



**Urban tourism and urban socialist and communist heritage:
Beyond tragedy and farce?**

Journal:	<i>International Journal of Tourism Cities</i>
Manuscript ID	IJTC-02-2017-0011.R2
Manuscript Type:	Research Article
Keywords:	Socialist Heritage, Communist Heritage, Heritage Tourism, Spain, United Kingdom, Finland

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Abstract

Purpose: Existing literature on state socialist and communist heritage as form of tourist consumption predominately focuses on destination contexts, such as the former Soviet countries and the few remaining state communist countries (i.e. China, North Korea, Cuba). As a result, the visitation to places linked to the history of socialism and communism in the so-called Western pluralist democracies has often been overlooked and, at most, unacknowledged, especially as most research on 'socialist' heritage focuses on sites connected to statist heritage rather than sites connected to socialist movements.

Design/methodology/approach: This paper aims to fill the gap in terms of research focusing on these types of sites, with evidence from a range of countries in Europe and the Americas. It does so by illustrating the presence and engagement with official and non-official communist/socialist heritage at varying levels of commodification.

Findings: The paper concludes that not only is there a need to broaden the concept of socialist heritage but that its framing needs to continue to be understood from present day ideological discourses and struggles with respect to the marking of urban heritage tourist locations.

Originality/value: This contribution advocates the broadening of the concept of socialist heritage by acknowledging the relevance of 'hidden' urban sites related to key socialist thinkers, socialist opposition to fascism, and civil wars in which the socialist movement was involved while also drawing parallels between the levels of socialist/heritage recognition and use as a commodity in relation to the historical narrative within the studied countries.

Introduction

Tourism is a social, economic, and political phenomenon widely regarded as firmly embedded within the global capitalist economic system (Britton, 1991; Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Hall, 2011a; Harvey, 1989). However, although capitalism is often portrayed as ‘winning’ a war of competing economic and political ideologies following the collapse of many state communist economies after the fall of the Soviet Union and the opening up of the Chinese economy to international trade (Fukuyama, 1989), other forms of politico-economic being have existed in the past, and continue to provide spaces or echoes of other forms of politics in the present as part of the politics of heritage and identity (Norkunas, 1993). In the creation of cities “of the tourist imagination” (Bickford-Smith, 2009, p. 1763), for example, many urban waterfront sites of labour and political conflict have become commoditised for tourism and leisure consumption via branding and regeneration strategies in which history is ‘flattened’ and reinterpreted from a commercial gaze (Avni, 2017; Shaw, 2009; Tunbridge, 2011; Worden, 1996). Indeed, this situation exists within contemporary tourism studies itself given the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism and the paramount role of the market. The unquestioning acceptance of ‘the fact that tourism is an important avenue of capitalist accumulation’ (Britton 1991, p. 451) means that class and labour struggles are usually regarded as development risks to be minimised, rather than as examples of legitimate class conflict (Hall, 2011a).

The politics of heritage has been a longstanding, and significant, theme in urban tourism research. The link between heritage, ideology and power has been recognised in the use and heritagization of ‘the past’ “in order to legitimate current political interests and future aspirations of political actors” (Schramm, 2015, p. 442; see also Hall, 1997a; Poria & Ashworth, 2009). As Harvey (2008, p.20) noted in paraphrasing Orwell: “who controls the present controls the past”. That governments and political actors may want to present particular interpretations of the past and commoditise heritage for reasons of nationalism, territorial claims, governance and reinforcement of claims to political position is well established (e.g. Gathercole & Lowenthal, 2004). However, its specific use for tourism purposes often remains contested, at least by local communities, if not tourists themselves (Bickford-Smith, 2009; Johnson, 1999).

Although Fukuyama’s (1989) portrayal of the victory of Western (primarily American) economic and political forms over state communism, and of Hegel over Marx, were undoubtedly overly simplistic they nevertheless had a strong resonance in much of the discussion over the commoditisation of “socialist heritage” since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the portrayal of new urban, and tourism, identities (e.g. Puczko, Ratz, & Smith, 2007; Smith & Puczko, 2012). Nevertheless, while the global imaginaries of leisure and tourism-led urban regeneration and reimagining fit in well with a political discourse that supports free trade and the mobility of international capital, investment and (some) people, the socialist past has neither disappeared nor become completely commoditised. As Young and Kaczmarek (2008) note, discourses about post-socialist urban identity frequently attempt to ‘Europeanize’ central and eastern European cities’ identity and to obscure elements of the ‘unwanted past’, particularly the socialist, Soviet and Russian pasts; although, as they observe, “those pasts can return to disrupt dominant narratives of postsocialist urban identity” (Young & Kaczmarek, 2008, p. 53). Such a situation raises questions not only about the extent to which present powers actually succeed in controlling the past but also how socialist related city sites and attractions are more widely presented as part

of urban heritage tourism. These issues are usually discussed in the context of the “post-socialist” countries of Eastern Europe and Asia (Poria, Ivanov, & Webster, 2014). However, the present work takes a different approach and instead focuses on urban socialist and communist heritage in the countries of Western Europe and in Mexico, countries with their own rich history of socialist movements, labour solidarity and class struggle (Lichtheim, 1970) that, perhaps ironically given the often public association of socialism with totalitarianism, are central to the development and spread of democratic thought and concepts of rights (Eley, 2002).

