

Chapter 7

**A Snapshot of Barcelona from Montjuïc:  
Juan Goytisolo's *Señas de identidad*, Tourist  
Landscapes as Process, and the Photographic  
Mechanism of Thought**

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Today more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space.

Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

The New Barcelona was a Disney creation at the end of ideology, the logical consequence of the loss of critical memory.

Donald McNeill, *Urban Change and the European Left: Tales from the New Barcelona*.

[...] que la ciudad les pertenezca un día.  
Como les pertenece esta montaña,  
este despedazado anfiteatro  
de las nostalgias de una burguesía.  
[that one day the city may belong to them.  
Like this mountain does,  
this shattered amphitheater  
of bourgeoisie's nostalgias.]

Jaime Gil de Biedma, "Barcelona ja no és bona,  
o mi paseo solitario en primavera," *Moralidades*.

**Introduction**

In the final image from Juan Goytisolo's important and extravagant novel *Señas de identidad* (1966), a disenchanted Alvaro stares down from the mountain of Montjuïc toward the city of Barcelona below. In this powerful visual act, landscape, tourism, and the appropriative power of gaze merge

to create one single snapshot, foregrounding the loss of memory inherent in the capitalist production of space and foreshadowing the further imminent late-twentieth-century changes to Barcelona itself. A close reading of Goytisolo's work not only reveals the profound and artistically rendered connections between tourism and the production of the built environment but also exposes a similar mechanism at work in each activity—a methodological photographic shutter of a kind that separates subject from object, constitutive human work from constituted landscape and Barcelona's past from its present. Throughout the novel, the predominance of photography together with Alvaro's final gaze gives tacit encouragement to linger not only on tourism practices and the production of landscape, but moreover on the consequences of a thought which tends to represent process through staticity.

Henri Bergson wrote extensively of this tendency of thought and its consequences for a unitary spatio-temporal perception, noting that "[j]ust as we separate in space, we fix in time."<sup>1</sup> The tourist's visual apprehension of landscape, like the photographic snapshot in its statically iconic relation to the moving process which it supposedly captures, seeks not to connect, to make relevant, to expose conflicting or multivalent meanings, but like the capitalist production of space, to separate, isolate, homogenize and reduce alterity to univocality. *Señas de identidad* resonates with recent theories of landscape and the anthropology of tourism ultimately to question the tendency to separate and to fix, one demonstrably manifest not only in photographic technology and the capitalist production of space but also in theoretical approaches to tourism and to the perception of movement itself.<sup>2</sup> As Geographer Mike Crang has argued, research might pay more attention to processes of representation and less to the created representations themselves: "it is to avoid dichotomizing the world of representations and experience that we need to turn to the practices of observation."<sup>3</sup> It is neither my primary intent to analyze the Barcelonan landscape at a particular moment in its development nor to show how Goytisolo's novel reflects the time period in which it was written—although I will necessarily touch upon these. I choose, instead, to pursue the way in which the landscape and the novel, as well as our understanding of them, are constituted through a process that is at once variegated (created through dissidence and struggle at the expense of difference), inclusive (neither during formation nor reflection considered as outside of our influence) and ongoing (never completely determined by the result of previous struggle or interpretation). From a brief history of Montjuïc, I will move on to the presentation of tourism and photography in *Señas de identidad* arguing that

a closer look at the novel's use of juxtaposition leads the reader to question the simplistic bifurcation of native/foreign, self/other, and here/there operative in the tourist gaze. When this gaze is properly understood—not as that of an individual, but rather as a collective activity—landscape change proves to be less about the memory of the past and more about contemporary power struggles.<sup>4</sup> Bergson teaches us that through memory we do not reference past events, but rather actualize enduring but latent parts of the present itself. Ultimately, in the very act of perception of the landscape of Montjuïc or Barcelona, we simultaneously take a stance regarding the way in which city-space is constructed.

### Landscape as Process: Montjuïc

The static landscape represented by a photographic image is not altogether different from the way landscape is commonly perceived. The way we regard it as frozen in a now-immutable frame, the way this very frame appears to sever its content's connections with surrounding areas and its previous incarnations; both of these are visible manifestations and reinforcements of our practiced patterns of seeing. Yet in spite of this more or less conscious perception, the landscape is neither frozen nor immutable, neither as isolated nor as disconnected from human practice as we might sometimes think. Far from being merely "true" or "false" the photographic image offers us a tangible opportunity to reflect upon and question our quotidian understanding of process and movement. The way we commonly represent process to ourselves, as Bergson notes so well, is to separate in space (the frame of the shot, the subject representing the represented object) and to fix in time (the aperture of the shot). Just as the photograph separates subject from object, it fixes the present moment, thus arresting the movement of the enduring past (Bergson's concept of *durée*). Neither in the photograph nor in the use of landscape by tourism practices and the capitalist production of space does the past *endure*. Recognizing the static way in which we perceive landscape involves first reconciling the spatialization through which we imagine it as a backdrop to action, and second the way in which we privilege certain moments of landscape formation over others. In these ways, we reconstitute an interactive relationship with landscape and expose the motivated nature of our periodic sculpting of it.

As Don Mitchell notes, landscape is itself best understood as a construction, a created moment with further constitutive force:

In reality, the landscape is itself an active agent in constituting that history, serving both as a symbol for the needs and desires of the people who live in it (or who otherwise have a stake in producing and maintaining it) and as a solid dead weight channeling change in this way and not that. [...] Landscape is best seen as both a work (it is the product of human labor and thus encapsulates the dreams, desires, and all the injustices of the people and social systems that make it) and as something that does work (it acts as a social agent in the further development of a place).<sup>5</sup>

In highlighting the relation between landscape and human work, Mitchell makes reference to Marx's idea of "dead labor," to David Harvey's return to this idea noting that dead labor can affect "living labor,"<sup>6</sup> to the idea of Carl Sauer that landscape is "fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group,"<sup>7</sup> and to that of Alexander Wilson that landscape is "an activity"<sup>8</sup> or a relationship between people and place. Landscape necessarily takes on the characteristics of the society that it shapes and in which it is shaped. Thusly, the capitalist landscape is not only the visual commodified splendor of theme parks populated by animated ducks, packaged jams and jellies, hoppy beer, or agglomerations of flags five-seven deep,<sup>9</sup> but also the physical expression or concealing of the consolidation of the riches of the earth in fewer and fewer hands, the daily deaths of those without food or health care, the assassinations of progressive political leaders, the accidents caused by lack of safety regulations in private industry, the police actions abroad, the meetings behind closed doors to regulate supposedly democratic processes, the babies born with no brains along the U.S.-Mexico border due to an increase in *maquilas* and unregulated waste disposal, the daily converts to a God of Trade who requires brand loyalty. Landscape is not the unmoving backdrop of social history, but rather encapsulates, naturalizes, or obfuscates all of these injustices in physical form.

The successive development of Montjuïc testifies to the interaction between landscape and social history and exposes a suspect motivation for the selective replacement of that history with a cleansed narrative of produced spectacle. As Alvaro stares down at the city of Barcelona from the mountain amid the cacophonous voices of a heightened tourism, it is this spectacle that he sees. The Tourist Website [www.donquijote.org](http://www.donquijote.org) approximates this act of viewing in prose reminiscent of a tourist brochure describing a packaged tour:

Overlooking the harbor is the hill of Montjuïc, a symbol of pride ever since the Romantics discovered its beauty in the 1800s and a slow project of urban development was launched, beginning with the 1929 World's Fair and culminating with the 1992 Olympic Games. Fairgrounds, first-rate museums, excellent sports facilities, beautiful gardens and parks, an authentic green lung for the city and final resting place for the dead, Montjuïc is indeed a magnificent spot.<sup>10</sup>

Despite what will seem to be quite a few perks to the tourist planning a trip, to trace the mountain's history, as I will briefly do, is to move from a geography whose connection to class history is forthright to one which necessarily obfuscates class history through easily commodified visual splendor.

