

Literary urban landscape in a sustainable tourism context

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This paper emphasises the attraction power of the literary landscape and how it can help destinations to respond to challenges posed by over-tourism. To illustrate that, we focus on Barcelona's case, carrying out a comparison between the promoted points of interest by Barcelona's DMO (Destination Management Organization) and the city's image built by the writer Juan Marsé, one of the most renowned Catalan writers in the Spanish language of the 20th century. Results show that the literary landscape is vital to showcase less visited city areas. In conclusion, we highlight the need to use literary heritage to broad destinations' image beyond mainstream topics, with the aim of improving the sociocultural sustainability of destinations.

Key Words: *Barcelona, cultural landscape, destination marketing, literary tourism.*

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Introduction

The present research stems from 1) the evidence that literature has an impact on our reality by adding meanings to our landscape (Månsson, 2011), 2) the need to take imagined landscape into account in order to expand our understanding of our cities and 3) the reflection on the vital role that literary landscape and, by extension, mediascape, could play in facing our cities' challenges, specifically the ones that result from the international growth of tourism (UNWTO, 2017). In order to address these issues, our research will focus on Juan Marsé's work *Last evenings with Teresa* (Últimas tardes con Teresa), which is

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set in Barcelona during the 60's. Published in 1966, this work is probably the most famous one of the Catalan writer. The book, through a pessimistic love story, offers us a description of Barcelona from that moment. In Marsé's work, the Catalan capital stands out for its picture of the political identities and social classes that were coexisting in the different neighbourhoods of the city, giving us a clear view of the social conflicts of that time. Therefore, Barcelona transcends the role of mere scenario and becomes a setting with its own identity and character.

With the aim of making visible the literary landscape that could come from this literary work, we will carry out a literary-geographical analysis consisting in identifying and locating the literary places with a symbolic importance that appear in the plot and that can still be visited in the present. We consider that this will generate a particular narrative of the city, with a particular view and comprehension of the urban space.

Subsequently, we will compare this narrative account with the tourist one promoted by Barcelona's City Council. It will allow showing that the literary gaze permits to add value to alternative places of our cities. In this sense, we will highlight the importance of literature as an inspiration source for generating new imaginaries. In addition, the research will demonstrate how the value of literature enriches the images of our destinations and creates, through our imaginary landscape, new points of interest in tourist destinations.

Theoretical framework

From literary heritage to a literary landscape

The concept of cultural heritage (UNESCO, 1972) has multiple meanings and is permanently transforming (Vecco, 2010). Because of that, the concept of literary heritage could easily be understood intuitively, but reaching a univocal definition is complex. In addition, although the vital role of literature in our culture is unquestionable, heritage concept built by UNESCO acknowledges the value of literature as part of human cultural heritage only since the beginning of the 2000s. There are two important documents to consider when understanding literature as part of the heritage scheme. First, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003) which allows us to understand literary heritage as belonging to intangible cultural heritage, since this last includes cultural expressions transmitted through generations and that communities recognise as part of their culture.

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2005), highly related to the previous one regarding its content, develops the importance of cultural expressions to originate and express cultural identities. On this basis, we will not undertake the concept of literary heritage from a purely literary point of view, but by focusing on the context generated around a recognised and heritagized literary work. If we try to narrow down a definition of literary heritage from this perspective, we refer, in the very first moment, to the literary legacy that every society adopts, recognises and owns (Munmany, 2016). Not all literary works are considered as

literary heritage. A book can become a literary heritage based on some of the following elements: its popularity, the identification of readers (or even the people who did not read it) with its main characters and their stories, the set of implicit values that show up during the reading, its historical singularity, etc. Those factors provoke the recognition of the literary work as a unique cultural expression that, in some way, shapes our cultural identity and deserves to be highly-regarded as a cultural symbol.

Nevertheless, even when the core of literary heritage is the narrative account itself, it transcends this imaginary world. Because, when a literary work is heritagized, two spheres of reality related to the literary work emerge: the author's universe and its places of daily life and the diegetic world of the literary work, which includes the scenarios and landscapes that appear in it. In these two spheres, we found tangible elements that bring out feelings and thoughts related to the literary work (Squire, 1994). Thus, we are able to carry out an experiential and reminiscent lecture of the literary works through alternative and tangible mediums. Another feature of literary heritage is that the author itself becomes of interest because the biography spaces become semiotic spaces that tell us about the book's cultural and creative context.