Although there was significant indigenous tourism research in the state communist countries prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union (Hall & Page, 2014), international research interest in tourism and socialism only gained significant momentum during the important economic and political shifts of the 1980s and the early 1990s in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Allcock & Przeclawski, 1990), often with a focus on the development challenges and opportunities for Western international tourism. Nevertheless, in light of the literature on tourism and socialism, up to four main research themes can be distinguished. The first examined the transition from centrally-planned to more market-oriented capitalist economies in former state socialist countries, with a focus on dimensions such as governance (e.g. Hall, 2004), urban change (e.g. Fleming, 2012; Golubchikov, Badyina & Makhrova, 2014) and economic restructuring (e.g. Hall, Smith & Marciszewska, 2006). A second stream of research focuses on the study of destination marketing strategies that seek to capitalize or dissociate destinations from the recent ‘socialist past’ of cities and countries (e.g. Coles, 2002; Scarpaci, 2012; Rátz, 2005). The third research theme looks at the tourist experience in socialist regimes (e.g. Higgins-Desbiolles & Blanchard, 2011; Koenker, 2009) and the engagement of visitors with contested communist heritage sites (e.g. Klaic, 2011; Light, 2000a, 2000b, 2001; Young & Kaczmarek, 2008). The final research theme regards ongoing research on the remaining nominally state socialist countries, such as China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Somewhat remarkably, research on China while sometimes acknowledging the role of the Chinese Communist party often fails to engage in debates as to whether China actually *is* really a communist or socialist country at all (He, 1996). Instead, the label of socialist or communist – to which we add the prefix of ‘state’ to indicate single party states that self-describe as ‘socialist’ or ‘communist’ – is usually used blindly and without question, now that the “end of history” has supposedly been reached. Naughton (2017), for example, notes that although the Chinese economy remains closely guided by the Communist Party, its commitment to wealth redistribution is weak as is its democratic responsiveness, thereby failing to implement what may be regarded as key tenets of socialism.

In reviewing research on tourism and socialism what clearly emerges is research neglect on the phenomena of tourist visitation linked to the history of socialism and communism in the so-called Western pluralist democracies. This gap in the literature can be attributed to the overemphasis on statist heritage in the research agenda on socialism and tourism. What has been forgotten is that socialism was, and remains, a much wider political movement. It must therefore be noted that there have been episodes in contemporary history relevant to socialist movements that took place in Western countries. These include, but are not limited to, workers’ struggles; welfare, labour and employment rights; and opposition to totalitarian regimes. Although it is the winner that usually defines the interpretation of history (Garber, 1986; Zhang, 2000), and much of the politics of public memory (Norkunas, 1993), oppositional heritage can still continue to

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3 exist and often be visited by those who use such locations as sites of remembering and
4 remembrance. This contribution therefore advocates the broadening of the concept of socialist
5 heritage by acknowledging the relevance of ‘hidden’ urban sites related to key socialist thinkers,
6 socialist opposition to fascism, and civil wars in which the socialist movement was involved,
7 while also drawing parallels between the levels of heritage recognition and use as a commodity
8 in relation to the historical narrative within the studied cases. The paper is divided into three
9 main sections: first, an examination of the place of socialist heritage in theoretical framing of
10 heritage and heritage tourism; second, a series of illustrative case studies; third, a discussion of
11 the results and the presentation of a typology of heritage.
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14 **The heritage of heritage: Framing Socialist heritage**

