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¹ Chapter 4

² Heritagization of the Camino to Finisterre

3 Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

This chapter analyzes how heritage policies affect the Camino landscape and the daily lives of the people living in the towns and villages along the route. 1 I base my analysis on the idea that some aspects of the heritage regime (Bendix et al. 6 2012) have been naturalized by the various social agents involved in the Camino to 7 Finisterre. By 'naturalization' I mean the process by which an idea is not questioned as it represents 'how things should *naturally* be.' Different levels of naturalization cause heritage conflicts; therefore, understanding these levels of 10 naturalization will also help to analyze the conflicts concerning the heritagization 11 of the Camino to Finisterre. In order to do so, I will first outline the 'heritage 12 regime' social map. 13

Throughout the present chapter I will use two terms suggested in this book: 'pilgrim landscape' (Sánchez-Carretero, this chapter and Ballesteros-Arias, Chap. 6) and 'caminonization' (Margry Chap. 2, 8). The expression 'pilgrim landscape,' refers to the transformations in the landscape through which the pilgrimage route passes. It is also used to describe the transformations in terms of heritage management and tourist promotion that affect the sites along the Camino. Other authors, such as Campo (1998), Alderman (2002)-following Campo's definition of 'pilgrim landscape'- had a different meaning in mind, highlighting the relationship

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between people and place, in general, and therefore referring to pilgrim landscape metaphorically. The literal meaning of 'pilgrim landscape' is also related to the term caminonization. Margry describes this term as follows: 'the worldwide growth of sacred or spiritual footpaths is primarily stimulated by the success of the Camino. This process, which I call 'caminonization,' encompasses a proliferation of spiritual paths which stimulates people all over the world to depart on foot for a spiritual journey or a reflective quest on the meaning of life' (Margry, Chap. 8, this volume). I have expanded on the term caminonization to include the style linked to the Camino: its format, icons and even the pilgrims' behavior on the Camino de Santiago have become a model which is now expected of pilgrimage footpaths worldwide and of the rest of the Caminos too, including the Finisterra-Muxía route. The Camino is, therefore, creating and reproducing a particular pilgrim landscape maintained by certain heritage logics.

The study of the naturalization of the heritage regime logic is an example of how the authorized heritage discourse, or AHD (Smith 2006), cannot be linked to a 'top-bottom' dichotomy. The practices and world view of a heritage regime is being naturalized by some of the actors involved in the Camino as the unquestionable way of being in the world (Alonso González 2013; Bendix et al. 2012). That is precisely what I mean when I use the term 'naturalization': the process by which a situation is not questioned and is assumed to have happened 'naturally.'

42 4.1 The Heritage Regime of the Camino

In order to understand the heritage regime linked to the Camino Finisterre-Muxía, it is important to be familiar with three elements: firstly, the measures taken in order to protect the heritage of the Camino; secondly, the logic behind such regulations; and thirdly, the map of social actors that are involved in the heritagization of the Camino.

When analysing the heritage protection measures, I will include those that involve the Camino in general, even though some of them are not applied to the specific route to Finisterre-Muxía. This is because the heritage regime affects all the routes, and some conclusions can be drawn by looking at the legal status of the Camino in general. The Camino de Santiago has a long history of both national and supranational heritage policies. It was first officially recognized as a heritage element in 1962, during Franco dictatorship,² when the Camino Francés³ was

²For a detailed historic study of the revival of the Camino and the political uses during Franco's dictatorship see Pack (2010). This article covers the period from 1879 to 1988. For a study of the uses of heritage during Franco's dictatorship see Afinoguenova (2010).

³The term 'French Camino' might imply the part of the Camino located in France. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, I use 'Camino Francés' in Spanish to refer to the Spanish part of the main route of the Camino that starts in France.

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Fig. 4.1 Sign and milestone indicating the route. Source Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

designated 'conjunto histórico-artístico' (historic-artístic heritage) by the regulation 2224/1962, September 5. In 1985, the Spanish National Heritage law automatically designated the Camino Francés a *Bien de Interés Cultural* (BIC), a typology of protection with restrictive regulations, included in the Spanish heritage register. Additionally, many sites along the route received the same status. At a supranational level, in 1987 the Camino was the first route to be declared a European Cultural Itinerary, as part of the 'Cultural Routes' program launched by the Council of Europe. According to the Council, this program seeks to demonstrate 'how the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage.' This was the starting point of the icon in the shape of a shell which currently marks the Camino (see Fig. 4.1). It was designed by Macua and García-Ramos after an international competition was held by the Council of Europe in order to waymark the Camino as a European Cultural Itinerary (MOPU 1989). To quote Pack, the opportunity 'to Europeanize the conch shell emblem

⁴http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes, accessed June 18, 2013.

⁵The priest of O Cebreiro, Elías Valiña Sampedro, was the person who started to mark the Camino with yellow arrows (Herrero 2008: 132). For a complete history of the Camino waymarks, see Harrison (2013). For a newspaper article on the topic see http://elpais.com/diario/2010/05/15/galicia/1273918702_850215.html, accessed June 18, 2013.

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that the Franco government had placed on road signs; the new markers would mimic the nascent European flag, bearing a stylized yellow abstraction of a conch shell against a solid blue background' (Pack 2010: 366). In 1993 the Camino Francés was included on the UNESCO World Heritage list, and sections of the routes in France were added in 1999.

Various regional heritage legislations and policies have also been applied to the Caminos and these vary depending on the area the route passes through. In 1996 in Galicia, a regional law was passed specifically for the Camino. It included a series of steps to protect the Camino, the delimitation of the actual route being one of the first. The Xunta (Galician government) developed various measures regarding the protection of the Camino heritage; primarily the delimitation of the Caminos in Galician territory, which has not yet been finished.⁶ The delimitation of the Camino Francés in Galicia was approved in 2012⁷; the Camino del Norte (coastal and interior routes) was approved in 2013, and the Camino Inglés, in September 2014.8 Two measures were taken to protect the heritage of the Camino Francés: one consisted of keeping a strip of land 3-30 m wide alongside the Camino due to its 1985 heritage protection; and a damping zone that is related to the UNESCO protection. The Galician government recently published a guide giving a detailed description of what measures need to be taken (Xunta de Galicia 2012). However they have still to be fully implemented, showing that the conflict these rules arouse still needs to be evaluated.