Therefore, these two worlds, the one related to the author's life and the other related to the territory where the story takes place, enlarge the idea of the literary legacy concept. Thus, hand apart from the literary legacy, literary heritage includes, on the one hand, the biographic spaces and objects linked to author's life, because they enable us to get closer to the author's personality and their everyday life. On the other hand, it refers to the diegetic world that encompasses the places where the plot occurs.

This definition of literary heritage leads to the concept of literary landscape, which we understand as a derivative of cultural landscape (Capdepón, 2014). In the context of cultural tourism, Donaire (2008) explains this last concept as the landscape where culture or religion projects a singular connotation. In this sense, literary heritage could be understood as the subjective perception of a territory built up from the perspective that a literary work offers. This type of landscape is generated through the literary descriptions, the symbolism that the author uses to read the landscape and the impressions and emotions that characters and the story-writer show towards this landscape.

Literary landscape, image creation and literary tourism

The notion of literary landscape enriches our perspective of our environment. Furthermore, it adds a symbolic layer through the projection of the values linked with literary heritage. A well-known example based on popular culture is, for instance, Birmingham, where J.R.R. Tolkien spent part of his childhood and where we can still nowadays identify semiotic places, i.e., specific places that evoke us a particular narrative account, values and ideas. In this case, the semiotic places are those that we recognise as the author's source of inspiration to create the Middle Earth and as the spots that bring his personal life closer to the visitant. In this sense, a considerable number of places linked to this author and his literary work transforms Birmingham in a literary landscape (West Midlands Growth Company, 2017).

Nevertheless, literary landscapes could not be reduced to being an addition of places. Rather than that, a landscape with a close relationship to literature transcends the mere reference to literary facts to generate an environment full of symbols that arouse multiple lectures and meanings. An example is, for instance, the case of Beatrix Potter home. According to the work of Squire, the visitors' interpretation of this heritage facility goes beyond Beatrix Potter and her biography. It includes broad topics for which Beatrix Potter and her literary work have become a symbol, such as childhood, countryside, authenticity and so on (Squire, 1994).

In this sense, the link between a literary landscape - as a signified - and meanings - as signifier - is not limited purely to literary references. Rather than that, literary landscape is a place that can be symbolically read by subjects, who reflect on the scenery their ideas and world-views generated from their lecture of literary works. Thus, literary landscape - and, as an extension, any cultural landscape - plays a vital role in the process of image creation of a territory. In tourism studies, the tourist image is defined as a mental construction generated from factors as knowledge, impressions and beliefs that people have about a territory (Osácar, 2016). All these factors are influenced by cultural expressions, since cinema, television, literature, and so on; act as mediums through which this kind of knowledge and images are transmitted, as Appadurai (1990) highlights.

Thus, literature promotes different readings of places and promotes the association of meanings to the landscapes to which a certain literary work is placed or inspired. The sense of place that literature - as well as other cultural expressions - creates becomes part of the image of a territory when shared by a considerable part of a community. For instance, among the meanings and feelings that the landscape of Castile (located in the central part of Spain) evokes, the influence of Don Quixote in the interpretation of this landscape is undeniable, being Don Quixote constantly recalled in the view of that scenery. In the same way, the sublime view of Garda Lake suggests adopting a romantic temper, especially if we are aware of Goethe's stay and thoughts about this place (Uccella, 2008-2009).

At the same time, these images act as a catalyst for tourism, since pop culture consumers need to connect with the universe of the stories they are interested in (Larson, Lundberg and Lexhagen, 2013). In this sense, the literary landscape could be understood as a resource to attract visitors interested in the culture and the intangible richness of a territory. Hence, the study and analysis of landscape and its intangible connotation is crucial when generating a proposal for literary tourism. This last idea, which is considered a forerunner for other forms of media tourism like film-induced tourism (MacLeod, Shelley and Morrison, 2018), is related with fiction and author (Hoppen, Brown and Fyall, 2014) and it answers to the desire of people to link their reality to other past or fictional worlds (Squire, 1996).

Carmel, the neighbourhood of Juan Marsé

This paper focuses on the work of Juan Marsé and especially on his most renowned work *Last evenings with Teresa*. Marsé was born in Barcelona in 1933

and began his literary career during the 50's. He is considered one of the most important authors of Catalan literature written in Spanish of the 20th century. He is the author of fifteen novels among other literary works in the form of short stories, press contributions and essays. Some of his novels have also been brought to the big screen by renowned Spanish directors like Vicente Aranda and Fernando Trueba.

He lived in Paris (from 1959 to 1962), but he was attached to Barcelona, and this sentiment was translated into his literary work. For this reason, he is considered together with Eduardo Mendoza, as one of the writers that more accurately describes the Catalan capital during a particular historical period. He is part of the Generation of '50, a Spanish literary movement formed by the writers whose childhood coincide with the Spanish Civil War. Therefore, their literature was influenced greatly by the shared political background.