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17 When discussing socialist or communist heritage, the general agreement in the literature is that
18 this type of heritage is found specifically in those states which currently have communist or
19 socialist governments, such as China or Vietnam, or were previously under a state communist or
20 socialist system, i.e. the former USSR and satellite states (Smith & Hall, 2006; Li et al., 2010;
21 Braşoveanu, 2016). In fact, Stansciugelu et al. (2013, p. 2) defines communist heritage as “a set
22 of cultural elements [which] is historically defined, has a clear ideological load, it focuses on
23 urban areas in most cases and it is often correlated with propaganda mechanisms related to
24 personality cult of communist leaders.” Thus, the current accepted definition emphasizes
25 predominantly urban, geographically specific, and, in relation to current communist nations,
26 state-developed representations of socialist/communist heritage. It would be incorrect, though, to
27 assume that all socialist heritage is located within these specific political contexts. This
28 understanding emphasizes the tangible and intangible remnants of a particular
29 socialist/communist history, which has been tied into contemporary dominant national narratives.
30 However, this disengages such heritage from the actual political movement of socialism, which
31 has origins and impacts outside of those seen in the more ‘traditional’ communist nations, with
32 many countries boasting socialist or communist political parties and/or organizations, and the
33 role of democratically elected socialist governments and politicians. In fact, the origins of
34 Marxist socialism can be found in the West. It is this absence that is in and of itself interesting,
35 especially given the influence of the political movement across the globe.
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41 While socialist and communist movements have developed in various localities, cities have been
42 the ground of socialist debate since the origins of the capitalist society and the urban growth
43 experienced during the Industrial Revolution. The injunction at the end of Marx’s *Communist*
44 *Manifesto*, “workers of the world unite”, was as much grounded in the shared experiences of
45 exploitation of industrial workers in Europe’s cities and in the smaller manufacturing and mining
46 centres as it was in the development of the international socialist movement. Marx’s notion of
47 the working class was predominantly urban in nature. Cities were the birthplace of socialist and
48 communist parties across Western Europe and the stage of workers’ struggles between the 1890s
49 and the 1930s. Cities, moreover, witnessed the fiercest opposition to the rise of totalitarian
50 regimes in countries like Italy, Portugal and Spain. More recently, the contemporary urban
51 landscapes in Western countries have become a stage for the commoditisation of socialist
52 ideology and of key personalities in the history of socialism, e.g. Rosa Luxemburg Street in
53 Freiburg, Germany (part of a development of appropriate technology housing in which the street
54 are named after German socialist activists). Perhaps somewhat ironically given Marx’s theory of
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3 commoditisation, such situations serves to reflect the way in which heritage commodity
4 fetishism serves to separate the social and political relations embedded in heritage from their
5 economic value as a product to be exchanged on the market (Marx, 1992 (orig. 1867); see also
6 Harvey, 2010).
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9 Urban landscapes are “everything in a destination which can be read as a cultural text by
10 visitors” (Selby, 2004, p. 183) and include both official markers and unofficial sights
11 (MacCanell, 1976, 2001). Western cities embody features of the history of socialism that are
12 disengaged from the statist heritage in former socialist countries. There are markers and sights
13 that commemorate beliefs, historic events and protagonists in the history of international
14 socialism that offer a non-institutional and different narrative to the dogmatic celebration of
15 socialism in authoritarian regimes. For example, the Gramsci Monument in New York provides a
16 counter-narrative that celebrates Antonio Gramsci as committed politician and intellectual
17 (Hirschhorn, 2015).
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21 Public spaces in cities both inform and are informed by the society within which they are
22 located, and, when viewed collectively, they then become part of the urban landscape, or
23 cityscape. “Landscapes have an unquestionably material presence, yet they come into being only
24 at the moment of their apprehension by an external observer, and thus have a complex poetics
25 and politics” (Cosgrove, 2006, p. 50). These cityscapes, then, communicate not only in the
26 quotidian existence of the local urban populace but also present a recognizable face to the
27 outside world. As is said of the architect of St Paul’s in London: ‘*Si monumentum requires,*
28 *circumspice.* If you seek [his] monument, look around you’ (Connell & Irving 1980, p. 88). The
29 cityscape therefore becomes a means to transmit the culture of the city as well as the dominant
30 national cultural ideology, often tied to notions of modernity and prosperity (Hewison, 1987;
31 Norkunas, 1993; Ibrahim, 2007). The cultural dominance of the government then becomes
32 carved into the cityscape through erection of indoctrinated architecture as well as the alteration
33 of the pre-existing aspects of the urban landscape, such as street and place names and pre-
34 existing monuments (Herzfeld, 2006). For example, the redevelopment of docklands that
35 includes elements of architecture, such as cranes and railway lines, as well as promotion of the
36 history of commerce while simultaneously ignoring the history of labour strikes and worker
37 exploitation (Hall, 1997b). This act of sanitization can be seen as the imposition of a national
38 cultural heritage upon a space, and often a people, who are not, and cannot, be a part of the
39 discourse due to its, or their, disconnect with the dominant heritage (Tunbridge, 1984). This
40 creates problems in many cities, specifically in regards to maintenance and promotion of cultural
41 urban heritage, as cities are often heterogeneous conglomerations of interests, often with
42 conflicting or unappealing histories.
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48 It is within this conceptualization of cityscape sanitization that discussions of
49 socialist/communist heritage tourism in the former Soviet nations begin. Some countries,
50 specifically the former members of Yugoslavia, have a strong sense of nostalgia for the
51 communist period, driven in part by the cult of personality surrounding the former communist
52 leader, Josef Broz Tito (Volcic, 2011). However, this appears to be the exception as many former
53 state communist countries have sought to distance themselves from their communist past,
54 although, this dissociative act has proven difficult given the plethora of visible heritage from
55 former regimes and the interest of, particularly, Western tourists in the socialist past (Light,
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2000a, 2000b). This is particularly notable in the creation of the Budapest Sculptures Park wherein socialist statues from the city of Budapest have been moved and decontextualized in terms of their historical socio-political significance (Klaic, 2011; Light, 2000b). In certain cases, communist heritage is ignored completely. Tourism management in Łódź, Poland has placed emphasis on the city's 19th century heritage while simultaneously minimizing the socialist influence on the city (Young & Kaczmarek, 2008). A more extreme case of this can be seen in Romania, where the state communist period under the rule of Nicolae Ceaușescu was extremely totalitarian in nature (Light, 2000b). According to Light (2001), tours to the monumental *Palatul Parlamentului*, located in Bucharest, stress the modern usage of the building while erasing the connection with Ceaușescu, which is often the most important aspect for foreign tourists. In all of these examples, there has been an active attempt by current governments to sanitize the city of its socialist/communist history.