As to the specific case of the Camino to Finisterre-Muxía, this route still lacks an official delimitation, except for the section that goes through the municipality of Santiago de Compostela that was established in September 2013. The Cape of Finisterre also has a designation: it was included on the European Heritage List in 2007 and continues to be listed after having been reassessed in 2011.

Each designation focuses on different aspects, as argued by Schrire (2006) and Murray (2014): the Council of Europe aims to protect the route's intangible heritage; and the UNESCO designation of the Camino Francés attaches 'more weight to the tangible heritage of material related to places, structures and art along the Camino Francés' (Murray 2014: 25). As for the Cape Finisterre, the European Heritage List of the European Commission seeks 'to raise awareness of sites which have played a significant role in the history, culture and development of the European Union.'¹⁰

Even though the Council of Europe heritage policies for the Camino as a European Cultural Itinerary emphasizes intangible elements, protection measures

⁶For updates on the delimitations of the caminos see http://cultura.xunta.es/es/caminos-santiago.

⁷Regulation 227/2011, December 2 2011; Regulation 144/2012, June 29 2012; Regulation 247/2012, November 22, 2012 and Regulation 144/2012, June 29 2012 (http://cultura.xunta.es/es/delimitacion-Camino-frances accessed May 12, 2014).

⁸Regulation 110/2014, September 4 2014.

⁹Regulation 154/2013, September 5, 2013.

¹⁰http://ec.europa.eu/culture/news/2014/20140314-label_en.htm accessed February 17, 2014.

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actually rely on a architectural and materialist basis; they target the preservation and restoration of the monuments along the Camino, the walkability of the route, and, in the case of Galicia, the protection of structures linked to popular architecture, such as *hórreos* (traditional and monumental elevated stone granaries) or *cruceiros* (stone crosses).

These legal processes of heritage protection cannot be understood without looking at two intertwined forces and the social actors that implement them: market logic, which focuses on developing the Camino as an economic resource; and the logic of identity politics, which focuses on various elements depending on the timeframe. Obviously, for instance, the interest in promoting the Camino during Franco's dictatorship was different from current interests.

Regarding the third element, the map of social actors, I will concentrate on the actors from the 1990s to the present, such as politicians, Catholic Church representatives, associations, owners of businesses in the hospitality sector, and local residents, including pilgrims who decided to remain in Finisterre upon their arrival. As explained in the introduction, in the 20th century, the recuperation of the Caminos began as an initiative of the Associations of the Camino de Santiago and, later, various administrations contributed to the project. In 1993, the year of the Camino's inclusion on the World Heritage List and a 'holy year' or 'xacobeo, 11' the Government of Galicia initiated the 'Xacobeo' program. The Finisterre-Muxía Route was then included as one of the Caminos de Santiago (Vilar 2010). Between 1997 and 2004, the Galician Association of Friends of the Camino (AGACS) and the association Neria organized annual pilgrimages to Finisterra and Muxía. In 1992 the association Neria was founded to promote and coordinate rural development and it was linked to EU LEADER funds for the development of rural areas. 12 The main objective of Neria was to 'promote and coordinate rural development, improve life conditions and to help end rural depopulation.'13

In 1991, in order to promote the Camino, the Galician Government (Xunta) created the S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo (Management Society of the Xacobean Plan), commonly known as 'Xacobeo.' Its goal is clearly explained on the Xacobeo webpage: '[Xacobeo] is a public company of the Xunta de Galicia (Galician Government), whose goals are the tourist and cultural promotion as well as the provision of services on the Ways of St. James. It was created in 1991 on the occasion of the 1993 Holy Year (Xacobeo 93), later integrating within the organigram of the Galician Ministry of Culture and Tourism.' ¹⁴

¹¹A Xacobeo, jacobeo or holy year is a jubilee year that occurs when July 25th, the day of St. James, falls on a Sunday. For more information on this topic, see Vilar, this volume.

¹²LEADER is an acronym in French for a series of European Union programs dedicated to the development of rural areas. It means 'Links between actions for the development of the rural economy.'.

¹³www.neria.es/quienes-somos.aspx, accessed July 23, 2014. See also Asociación Neria (2011: 4).

¹⁴http://institucional.xacobeo.es/en accessed February 19, 2014.

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4.2 Fieldwork in Vilaserio, Olveiroa and Finisterre

Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero are the anthropologists on the team and, for this part of the project, were in charge of the ethnography studies conducted on the Camino (Sánchez-Carretero 2012; Ballesteros-Arias and Sánchez-Carretero 2011). The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in various stages. We first carried out an exploratory fieldtrip consisting of walking the Finisterre-Muxía Camino so as to choose the towns and villages in which to conduct participant observation and other techniques. At this point we walked all the Finisterre-Muxía related routes: Santiago-Finisterre; Santiago-Muxía and also that of Finisterre-Muxía route.

The second phase was the actual fieldwork in the selected places: Olveiroa, Vilaserío and Finisterre. The selection was based on size and pilgrim facilities. We wanted to conduct the fieldwork in small villages as well as medium size towns. According to these criteria, Vilaserío and Olveiroa were selected because they both have hostel facilities for pilgrims, they are commonly chosen by pilgrims to finish a stage or day of walking (see Fig. 1.1 in Chap. 1) and have a population of less than 100. We also chose Finisterre because it is one of the ending points of the Camino. During this phase, a variety of actors were included: institutional representatives, such as mayors, councilwomen and men, board members of various associations, Catholic Church representatives; owners of restaurants, bars and hotels as well as local residents, with or without a connection to the pilgrimage route. The third stage consisted in group discussion techniques in each of the locations concerning the two main themes of the project: their own ideas in relation to heritage and how the Camino affects the lives of these different actors.