The present name of the mountain Montjuïc is Catalan. In the first chapter of his book *Historia de Montjuïc y su castillo*, Pedro Voltes Bou traces theories of the name noting that in the fifteenth century, Pere Tomic wrote that it had previously been called "Mons Jovis"<sup>11</sup> and in the sixteenth century, Pere Miquel Carbonell affirmed that it was called not "Mons Jovis" but rather "Mons Iovis." Some relate the name with "Jupiter," others with "judío." It appears that around the fifteenth century many people possessed the name Montjuïc.<sup>12</sup> The landscape, which received its name from the people, had turned around to give them its own name in the process, highlighting the landscape as both constructed by and constitutive of human work.

In a sense, the history of Montjuïc is the history of all of Barcelona. The book *Barcelonas* by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán offers a concise synopsis: A tower on the mountain once served as *faro*, which in 1640 became a castle to drive out the troops of Felipe IV. In the War of Secession of 1700, the Bourbons destroyed it, after which it was replaced by a castle used for imprisonment. In this moment, says Vázquez Montalbán, "Montjuïc became a sinister, fortified monster looming over the city through centuries of repression, its dungeons filled with military and political prisoners."<sup>13</sup> In 1842, General Espartero bombarded the city from the castle, destroying more than 400 buildings. In the following years, many anarchists were executed in its moats. In his study *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912*, Joan Connelly Ullman touches upon the tragedies of the final years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth in more detail. In 1897, by way of a series of judgments on Montjuïc, the Spanish government doled out punishment for attempts by the working class to organize themselves. In 1899, as a

result of one of these judgments, Juana Ardiaca, a member of the Damas Radicales, was jailed.<sup>14</sup> In 1909, the government would finally be able to eliminate some workers,<sup>15</sup> including Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia, a scapegoat for the *Semana Trágica*.

Later, the mountain was chosen for the great Exposition of 1929. This was the most significant change for the city of Barcelona since the Cerdá expansion plan of 1888. In preparation for the Exposition, spectacular architecture was erected on the mountain's face. As stated again by Vázquez Montalbán:

The 1928 [sic] Exhibition became a reference point for the city's economic and social evolution, attracting manual labor from all over Spain in the first of a series of migratory waves which would dilute the Catalans' celebrated singularity. Montjuïc was chosen as the exclusive site of the exhibition. While Forestier and Rubió i Tudurí had achieved the perfect synthesis of romantic and Mediterranean landscapes, the exhibition architecture turned the mountain into an eclectic window display which suited prevailing bourgeois tastes. The spread of architecture ranged from the monumental National Palace, which combined neo-classical *pompier* elements, to the avant-garde splendour of Mies van der Rohe's German pavilion, one of European rationalism's seminal works. This was destroyed immediately after the exhibition and rebuilt in post-Franquist Barcelona to recover one of the city's architectural landmarks.<sup>16</sup>

Later during the Civil War, the castle served as political prison once again. Following actions taken in the 1970s and early 1980s, in 1986 the last *chabolas* that hugged the skirt of the mountain were eradicated.<sup>17</sup> Can Valero, an immigrant town positioned between the cemetery and the Olympic stadium disappeared. El Morrot, which had once served as a prostitute city during the years of the dictatorship, also vanished,<sup>18</sup> setting the stage for the mountain's cleansed role in the Olympic Games of 1992.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of the conflict-laden history of the mountain, popular memory has not privileged all of the events there in an equal way but rather has been influenced by that geographic memory in which a narrative of spectacle has taken over. This is characteristic of the spatial nature of intercity competition. In order to sell itself for tourism, the history of a given place must be swept clean of conflict.<sup>20</sup> Otherness has a place, but only if it does not threaten or challenge the comfort of the tourists. Don Mitchell's mention of the example of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, elucidates this process. At the end of the nineteenth century, Johnstown was one of the most

important steel-producing cities in the country, but by the 1980s, after years of worker oppression, the industry pulled out of the zone and moved elsewhere in an epoch of late-capitalism that proposed a more flexible model for the accumulation of capital.<sup>21</sup>

Today, upon visiting Johnstown, the tourist will find no trace of the history of worker exploitation, no memory of the chaotic relations between labor and management that dominated and sculpted the landscape through the years. Instead, the history that takes form in the landscape is that of the Great Flood of 1889. This landscape projects the triumph of a city that supposedly was capable of rising above the tide of mediocrity and reconstructing itself from the very mouth of disaster.<sup>22</sup> Due perhaps to the prevalence of meritocratic myths of overcoming obstacles through personal force and perseverance, triumph sells and worker oppression is out. Donald McNeill's comments on the geographic process in Barcelona recall Mitchell's example of Johnstown:

while the rebuilding and designing of these two areas [worker's barrio Poble Nou and Montjuïc] would radically reshape the city, the process would strip away their historical resonance, their status as the repositories of memory which Vázquez Montalbán sees as being so important a part of urban life.<sup>23</sup>

Barcelona, as does Johnstown, certainly shows how the geographic narratives of spectacle replace narratives of historical social justice in a desire to attract tourists.

Our approach to understanding this landscape change may take two paths. The first, a search for origins or a root cause, seeks to establish that privileged moment where everything was changed. It is tempting to ask, "at what moment does tourism and its requisite geography of spectacle begin to influence Barcelona's built environment?" Oriol Pi-Sunyer answers this question returning to the policies and strategies of post-World War II Francoism,<sup>24</sup> while Monica Degen argues that the transition from dictatorship to democracy is an important milestone<sup>25</sup> and goes on to contrast plans developed immediately after the transition with more recent developments: "Affected by these [more recent] developments are some of Barcelona's most vulnerable neighborhoods, which, in contrast to developments in the 1980s, have had no say in the planning process."<sup>26</sup> Yet the poignant examples mentioned by the author, such as the gentrification of working-class areas<sup>27</sup> and particularly the change of the neighborhoods of La Ribera and Raval to hip shopping districts<sup>28</sup> resonate powerfully with

the earlier planned cleansings of landscape both before and immediately after Franco's control, especially those which occurred in Montjuïc both after the Exposition of 1929 and during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>29</sup> Given these examples, the answer to the question of when tourism begins to shape Barcelona's landscape is pushed further and further back in time, revealing the inadequacy of such an approach itself. This search for an original moment of shift relegates the responsibility for landscape change to a now immutable past, ignoring that the past survives, endures, in the present. We thus place ourselves somehow outside the process, we downplay the notion of landscape as activity and in so doing close our eyes to the way our approach to this activity shapes its outcome. In place of such a periodizing and thus limited "when" question, I suggest the more difficult one: How (through what mechanism) is it that the relationship between tourism and the built environment produces a loss of memory? It is here that *Señas de identidad* ties together the relationship between tourism and Barcelona's landscape with a formal commentary on the methodological and photographic mechanism involved in visual apprehension itself.

### Tourism, Narrative Juxtaposition, and the Photographic Mechanism of Thought

As I will document, *Señas de identidad* quite clearly captures the pre-capitalist Spain that was opening its doors to tourism. Yet more important than the novel's mere inclusion of this theme as content is its curious and continuous narrative juxtaposition. Through the formal aspect of the work Goytisolo produces the very mechanism of thought active in shaping the landscape of Montjuïc and that of the larger Barcelona area. In its contrast between one narrative frame and another, the text questions the act of framing itself and calls attention to the univocality characteristic of a perception that is both unable to assimilate fragmented, overlapping and discontinuous input and unlikely to question its own intentions, at once intrinsic and invisible. I will argue that conceptions both of the act of tourism and at work in the act of tourism itself rely on quite problematic oppositions of self and other, subject and object, center and periphery, native and foreign. By oozing out of the frame, past the margins, the work foregrounds the laws and limits at work in the production of space.

