Abstract

This paper adopts a narrative approach to explore the role of tourism in mobilising political identity, focusing on international visitors to memorials associated with the Spanish Civil War. Analysis of narrative interview data found that political allegiance was an important component of personal and group identity, and it was influential in determining tourist behaviour and consumption choices. Visiting memorials stirred strong emotions. It reaffirmed political identity and was capable of reenergising political commitment. This paper marks an important contribution to knowledge on how identity shapes and is shaped by tourist activity. It also points to a disconnect between the desire of tourists to express political identity and a country's choice of how to (or not to) memorialise past events. A model is put forward to indicate how battlefield tourism can be developed in a country with a contested history.

Key words

Tourism   political identity   Spanish Civil War   memorials   narrative inquiry

1. Introduction

This paper aims to explore the role of tourism in mobilising and consolidating political identity through the vehicle of visits to sites associated with the Spanish Civil War, and in particular with the Spanish Republican cause. The paper first covers the issue of identity, and then it offers contextualisation by including a necessarily condensed review of the Spanish Civil War. Following an account of methods, the paper presents the research findings derived from narrative interviews with visitors to Spanish Civil War memorial sites, and presents a schema for understanding the link between political identity and tourism. It also discusses the way forward for the development of battlefield/war tourism in countries which have still not come to terms with their past.

The subject of political identity has received little coverage in the tourism literature, despite the associated relevance to tourism motivations and experiences. The act of visiting memorials has been categorised as both a dark tourism activity and an example of secular pilgrimage (Brown 2016a). Dark tourism is defined by Lennon and Foley (2000) as visits to sites associated with death and suffering, though increasingly its definition and categorisation have been called into question (Light 2017). In particular, Brown (2014) argues that visitors to memorials are not motivated by an interest in death, but rather by a desire to honour and remember the dead.

Secular pilgrimage meanwhile is said to have increasingly replaced the religious pilgrimage, given a decline in religious sensibility in some parts of the world (Watson 2006). As Hyde and Harman (2011) note, more and more tourists are searching for meaning through trips to places ‘that embody deeply-held values or contribute to self-identity’ (p. 1348). Indeed, MacCannell (1976) drew a parallel between the pilgrim’s desire to be in a place with religious meaning to that of tourists visiting a site that has for them sociocultural and historical value. As Graburn (2001) observes, the tourist is often compared with ‘a pilgrim making a sacred journey in order to be close to their sacred object’ (Brown 2016a, p. 168). Furthermore, Switzer (2005) describes the visit to a war memorial as a sacred experience.

Place is central to the tourist/pilgrim experience. As Buchmann et al. (2010) record in their research on film tourism, it is the physical aspect of the tourist trip that permits an embodied physical experience. Herbert (2001) also refers to a feeling of awe that can be produced by a visit to a tourist attraction. The importance of place in the emotional response of the tourist/pilgrim is also found in Brown’s (2016b) autoethnographic study of literary tourism.

When an attraction or place holds meaning for a tourist, it is easy to assume that their visit will also be personally meaningful and important for identity (Watson 2006; Cheal & Griffin, 2012). In order for a deeper understanding of the link between tourism and identity to be achieved, however, Collins-Kreiner (2010) argues that researchers need to place more emphasis on subjective meanings. This is supported by Hyde and Harman (2011), Busby and Shetlife (2013) and Brown (2016a) who argue that the motives for secular pilgrimages are not well documented.

This paper helps to fill a gap in knowledge by focusing on the meaning attached by international tourists to visits to Spanish Civil War memorials and on the sense of political identity that is derived or enacted through their visit. Palmer (2005, p. 7) states that 'identity as a social construct is a key issue for tourism researchers', yet as she notes, 'few studies focus on the ways in which individuals experience identity through tourism'. Her own study, an ethnography of Englishness, details how people experience identity through visiting sites of national significance. Her focus was on the promotion of a sense of collective belonging, whilst this paper concerns itself with the cultivation of the political dimension of personal and group identity.

2. Theory: Identity

As Palmer (2005) notes, identity is a complex concept, involving emotion, a sense of belonging and memory. It is also a concept that has relevance for the individual and the group. Bauman (2001) makes a distinction between personal and social identity. However, Lago (2006) argues that this distinction is not clear-cut, as individual and group identity is complexly and dynamically entangled. This is the case for political identity, which derives from identification with a group, but is highly important to an individual sense of self (Hinshelwood 2005).

Personal identity results from a person's self-aware self-assessment as a distinct physical, social and spiritual or moral being (Gecas 1982). Furthermore, Layder (2004) highlights the importance of uniqueness in personal identity. Turner et al. (2006) meanwhile note that identity can vary, with an individual having multiple and overlapping personal identities, particularly in post-modern globalised society. This is supported by Hogg and Terry (2000) who define group membership as a process of self-categorisation, which involves making comparisons between the self, the group and others, and identifying similarities and differences. It is in this process that ingroups and outgroups are formed, with implications for group identity (Branscombe and Wann 1994). Social identity is established through group comparisons (Hogg and Terry 2000). Thus identity is as much about what one is as what one is not (Burke 2003).

McLeod (2009) claims that membership of a culture is one of the main influences on the development of personal identity. According to Ward Bochner, and Furnham (2001), cultural identification refers to people's self- categorisation as members of a group, which can instil a feeling of pride as well as serving as differentiation from other groups. For Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) and Branscombe and Wann (1994), group identity is central to a person's self-belief and self-evaluation. Hinshelwood (2005) states that groups share norms and values that perform powerful psychological and emotional functions. As Bauman (2001) points out, group identity offers confirmation of the self, and 'changes in what constitutes that identity can be destabilising' (Brown and Brown 2013, p. 4). Ward et al. (2001) see an association between positive self-perception and group self-esteem; thus, maintaining a positive social identity is seen as essential to group integrity.

