral national identity was constructed through specifically 'selected stereotyped qualities, representative personalities and supporting mythologies.'[188] It could be proposed, therefore, that the government-sponsored assembly of a heritage product for tourist consumption is naturally linked to messages which are structured to meet contemporary political ends, and, whilst the managers of the tourism product may be unaware of their delivering role, tourists will value the narrative produced at a heritage site and assimilate it into their own understanding of a place. One of Spain's most remarkable cases of narrative production at a heritage site is linked to El Valle de los Caídos, a site that remains 'the most powerful symbol of un-reconciled visions of Spain's history, and indeed, of the country's democratic credentials in the twenty-first century,' where the absence of a verbal or visual narrative speaks volumes.[189]

> When designed, the architect stated that this monument
>
> should be a latent, living monument so that when the memory of the actual event is confused in the cloudiness of time, it will not be

[187] Cohen, "The Sociology of Tourism," p.382.
[188] Tunbridge & Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage,* p.22.
[189] Stockey, *Valley of the Fallen*, p.12.

> necessary to go to the Valley with an open book and a guide to know that "this" was constructed for "that".[190]

Perhaps pre-empting the consistent lack of information present at the site, this monument was initially constructed to stand the test of time to honour the fallen of the Nationalist side, triggering ideas of honour, history and admiration in the minds of Spaniards when they came to view or think about the site. Other monuments to the war were considered minimalist and simple in comparison, Franco believing that

> the stones which are raised [at the Valley of the Fallen] should have the grandeur of the ancient monuments which defy time and oblivion and constitute a place of meditation and rest in which future generations render a tribute of admiration to those who bequeathed to them a better Spain.[191]

The site is managed by the government agency Patrimonio Nacional, the organisation that protects and administers those locations owned by the Spanish state. Not only was the site physically etched into the Spanish landscape, chiselled into the rocks of the Guadarrama mountain range, the site was fixed on the Ruta Imperial, a tourist route designed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism that covers the region's most significant monuments of Spanish cultural heritage, thus endowing El Valle de los Caídos with a similar artistic and architectural importance.[192] Although still featuring on the Ruta Imperial, current descriptions of the site in terms of its presence on the route are limited, a journalist for El País briefly defining the monument as 'un monumento funerario levantado como recuerdo de aquellos que murieron durante la Guerra Civil.'[193]

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[190] D. Méndez (1982), quoted in, Cartwright-Punnett, "How Spain Sees its Past," pp.63-64.
[191] ibid, p.74.
[192] For more on the Ruta Imperial see, "Ruta Imperial de la Comunidad de Madrid," http://taurocio.com/imperial.pdf [Accessed 27/06/16].
[193] R. Serrano, "Turismo incluye el Valle de los Caídos como parte de la 'ruta imperial'," *El País* (07 May 2002). Previous editions of the guidebook did contain a map at the beginning to indicate that the monument featured on the Ruta Imperial.

The monument's outward grandiosity is one of its most striking qualities but the meaning contained within structures of this kind is equally powerful. The recognition of the inner life of a monument – where the conflicting and often competing social, political and aesthetic forces reside – prevents a site from only being defined by its 'taciturn exterior.' [194] However, when analysing the case of the Valley of the Fallen it becomes clear that the monumentality of the site combined with Patrimonio Nacional's decision to avoid any clear narratives, silences this inner life for the visitor. The regime-controlled message of triumph over the Second Republic and in the Civil War was concretised by the construction of the Valley, visually captivating and controlling the individual and collective memory held by Spaniards. However, it is more recent activity at the site that is important for this research. The transitional process that took place in the 1970s and 1980s in Spain did not provide the nation with a new interpretation of the site, and the continued lack of historical context at the monument (other than in the guidebooks purchasable on site) meant that visitors were not deterred.[195] Attempts to reinterpret the site have largely come from political groups or organisations that do not believe the site complies with the democratic tendencies of contemporary Spain, and that its meaning should be altered: suggestions include changing the name of the site, removing Franco's body from where it resides, or establishing a museum at the site's entrance.[196] Whilst the PSOE's 2011 commission to discuss the future of the monument was met with opposition, defenders of the site insist that it is not an example of idolatry (while

[194] J. Young, *The Texture of Memory*: *Holocaust memorials and their meanings* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.14.
[195] Stockey, *Valley of the Fallen*, p.80.
[196] M. Moreno, "Manuela Carmena propone cambiar el nombre del Valle de los Caídos por El Valle de la Paz," *El Mundo* (31 March 2016); P. Martín, "El Gobierno apoya la petición de los expertos de sacar a Franco del Valle de los Caídos," *El Periódico* (29 November 2011); N. Junquera, "En busca de un Valle para todos los Caídos," *El País* (08 June 2011).

the presence of Franco's grave could cause others to refute this claim), adapting their discourse to rebut the insistence that the meaning of the site should change.[197] The two politically opposing views on how the Valley should be dealt with have been consistent, however no political party has favoured attempts to restructure the competing narratives of the past concerning the site, and has demonstrated the difficulties in creating a social and political consensus on the matter.