With the defeat of the Axis powers, Spain was soon added to the list of countries eager to declare themselves enemies of the post-war communists. During the '50s, the friendship between Spain and the United States on account of the Cold War motivated Eisenhower to hug Franco and saw

to the U.S. purchase of two military bases on the Peninsula in 1953. This opening of the Spanish border paralleled a development of another caliber. Foreign tourists were arriving to experience the Spanish countryside. The narrator of the novel comments on "los millones de turistas" [the millions of tourists],<sup>30</sup> "la incontenible ola turística" [the unstoppable wave of tourists], that the tourists are a "rica transfusión de dólares" [rich transfusion of dollars], that the Spaniard was learning to "explotar comercialmente sus virtudes y sus defectos [. . .] mercantilizarse, prostituirse" [to commercially exploit their virtues and defects [. . .] to become commodities, to prostitute themselves].<sup>31</sup> Goytisolo's characters have begun to see the world in economic terms, and as an institutionalized patriarchy grins, even the Danish women that appear in Chapter I "son un auténtico bien de consumo." [are a true commodity.]<sup>32</sup> Just as these women are turned into objects of consumption, the countryside, too, is consumed by tourists and ideas of possessive ownership are problematized by a new emphasis on the dichotomies of belonging. The characters interrogate Catalonia's liminality, now between here and there, between self and other. Of the ocean one comments: "Nosotros ni sabemos siquiera qué color tiene. Para verlo hay que vivir como los turistas." [We don't even know its color. To see it one has to live like the tourists do.]<sup>33</sup> The geography of the country is shown to pertain not to those who live in it, but to "la incontenible ola de voveurs." [the unstoppable wave of voveurs.] And indeed some people want it so: words spoken in praise of a businessman note that "[él] ha sabido crear una industria en el pueblo, ha revalorizado la tierra, ha atraído el turismo." [he has been able to start an industry in the village, he has increased the value of the land and has attracted tourism.]<sup>34</sup> Another character notes: "El turismo es nuestra mejor propaganda, créame." [Tourism is our best publicity, believe me.]<sup>35</sup>

The power that results from the inclusion of these references is doubled. They are at once symbols of a Spain that in 1966 [1963 in the novel's storyline] was changing and already preparing itself for entry into the capitalist economy during the dictatorship. And yet, the focus on tourism also serves as distraction from the class conflict embedded in historical memory if not in the landscape itself. The juxtaposition between the loss of memory and the new preoccupation with foreigners is made more explicit in Chapter III, as can be seen in the following long quotation that serves to orient the reader to the effects of the "ola turística":

A cubierto de la ruidosa ola turística que, como maná del cielo caía sobre el dormido y perezoso país en este abrasado verano de 1963 (la

radio había anunciado, exultante, la entrada de cien mil vehículos por la frontera del Perthus durante el último fin de semana: franceses, suizos, belgas, holandeses, alemanes, ingleses, escandinavos que venían a ver corridas de toros; beber manzanilla; tenderse al sol como saurios; comer pizza y hot-dogs en flamantes cafeterías bautizadas con nombres carpetovetónicos y castizos tales como Westminster, Orly, Saint-Trop, Whisky Club, l'Imprévu, Old England y otros; iniciar por fin al pueblo español en el ejercicio indispensable de los valores industriales y crematísticos, convirtiéndolo de golpe, por obra del radicalismo proverbial vuestro, en un fértil y lozano semillero de trepadores y chorizos) pensabas (desleída ya tu borrachera) en Ayuso y tu padre, en los muertos inútiles del 36 y del 39, en la amarga generación de los tuyos, condenada a envejecer sin juventud ni responsabilidades.

[Shielded from the noisy touristic wave that was falling from the sky like mana over the sleepy and lazy country in this sheltering summer of 1963 (the radio had announced exultingly the arrival of one hundred thousand vehicles across the Perthus border during the last weekend: French, Swiss, Belgians, Dutch, Germans, English, Scandinavians that were coming to see bullfights; to drink sherry wines; to lie under the sun like lizards; to eat pizza and hot dogs in flashing new cafes with such typical Spanish names as Westminster, Orly, Saint-Trop, Whisky Club, L'Imprévu, Old England, and others, to initiate finally the Spanish people in the indispensable exercise of industrial and financial values, thus turning it suddenly, thanks to your proverbial radicalism, into a lush and fertile field full of opportunists and swindlers) you were thinking (once gone the effects of your hangover) in Ayuso and your father, in all the useless dead people from 1936 and 1939, in the bitter generation of your parents, doomed to grow old without a youth and without responsibilities.]<sup>36</sup>

The country lies dormant, as the narrator describes it, because the critical memory of the events of the Civil War has no place in the world of tourism. The physical geography of Spain, as well as its cultural geography, has changed with the entry of a capitalistic-coded newness. A new generation of youth will know the era of growing consumption more than the suffering that has enveloped their country. The passage relies on a historical simplification of an arguably "Spanish" character, exhuming the entrenched nationalistic bifurcation of Spanish/foreign and begging the question of Spanish nationhood in the process as class conflict takes on a ghostly form.<sup>37</sup>

Significantly, as the number of references to tourists increases markedly in the last chapter, the growing predominance of photography as content accompanies a more drastic formal use of photographic mechanism as narrative cut. The narrative voice draws our attention to "una golondrina atestada de turistas" [a harbor-cruising boatful of tourists]<sup>38</sup> and "el rebaño de turistas." [the flock of tourists.]<sup>39</sup> The tourists are portrayed largely in terms of their ability to photograph and document and become mere extensions of their cameras. Photographic eyes fulfill the role of capturing and preserving an image, not of a country whose wounds testify to a power struggle, but rather of a society and a geography indifferent to the memory of its intrinsic tragedies. The narrator notes "un cargamento de turistas asiduos de Weiner Schnitzel y Halles Bier, vestidos, sin distinción de sexos y edades, con calzones de ante o terciopelo y que, provistos de una o varias cámaras fotográficas" [a busload of tourists addicted to Weiner Schnitzel and Halles Bier, dressed regardless to their different sex or age in suede or velvet short pants, and that, equipped with one of several photographic cameras]<sup>40</sup> and the ubiquitous presence of "los grupos de turistas que con sombreros gafas oscuras máquinas de retratar se aventuraban por la desolación luminosa de los ladrillos." [the groups of tourists with hats dark lenses and cameras were advancing into the luminous desolation of the urban bricks.]<sup>41</sup> Their goal is to capture "para el álbum familiar de recuerdos la imagen torpe del niño rodeado de palomas o de la esposa gorda perfilada frente a los relieves de la Loggetta al tiempo que en las variopintas mesas de Quadri o Florian otros turistas." [for the family album of souvenirs the poor image of the kid surrounded by doves or of the fat wife framed in front of the Loggetta or in the diverse tables of other tourists like Quadri or Florian.]<sup>42</sup> The text reads: "Los turistas discurrían en grupos compactos hacia el museo del Ejército fotografiaban la estatua ecuestre se aglomeraban a la entrada de las tiendas de souvenirs hacían girar los torniquetes de tarjetas postales." [The tourists walked in compact groups toward the Army museum they took pictures of the equestrian statue they flocked to the souvenir shops they kept turning around the tournstiles heavy with postcards.]<sup>43</sup> These cameras with legs act "como si el verdadero objeto de viaje de unos y otros fuesen las tarjetas postales y los álbumes de familia." [as if the true goal of their trip were the postcards and the family albums.]<sup>44</sup> The narrative form shifts from labyrinthine prose to take the shape of lists, of fragments sutured together, of a rapid succession of photo images.

The myriad references to photographs, family albums, and cameras in Goytisolo's novel accompany a deeper exploration of perceptive practices

through the use of a constant narrative juxtaposition which is important on two levels of reading. In the content, the epoch of increasing tourism is nostalgically contrasted with that which came before. In form, however, the novel highlights that manner in which a bourgeois method of narration entails hiding a critical examination of a society in the same way that a product always hides the processes of its production. Perceived objects, like the landscape that appears in photographs, seem to have a univocal existence, without a past, without visible strands that connect them to webs of capital, of labor, of human work. The tension between the tendency to see the world from a univocal perspective, a perspective that reifies processes of power to their expression in the physical world of objects, landscapes, buildings, and that of a multivocal perspective is found in the novel in the juxtaposition of various narrations. To juxtapose is to present the hidden history together with the affirmed history. It is to emphasize the doubling and the selective reduction of the hermeneutic act. The novel oscillates between bourgeois narration and critical narration. Juxtaposition appears in all scales of the work, from the multitudinous instances of parenthesis at the sentence level to the manner in which episodes are structured and their manifestation in the enunciation. Parentheses are a way of underlining the multiplicity of voices that distract from a unilateral understanding of the work and that concomitantly reflect the advanced development of late-capitalism. Chapter II juxtaposes professor Ayuso's burial with other memories of Alvaro, in a bourgeois leveling of critical memory through the structuring device of the family album. Various sections of Chapter III juxtapose a bull's death with war, opposing wartime suffering with one of the most commodified events for tourists visiting Spain. Chapter IV juxtaposes the police gaze with Alvaro's memories. Chapter VI juxtaposes a narration that takes place inside another narration marked by italics. By the end of the novel, the high prevalence of juxtaposition almost makes the narrative thread of the work disappear as labyrinthine prose becomes a series of lists, fragments sutured together, a rapid succession of photo images.