It should be noted though that when socialist/communist heritage is addressed, it is often problematic, particularly in the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Light et al. (2009) note the oversimplification of the socialist experience that has occurred throughout this region while warning of the potential risk "that these countries may continue to be associated in the Western imagination with the unwanted stereotype of 'communism'" (p. 242). The Crazy Guides in Krakow, Poland mitigate this by infusing their tours with a sense of the quotidian under communism and emphasizing the immersive experience, which results in what Knudsen (2010) refers to as "reflective nostalgia" which occurs as a result of this program as well as "the explicit distancing irony in the guide's attitudes" (p.151). Thus, there are mediating methods which allow for socialist/communist heritage to be presented in a manner which highlights the complexities of the lived socialist experience.

While the majority of socialist/communist heritage tourism literature focuses on the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, there is also a growing discussion surrounding the growth of communist tourism in China, referred to as "red tourism" (Li & Hu, 2008; Li et al., 2010; Zhao & Timothy, 2015). As China's governmental structure is controlled by the Communist Party, the function of this type of heritage tourism is inherently different to that found in the former Soviet countries, although Russia may be reverting to this political style. Planning for red tourism is inherently politically motivated (Li & Hu, 2008), with its 'ultimate purpose' being to develop "new patronage, among the young generation, of communist ideology, in order to sustain a nation-state of typically 'Chinese characteristics'" (Li et al., 2010, p. 114). Thus, as would be expected, this type of socialist/communist heritage tourism is significantly more celebratory than that seen in Central and Eastern Europe, especially as management of red tourism uses a predominantly top-down approach, driven by the national government (Zhao & Timothy, 2015). However, as with Central and Eastern Europe, the promotion and commodification of this type of tourism is strongly dependent on its socio-political context, which is not easily replicable in nations that have never had a political culture of cults of personality or political party.

Case Studies: The heritage of politics and the politics of heritage

In order to best analyse and illustrate the tourism practices surrounding various types of socialist/communist heritage located outside of the previously studied areas, this work focuses on

illustrative case studies found in different urban centres around the globe which have had a major influence on or been influenced by socialism and/or communism but have not ever been under state socialist/communist rule. The case studies were selected around two thematic elements, eminent socialist/communist thinkers, and civil war where the socialist/communist movement lost. The case studies were identified through an online keyword search based on relevant historical, heritage, political and tourism literature related to socialism, which included not only official tourism websites but also sites such as TripAdvisor and blogs. After the identification of sufficient set of examples, a website analysis was undertaken on the aforementioned data sources. With the exception of the Finnish case study, the websites were analysed in the native language of the country as well as English to check for inconsistencies in language. Only the English versions of Finnish websites could be used as the authors do not speak Finnish. The case studies are revisited in the subsequent section to illustrate a potential typology of socialist heritage tourism.

Trier, Germany

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Germany on May 5, 1818 to a middle class family. While Marx was born in what is now number 10 Brückenstraße, the family only briefly lived there, moving to another house in Trier in 1819. However, Marx's birthplace has become the representative face of Marx in Trier as the building currently houses the Karl Marx Museum, which details his life and global influence. The building was originally purchased by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in 1928 but was taken over by the Nazi party and only restored to the SPD following the war. Since 1968, it has been managed by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, which is associated with the SPD (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, n.d.). According to the Trier Tourism website, the museum has become a pilgrimage site, particularly for Chinese tourists (Trier Tourismus und Marketing GmbH, n.d.).

United Kingdom

Modern socialist theory owes much to England, specifically Manchester and London. Manchester played a critical role in the origins of Marxist theory. Several academics noted that Manchester significantly impacted Friederich Engels' worldview, which may have been different had he lived and worked in other British cities (Briggs, 1963; McLellan, 1993; Boyer, 1998). It is this worldview that helped shape *The Communist Manifesto*. Engels first moved to Manchester from his native Germany in 1842, where he resided for two years before returning home. He returned to Manchester again in 1849 and remained there until 1870. However, even though Engels resided in Manchester for over twenty years, there is almost no trace of him in terms of historical markers. Furthermore, though he lived in many different houses during his period in Manchester, not one of the buildings remains standing, and only one location, No. 6 Thorncliffe Grove, is demarcated with a plaque noting that the area was once home to one of the founders of Marxist theory. However, should there be an interest in Engels and Marx's time in Manchester, there is an occasional walking tour (New Manchester Walks, n.d.).