It is apparent that the Valley of the Fallen represents a contested or dissonant heritage that causes friction in decisions over whether to destroy the site or alter its meaning to either forget Spain's traumatic past or to commemorate it appropriately.[198] Not only has the site been represented differently to each generation since its construction, its continued use and interpretation will also shape views on the site, who is or should be buried there and what it truly represents for generations to come. The site's re-interpretation in terms of removing the dissonance created by previous representations has been stunted due to two main factors: firstly the silence over the construction of the site (the current administrator of the abbey states that construction was carried out by those who committed acts of murder during the war); and secondly, the continued presence of symbols of political Francoist domination in the yoke and arrows that feature on the esplanade.[199] While the monument functions as a *lieu de mémoire* in the

[197] See for example, La Asociación Para la Defensa del Valle de los Caídos, http://www.elvalledeloscaidos.es/portal/ [Accessed 10/11/15]; The Francisco Franco Foundation also maintains the myth that the monument was constructed by volunteers, http://www.fnff.es/El_Valle_de_los_Caidos_Historia_10_c.htm [Accessed 10/11/15]; C. Jorda, "'La del Valle de los Caídos es la única iglesia del mundo cerrada por orden gubermental'," *Libertad Digital* (05 May 2010).
[198] For more on dissonant heritage see, S. Macdonald, "Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg," *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* Vol. 12, 1 (2006), pp.9-28.
[199] J. Vives, "'Los presos venían a trabajar al Valle de los Caídos porque aquí vivían mejor' Santiago Cantera," *El Prisma* (16 October 2014).

traditional sense, the only group that can interpret it as such are the victors, whilst the lack of narratives and information about the suffering of those who built the site and of some of those who are buried there, has made it a site of dismemory for others, and indeed for tourists visiting the site.[200]

The idea that the Valley of the Fallen functions as a tourist site is a remarkable concept given the true meaning of what the site represents. However, the cultural significance of the monument and its surroundings ensures that it remains one of Spain's most iconic landmarks of substantial heritage value. The grandiose design of the monument provides visitors with a living testament to Franco's intentions for the site, however, the cultural authority that the monument possesses is largely defined through the government agency of Patrimonio Nacional that governs it, and as such, any message portrayed at the site will align with the guidelines of this body. As discussed by Nora, dominant sites that physically represent *lieux de mémoire* are often imposed or managed by some form of government, and because of this 'one does not visit such sites; one is summoned to them.'[201] As a consequence, the tourist, either knowingly or unknowingly, becomes involved in the hegemonic culture of Francoism that has been inherited by generations since the construction of the site, but, worryingly, the tourist with no prior knowledge of this universe could be swept away by the monument's scale and impressive architecture. Boasting roughly 425,000 tourists a year, the lack of pedagogical elements at the site make this tourist experience one about silence, self-interpretation and self-direction rather than one of education or commemoration of the events that it represents.[202] Not only does the

[200] A. Hepworth, "Site of memory and dismemory: the Valley of the Fallen in Spain," *Journal of Genocide Research,* Vol. 16, 4 (2014), p.474.
[201] Nora, *Realms of Memory,* p.19.
[202] Stockey, *Valley of the Fallen*, p. 26, p.80.

tourist fail to interpret what the site actually represents, they also fail to understand how Patrimonio Nacional and the government wish for it to come across, suggesting that, if visitors were given context and information, they would respond in a completely different way.

