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Short Biographical Statement

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ABSTRACT *In recent years many post-industrial cities have implemented ambitious reimaging strategies to appeal to a variety of external audiences. This paper identifies a conceptual framework within which the effects of these initiatives on tourists' images can be understood. The framework contends that reimaging can affect different city image components through the connotations and synecdochical images generated. The value of this framework is then illustrated by via its application to the reimaging initiatives adopted by Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain. This case study reveals that the mechanisms identified in the framework are useful ways of explaining how city images are modified. It also suggests that the pursuit of image change through these processes has important implications for the general direction and outcomes of wider regeneration objectives.*

KEY WORDS: Cities, semiotics, images, reimaging, Barcelona.

RUNNING HEAD SUGGESTION: City Reimaging

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Introduction

Alongside the finance, insurance and real-estate (FIRE) industries, one of the economic sectors most coveted by post-industrial cities is tourism. Proponents argue that this is a labour intensive sector that carries a low capital cost of job creation, spurs economic development, improves a city's built environment, and enhances leisure provision for residents (Shaw and Williams 1994). These justifications are contested by those who cite gentrification, urban polarization and community disenfranchisement as less desirable outcomes. Despite increasing evidence of these latter effects, cities continue to implement ambitious tourism development and marketing strategies. Many of these schemes prioritize image change, which is seen - perhaps paradoxically - as both an important precursor for, and an outcome of, urban tourism development. Image is particularly important because tourists require 'a coherent representation/meaning of the city, one that is easy and pleasant to consume' (Balibrea 2001:189). Accordingly, many post-industrial cities have employed promotional activities and urban spectacles to present appropriate images to tourist markets. A number of different terms are used to describe these activities, including civic boosterism, place marketing, city branding, destination marketing, selling places, and the term used here; 'city reimaging'.

City reimaging is the deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image to accrue economic, cultural and political capital. As many commentators identify, this often involves the deployment of conventional marketing tools, such as

slogans, logos and promotional literature (Ward 1998). However, more subtle techniques are also used, such as staging events, constructing iconic buildings and implementing sophisticated public relations strategies. Although there is a large body of research on city reimaging, there has been little attention devoted to the mechanisms through which image change occurs, or to unconventional reimaging techniques. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to develop a conceptual framework that represents how contemporary reimaging activities affect tourist images. The framework is then applied to the initiatives adopted by Barcelona, Spain, to illustrate how it can assist the understanding and analysis of city reimaging. This case study is oft-cited in urban research. Indeed, some commentators now talk of a 'Barcelona model' of urban regeneration (Balibrea 2001). However, perhaps surprisingly, there is an absence of research papers within the tourism literature that analyse the tourism and the destination image dimension of Barcelona's renaissance. This study attempts to address this deficiency by explaining the mechanisms through which Barcelona has been able to reimage itself as an attractive tourist destination.

City Reimaging

Although reimaging has a long history, in recent years municipal authorities have initiated more extensive, and yet more subtle, attempts to manipulate city images. As Hubbard asserts, 'increasing budgets are being set aside for image construction and advertising', not only to extol the virtues of a city, but to 'reimage or reinvent' it (1996:28). Researchers have approached this phenomenon as a form of communication (Burgess and Wood 1988); as a means of social control (Debord 1994); as a type of urban governance (Stoker and Mossberger 1994); as a discourse

(Philo and Kearns 1993) and as a mode of marketing (Fretter 1993). A large proportion of this research has tended to focus on the official marketing communications strategies adopted by municipal authorities (Barke and Harrop 1994; Bramwell and Rawding 1996; Watson 1991). However, focusing exclusively on these 'induced' images (Gunn 1972) seemingly disregards the pervading influence of representations produced independently of destinations. These images are sometimes referred to as organic images (Gunn 1972), as they are formed through 'autonomous' image formation agents produced independently of destinations (Gartner 1993, 1996). Image theorists such as Gartner assert that these agents are more credible, more penetrative, and therefore more influential, than official marketing communications (1993, 1996). Autonomous representations of cities, such as those in literature and on film, have not only influenced the images of individual cities, but have helped to construct the contemporary meaning of 'the city'. For example, Gold asserts that the cinema has perpetuated the intellectual bias against the city, reinforcing the view that cities are 'alienating' and 'hostile' (Gold 1985:125).

The contemporary sophistication of PR activities means that the distinction between autonomous and induced imagery is now blurred. City images that appear to be autonomous may actually have been influenced by promotional agencies. The ideas of Gottdiener (1986) help to reconcile the pervading influence of autonomous representations with the notion that municipal authorities can still exert some control over city images. Gottdiener argues that 'urban images…that are found in the discourse of authorities are largely irrelevant', but he retains a faith that city images are not merely 'left to the whims of journalists or novel writers' (1986:208). Gottdiener feels that important images can be generated by city interests, but suggests

that the most influential induced images are those produced by growth coalitions. These coalitions, or 'urban regimes' are informal governing alliances made up of private-sector business, community leaders and government officials (DiGaetano 1997). Stoker and Mossberger (1994) identified a typology of regimes, with 'symbolic regimes' cited as one manifestation. In contrast to organic or instrumental regimes, symbolic regimes 'attempt to change fundamentally a city's ideology or image. Their purpose is transition' (Stoker and Mossberger 1994:201). Recognizing the existence and functions of urban regimes, particularly symbolic regimes, allows city reimaging to be analyzed in a broader sense. For example, it allows consideration of new urban spaces, flagship projects and other architectural edifices that may not be funded publicly, but which are a fundamental part of a city's reimaging strategy.

In recognition of its increasing sophistication, many commentators now equate city reimaging with corporate branding. This is perhaps understandable as the distinction between places, corporations and brands has blurred in recent years. Corporations have begun to appreciate the value of establishing brand locations, creating 'places' that exist as a melange of corporate premises, visitor attractions and branding tools. The emergence of 'Nike Towns' is an example of this trend. Simultaneously, conventional places are being increasingly marketed and commodified by initiating ties to corporate brands and cultural franchises. Examples include Bilbao's 'franchise' agreement with the Guggenheim Foundation and the development of provincial branches of London's museums and galleries. Evans terms this 'hard branding', which he sees as an attempt to capitalize on commodity fetishism and to extend brand life, geographically and symbolically (Evans 2003).