Following the sale of his portion of the Manchester business in which he was partner, Engels relocated to London in 1870 in order to be closer to Marx, who he had supported financially for years. While Marx had visited Engels in Manchester, he had stronger ties to London where he moved in 1849 and lived until his death on March 14, 1883. It was in London that Marx worked on *Das Kapital*, with volume one published in 1867. However, he never fully completed the

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3 manuscripts, and, following his death, Engels edited and published the remaining two volumes.
4 Unlike Manchester, there are slightly more indicators of Marx and Engels existence in London,
5 though the emphasis is heavily on Marx. There are plaques noting both of their residences, with
6 two for Marx, one in Camden and the other in Soho. Additionally, to get a better understanding
7 of Marx's period in London, there is also a Marx-specific walking tour available (Marx Walks,
8 n.d.). However, the most notable site in London is Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery, which is
9 touted by the Friends of Highgate Cemetery Trust (2017) as the East Cemetery's "most famous
10 resident".
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13 Mexico City, Mexico

14 Leon Trotsky, born 1879 in the Ukraine, was one of the founding fathers of the Soviet Union.
15 The presumed heir to Vladimir Lenin, Trotsky lost his position within the party in the years
16 following Lenin's death in 1924 during which time Josef Stalin consolidated his power. In 1928,
17 he was exiled before finally being expelled completely. He lived in several other countries
18 (Turkey, France, Norway) prior to settling in Coyoacán, Mexico in 1936. Initially, both Trotsky
19 and his wife lived with the artist Diego Rivera and his wife Frida Kahlo. However, following a
20 clash with Rivera, Trotsky and his wife moved to a house on Viena Street in April of 1939 where
21 he remained until he was assassinated in August 1940. This house is now a museum, Museo
22 Casa de Leon Trotsky, which was opened in 1990 in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of his
23 assassination. The museum encloses Trotsky's house, which remains as it was at the time of his
24 death; contains several exhibition rooms, including a special one dedicated to his exile in
25 Mexico; and is the site of Trotsky's grave (Casa Museo de Leon Trotsky, n.d).
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30 Italy

31 The history of socialism in Italy can be traced back to the first wave of industrialization in the
32 north of the country that occurred from the late 1880s to the early 1920s. The first socialist
33 movement began in Milan in 1882 and resulted, ten years later, in the establishment of the Italian
34 Socialist Party during a national gathering of workers' associations in Genoa. Subsequent
35 ruptures within the party culminated with the rise of the first fascist movement in Milan (1919)
36 led by Benito Mussolini and the establishment of the Communist Party in Livorno (1921) by
37 dissidents, including Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci was imprisoned from 1926 to 1937, during
38 which he served out part of his sentence in Turi, Puglia, which is part of the metropolitan area of
39 Bari. His room is arranged for tourist visitation, but it is quite difficult to access as the prison is
40 still active (Ministero della Giustizia, n.d.). The site commemorates, in particular, the writing of
41 the *Prison Notebooks*, a contribution that would later become a cornerstone of neo-Marxist
42 thinking. The end of Mussolini's regime occurred during the Italian Civil War (1943-1945), and
43 the history of socialism and communism in Italy became intertwined with those of the resistance
44 and the rise of the Republic (1946). Socialist and communist ideologies thus become secondary
45 features in the main, anti-fascist narrative that has characterized the recent history of the
46 country.
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51 Spain

52 The roots of socialism can be tracked back to the establishment of the Partido Socialista Obrero
53 Español (PSOE) in 1879. The party worked underground as workers' movements were illegal in
54 Spain until the early 1900s. Unlike its Italian counterpart, the rise of the movement was unrelated
55 to the advent of industrialization in the Barcelona region and was instead closer to coal miners in
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3 the north of the country. The establishment of the Spanish Communist Party in 1921 took place
4 during a gathering of dissident socialists at the Casa del Pueblo in Madrid. Both the Socialist and
5 the Communist Party would later coalesce under the Frente Popular to win the elections of 1936,
6 but this precipitated the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War following the failed military coup
7 orchestrated by the Nationalists. During the years of the Civil War (1936-1939), citizens loyal to
8 the democratically elected Republic fought alongside international socialist and anarchist
9 volunteers in the attempt to defeat the Nationalists led by Franco and his Nazi-fascists allies.
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12 Unlike in Italy, the commemoration of those who fought for the ideals of socialism and against
13 the rise of fascism in Spain is little marked in cities and urban tours. While there are sites,
14 museums, and tours addressed to visitors in Madrid (Capricho Park bunker) (Madrid Destino
15 Cultura Turismo y Negocio S.A., n.d.), Seville (Moscú sevillano) (Turespaña, 2016b) and
16 Valencia (Jerica) (Turespaña, 2016a), there are few monuments commemorating key individuals
17 that stood against the Nationalists on Spanish soil (CGT Castilla y León, 2009). Conversely, in
18 the United Kingdom, the International Brigade Memorial Trust organizes events and manages
19 the monuments commemorating the ideals and the protagonists in the war against fascism.
20 Examples include, but are not limited to, the Civil War Memorial in Belfast, the monument to
21 Dolores Ibarruri in Glasgow, the International Brigade Memorial in London, and the memorial
22 dedicated to local volunteers in Manchester (International Brigade Memorial Trust, n.d.).
23 Similarly, in cities including Berlin, Canberra, San Francisco, and Seattle, there are monuments
24 commemorating the efforts of the International Brigades during the Civil War (Centro de
25 Estudios y Documentación de las Brigadas Internacionales, n.d.).
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31 Finland