The difficulties relating to heritage understanding originate from the fact that in some cases, managers of tourist sites assume that the meaning of the site is self-evident to the visitor, and, because of this, traditional forms of interpretation such as tours, information panels or brochures are not provided, the result being an undeveloped relationship between the tourist and the place.[203] Not only does this highlight the importance of interpretation at heritage sites, it also reveals that interpretations should offer more than simple facts, leading the tourist to discover meaning and representation through first-hand experience.[204] Whilst inaccuracies or inappropriate ideological biases can come to define and dominate tourist products, theorists such as Lennon and Foley have stated that both the tourist and the tourism manager need to become aware of the presentation of alternative and multiple pasts, providing an extensive representation of the heritage in order to avoid distortion and to commemorate the events that led to the site's construction.[205] Ultimately defining the experience at the Valley of the Fallen, what is *not* said has come to be the most important factor in interpreting the site, *dis*inheriting the past of those who constructed the site and those who remain buried there, guiding the tourist in a silent experience that leaves them unaware of the true meaning of the site.

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[203] Sharpley & Stone, "(Re)presenting the Macabre," p.113.
[204] F. Tilden, *Interpreting our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p.8.
[205] J. Lennon & M. Foley, *Dark Tourism* (Andover: Cengage Learning, 2010), ch. 10.

The challenge for a valid tourist interpretation of the Valley of the Fallen begins when considering that no official tours are offered to visitors at the site, leaving external tour companies to fill this void and supply their own particular narrative. The majority of the British and Spanish tour companies that offer excursions to the monument combine this element of the tour with a trip to El Escorial, standing only fifteen kilometres away and also featuring on the Ruta Imperial. Due to these combined tours, tourists may naturally begin to equate (as Franco would have liked) the heritage value of the monument with that of El Escorial given the close succession in which these sites are visited. Stressing that visits are made due to the architectural importance of the site, companies also mention that tourism at El Valle de los Caídos would not exist if it were not for the monumentality of the structure.[206] Additionally, tour companies such as Civitatis Tours and Paseos Madrid have stated that the tours cover the location of the site, who designed it and who constructed it, but also that small sections of the tour give information about the dictator and what the monument has come to symbolise.[207] Distinguishing between the international and domestic audience, Paseos Madrid claim that, for the Spanish visitor, the site 'tiene una connotación de idolatría o de todo lo contrario,' demonstrating that those locals who visit the site will do so knowingly and with political intent, or purely out of interest in the building itself.[208] As a consequence, the Spanish and non-Spanish visitor will interpret the site differently due to the expectation that the local visitor will have prior knowledge of the site, and the fact that the foreign visitor will be informed

[206] Statements made in email correspondence with Civitatis tours (18 April 2016) and Paseos Madrid (19 April 2016).
[207] Civitatis Tours (18 April 2016). Paseos Madrid stated that only 25% of their tour is based on historical information, the other portion describing the architectural aspects of the site (19 April 2016).
[208] Paseos Madrid (19 April 2016).

by external guides that do not necessarily comment on the ideological importance of the site, instead concentrating on the site's architectural relevance. The short stopover that this monument has become for tour companies that offer combined trips, and the absence of a historically relevant narrative, contributes to the silence that surrounds the monument, only deepened by the shallow coverage that is offered by the official guidebook.

Purchasable in the gift shop 'tastefully' placed within the Basilica, the interested tourist can find the official guidebook, supplied and written by Patrimonio Nacional and available in Spanish, English, French and German.[209] Whilst previous versions of the guidebook differed in their terminology and phrasing, offering international visitors a censored version of whose memory the monument was intended to recognise, the gradual de-politicisation of the Spanish text after the transition to democracy meant that representations of the Valley echoed the international versions.[210] The guidebook references the intentions with which the monument came to be constructed, stating that 'se decidió levantar el monumento en homenaje a los Caídos en la Guerra Civil que había terminado el año anterior.'[211] Interestingly however, as the book begins to provide information on the physical construction of the site, it does not avoid detailing how prisoners of war were involved in manual labour as previous guidebooks for the site did, instead stating that:

> Estos contratistas empleaban como trabajadores, pagándoles, a aquellos presos de guerra que optaban por acogerse al sistema de "redención de penas por el trabajo", según el cual pudieron canjear

[209] Whilst concentrating here on the experience of the Spanish tourist, it should be noted that the texts available in other languages are direct translations of the original.
[210] For more on the original construction of the site and its representation in the first guidebooks see, Stockey, *Valley of the Fallen*.
[211] J. L. Sancho Gaspar, *Guía Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2012), p.8.