The experience was different in all three places: in Finisterre, a town of almost 3,000 inhabitants, tourism has transformed the landscape in the last decades. Vilaserío and Olveiroa are small rural villages without a town hall of their own. Olveiroa, in the municipality of Dumbría, has a clear policy regarding tourism, heritage and development, whereas Vilaserío, in the municipality of Negreira, does not.

Olveiroa, Vilaserío and Finisterre went through a depopulation process similar to that of many other Galician towns and villages in the last few decades. Many inhabitants migrated to Northern Europe, particularly Switzerland, and also to large Spanish cities, mainly in the Basque Country, where a growing industry needed workers (Río Barja 2009).

¹⁵Due to time and resource constrains, we could not conduct long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Muxía, although we did interview with the mayor in relation to the Camino and carried out three exploratory visits.

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Fig. 4.2 An aerial photograph of Vilaserío that decorates the bar in this village. Source Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

4.2.1 Vilaserío

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There are approximately twenty inhabited houses in Vilaserío. The villagers used to depend on dairy farming, but now only three households keep cows. Vilaserío has 66 inhabitants according to the 2014 municipal census. ¹⁶ It belongs to the parish of San Pedro de Bugallido in the municipality of Negreira, region of Barcala, province of A Coruña. It is a small village but used to be larger. In Eugenio Carré Aldao's work on the area-conducted between 1928 and 1936-Vilaserío is mentioned as the village with the largest population (135) of the parish of San Pedro Bugallido and he also pointed out that the village had its own public school. Up until the 1950s, it hosted a fair the first Wednesday of each month (fieldnotes 11-4-2011; Carré Aldao 1928: 449–450) (Fig. 4.2).

The Finisterre-Muxía Camino passes through Vilaserío. It has a private hostel which opened in 2010 and a bar/restaurant. In addition the old school has been

¹⁶Data provided by the municipality of Negreira. The national census includes data for 2013: 68 people in Vilaserio (29 men and 39 women) and 220 inhabitants (95 men and 125 women) in the whole parish, http://www.ine.es/nomen2.

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remodeled for pilgrims to sleep there. A village person receives a stipend from the local government to clean the school, as well as voluntary donations from pilgrims. Accommodation in the old school is free of charge. The school is not catalogued as an official pilgrim hostel because it doesn't have the facilities or the legal requirements that a public hostel needs. The hostel caretaker finds this liminal situation problematic for she would like more institutional support. Furthermore, the hostel is not liked by the owners of the private hostel and bar, because they see the other 'sleeping space' as unfair competition. A few years before the hostel opened, Vilar intuitively wrote about the future of Vilaserío and the need for a private hostel, while describing the conditions of the old school one as 'not the most appropriate conditions for a twenty-first century pilgrim, in fact they are almost Medieval. It occupies the old school and is just a place where pilgrims can lay out their sleeping bags and be under cover' (Vilar 2010: 53, my own translation).

4.2.2 Olveiroa

Olveiroa is a peculiar place on the Camino. It could be called a 'hostel village.' By that I mean a depopulated village whose center has been remodeled to locate a pilgrim hostel over various buildings. In this particular case, four village houses, including the old school, were bought by the municipality and restored with public funding (regional and European funds). Olveiroa pilgrim hostel opened in 2001, after the municipality restored four stone houses in the middle of the village. The village *hórreos* (granaries raised from the ground by pillars) have also been restored with light spots that lit up from below. The landmark in this transformation of Oliveiroa was the inauguration of the government-run pilgrim hostel. The idea of a 'hostel-village' was a municipal initiative and the local mayor, who is also an architect, controlled the esthetic and architectural decision-making processes, although the funding came from the Galician Government. A bar, a hotel-restaurant and a private hostel have also been built since the opening of the pilgrim hostel.

Prior to the renovation, the village center had been largely abandoned, as new modern houses were built in the 1970s and 1980s next to the main road. Therefore, one of the first impacts of the Camino on Olveiroa was the restoration of the old stone houses, which was, to quote the village mayor, 'the first step forward in valuing our heritage.' 17

On a busy day in the middle of summer, Olveiroa can easily double its population, mainly due to the pilgrims. According to Olveiroa municipal census for 2013,

¹⁷Interview conducted by Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero with the mayor of Dumbría on February 7, 2011 (the project code is GR011).

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Fig. 4.3 Public hostel in Olveiroa. The four remodeled hostel houses have blue windows and doors (see also Fig. 6.12). *Source* Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

the village has 114 inhabitants, although less than a hundred live there permanently; the whole parish, Santiago de Olveiroa, has a population of 140 (Fig. 4.3). 18

4.2.3 Finisterre

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The name Finisterre is applied to different places: the Cape of Finisterre, also simply known as 'the Cape'; the lighthouse at the Cape; the actual town of Finisterre with its 3,000 inhabitants; and the municipality of Finisterre, which includes Finisterre town as well as other towns and has almost 5,000 inhabitants.¹⁹ When I

¹⁸See municipal census at the National Institute of Statistics, http://www.ine.es/nomen2. The figures provided by the municipal office vary a little: the number of inhabitants in 2013 is 130 in Olveiroa and 31 in Ponte Olveira (the total parish population is161; this parish has only two villages, Olveiroa and Ponte Olveira) (personal communication with the secretary of the municipal office).

¹⁹The 2013 municipal census gives a figure of 4907 for the whole municipality and 2934 for the town itself (1504 men and 1430 women), http://www.ine.es/nomen2, accessed May 21, 2014.

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mention Finisterre in this chapter, I refer to the town and the cape; otherwise, I will specify.

The social dynamics in Finisterre are different from those of the other two places, partly due to its size and tourist industry. In fact, the Cape is one of the most important tourist destinations in Galicia. Therefore, not only does the town and Cape receive pilgrims who arrive on foot or by bus, but also tourists, many of them day visitors. The increasing numbers of pilgrims over the last few years (see Parga-Dans, this volume) has changed the landscape of the town, with more businesses targeting them.