It is important to note that though a group can refer in its broadest form to a nation or a religion, it can also refer to a political party, a profession, a social club (Hinshelwood 2005). Each transmits its own cultural norms and values, which are passed onto new members through a process of socialisation. It is also important to observe that membership of groups can be multiple and overlapping, with implications for identity (Turner et al. 2006). A plurality of possible selves and lives is available in postmodern society that is at once destabilising and liberating (Hayes 2007). "Modernity … can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, 'all that is solid melts into air' (Berman, 1983, p.15). The self is, then, a shifting concept. Giddens (1991) notes that people are continually obliged to negotiate who they are. This does not mean however that people are not attached to what Hinshelwood (2005) describes as their 'internal objects'. Indeed, these can be protected quite fiercely in order to sustain self-identity. This is particularly relevant to the political dimension of group identity, to which individuals become strongly attached (Hinshelwood 2005), and which does not tend to be as fluid as suggested by identity theorists.

In terms of tourism, identity formation is an iterative process: identity influences holiday choices and tourism experiences go on to shape identity, which influence subsequent choices (Gillespie 2007). This supposition is supported in research by Becken (2007) who found that tourism and identity are interlinked. Consumption choices, which include travel (Gram 2009), are used to assist in the performance of identity (Curtin 2010). Tourism also in turn acts to effect changes in the self, as revealed in studies by Noy (2004), Brown (2009), Tucker (2005), Hottola (2004) and O'Reilly (2006).

Whilst the contribution of tourism to an individual's political identity has not received much research attention, the influence of heritage tourism on national and group identity has been acknowledged. In their study of Indian religion and identity, Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008) argue that the growing role of heritage in the presentation of identity has provoked tension in terms of which voice dominates 'heritage tourism representations' (p. 790). Indeed, the authors state that 'contested identities account for the world's most critical national and international conflicts' (p. 791). They also note that the 'viewing of heritage sites by domestic tourists offers glances of a nation's past' (p. 791). Park (2010, p. 133) states that heritage tourism can be viewed as a 'symbolic embodiment' of a shared past. However, a question is raised: if the past is contested by the community, can consensus be reached on what is to be portrayed and memorialised?

Jeong and Santos (2004) argue that cultural traditions tend to be maintained and transmitted by governments, thus they tend to reflect the ideology of the dominant group. Park (2016, p. 114) similarly argues that national heritage settings mainly represent 'state-based and hegemonic' understanding of a nation's past which serve to normalise dominant ideologies. Park (2016, p. 116) observes that 'heritage is political by nature', and for this reason, contestations of the version of history presented at heritage sites are inevitable.

Indeed, the notion of contested memory is highly pertinent to the current study's Spanish context, and is highlighted time and again in studies of heritage and memory. Goulding and Domic (2009), using Croatia as a case study, considered visitor responses to a 'cleansed' heritage, a selective version of history. In the case of Spain, however, the war is not so much cleansed as eradicated from public memory (Viñas 2009). Indeed following the end of the civil war in 1936, a pact of silence was initiated (Viñas 2009). In his study of the tourism promotion used by the tourism authorities of Northeast India, Patil (2011) reflects on the link between the historical narratives that are projected for tourists and the political goals of the state. Tension arises because the historical details presented could lead to controversy and challenge, a point that is relevant to the current study in terms of the unrest that could be stirred by the decision to memorialise either the Spanish republican or the nationalist cause.

3. Context: The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

The factors influencing the military uprising led by General Franco against Spain's Second Republic on 17 July, 1936, included a weak economy (Zaragoza Pelayo, 2007), the Catholic church's struggle against secularism (Salas Larrazábal, 1990), and the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany (Tusell, 1992). Indeed, Franco had two important allies in Hitler and Mussolini, who strengthened his belief that the future of Europe belonged to authoritarian nationalist regimes (Cordero, 2010). An important

milestone in the war was the bombing of Guernica, a small village of approximately 5.000 people in the Basque Region of Vizcaya (Arias Ramos, 2003). This was a place where the troops loyal to the Republican government stopped to rest and plan the defence of the city of Bilbao. On April 26, 1937, the Condor Legion of the German Army, together with the “Aviazione Legionaria” from the Italian air force, bombed Guernica repeatedly (Vidal, 1997).

The main and most important Spanish cities – Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia –supported the Second Republic and stood by the Republican government. Nevertheless, between December 1938 and February 1939, in what has been called the Catalonia offensive, the nationalists conquered Barcelona and provoked a mass exodus of Republican soldiers and citizens to France. It is estimated that on 27 January alone, more than 1,000 people crossed the French border (Castells, 1979): this number increased in the following days. This had a demoralizing effect on the rest of the country (Santos, 2009). After the fall of Catalonia, the desperate Republican government (or what remained of it) moved to Madrid, where on March 5, 1939, Colonel Segismundo Casado led a coup against the socialist Juan Negrín, chief of government in Madrid. This was the beginning of the end for the Second Republic. The Republicans surrendered and the nationalist army triumphantly entered Madrid on March 28, 1939 (Tusell, 1992). During 1939 and following the end of the Civil War, nearly half a million people (soldiers from the Republican army, as well as civilians) went into exile: they crossed the Pyrenees into France and looked for shelter in North Africa (Santos, 2009).