> hasta seis días de pena por uno de trabajo, si bien la regla general era de tres por dos.[212]

Furthermore, the guidebook continues to emphasise where the interested tourist can find the grave of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, 'marqués de Estella y fundador del Partido Falange Española, en torno a cuya ideología se aglutinaron las Fuerzas que derrocaron la Segunda República Española.'[213] Whilst a brief narrative is offered for this figure, the tomb which lies opposite to his on the other side of the altar – that of Franco himself – is scarcely acknowledged, only featuring in a statement explaining that he was 'Jefe de Estado hasta su fallecimiento el 20 de noviembre de 1975. La tumba, sin embargo, se había dejado ya preparada con anterioridad a 1959.'[214] Whilst these two graves are mentioned, the photographs that accompany each area are cropped so that they do not feature in the guidebook. Generally speaking the site is a cemetery or mass grave, housing the bodies of around 33,847 soldiers who fought in the war, yet the guidebook barely notes this fact, and does not honour the dead or even mention the war that resulted in bodies coming to rest there.[215] The sanitised narrative supplied in the guidebook references the Capilla del Santo Entierro, but makes no reference to the inscription of, 'Caídos/ Por Díos y España/ 1936-1939/ RIP,' that remains on the wall.[216] As a result, tourists who visit the site and choose to buy the guidebook in order to obtain information for their visit are offered a description of the site, its construction and its interior that the government agency of Patrimonio Nacional wishes to display, a very different approach from that

[212] Sancho Gaspar, Guía Santa Cruz del Valle, p.18.
[213] ibid, pp.42-44.
[214] ibid, p.44.
[215] N. Junquera, "¿Quién pone flores frescas en la tumba de Franco," *El País* (20 November 2015).
[216] The phrasing of this inscription is noteworthy as referring to those who fell for God and Spain, in accordance with the earliest interpretations of the site, refer specifically to the Nationalist fallen.

which is taken in Belchite and Memorial Democràtic, where individual memory and multiple interpretations are encouraged.

The site clearly represents a politically charged example of contentious heritage, and, because of this, it has come to offer tourists a socially and politically sanctioned space in which dissonant or difficult heritage is consumed, although this research suggests that the majority of tourists accessing the site will be left unaware that the site contains a difficult past.[217] Exemplifying this is a comment left on review website TripAdvisor, one tourist noting only that the site is a 'monumento imponente en medio de la naturaleza y su grandiosa basílica excavada en la montaña.'[218] Tourists who are unaware of the previous context that permitted such a site to be constructed are more than likely to be struck by the monumentality of the site, or to view it as a site of reconciliation, as the guidebook wishes it to be represented. Ultimately, if a broader, more accurate narrative were to be supplied, it would threaten the narrative promoted currently and undermine the site managers' desire to firmly engrain the monument in national heritage. By themselves, memorials or the unheard narrative that accompanies them remain amnesiac and stolid, thus depending on visitors or tourists to stimulate or disseminate whatever memory is finally produced. Therefore in this case, the *lieu de mémoire* is a memory space in terms of its physical appearance; however, the silence that echoes from the stones that support this site prevents it from becoming a true space of memory because no memory is being sustained. Exemplifying the problems with tourism as a means of memory, the monument has been left to individual interpretation, significantly damaging representations of the site.

[217] Roberts & Stone, "Dark Tourism and Dark Heritage," p.9.
[218] https://www.tripadvisor.es/ShowUserReviews-g562659-d523639-r411491554-Valle_de_los_Caidos-San_Lorenzo_de_El_Escorial.html#REVIEWS [Accessed 03/09/16].

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With regards to the three case studies presented here, significant increase in tourist interest at the sites has meant that the will to acknowledge or remember the past has led to valid domestic tourist experiences that in most cases wish to supply a narrative on the past. However, it is imperative to note that these tourist operations have been guided and instructed by some form of government, and, as a result, the present work has emphasised the idea that government narratives are constructed and informed by contemporary opinions on the past and depend on what needs the government wishes to satisfy. As stated by Kansteiner, 'cultural memory consists of objectified culture, that is, the texts, rites, images, buildings and monuments, which are designed to recall fateful events in the history of the collective.'[219] Expanding on this view, any form of cultural memory that has been officially sanctioned by government representatives, as is the case in Belchite and Montjuïc Cemetery, and the dismemory permitted at El Valle de los Caídos, is a memory that is intended to survive in the long-term. The non-official tourist experiences that are offered in Barcelona and Madrid have produced memory spaces in the form of narratives that are adaptable to changing conditions dependent on the guide's wishes or changing social conditions, and as a result are more fluid and less dependent on political forces. In contrast, the official tourist experiences referred to in this chapter have produced narratives that rely on contributions from political sources, but have engendered a more structured form of Civil War tourism that aims to produce a heritage product for Spaniards, in

[219] Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory," p.182.

some cases more successfully than others. Finally, physical sites, the narratives that accompany them, and those mobile narratives that remain unchained to physicality, are all valued forms of memory exposition, but range in their successfulness depending on how willing the memory manager is to accept an exploration of the past.