Here we find the key relation between the content of the novel and the form in which it is written—the non-linear narratives and juxtaposed voices in the Chapter II description of Professor Ayuso's burial, the Chapter IV police transcripts, and the Chapter VI parenthetical narration-inside-narration all show an interpretive battle taking place. This battle has to do with whose history is supposedly embedded in the landscape and represented in photographs. Yet as the novel draws to a close, the narrative of photo succession poses fundamental questions of the static representa-

tion of movement/process and consequently of the way the construction of landscape is traditionally guided by a static, reductive and cleansed image of its object. Instructive in this respect is Henri Bergson's assertion that the static photograph is no mere document/proof of being, but rather is instructive of perception and intellection itself, the tendency thought has to grasp process reductively only through static representation.

We take snapshots, as it were, of the passing reality, and, as these are characteristic of the reality, we have only to string them on a becoming, abstract, uniform and invisible, situated at the back of the apparatus of knowledge, in order to imitate what there is that is characteristic in this becoming itself. Perception, intellection, language so proceed in general. Whether we would think becoming, or express it, or even perceive it, we hardly do anything else than set going a kind of cinematograph inside us. We may therefore sum up what we have been saying in the conclusion that the *mechanism of our ordinary knowledge is of a cinematographical kind*.<sup>45</sup>

In this example, as well as in the whole of his work, Bergson points out how movement is poorly represented through static forms. The recognition that perception and intellection proceed by taking "snapshots" of reality can explain how the relationship of tourism to the built environment results in a peculiar ontology of the image, one which not only in fact but more importantly in principle entails a loss of memory. In order to explore this conceptualization and production of a certain form of image, which (borrowing from Bergson) I will refer to as the photographic mechanism of thought, it will be necessary to delve into the way the photograph is indicative of larger practices of perception at work in the tourist's gaze.

### The Pernicious Practices of Perception

Susan Sontag writes that "As photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal, they also help people to take possession of a space in which they are insecure. Thus photography develops in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism."<sup>46</sup> Carol Crawshaw and John Urry similarly remind us that "a widespread social imperative for fixed rather than fleeting images" involving shifts in landscape appreciation predated the nineteenth-century development of the photographic apparatus.<sup>47</sup> Not only are tourism and photography inseparable in Goytisolo's novel, but moreover, neither is the methodological similarity between both photography and tourism lost on the reader. Both

practices are based on the fundamental dichotomies of subject/object, self/other, native/foreign, here/there and on the premise that one cannot occupy the two subject positions simultaneously. Both require a rigid approach to process, creating a division in space as well as a fix in time, as if real movement could be represented through static forms. W. J. T. Mitchell describes that which is frozen by the camera in this way:

[Landscape] is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents itself as) independent of human intentions. Landscape thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology. [. . .] It naturalizes a cultural and social construction representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpellating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation to its givenness as sight and site.<sup>48</sup>

A photograph, then, is a doubly compacted way of representing a socially constructed world and reifying it, presenting it as if natural. At the level of landscape, as W. J. T. Mitchell explains, and due to binary oppositions, in this case, nature/culture, reality is represented as out of human control. At the level of the photograph, or rather through the frame of the photograph, an image renders invisible the person who captured it as well as the work involved. Only when someone's thumb breaks the frame of the photograph must we see the photograph for what it is, a construction, a gaze, a fragment of a totality taken from a given perspective and by a person with a given set of intentions, be they conscious or subconscious. Barring the presence of this curious ghostly digit, the frame of the photograph recedes almost to disappear, taking away the visual pretext for self-evaluation, a situation common to both photography and perception. Thus, the image, photographic or perceptual appears to be a faithful rendering of the landscape, a trustworthy representation of an objectified nature.

The idea that the visual is worthy of trust figures prominently in Goytisolo's novel. Germán Gullón comments on the presence of photography in *Señas de identidad*:

Goytisolo exhibe una actitud positiva hacia lo visual, acepta su realidad, por eso utiliza un álbum para ordenar el progreso de los recuerdos de su

protagonista. Goytisolo representa un escritor para quien lo visual, una foto en el periódico, por ejemplo, capta una verdad.

[Goytisolo demonstrates positive attitude toward the visual, accepts its reality, and that's why he uses an album in order to set in order the progress of his protagonist's reminiscences. Goytisolo represents a writer for whom the visual, a photograph in a newspaper, for example, captures truth.]<sup>49</sup>

The predominance of the visual in the novel, the family album for example, certainly occasions a discussion of the ability of a photograph to capture a truth. But Gullón's conclusion is premature. The discourse of the book, with its emphasis on the gaze, on tourists, on the changing state of the economic situation of a Spain that has opened its doors to tourism, indicates that Goytisolo's attitude toward the visual is one of "*escisión total*."<sup>50</sup> Alvaro is incapable of realizing the political state of his country. He is a youngster without political beliefs who has never reflected critically on the dictatorship, in spite of the fact that Antonio and his other friends have done so. The visual, for him, offers no opportunity for critical evaluation, but is rather a simple bourgeois memory that functions as escape. He contents himself with appearances, with the bourgeois goal of documenting and with reliving the visual images in a recursive meditation that affirms his present state. His gaze is more that of the tourist. Of Paris in 1954 the narrator says to Alvaro: "*lamentaste no haber captado la escena con el objetivo de la Kodak*." [you complained of not having captured the image with your Kodak lens.]<sup>51</sup> The family album that unfolds before the eyes of the reader is one in which the reader will have to make an effort to see the underlying history. That is, documented bourgeois history is of the same type as that history told by the forces of landscape production. Goytisolo suggests that in order to understand the narrative of class conflict, in a capitalistic atmosphere as much as in a dictatorial context, one has to distrust appearances, not content oneself with a single reading, whether visual or narrative. Juxtaposition, then, is important on two levels of reading. The content of the novel may be taken to privilege a periodizing contrast between a pre- and a post-touristic Spain. In form, however, the novel highlights that manner in which a bourgeois method of narration entails hiding a critical examination of a society in the same way that a product created by capitalism always hides the processes of its production. The juxtaposition is not between two bounded and distinct landscapes, eras or processes, but rather within one variegated process itself.



As Denis Cosgrove writes, gaze is a particularly bourgeois way of seeing. A realistic view of the landscape

is composed, regulated and offered as a static image for individual appreciation, or better, appropriation. For in an important, if not always literal, sense, the spectator owns the view because all of its components are structured towards his eyes only. The claim of realism is in fact, ideological. [. . .] Subjectivity is rendered the property of the artist and the viewer—those who control the landscape—not those who belong to it.<sup>52</sup>