According to Casanova (2014), the number of dead in the Spanish Civil War reached 600,000, and 45,000 to 50,000 died in Francoist violence after March 1939. It must be noted however that it is difficult for a historian to accurately record the exact number of Civil War victims, because the political parties are not willing to discuss the War (Anderson and Ángel del Arco Blanco 2014; El País, 2014).

In 2007, the Socialist government of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero passed the Historical Memory Law (*Ley de la Memoria Histórica*), which funded projects such as the identification and opening of mass graves from the Civil War. The Association for the Recovery of Historic Memory (2017), a civilian association formed by the relatives of those dead and buried in unidentified graves, states that even the United Nations has criticised the Spanish government for remaining indifferent towards the location of the bodies of the 114,000 people disappeared during Franco’s regime, which remain buried in clandestine graves. As Anderson and Ángel del Arco Blanco

(2014) observe, the unidentified victims of Francoist violence are yet to be exhumed from mass graves and given a dignified burial, and the history of these victims, ignored for decades, needs to be acknowledged. According to the Association for the Recovery of Historic Memory (2017), after Cambodia, Spain is the second country in the world with the highest number of civilians to have disappeared after a civil war.

The Law of 2007 also included the removal of statues and the changing of place names associated with Franco, who died in 1975. The position of such monuments in public spaces is seen as a continuing call to disagreement, discordance, anger and even humiliation (De Andrés, 2004). It has not been easy to remove these monuments peacefully, even during the socialist period (2004-2011). As an example, the removal of a triumphant Franco on horseback (a seven-meter, heavy monument that had been standing in front of an important ministerial building *Nuevos Ministerios*, at *Paseo de la Castellana* in Madrid since 1959) was carried out at 2am on March 17, 2005. The crane operators had to be protected by six police patrols and one helicopter, given the scale of protests on the one side, and celebrations on the other (*El Mundo*, 2005). More recently, in October 2016 in Barcelona, three young men jumped a half-meter fence that surrounded another old equestrian statue of Franco and knocked it down. Once on the ground, the statue was pelted with eggs, beheaded, and decorated with a pig's head, until the City Hall removed the remains (*El País* 2016).

However, the largest, most impressive and most controversial monument related to Franco's regime is the Valley of the Fallen in San Lorenzo de El Escorial (approximately 40 miles from Madrid), which Franco had built on April 1940, a year after the end of the war (Tusell, 1992). The site includes a basilica tunnelled into the rock surface – where both General Franco and José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of Franco's *Falange*, are buried – along with a Benedictine abbey, a guest house and its most prominent feature of all, a 150-meter-high cross built on a granite outcrop that towers over the basilica esplanade, visible from 25 miles away. The structure was built using the labour of Republican prisoners who were offered five days off their sentence for every day worked at the project (Viñas 2009). The physical burden of the work was brutal; however, none of the prisoners were given medical assistance when they fell ill, and they were forced to keep working until they dropped dead: the number of deaths is estimated at 27,000 (De Andrés, 2004).

In 2009, the socialist government of Rodríguez Zapatero closed down the site, but the conservative government of Mariano Rajoy opened it again in June 2012, arguing the positive economic impact of tourism. Indeed, The Valley of the Fallen is the fourth most-visited monument in the Madrid area, after the Royal Palace in central Madrid, the monastery of El Escorial, and the Aranjuez Palace (*El*

País, 2015). The judge Baltasar Garzón formally proposed to move the bodies of Primo de Rivera and Franco from the Valley of the Fallen to another cemetery: this was refused by the conservative government of Spain. When he appealed through the Supreme Court in March 2017, the government's decision was upheld: the bodies will remain (*El País* 2017). Furthermore, funding for the Memory Law was slashed when the conservative Popular Party arrived in power in December 2011, halting reparation projects throughout Spain (*Última Hora*, 2017).

4. Material and Methods

A qualitative approach was adopted to explore the delicate subject of political identity, as recommended by Warren and Hackney (2000). Giddens (1991) proposes that a person's identity is located not only through their behaviour or through the approval (or disapproval) of others, but it is also found through the maintenance of a certain narrative; that is to say, a consistent story told either to others or to oneself. Thus people are responsible for creating and maintaining their identities through the narratives (or stories) they tell. This informed the adoption of the narrative approach, which allowed the authors to elicit the elements of the life story that related to political identity, which in turn may influence tourism activity (Becken 2007; Curtin 2010). It is also a suitable method because it allowed the representation and understanding of experience over time (Smith and Sparkes 2009). As Jones et al. (2013) observe, people are natural storytellers and live their lives through stories: Crossley (2003: 277) points to 'the storied nature of human life'. Narrative inquiry is under-represented in tourism research, thus this study not only makes a contribution to the literature on the topic of commemoration and identity, but it also enriches the array of methodologies represented in the tourism literature.

Purposive sampling was adopted with the criteria being that the participant should be an adult who had visited Spain with one of their purposes of visit being to commemorate the Spanish Civil War. Access to participants was gained both in Spain through participation in walking tours (9) and in the UK (2) through snowball sampling (both participants were known to the tourists interviewed in Spain, and had previously participated in a walking tour in Spain). In all, eleven participants were interviewed: five from the UK, four from the US, and two from Norway. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 75. There were six men and five women. Finally, all participants were educated to degree level and all had a stated interest in political history. No Spanish tourists were interviewed because none attended the walking tours: the tour guides commented that native Spaniards rarely took part in such tours. Furthermore, given the sensitivity around commemoration of the Spanish Civil War, the authors felt that this line of enquiry would represent a fruitful but very different study. A sample size of eleven may be criticised for being too small, however a small sample is justified in narrative

260 inquiry because the focus is on meaning and context (Jones et al. 2013). Furthermore, a wealth of data
261 is usually generated in narrative research in long interviews, which lead to richness, depth and data
262 saturation even with a small sample. This is corroborated in this study whose eleven interviews
263 yielded a wealth of rich data whose analysis led the researchers along many interesting avenues.
264 Finally, the aim of qualitative research, and in particular narrative inquiry, is not generalisation; rather
265 meaning is prioritised (Jones et al. 2013).