Belchite, the efforts of Memorial Democràtic and the Valley of the Fallen have all demonstrated how the current generation grapples with the memory of the Spanish Civil War, led by decisions made by politicians or local government agencies. The articulation of memory from a political perspective allows for personal traumas, or indeed those felt by an entire nation, to be situated in a historical and political context, not only making memories public through an organised means, but also resulting in this memory transforming itself into a collective heritage for the nation. Before conducting research in Spain, it seemed likely that institutional strategies for memorialisation would consider that the heritage product needed to engender an educational connection with the past rather than an emotional one. However, having conducted the research, it has become more apparent that these institutional examples either primarily aim to inform the local visitor through emotional references to the past, or almost entirely prevent the visitor from making a connection with the heritage or memory on offer at all. Whilst both Belchite and the Valley of the Fallen are monuments to the war that should be preserved for historical purposes, it can be argued that the narratives that accompany them should break the previous taboo about silencing the past, and lead the visitor to discover the war in a politically neutral manner.[220] Whilst Memorial Democràtic only deals with memories of the Catalan experience

[220] Note that the PSOE's 2011 commission recommended similar steps for El Valle de los Caídos, including the construction of a visitor's centre outside the monument that would be accompanied by an objective historical narrative of what the site represents.

of the war and post-war, similar efforts should be made across Spain to create institutions that permit visitors to access the past through dedicated museums with permanent exhibitions and online portals.

Had memory been considered in a different manner during the Transition, easily accessed by all and propelled into social discourse, the tour narratives that are under analysis in this research would not now function as *lieux de mémoire* because the memories that are enshrined in them would have melted into the Spanish memorial landscape.[221] Instead, there is a large gap in the domestic tourist market that would allow for Spanish-led tours in major cities that were affected by the conflict, and Belchite is an example of what could be done, given that it is primarily oriented towards a local audience. A collective approach, led by local guides, to the discovery of memory in the public sphere may be instrumental in improving access to, acceptance of, and education about the past, however, at the present time, social and political taboos have largely prevented this from becoming a reality.

[221] Nora, "Between Memory and History," p.20.

Conclusion

Uncovering the construction of post-conflict and post-transitional narratives in contemporary societies reveals much about perceptions, interpretations and attitudes towards the past, particularly in societies that are yet to fully incorporate this past into current discourses. As well as the need for academic discussion of the events and the involvement of institutions to help society deal with these issues, there is a distinct need for social understanding of traumatic histories and the projection of memory into the public sphere. Through an exploration of various actions, activities and experiences available in Spain, this research has demonstrated how tourism has the potential to become one of the leading social exercises in dealing with the events of the Spanish Civil War, some eighty years after they took place. Not only does the navigation of these events improve the chance 'de intuir y/o comprender, en clave humana y humanista, las diversas problemáticas que rodean un conflicto,' but society is also able to first access this past, reconcile with it and ultimately protect the memory of those who were affected for future representations.[222]

The fragile intersection between past and present that propels memory into discourse must be carefully managed both to ensure that this memory is not lost, and that it retains expression over time. Within Spain, this memory cannot help but seep into the present due to the presence of surviving physical heritage from the war in trenches, barracks and monuments across the country, remarkably however, the absence of such obvious remnants in Barcelona and Madrid leaves the tour guide to organise their narratives around the space as it is. This suggests

[222] F. Hernández-Cardona & M. Rojo Ariza, "Arqueología y Didáctica del Conflicto: el caso de la Guerra Civil Española," *Didácticas Específicas*, No. 6 (2012) p.161.