According to Cosgrove, to gaze at a landscape is to participate in an action that rationalizes the viewer's control over space. This control, together with gaze, originates from the status that the one who gazes enjoys as a member of a privileged class. The tourist can take control of the landscape by viewing it and taking a photograph of it in person. The landscape of the city now performs the role that the work of art on the wall did in the past. At the end of *Señas*, it is this bourgeois, capitalistic vision of the tourist that maintains ownership of the Spanish landscape. In Chapter XIII, Alvaro gazes at the city from Montjuïc: "Cambiando la orientación de los telescopios podías distinguir por turno el llano verde del Prat [. . .] nuevos tanques de petróleo [. . .] el terraplén interior del castillo [. . .] las montañas borrosas [. . .] los barrios residenciales." [Changing the direction of the telescopes you could make out one after the other the green plains of El Prat [. . .] new oil tanks [. . .] the inner embankment of the castle [. . .] the blurred mountains [. . .] the residential neighborhoods.]<sup>53</sup> The use of the second-person *tú* form<sup>54</sup> upon narrating simulates that the reader can also appropriate the landscape for him or herself and underscores the constructed nature of the bourgeois ownership of landscape. The view through the telescopes is juxtaposed with the paragraphs of a "folleto en cuatro idiomas profusamente distribuido a la llegada de los autocares de turistas." [brochure in four languages profusely distributed upon the arrival of tourist buses.]<sup>55</sup> These appear in the text in italics, adding to the fact that the reader performs the role of tourist through being capable of reading the same text as the protagonist in the very moment in which he does so. The reader, through the narrator's use of the *tú* form is also a tourist able to appropriate the landscape as his or her own. In the act of gazing at the city of Barcelona, the reader begins to drown in the tourist world, as does the protagonist. This world appears to disfigure and dehumanize the narrative of Goytisolo's text in

the same way that the urban changes that revolve around tourism disfigure class history in the landscape. "La geometría caótica de la ciudad" [the city's chaotic geometry]<sup>56</sup> has its counterpoint in the chaotic narrative of the tourist consciousness. To the narration the narrator introduces words in other languages, both through the device of the instructions that the protagonist and reader see that describe how to use the telescopes<sup>57</sup> and through the inclusion of thoughts that are apparently taken from out of thin air.<sup>58</sup> This last chapter of the novel reflects that the present epoch of consumption makes it difficult to understand a class history that has been hidden under a new geography. The result is that it is more difficult to penetrate the bourgeois and tourist "truth" unless one is capable of deciphering the confusing images that one sees. The tourist's geographic consciousness has penetrated and sculpted the form of the work and of the narration. The confusing syntax of the novel that culminates in the final chapter foregrounds the active role of the simultaneous reader/viewer and suggests the question "Whose history is represented in the landscape?" The workers who had participated in constructing the landscape no longer own its representation. This is an option only for a privileged bourgeois class, such as that to which Alvaro belongs. Just as, at the end of *Nada*, Andrea is incapable of understanding her own decision to leave Barcelona for Madrid, Alvaro is, too, incapable of understanding his own reaction of disgust while viewing, and thus appropriating, the Barcelonan landscape through the gaze of the tourist.

Whereas other interpretations of the last image of the novel have focused on the changing nature of the landscape if not explicitly then at least implicitly, what is lacking from most of these is an explicit recognition of process—as a movement overflowing region and going beyond identified subject positions. The processes transforming the Spanish landscape are not endemic to Spain and do not stop at the Spanish border, and as such require the questioning of such historically problematic concepts as a "Spanish" identity or culture. To talk about "the destruction of Alvaro's culture"<sup>59</sup> or of Spain's "trágica pérdida de identidad" [tragic loss of identity]<sup>60</sup> is not enough. Michael Ugarte notes that "as Alvaro gazes over the city of Barcelona with the aid of the telescope reserved for tourists, he realizes that there is no reason to continue the search, for there is nothing in his culture worth holding on to."<sup>61</sup> We must recognize that his culture is neither bounded, internally homogeneous, nor continuous through time. Herzberger notes that "What he sees, of course, is a physical landscape transformed dramatically by the demands of industrial society for growth and development."<sup>62</sup> We must recognize that this pertains to a globalized

industrial society and not merely the moniker of a "Spanish" industrial society. Spires writes of the image of Spain resulting from the final scene that "se ha convertido en un país cuya verdadera identidad consiste en no tener identidad propia; su lengua es suplantada por lenguas extranjeras y su historia por el nuevo mundo commercial-industrial." [it has become a country whose true identity consists of not having its own identity, its language is supplanted by foreign languages and its history by the new commercial-industrial world.]<sup>63</sup> Yet the emphasis he puts on Spain's lacking an identity—"la de una nación" as he begins the article,—again assumes a bounded, internally homogeneous fixed nation with a history continuous through time. It may be argued that the dictatorship propagated just such an image of a closed Spain. Yet, though it might attempt as much, even a dictatorship cannot make national, cultural, and societal borders natural. Again, it must be remembered that Spain was changing even under the dictatorship to the extent that it adopted capitalist postures toward tourism and in response to the Cold War. Goytisolo himself declares that the action of the novel "se escalona hasta el momento en que él [Alvaro] regresa a España y se da cuenta de que España ha evolucionado de una forma que no había previsto, y ello provoca en él una crisis que le lleva a realizar un examen de conciencia, verdadero tema de la novela." [it spreads out until the moment that he [Alvaro] returns to Spain and realizes that the country has evolved in a way he had not foreseen, and that gets him into a crisis that leads him to undergo an examination of conscience, which is the true theme of the novel.]<sup>64</sup> This crisis, whose existence if not whose definition is agreed upon by the above critics, is only a "Spanish" one in that various forces of a globalized late-capitalism have coalesced in the Spanish landscape, but is not "Spanish" in the sense in which Ángel Ganivet and later Ortega y Gasset and others have tried to offer diagnoses of the Spanish nation.<sup>65</sup> This crisis is not only that existential crisis of an angst-ridden politically apathetic youth, but as the novel reveals, one based in the alienating effects of a late-capitalist globalization that erases both historical memory and geographical memory of the remnants of class conflict. Thusly, there are two ways to make sense of the crisis, either by denouncing all things Spanish, as Alvaro is likely to do, or by interrogating the problematic concepts of foreign and native which form the ground for the tourist's visual apprehension of landscape.

### Thinking Tourism through Spatial Categories

As Chris Rojek and John Urry note, "tourism is a term waiting to be deconstructed."<sup>66</sup> I argue that one of the biggest pitfalls in understanding tourism has been to rely on a concept intended to bridge the gap between the perceived dichotomies of here/there and native/foreign: liminality. Dennison Nash uses terms borrowed from anthropologist Victor Turner<sup>67</sup> in order to signal that to be a tourist, to travel, is a "liminal" experience.<sup>68</sup> The traveler is neither here nor there. He or she exists in a state that Turner famously describes using the words "betwixt and between." Certainly in quotidian speech this may be regarded as true. The tourist is something outside of the order. Supposedly he or she pertains to the land of his or her birth or citizenship and not the land which he or she visits. Travel, understood as a practice of liminality, is seen as a way of appropriating otherness while temporarily suspending notions of self. But this is possible only from a given perspective which essentializes landscape and spatializes difference, begging the very ontological question of what, exactly, constitutes the perceived categories of self and other, their convergence or divergence, and ultimately creating the methodological problem of attempting to understand a process through purportedly static and internally homogeneous categories. The tourist body becomes reified, abstracted out of the unfolding whole of capitalist intercity competition. Considered from a perspective that acknowledges the active and negotiated production of categories such as nation, native/foreign, here/there, self/other, the concept of liminality is an attempt to restore mobility to agents who have been primarily envisioned through the static snapshots of the intellect, understood in the Bergsonian sense. The liminal is made necessary in a second pass only on account of an entrenched rigid identification process concretized in the first pass, and unfortunately has the effect of validating the original categories imposed by an initial limited perception.

John Urry argues that globalization "involves replacing the metaphor of society as *region* with the metaphor of the global conceived of as *network* and as *fluid*."<sup>69</sup> Becoming more fluid in the approach to tourism allows for a more accurate assessment of the way in which landscape is sculpted in order to favor specific static conceptions of self and other held by both tourists and planning boards.<sup>70</sup> Each improvement that a city experiences, that a mountain undergoes, is held accountable to an assessment of its possible impact on tourism. Will the improvement facilitate enjoyment of the city? Will it make tourist flow through the city more difficult? Will this improvement affect consumption? Landscape is thus

necessarily constructed in the image of the human being, and not just any human being, but rather the perceived tourist—the tourist archetype of a determined social class, with a determinable distaste for class conflict and a low-but-quantifiable desire for the exotic.