4.3 What Should Be Protected? Naturalization Processes and Heritage Discourses

In this section, I will concentrate on the narratives around the concept of heritage, heritage policies and heritagization processes along the Camino to Finisterre. The narratives on what various social actors in each location consider to be their heritage will allow me to analyze the underlying naturalizations that are taking place. I will concentrate on the discourse of the actors mentioned in the introduction: politicians, Catholic Church representatives, associations that have an institutional representation because they managed European funds, grassroots organizations, hotel and restaurant personnel, and other local residents, including pilgrims who decided to remain in Finisterre upon their arrival.

Regarding the heritage narratives linked to public institutions representatives, the main conclusion is that there is not one unifying discourse in relation to heritage and pilgrimage. For this part, councilmen and mayors were interviewed in each of the municipalities. The mayors of the three municipalities do not share a common strategy. The mayors of Finisterre and Negreira—the municipality Vilaserío belongs to—lack a heritage policy discourse. Both of them belong to the conservative party partido popular. While the mayor of Dumbría-the municipality where Olveiroa is located-has an elaborate narrative on the importance of heritage for the promotion of his municipality. The promotional work of Dumbría is concentrated along three lines, and two of them are related to heritage: the promotion of their cultural heritage through the promotion of the Camino de Santiago in their territory; and the promotion of their natural heritage through the promotion of the activities at the river Xallas. In addition, the municipal employment plan is linked to their heritage sites. The political strategy of the municipality is to promote cultural tourism as their most important economic strength (Sánchez-Carretero 2012: 149). The mayor of Dumbría, member of the socialist party, does not question that heritage is one of the main economic resources and therefore, the market logic linked to heritage is being naturalized and reproduced.

However, the narratives of the other two mayors do not follow the same rationale. The policies developed in the municipality of Negreira, run by a conservative

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mayor from the Partido Popular, do not include any mention of heritage; whilst the mayor of Finisterre mentions heritage but only as 'regulations that should be passed by the Xunta; for instance, the delimitation of the caminos. We need clear regulations so we can apply them to protect the old houses of our town' (fieldnotes 20-7-2011). These two mayors regard the Camino as something that 'happens to be there.' Pablo Alonso González, in his dissertation about the Maragatería, a region crossed by the Camino, describes a similar situation: 'the Mayor does not construct his discourse on the Camino as a metacultural reality, as a product for tourist consumption, or as heritage broadly. For him, as for most inhabitants of Maragatería, it is something that 'happens to be there,' and whose relevance has increased significantly in recent years' (Alonso González 2013: 298).

This 'happen to be there' perspective is exemplified by the mayor of Negreira. His political program doesn't include the Camino, or heritage; but he politely invited us to collaborate with him. 'If you have suggestions on what to do about the Camino, just tell us. I'm sure you know a lot about it' (fieldnotes 5-4-2012). In his discourse, there is a complete absence of both the term heritage and the idea to what this term refers to. This contrasts with the discourse of local residents, who do refer often to the *idea* of heritage, although not to the term per se.

The mayor of Muxía follows a similar pattern to Dumbría's. He is also part of the socialist party. His political program for municipal policies includes an elaborate discourse on the importance of the Camino heritage. In addition, at the interview I conducted with this mayor, he asked politicians at the regional and national level for two important commitments: (1) more investment in the Camino, in terms of infrastructure, cleaning and maintenance of the Camino; and (2) improved coordination between the various administrations: municipal, regional, national and supranational. Along these lines he considers it important to improve the Camino waymarking. He explains that '...in the case of Muxía, it is more difficult because we have to indicate two directions. The pilgrim is the one who chooses. The route is a triangle. When pilgrims reach Dumbría, they have to choose between going to Fisterra or to Muxía' (fieldnotes 3-5-2012).

Interviews with the respective mayors make it clear that the municipal policy regarding the Camino, tourism and heritage and, consequently, applying for regional, national and European grants, depend on personal initiatives. That is the case behind the application to the LEADER European funded program, linked to the mayor of Dumbría and the creation of the Asociación Neria. This organization obtained and managed various LEADER programs for their area, the Coast of Death.

On the contrary, the non-institutional actors lack an explicit heritage discourse—implicitly they do—but all of them have clear ideas about what are the most valuable aspects of their 'culture.' For instance, in Finisterre, the most commonly occurring aspects are: the landscape, the sea, the beaches, the actual name of Finisterre ('a name is also heritage²⁰ fieldnotes 15-6-2011), the sunset, the Holy

²⁰For more details on place names, heritage and namebranding strategies see Jiménez-Esquinas and Sánchez Carretero (forthcoming).

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Christ of Finisterre, the Holy Week celebrations, San Guillerme, and the lighthouse. These elements are also repeated by institutional actors. For instance, at the mayor's office, the councilor for culture explained to us that their most important heritage is the landscape, *cruceiros*, the church of Santa María das Areas, the hermitage of San Guillerme, the holy stones and the chapel of Buen Suceso. According to a priest from Finisterre, important heritage elements of this town include the Parish church, the Hermitage of San Guillerme, the holy stones, the lighthouse, the Holy Week celebrations, Finisterre festivities –Virxen das Arenas, del Carmen and San Roque–, and 'of course, the most important thing is our Christ of Fisterra. There are only three images like this one in Spain: Burgos, Ourense and Fisterra' (fieldnotes 21-7-2011).²¹

In Finisterre, the most important difference between local perceptions of heritage when comparing the different sites is the lack of references to rural activities, including fishing. Whilst 'working the land' was a common reply in Vilaserío and Olveiroa, it did not, however, appear in Finisterre. In the former two villages, their landscape and the possibility of maintaining agricultural and farming activities were the most common responses. In a group discussion activity conducted in Vilaserío, we asked participants to select an element, or something that symbolizes a practice that they considered important for the village and that should be maintained. Most of the people selected elements related to the landscape, their waterrivers, springs, fountains—, dairy farms, and 'working the land' (Fig. 4.4).²²

Finally, I would like to consider another group of people who live on the Camino and who have different perspectives to those presented up till now. In Finisterre's low season, they stand out among the Fisterrans; they are pilgrims who upon their arrival decide to remain in Finisterre: owners of bars, hostels, or restaurants; people who work part of the year in their countries of origin and return each year to Finisterre; and many others. In one of the bar/restaurants in the middle of Finisterre owned by a Fisterran²³ and a 52 year-old German former pilgrim, whom we will call Anna,²⁴ we organized a group discussion among seven people who decided to stay in Finisterre upon ending their Camino. Anna has lived in Finisterre since 2007, when she finished her pilgrimage, and decided to stay. She gave a new business direction to her partner's bar, including a wide variety of vegetarian dishes, German food, 'hippie style' clothes and jewelry. The group was asked to discuss two topics:

²¹Another peculiar element that was mentioned by one person is *futbolín* (table football). Alejandro Finisterre, pseudonym of Alexandre Campos Ramírez, poet, inventor and publisher from Finisterre, who died in 2007, and who was according to a newsletter from Finisterre 'probably the most important character in our history' (KM0 2010: 9).