that this form of tourism, in contrast to other memory initiatives such as museums, is capable of stimulating and unearthing memory from the intangible, and condensing it into a narrative that is then shared with the public. The void created during the dictatorship that extended into the early twenty-first century and ensured that memory would not find easy expression, has resulted in previous efforts to memorialise the past being fragmented and often decentralised. However, the emergence of more recent endeavours has created new traditions of memorialisation such as tourism, and whilst these efforts may also be considered as fragmented given their sporadic existence, the ability of tour narratives to comment on and remember the past means that they are gradually filling the void. Whilst historians, archaeologists and anthropologists play an important role in the portrayal of the past through various means, it has been considered here that those in charge of attributing and inscribing memories to specific sites and symbols are equally important. What this thesis has demonstrated is that the histories, narratives and discourses produced by different actors in the tourism industry are not linear as one might expect, but are rather complex social, political and cultural entities that challenge the traditionally one-sided accounts that history has created in the past and permit a more publicly accessible memorialisation of the past. Whilst it has been demonstrated that some tourist endeavours can comment on heritage in a manner in which other initiatives cannot, some of the case studies observed have shown that tourism can also be an unsuccessful agent for the production of memories, indicating that whilst tourism has potential, it is not the only valuable method of memorialisation.

Just as every state determines what is considered to be heritage based on a series of internal values, and as a consequence what should therefore be

preserved, it has been shown that every stakeholder involved in the presentation of this heritage will also have their own perception of its value. For this reason, the heritage experiences observed here, managed by both individual memory makers and those working on an institutional level, will differ in their content, their orientation and their perception of the events being memorialised. Not only did the tourist ventures intended for an international market appear to deliver the narrative in a more ideological sense, the specifically domesticized content of the narrative directed the experience towards visitor heritage making these tours less accessible for Spaniards. On the other hand, the domestic examples analysed demonstrate that there are tourist experiences that, whilst developed for a local audience, have emotional and educational qualities which make them valid memorialising efforts aiding the preservation of heritage. Crucially, the investigations conducted have revealed that processes that portray the past through tourism efforts privilege memory over history because such an approach permits the individual in attendance to draw relevance from historic representation for their own lives. Memory has therefore succeeded in engraining itself in the heritage spaces observed (cities, memory centres, monuments and heritage sites) because of the interpretation that some form of tour narrative has attributed to them.

It must be recognised that memory is not something that can randomly appear, but, in the case of tourism experienced in Spain, it has been attached to heritage places or experiences and is continually revived, reordered and negotiated over time as the individuals and groups in charge of the memory reinterpret the past in accordance with the cultural, social and political requirements of the present. Tourism organised around sites or areas that have

specific heritage value stimulate the interplay of the intangible concepts of memory, heritage and space, making them more visible and accessible. The range of Spanish sites investigated here, that are valuable tourist experiences, has benefitted the process of memorialisation because, in each case, particular narratives have gradually been anchored to the sites which could in turn ensure the permanence of the memories associated with them. The mobile experiences observed, guided by self-employed actors who now unintentionally act as memory makers, have the added advantage of managing a narrative that is fluid and open to changes over time. The established monuments and their narratives, such as those found at the Valley of the Fallen, Belchite, and the Montjuïc Cemetery (all under political guidance to some degree) are more inclined to remain unchanged over time given their more structured and permanent qualities.

The research conducted ultimately suggests that the public interpretation of heritage in Spain is vital for an increased awareness of the past, but also to allow for attempts to reconcile with the past, either on the individual or the national level. Whilst collective approaches to memorialising the past (i.e. those conducted on an institutional level) may facilitate an increased acceptance of, and education about, the past, in the case studies observed here, the absence of a narrative at the Valley of the Fallen and the limited exposure or awareness of the existence of Memorial Democràtic, prevent this from becoming a reality. Therefore, whilst governmental support for the sites is important, perhaps the diversity created by narratives supplied in both a governmentally-organised and individually-organised tourist experience is necessary to provide different means to access the past. The empirical research that has created the foundation for this thesis has highlighted the interactive and discursive qualities of each memorial

space, and has also demonstrated the importance of the narrative supplied, its communication to the visitor, how the visitor interprets the information and what its political importance is for the community. The study of tourist experiences directed towards an international audience reveals the value that this heritage has on the international stage, and raises questions regarding the lack of similar tourist endeavours that have been organised for, or by, a domestic market. However, the institutional examples that have been studied, although not widely recognised at this stage, demonstrate the increased importance that Spanish governments are attributing to the war and its memory.