To understand the effects of this branding, and of city reimaging in general, it is important to understand place images and how they are formed. Some researchers have suggested ways of sub-dividing images into 'components' to assist this endeavour (Gartner 1996:457). The most frequently used conceptualisation involves separating factual information about a place from subjective evaluations of it. For example, Walmsley and Young (1998) assert that images can be divided into two 'sorts' depending on 'whether the emphasis is on the perceptual or cognitive processing of environmental information or on the evaluations of places' (1998:65). Similarly, Gartner (1996), based on preceding work by Boulding (1961), contends that images consist of distinct 'cognitive' and 'affective' components. Gartner asserts that the cognitive component is that derived from known facts about a destination and needs to be developed to generate awareness. The affective component 'is related to motives in the sense that is how that person feels about the object under consideration' (Gartner 1996:457). This dimension fits neatly with the shift towards emotional or 'mood' marketing in tourism (Morgan et al 2002).

Whilst there is now a large body of research into destination image, 'most studies have focused on its static structure rather than its dynamic nature' (Baloglu and McCleary 1999:869). Therefore, image formation has perhaps been neglected. A variety of different perspectives can be used to further understanding of this process and a rudimentary distinction can be made between perceptual, linguistic, and cultural approaches. Much of the destination image literature interprets image as a perceptual, rather than a conceptual, construct and is based on principles developed by environmental psychologists. Perhaps the most renowned work in the field of environmental psychology is that developed by the Gestalt School. Gestalt-theory

regards human perception as holistic and provides principals that explain how we tackle complex landscape and image patterns (Antrop and van Eetvelde 2000). Several tourism authors have used related ideas to identify how individuals order, rationalise and mould information about places to produce meaningful destination images (Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Mayo and Jarvis 1982). Other ideas and techniques used by tourism image researchers have been appropriated indirectly from environmental psychology via behavioural geography. Examples include mental maps (Gould and White 1974) choice sets (Crompton and Ankomah 1993), as well as various quantitative data analysis techniques. Whilst these perceptual approaches have proved useful for understanding the image effects of direct visitation (Ahmed, 1991; Fakeye and Crompton 1991), they seem less justifiable when analysing images formed in the absence of this first hand experience. Such approaches have also been subject to criticism because of associations with environmental behaviourism and the conspicuous neglect of cultural considerations. Shields states that although perceptual researchers purport to be examining place images, they do not get much further than recording memories of scenes (1991). Furthermore, although perceptual research emphasises the subjective nature of place imagery, Shields suggests that such research is restricted by the way it tries to generalise 'from the individual to the social universe of shared meanings' (1991:12).

An alternative to the perceptual approach is to consider image formation as a process of communication. For example, Font (1996) identifies a 'public image creation model', involving the transmission of a destination's identity to the public, with some elements being 'lost in the noise' or 'reshaped' according to personal and external factors (Font 1996:125). This is typical of a number of studies that adopt principles

associated with the 'process' school of communication studies, where the source, content, channel and audience of a message are deemed to determine its effects (Lasswell 1948). As its name suggests, the process school views communication as encompassing the sequential transmission and reception of messages. Correspondingly, a large number of destination image studies assume that image formation can be understood by looking at the images produced by destinations and/or independent media, and then examining how these images are transmitted to, and received by, potential tourists (Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Font 1996; Gartner 1993, 1996; Stabler 1990). For example, Ashworth and Voogd state that 'transmission forms the link between the images held by individuals and those projected by places' (1990:103). Despite its value as an analytical tool, the idea of image transmission involving a distinction between sender and receiver is perhaps too simplistic, especially as large amount of place imagery is neither deliberately projected nor consciously received. Images are continuously constructed, communicated, actively interpreted and subverted by image 'receivers', as well as by destinations, marketers and the media. Accordingly, s   emioticians argue that communication is best understood not through an analysis of the transmission and reception of messages, but by examining how signs interact with receivers to produce meaning. As Goss states, these academics have been anxious 'to show that consumers actively make meaning, rather than passively consuming dominant messages'(1999:48). Emphasis is shifted to the content and context of communication and the way in which signs are 'read' (Fiske 1990:3). Although successfully adopted by Burgess and Wood (1988) in their analysis of the reimaging of London Docklands and advocated vehemently by Dann (1996) and Echtner (1999), this type of approach has been underemployed in tourism image research.

Some authors, most notably Foucault, feel that semiotic analyses sanitise imagery and divorce it from the cultures in which it is produced (Morgan and Pritchard 1999). Therefore 'cultural' perspectives have been adopted to allow power relations and historical context to be incorporated into analyses of destination image formation. Unlike perceptual approaches, their focus is not individuals' perceptions of places, but shared meanings. Images are deemed to be located at the social level 'rather than as private or cognitively constructed representations' (Phillips 1993:190). This involves recognising the 'intersubjectivity' of destination images, or the shared character of experiences and meaning (Shields 1991). Unfortunately, the emphasis within destination image formation models is usually the individual consumer 'with little or no consideration of social relations' (Selby 2004:81). As Pike states the city 'is by any definition a social image', so this approach could really benefit analyses of urban tourism images (1996:246). One of the main premises of this approach is the idea that humans and societies decide how to represent things, not the things themselves. Therefore the formation of images is deemed to be a constitutive practice, rather than one that is simply reflective.

A Conceptual Framework

The aim here is to adopt a conceptual framework through which the image effects of city reimaging can be understood. Existing studies tend to focus on either the formation of images, or the production of imagery, with little attempt to suggest how these two facets combine. This paper aims to address this by outlining a framework that represents how city reimaging works. The framework is essentially one based on

semiotic principles, though one which includes some important implications of cultural and perceptual analyses. It allows an appreciation of how representations of cities modify cognitive and affective image components. The most important cognitive images are deemed to be those which are used to represent a city as a whole (synecdoches), and therefore it is important to recognise how cities are deploying initiatives to encourage such images. Affective images are comprised of meanings associated with urban environments and can be altered by encouraging tourists to draw positive connotations from urban imagery. Thus synecdoche and connotation are deemed to be the two most important mechanisms for image change and, accordingly, they provide the basis for the conceptual framework proposed by the present study (see Figure 1). It is argued that cities that can most effectively utilize these mechanisms are those that are most likely to experience successful image enhancement.