32 Finland's Civil War occurred in part as a result of country's declaration of independence from
33 Russia on December 6, 1917. Fighting began in January 1918 between the White Guard, those
34 on the political right, supported by the Imperial German army, and the Red Guard, the socialists,
35 supplied with arms from newly Soviet Russia. The war was short lived, ending in May of 1918
36 with the final defeat of the Red Guard, though no official peace treaty was ever signed. The Civil
37 War was extremely violent, and led to long-term economic and socio-political issues within
38 Finland. Therefore, it is unsurprising that monuments of the event, especially those dedicated to
39 the Red Guard and their war dead, are limited in number, with a number not being erected for
40 more than 50 years. While the Red Guard Civil War memorials are not easily found, Finland is,
41 interestingly, home to the only Lenin museum outside of Russia. The museum, which was
42 opened on January 20, 1946 in Tampere, was seen as "a gesture of goodwill" following the
43 newly re-established diplomatic relations between Finland and the Soviet Union (Lenin Museo,
44 n.d.). The contrasting treatment of these two heritages will be further detailed in the following
45 discussion section.
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50 **DISCUSSION**

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52 Typologies have long been recognised as an important concept formation tool in political science
53 in helping to categorise government policies and strategies "in such a way that the relationship
54 between substance and process can be more clearly understood" (Steinberger, 1980, p. 185).
55 According to Lowi (1972, p. 299), classification "reveals the hidden meanings and significance
56 of the phenomena, suggesting what the important hypotheses ought to be concerned with".
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3 Multi-dimensional typologies can be understood in terms of several elements (Collier et al.,
4 2008): Firstly, an overarching concept. Secondly, column and row variables that are cross-
5 tabulated to form a matrix. Third, the matrix. Fourthly, the identification of types. “The types
6 located in each cell provide conceptual meaning that corresponds to their position in relation to
7 the row and column variables” (Hall, 2011b, p. 442). Data for the typology presented here was
8 derived from the case studies noted above.
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11 All of these case studies are located outside of state socialist/communist governmental systems.
12 This allows for various methods of interpretation and usage as opposed to a government-dictated
13 strategy. The relative level of official recognition and commodification for tourism purposes are
14 used as the variables for the matrix. In this work, commodification is defined as any interaction
15 where money is exchanged in order to appreciate and visit heritage (i.e. entrance fees, tour guide
16 fees), and officially recognized heritage is found on a national, regional, or local government
17 tourism website while the unofficial is not. Following these definitions, all of the sites discussed
18 are located within the matrix seen in Figure 1.
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25 In general the more commodified sites are museums (Casa Museo de Leon Trotsky, Mexico;
26 Lenin Museum, Finland; Karl Marx Museum, Germany) or guided tours (Seville and Valencia in
27 Spain), with the only heritage site being Marx’s grave in London. Both the museums and the
28 heritage site are pay-to-enter, but their fees are minimal with the income reinvested back into the
29 attraction. By comparison, the walking tours are profit-based as the fees are merely a payment
30 for the tour guides time, and lunch in the case of Jerica, Valencia (Itineratur, 2014). In
31 comparison, the non-commodified official heritage exists mainly in the form of plaques or other
32 forms of site demarcation, namely those dedicated to both Marx and Engels in Manchester and
33 London and Gramsci’s place of imprisonment in Turi. The exception to this is the bunker at El
34 Capricho Park in Madrid, which does not charge an entry fee.
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37 In terms of unofficial heritage, two commodified heritage activities, both tours and both in the
38 United Kingdom are used to illustrate. Again, as with the official heritage tours, these can be
39 viewed as profit-driven as there is very little overhead. Additionally, their lack of official
40 recognition may be interpreted as a lack of conversation between the groups offering the tours
41 and the official tourist board. In comparison, the non-commodified unofficial heritage offers are
42 more numerous. As can be noted, this sector is comprised primarily of monuments, specifically
43 the Civil War monuments to the Red Brigade in Finland and the Spanish Civil War memorials
44 dedicated to the Republican Army in Spain and abroad. However, it is possible, particularly in
45 the case of the Spanish Civil War, that these sites may shift their location in the typology as a
46 result of both growing interest in the war by visitors, as well as changes of attitude within the
47 Spanish government towards discussing the legacies of the war and its heritage significance
48 (González-Ruibal, 2007; Fernández & Moshenska, 2017).
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53 From Figure 1, a specific trend can be noted, and it relates to the treatment of
54 socialist/communist heritage based on historical relationship with the political movements. In
55 general, the officially recognized heritage tends to appear in countries where there was no major
56 widespread violent upheaval, which was caused directly by a socialist/communist movement.
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Both the United Kingdom and West Germany, where Trier is located, never experienced a violent socialist uprising, which has resulted in their general use of Marx and Engels as a point of interest without having to detract from their historical importance. Although Mexico experienced a violent civil war (1910-1920), which included socialist and communist actors, the struggle for power was not occurring on a political binary between socialism/communism and capitalism. Similarly, Italian socialist/communist heritage is inherently linked to Italian socialist thinkers' opposition to fascism and their incarceration during the regime.