²²For a complete description of the group discussion and the photographs that were selected by the participants for the activity see Sánchez-Carretero and Ballesteros-Arias (2014). This visual book was prepared as a report for stakeholders as it included heritage policy recommendations made by residents from Vilaserío.

²³Fisterran refers to those who are born in Finisterre.

²⁴As explained in Chap. 1, we are using pseudonyms for the people who collaborated during fieldwork, except for those who explicitly asked for the opposite.

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Fig. 4.4 María selected 'water' as their most important heritage element. Source Pastor Fábrega-Álvarez

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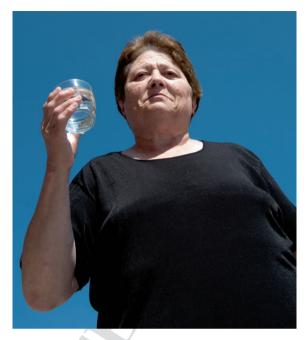
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perception of heritage and the effects of pilgrimage on local inhabitants. Among the aspects of Finisterre that are most valued there are big differences with the rest of the interviews we did in Finisterre. In this group, the term 'energy' is used repeatedly in relation to Finisterre. When asked about the heritage of the site, about what they consider to be the most valuable aspects of the place, the following expressions were used: 'the energy of the Cape, the hills' (Emilia); 'the energy of the site,' 'the lack of stress,' 'the beaches,' 'the possibility to start over again,' 'food' (everybody laughs).

All of them agreed that the local population do not value what they have, particularly nature, 'Greenpeace is needed here!,' one of them exclaims and the discussion turned to the dark side of Finisterre, its inhabitants and the many complaints that these former pilgrims have about the greediness of the locals and the treatment they receive by them: 'Money, money, money...it kills the good energy,' 'there's garbage everywhere, and they [Fisterrans] mistreat animals, and dolphins!,' 'a horse was killed because of envy.'

A second group discussion with another five ex-pilgrims was organized and the results were similar. In the second group, the heritage elements that were mentioned include: the sea, the landscape, and the way of life.²⁵

In addition to this broad description of heritage elements, I have included some information specific to some particularly relevant elements in terms of the

²⁵Regarding the expression 'way of life,' the person who was talking explained that 'here, people live the moment, without thinking about the future. In Switzerland, we live in the future or in the past, but skip the present' (group discussion 2, 20-7-2011).

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conflicts with pilgrims and/or in terms of the naturalization processes that I will be mentioning in the following sections. The goal of these brief accounts is to present a series of snapshots of the daily-life of these sites.

370 4.3.1 From Homeless to Pilgrims: Pilgrims as Heritage

The current pilgrim landscape that reflects and, at the same time, creates the Camino to Finisterre/Muxía has an important element: the actual pilgrims. Without them, the pilgrim landscape would not exist. Even though the image of the pilgrim has a long history in written sources, it has been constructed just recently among the local population. Puri, the pilgrim hostel keeper in Olveiroa, describes the changes in this way: 'The first pilgrims started to arrive around twenty years ago. People were not used to it and they used to say 'Look, here comes the bogeyman!' or 'that person must be poor or homeless,' but they were pilgrims... although they were called homeless. The locals were afraid of them' (fieldnotes 20-10-2010). The hostel keeper in Finisterre also mentions the story of the bogeyman related to pilgrims in a time prior to the wave of pilgrims that started in the late 1990s. The keeper is in her early forties and remembers how, when she was a child, she was told stories of the bogeyman who appeared with the pilgrims: Imagine a man with long and heavy beard... instead of bogeymen, we have pilgrims' (fieldnotes 19-7-2011).

Both of these testimonies reflect the changing nature of the images associated with pilgrims. Puri also explains that, in the past, they did not dress as today and that nowadays many pilgrims dress 'as hikers, as if they just came out of a sports-store²⁶'

Pilgrimage itself is also considered by some as heritage: 'we should not forget that pilgrims are also part of our culture' (Hostel keeper in Finisterre, fieldnotes 19-7-2011). I only heard this on a couple of occasions, however. The other time was in Vilaserío, when the owner of the private hostel and newly remodeled restaurant, referred to pilgrimage as an important part of their heritage.

4.3.2 Hospitality as Heritage: From Hospitality to Business

The rhetoric of hospitality versus business is a common narrative element in the three locations. Finisterre's pilgrim hostel keeper stresses the idea of hospitality as the key identity factor in the Camino: 'Solidarity and hospitality in the 1990s was enormous, but it is changing... The huge number of pilgrims walking the Camino has affected hospitality... now we hardly talk to pilgrims because there are so many of them. I continue seeing hospitality as it was amongst our elders. Now business is part of daily life... but

²⁶These hygienic and normative customs associated to pilgrims can be called 'Decathlonization' of pilgrimage. For a detailed study of the material culture associated to pilgrimage, see Sánchez-Carretero and Ballesteros-Arias (2010) that includes the results of an experiment in which they asked their collaborators to empty their backpacks and explain the stories linked to each object (Fig. 4.5).