[INSERT FIG 1 ABOUT HERE]

Synecdoche

The first proposed image change mechanism involves 'synecdoche'. This is the rather ugly linguistic term for instances where a part of something is used to stand for the whole, or indeed where the whole is used to stand for a part. A number of authors refer to this process as metonymy (Fiske 1990, Laurier 1993), but metonymy is a broader concept that refers to instances when one name for something is substituted for another. Both these tropes involve relationships between two entities that are not habitually associated, but synecdoche has particular resonance for cities and city images. As Donald asserts, we are unable to contain the unbounded spread of large cities in an all-encompassing image and therefore tend to recall the city through

images of memorable features (1997:181). Tuan concurs, stating that the construction

of images involves reducing the complexity of an urban area into simplified

representations that encapsulate the whole city. Tuan cites monuments such as the

Eiffel Tower, or silhouettes such as the famous skyline of New York, as illustrative

examples of this phenomenon (1977).

Some authors have attempted to analyse how synecdoche is used to read and construct

urban space. For example, research by Glaesner reveals that synecdochical readings

of space are prevalent in post-unification Germany, where 'spatial features are read as

a microcosm of a social system' (Glaesner 1998:13). Similarly, Walter Benjamin's

work is noted for the way he uses limited spaces in Paris as a synecdoche for an entire

historical period. Tourism researchers have also explored the link between tourist

images and synecdoche, although not necessarily using the same terminology. Mayo

and Jarvis (1981) argue that, despite the inherent complexity of destinations, tourists

tend to perceive places via a single object or icon deemed appropriate to represent

them. Indeed, the authors suggest that for many people Switzerland is represented by

the Alps and that Hawaii is often imagined as a beach (Mayo and Jarvis 1981).

Similarly, MacCannell (1999) discusses how tourists use individual sights and their

associated markers to represent destinations. Using MacCannell's principles regarding

sight/marker/sight transformations, one way that reimaging may influence city images

is through the transformation of associated sights (new initiatives) and markers

(representations of the initiatives) into symbols that encapsulate the city as a whole.

MacCannell suggests that this synecdochical process does not involve simply cutting

off a part to represent the whole, stating that 'care is exercised in the matter of what

part of the whole is selected, the choice being limited to sights that are well-marked in their own right' (1999:131).

City reimaging often involves attempts to develop attractive and memorable synecdochical images for cities that do not possess them. It can also be used to supplant existing synecdochical images that municipal authorities are keen to disassociate their cities from. Flagship buildings and spaces are often specifically developed to meet one of these objectives and the concept of 'imageability' may help to explain the mechanisms through which they can develop synecdochical qualities. Kevin Lynch pioneered the investigation of 'imageability' and he refers to this concept as the quality in a physical object that gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer (Lynch 1960). Lynch's ideas can be linked to more recent arguments, where it is observed that city authorities have adopted strategies that aestheticize cities by stressing the visual consumption of public space (Lash and Urry 1994, Zukin 1998). Frank Gehry's highly 'imageable' design for the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is perhaps the best known example of this phenomenon (Plaza 2000). Synecdoche and imageability are usually associated with fixed urban features, but it is important to note that images of events may also be 'transferred' to represent a destination (Brown et al 2002:163). Miller suggests that as we cannot imagine 'space' as such, we instead imagine an event or events taking place in those spaces (c.f. Donald 1997:181). Therefore synecdochical city images often consist of certain memorable events that people can recall having taken place in that city.

Connotation

A second way in which reimaging initiatives can change city images is through the generation of intended and unintended connotations which then become attached to a city. Connotations are 'wider meanings that are dependent on certain cultural associations' (Stevenson 1995:41). The use of this term is somewhat problematic in that most authors use it to refer to associative meanings in general, whereas Barthes (1977) considers it to comprise merely one element of his 'second order of signification'. In the present study, connotation is considered to be the production of more abstract meanings generated through the interaction of messages with the 'feelings or emotions of the user and the values of their culture' (Fiske 1990:86). This definition is important as it implies that abstract and arbitrary meanings are the result of both an individual processing of information and also of wider cultural influences. It also highlights the link between connotation and affective images.

Certain connotations produced by reimaging initiatives can influence city images. These associations may be causally linked to these initiatives, or arbitrarily linked, indicating the communication of indexical and symbolic signs respectively (Pierce 1931-1958). One of the reasons why reimaging strategies sometimes fail to enhance city images is because the connotations they aim to evoke are poorly defined. Therefore, although many cities actively pursue image change, they often do not have a clear vision of their intended outcomes. Indeed, although many cities actively seek new urban landscapes to provide important symbols, they often adopt initiatives that are devoid of meaningful connotations. Even when connotations are envisaged, they are usually rather vague and it is common to see cities attempting to induce feelings that they are cosmopolitan, international, modern, vibrant or dynamic. This

ambiguity is partly a result of the plethora of target audiences that reimaging is simultaneously trying to influence.

As synecdochical images are also likely to be accompanied by wider connotations, cities should be able to simultaneously utilize both these proposed mechanisms. This would obviously maximise the efficiency of any reimaging. However, there may be several obstacles preventing this from occurring. Certain reimaging initiatives may produce important connotations, but they may not have the 'imageability' required to induce widespread synecdochical effects. Conversely, some reimaging initiatives designed as synecdochical tools may fail to communicate useful connotations because they exist merely as empty aesthetic icons, rather than meaningful symbols. MacCannell indicates synecdochical urban features may also fail to encourage tourism, as tourists may perceive them only as symbols of a destination and therefore unworthy of actual visitation (MacCannell 1999). MacCannell suggests this results from the object losing its own markers in becoming a marker for something else, therefore rendering it incomplete 'in itself' as an attraction (1999). There may also be difficulties in the clarity of communication that attempts to reconcile synecdochical effects with more general connotations. Communication theorists imply that metonymic communication is often used in isolation from other symbolic tropes. For example, different artistic movements usually restrict their symbolism to one mode of non literal communication. Therefore, whilst Cubism is clearly metonymic, surrealists adopt a more metaphorical approach (Wilden 1987). Similarly, it is often stated that poetry is essentially dominated by metaphorical communication, whilst prose is usually based on metonyms. If the same is true of reimaging initiatives, then they may be restricted to one type of effect at the expense of the other.