266

267 Ethical approval was granted through the university's research ethics committee. A participant
268 information sheet was developed and passed to participants, detailing the purpose of the research and
269 promising confidentiality and anonymity. At the start of the interview, participants were informed that
270 they could halt the conversation at any point if they wished, and that they could withdraw from the
271 project at any time.

272

273 The nature of the interview approach was explained so that participants understood that there would
274 not be many interruptions during the conversation, as Riessman (2008) recommends. Questions were
275 initially used as a trigger for their tale, and prompt questions were used to invite them to elaborate on
276 issues raised. An interview guide was drawn up covering the following topics: political history,
277 interest in the Spanish Civil War, motivations for and experiences of commemorating the war. It was
278 anticipated that such topics would allow the researchers to explore the ways in which commemoration
279 is linked with political identity. Interviews were, with permission, digitally recorded, and were
280 conducted in both the UK and Spain. They lasted between 50 and 100 minutes. Thematic analysis was
281 used to treat the data, involving the four steps of transcription, familiarisation, and coding and
282 categorising (Jones et al. 2013).

283

284 As is typical in inductive qualitative research, a dialogue with the relevant literature tied to the
285 emergent themes is held in the Findings section. The following account will hopefully help to counter
286 the critique of narrative research by Atkinson and Delamont (2006), who criticise its lack of rigorous
287 analysis. They claim that analysis often ignores the social context, but our participants' experiences
288 are inextricably linked to and bound by the environment which this paper reveals.

289

290 Finally a reflexive note on the authors' roles and biases must be recorded. The first author of the
291 paper, who conducted the interviews, is British and has a long-standing interest in the Spanish Civil

War from a personal, political and academic perspective. She met the second author, who is Spanish, in Madrid during field work and at the conference mentioned above ('a wound that will not heal'). The second author was responsible for writing about the history of the Spanish Civil War and for contextualising the comments made by participants on the war in the findings section. Both academic and news sources were used, and many were Spanish sources. The authors feel that this helps to improve the authenticity and contemporaneity of the paper. Both authors are themselves politically identified with the Republican cause, which led to the focus on this perspective of memorialisation. It would of course have been possible, and equally valid, to conduct a study on the commemoration of the Nationalist side.

5. Results

5.1 A life in politics

All of the participants situated their interest in the Spanish Civil War within a broader narrative of a life in politics. Their identity as a socialist was strong, and though their level of activism was varied across the sample, the role of political commitment in their life story was pronounced.

I got into politics through CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) *and then the miners' strike. When I was young, I was always on demonstrations and raising money, going to meetings, to fundraising events, on the picket line. I've always been involved in different causes, it's really important to me, it's who I am. Now I'm older I probably do less, but I'm still interested, and it's how I see myself.* British participant

I've always been on the left, always involved in something or other, whether it was supporting the homeless or campaigning against the war in Iraq. I would feel guilty if I didn't get involved – life is so hard for so many people, I have to try to help somehow. It's also a crucial part of my life. It's where I have formed many friendships. I'm not sure what I would do with my time if I wasn't politically active. British participant

It can be inferred from the above extracts that political involvement, in this case, in left-wing politics, forms an integral part of the participant's sense of self. Collective identity derives from their political allegiance and becomes a key component in their individual identity. The way participants see

323 themselves is influenced by their politically partisan worldview to which they are strongly attached.
324 There are other benefits too: a sense of belonging to a wider community is gained from political
325 activism. For our participants, a life in politics refers to attendance at formal meetings, lectures and
326 workshops, trade union membership and activism, participation in demonstrations and party political
327 activities such as canvassing and leafleting, and informal gatherings with like-minded people. It is
328 important to stress that the worldview of the participants was shaped by their political affiliation to the
329 ideas of socialism. Socialism has been variously defined, and definitions are often clashing and
330 contradictory (Bowman 2005). Though socialism was often cast as the precursor of communism and
331 was associated with the collective ownership and control of the means of production (Williams 1976),
332 the term is increasingly used to self-designate as a liberal champion of prioritising the collective over
333 the interests of the privileged few. Indeed, in his landmark text, Keywords: a vocabulary of culture
334 and society, Raymond Williams (1976), highlights the word 'social' in the term socialist, in that it
335 'explicitly contrasts with individual and individualist theories of society' (p. 239).

336

337 It must be noted that participants varied in terms of their own understanding of socialism and how
338 they practised it in their own life, though Williams' emphasis on anti-individualism is relevant and
339 reflected in their stories. The lens through which participants view the world, through which they
340 understand historical events, is shaped by their attitudes to society, to power and to the distribution of
341 wealth. Their friendships, their leisure activities and their political activism are in turn informed by
342 their own particular understanding of the world. A study of visitors to nationalist memorial sites
343 whose allegiance is to the nationalist cause may produce similar findings, given the powerful impact
344 of political identity on so many aspects of life. Indeed, this would be an interesting line of inquiry.