Although the armchair anthropologists of the nineteenth century gave way to the field driven research of the twentieth century, the present-day tourist no longer seeks the exotic, out-of-the-way location so much as an intellectual place-based exoticism paired with a higher degree of familiar comfort. Recognizing this trend, George Ritzer and Allan Liska argue that tourist sites have been increasingly 'McDisneyized': "people increasingly travel to other locales in order to experience much of what they experience in their day-to-day-lives."<sup>71</sup> The produced "new" landscape is less and less foreign, less unknown and unfamiliar, and, in fact, more recognizable. Malls and international restaurant chains are omnipresent, the siren song of the consuming middle class. In order to attract tourists, landscape should be familiar, and yet at the same time just unique enough to require a trip. The tourist motto of the '60s underscores this promotion of uniqueness: "*España es diferente*." The liminal notion that a tourist might be "betwixt and between," somehow outside of the material and ideological networks of this age of globalization, is a problematic one at best. It proceeds by carving out bounded and internally homogeneous regions separated from each other in space, and then mapping this spatialized difference onto human subjects. To the extent that these subjects identify with such patterns of difference, the tourist gaze is indeed performed as appropriation and consumption. Through the gaze, the other is consumed, an act which rationalizes the perspective of the one who gazes, giving a sense of control over landscape and grounding hierarchies of self and other in a concrete perceived reality.<sup>72</sup> The mechanism through which subject/object, self/other, native/foreign, and here/there become differentiated is one common to photography and tourism because it is, as Bergson argued, a fundamental but not determined aspect of the process of thought itself.

The change from fixed-image photographic technology to more mobile technologies, however, does not dispense with the method of thinking through static and bounded categories. To give the example, the manner in which tourists experience Barcelona's landscape is changing. As Claudia Bell and John Lyall write in their book *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism and Identity*, tourists now need to move in order to interact with it.

The participants, descendants of grand tourists viewing the "sublime" landscape, no longer meander but accelerate through an increasingly compressed and hyperinscribed space. The passive viewing of nature has evolved to kinetic experiences within this accelerated nature. Contemporary technologies (personal video cameras in particular) inspire and promote these new forms of visitor consumption of the reified kinasthetically enhanced landscape. Only a moving image device can adequately encode the white-water-bungy-paragliding experience.<sup>73</sup>

The mountain after the 1929 Exposition reflected a more static model of landscape consumption. The tourist could take a stroll through Poble Espanyol and could appreciate the pastiche of varied architectural styles.<sup>74</sup> He or she could take fixed photographs of the Palacio Nacional, constructed for the 1929 Exposition. All of the photographs that one might take would, of course, look splendid in a family album such as Alvaro's. But with recent developments, the manner of looking at/from the mountain and seeing through her, the city, is accelerating. Now one can enjoy the moving *teleférico* that links Montjuïc and the beach, a development that produces new ways of capturing the cleansed geography of the city photographically. Marshall McLuhan, in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), uses the idea of a break boundary to describe the moment in which a system passes a point of no return.<sup>75</sup> He advances that the progress from stasis to motion can be seen as one such break point, as can that from "the mechanical to the organic in the pictorial world." He writes: "One effect of the static photo had been to suppress the conspicuous consumption of the rich, but the effect of the speed-up of the photo had been to provide fantasy riches for the poor of the entire globe."<sup>76</sup> This idea of riches for the world's poor is nothing more than a falsity conceptualized as a justification for the escalating disparity between capitalists and labor that accompanies globalization. Yet, even so, the moving image of a vacation, as are the moving images of uncritical television, film or video games, is an oft-times affordable illusion for a technologically excitable populous. In possessing it, there is a feeling of power, perhaps of the voyeurism of control. Yet nothing about the shift to moving images can put an end to the static way in which landscape is perceptually appropriated by the traveler.

### Conclusion: To Remember, to Perceive, to Reshape

Milan Kundera suggests that the key struggle of the twentieth century was one in which forgetting triumphed over remembering.<sup>77</sup> The photograph

has, in many ways, supplanted memory.<sup>78</sup> With an invention such as the camera/now video camera whose products purport to be ontological proof of the existence and nature of its subjects the tendency to reify memory as external is heightened. This may, of course, be a theme of *Señas de identidad*. Literary production of the postwar in Spain has in general emphasized a loss of memory. The social novels of the '50s sought to keep the unofficial history of a country fraught with dictatorship in mind. Goytisolo's novel equally sketches the manner in which this conception of history is vanishing due to a privileged bourgeois way of seeing. But also, the struggle over particular memories has obscured the process through which power exteriorizes some and marginalizes others. Memory, like perception, does not exist outside of its ideological bases, its assumptions regarding what is consequential versus inconsequential. The privileging of the visual through photography does not necessarily warrant an amnesic orientation toward history. The photograph is, as Susan Sontag notes, an interpretation.<sup>79</sup> Although photographic technology encourages us to think that the visual is an object "out there," something either to trust or distrust, it is in this way that we reify patterns of thought in a realm supposed external to ourselves. Memory is not an isolated part of the past but is relevant to the present. As Bergson argued, we actualize latencies of the past through our present action, and our perception is a virtual action itself.<sup>80</sup> The opportunity is to see how parts of the past are realized only at the expense of others. The only way to do this is to follow the frame of the snapshot, the lines articulated by our perception, the approaches articulated in theory, for through the act of perception itself we exclude, reducing alterity to univocality, either actualizing connections or severing them from relevant application to an ever-changing present.

Perception, therefore, consists in detaching, from the totality of objects, the possible action of my body upon them. Perception appears, then, as only a choice. It creates nothing; its office, on the contrary, is to eliminate from the totality of images all those on which I can have no hold, and then, from each of those which I retain, all that does not concern the needs of the image which I call my body.<sup>81</sup>

Interpretation comes not after perception, in a second pass, but rather is simultaneous to the act of sight. If we accept Bergson's view, forgetting is itself a misleading concept, for it is the name given to the byproduct of another activity. It is not that the capitalist production of space, or for that matter the tourist's consumption of it, "forgets" class conflict, but that it

is *in principle* anathema to its activity. This realization requires that we replace the discussions of memory with acknowledgments of power, and furthermore become conscious of the way in which our battles over the past are battles over the present and subsequently the future.

Vázquez Montalbán writes that the relation between the directing classes and history is changing. It is

doubtful that "history is written by the ruling classes." That was before. Before what, I don't know. But before. During this century, history has matured into a social science which has scrutinized every aspect of the past. Spain itself is proof. The most responsible, rational history of Francoism has been written from the perspective of the defeated. Not that it was even necessary to document the past. It was enough to remember. One of the most important tasks of Francoist political culture was therefore to extirpate the memory of the enemy.<sup>82</sup>

The sociopolitical project after the dictatorship seems to have been to relive the memory of the past. Many writings now denounce Francoist lies. But it is not enough to say, as Vázquez Montalbán has done, that history is no longer written by the directing classes. It may not be written by the directors of Francoism, but the global economic changes that Spain has experienced throughout the past century and before during and after Franco have enabled a new capitalist class to write history. This history does not appear within books, where a person can find a vitriolic attack on the systemic capitalist inequalities, but rather is written onto the landscape itself. Landscape is a text. It is both a work and does work. Those who have more influence in constructing it are the tourists who write a history of the world with every camera click, with every postcard that shows the new Montjuïc and preserves the image of an apparently homogeneous society in peace. This history and its requisite lack of conflict is captured in snapshots, recorded by video cameras, presented by tourist websites, spoken in the streets and seen upon leafing through family albums such as that of the Mendiolas in *Señas de identidad*. It is this history that rules, that attracts believers who can confirm what they learn by merely taking a vacation, or a picture.

One of the main tasks of capitalist geography is to extirpate the geographic memory of the other, something shown in both the Barcelonan landscape and in Goytisolo's novel. It is no longer enough to remember, we must construct and reshape. Moreover, we must proceed very carefully when we undertake to do so, for in the very assessment of landscape

there is already a design by nature exclusionary. The visual is no mere depository for what has been decided, but includes the very inequalities that thought would seek to actualize.

Perception, as Bergson writes, is a choice. The alternative is to gaze at Barcelona from Montjuïc as if at the static image of a postcard, transfixed by the way landscape and our perception of it have worked (and undoubtedly *continues to work*) to produce a seemingly peaceful view . . . a view that exists independently of our own practices . . . one that is so easily captured in a now immutable frame.

They say it is the best view of the city.