In Juan Marsé's novels, the described Barcelona is mainly the one of the post-war period, which goes from the 40's-50's to the 70's. A Barcelona that underwent many changes and is characterized by the arrival of many people coming from the south of Spain looking for jobs, even though the city had just lost a war – the Spanish Civil War. In this context, Barcelona was a city under repression, where misery coexisted with a wealthy class that had benefited from the war. Beyond offering a meticulous and conscientious description of the city, another quality of Marsé's prose is his ability to turn the settings in more than just a location where the characters act, but in a place with its own symbolic meaning. Izquierdo (2005) illustrates it through the vision that Marsé projects of the Carmel neighbourhood in *Last evenings with Teresa*.

Carmel is a neighbourhood of Barcelona far away from downtown as well as the name of a mountain located in this area. This part of Barcelona had profoundly changed after the Civil War when it received thousands of immigrants in search of a place with better economic opportunities. Shacks were built on the mountain slopes, where years later they would become tall residential blocks, thus transforming the area aesthetically and socially.

In the novel, the main character, known as Pijoaparte, lived in Carmel. He was himself an immigrant from Murcia who survived in Barcelona through illegal, suspicious activities. Pijoaparte embodies some of the clichés attached to the new Carmel inhabitants, showing how the new population's culture collided with the Catalan one. In this context, Carmel is presented and described by Marsé anthro-pomorphising the meanings and ideas embodied by Pijoaparte (Izquierdo, 2005). In this sense, the first is the geographical extension of all the features and traits of Pijoaparte. This way, both, Carmel and Pijoaparte, share the same meaning which points to a latent social reality in the 1960's Barcelona: the emergence of new spaces in the city that had remained totally marginalised from Barcelona's mainstream narrative.

The reading of *Last evenings with Teresa* allows us to reflect on the existence, the history and, especially, the identity of this space of the city. In this sense, Carmel and its inhabitants are understood as an underclass suburb inhabited by xarnegos – a Catalan pejorative term used to design economic immigrants from other parts of Spain – with an unfamiliar cultural background. It is interesting here to point out that the cultural scene was a complex constellation in Catalonia after the Spanish Civil War, since the Catalan culture was also alien-

ated from the mainstream and was repressed by Francoism, which promoted a univocal Spanish national identity of the country. In this sense, Catalan culture was also marginalized, and its survival was jeopardized.

Tourism and narrative account: the case of Barcelona

The importance of tourism in Barcelona in 2018 is undoubted. From the Olympic Games that took place in 1992 until the present, the city has deeply changed. It turned itself into a tourist capital of the Mediterranean area with a highly increased number of visitants during the last decades. For instance, the number of tourists in different types of accommodation in 1990 was less than 1,800,000 visitors, while in 2016 this number reached more than 9,500,000 visitors – counting only those who stayed in official lodgings – (Observatori del Turisme a Barcelona i Comarques, 2016).

Beyond the conversion of Barcelona in a tourist city, our work focuses on the semiotic aspects of Barcelona's tourist image. We have chosen to study this type of image of Barcelona since the construction of the tourist image is not only influenced by general knowledge, culture and media, but also by the marketing strategies that the destination itself does by fostering certain aspects of their territory (Osácar, 2016).

In this sense, the tourist image of a destination is born of a dialectic between the discourses already done on Barcelona and Barcelona's will of showing itself in a certain way, i.e., emphasising particular features of the city.

The most accurate study of the tourist image of Barcelona is the one carried out by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona – formed by the City Council and representatives of private tourist sector – in its Strategic Plan for Tourism: 2010-2015 (Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Turisme, 2010). The main concepts of Barcelona's tourist image are (Osácar, 2016):

- Mediterranean lifestyle. Barcelona is understood as a comfortable and enjoyable city to live in, in virtue of its temperate climate, the hospitality of its inhabitants, relaxed lifestyle and cosmopolitanism, among other features.
- Architecture, artistic heritage and culture. The city is perceived as a territory rich in heritage. Especially related to Gaudí and modernism,
- Futbol Club Barcelona and sport. The Olympic Games and the worldwide impact of Barcelona's main football team are the key factors for considering Barcelona as a sports city.

These three concepts build a framework which influences Barcelona's perception. Thus, people attracted by this image come to Barcelona with expectations related to that gaze. In this sense, Barcelona tourist experience is also limited by these previous ideas, since most tourist products are born with the aim of meeting those expectations.