345

346 ***5.2 Being there***

347 In this study, participants had an interest in the Spanish Civil War prior to their visit, which derived
348 from their education in socialist history. As Frazer (1999) observes, those attached to a particular
349 political ideology will educate themselves or may receive formal education in the form of workshops
350 and lectures on the history of the political movement they are allied with. This is particularly the case
351 in the landscape of left-wing politics. Though participants were interested in learning more, they were
352 primarily keen to be physically present in the sites where events they had read about had taken place.

353 *I wanted to see where it had all happened. I thought it might bring it home to me: the war, the*
354 *sacrifices people made, the bravery. It's somehow different to see where the barricade had been*

355 *rather than just to read about it or see a picture. Seeing bullet holes in buildings, seeing the hotel*
356 *where Orwell had stayed made it all the more real.* American participant

357 *I felt it was important to see where important events had taken place. It brought the history books to*
358 *life. It made everything feel more real. I could almost imagine being there.* Norwegian participant

359 Participants' imagination was fired by their confrontation with iconic buildings that they had seen
360 photographs of or that they had read about. This points to a move from the consumption of history, as
361 contested a concept as that is (Goulding and Domic 2009; Patil 2011; Park 2016), to being consumers
362 of heritage, betraying the complicated relationship between the two fields. As Lowenthal (1998)
363 notes, heritage adopts from and enlivens aspects of history. Thus history provides the resources upon
364 which heritage relies (Ashworth 1994). Heritage is necessarily drawn from history, constructed
365 through the partial lens of the historian (Park 2016).

366 Furthermore, the sites they wanted to visit had a locational authenticity that Miles (2002) refers to
367 when discussing heritage sites. He distinguishes between, for example, the US Holocaust Memorial
368 Museum in Washington DC which documents atrocities but whose location bears no connection to the
369 site of atrocity. By comparison, the darker tourism site enjoys a locational authenticity: 'just being
370 there imparts to the darker tourist a uniquely empowering (if spectral) commemorative potential'.
371 Chronis (2005) supports this distinction, pointing to Gettysburg, which is presented as an original site:
372 the actual spot where the great Civil War battle took place. In their study, Biran et al. (2010) found
373 that visitors to Auschwitz were in part motivated to visit 'the real place' (p. 830) where atrocities took
374 place, first so that they could better assimilate the events (seeing is believing), and second so that their
375 empathy would be strengthened. This is pertinent to this study in that empathy was increased through
376 on-site exposure to the bravery of the actors and the suffering they endured.

377

378 Of interest and inspiration to the participants was the role played by famous artistic and literary
379 figures in the Spanish civil war. All participants had heard of the involvement of and had read the
380 works of George Orwell (*Homage to Catalonia*) and Ernest Hemmingway (*For whom the bell tolls*),
381 and were interested to find out where their literary heroes had been in Barcelona and Madrid
382 respectively. In some ways then, the participants were acting as literary tourists, drawn to pay homage
383 to a location associated with an author (the first in Butler's 1986 typology of literary tourism).
384 Literary tourism is considered a niche, but an increasingly important market within the field of
385 cultural and heritage tourism (Hoppen et al., 2014). However, it would be misleading to suggest that
386 this was their sole or main motivation. It can be inferred, however, that political identity was boosted

387 by association with historical literary figures whom participants admired for their bravery, their
388 commitment and their work.
389
390 ***5.3 Nostalgia for a bygone era***
391
392 There was a pervasive sense of nostalgia among participants for a time when an international socialist
393 movement existed that could be mobilised in the face of repression in an individual country such as
394 Spain. The Spanish Civil War brought into Spain thousands of volunteers from over fifty countries,
395 who fought under the title of international brigades to help the legitimate government of the Second
396 Republic (the Republicans) to resist the rebels (the Nationalists). Spanish historians estimate the
397 number at 59,380 (Castells, 1974) of whom more than 15,000 died in combat. Most brigades came
398 from France (approximately 10,000), but many other countries were represented including Britain. At
399 least 2400 Britons volunteered to fight for the Spanish Republic (of whom more than 500 died), while
400 others provided medical assistance, visited Spain in delegations, or covered the Civil War as
401 journalists (Buchanan 2006). Buchanan (2008) states that the Spanish Civil War served to galvanise
402 political activity in Britain in support of the Republican government and acted as a symbol of anti-
403 fascism for the Left. Famous brigades include the writer Ernest Hemingway and the poet Octavio Paz.
404 International brigades were not in the Republican army; they simply had the idealistic goal to restore
405 democracy in the country. Participants were well aware of their own country's contribution to the
406 Republican effort to defend Spain against Franco's nationalist army, and this history, of which they
407 were proud, was one of the motivations for visiting.

408

409 *I have read about the Benjamin Franklin brigade and am aware of the large number of volunteers*
410 *who came to Spain to defend socialism. Pride … is what I feel, and admiration. We so often feel*
411 *embarrassed about our country's role in global politics, but this is something to shout about.*
412 American participant

413

414 *I am so proud that my countrymen were committed enough to the socialist cause that they travelled*
415 *thousands of miles to Spain and put their own life at risk. I'm not sure that I would do that, but it is*
416 *such an inspiration that they did this, all for solidarity and against fascism. Such heroes!* Norwegian
417 participant

418

Participants' pride indicates the powerful role of group identity in individual identity. Conversely, shame was produced when incidents of complicity with the nationalists' cause were revealed, such as the case of the UK blockading weapons from the USSR that were destined for the Republicans.