It cannot be said that the case studies presented in this research represent a unified narrative of the past: particularly because meanings have changed over time, new actors have become involved in the memorialisation process, and each site has a varied significance to the war. However, what remains key in all of these cases is that the majority of the on-site interpretations that are presented in the form of narratives have the capacity to inscribe the site with meaning, provide knowledge, and connect the visitor with a past heritage. Perhaps then, both the governmentally-organised and individually-organised sectors can co-exist and learn from each other: that narratives, personal histories and educational expectations need to satisfy the visitor attending the tour, and that experiences made available to all nationalities will contribute to, and improve, the process of memorialisation. The Valley of the Fallen, whose narrative remains obscured and silenced in its tourist presentation, stands out as an example of the poor management of memory that does not provide the visitor with a connection to the past, but is more revealing in terms of how polemical the study of memory remains in Spain on a political level. Following this, whilst the walking tours in

Madrid and Barcelona offer a succinct overview of the events of the war, these experiences use politically charged narratives to spark interest in the visitor, but also alienate the domestic visitor because of the domesticized nature of the interpretations.

Moving on to the Montjuïc Cemetery tour, it becomes obvious that both this activity, and those other memory spaces managed by Memorial Democràtic, are some of the best examples of heritage preservation across the country, with information offered in multiple languages both online and on-site. However, the fact that a non-native guide conducts the tour of the cemetery (and in Catalan) perhaps reveals some limitations regarding the knowledge of this subject on the part of locals, but primarily that having a well-informed actor conduct the tours is the most valuable tool for the heritage experience. Completing the spectrum of spaces analysed in this work, the Belchite walking tour is perhaps the best example of a successful domestic project that could become a model for future experiences to be constructed in other locations. The spoken narrative not only offers the visitor an emotional connection to the heritage by referring to individual accounts, but the experience in general (tour narrative, informational panels and guidance from the tourism office) also educates the tourist and preserves this heritage.

Nevertheless, what remains absent from all of the experiences studied is an approach that is available to all audiences, and which promises to formulate a heritage that can be expressed objectively in Spain's collective commemoration of the past, simply because tourism has not yet been officially considered as a means to memorialise the past. What is needed instead is for the expansion of this industry to encompass more heritage sites, an improvement in the necessary

signage that alerts visitors to the presence of these spaces, and for local, regional and national tourism managers to consider these sites of interest for representation to the public. This increased awareness is essential not only for a better understanding of the past, but also to maintain a Spanish identity that was silenced for decades, to maintain the memory of those who suffered, and to propel discussions of the past and memory into the public domain. Stemming from this, further research could consider the content of each of these tourist products to assess the value and validity of each experience to the discussions concerning the past that they engender. Furthermore, to improve the limited understanding over visitor and guide motivations and expectations, interviews could be conducted before and after any tourist experience of this kind to explore why Spaniards have chosen these tours and what they wish to gain from them.

Due to the ongoing political, cultural, social and ideological conflicts taking place in Spanish society, it appears that the Spanish Civil War will continue to pervade collective discussions of the past. However, it is uncertain as to when the country will be able to decode the meaning of this past and present it in an ideologically neutral way that is accepted by the entire political spectrum. Equally uncertain is whether it would be desirable to make such an interpretation. This thesis has not only developed a model that provides a theoretical and empirical basis for further studies observing cases of Spanish Civil War tourism, or indeed tourist experiences that exist in any other country that has endured a difficult past, but has also contributed to an understanding of how the presentation of memory through tourism can aid personal, local or national reconciliation or acceptance of the past. It is understood that Spain is unlikely to formulate one collective

memory of the past shared by all members of society (or whether the country *should* even endeavour to do so), but in using tourism as an appropriate means to access the past, various memories will survive that satisfy different social and political needs, and ultimately provide citizens with a connection to their heritage. It is imperative that society continues to critically observe the heritage contained in cities, landscapes, museums and monuments to help future discourses on the past, but also to aid future developments of meaning and interpretation.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcript of Interview with N. Lloyd (13 March 2016).

Researcher: Did you have to undergo training to become a tour guide? Do you have a permit?

Subject: No, you don't need, you need a permit to be a tour guide and take them into what are called official buildings, official monuments, like for example the Barcelona Cathedral, but you don't need to have an official permit to be a tour guide in the streets. You need to be self-employed.

Researcher: With regards to the cemetery tour, do you have an official relationship with the local government for you to be the official guide?

Subject: Well, directly it's through the cemetery, which then answers to the local government, but it's the cemetery who contract me to do a tour once or twice a month, and they've been doing that for 3 years.

Researcher: So moving on to memory now, in your opinion should there be an official recognition of the war on a government level?