The identification of synecdoche and connotation as separate reimaging mechanisms could also be construed as problematic. It could be argued that synecdoche is actually a form of connotation as iconic features are used to connote a whole city. Furthermore, when city images are modified by connotations underpinned by 'myth', synecdoche often plays a crucial part. As Fiske suggests, one symbol is often used synecdochically to construct the rest of the chain of concepts that constitute a myth (1990). Therefore, although separate effects are outlined here, these communicative processes do not exist independently of one another. An additional concern is that the framework largely ignores the denotative dimension of image change. For example, other image researchers have placed more emphasis on denotation and use-values. Gottdiener contends that 'systems of signification are multileveled structures that contain denotative signs' in addition to the 'the connotative ideologies of culture' (1995:25). However, such attention to denotation is rare amongst contemporary communication theorists. Deconstructionists argue that every object or theme now only operates as a higher order sign function of mythical proportions, rendering material objects and their functional denotations irrelevant. Though this position is rather extreme, it is unquestionable that all language and communication contains value judgments and an evaluative orientation (Voloshinov 1973). This makes it difficult to justify attention to denotation and the literal dimension of image.

An Application of the Framework: Reimaging Barcelona

To demonstrate and evaluate the value of framework detailed above, it has been applied to Barcelona; a city that is generally assumed to have pursued an effective

reimaging strategy in recent years. It has certainly experienced a dramatic rise in its popularity as a tourist destination, receiving a massive increase in overnight stays from 3.8 million in 1990, to 9.1 million in 2003 (Turisme de Barcelona 2003). Barcelona is now regarded as one of Europe's most fashionable tourist cities, with a recent headline in Newsweek International proclaiming: 'It's the coolest city in Europe' (Rossi 2004). However, this contemporary image belies a legacy of problematic representations. Indeed, over recent centuries, various epithets have been attached to the city that are hard to reconcile with its current popularity as a tourist destination. For example, during the 19th and early 20th century, Barcelona was known as 'the city of the three sins', 'the rose of fire' and 'the city of bombs' because of its turbulent political history. Eduardo Mendoza used the more flattering 'La Ciudad de los Prodigios' (City of Marvels) for the title of his novel set in Barcelona during this period. However, this book and the prose of other notable authors, including Jean Genet, Josep Maria de Sagarra and Manuel Vasquez Montalban, depict the city as a sordid mixture of prostitution, depravity and corruption.

At the beginning of the 20th century Barcelona did make a concerted effort to address its problematic image. In 1908 the 'Society for the Attraction of Foreigners' disseminated a new image of a cosmopolitan Barcelona, in contrast to its representation as an industrial and revolutionary city (Monclus 2000). Between 1910 and 1914 campaigns with slogans such as 'Barcelona: The Winter City' and 'Barcelona: Pearl of the Mediterranean' were used to attract international tourists (Monclus 2000:59). However, these efforts and the symbolic effects of new squares and public buildings constructed during the Catalan 'Renaixenca'(c.1878-1926) were largely negated by the Spanish Civil War and Franco's subsequent dictatorship (1939-

1975). Alongside the physical neglect of the city during this period, the effective removal of Barcelona's status as a Catalan, cultural and European 'capital' detracted from the city's external image.

The rather drab image of Barcelona during the Franco era is evident in the accounts of various local and international commentators. Recalling a visit in 1953, the British statesman and author Roy Jenkins considered the city to be 'dingy and dull' (Jenkins 2002:229). Even in the midst of long awaited democratic reform twenty-five years later, the Catalan author Manuel Vazquez Montalban felt that the city was merely 'mediocre' (1992:190). Such views were widespread during the 1950s, 60s and 70s, and accordingly, during this period Barcelona became known as 'La Barcelona Grisa', or Gray Barcelona (Hughes 2001:16). This mundane image suggests that Barcelona had failed to address the rather damming assessment of Catalan poet Joan Maragall who, many years earlier, had moaned that Barcelona was a 'simbol de tota mitjana', a symbol of everything middling (cited in Montalban 1992:82). More recently, Barcelona has also had to address the obstacles faced by many industrial port cities. As Hall notes, in the contemporary era the word 'industry' evokes 'a whole series of negative, unfashionable images' (Hall 1997:216).

In recent years Barcelona has renewed its long-held ambition to disassociate itself from associations with industry, political unrest, deprivation and depravation. If solely measured in terms of tourist receipts and tourist images, then Barcelona's contemporary reimaging has undoubtedly been a success. However, in an era when many in Spain are desperate to discourage 'desmemoria' (the culture of forgetting), Barcelona's attempts to distance itself from images of the past have been

controversial. Balibrea (2001) is particularly critical of the way in which the city's heritage has been sanitised to satisfy the global tourism market. Barcelona's reimaging is particularly complicated and controversial because of competing narratives regarding the city's Catalan versus Spanish versus European identity. The Mayor who directed Barcelona's recent reimaging admits that this political and ideological context 'made things more difficult in the messages to be conveyed, as well as in symbolism, languages and gestures' (Maragall 2004:69). Barcelona's status as the capital of Catalonia makes it a complex and sensitive case study from which to draw conclusions about tourism imagery. However, it also makes it a fascinating one, particularly as the city appears to have used specific reimaging initiatives to meet political, alongside tourism, objectives.

To the casual observer, the contemporary reimaging programme deployed by Barcelona may appear to be a typical example of the long-established urban tradition of civic boosterism. The 1992 Olympic Games provided the seemingly obligatory grand spectacle and a conventional mixture of slogans and promotional material was used to sell Barcelona to an external audience. However, the Games and associated marketing campaigns were supplemented by an extensive regeneration programme pursued throughout the administration of mayor Pasqual Maragall (1982-1997). Essentially, it is these innovative initiatives, assisted and showcased by the 1992 Olympic Games, that have fundamentally reinvigorated Barcelona's image. This programme began with localized neighbourhood renewal, but evolved into a more extensive regeneration project that both reshaped and resemanticized city. A more subtle approach to reimaging was incorporated into these initiatives, involving the construction and showcasing of 'imageable' buildings and urban spaces.

Interestingly, this approach appears to have utilized the mechanisms outlined in previous sections of this paper. This is demonstrated by analysing three key image themes deployed by Barcelona. These themes have been chosen because they are deemed to be largely responsible for Barcelona's recent image enhancement. It is important to state that these are not merely individual campaigns, but key themes that have pervaded Barcelona's reimaging over the past two decades. Moreover, they are not traditional marketing campaigns, but initiatives deployed to stimulate independent media coverage of the city. The initiatives cited function as reimaging tools, but it should be recognized that most are also complex urban initiatives that satisfy a number of wider objectives. Indeed, their potency is partly explained by their status as image-orientated urban development programmes, rather than as merely promotional vehicles.