Given the growth of tourism activity and the problematics caused by it, there is a consensus for the need to broaden the image of Barcelona beyond the limits that these three common ideas set down to expand Barcelona's tourist image. This agreement is reflected on the new Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020, which establishes the need to promote new standpoints and images of the city in order to redirect the tourist flow and expand the tourist narrative account of Barcelona beyond the current stereotypes (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016).

Concretely it includes the following goals in terms of city promotion and marketing:

- Goal 5.1.2. Extending the cultural narrative which is currently scarce and stereotypical, to broaden references and emphasise the importance of heritage and memories.
- Goal 5.1.3. Broadening the spectrum of the promoted image beyond icons to attract visitors to places without crowds - outside municipal boundaries - by including attractions and resources from Barcelona's surroundings as part of the destination.

Literary heritage could play an important role in expanding the cultural narrative of Barcelona as a destination. There are two main reasons to affirm that. The first one is because Barcelona is part of the UNESCO's Network of Creative Cities of Literature since 2015. In this sense, there has been recognition – international but also internal - of the importance of literature in the context of Barcelona. The second one is because the literary potential of Barcelona has not been exploited so far (Patricio Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins, 2017). Thus, the richness of the literary landscape of Barcelona is a value for transforming and enhancing the image and narrative of the destination.

Objectives

In this context, our research aims at assessing whether the literary heritage associated with Juan Marsé is valued by the current Barcelona's tourist promotion and, therefore, whether there is any effort to assimilate the marginalised spaces of the city in the mainstream fostered by the local government.

Thus, the primary goal of this paper is to analyse the presence of Marsé's literary landscape in Barcelona's tourist image. This primary objective will be followed by the two next specific objectives: 1) identifying the tangible elements linked to Marsé's literary heritage in the contemporary city, and 2) analyse and define Barcelona's city spaces that are being promoted by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona.

Our analysis will focus on the promotion done by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona for two reasons: a) because it plays the role of a DMO, this is, a Destination Marketing/Management Organization and b) because the City Council of Barcelona has a substantial presence in Turisme de Barcelona, being the local government who set the goals of broadening the city's narrative account in order to expand its tourist image and distance from the current tourist clichés.

Methodology

Regarding the presented objectives, our research has been structured in three stages. The first one consisted of the creation of a literary map of Barcelona based on Marsé's book *Last evenings with Teresa*. This literary map has been generated through a literary-geographical analysis based on an analytical lecture of the book. This strategy permitted us to identify the main places which appear

in the book and exist in current Barcelona. In addition, we have considered places that, even though they were created later than the book's publication and therefore don't appear in the plot, are directly linked to the literary work in virtue of its meaning and history. This way we generated a literary map which permits to visualise Marsé's gaze on Barcelona and its comprehension of the spaces of the city. Thus, we have also assessed the historical and literary interest that the neighbourhood of the Carmel, one of the central places of the book, can have as a literary district.

The second stage of the research focused on analysing the current image that Barcelona's DMO (Destination Management Organization) promotes of this city. In this sense, a quantitative research has been done consisting in analysing the tourist routes which appear in the website of the consortium Turisme de Barcelona. Through visualising the location of the promoted points of interest (POIs) of these routes we were able to define the spaces of the city which are promoted by the local government. In this way, we expect to identify whether the current narrative account of the city broadens tourist image defined by the Strategic Plan for Tourism: 2010-2015 (Ajuntament de Barcelona & Barcelona Turisme, 2010).

The last stage of the present research consists in comparing the maps obtained in previous stages. This way, contrasting both readings of the Barcelona's territory – the literary one of Marsé and the one offered by the DMO – the use of Marsé's literary landscape in current Barcelona's tourist discourses will be identified. We also analysed whether there is any strategy in terms of city narratives linked to the goals set out by the Strategic Plan for Tourism 2020 (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016).

Results

Below we present the results obtained during the three stages of our research. Our results are illustrated with the use of maps in order to facilitate the spatial comprehension of our findings.

Marsé's literary map

Through the reading of *Last evenings with Teresa* we have identified twenty-six places directly linked with the narrative. For the creation of this list we wrote down the places following three criteria: 1) we have included the places that explicitly appear in the novel; 2) we have also included the undefined spaces described by the name of a street or square; 3) a concrete neighbourhood was also included as a place, in the cases when there was not possible to identify a concrete location through criteria 1 or 2, but the narrator explicitly named that neighbourhood. The location of these spaces in Barcelona's map is illustrated in figure 1.