I feel a sense of collective guilt that we helped Franco by stopping aid, and it is mortifying to think that the Spanish might harbour resentment against us for that, then and now. British participant

As the above excerpts show, one participant felt the actions of their country during the war to be an assault on their identity, which diminished their national pride, whilst another participant was buoyed by the bravery of the brigades from their country, in this case America. Participants' admiration for the evident commitment to international socialist ideals allowed a growth in national pride for this section of the population, and a concomitant consolidation of left-wing identity. Whereas Brown (2014) recorded an enduring impact on visitors to Berlin's memorials of melancholia and despair, this study notes a positive response to the visit to Spain in terms of participants' feelings of admiration for the bravery of the Republican fighters, including the international brigades, and hope for the future in that such sacrifice for the common good is possible. There was an accompanying determination to renew their own political commitment, which had in many cases lapsed. Thus this study underlines the role that tourism plays in acting as a vehicle not only to express political identity, but also to reaffirm political values and to be a trigger for activism upon their return.

5.4 Honouring the dead

When confronted with stories of death, and with sites where people died, participants mentioned an unexpected sense of grief, particularly when forced to reflect on the outcome of the war and its aftermath. There was a feeling of mourning for those who had died during the war, for the vast numbers of Republicans who fled into exile from 1936, for those who died at the hands of the Nazis during the Second World War, and finally for those Republicans who were condemned to live under Franco's rule following their defeat in 1939.

Being here brings home to me how brave they all were, how much they suffered, and so young, many of them. I feel so sad that they died so young, and also that they went on suffering after the war ended, with persecution from Franco and going into exile, only then for the second world war to start! How awful! British participant

I guess I imagined being moved by stories of heroism and defending ideals. This trip brings you face to face with brutality and the horrors of war. What people have to endure! Ordinary people, not just fighters. American participant

This study again underlines the vital role of place in the tourist experience, in that locational authenticity was able to stimulate a stronger empathetic response than would a written account. It is also important to note that the brutality of war that confronted participants challenged their political allegiance: just how far would they go to fight for their ideals?

Those participants who had visited Madrid spoke of the powerful impact of viewing Picasso's *Guernica*, which depicts the bombing on 26 April 1937 of this small Basque town, destroyed by German bombs over a sustained 3 hour attack.

Of course I had seen this painting many times in prints and cards. I had a picture of Guernica when I was younger, and knew of its history. So of course I wanted to see it. I was not prepared for the impact. It made me cry, especially the woman screaming holding her dead baby in the air. It made me think of Syria, and of the futility of war. Norwegian participant

Commissioned by the Republican government to paint a masterpiece for the 1937 Expo in Paris, Picasso chose the Guernica bombing as his subject, and it soon became a symbol of those killed in Spain during the Civil War (Steer, 1978). Picasso stipulated in his will that *Guernica* must not go to Spain until democracy had been reinstated. Franco died on November 20, 1975, and following the 'transition to democracy' years, *Guernica* finally reached Spain on September 10, 1981 (Salas, 1987).

There was a commonly expressed pacifist sentiment that is strongly linked with socialist politics: this sat side by side with admiration for the brigades who left their country to fight alongside the republicans. Fighting for a socialist ideal was admired, but the human cost was also lamented. Questions were raised over the extent of participants' dedication to the socialist cause, over how far they would take their allegiance and how strong their commitment would be. This finding points to the complex nature of personal identity, which is made up of overlapping and sometimes conflicting strands. Being confronted with the reality of war challenged participants' espoused worldview. They admired those who fought against Franco, including their own countrymen, and they acknowledged the need to take up arms, but they wondered if they would be as committed or as brave, or whether instead they would compromise their beliefs through possible inaction.

486 ***5.5 A sense of puzzlement***

487

488 There was to their consternation an absence of memorialisation of the war in Spain that participants
489 found puzzling and disappointing. For example, in Barcelona, they commented on finding a square
490 named after George Orwell without any reference to his novel about the war, *Homage to Catalonia*,
491 or to his own involvement as a soldier for the Republicans. Neither is there a plaque to show where he
492 stayed whilst in Barcelona. A similar story is recounted about Madrid. In both cities, it is possible to
493 walk around and to come across few if any memorials. For a visitor unaware of the events in the
494 1930s, it would be possible to remain unaware following their trip. There appears to be no desire on
495 the part of the authorities to educate the visitor, and thereby to capitalise on the substantial cultural
496 tourism market, nor to commemorate the events of the war. This was shocking to participants,
497 especially when contrasted with their experiences of memorialisation in other destinations such as
498 Berlin. It was also disappointing and frustrating, as they had to use their own memory of key spots
499 and actors, as well as their imagination.

500

501 *Where are all the memorials? I am so surprised and disappointed to be here and not find any*
502 *information centres or plaques. I thought there would be so many!* Norwegian participant

503

504 *Why are there hardly any memorials? Is it a sore point? Do they not want to remember? It is such a*
505 *shame!* British participant

506

507 What many did was join a walking tour so that they could be guided around otherwise officially
508 unmarked spots. As stated by David Mathieson (2016), leader of civil war walking tours in Madrid:
509 'the siege of Madrid was the key battle of the civil war. Madrilenos and anti-fascist volunteers from
510 other countries, the International Brigades, fought to defend the city. Despite its importance, the siege
511 of Madrid remains a topic too sensitive for officialdom and the city offers no information for the
512 intelligent, interested visitor.'