The Modernista City

One of the most important contributors to Barcelona's new image has been the 'Posa't Guapa' initiative. Between 1986 and 1999, the City Council spent 6,923 million pesetas (£27.7million) on this campaign to reclaim and promote the city's architectural heritage (Balibrea 2001). This allowed the restoration of much of the city's 'modernista' architecture dating from 1880-1920, that was wilfully neglected during the administration of Mayor Porcioles (1957-1973). Although this was a genuine attempt to restore buildings and civic pride, it can also be interpreted as a sophisticated reimaging strategy. As Esteban states, the campaign was 'directed specifically at improving the existing image of the city' as it was 'mainly the restoration of facades and outer walls that was promoted' (2004:135). Tourist images were specifically targeted. Indeed, Balibrea suggests that the Posa't Gaupa campaign aimed 'to help construct a new tourist image and personality of the city' (2001:191).

This is reaffirmed by the city's designation of the years 2000, 2001 and 2002 as themed tourism years dedicated to city's three most famous Modernista architects, Lluis Domènech, Josep Puig and Antoni Gaudí. It is also demonstrated by current tourism marketing literature that proclaims the city to be the 'Capital of Modernisme'.

The effects of this 'Modernista' reimaging strategy can be understood via reference to the processes of image change identified in the conceptual framework. The successful reclamation, (re)presentation and championing of buildings designed by Domènech, Puig and Gaudí, has provided Barcelona with several important new synecdochical devices. With their unusual exteriors, colourful tiles, and extravagant curves, Gaudí's buildings are particularly 'imageable'. Indeed, they are frequently compared with buildings within Disney Theme Parks, structures deliberately 'imagineered' for the tourist gaze (Hench and van Pelt 2003). Realising this, tourism organizations have used Gaudí buildings such as Casa Milà and Casa Batló to represent Barcelona as a whole. Their frequent appearance on the covers of guide books, as backdrops to various TV broadcasts, and on merchandise in Barcelona's souvenir shops is testament to this synecdochical role. The recent emphasis placed on Modernista architecture has also accentuated the potency of Barcelona's most established synecdochical representation – Gaudí's unfinished cathedral, the Sagrada Familia. As Hughes states, despite the construction of new iconic buildings and spaces in the city, the Sagrada Familia 'is still the emblem of Barcelona, as the Eiffel Tower is of Paris, or the Harbour Bridge of Sydney' (2001:465).

Supplementing this synecdochical impact, Modernista reimaging has also helped Barcelona to disseminate strategic connotations. This is a complex process as there is

inevitably disparity between what the architects intended to symbolize, how these structures have been represented by tourist authorities, and tourists' own interpretations of the buildings and their markers. To complicate matters further, the symbolism used by the Modernista architects varied considerably, with Gaudí's religious iconography contrasting markedly with the secularism of his supposed contemporaries. Indeed, although Gaudí is paraded by the City Council as a synecdoche for Modernisme, in certain respects he was not a modernista architect at all (Hughes 2001). Such discrepancies have been conveniently ignored by the City Council and Gaudí's buildings have been used to signify and unify Barcelona's modernista, and wider artistic, credentials.

To the naïve observer, Gaudí's buildings may connote excitement, eccentrism and playfulness, as well as connoting that Barcelona is an artistic city. For a more discerning audience, the meanings generated may be very different, but still important to, and compatible with, Barcelona's reimaging efforts. For example, the complex Catalan connotations evoked by Gaudí's work fit neatly into the urge to communicate the city's cultural and political identity. Barcelona is deemed by many of its inhabitants to be the capital of the Catalan 'nation', and therefore slogans such as 'Capital of Modernisme' are polysemic; espousing both political and cultural ambitions. The Modernista buildings are particularly strong Catalan symbols as they were built during a period of great significance for Catalonia, during which contemporary Catalan nationalist thought and praxis was founded (Nogue and Vicente 2004). However, as Modernisme emerged as an artistic movement strongly influenced by wider English, French and German perspectives, it also allows the city to connote its European credentials. This fits with the city's desire to be considered as

the capital of the South West European macro-region, as well as the capital of Catalonia (Monclus 2000).

Therefore, Barcelona's strategic use of its Modernista architecture meets many of the city's reimaging objectives. It has been deployed as a way of connoting the city's Catalan and European identity, whilst also communicating that Barcelona possesses the architectural and cultural resources seemingly required to attract the attention of 'the right sort' of tourists (Harvey 1989). Highlighting associations with style, art, design and heritage has helped the city to develop a reputation as being a cultural, rather than an industrial city. Therefore via the strategic communication of iconic forms and meaningful connotations, Barcelona has skilfully used its Modernista architecture to engineer image change.

The Sporting City

Barcelona interrupted its run of architecturally themed years by designating 2003 as the 'Year of Sport'. This provided another illustration of the city's faith in the value of sport as a reimaging tool. In light of the success of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, such faith is perhaps understandable, and the city seems keen to reaffirm its sporting credentials. Indeed, the 'Year of Sport' can be understood as an attempt to avoid the image decay that Ritchie and Smith (1991) suggest that Olympic cities will experience if steps are not taken in the post-Games era to keep links with sport visible. Barcelona's Olympic connections actually predate 1992. The city submitted several failed bids before winning the right to stage the XXV Olympiad, and it hosted the ill-fated People's Games of 1936, a more palatable alternative to the official version staged in Nazi Germany. Barcelona also has a long tradition of staging other

major sport events, including the Football World Cup Finals (1982) and the Athletics World Cup (1989). More recently, the city has staged the UEFA Champions League Final (1999), the World Swimming Masters (2003) and it also hosts an annual Formula One Grand Prix. Furthermore, the city has long benefited from the glamorous reputation of its main football club, FC Barcelona, and the multi-sport campus that has emerged around the Club's Camp Nou stadium. Although it is unfair to regard recent sport initiatives as merely marketing tools, image does appear to be a key justification for their implementation. This is evidenced by an excerpt from the City Council's Annual Report:

> '2003 has been the year of sport in Barcelona. Huge sporting events put cities under the spotlight and make an important contribution to the attractive image that a city has. Barcelona has consolidated that image with the organisation of the World Swimming Championships, the X Police and Firemen Games and the European Cup of Nations Hockey Championship.'

> Ajuntament de Barcelona (2004:38)

Like its Modernista strategy, Barcelona's sport reimaging can be equated to the image mechanisms identified in the conceptual framework. Because of sport's symbolic capacity, media exposure, contemporary significance and popular acclaim, some commentators imply that sport facilities possess particular synecdochical qualities. For example, Raitz (1987:5) states that sport stadia provide cities with buildings that are distinctive and which evoke a strong sense of place. This view is echoed by Bale who observes that 'it is the floodlights of the stadium, not the spire of the cathedral that more often than not act as urban landmarks and points of reference' (1993:3).