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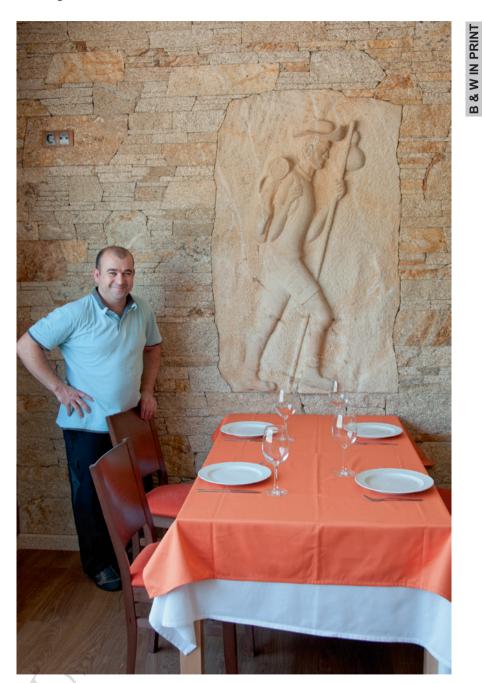


Fig. 4.5 The owner of the hostel and restaurant in Vilaserío selected pilgrimage as one of their most important heritage elements. Source Pastor Fábrega-Álvarez

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we try not to lose hospitality in the hostel... hospitality makes the Camino and you cannot pay for it... welcoming pilgrims with a smile; we have a box for tips which are
used to benefit other pilgrims. Small details make hospitality. Other private hostels have
similar ideas, but hospitality is becoming less and less common' (fieldnotes 19-7-2011).
In the narrative about what pilgrimage used to be, hospitality appears as the key element
that needs to be preserved, and therefore is part of the Camino's heritage.

4.3.3 The End of the World as Heritage

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The idea of 'the end of the world' is also commonly mentioned in Fisterra in rela-408 tion to what is unique about their town. 'A legacy that we should take care of,' as 409 Sergio, the owner of a famous bar among pilgrims, says. It was mainly in Finisterre 410 that we found narratives about the end of the world linked to pre-Christian pilgrim-411 412 ages. This is how a Finisterre resident explains the relationship with Christianity: 'Before Christianity, the Milky Way or 'way of the stars' already existed' (Angel, 413 18-7-2011). The president of the Asociación Fisterra Verdadero Fin do Camiño 414 (Association Finisterre the True End of the Camino) clearly explains that the main 415 goal of their group was to claim that the Camino to Finisterre 'is not a prolongation. 416 417 It is indeed the origin and end of the Camino' (Audio recording GR032, 22-7-2011). As explained in the introduction, the association was dissolved in late 2011, in part 418 because they were accused of having a negative attitude towards Muxía. 419

420 4.4 On Related Concepts and Links

In this section, I will describe a series of concepts that have been coupled up by local 421 residents along the Camino to Finisterre, resulting in three pairs. The first pair of 422 423 concepts is milking and heritage. It is linked to criticisms concerning heritage policies that tend to fossilize traditional culture in order to promote tourism. Camila del 424 Mármol found a similar phenomenon during her research into the heritagization pro-425 426 cesses in the Pyrenees: 'criticism on behalf of many informants -specially from the elderly who never migrated and suffered the consequences of the closure of dairy 427 428 farms or the end of subsistence agriculture—is aimed at celebrating the past, leaving aside the search for solutions [for those activities] in the present' (Del Mármol 2012: 429 240). Heritage-related projects are not considered to meet current needs, both in the 430 431 case analyzed by Del Mármol and in the case of the Camino to Finisterre.

The second pair of concepts is the **sinking of the Prestige** and **constructing prestige**. Another significant event for Finisterre was the sinking of the Prestige oil tanker, which contaminated the sea and coastal area of the Costa da Morte, in November 2002. According to local inhabitants' narratives, there is a direct relation between the disaster of the Prestige and the increase in tourism and pilgrimage to the area. The standard narrative is that the Prestige made the area more visible and well-known, encouraging many tourists and pilgrims to visit the Coast of Death.

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The third pair of concepts is **art** and **pilgrim landscape**. Among the group of pilgrims who remain in Finisterre, one particular case deserves special attention due to the impact it had on the Finisterre landscape. From 2009 to 2012, a French artist lived in a concrete transmission tower $(2 \times 2 \text{ m})$ which stood at the bottom of the road that climbs up to the lighthouse, and painted its walls with religious images (see Fig. 4.6).

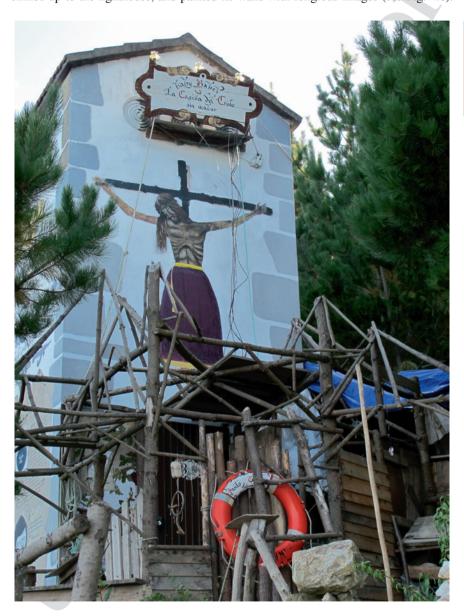


Fig. 4.6 Transmission tower in Finisterre occupied by a French painter from 2009 to 2012. *Source* Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

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This pilgrim remained silent for over a year. He was called 'the hermit' and was helped by Fisterrans, who fed him. In 2011, Paula and I were invited to have dinner at his four square meter transmission tower: 'The walls are overwhelmingly full of pieces of paper with written notes and drawings. A wooden structure covered by a green piece of plastic, improvises a leaky ceiling to make the 7 meter high tower more habitable and thus avoiding the chimney effect of the disproportionate structure. There are no windows in the tower and the only light comes from the main –and only– entrance, where I sit, trying to breathe deeply due to my allergy to dogs. Philippe and his partner Lynn share the tower with Bobby, their dog. In the right-hand corner, there is a shelf/table where they prepare dinner using a tuna-can-without-tuna full of methylated spirit. Philippe had already prepared an herbal tea for us -'very good for your lungs, Cristina.' The hospitality received at the tower reached the highest levels of hospitality we encountered in our fieldwork: pasta soup to heat our bodies, bread to give us strength, and herbal tea to calm my lungs. Surrounding the tower, Philippe has made a garden which he uses to grow medicinal herbs for himself and for the pilgrims 'who cannot pay for a pharmacist" (fieldnotes 20-7-2011).