Considering how these places are distributed in the city map, we could identify three different spaces with a specific identity and to which singular meanings are associated. In figure 2 we have marked the three groups with assorted colours to distinguish their area and influence in Barcelona's territory.

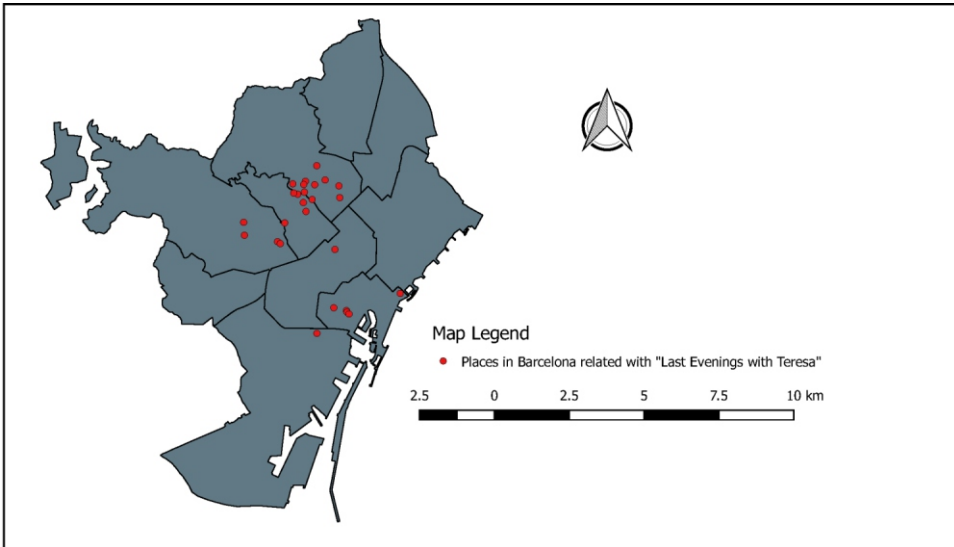


Figure 1. *Last evenings with Teresa* places on Barcelona's map.

Author: own work.

The three groups are placed in real neighbourhoods of the city and could be described as follows:

- Sant Gervasi. Identified in figure 2 with yellow colour, belong the district of Sant Gervasi, characterised for being the residence of the upper class. In the story, the second main character, Teresa, a young university student girl from a wealthy family resides in this neighbourhood in a villa surrounded by gardens. Nowadays this neighbourhood is still considered an upscale district. It is mainly a residential area, which remains unreachable to other people of the city.
- Carmel. Signalled in figure 2 with the green colour. In the novel, there are plenty of places belonging to Carmel, since it is the neighbourhood where the main protagonist, Manolo Reyes, lives. He is a young boy coming from Murcia, a region in the south of Spain. This district was the place where the economic immigrants first arrived during the post-war period. The most crucial feature of the district is that most of its houses were self-built shacks by those Spanish immigrants and, therefore, it is structured in an anarchical way between the mountains. Therefore, Carmel's shacks were placed on the slopes of the hill of El Carmel, which is found between El Turó de la Rovira (Rovira's Hill) and the Park Güell's mountain. This neighbourhood is also characterised by the humble lifestyle of its inhabitants and by their Spanish culture, which was confronted to the Catalan one, not only in virtue of the different language but also for having a separate way of being. For these reasons, Carmel is represented as wholly isolated from the city, even though it offers a panoramic but disengaged view of the real city. In this sense, Carmel is understood as an exclusion space where underclass workers live provisionally in a degraded environment (Díaz de Castro & Quintana Peñuela, 1984). In this sense, the book turns both the male protagonist and the Carmel into a symbol. On the one hand, they represent the social conflicts of Barcelona during the post-war period and, on the other hand,