Meticulous attention to external appearance and milieu, rather than merely technical specifications, suggests that many of the new sport facilities in Barcelona were designed as synecdochical tools. Examples include the Olympic stadium, the Isozaki-designed Palau St. Jordi indoor arena, and the outdoor diving complex. The iconic status of these designer arenas is emphasized by Montalban's reference to them as 'temples of sport' (1992:210) and their exposure during televised events has produced lasting images of the city. This is best demonstrated by one of Barcelona's most powerful and complex synecdoches - the image of its outdoor diving pool with the city as a spectacular backdrop.

Alongside synecdochical effects, Barcelona's sport reimaging has also generated positive connotations, further enhancing the image of the city. Sport has been used by cities to connote various arbitrary meanings including national identity (Blain et al 1993), machismo (Schimmel 1995), modernity (Nielsen 1995) and progress (Rowe 1995). These meanings are highly relevant to Barcelona's reimaging objectives, as the city attempts to establish itself in the European urban hierarchy, whilst simultaneously pursuing a 'nationalistic project' as the Catalan capital (Hunt 2000:33). From the oft-cited role of FC Barcelona as the symbol of the Catalan nation (Burns 1999), to the freedom for Catalonia banners present when the Olympic flame arrived on Catalan soil (McNeill 1999), sport has helped Barcelona with this 'project'. In addition to political objectives, the Olympic initiatives were deliberately designed to generate connotations useful for tourism, with Maragall asserting that the Barcelona Olympics aimed to project an 'image of festivity and rapprochement' (2004:69). Rowe argues that sport's attractive capacity to generate these symbolic meanings is derived from 'the repetitive assertion of sport's values such as

'universalism, transcendence, heroism, competitiveness, individual motivation and teamship' (Rowe 1995:138). Specific sport venues may also become a symbol of imagined ideals, for example 'the pastoral in the midst of a gritty city' (Raitz 1987:7). Again, this interpretation is particularly applicable to Barcelona, as the city's new sport facilities are concentrated on Montjuic, a serene hillside whose botanical character has been deliberately preserved, distinguishing it from the rest of Barcelona's densely urbanized city centre.

The Monumental City

A final theme that has contributed to Barcelona's image transformation is the monumentalisation of the city. Arguably Barcelona first experienced a period of monumentalisation from 1901 -1929, when the city tried to assert itself as a national capital (Monclus 2000). The developments during this period correspond with the conventional interpretation of monuments as commemorative tools designed to encourage a collective national memory. However, in recent analyses of monumentality, commentators have noticed a shift towards global iconography, with a concomitant emptying of historical meanings (Therborn 2002). This trend is apparent in contemporary Barcelona as the city has commissioned a plethora of new cultural 'monuments' designed by global architects. This 'hard branding' of cities based on the reputations and signature styles of global architects has become a common feature of contemporary cities (Evans 2003). Alongside benefiting from the values associated with these architectural 'brands', the presence of new structures designed by famous architects comprises 'a kind of free publicity indispensable for place marketing' (McNeill 1999:159). In Barcelona, this free publicity has encompassed a potent mixture of news coverage of the new structures and the various

events staged within them, plus the increasing tendency to use new monuments as the city as a backdrop for various TV programmes and advertisements. Indeed, the city's new spaces have been used to sell a diverse range of products from cars to cold-sore cream. This is a very different type of monumentalisation from that pursued in Barcelona during the early part of the 20th Century. As Verschaffel states, the use of monuments has changed as representational space has moved from the physical environmental to the space of the media and public opinion. In this space, 'the significance of monuments seems to lie primarily in their suitability to be transformed into an icon and in their potential to …..support city marketing' (1999:335). It seems Barcelona's new buildings are typical of this new monumentalism. Balibrea feels that the semantics and hermeneutics of Barcelona's new monuments 'have been constructed for the foreign viewer' (2001:189), as part of a symbolic project 'striving to make the Catalan city part of the tourist circuit of great cultural cities' (2001:198). Therefore destination image enhancement has been prioritized, and it is possible to see how the city has implicitly used the processes of synecdoche and connotation to achieve these image objectives.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

As Verschaffel states 'monuments stand out by their central and eye catching position, by their size, by their being placed on a pedestal or by their massive and solid appearance' (1999:333). Commissioning high profile architects and designers such as Calatrava, Foster, Meier, Isozaki, and Gehry to develop buildings, spaces and public art with such characteristics has certainly enhanced Barcelona's image. The synecdochical dimension of these projects is particularly apparent, as the City

Government knew that the location, scale, and designer status of many of the new buildings and sculptures would imbue them with synecdochical qualities. Herzog and de Meuron's new structure in the Diagonal Mar area is the latest example of Barcelona's obsession with synecdochical buildings. Their 'Forum Building' was designed as the centrepiece for the Universal Forum of Cultures 2004 and its envisaged role was explicitly acknowledged in advance of its completion, with banners placed around the construction site proclaiming that the structure will be a 'new emblem for the city' (Figure 2). Similarly, Richard Meier's MACBA building, Frank Gehry's 'Fish' sculpture and the Communication Towers of Foster and Calatrava were deliberately designed to attract the attention of a global tourist audience.

These new monuments have contributed to Barcelona's holistic image by emphasizing easily readable, singular images to represent the whole city. As Balibrea notes, they have 'contributed hugely to the implantation of a standard, popular, totalizing vision of Barcelona' (Balibrea 2001:204). Despite their iconic status, Balibrea implies that Barcelona's recent cultural monuments are rather devoid of meaning, because of the conspicuous absence of historical significance. However, although they may lack grounded meaning, these monuments do connote ideas such as cosmopolitanism, globalism, and designer status which have enhanced Barcelona's tourist image. As Therborn argues, this 'globalistc iconography and monumentality' is designed to connote 'impressiveness and attractiveness' to international visitors (2002:46). It also fits conveniently with the city's explicit mission to communicate its European qualities, alongside its Catalan credentials. Barcelona clearly wants to join the ranks of the 'Euro-Cities', which Parsons sees as 'axes of aesthetic and cultural

cosmopolitanism, both focal points of indigenous history and culture, and neutral zones in which a heterogeneity of social groups and nationalities converge' (2000:2). These characteristics are clearly demonstrated in Barcelona's strategy, which has aimed to complement the work of international designers with that of Catalan artists and architects. Therefore, as well as providing synecdochical images, the new cultural monuments in Barcelona meet political objectives by connoting that Barcelona is a Catalan, Euro-City, rather than a provincial Spanish city. This enables Barcelona to connote its equivalence with other European centres of 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' that dominate the urban tourism market (Urry 1990; McNeill 1999).