Philippe remained in Finisterre, on and off, until 2013. In 2014, the entrances to the tower had been walled off with red bricks. According to Philippe, the Catholic Church consciously rejects this Camino: 'The church doesn't want Finisterre to be the end of the Camino' (Audiorecording GR033, 20-7-2011). Conspiracy theories explain what is seen as a plot against Finisterre as the true end of the Camino. For those who defend conspiracy theories, the Catholic Church is considered to be part of the hegemonic power that is minimizing Finisterre. The tensions with the Catholic Church directly brings me to the following section, which will be dedicated to conflicts and social fractures.

469 4.5 On Conflicts, Protection, Destruction and Materiality

What remains of this chapter ties up the main themes concerning heritage poli-470 cies on the Camino with the conflicts present in the narratives about heritage. They 471 472 focus on various levels of conflict around heritage and the Camino. Heritage and pilgrimage may not only be regarded as an economic resource but also as a cur-473 rent resource for conflict, as sustained by Poria and Ashworth (2009). According 474 to anthropologist Luis Silva 'the making of heritage may give rise to two oppos-475 ing impacts simultaneously—increased social cohesion and place pride, on the one 476 477 hand, and envy and competition (and, thus, social atomization), on the other hand and residents are totally cognizant of the tension between the two' (Silva 2013: 14). 478 The relation between host and guests has been analyzed for more than three dec-479 ades in the anthropology of tourism (Urry 1990; Cohen 1979), but the effects of 480 tourism and pilgrimage on host-host relations has not been equally analyzed (Silva 481 482 2013: 13). In Finisterre, the troubled relationship among neighbors and the fights among hostel owners, even at the bus stop, competing for clients, have reached 483 484 media coverage in the Voz de Galicia regional newspaper. Graham, Ashworth and

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Fig. 4.7 Work being done by the state-owned company Tragsa in 2010 on the section of the Camino to Finisterre that passes through Dumbría. *Source* Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

Tunbridge (2000, 134–138) use what they called 'neighbor's dilemma' to illustrate the complex nature and the frequent failure of the relationship between the costs of heritage investment and its return (quoted after Silva 2013: 14).

'Don't protect me, leave me alone!'

Surprisingly enough, the idea that the protection of the Camino is causing its destruction came up in the different locations where we conducted ethnography. Figure 4.7 shows a section of the Camino in Dumbría. It exemplifies the complaints presented by The Galician Friends of the Camino de Santiago Association (AGACS), to protest against the widening of the trails with gravel so as to accommodate motorized vehicles and criticized the work carried out by the state-owned company Tragsa in 2010, which involved replacing the natural surface with gravel.

As explored by Vilar in Chap. 3, the eagerness to turn the Camino into heritage translates into an increase in activities involving the route on behalf of various organizations and bodies. The destructive power of these actions has been analyzed by Alonso González in relation to Maragatería and the different ontologies at work in relation to heritage (Alonso González 2013: 297).

The second conflict is related to the businesses along the route. Firstly, the recurrent clash between the hospitality sector and economic profit was mentioned in many of the local residents' narratives. Various government-funded hostel keepers told us that they stopped giving meals to avoid competing with local

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businesses: both in Olveiroa and in Finisterre the *hospitaleras* gave meals when they started working at the hostel and after a while, they stopped doing it (field-notes 20-10-2010 for Olveiroa and 11-4-2011 for Finisterre).

Secondly, stories of illegal hostels were described as piracy and poaching. The owner of a coffee bar in Finisterre, born in 1961, explains how 'we are not prepared for this kind of tourism, there is a lot of poaching. Here there are people who have apartments and put pilgrims in them... There is this woman who has two apartments and she sits every day in front of the city hall to catch pilgrims. For me, it is a privilege to receive people from all over the world; the fact is that there is a huge black economy (...). Now the town is full of restaurants, everybody is competing; people go to the bus stop and it's a shame; some people are shameless. They register their houses as 'holiday apartments' and then they take pilgrims every night' (fieldnotes 15-6-2011). Taxi drivers are also angry in Finisterre, because 'there is this German who has a van and takes pilgrims and tourists to the lighthouse' (fieldnotes 15-6-2011).

The poaching metaphor gives an idea of the 'hunt' for tourists and pilgrims. The owner of a restaurant, a hotel and a pilgrim hostel, explains the situation as follows: 'There is a lot of unfair competition between bars and restaurants... There could be 10 people working here, but only three of us are because of the illegal businesses. The system itself is killing us. They should sit down to discuss and analyze this. I used to have nine employees four, five years ago. But now, everywhere, without permits, you can get grilled food, seafood, or a steak with potatoes' (fieldnotes 15-6-2011).

The expression 'piso-patera' (illegal apartment) is frequently used when talking about this issue. A *patera* is a small boat used by immigrants to illegally cross the strait of Gibaltrar. They become overcrowded and the double reference to illegality and overpopulation are both included in the expression 'piso-patera.' Beatriz, keeper of the government-run hostel in Finisterre used this expression repeatedly to emphasize how 'business owners are desperate because of the pisos-patera' (fieldnotes 19-7-2011).

The last conflict I am about to describe is related to fires and the act of burning clothes as a closure ritual. Paula and José, the owners of a pilgrim hostel in Finisterre, consider that forbidding fires at the Cape is one of the most important measures for heritage protection: 'Clothes should stop being burned. Many people come here just to make a big fire; a gran Cremá' (fieldnotes 21-7-2011). One person, who explicitly asked me not to identify him although he gave me permission to include his words, described the conflict as follows: 'There is something I don't like about pilgrims: fire. Last year I was left alone in the middle of the fire... surrounded by fire, and there was a gas tank next to me... I was supposed to remain here but I was left alone... it was a Tuesday afternoon and the following day another fire was lit... and everything was on fire and here vegetation takes

 $^{^{27}}$ To be accredited as a 'casa vacacional' is less costly than having a hostel. In addition, it requires less safety and facility regulations. It is illegal to rent out a 'casa vacaional' as a hostel, to different hosts.