Unlike the other case study countries, Finland and Spain both witnessed violent civil wars, in which socialist and communist parties were subsequently defeated. In both of these countries, there is a general lack of recognition of the losing sides of these civil wars. Finland, specifically, is a very interesting case as they do not promote their own memorials dedicated to the fallen members of the Red Guard but do advertise the Lenin Museum. This is in part due to the Lenin Museum's disconnect from Finnish history, except for Lenin passing through on return to Russia after exile, and instead represents the historical relationships between the Finnish government and Russia, "a gesture of goodwill toward the Soviet Union" (Lenin Museo, n.d.). Therefore, the Lenin Museum is a separate entity, which is connected to, but outside of, much of the official historical narrative of Finnish heritage and thus functions as a sort of collective disremembering.

In comparison with Finland, Spain officially promotes three sites specific to the Civil War, but this is, in and of itself, problematic in nature, especially as, like Finland, there is no promotion of memorials that were constructed to commemorate the Republican Army. The tour offered in Jérica, Valencia, merely states that it explores the remnants of the Civil War, but there is no elaboration in terms of why the area is historically significant (Turespaña, 2016a). The bunker in Capricho Park in Madrid is slightly better represented in that there is mention that it was a Republican Army headquarters, but the emphasis is solidly on its structural uniqueness (Madrid Destino Cultura Turismo y Negocio S.A., n.d.). The most problematic of the officially recognized heritage activities is the tour in Seville. Advertised on the national tourism site, the tour description is only available in English and Spanish. However, the presentation of the tour differs significantly between the languages. In Spanish, the tour promises that "we will be introduced to the barracks from where General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano led the uprising in Seville, we will analyse how he orchestrated the fall of Triana, as well as an incursion into the so-called 'Sevillan Moscow'" (author's translation, Turespaña, 2016c). In comparison, the English version states that the participant will "see how 'Sevillan Moscow', Triana was taken from the rebels" (Turespaña, 2016b). The English version's use of the word "rebel" to describe the forces defending the city from the military putsch presents a pro-Franco, and consequentially an anti-communist, reading of history which is presented to an external, non-Spanish speaking audience. This is particularly relevant when compared to the lack of mention of the memorials, both in Spain and abroad, dedicated to those who fought on the Republican side on any official tourism portal. All of the monuments are in public spaces but are not explicitly mentioned in the destination narrative.

Conclusions

As has been noted, recognition and usage of socialist/communist heritage located outside of the former and current socialist/communist countries appears to be significantly tied to whether or not the country experienced historical violent unrest in which socialist/communist political