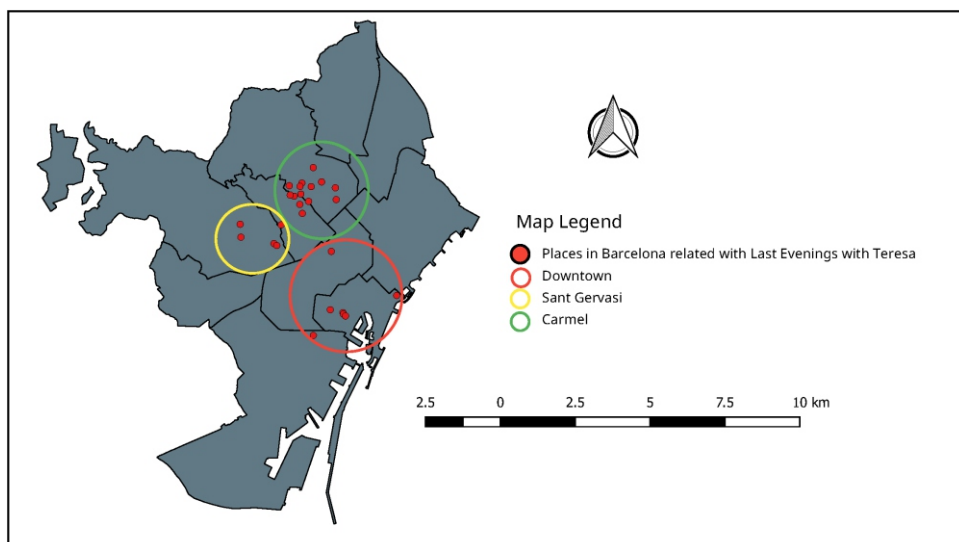


Figure 2. Last evenings with Teresa places on Barcelona's map – areas of the city.
Author: own work.

the difficulties that the lower class had to deal with in order to survive, which other social classes did not share.

- Downtown. In red we have marked in figure 2 the area of the third symbolic space that we found in our lecture of Last evenings with Teresa. In this case, we have identified mostly leisure spaces shared by both main characters of the novel. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that Pijoaparte is only allowed to enjoy those spaces in virtue of his relationship with Teresa and her friends. In this sense, even when the downtown is a mixed space where people from diverse backgrounds exchange, this is still a place dominated by the wealthy class. One fact that clearly illustrates this is the prolific presence of university students in the bars and pubs described in the novel.

After locating and conceiving these three imagined spaces, there is no doubt that Carmel becomes the main imagined landscape of Marsé's literary work. In the first place, because it is the most recurrent scenario in the novel – figure 2 shows clearly that the concentration of places is higher in Carmel than in other areas of Barcelona – and, in second place, it is also the one which acts as a semiotic node. That is because Marsé's novel explicitly states the symbolic meaning of this space, which appears as a marginalised and ignored area in Barcelona context. Although we focus in this paper on the study of the imagined landscape formed by the novel *Last evenings with Teresa*, this area of Barcelona also appears in some other works of Juan Marsé, who usually uses individuals coming from this socioeconomic context as main characters of his works.

Taking into consideration the imagined landscape created by Marsé in the novel and the current look of the neighbourhood, there is no doubt that the place has profoundly changed from the 60's until the present. As we have already said, this neighbourhood takes its name from the mountain where it is located, and it was after the Spanish Civil War when it started to be densely populated by Spanish economic immigrants. This demographic movement filled the neighbourhood with shacks, the self-built houses made from available and cheap materials. Although these shacks were slowly replaced by residential

blocks, the last ones were demolished just before the Olympic Games that took place in Barcelona in 1992 (ARA, 2017). This fact shows that it was not until years later that Carmel was taken into account by the local city government in its urban plan. Given all these changes, the imagined literary landscape offered by the novel should be readapted to the current appearance of the district to enable the semiotic reading of this landscape. In this sense, three types of spaces could be described. Firstly, the locations of the plot that still exist in the current Barcelona and did not suffer major transformation. As an example of this kind of places, there is the Bar Delicias. This place is critical in the novel since it was the leisure space of Carmel's inhabitants, and acts as a symbol of the underclass way of life. This place still exists in Barcelona and is deeply linked with the novel and the neighbourhood. Secondly, the places that have experienced changes but are still present, like the Carmel Sanctuary. In the book, it is described as a small church typical of small towns, since it was, a 19th century chapel with a capacity for 30 people. However, this small church became in 1988 and after a long renewal process, a more prominent religious centre, because of the demographic growth in the neighbourhood. The current aspect of the building preserves the old chapel, symbolising the transformation and growth that this neighbourhood has experienced during the last century. Thirdly, the places that don't appear in Marsé's novel but are directly linked with the imaginary landscape. Those are spots created after the novel's publication and, therefore, they don't appear in the story. However, they are linked to the novel's context and story. One example could be the Mühlberg bridge, built during the beginning of the 90's. It offers a perspective of one of the corners where the shacks were gathered. At the same time, the current City Council is trying to preserve and promote the historical memory of the city. In this framework, we would like to point out the existence of a plaque, recently unveiled, reminding the period of Carmel's shacks, as a commemorative spot related to the context illustrated in the novel.

In this sense, the literary landscape generated in *Last evenings with Teresa* in the context of Carmel is still to be identified as a place of interest in Barcelona. This literary landscape has evolved from being the settings where the story took place, to an interpreted landscape which combines spots directly described in the book with spots that appeared afterwards. All those places have in common that they can be read as a symbol for the values given by Marsé to this space of the city.