Evaluation and discussion

If, as is often stated, Barcelona is now perceived as modern, Catalan, European, designer and exciting, rather than industrial, Spanish, ugly, uncouth and dull, then Figure 3 perhaps helps to explain why. The three themes identified have made an important contribution to Barcelona's image enhancement, and this reimaging seems to have occurred largely through the mechanisms highlighted in the conceptual framework. The creation or reinforcement of memorable synecdochical images and the production of positive connotations has undoubtedly helped to boost the city's image. Reflecting comments made in the opening sections of this paper, this imagery has been subtly disseminated through autonomous media coverage, rather than traditional advertising and marketing communications. Essentially the initiatives have advertised themselves by attracting the attention of international media companies, thus penetrating a wider audience and giving Barcelona's reimaging greater credibility. Furthermore, and allaying concerns expressed previously, individual

initiatives appear to be capable of utilising both image mechanisms simultaneously and this also helps to explain why Barcelona's reimaging has been successful.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Alongside the positive outcomes, there are some problematic issues associated with Barcelona's reimaging efforts. As Figure 3 emphasises, Barcelona has developed a large number of new synecdochical images, including new stadia, new buildings and the (re)presentation of existing modernista structures. This deployment of multiple 'parts' to represent one 'whole' seems to contradict the premise of synecdoche. Whilst different audiences may use different synecdochical images, the critical mass of iconic edifices now present in Barcelona may be beginning to confuse the city's image, rather than enhance it. This concern is exacerbated by the unremitting development of new icons such as Nouvel's 'Torre Agbar'. Accordingly, there remains the possibility that tourists may suffer from what Rybczynski (2003) terms 'architectural fatigue' and become impervious to the synecdochical effects of new buildings, however spectacular their design. Iconic buildings designed by global architects are seemingly in danger of becoming the new equivalent of waterfront developments or aquariums; serially reproduced thus increasingly impotent as reimaging tools.

A further observation relates to the compatibility of themes that have been used by Barcelona; sport, heritage and modern design. Although Figure 3 suggests these diverse initiatives have been used to generate broadly similar meanings, they could be construed as contradictory, as they traditionally appeal to very different tastes. To

appeal to tourists using these themes, Barcelona either manages to simultaneously covet separate segments of the market without detrimental cross–contamination of imagery, or conversely it relies on attracting eclectic tourists who may be receptive to all these themes. As most of the imagery has been disseminated through autonomous image formation agents, it seems improbable that the former provides an adequate explanation. Therefore, the rise of the 'new middle classes' (Munt 1994) or the 'post-tourist' (Urry 1995) and their supposedly eclectic tastes could be responsible, assisted by the increasingly blurred boundaries between high and low culture (Featherstone 1991). The increasing sanitization of urban sport and the simultaneous popularization of architecture and heritage seems to be providing tourists with accessible, palatable, and therefore compatible, versions of each theme.

One final observation is that Barcelona seems to be moving away from the elements of its strategy that have been widely applauded, towards a new approach that seems worryingly reminiscent of conventional boosterism. Indeed, the current obsession with reimaging through symbolism and grand statements represents a significant deviation from the city's original plans. The initial blueprint for the regeneration of Barcelona in the early 1980s emphasized the reconstruction of the city from below, with attention to individual neighbourhoods and a conscious attempt to give precedence to smaller projects. The plan was to survey the city district by district, rather than drawing up an overall plan to remodel the whole city (Montalban 1992). This reflected a reassessment of the meaning of 'the city' in Catalan and Spanish philosophy which rejected the prioritization of 'el Todo' (the whole) (Montalban 1992). However, Balibrea (2001) implies that the city found it difficult to align this approach with destination image objectives. As a result, the original plans were

superseded by large-scale projects that would represent the city as a 'rational and ordered' holistic entity (Balibrea 2001:203). Balibrea contends that tourism concerns forced this change of emphasis, as municipal authorities felt that it needed to present a clear, coherent and meaningful holistic image to become a successful city destination.

The skewing of Barcelona's image objectives towards image development appears to have resulted in successful image change. However, that does not necessarily mean that this approach has achieved successful urban regeneration. As Balibrea (2001) identifies, concentrating heavily on creating a holistic image that is pleasant and easy to consume for tourists can result in various problematic effects, from the sanitization of local political history, to the neglect of the social and geographical urban periphery. Whereas Barcelona once talked of 'monumentalizing the suburbs', it now seems obsessed with monuments per se. The production of new synecdochical images and urban symbols saturated with connotations requires a particular approach to regeneration, involving the development of 'imageable' landscapes and grand spectacles. Healey (1995) asserts that the experiences of cities in the 1990s has revealed the 'fallacies' of this mode of urban regeneration (1995:267). Such initiatives may present a coherent holistic image of the city to naïve external audiences, but they are not always the most appropriate urban strategies. Despite Barcelona's success in reorienting its tourist image, opinion remains divided as to whether this has compromised wider socio-economic objectives. Calavita and Ferrer (2000) assert that Barcelona's attempt at city marketing 'has not hampered, as is generally the case, the pursuit of an ambitious social agenda' (2000:805). However, Balibrea states that this prevailing view 'needs to be regarded with scepticism and vigilance, particularly in view of increasing social polarization' (2001:188).