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Fig. 4.8 Mast at the Cape with a painted sign saying 'No Fire' and an official sign that says 'No objects on the mast.' Source Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

a long time to grow... According to some people, it is a new tradition, like the clothes hanging ...they stink! Socks and trousers really stink!' (Fig. 4.8).

However, fire rituals are one of the most well-known practices to be performed in Finisterre. Fire is part of the caminonization of this route and it is also part of 'how a pilgrim should behave.' Although immaterial, fire is also part of the materiality of the Camino to Finisterre. My argument is that there is a materiality linked to the Camino: hostels, bars, heritagization practices (remodeling of hórreos, chapels, houses), the actual pilgrims and the ex-pilgrims who are now residents. That materiality is creating a pilgrim landscape, or caminonization, that is perceived differently by different social actors. The transforming process of this landscape has been naturalized as an unquestioned authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006). Discussion about the alternative ways in which pilgrims act in the world, or alternative pilgrim landscapes, did arise; but the fact that there is a pilgrim landscape shaping and creating contemporary Galicia was not rejected or questioned by any of our informants. The naturalization of this pilgrim landscape is linked to pilgrimage as a economic resource in one of the poorest areas in Galicia (Fig. 4.9).

Scarcity of resources is of the fundamental basis for the inhabitants who consider their rural landscape their more valuable heritage. In fact, the same characteristics that made people migrate in previous decades—for instance,

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Fig. 4.9 Detail of Fig. 4.8. Source Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero



inaccessibility—is what preserved their landscape and rural life (Aguilar 2003; Herrero 2005). Now it has turned into a commodity to be consumed by pilgrims and tourists. As explored by Del Mármol in the Pyrenees, 'The reference to the past is related to attempts to promote an economic model geared to tourism and is an alternative that has been supported in broader levels exceeding the territory in question' (Del Mármol 2012: 239). This economic model includes heritage regimes as the modus operandi to promote tourism. Margry's conclusions from the questionnaires to pilgrims are clear regarding heritage 'this route has also come under the influence of governmental and supra-nation state actors, and the pressure of new heritage and leisure regimes' (Margry, Chap. 8, this volumen). Bell and Dale point out the existence of a pilgrim market since the eleventh century onwards and how the prosperity of certain towns along the Camino Francés are linked to this (Bell and Dale 2011). As Pack looked into, the promotion of pilgrimage and tourism in Santiago was consolidated in the nineteenth century after the 'allegedly accreditation of the remains of St. James by the pope Leo XIII in 1884': 'The conflation of pilgrim and tourist was considered not a problematic mixture of sacred and profane but rather proof of a renewed dynamism at this historic seat of Spanish Catholicism. Numbers benefited business and aggrandized the archdiocese, though commerce and consumption did not yet register on the scale experienced at pilgrimage centers such as Lourdes' (Pack 2010: 349–350).

4.6 Concluding Remarks: 'Working the Land Is also Our Heritage'

When comparing regional and municipal heritage policies with the idea that other local actors have about their heritage, a significant gap can be observed. This disparity has two aspects. The first one has already been explored: some politicians construct a sophisticated discourse on heritage in relation to the Camino

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de Santiago; while this use of heritage contrasts with the lack of a term to name it at a local level. The second aspect is related to the concept of heritage itself. Politicians and heritage managers have a limited concept of what heritage is, and they dedicate their heritage policies and funding to the restoration of buildings and the maintenance of the route itself. Local inhabitants, however, see more possibilities, adding cultural practices such as festivals and religious celebrations; they also include other elements of heritage that are more difficult to catalogue, such as 'continuing to work the land,' 'the rural landscape,' or 'our local water supplies.'

Institutional discourse and practice have naturalized the notion of heritage as objects; this naturalization process, however, has not permeated the discourse of the Olveiroa, Finisterre and Vilaserio inhabitants, who have a more holistic vision, adding not only buildings such as hórreos or houses, but also practices such as festivals, as well as the most frequent comment in Vilaserío and Olveiroa: working the land.

The possibility of having an agricultural economic model as 'their heritage' is linked to the second naturalization process: the naturalization of the idea that the only way heritage can be a resource is via tourism. Aguilar et al. (2003) studied the impact of the LEADER program in encouraging tourism in Spanish rural areas and used the expression 'tourist monoculture' to refer to the change from agricultural monoculture to the promotion of rural areas exclusively via tourism.

My line of reasoning follows the idea that heritage can also be 'to keep on working the land or to keep farming.' Of course, this idea is rooted in nostalgia for a past that no longer exists (Abrahams 1994: 79; Jameson 1989); nostalgia for a rural past felt by local residents and outsiders; nostalgia seen from today's neorurality with blurred boundaries, thus making the very concept of rurality questionable. However, in these areas (Dumbría and Negreira) the primary sector is still the main source of income (Río Barja 2009). Behind the phrase 'our heritage is to keep on working the land' lies the fact that heritage is also a social practice. These people do not want to be musealized as bearers of traditional knowledge. They want to stress the fact that their heritage (in this case, agricultural work) can also involve an economic benefit by developing the primary sector, mainly through milk-derived products (provided that such work can be further developed). Or, at least, by developing a daily life environment that involves economic benefit for subsistence. Beyond the question of whether or not this is possible, I want to emphasize the non-naturalized link between heritage and tourism made by these informants. However, informants belonging to the field of municipal and regional politics reproduced the naturalization process that considers heritage as a resource exclusive to tourism. As explored above, those who do not use the term 'heritage,' and are not part of the authorized heritage discourse, do not reproduce this naturalization. Therefore, a plausible explanation could be that the heritage regime and its institutionalization negate certain options; for instance, that heritage as a resource can help develop the primary sector. I do not aim to criticize the consequential links between tourism and heritage, but rather the naturalization process that considers the touristic agency to be the only viable alternative to make heritage an economic resource.

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