513

514 According to Nagle (2012, p. 32), 'unhealthy melancholia' results from a society's failure to
515 remember and mourn. As Stone (2012) observes, 'the unquiet dead can haunt people; indeed,
516 memories of murdered individuals or groups of the collective dead who die in tragedies can haunt

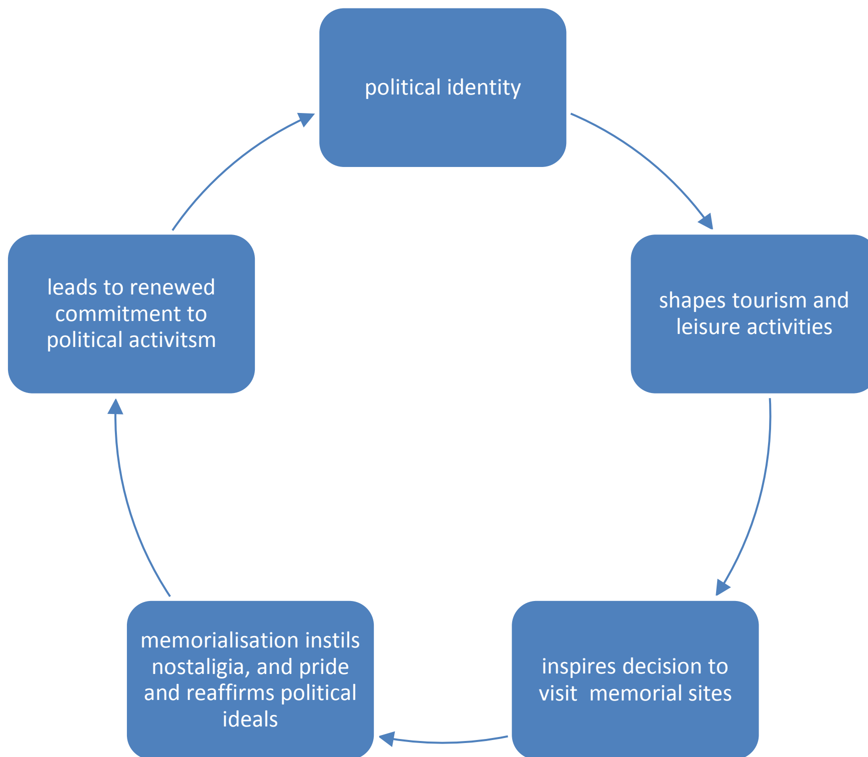
society'. However, in the Spanish context, to borrow a title from a conference held in England in 2016, the Spanish Civil War is 'a wound that will not heal', and memorialisation is a complex political topic. Whilst this paper has largely concentrated on the contribution of tourism to personal identity, this particular theme raises the issue of national identity and how it is influenced by memorialisation. As Light and Young (2010) observe, political power shapes the urban landscape in respect to monuments and memorials.

This study points to a disconnect between the desire of the participants to express their political allegiance through visits to sites of historical significance and Spain's conflicted identity, which is reflected in its approach to remembrance of past events. Thus this study uncovers a surprising and discomfiting finding, particular to the Spanish context in this study, but no doubt mirrored in many other destinations. Participants' sense of identity was strongly ingrained, informed by their political history and allegiance to socialist ideals. Their life was partly constructed around their political values, which they expressed to varying degrees through their activism and friendship groups. It was challenging for them to have to recognise that not only are the Spanish authorities unwilling, for various complex reasons, to commemorate the victims of the civil war and the Francoist regime, but that Spaniards with Republican sympathies or connections still live in a society where their history is not recognised, where it is even denied. The apparent absence of memorials was therefore not only a surprise, but it also served as a reminder that the ability to express and live by political values is dependent on the socio-political context. There was thus a jarring clash between an idealistic attachment to the Republican cause and an apparent absence of memorials that points to a country still in denial about its past.

6. Conclusions

This study indicates the key role played by tourism in facilitating the expression and consolidation of political identity. At the same time, it highlights the role played by identity in influencing tourist behaviour. Socialism was a driving force in the everyday life of participants at home, and it influenced their choice of tourist activity whilst away. By joining walking tours to commemorate the events of the Spanish Civil War, participants felt able to remember and honour the victims of fascism. Meanwhile, their visit allowed them to reaffirm their political attachment to the Republican cause, and to the Left in general. Their political identity was bolstered by pride in the international brigades, in the existence of an international solidarity movement. Finally, their visit saw a reaffirmation not only of their political values but also of their commitment to action. This study therefore highlights the transformative power of tourism, but also the vital role of identity in shaping tourist decision-making

552 and behaviour. This marks an important contribution to knowledge on how identity shapes and is
553 shaped by tourist activity. The figure below offers a graphic representation of the connections
554 between political identity and tourism.



555

556 Figure 1: Political identity and tourism

557 As the above figure shows, an individual's political identity can influence their behaviour as a tourist
558 as well as their decision to visit memorial sites that are aligned with their political allegiance. The act
559 of memorialisation can instil feelings of nostalgia and pride and serve to reaffirm their political
560 identity and beliefs. These can in turn impact on their commitment to political action and to life as a
561 political activist back home. The force of tourism to carry an impact beyond the trip is thus observed,
562 supporting previous research (see Noy 2004; Brown 2009; Tucker 2005; Hottola 2004; O'Reilly
563 2006).