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## Notes

1. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications Inc., 1998), 163.
2. See David Harvey's *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2000) on the "spatial fix" of capitalism, Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) on the capitalist production of space and the recent recognition of "mobilities" evident in the work of John Urry and others.
3. Mike Crang, "Picturing Practices: Research through the Tourist Gaze," *Progress in Human Geography* 21.3 (1997): 364.
4. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990).
5. Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 93–94. The following key sentences from Mitchell summarize the role that landscape plays in late capitalism:

In many respects [landscape] is much like a commodity: it actively hides (or fetishizes) the labor that goes into its making. [. . .] The things that landscape tries to hide, in its insistent fetishization, are the *relationships* that go into its

- making. These relationships are economic and political to be sure, but they are also clearly products of struggle over issues of race, ethnicity, and gender. The relationships they present to the world through their representations are simply not to be trusted, at least not in their surface appearances (Don Mitchell, 103–104).
6. Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), 94.
  7. Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," *University of California Publications in Geography* 2 (1925): 19–54, cited in Mitchell, 102.
  8. Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: From Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), cited in Don Mitchell, 102.
  9. The references are to Disney, Knott's Berry Farm, Busch Gardens, and Six Flags respectively.
  10. [www.donquijote.org/barcelona/itinerary6.asp](http://www.donquijote.org/barcelona/itinerary6.asp) (accessed August 9, 2007).
  11. Pedro Voltes Bou, *Historia de Montjuich y su castillo* (Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1960), 11.
  12. Voltes Bou, 16.
  13. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelonas*, trans. Andy Robinson (London: Verso, 1990), 16. All quotations from *Barcelonas* come from this English translation.
  14. Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875–1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 233.
  15. As Ullman writes:

The Montjuich trials established the image of "la Espagne inquisitorial" in the twentieth century—a Spain where freedom of conscience and of association was curtailed by the clergy and the Army. Ignoring the obvious parallels with the repression of terrorism elsewhere (as for example, the French terrorist trials of 1894), European liberals and labor leaders organized a protest against the Montjuich trials, on the ground that men were being prosecuted for their ideas. The campaign was so forceful that the Spanish government dared to execute only 8 of the 28 men sentenced to die by military tribunals. In 1909, using the same image of "la Espagne inquisitorial," European liberal opinion would again act as a force in Spanish politics (Ullman, 20).

One of those who protested was Lerroix, the founder of the Radical party who incited other anti-clericals to burn churches and kill monks in the first decade of the twentieth century. Consult Gerald Brennan's *The Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) for further information. Vázquez Montalbán mentions that "Montjuïc became a fortress and a place of execution for exemplary scapegoats like Companys, who was captured by the Germans in Belgium and handed over to Franco" (*Barcelonas*, 143).

16. Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelonas*, 19.
17. As McNeill writes:

For those without housing in the old town, particularly the wave of immigrants that arrived from Murcia before the Civil War, Montjuïc also housed countless squatters, clustered around the mountain before such *barraquisme* was gradually eradicated through the 1970s and 1980s. But most poignantly, the trees and slopes and scattered buildings also hide some of the city's most tragic secrets. The Olympic stadium itself had been built for the 1936 Republican Games, an alternative to Hitler's official Berlin Olympics. But these were abandoned almost as soon as they had begun, with the news that Franco's troops had invaded from Morocco and the Civil War was under way. And after the war, the castle which stands at the pinnacle of the mount, overlooking the waterfront, would be the last viewpoint from which many of those opposed to the regime—the anarchists, communists and nationalists—would see their city before being shot, their bodies dumped into the adjacent quarry. (Donald McNeill, *Urban Change and the European Left: Tales from the New Barcelona* [London: Routledge, 1999], 49).

18. Vázquez Montalbán notes this in a discussion of the mountain in the final years of the nineteenth century. "El Morrot at the foot of Montjuïc became the nucleus of the most sordid prostitution practiced by the old *pajilleras* who were invariably immigrants" (Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelonas*, 96). In this respect, the description of the *barraquisme* of the twentieth century that Josep Maria Huertas offers is more detailed. As he paints it, the Exposition of 1929 brought various workers to live on the mountain.

El 1929, amb motiu de les obres de l'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona, arribaren a la capital de Catalunya caravanes d'immigrants de Múrcia, Aragó, i Galícia sobretot. S'instal·laren a Montjuïc, fins en aquell moment idíl·licament repartit entre els militars del Castell, els morts del cementiri i alguns propietaris d'horts. Poc abans d'acabar-se la dictadura de Primo de Rivera s'intentà evitar la proliferació del *barraquisme* a la muntanya i molts dels nouvinguts foren traslladats a les Cases Barates del Port i també – segons diuen les fonts informatives de l'època—a d'altres zones properes al riu Besòs, que podrien molt be ser el barri de la Catalana i les Cases Barates del Bon Pastor.

[In 1929, with the start of the works for the International Exposition in Barcelona, caravans of immigrants arrived to the capital of Catalonia from Murcia, Aragon and, most of all, Galicia. They installed themselves in Montjuïc, which was in that moment idyllically shared by the military forces of the Castle, the dead in the cemetery, and a few individual gardeners. Just after the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera there was an attempt to halt the spread of the *barraquismo* on the mountain, and most of the squatters were relocated to the cheap housing of the port, and according to the sources of the time, to the high zones of the river Besos, which could very well be the neighborhood of la Catalana and the cheap housing of Bon Pastor]. (Josep Maria Huertas, *El Montjuïc del segle XX* [Barcelona: Pòrtic, 1969], 55–56, the translation is mine).

Immediately after the Exposition of 1929, the workers that had worked in the mountain were moved from their place. This would happen again during the '80s, with the apparent success of the disappearance of the poor *chabolas* on the mountain and the significance that the city exists not for the poor but rather for those

who control it. Tourism, as much in the Exposition of 1929 as in the Olympic Games of 1992, necessitates a landscape swept of class differences.

19. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's novel *Sabotaje Olímpico* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1993) and Eduardo Mendoza's *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2001[1975]) touch on Montjuïc to some degree.

20. See Chris Philo and Gerry Kearns, "Culture, History, Capital: A Critical Introduction to the Selling of Places," in *Selling Places. The City as Cultural Capital Past and Present*, ed. Chris Philo & Gerry Kearns (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), 1–32.

21. See Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*.

22. Mitchell writes:

Visitors to Johnstown today can see the site of the broken dam (which is a National Historical Park), and then work their way down the path of the flood, through the various villages that were destroyed in 1889, and into the city itself, where an impressive Flood Museum tells the history through artifacts, photographs, oral histories, reconstructions of scenes, and so on. The film made by historian David McCulloch and the Flood Museum from McCulloch's book on the flood (and broadcast as part of McCulloch's *American Experience* television program) is available for viewing. The Flood Museum also dedicates a portion of its space to telling the industrial history of Johnstown, tracing its development from a small farming community, to innovative steel-center, to a landscape of deindustrialization. Outside, visitors can follow a "flood trail" around the city, seeing surviving buildings, imagining the size of the mountain debris that built up behind the stone bridge, riding an incline plane to the plateau above the city, and visiting the cemetery where the unidentified bodies are buried. In the museum and in the landscape itself, visitors can learn how Johnstown rebuilt after the flood, becoming once again one of the foremost steel-producing cities in the country. Despite the somewhat forlorn aspect the landscape projects now that the mills are quiet, visitors can feel for themselves why Johnstown bills itself as a "city of survivors." (Don Mitchell, 95)

23. McNeill, 44.

24. Oriol Pi-Sunyer, "Tourism in Catalonia," in *Tourism in Spain: Critical Issues*, ed. Michael Barke, John Towner and Michael T. Newton (Wallingford, Oxon., UK: CAB International, 1996), 231–64.

25. Monica Degen, "Barcelona's Games: The Olympics, Urban Design, and Global Tourism," in *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*, ed. Mimi Sheller and John Urry (London & New York: Routledge, 2004), 132.

26. Degen, 135.

27. Degen, 136.

28. Degen, 140.

29. Given these examples, we must resist the urge to label Barcelona's urban changes a "success" as does Degen: "Barcelona's success [. . .] is based on its view of tourism as a process, rather than as a product—a process that is constantly reconfigured through the flow of people, images, cultures, and objects" (Degen, 132).