The current promoted image of Barcelona

The second stage of our research consisted in analysing the current tourist image promoted by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona. In order to develop this second stage, we have gathered all the points of interest (POIs) included in the tourist routes of Barcelona that appear in Turisme de Barcelona's website (Turisme de Barcelona, 2017). Our analysis has identified 93 different spots which are distributed in the city as figure 3 illustrates.

Figure 3 shows a high concentration of POIs around the downtown, throughout Passeig de Gràcia, around the stadium of Futbol Club Barcelona, in

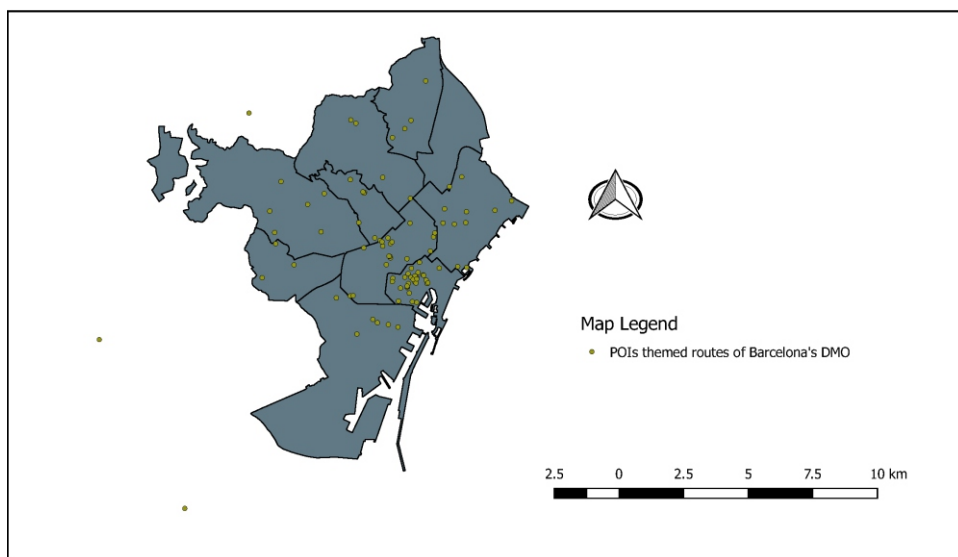


Figure 3. Distribution of spots of Barcelona's tourist routes. Author: own work.

Montjuïc and Diagonal Mar. It is interesting to point out that these locations are the core of the mainstream tourist Barcelona since they are placed where the main tourist attractions are located and, therefore, where there is the highest flow of tourists. This affirmation is confirmed by two data: 1) the list of the most visited tourist attractions and heritage centres in 2015 (Observatori del Turisme a Barcelona i Comarques, 2015), and 2) the situationist approaches and territory lectures appeared from the use of big data coming from social networks to understand the comprehension of the space. In this sense, the work of Eric Fischer (2010) is a reference. He generated maps over 50 cities signalling where pictures of the city spaces were uploaded. Fischer also tagged whether the pictures were taken by locals or tourists. His work on Barcelona offers a perspective of the city space very similar to Figure 3.

Thus, the interesting thing is that those POIs have not changed in the latest years. Indeed, the most promoted places to visit in the themed routes of Turisme de Barcelona are the ones that already concentrated most of the tourists in 2015 or that are placed next to them as figure 4 shows.

Comparison between both city images

Having analysed the Marsé's comprehension of the city and having identified the most promoted spaces in Barcelona tourism, we could ask, how is Carmel present within the promoted tourist Barcelona. In this sense, it is worth noticing that the only highlighted POI by the DMO is, besides the nearby Park Güell, the viewpoint of the Rovira's Hill. Rovira's Hill is a mountain of Barcelona located next to Carmel. Rovira's Hill and Carmel mountain are considered together inside the Horta-Guinardó district. It is a spectacular viewpoint of the city and, it has recently become a focus of attraction given the magnificent views that it offers over Barcelona. This space has also become popular for being the setting of the video clip *Ain't Nobody* by Jasmine Thompson and Felix Jaehn. Apart