Subject: [Pause] An official commemoration [sigh], yeah I think that there should be actually. We're a very long way from that happening- well it seems to be a very long way. Well certainly in the rest of Spain, perhaps not in Catalunya, that wouldn't be so impossible, because all parties on the Catalan nationalist side at least, wear the mantle of anti-Francoism. In the rest of Spain it would be more difficult.

Researcher: In your opinion what would the relevance of the war be for Spaniards today? What would be beneficial about a memorial project?

Subject: Just to put things in their place really. We have to think, it's a long time ago, most people in Europe are not obsessed with the Second World War all the time. So it's not strange in any situation that people are obsessed with an event that took place 80 years ago. That said, as we will often see on the tour I'm going to do today, which may or may not happen, there, people that still have their great-grandparents buried in mass graves in Spain.

Researcher: In terms of the tour itself, what differences do you recognise between a domestic audience and then an international audience?

Subject: Well obviously a domestic audience automatically are going to kn-, are going to have more family members. I mean that does happen on the foreign tour, the tourist tour, but it's automatic on the domestic one. Also, it's not the same tour, so for example, the tour I do in English tends to be more on the chronology

of the Civil War, whereas what we're going to do today is concentrate more on what happened under Franco, so it's a slightly different tour as well.

Appendix 2: Transcript of Interview with C. Howley (14 March 2015)

Researcher: Do you believe that there should be an official recognition of the war on a government level?

Subject: [Without hesitation] Absolutely, yes absolutely. And I think, with regard to the government as well, it just depends on who's in government and how the funding goes, and I think that should be more standardised, because it's just not fair to give one step forward and then two back depending on who's in government.

Researcher: What are your thoughts on memory and the Civil War, in the sense of its importance for Spaniards?

Subject: I think it's effective even though it can be very difficult and it can bring back up tensions and negative connotations that in order for people to finally put it to rest. You know it's not easy but I think with the Pacto de Olvido, the Pact of Silence that almost took away the peoples' ability in a public realm. What I've heard from meeting people who are descendants of people that fought, is that because they couldn't talk about it, it became even more difficult to talk about. What I find sometimes too is that history can be taken a little bit out of context, and nowadays used to fuel politics. I don't want to be explicit but, with the whole Catalunya independence debate, I think they can sometimes take out the history from its context in order to fuel passion.

Researcher: Do you find that being a non-native you find it slightly difficult to broach the subject with a national audience?

Subject: You have to do it with care, but I find usually the reception is always one of being able to talk, and at least explain a point of view, and at least take away misconceptions.

Researcher: Do you sense a difference between a domestic and an international audience? What they want to hear for example?

Subject: I think I would probably try and be more inclusive. I wouldn't pressure people into telling stories, but at the start, what I always kind of try and do is ask people why they came on the tour and then kind of zone in on that, and again, there aren't people just coming from Spain, you have descendants of international volunteers who want to tell a story sometimes.

Appendix 3: Transcript of Interview with A. Cros (18 March 2016)

Researcher: Did you have to undergo training or obtain a permit to be allowed to be a tour guide within the city?

Subject: You do not need a permit to be a tour guide anymore, that hasn't been the case since 2009. So my training is my own reading, my own research. Of course I do have my credentials, I do have a BA, and MA and a PhD in History of Art, which is history after all, and all the years that I have been working on the subject of the International Brigades.

Researcher: Could you summarise your opinion on the government's attitude towards recognition of the war, what you think should be done?

Subject: Well, the current government is undecided, but in terms of the previous government, the conservative government- it's pretty disgusting. The lack of effort to remove the street names dedicated to Fascists or the volunteers for Hitler, the 'Caídos a la División Azul', the idea that the resistance that we have encountered in terms of acknowledging the memory of the IB, the memory of the Republican victims, the stolen babies, you know all of those issues.

Researcher: What made you develop this route in particular?

Subject: Because as you have seen, I can show the sites, it's an archaeological, you know, through photographs, itinerary, and I start from the beginning of the proclamation of the Republic through to the idea of historical memory and how we have our monument vandalised again when we have the Victory Arch, you know?

Researcher: Do you notice a difference between a domestic audience and an international one?

Subject: Clearly, there is a big difference because the local audience, they know, they know the cover up, they know all the issues, they know about the battles, so I don't have to kind of tell them it's a different tour. The audience is obviously Republican! I don't have any Francoists wanting to take my tour. So it's people who understand what I'm doing, they support what I'm doing, but it's still a minority, because it's like, "I'm not going to pay to do something that I know all about."

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