30. Juan Goytisolo, *Señas de identidad* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999), 91.
31. Goytisolo, 385–86.
32. Goytisolo, 64.
33. Goytisolo, 203.
34. Goytisolo, 214.
35. Goytisolo, 311.
36. Goytisolo, 162–63.
37. See Jo Labanyi, "Introduction: Engaging with Ghosts; or, Theorizing Culture in Modern Spain," in *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice*, ed. Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–14.
38. Goytisolo, 410.
39. Goytisolo, 418.
40. Goytisolo, 310.
41. Goytisolo, 422.
42. Goytisolo, 370.
43. Goytisolo, 420.
44. Goytisolo, 370.
45. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, 306, original emphasis.
46. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 9.
47. Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), 181.
48. W. J. Thomas Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Power and Landscape*, ed. W. J. Thomas Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1–2.
49. Germán Gullón, "La fotografía en la novela (Alarcón, J. Goytisolo, Benet)," *Insula* 483 (1987): 10.
50. The article "La Escisión total de Juan Goytisolo: Hacia un encuentro con lo hispanoamericano" by José M. Oviedo (*Revista Iberoamericana* 42 [1976]: 191–200) occasions this affirmation. In it, the author sees the Goytisolo trilogy (*Señas de identidad*, *Reivindicación del Conde Don Julian*, and *Juan sin tierra*) as a process of disenchantment in which the important figure of the novels leaves Spain forever and installs himself in the Arab world. The author of the present article maintains that this interpretation only adds to his own interpretation of *Señas de identidad* in that the beginning of his disenchantment resides in a Spain that was changing in order to incorporate the tourist gaze into its being. This series of novels, just as the present study does, emphasizes that the way in which Spain has been changing toward the end of the dictatorship through the end of the twentieth century has to do with the way in which space has been renovated in order to better accommodate the tourist gaze in the Spanish landscape.
51. Goytisolo, 330.
52. Don Mitchell, 116, taken from Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).
53. Goytisolo, 410–11.

54. Michael Ugarte notes that "in the interview, Rodríguez Monegal affirms that the use of the *tú* involves not only a dialogue between the external Alvaro Mendiola and his inner conscience but also an exchange between the protagonist and his author (54)" (Michael Ugarte, *Trilogy of Treason: An Intertextual Study of Juan Goytisolo* [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982], 52). The position in the present article is that the *tú* form is used to articulate a relationship not only between protagonist and inner conscience, and protagonist and author, but also between protagonist and landscape, author and landscape and reader and landscape.

55. Goytisolo, 412.

56. Goytisolo, 435.

57. The instructions appear thusly:

1 PESETA  
 INTRODUCZA LA MONEDA  
 INTRODUISEZ LA MONNAIE  
 INTRODUCE THE COIN  
 GELDSTUCK EINWERFEN  
 APRIETE EL BOTÓN A FONDO  
 PUSSEZ LE BOUTON A FOND  
 PUSH BUTTON COMPLETELY DOWN  
 KNOPF VOLLSTADING EINDRUCKEN

The second to fifth lines are repeated upon ending the work, and are the last words to be read. There are also other instructions in four languages that appear in the last pages of the novel: "ENTRADA LIBRE" (Goytisolo, 420) and "SU FOTO EN 20 MINUTOS" (Goytisolo, 422).

58. In the last six pages, the confusing mixture of languages includes the following fragments, all laid out on the page as if part of a list:

#### INGLES

ladies and gentlemen (430)  
 look here my darling (431)  
 the spanish civil war (432)  
 do you really like that (434)  
 come here my darling (434)

#### FRENCH

Ici Messieur dames c'est l'endroit où furent fusillés par les Rouges pendant notre guerre de Libération un grand nombre de hauts officiers de l'Armée de prêtres de personnalités relevantes de la vie sociale de notre ville (430)  
 Prend-moi une photo (430)  
 Regarde c'est le Monument aux Morts (430)  
 Mon Dieu quelle chaleur (430)  
 Tu te rappelles l'année dernière (430)  
 C'est extraordinaire l'impression de paix (431)  
 De quelle guerre s'agit-il (431)  
 Là-bas vers la droite (432)



Assassinés par les Rouges (432)  
 Regarde mon chéri (434)  
 On va rater le car (435)  
 Là-bas c'est Majorque (434)  
 tout le monde es parti (434)  
 tu te rends compte (435)

[Here, ladies and gentlemen is the place where the Reds during our Liberation war shot many high officers from our Army many priests many personalities from the social life of our city (430)  
 Take me a picture (430)  
 Look, it's the Monument to the Fallen (430)  
 My God, it is hot! (430)  
 Do you remember last year (430)  
 It's extraordinary this feeling of peace (431)  
 Which war was it? (431)  
 Down there, to your right (432)  
 Killed by the Reds (432)  
 Look there my darling (434)  
 The car is going to get damaged (435)  
 Down there is Majorca (434)  
 Everybody has left (434)  
 Do you realize (435)]

59. David K. Herzberger, "Language and Referentiality in *Señas de identidad*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 11.3 (1987): 611-21.
60. Robert C. Spiers, "Modos narrativos y búsqueda de identidad en *Señas de identidad*," *Anales de la novela de posguerra* 2 (1977): 55-72.
61. Ugarte, 71.
62. Herzberger, 616.
63. Ugarte, 69.
64. Emir Rodríguez Monegal, *El arte de narrar* (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1968), 184, cited in Edenia Guillermo, *Novelística española de los sesenta* (New York: E. Torres, 1971), 121.
65. Ortega y Gasset's *España invertebrada* (1922), for example, is a meditation on nation-building whose conception of the nation does not take into account the "extra-national" forces of a globalized capitalism of the twentieth century (José Ortega y Gasset, *España invertebrada: bosquejos de algunos pensamientos históricos* [Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999]).
66. Chris Rojek and John Urry, "Transformations of Travel and Theory," in *Touring Cultures*, 1.
67. As Nash notes, these terms come from Van Gennep and his three-stage model for *les rites de passage* (Dennison Nash, *Anthropology of Tourism* [Bath: Pergamon Publishers, 1996]).
68. Nash, 41.

69. John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000), 33.
70. Anthony Giddens notes:

The world has become in important respects a single social system, as a result of ties of interdependence which virtually affect everyone. The global system is not just an environment within which particular societies [...] develop and change. The social, political and economic connections which cross-cut borders between countries decisively condition the fate of those living within each of them. (Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* [Cambridge: Polity, 1989], 519-20).

The present author would identify this system as capitalistic. According to Lefebvre, this capitalist system has survived in the twentieth century through the transformation of space. It homogenizes space in order to reify, or give physical structure to the non-physical social relations of exploitation and class difference.

71. George Ritzer and Allan Liska, "'McDisneyization' and 'Post-Tourism': Complementary Perspectives on Contemporary Tourism," in *Touring Cultures*, ed. Rojek and Urry, 99.

72. See the story "Axolotl" by Cortázar and the anthropological interpretation that R. Lane Kauffmann advances in "Julio Cortázar y la apropiación del otro: 'Axolotl' como fábula etnográfica," *Inti: Revista de Literatura Hispánica* 22-23 (1985-86): 317-26.

73. Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism and Identity* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), xii.

74. As Felipe Fernández-Armesto writes:

When I first visited Barcelona as a little boy in the 1950s, the most durable sight of the 1929 exhibition was the Pueblo Español, a collection of buildings on Montjuïc, modeled on examples of medium-scale regional and vernacular architecture from all over Spain. It is still a tourist attraction, under the Catalanised name of "Poble Espanyol," as pointless as any such "theme park." It seemed bizarre when I first saw it, and seems tawdry now. When new, however, it was both hugely esteemed and highly significant. Variegated and archaic, it seemed to offer a town-planning model that was refreshingly different from the monotony of the Eixample (Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona: A Thousand Years of the City's Past* [London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991], 219).

75. As McLuhan admits, the term comes from Kenneth Boulding (*Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* [New York: Signet Books, 1964], 49).

76. McLuhan, 49.

77. Cited in Scott McQuire, *Visions of Modernity. Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 110.

78. In McQuire, 109-10, citing Berger, we find the idea that photography has replaced memory.

79. Sontag, 6.

80. Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (London: G. Allen & Co., Ltd.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1912).

81. Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, 304.

82. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *La literatura en la construcción de la ciudad democrática* (Barcelona: Grijalbo Mondadori, 1998), 139.

## Part III

### Spaces of (In)Difference