Conclusion

Barcelona has experienced positive image change in recent years and this process has occurred via the effective production of new synecdoches and connotations. The imagery presented by Barcelona has also allowed attractive meanings to be attached to the city. Consequently, amongst the international tourist market cognitive images of Barcelona are not merely a selection of known features, but a series of powerful synecdoches. Barcelona is now deemed to be a cultural, cosmopolitan, lively and aesthetically pleasing city and these affective images are also a direct outcome of recent reimaging initiatives. This has been achieved through a variety of initiatives discussed here under three key themes. In this conclusion it is perhaps important to identify the commonalities between these three themes. Through sporting, heritage and architectural imagery alike the city has consistently communicated that it is a 'capital': capital of culture, capital of Catalonia and capital of SW Europe. Being a capital city is 'synonymous' with being a cosmopolitan city (Monclus 2000:59). Therefore, Barcelona has been able to use its recovered status to connote its cosmopolitanism; something invaluable to tourist cities (McNeill 1999). It has also enabled the initiatives to meet political objectives, thus engendering civic support. Furthermore, all three themes have been communicated not through traditional marketing channels, but by coveting independent media attention. Therefore, as Maragall himself identifies, media relations have contributed significantly to Barcelona's success (2004). A final common thread is that each theme has also presented the city with an opportunity to entertain and satisfy its visitors, rather than merely providing a convenient media representation. Although analysed merely in

terms of their non-literal symbolism, the initiatives have contributed on a more practical level to Barcelona's success. The restored heritage, sporting infrastructure and cultural monuments provide successful tourist attractions and a more attractive city centre, not merely glossy images in magazines. This helps to explain why the 'multitudes of curious or hedonistic visitors on architecture field trips, football weekends….. cultural espionage forays and Thomson city breaks' (McNeill 1999:1) have returned from recent visits eager to reiterate media eulogies about the city, rather than contest them.

This paper has identified a simple conceptual framework that represents how reimaging initiatives can affect tourist images of city destinations. Its application to Barcelona's reimaging suggests that it can assist research into, and understanding of, city reimaging. Little work exists that attempts to explore the relationship between the images of tourists and representations of cities. The ideas in this paper should assist conceptual understanding of this relationship. It would obviously have been interesting to research the images of tourists to consider whether their images are influenced by synecdoche and connotation in the manner proposed. However, as Goss states, the purpose of much semiotic analysis is to understand 'how the text works', rather than to identify the exact meanings derived. Accordingly, the present study has merely attempted to suggest the mechanisms through which Barcelona's reimaging has worked as a form of cultural communication, rather than examining individuals' images of Barcelona. The main advantage of the framework is that it is flexible enough to address a range of reimaging techniques, including events, iconic structures and autonomous media coverage, as well as conventional marketing communications. Though certain limitations have been identified, it provides a clear

indication of how reimaging can induce city image change. Accordingly, there are important academic implications of the framework. It can be utilized to explore what meanings are generated by city reimaging and which of the proposed mechanisms for image enhancement are utilized. There are also implications for the design of appropriate research instruments to evaluate the effects of city reimaging. For example, to address complex imagery such as synecdoche and connotation, flexible instruments such as the use of in-depth interviews with potential tourists need to be used.

Alongside its academic ramifications, the conceptual framework provides implications for the effective reimaging of cities. One conclusion from the analysis of the Barcelona case study is that it seems possible to implement reimaging that can simultaneously develop both proposed modes of image change. Thus reimaging strategies need to be carefully configured by other cities to allow these dual effects to be realised. Image enhancement objectives are usually very vague and the framework identified here can help to clarify the intended outcomes of reimaging initiatives. By clearly identifying how specific image effects are to be generated, reimaging strategies can be more focused, more accountable and better justified. Addressing the framework can also help municipal authorities to think about which forms of image modification should be prioritized by their reimaging efforts. Furthermore, the Barcelona case demonstrates that cities do not have to rely on one synecdochical image, but can simultaneously develop a range of compatible synecdoches. Perhaps a new linguistic term is needed for such instances where several parts are used to represent one whole. Despite a history of multiple narratives of Barcelona and the recent development of multiple icons, the effective combination of local and global

iconography has presented a coherent holistic image to tourists. Commentators such as Balibrea are appalled by such superficial representations, but there is little doubt that they assist tourism marketing. However, critics are right to worry about the problematic skewing of urban strategies towards image enhancement objectives. Image change should be one of several outcomes of successful regeneration strategies, not the ultimate objective. Barcelona initially achieved image change through initiatives associated with an innovative regeneration programme, and therefore taking short cuts to achieve instant image transformation may compromise both these objectives. Large-scale investment in urban areas needs to be guided by more rigorous objectives than the spurious procurement of synecdoche and connotations. Even if image enhancement is secured, and even if this results in more tourist visits, the benefits of physical transformation, prestige projects and mega-events are not necessarily redistributed among urban residents.

A research agenda

Many new flagship developments, mega-events and other place marketing activities are justified by their supposed image benefits. Despite this apparent obsession with image, few attempts have been made to suggest if, how and why reimaging can result in positive benefits for cities. The challenge for municipal authorities and academic researchers is to address this uncertainty by pursuing a research agenda involving four key elements:

1. Identifying the mechanisms through which city reimaging works and integrating these ideas into the development of future initiatives;

2. Analyzing if reimaging has achieved its immediate objective - image change - by identifying whether the proposed mechanisms for image enhancement have been successfully utilized;

3. Examining the effects of any image change on the city destination by identifying changes in consumption patterns, tourist receipts and visitation levels;

4. Evaluating the wider effects of reimaging initiatives on the city, by ascertaining their contribution to physical, social and economic regeneration.

The conceptualization outlined in this paper has identified the potential effects of city reimaging and has explained the processes through which these effects are produced. In doing so it makes a significant contribution to addressing the first two points of the agenda detailed above. However, until research is undertaken to address this agenda more fully, city reimaging will remain a rather speculative response to the challenges faced by the contemporary city.

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Reimaging tool	Mechanism for image change	Image component affected
New initiative e.g. Monument Event Building	New or reinforced synecdoche	Cognitive
	New or reinforced connotations	Affective

Fig 1. Diagram of the proposed conceptual framework

Figure 2. A banner demonstrating the envisaged synecdochical role for the new Forum Building that opened in 2004 in Diagonal Mar, Barcelona.

Initiatives	Synecdochical images generated (or reinforced)	Connotations generated (or reinforced)
Modernista Barcelona	Casa Batlo Casa Mila Sagrada Familia Park Guell	Art and design Catalan 'nationalism' Catholicism Eccentricity European-ness Excitement Heritage Playfulness
Sporting Barcelona	Olympic Stadium Diving Pool and view from Montjuic Camp Nou Palau St Jordi Individual sport events	Catalan 'nationalism' Machismo Modernity Progress Festivity Rapprochement Urban pastoralism
Monumental Barcelona	Communications Towers (Calatrava and Foster) MACBA (Meier) Forum Building (Herzog and de Meuron) Fish Sculpture (Gehry)	Art and design Catalan 'nationalism' Cosmopolitanism Modernity European-ness Globalism

Figure 3. A summary of the dual effects of Barcelona's reimaging initiatives