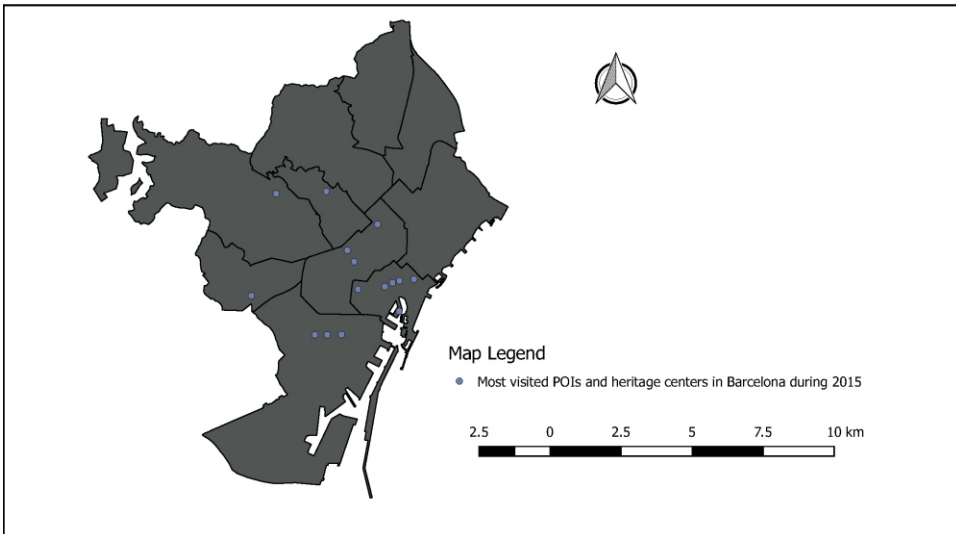


Figure 4. Distribution of most visited POIs and heritage centres in Barcelona during 2015. Author: own work.

from the Rovira's Hill, though, no other POI of Carmel's neighbourhood is mentioned in the themed routes promoted by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona.

So, the comparison between the image of Barcelona, especially of Carmel neighbourhood, generated in Marsé's literary work and the image and cultural narratives promoted by the consortium Turisme de Barcelona shows a considerable divergence between the first and the current main cultural narrative on Barcelona. Indeed, Carmel remains invisible in the mainstream of Barcelona, since there is a lack of promotion of the Carmel as an interesting neighbourhood with significant historical and sociocultural features. This way, the analysed literary landscape is also alienated from the factors that build the city's image. The imagined reading of the city remained isolated and ignored, and so its meanings.

Conclusions

To conclude, as we have seen with our study on the relationship of Marsé's work with the territory, literary landscape permits us to read the territory in a way that latent meanings and interpretations bloom. In our particular case of study, the work of Juan Marsé, allows uncovering a chapter of Barcelona's history that is currently hidden and far away from the mainstream discourse of the city. These central concepts are a Mediterranean lifestyle, Culture – with modernism and Gaudí as principal actors –, and Sport, with Futbol Club Barcelona as the main attraction. These concepts draw a picture of Barcelona coherent with the promoted image, defined by the analysis of the spots that appear in the themed routes offered by Barcelona's DMO. However, there is a consensus for the need of broadening this cultural narrative of the city. In this sense, we have seen that literary and imagined landscape appears as a tool for adding new perspectives on cities. Even in the case of Barcelona, which, as we have seen, is a city with a

consolidated image, literary landscape and its interpretation of territory are still ignored when trying to connect it to other comprehensions of cities. For instance, architectural heritage is more decisive when building an image of a city – in the case of Barcelona, its more popular architectural style, Modernism, is one of the key factors of Barcelona's tourist image.

Therefore, literature, literary landscape and literary tourism could be indeed understood as a useful tool for broadening the current images of tourist destinations and creating new points of interests within them. That leads to the possibility of offering more attractive experiences to the visitors that look for something else beyond the current stereotypes. In a tourism context, promoting imagined landscape could be understood as key to creating new icons and attractions in our destinations. In addition, tourist flows could be redirected in order to obtain more productive and more sustainable destinations.

Finally, the imagined landscape is also essential for promoting and fostering the inhabitants' feeling of identity. We have described Carmel's case as a part of the city which remains marginalised by the mainstream discourse. In Barcelona's image, it is isolated from the city itself and considered as lacking a comprehensive identity. In this sense, enhancing the cultural and historical richness of these kinds of places is clearly a way to increase inhabitants' attachment to their neighbourhood. Barcelona City Council has started to carry out actions in this sense. For example, we have mentioned about the existence of a commemorative plaque which reminds the history of Carmel's shacks. However, beyond highlighting historical spots, the literary landscape reveals itself as an opportunity to empathise with the intangible meanings of a place. As we have seen, the reading of Carmel neighbourhood through *Last evenings with Teresa* gives some clues to understand the territory and its character beyond pure historical facts.

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