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3 forces played a major role. The heritage sites and programs in the UK, Mexico, Germany, and
4 Italy are generally recognized by their respective tourist boards and, when possible,
5 commodified. Furthermore, the dialogue that surrounds their promotion allows for a positive
6 presentation of the socialist/communist past. This is markedly different to the representations of
7 socialist heritage found in the former Soviet countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Klaic,
8 2011; Light, 2000a; Light, 2000b; Young & Kaczmarek, 2008). In contrast, the
9 socialist/communist heritage in both Spain and Finland receives treatment that is reminiscent of
10 that seen in Romania (Light, 2000b, 2001) or in Łódź, Poland (Young & Kaczmarek, 2008) as
11 there are distinct efforts to either minimize the state socialist/communist aspects of the heritage
12 or to ignore it completely. The socialist heritage in Finland and Spain can be understood to be at
13 odds with dominant national narrative, and as such, becomes unacknowledged in the urban
14 landscape (Hall, 1997a, b; Tunbridge, 1984). Based on this analysis, the argument could be made
15 that official representation of socialist/communist heritage appears intrinsically tied to political
16 and societal trauma and the willingness to reopen parts of history that have been closed off from
17 official questioning because of the difficult issues they raise about past and present. This
18 includes the vision of socialism for which many people died and the links between right wing
19 politics and political oppression, the latter often being associated with state communism in
20 “official” histories and interpretations. Nevertheless, such issues would invariably have to be
21 addressed by city destination management should significant numbers of domestic and
22 international tourists wish to visit and learn more about such heritage.
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28 The case studies and the typology also raise significant questions with respect to the link
29 between heritage, power and ideology. Controlling the present does not necessarily control the
30 past. Undoubtedly, the presentation of political memory as a collective understanding of the past,
31 as well as the capacity to speak of such memories, is framed by power relationships. But there
32 are different heritages and they become meaningful through becoming embedded within the
33 cultural, material, and political context of a particular time (Harvey, 2008), including with
34 respect to how they become commodified as economic artefacts (Harvey, 2010). The challenge
35 to urban destinations is their capacity to be transparent with respect to the promotion of heritage
36 and the particular histories they wish to represent in light of alternative interpretations and the
37 various pressures that arise from framing heritage in a manner antithetical to dominant political
38 and economic interests. Most importantly, it is not the purpose of this paper to argue for the
39 further commoditisation of socialist heritage, rather it is to highlight the need to avoid the
40 commodity fetishism of heritage that only sees heritage tourism from an economic or market
41 framing, and instead emphasise the social and political relations of heritage in a manner that
42 reflects the multiple possibilities of socialism itself.
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47 As this was only an exploratory study into a new area of socialist/communist urban heritage
48 tourism, there is significant room for further research. Further study is warranted to analyse the
49 potential connections between trauma and heritage representation, particularly in Finland and
50 Spain, as well as any others that have a similar historical narrative. Additionally, while tours
51 have been mentioned in this research, there was no direct contact with the tour agencies. It would
52 be beneficial to analyse the narrative delivered to the visitors, especially in regards to the
53 officially promoted tours in Spain. Furthermore, it would be of interest to undertake a study of
54 the visitors to these sites in order to understand if socialist/communist heritage tourism was a
55 motivating factor and, if so, why. Finally, the selection of case studies clearly did not include all
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3 potential socialist/communist heritage tourism locations, and there is scope to expand the
4 research to understand the phenomenon in additional contexts.
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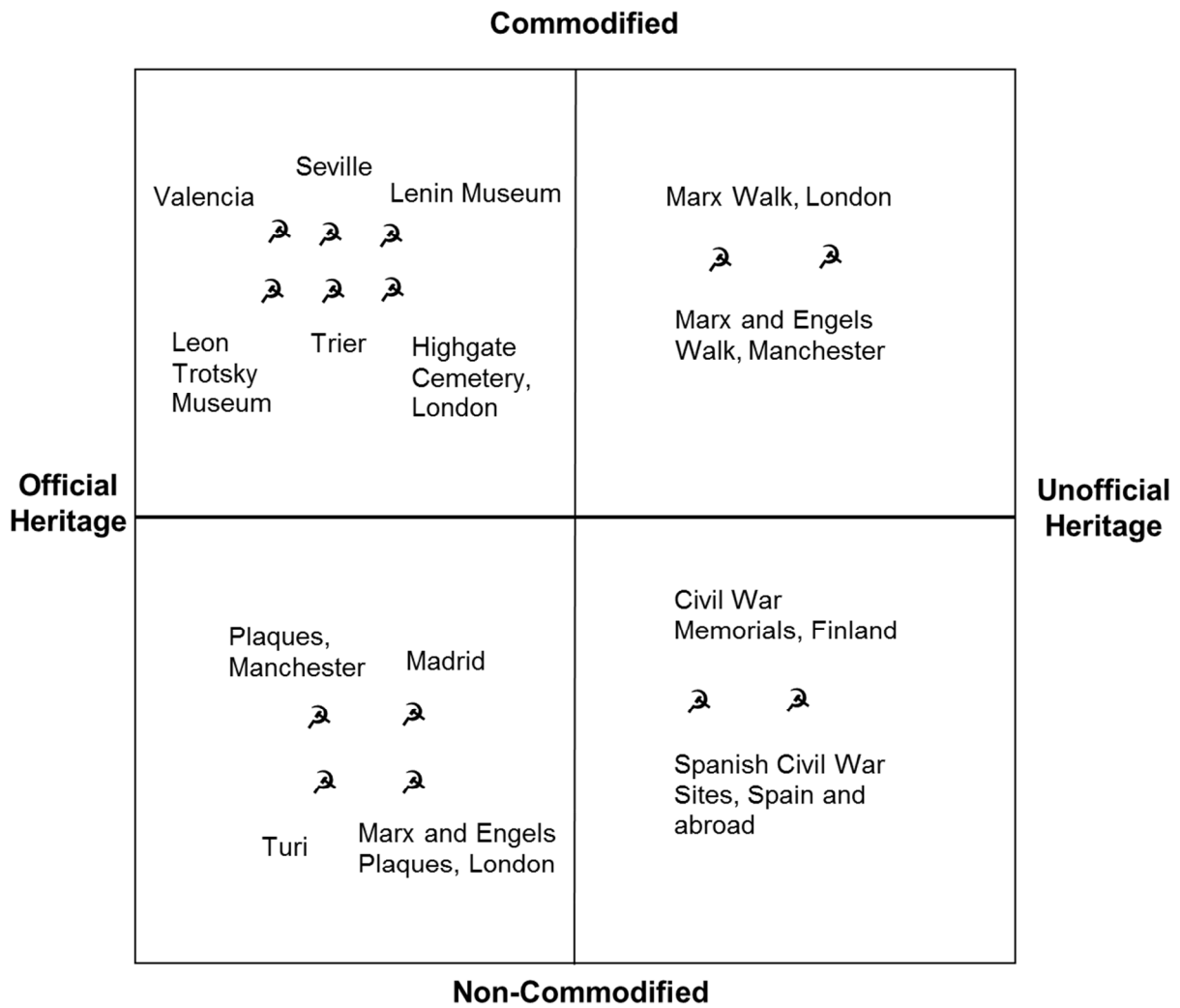
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Figure 1. Taxonomy of socialist heritage sites in pluralist democracies



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