564

565 This inductive study also raises questions over the ownership or control of public memory. The
566 thematic analysis showed that participants attached importance to being physically present in
567 historical sites. Place was important as such sites were imbued with a locational authenticity that fired
568 their imagination and provoked and strengthened feelings of nostalgia for a time of political solidarity
569 and sacrifice. Feelings of admiration, pride and optimism were stimulated, and political commitment
570 was reaffirmed. It was also felt that it was only on site that they could honour the dead. However,

571 participants were puzzled over a perceived absence of memorialisation of the civil war in Spain. Their
572 desire for memorialisation clashed with an apparent reluctance on the part of the Spanish authorities
573 to commemorate the civil war. Without participation in walking tours, it is doubtful that participants'
574 trip would have been rewarding in terms of identity consolidation. The political landscape in Spain
575 and the challenges Spain faces in coming to terms with its past mean that the events and victims of the
576 war are not memorialised to the extent seen in countries where memory is not so fiercely contested.
577 Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008) note that the viewing of heritage sites by domestic tourists offers glances
578 of a nation's past; in reference to this study, the lack of memorials points perhaps instead to its
579 conflicted present. Dwork and van Pelt (2002, p. 386) observe that 'the tentacles of the Holocaust
580 reach deeply into the present'. The same could be written of the Spanish Civil War whose shadow is
581 still felt in Spain.

582

583 Although this study's explicit aim was to explore the role of tourism in mobilising political identity,
584 the data also interestingly allow us to consider the ways in which battle and war histories are
585 interpreted and reflected in memorialisation that is consumed by both residents and battlefield
586 tourists. Spain is not alone in facing the challenge of contested history and identity: the same can be
587 said of 'identity-torn' Hong Kong (Dimache et al. 2017), of India and conflicting representations of
588 Naga indigenous people (Bandyopadhyay and Yuwanond 2017) and of indigenous tourism in
589 Australia (see Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles 2012). A contestation over historical truth also faced
590 many European countries following the Second World War as there was reluctance to publicly
591 acknowledge complicity and collaboration with Nazism. In France, for example, a process of
592 mythication occurred after the Liberation, which saw France as an occupied and oppressed nation that
593 resisted and finally expelled the Nazi occupiers in 1944 (Carrier 2005). Its role in the deportation of
594 the Jews and the extent of collaboration with the occupying forces were underplayed in official
595 historical account, and this was reflected in memorialisation (Dwork and van Pelt 2002). Jenkins
596 (2011) describes the Resistance as 'a controlling national myth' (p. 201) that took 25 years to be
597 addressed, for an 'uncomfortable state of denial to be questioned' (p. 202). Wight and Lennon (2006)
598 similarly recount a reluctance in Lithuania to acknowledge wartime atrocities. This is reflected in the
599 selective interpretation offered at heritage tourism sites, which prioritises the heroic 'nation's
600 solidarity and determination against their Soviet oppressors' above their role in the holocaust.

601

602 The rich data generated by this study, in combination with the supporting literature, have informed the
603 development of a model that points to the ways in which battlefield tourism can be developed in
604 countries that have not come to terms with their past. The stages of this model are as follows:
605 1. Establish a need and desire to attract battlefield tourists. Spain continues to be a leading
606 tourism destination whose major product is sun and sand, but there is evidence that it seeks to

diversify its product (Santos and Trillo-Santamaría 2017). The battlefield tourism market is one route to diversification. As Timothy (*in press*) notes, this market segment continues to show strong growth. Ryan (2007) observes that battlefield memorial sites provide employment and income for local communities, which is an important motivator for development.

2. Obtain support from the national government for the development of battlefield tourism. Governments tend to enjoy a powerful influence over the interpretation of historical events, particularly in national heritage settings (Jeong and Santos 2004; Goulding and Domic 2009; Patil 2011; Park 2016), often leading to contestations over the history presented at heritage sites by those groups that feel under- or mis-represented. As discussed earlier, successive governments in Spain with differing political agendas have adopted conflicting approaches to memorialisation and to the Historical Memory Law. If the government is not on board, it will be more difficult to implement plans.

3. Work in collaboration with local and regional organisations, memorial site and museum managers and local communities to reach consensus on the interpretation offered at battlefield heritage sites. This is a challenge in a country with conflicting views over historical truths. Furthermore, among visitors there may be divergent perspectives of historical events, and it may be difficult to offer interpretation that suits all. As Timothy (*in press*) states, there are unique challenges to managing 'difficult' heritage, as the market demands more balanced and impartial historical interpretation. Dunkley et al. (2011) state that commemoration is inspired by a moral duty to remember and honour the dead and to preserve collective group memory. This may be an elusive goal in divided states. Only a collective, collaborative approach to interpretation can be instrumental in delivering a successful memorial that is valued and accepted by the majority.

4. Highlight the sociocultural benefits of working collaboratively to develop battlefield tourism, which may include reconciliation and healing between divided communities (see Light 2017). This is supported in Chen's (2010) study on the role of tourism connecting China and Taiwan, and in Guo et al.'s (2006) research on tourism and reconciliation between China and Taiwan. Nonetheless, Kim and Prideaux (2006) stress that rapprochement is not always the outcome, as illustrated in their study of the Mt Gumgang tour project in the Korean Peninsula.

5. Be realistic about the difficulties faced in arriving at consensus over interpretive messages used in battlefield memorials, and be prepared to revisit these over time. Re-interpretation of content may evolve as time passes and meanings and identities change.

644

645 This paper concludes by offering directions for future research. In terms of the Spanish context, future
646 research could investigate the community perspective on the siting and content of memorials to the
647 war. As Light and Young (2015) suggest, commemorative landscapes may help in the reconciliation
648 process, but further research is needed on how memorials are apprehended by the public, both resident
649 and visiting. Equally, research could focus on visitors who identify with the Nationalist cause whose
650 own political worldview will surely produce different findings. Finally, the issue of memorialisation
651 should be explored within other equally contentious contexts to see how practices of memorialisation
652 vary, when the event/s to be memorialised are contested. The utility of the model presented above
653 could be explored in these contexts.

654

655

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